

REMARKS ON THE SALAR LANGUAGE

NICHOLAS POPPE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

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

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

POTANIN published the results of his explorations in his book *The Tangut-Tibetan Borderlands of China and Central Mongolia*.¹ Although this work contains an interesting glossary of the Shirongol language, which belongs to the Mongolian group, and also two Turkic glossaries, i. e., Khara Yogur and Salar, these materials have remained almost unnoticed by linguists. This can be explained partly by the fact that this work is written in Russian and, therefore, not accessible to all orientalists. The book has also become a bibliographic rarity and, outside Russia, very few libraries have it.² The new edition of POTANIN's work is, unfor-

¹ Г. Н. Потанинъ, Тангутско-тибетская окраина Китая и Центральная Монголія, Санктпетербургъ, 1893.

² Thus, e. g., the Reverend Antoine MOSTAERT did not have access to this book when he was compiling his Monguor dictionary, and received it only when the greater portion of the book had already been printed. Cf. A. DE SMEDT, C.I.C.M., et A. MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., *Le dialecte Monguor parlé par les mongols du Kansou Occidental, IIIe partie, Dictionnaire monguor-français*, Pei-p'ing, 1933, p. VI.

unately, of little use to linguists, because its editors omitted all the glossaries.³

Of the two glossaries, that of POTANIN is beyond doubt better than that of ROCKHILL.⁴ While POTANIN uses a very simple transcription definitely appropriate for Turcologic purposes, with the result that it is not difficult to identify the Salar words in his transcription with commonly known Turkic words, ROCKHILL uses WADE'S transcription of Chinese,⁵ which is absolutely unsuited to Turkic. Thus ROCKHILL writes *pir-indyé* "first month," *isk-indyé* "second month," *sekése-indyé* "eighth month,"⁶ *pa-sagon* "day after tomorrow," *purui* "nose," *t'ich* "teeth," *arashé* "wood,"⁷ etc., which can be identified with the Turkic forms *birindži* "first," *ikindži* "second," (Salar has *iški* "two" and not *ikki*), *sekizindži* "eighth," *basa gün* "the day after," *burun* "nose," (*burnü* "his nose" and not *burui*), *tış* "tooth," and *ayač* "wood." One will agree that ROCKHILL'S transcription is rather primitive. While ROCKHILL himself compared the Salar words with Osmanli forms, POTANIN had the privilege of being helped by RADLOFF. In a word, POTANIN'S glossary has many advantages. One should not, of course, exaggerate the linguistic value of POTANIN'S material, because he was not a linguist. Nevertheless, it is possible to get a fair general picture of the languages explored by him.

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

³ Г. Н. Потанин, Тангутско-тибетская окраина Китая и Центральная Монголия, Москва, 1950.

⁴ William Woodville Rockhill, *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892*, City of Washington, 1894, pp. 373-376.

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

⁵ ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁶ ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

⁷ ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

the eighth century—a system contradicting everything known before in the Turcologic field, which, therefore, had greatly puzzled the explorers⁸—BARTHOLD, in one of his articles, pointed out that exactly the same system was found in POTANIN'S Khara Yogur materials unnoticed by everyone working on the ancient Turkic inscriptions.⁹

The Salar dialect is also mentioned in SAMOILOVIČ'S article on the classification of the Turkic languages, but there it is mistakenly referred to as being in the group of the *d*-languages.¹⁰ As MALOV correctly remarked, the Salar language belongs to the group of "modern," not "ancient" Turkic languages. According to MALOV'S terminology this means that Salar is an *ayaq*-language.¹¹

I shall proceed to analyze POTANIN'S Salar material which he collected in the village of Tashkul on the Sengir river.¹² РОСК-

⁸ J. MARQUART, *Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig, 1898, p. VI.

⁹ В. Бартольдъ, Система счисления Орхонскихъ надписей въ современномъ діалектѣ, Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія Имп. Русск. Археологическаго Общества XVII (1906), p. 0171-0173. BARTHOLD'S article seems to be little known outside of Russia and is missing in the bibliography appended to A. VON GABAIN, *Altürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1950.

¹⁰ I do not have the original Russian edition of the article of A. H. Самойлович, Некоторые дополнения к классификации турецкихъ языков, Петроград, 1922, and, therefore, can quote only the Turkish digest of this article: *Türk lehçelerinin tasnifi (klassifikasyonu) meselesi, Türkoloji ders hülasaları*, Okutan: Abdülkadir İnan, İstanbul, 1936, p. 30.

¹¹ С. Е. Малов, Памятники древнетюркской письменности, Тексты и исследования, Москва-Ленинград, 1951, p. 7.

¹² The village of Tashkul is situated near the eastern border of the Hsün-hua T'ing expansion of the valley of the Yellow River. According to POTANIN (new edition, p. 195) the Chinese name of that village is *Shih-ho* 石河 (in Russian transcription Ши-хэ) and this means "Stone River." The Turkic name Tashkul consists of the words *taş* "stone" and *qol* "river" or "valley of a river" and is the exact equivalent of Chinese *Shih-ho*. The Salar material (a glossary and a number of phrases) is on pages 426-434 of Vol. II of the first edition of POTANIN'S work.

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

а = a	л = l	ф = f
б = b	ль = l	х = x
в = v	м = m	χ = "aspiration," although
г = g	н = n	this corresponds rather to γ
д = d	нг = ŋ	ц = ts

HILL's material will be quoted for the purpose of checking and corroborating forms given in POTANIN's book. I should add that ROCKHILL collected his linguistic material in the village of Ho-tsuitzü at the mouth of the Ta-t'ung River¹³ and in I-ma-mu chuang.¹⁴

1. The Postlingual Consonants.

The voiceless postlingual stop is rendered by POTANIN with κ and the voiced stop with γ . In his Salar material he does not make a distinction between q and k or $\underset{\cdot}{g}$ and g . Therefore, I shall transcribe the Cyrillic letters κ and γ as k and g . It should be noted that this simplification is of no great importance.

The Common Turkic velar stop $*q$ at the beginning of stems is represented by κ , its phonetic value obviously being q , but, in a number of cases, its Salar equivalent is also x (= χ of the usual Turcologic transcriptions) and also g (= $\underset{\cdot}{g}$). These correspondences greatly resemble the analogical phenomena in the Chagatai language where we find q -, γ -, and χ -.¹⁵

дж = $d\check{z}$	о = o	ч = \check{c}
е = ye	ö = \ddot{o}	чж = $d\check{z}$
ж = \check{z}	п = p	ш = \check{s}
з = z	р = r	ы = i
и = i	с = s	ь = <i>palatalization</i>
й = i or y	т = t	э = \ddot{a}
к = q	у = u	ю = yu
к = k	ү = \ddot{u}	я = ya

¹³ ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁴ ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁵ N. POPPE, "Eine viersprachige Zamaxšari-Handschrift," Erster Aufsatz, *ZDMG* 101 (1951).315-316. A sporadic development $q \rightarrow \gamma$ in Chagatai is also mentioned by Martti RÄSÄNEN, "Zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen," *Studia Orientalia* 15 (1949).151. EMRE's remark that $\dot{\chi}$ does not occur at the beginning of words in Chagatai is not quite correct; cf. Ahmet Cevat EMRE, *Türk lehçelerinin mukayeseli grameri (Ilk deneme), Birinci kitap, Fonetik*, Istanbul, 1949, p. 124. The spirant $\dot{\chi}$ is not mentioned at all by him in this connection. Words beginning with $\dot{\chi}$ as characteristic for the dialects of the Ghuzz and Qipčaq are quoted by Carl BROCKELMANN in "Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens," Erste Lieferung, Leiden, 1951, p. 39. On the basis of the then very limited materials on Chagatai, W. RADLOFF correctly stated that in Chagatai the consonants q -, γ -, and χ - occur: Dr. W. RADLOFF, *Vergleichende Grammatik der nördlichen Türkischen Sprachen, Erster Teil, Phonetik der nördlichen Türkischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 122-123. The sporadic development of the initial Common Turkic $*q$ into x in some Turkic languages resulted in a complete disappearance of the consonant, i. e., $*q \rightarrow x \rightarrow \text{Zero}$; cf. Paul

We shall discuss all these cases separately.

a. The consonant **q*- has usually resulted in *k*-, its phonetic value probably being *q*. This is the normal development in all the Turkic languages¹⁶ and, of course, also in East Turki which is, in general, close to Salar.¹⁷

P. 428 *kizil* (КЫЗЫЛЬ) "red"¹⁸ = ET. 96¹⁹ *qizil*, Uzb.²⁰ *qizil*, Osm.²¹ *qizil*, Dīvān²² *qizil*, etc. "red."

P. 427 *kaz* "goose" = ET. 44 *γaz* < **qaz*, Uzb. *qaz*, Dīvān *qaz* "goose."

P. 426 *koī* "sheep," R. 374 *koyé* "mutton" = ET. 106 *qoy*, Uzb. *qoy*, Dīvān *qoy*, Osm. *qoyun* "sheep."

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

b. The consonant **q* has resulted in *x* in many cases, as it does sporadically in other Turkic languages.²⁵

PELLIOT, "Les formes avec et sans *q*- (*k*-) initial en turc et en mongol," *T'oung Pao* 37(1944) 73-101. Many more examples of **q*- > *Zero* in Middle Qipčaq can be found in the interesting article by T. HALASÍ KUN, "Orta-Kipčakça *q*-, *k*- ~ *O* meselesi," *Türk Dili ve Tarihi Hakkında Araştırmalar I*, pp. 45 ff. In other Turkic languages, on the contrary, *x* is a rare sound occurring only in loan words or it is there only a combinatory allophone of the phoneme *γ*, cf. Karl H. MENGES, *Qaraqalpaq Grammar*, New York, 1947, p. 19.

¹⁶ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 137. Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹⁷ Gunnar JARRING, *Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre*, Lund, 1933, p. 111.

¹⁸ P. means Salar in POTANIN's glossary, the number indicating the page of his book (first edition). The original Cyrillic transcription is given in parentheses only in cases when POTANIN's transcription raises doubts. R. means Salar after ROCKHILL. ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 374 has *il* "red" which is the end of the word *qizil* "red," cf. *infra*.

¹⁹ East Turki after G. RAQUETTE, "English-Turki Dictionary Based on the Dialects of Kashgar and Yarkand," Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F., Avd. I, Bd. 23, No. 4 (1927). The number indicates the page. RAQUETTE's transcription is slightly simplified here.

²⁰ Uzbek after *Rusca-Özbekçe tola sözlük*, Taškent-Qazan, 1934.

²¹ Osmanli. I use this rather obsolete term for Turkish of Turkey, because my abbreviation Turk. means "Turkic" (in general). The Turkish forms are given after Д. А. Магазаник, Турецко-русский словарь, под ред. чл.-корр. АН СССР проф. В. А. Гордлевского, изд. II, Москва, 1945. I replace, however, МАГАЗАНИК's transcription, which is the official Turkish alphabet, by the Turcological transcription.

²² Middle Turkic as represented in *Dīvān luyāt at-turk* by Maḥmūd al-Kāšgarī after Besim ATALAY, *Dīvānū Lūgat-it-Türk Dizini "Endeks"*, Ankara, 1943.

²³ With *r* dropped as in East Turki *qo:soq*, cf. JARRING, *l. c.*

²⁴ Kirgiz after *Kirgiz sözlüğü*, Yazan Prof. K. K. YUDAHİN, *Türkçeye çeviren Abdullah Taymas*, Istanbul, 1948.

²⁵ POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 316; BROCKELMANN, *l. c.*; RADLOFF notes the development of *q*-

P. 430 *xati* "hard" = ET. 47 *qatïq*, Uzb. *qattïq*, Kirg. *qatü* < **qatïγ*, Osm. *qatï*, Dīvān *qatïγ* "hard."

P. 430 *xatun* "thick" = ET. 121 *qalïn*, Kirg. *qalïñ*, Osm. *qalïn* "thick."

P. 430 *xara šatan* "black sugar," R. 375 *kara sha-tang* "brown sugar," cf. P. 427 *közniñ karasï* "pupil," P. 431 *kara* "black" = ET. 11 *qara*, Uzb., Osm. *qara* "black," cf. Southern Crimea *χara* "black."

P. 432 *xob* "get up!" = ET. 99, Kirg. *qop-* "to rise."

P. 427 *xari baba* "grand-father" ~ P. 430 *kari kšï* "old man" = ET. 80 *qäri* "old," Uzb., Kirg. *qari* "old man."

P. 429 *xap* "sack" = ET. 101 *qap* "sack," Osm. *qap* "container," Dīvān *qap* "sack."

P. 429 *xisïrax* "mare" = Kirg. *qisïraq*, Osm. *qisraq* "mare."

c. The development **q* > *g* (r in POTANIN's transcription, its phonetic value being *g*), occurs in a number of words. This development is known in the Turkic languages. It occurs in Chagatai,²⁶ Azerbaijan Turkic,²⁷ in all the Turkmen dialects except in that of the Yomud,²⁸ sporadically in the dialects of Anatolia,²⁹ but it is unusual in East Turki.³⁰ It does not occur in Karakalpak, although the Common Turkic consonant **k* is in many cases represented there by an initial *g*.³¹

Here are a few examples from POTANIN's glossary:

P. 430 *gančïxoï* "she dog"³² = Uzb. *qančïq*, Kirg. *qančïq* "she dog," Osm. *qančïq* "female," Dīvān *qančïq* "she dog."

P. 430 *guri* "dry" = ET. 30 *quruq*, Uzb. *quruq*, Dīvān *quruq* ~ *quruγ* "dry."

P. 430 *gol*,³³ R. 374 *gol* "arm" = Dīvān, Uzb., Osm., ET. 6 *qol* "arm."

>*x*- in rare cases in the Crimean Tatar language (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in Taranchi (*op. cit.*, p. 121), Chagatai (p. 122), and consistently in Yakut before a or o (p. 133). Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

²⁶ POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

²⁷ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.* with reference to Karl FÖY, "Azerbaijanische Studien I-II," *MSOS* 6 (1903).175.

²⁸ Karl MENGES, "Einige Bemerkungen zur vergleichenden Grammatik des Türkmenischen," *Archiv Orientalní* XI, p. 21, 23.

²⁹ MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 23; RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

³⁰ JARRING, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³¹ MENGES, *Qaraqalpaq Grammar*, p. 31.

³² ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 375 has *tchist* "female dog" = *tishi it*.

³³ POTANIN writes ЛЬ. The "soft sign" probably means that *l* is softer than Russian Л and somehow closer to French or German *l*. I transcribe POTANIN's ЛЬ as *l* and his Л as *l̄*.

P. 429 *gum* "sand" = ET. 102, Uzb. *qum* "sand."

P. 431 *gut*³⁴ "worm" = ET. 137 *qūrut*, Uzb., Osm. *qurt* "worm."

2. Final **q* > *x*, *γ*, *g*:

The final **q* of a syllable or a stem results in *x* in Salar, in rare cases, in a consonant rendered by POTANIN with χ . The latter sound is described by POTANIN as "an aspiration."³⁵ This very vague definition can mean anything: \prime , *h*, or γ . I think, however, that POTANIN'S χ is identical with γ , i. e., with a voiced velar spirant. In rare cases **q* results also in *g* of which the phonetic value probably is *g*.

a. Let us first discuss the development of **q* > *x*. This development is characteristic of the Azerbaijan Turkic,³⁶ the Anatolian dialects,³⁷ and the dialects of the Southern Crimea.³⁸ It is also known in literary Uzbek and in Uzbek dialects.³⁹ The phenomenon is also found in Chagatai (especially before the consonants *l*, *s*, *š*, *t*, and *č*), as represented in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*⁴⁰ and in other sources.⁴¹ This development seems to be old in the Turkic languages, for it had occurred already in the language of the Azerbaijan Turks of the fourteenth century.⁴²

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

P. 430 *ox* "arrow," R. 375 *ush* "arrow" = ET. 6, Uzb., Osm *oq*, IM⁴³ $o\chi$ "arrow."

³⁴ With the consonant *r* dropped. *Vide infra*.

³⁵ POTANIN, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

³⁶ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 175; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

³⁷ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

³⁸ O. CHATSKAYA, "Chansons tatares de Crimée," *Journal Asiatique* 208 (1926).341 ss.

³⁹ POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 314; cf. the data of the Qilič dialect, in the glossary on p. 46 ff. in Gunnar JARRING, "The Uzbek Dialect of Qilich (Russian Turkestan) with Texts and Glossary," *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N. F., Avd. I, Bd. 33, Nr. 3 (1937). Cf. also Gunnar JARRING, "Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan with Glossary," *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N. F., Avd. I, Bd. 34, Nr. 2, p. 165 ff.

⁴⁰ POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 314-315.

⁴¹ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 175; BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴² П. М. Мелиоранский, Арабъ филологъ о турецкомъ языкѣ, Санктпетербургъ, 1900, p. xxxvii; cf. also the forms mentioned in POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 314, note 2, taken from Abtullah ВАТТАЛ, *Ibnü-Mühennā Lügati*, Istanbul, 1934.

⁴³ Ibn Muḥannā after Мелиоранский.

P. 427 *qadax* "nail" = Chag. *qadaq* ~ *qadaγ*, Shor. *qad̄iγ*⁴⁴ "nail," Kirg. *qadaq* "pound."⁴⁵

P. 428 *toxmax* "a big hammer" = Dīvān *toq̄imaq* "clapper for laundry work, etc.," Osm., Kirg. *toqmaq* "mallet, beetle, a wooden hammer."

P. 428 *qūirux yuttus* "comet" (lit., "a tailed star," cf. P. 427 *yulduz* "star") = Dīvān *qudruq*, Uzb., ET. 118, Osm. *quyruq* "tail."

P. 431 *qulax*, R. 374 *golak* "ears" = Dīvān *qulqaq* ~ *qulγaq* ~ *qulaq*, ET. 31, Uzb., Osm. *qulaq* "ears."

P. 431 *yamax* "jaw" = Dīvān *yaŋγaq*, Chag. *yaŋγaq* ~ *yaŋqaq*, Uzb. *yanaq* "cheek bone," Osm. *yanaq* "cheek," Kirg. *džāq* "jaw."

P. 430 *yarux* "bright" = Dīvān *yaruq*, Uzb. *yaruγ* "bright," ET. 65 *yaruq* "light."

P. 429 *yumšax* "soft" = Dīvān *yumšaq*, Uzb., ET. 110 *yumšaq*, Osm. *yumšaq* ~ *yumušaq* "soft."

P. 427 *vax* "to watch" = Dīvān, Uzb., ET. 67 *baq*- "to look."

P. 430 *iŋḡirčax* "a pack saddle" = Chag., Kirg. *iŋγ̄irčaq* "pack saddle."

P. 431 *k̄irix*, R. 373 *kéreu* "forty" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., Osm. *q̄irq*, ET. 40 *q̄irq*, East Anadolu⁴⁶ *ḡirχ* "forty."

P. 428 *yarvax* "leaf" = Chag., Uzb., ET. 64 *yapraq* "leaf."

P. 426 *ax*, R. 373 *ahé* "white" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 133 *aq* "white."

P. 431 *ašlix* "crops" = Dīvān *ašliq* "wheat," Chag.⁴⁷ *ašliq* "crops," ET. 23 *ašliq* "crops."

P. 426 *arux* "irrigation canal" (in Russian арык) = Dīvān, Uzb. *ariq* "canal for irrigation purposes," ET. 29 *ariq* "ditch."

P. 427 *totax* "lip," *dž̄i totax* "lower lip" = Chag. (RADLOFF) *dudaγ*, Coman *todaq*, Osm., Crimean *dudaq* "lip."

P. 428 *čaxm̄ig* "flint," cf. R. 374 *chamar tash* (= *čaqmaq taš*) = Dīvān *čaqmaq*, Chag. (*Muqaddimat al-Adab*) *čaqmaq taš*, ET. 38 *čaqmaq taš̄i* "flint."

P. 431 *axsax* "limping" = IM *aχsaq*, Chag. *aqsaq* ~ *aχsaq*, Uzb., ET. 66 *aqsaq* "limping."

P. 429 *torax* "dust" = Dīvān *topraq*, Uzb. *topraq* ~ *tofraq* ~ *torpaq* ~ *tupraq* "earth, dust."

P. 430 *ayax* "foot" = Dīvān *ađaq*, Chag., Uzb. *ayaq*, ET. 39 *ayaγ* "foot."

P. 427 *irax* "far, distant" = Dīvān, Chag. *ȳiraq*, ET. 36 *yiraq* "far."

The consonant *ħ* in Arabic loan words results in *x*:

P. 427 *axmax* "fool" = Chag. *aħmaq* < Arabic احمق, Uzb. *aχmaq*, ET. 39 *äh'mäq* "stupid, foolish."

⁴⁴ W. RADLOFF, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialekte*, Bd. I-IV, Sanktpetersburg, 1893-1911.

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

⁴⁶ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁴⁷ Н. Н. Поппе, Монгольский словарь Мукаддимат ал-Адаб I-II, Москва-Ленинград, 1938.

b. In relatively few cases the final **q* is represented by *g*⁴⁸ or by *γ*.⁴⁹ The latter development is known in Chagatai⁵⁰ and in Uzbek⁵¹ and, in particular, in the language represented in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*.⁵² It is noted particularly in the Uzbek dialects spoken in Afghanistan,⁵³ and in East Turki.⁵⁴

In Salar the following examples are found:

P. 429 *yarumtuq aï* "a quarter of the moon" ~ P. 429 *yarimtux* "half" = Chag. *yarimčuq* "half, semi-," cf. Mo. *jarimduγ* "half, incomplete."

P. 430 *aruq* "slim" = Dīvān *aruq* "tired," Chag. *aruq* ~ *ariγ* "slim," Uzb. *ariq* "slim."

P. 429 *ayag čuyi* (чу́й) "foot sole" ~ P. 430 *ayax* "foot" = Dīvān *ađaq*, Uzb. *ayaq*, ET. 39 *ayáγ* "foot."

P. 427 *palčig* "clay, mud" = Dīvān *balčiq*, Chag., Osm. *balčiq* "clay, mud."⁵⁵

P. 428 *tirnaq* "nail, claw," R. 374 *terna* "finger nail" = Dīvān *tirnaq*, Uzb. *tirnaq*, ET. 76 *tirmaq* "nail."

P. 429 *barmaγ* (бармаχ) ~ *birmaγ* "finger," R. 374 *pirma* "finger" ~ P. 429 *baš pirmaγ* (пирмаχ) "thumb" = Chag., Uzb. *barmaq*, ET. *bärmaq* ~ *parmaq* "finger."

P. 430 *paliγ* (палиχ) "fish" = Dīvān, Uzb., Kazan Tatar *balıq* "fish" > Russian БАЛЫК "smoked fish."

c. Forms with a final *k* (= *q*) are rare in Salar. The general rule seems to be that **q* results in *x* at the absolute end, but remains a stop before a consonant: *yoq* "not" but *yok kši* "a poor person."⁵⁶

P. 431 *yakši* "good" ~ P. 427 *yaxši ulali* (?) "friend" (cf. R. 376 *kishi irshider* "this man is good": *irshi* = *yaxši* "good") = Dīvān *yaχši*, Chag., Uzb. *yaχši*, ET. 44 *yaχši* "good."

P. 431 *toksan*, R. 373 *toksan* "ninety" = Chag., Uzb. *toqsan*, ET. 77 *toqsän* "ninety."

⁴⁸ This is *ɣ* in POTANIN's transcription and is probably to be pronounced as a velar *g*.

⁴⁹ This is *χ* in POTANIN's transcription and explained as "aspiration." *Vide supra*.

⁵⁰ EMRE, *op. cit.*, p. 122. Cf. the forms with *-γ* < **q* in other old sources: BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁵¹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁵² POPPE, "Eine viersprachige Zamašari-Handschrift," p. 308.

⁵³ JARRING, "Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan with Glossary," pp. 169-235.

⁵⁴ I find in RAQUETTE's dictionary such forms as *ayarγ* "foot," *čarγ* "time," etc.

⁵⁵ The name of the place called Балчуг in Moscow, Russia, originates from Turkic *balčiq* ~ *balčiq* "clay, mud, moor."

⁵⁶ *Yoq* means "not" and "poor" in many Turkic languages just as the Mongolian *ügei*.

3. The Common Turkic **q* results in *x* in Salar in the middle of words, in intervocalic position, and also after *r* (a). This development is rather rare in Turkic. It occurs, however, in Taranchi (otherwise called Uighur, although it does not have anything in common with ancient Uighur) in Eastern Turkestan, and in Azerbaijan Turkic.⁵⁷ In all the other cases it is represented by *g* in Salar (b). This development is common in many Turkic languages.⁵⁸

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

P. 431 *uxu* "to read" = Dīvān *oqit-*, Chag., Uzb. *oqu-*, ET. 95 *oqo-*, Osm. *oqu-* "to read."

P. 426 *yaxa* "collar" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 19 *yaqa* "collar."

P. 426 *yaxin* "near" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *yaqin*, ET. 76 *yāqin* "near."

P. 428 *baxumdzi* "physician" (derived from *baq-* "to look, to take care") = Osm. *baqim* "care, supervision," Uzb. *baqim* "care."

P. 426 *urxan* "rope" = Osm. *urqan*, Chag., Uzb. *arqan* "rope."⁵⁹

b. The development **q* > *g* (it is probably *g*) takes place when the final *x* < **q* occurs in the intervocalic position before the possessive suffix of the third person. This is found in many Turkic languages: in Uzbek in bisyllabic and polysyllabic stems, e. g., *ayaq* "foot"—*ayaγi* "his foot";⁶⁰ in Taranchi, e. g., *qiliq* "deed"—*qiliγi* "his deed."⁶¹ It is found also in Chagatai,⁶² etc. In indissectable stems intervocalic **q* results in *g* (= *g*) in the same bisyllabic stems as in the South Turkic group with a primary long vowel in the first syllable.⁶³

P. 431 *üzeñ adaqi* "the embouchure of a river" < Mongolian *adaγ* "end, lower current of a river" = Turkic *adaq* || *azaq* || *ayaq* "leg, foot."⁶⁴

⁵⁷ RADLOFF, *Vergleichende Grammatik der nördlichen Türkisprachen*, p. 203.

⁵⁸ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 205; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-148.

⁵⁹ The alternation of the vowel *a* with a rounded vowel is discussed by RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 60, where *arqan*—Osm. *urqan* is quoted. The Turkish word *organ* means, however, in my opinion, only a belt drive and not a rope, which is *urqan*.

⁶⁰ A. VON GABAIN, *Özbekische Grammatik*, Leipzig und Wien, 1945, p. 23.

⁶¹ A. К. Боровков, Учебник уйгурского языка, Ленинград, 1935, p. 11.

⁶² POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

⁶³ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁶⁴ The semantic development "end" > "leg" is the same here as in the Mongolian *köl* "leg, foot" = Turkic *köl* "lake." Lakes in Central Asia often are the end of a river with no river originating from the lake concerned.

P. 428 *paga* "frog" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *baqa*, ET. 40 *paqa*, Turkmen *bāya*⁶⁵ "frog."

P. 426 *sagał*, R. 374 *sah'al* "beard" = Dīvān, Uzb., ET. 8 *saqal* "beard."

4. The Common Turkic consonant **k* at the beginning of words remains *k* in Salar. In a few cases, however, it has become *g*. As for the Turkic languages in general the consonant **k*- is represented by *k*, e. g., in Ancient Turkic, Middle Turkic, Coman, Chagatai, Taranchi, East Turki, Kirgiz, Kazak, Karakalpak, the Altai dialects, etc.⁶⁶ On the other hand, in some Turkic languages the consonant **k*- has developed into *g*. This development is not regular and in some languages it occurs frequently and in others only sporadically. It is more common in Osmanli (Turkish), in Crimean, Turkmen, and less common in Azerbaijan Turkic.⁶⁷ It is unusual in Kirgiz and Kazak but it occurs relatively often in Karakalpak.⁶⁸

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

P. 430 *kümüş*, R. 374 *kumush* "silver" = Dīvān, Chag. *kümüš*, Uzb. *kömüş*, Kirg. *kümüš*, ET. 107 *kumuš*, Bashkir⁶⁹ *kθmθš* < **kümüš*, Karakalpak⁷⁰ *gümüš*, Osm. *gümüš* "silver."

P. 428 *küräx* (күрәх) "spade" = Dīvān *kürgäk*, Chag., Uzb. *küräk*, Kirg. *kürök*, Osm. *küräk* "spade," Karakalpak *gürök* "oar."

P. 430 *küslüg* "strong," cf. P. 430 *küci* "his strength" = Dīvān *küč*, Chag., Uzb. *küč*, ET. 114 *kuč* "strength," Osm. *güč* "power," Karakalpak *güč* "burden" < Turkm. *güč* (an obvious loan word because of **-č*) -*š* in Karakalpak), cf. Karakalpak *küš* "power."⁷¹

P. 430 *köx*, R. 373 *kuh* "blue" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 12 *kök*, Osm. *gök* "blue."

P. 428 *keme* "boat" = Dīvān *kemi*, Chag. *kämä*, Uzb. *kemä*, ET. 12 *kemä*, Osm. *gemi* "ship, boat."

P. 430 *kün*, R. 373 *kun* "sun" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kün* "sun," ET. 116 *kun~gün* "sun," Osm. *gün* "day."

⁶⁵ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

⁶⁶ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 137-138; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

⁶⁷ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

⁶⁸ MENGES, *Qaraqalpaq Grammar*, p. 31-32.

⁶⁹ Bashkir after Русско-башкирский словарь под редакцией проф. Н. К. Дмитриева, К. З. Ахмерова, Т. Г. Байшева, Москва, 1948.

⁷⁰ Karakalpak after MENGES, *l. c.*

⁷¹ Cf. MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

P. 428 *kiči* "small" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kičik*, ET. 108 *kičik*, Osm. *küçük* "small."

P. 431 *kiši* "person," R. 376 *kishi* "man" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kiši*, ET. 85 *kiši* "person."

b. The examples with an initial $g < *k$ are rare in Salar. This development should be considered an influence of a language where this is a more common development. It is to be noted that $g < *k$ is rare at the beginning of genuine Turkic words in East Turki,⁷² and the following few examples with g - in Salar correspond to forms with an initial k in East Turki.

P. 431 *gümür*, R. 374 *kuomeur* "coal" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kömür*, ET. 19 *kumür* ~ *kömär*, Osm. *kömür* "coal."

P. 429 *gendix* "navel, umbilicus" = Chag. *kindik*, Uzb. *kindik* ~ *kindäk*, ET. 126 *kindik* "navel."

P. 430 *tušan geme* "earless marmot" (a rodent, in Russian сенокосилка) ~ P. 429 *keme* "mouse" (*tušan* is "hare," and *tušan geme* literally is "a hare mouse").

The last example proves that at least in part of these cases the development $*k- > g$ is due to sandhi. The latter is, in RÄSÄNEN'S opinion, responsible for the sonorization of the initial $*k$ in all the languages where $*k$ results in g .⁷³

5. The final $*k$ of stems usually results, as $*q$, in x . This development is rare in Turkic. It occurs in Azerbaijan Turkic, e. g., *iχ' < *yük* "load," *ämäχ < *ämgäk* "anxiety,"⁷⁴ and in Balkar, e. g., *ešik* "door" but *ešič-te* "in the door."⁷⁵ In Yakut final $*k$ results regularly in $χ$ after wide vowels.⁷⁶

P. 428 *sinäx* "bone," P. 431 "corpse" (probably "skeleton") = Dīvān *süñük*, Chag. *süñük* ~ *süyek* ~ *süyük*,⁷⁷ Uzb. *süyäk*, ET. 12 *suñäk* "bone."

P. 429 *ipäx* (ИПӘХ) "thread" = Uzb. *ipäk*, ET. 107 *yipäk*, Osm. *ipäk* "silk."

P. 430 *iräx* "heart" = Dīvān *yüräk*, Uzb. *yüräk*, ET. 49 *yüräk* "heart."

P. 430 *iläx* "sieve" = Uzb., Kirg., Osm. *eläk* "sieve."

P. 427 *indžix* (ИНДЖИХ) "shin," R. 374 *enjë* "foot" = Osm. *inçik*, Bashk. *ensek < *inčik* "shin."

⁷² JARRING, "Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre," p. 109.

⁷³ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁷⁴ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁷⁵ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

⁷⁶ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 179; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁷⁷ POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

- P. 429 *äx* (əx) "to plough" = Dīvān, Uzb., Kirg., Osm. *ek-* "to sow."
 P. 431 *ämmex*, R. 375 *émé* "bread" = Osm. *ekmäk* "bread."
 P. 428 *möšix*, R. 375 *mishu* "cat" = Chag. *müšük*, ET. 16 *müšük* "cat."
 P. 429 *tergex* "poles supporting the ceiling" = Uzb. *tingäk* "pillar, supporting pole," Bashk. *teräk*, Osm. *diräk* "pole."
 P. 427 *emdžix* "breast" = Chag., Uzb. *emčäk*, ET. 13 *ämček* "breast."
 P. 428 *kegelix* "partridge" = Dīvān, Taranchi, Chag., ET. 83 *keklük*, Uzb. *käklük* "partridge."
 P. 427 *iräx araxsari* (?) "a malicious person" = Dīvān *erik* "skillful, courageous."

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

- P. 431 *säksän* (СӘКСӘН), R. 373 *siksän* "eighty" = Dīvān *sekiz on*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 31, Osm. *säksän* "eighty."
 P. 430 *näškä* < **inčkä* "thin" = Dīvān *yinčge*, Chag. *inčkä*~*yinčkä*, Uzb. *iñičkä*~*indžä*, Osm. *injä* "thin."
 P. 428 *tülgö* (ТЮЛЬГО) "fox" = Dīvān *tilki*, Chag. *tülkü*, Uzb. *tülki*, ET. 40 *tulki*, Osm. *tilki*, Karakalpak *tülki* "fox."

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

The gemination of the intervocalic consonants seems to be an old phenomenon in Turkic. It occurs most often in numerals as RÄSÄNEN states.⁷⁸ The origin of the geminated consonants such as *kk* in *ikki* "two" and *säkkiz* "eight" is not quite clear and, as RÄSÄNEN says in quoting his teacher, the late Professor BANG, it is "a chapter behind seven seals."⁷⁹ It is possible, however, that the gemination is connected somehow with the accent as MENGES suggests.⁸⁰ At any rate it is interesting to observe that where the other Turkic languages have *-kk-* the Salar language has *k*, but where the other Turkic languages have *k > g*, Salar has *x*.

⁷⁸ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁷⁹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁸⁰ MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

P. 429 *čūxūr* (ЧЮХУР) "to spit" = Chag. *tükürük* "spittle," Uzb. *tüfür* "to spit," ET. 112 *tükür*-, Osm. *tükür*-, Karakalpak *tükür*- "to spit."

P. 431 *säkiz*, R. 373 *sekése* "eight" = Dīvān *sekiz*~*sekkiz*, Chag., Uzb. *säkkiz*, Turkmen, Anadolu (Urfa) *sekkiz*,⁸¹ ET. 31 *sekiz* "eight."

7. The voiced postlingual consonants * γ and * g occurred in Common Turkic only in the middle and at the end of words. The difference in the treatment of the syllables * $a\gamma$, * $o\gamma$, * $\ddot{a}g$, * $\ddot{o}g$, etc., in various Turkic languages is one of the criteria for the classification of the Turkic languages, e. g., * $a\gamma$ > $a\gamma$, av , au , \bar{o} , \bar{u} , $\bar{i}a$; * $\ddot{a}g$ > $\ddot{a}g$, $\ddot{a}y$, \bar{i} , $\bar{i}ä$, etc.⁸²

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

* $a\gamma$ > Salar ag :⁸⁶

P. 427 *tag* "mountain" (cf. R. 374 *t'ar* with r rendering the velar γ resembling the uvular r) = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 74 *ta γ* "mountain."⁸⁷

P. 427 *yagmür*, R. 374 *yaghmur* "rain" = Dīvān *ya γ mur*~*ya γ ur*, Chag. *ya γ ur*, Uzb. *ya γ ür*~*ya γ mur*~*ya γ ur*, ET. 94 *ya γ ur* "rain."⁸⁸

P. 428 *yag* "butter" (cf. R. 374 *ah'er*, probably < $a\chi$ *ya γ* "white butter") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 36 *ya γ* "fat."

* $a\gamma a$ > Salar *aga*:

P. 427 *agaš* "tree" (cf. R. 374 *arashé*, instead of *a γa š* with γ mistaken for

⁸¹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁸² Cf. SAMOILOVIČ's classification: INAN, *op. cit.*, p. 31; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113, 118.

⁸³ POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

⁸⁴ BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁸⁵ JARRING, "Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre," p. 111.

⁸⁶ On * $a\gamma$ vide RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff.

⁸⁷ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁸⁸ Metathesis occurs in this word, derived from *ya γ* - "to rain," in various Turkic languages, cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

a uvular *r*) = Dīvān *yī-γač*, Chag. *yī-γač*, Uzb. *a-γač*~*ya-γač*, ET. 136 *ya-γač* "wood."⁸⁹

**aγi* > Salar *agü*:

P. 427 *sagir* "deaf" = Chag. *sa-γir*~*sa-γrau* < **sa-γra-γu*, Osm. *sa-γir*, Karakalpak *saŋgīrau* "deaf."

P. 429 *bagri* "liver" (the correct translation is "his liver") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., *ba-γir*, Kirg. *bōr*, Karakalpak *baür* "liver."

P. 429 *agil* "people" = Dīvān *aγil* "sheep corral," Chag., Uzb. *aγil* "shelter for cattle," Bashkir, Karakalpak *auil* "village" > Russian *ayл* "a Tatar village, a village of the natives in the Caucasus."

P. 431 *agir* "heavy," P. 426 *buyagir* "pregnant" < *boy* "body" and *aγir* "heavy" = Dīvān *aγir*, Chag., Uzb. *aγir*, ET. *ä-γir*, Karakalpak *auir* "heavy," Kirg. *ōr* "heavy."

P. 430 *agsi* "mouth," P. 428 *agzi* "beak" (the correct translation is "his mouth" and "his beak"), R. 374 *aks* "lips" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *aγiz*, ET. 75 *ä-γiz*, Karakalpak *auiz*, Kirg. *üz* "mouth."⁹⁰

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

P. 431 *agu* "poison" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *aγu*, ET. (Le Coq) *ōγa*, Turkmen *āvī*, Osm. *agī*, Karakalpak *u*, Kirg. *ū* "poison."

P. 430 *pizü* "calf" = Dīvān *buzayū*, Chag. *buzau*~*buzawu*, Uzb. *buzau*, ET. 15 *mozay*, Karakalpak *buzau*, Bashk. *bīzau* "calf."

**oγ* > Salar *ug*:

P. 426 *ugri* "thief" = Dīvān *o-γri*, Chag., Uzb. *o-γri*, ET. 121 *o-γri* "thief."

**oγu* > Salar *ogu*:

P. 428 *ogul pala* "son, boy" (*pala* "child"), cf. R. 374 *ao* or *ōll* "boy" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *o-γul*, ET. *o-γol*, Kirg. *ül* "son."

P. 430 *saxur* < **s^oγur* < **soγur* "marmot" = Dīvān *soγur* or *suγur* "rabbit," Uzb. *suwur*, Kirg. *sūr* "mountain hare," Bashk. *hīür* < **soγur* "marmot."

Abnormal developments, however, are the following:

P. 431 *sok su* (probably *sōq su*) "cold water" = Dīvān *so-γuq*, Chag. *sawuq*, Uzb. *savuq*, ET. 19 *sawuq*~*sowaq*~*so-γaq*, Turkm. *savīq*, Osm. *soγuq*, Kumyk *souq*, Azerb. *souχ*~*sōχ*, Kirg., Kazak, Kazan Tatar *sūq*, etc. "cold."⁹¹

⁸⁹ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 113. It is to be noted that this word developed irregularly in most Turkic languages. Thus in Telengit it should be **āč*, etc.

⁹⁰ On *aγil*, *aγir*, and *aγiz* cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁹¹ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

P. 429 *yurgin* "blanket" = Dīvān *yo-γurγan*, Chag. *yawurqan* ~ *ya-γurγan* "blanket." Salar *yurgin* is probably due to a metathesis such as we have in the form *yorγan* in the South Western group of the Turkic languages: *yurgin* < **yuγrin* = SW *yorγan* (cf. Osm. *yorγan*) < **yoγran* < **yoγuran* < **yoγurγan*.⁹²

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

P. 432 *yu* "wash!" = Dīvān *yu-* < **yuγ-*, Uzb. *yuv-* < **yuγ-*, ET. 130 *yu-* "to wash" = Mo. *ugiya-* < **uγiγa-* "to wash."

P. 426 *ullè* < **ulvγ* "big" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 45 *uluγ* "great."

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

**eg* > Salar *eγ*:

P. 428 *peγ* (πεχ) "prince" (the meaning is identical with that of Mongolian *noyan*) = Dīvān *beg*, Uzb. *biy*, Kazan Tatar *bəy*, ET. 9 *beg* "a native official."

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

P. 428 *termen* "mill" = Dīvān, Chag. *təgirmän*, ET. 72 *tögurmän*, Kazak *tirmän*, Kirg. *tərbän*, etc. "mill" = Mo. *tegerme*, Khalkha *tērme* "mill."⁹³

**ög* > Salar *üg*:

P. 429 *bügürix* (= *bügürix*) "kidney" = Uzb. *büyräk*, ET. 60 *böräk*, Osm. *böbräk* ~ *böyräk*, Turkm. *bevrek*, Taranchi *böräk*, Kirg. *böyrök*, Karakalpak *büyräk* "kidney" = Mo. *bögere* "kidney."⁹⁴

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

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

a. In original words:

P. 429 *igtà-* "to cry, weep" = Dīvān, Uzb. *yīγla-*, ET. 23 *yīγla-* "to cry."

P. 426 *iγ* "spindle" = Dīvān *yig* "spindle," Uzb. *yigirgic* "spinning wheel," ET. 112 *yik* < **iγ*, Osm. *iγ* "spindle."

P. 431 *ari* "clean," P. 431 *ari imes* "unclean" = Dīvān *arīγ*, Kirg. *arū* "clean, immaculate."

⁹² Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

⁹³ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁹⁴ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

⁹⁵ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁹⁶ Cf. INAN, *op. cit.*, p. 31; cf. MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

P. 427 *isi* "hot" in *isi su* "hot water" = Dīvān *isig*, Chag. *išyγ*, Kirg. *išiq*, ET. 51 *išsiq* < **išyγ* "hot."

P. 427 *sari* "yellow," P. 429 *sari čiš* "yellow brass" = Dīvān *sariγ*, Chag. Uzb. *sariγ*, Chag. *sari*, ET. 138 *sariq*, Osm. *sari* "yellow."

b. In loan words:

P. 426 *agriγ* < **aγriγ* "sick, ill," a loan from an *iγ*-language = Dīvān *aγriγ*, Chag. *aγriq*, Kirg. *ōru*, ET. 53 & 107 *aγriq* "illness, sickness."

P. 428 *ačix* (*ač'x*) < **atiq* < **adiγ* "bear," cf. R. 135 *isht atsé* "bear"⁹⁷ = Dīvān *ađyγ*, Soyot *ađyγ*, Sagai *aziq*, Chag. *ayiq*, Turkm. *ayī*, etc.⁹⁸ ET. 9 *ayiq* "bear."

**iγ* > Salar *iγ*:

P. 428 *igit kši* "a young person" = Uighur, Coman, Chag., etc. *yigit*,⁹⁹ ET. 139 *yigit* "youth."

P. 427 *ignä* (ИГНЭ) "needle" = Chag., Osm. *ignä*, ET. 77 *yignä* "needle."

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

P. 434 *yatgan* "lie, untruth" = ET. 65 *yalγan*, Ibn Muḥannā *yalγan ~ yalan*,¹⁰¹ Chag., Uzb. *yalγan*, Karakalpak *džalγan*, Osm. *yalan* "lie."

P. 434 *sän äjšagan* (сЯНЬ ЭЙШАГАН) "you said" (*äjšagan* is a *nomen praeteriti* with the suffix *-γan ~ -gän*).

11. The mediolingual consonant.

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

In various Turkic languages **y*- results in *y*-, *ǰ*- (= *dž*-), *ž*-, *č*-, and Yakut *s*-.¹⁰² Salar is a *y*-language like Chagatai, literary Uzbek (and the so called *yoqčī*-dialects of the Colloquial Uzbek), East Turki, Osmanli, Turkmenian, etc.

⁹⁷ The Common Turkic consonant **d* (**δ*) before **i* or **i* results in *č* or *dž* in Salar. The form *ačix* goes back to **atiq* < **adiq* < **adiγ*. This word is, nevertheless, a loan word in Salar, because the regular development of final **iγ* is *i* and not *ix*.

⁹⁸ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁹⁹ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁰ INAN, *op. cit.*, p. 31; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹⁰¹ Aptullah BATTAL, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁰² RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 112-113; MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 26; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 185 ff.

P. 428 *yatmiş* "to lie down" (a verbal noun) = Dīvān *yat-*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 65 *yat-*, Karakalpak, Kazak *džat-* "to lie."

P. 428 *yüz* (ЮЗ) "face" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *yüz*, ET. 35 *yuz*, Kazak, Karakalpak *džüz* "face."

P. 428, R. 375 *ya* "bow" (for shooting) = Dīvān *ya*, Osm. *yay*, ET. 13 *ya* ~ *yar*, Karakalpak *džay* "bow."

P. 427 *yaγmür*, R. 374 *yaghmur* "rain" = Dīvān *yaγmur* ~ *yamγur*, Chag. *yamγur*, Uzb. *yamγür* ~ *yaγmur* ~ *yamγur*, ET. 94 *yamγur*, Kazak, Karakalpak *džamγür*, Kirg. *džamγür* "rain."

P. 427 *yoł* (ЙОЛ) "road" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 98 *yol*, Karakalpak, Kazak *džol* "road."

P. 427 *yulduz* (ЮЛДУЗ), R. 373 *yuldus* "star" = Dīvān, Chag. *yulduz*, Uzb. *yuldüz*, ET. 113 *yulduz*, Kazak, Karakalpak *džuldüz* "star."

P. 430 *yečim kši* "orphan" < **yetim kiši* "an orphaned person" = Chag., Uzb., Osm. *yetim* "orphan," Karakalpak *džetim* "orphan."

P. 431 *yaman* "bad" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *yaman* "bad, evil," ET. 8 *yāman* ~ *yaman*, Karakalpak *džaman* "bad, evil."

P. 431 *yumita* "egg," cf. R. 374 *umota* "egg" = Dīvān *yumurtγa*, Chag. *yumurtqa*, Uzb. *yumurqa*, Osm. *yumurta* "egg."

P. 431 *yüz* (ЮЗ), cf. R. 373 *pireus* < *bir yüz* "one hundred" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *yüz*, ET. 52 *yuz*, Kazak *džüz* "one hundred."

P. 428 *yumil* < **yüñil* < **yeñil* "light, not heavy" = Chag. *yeñil* ~ *yeñgil*, Uzb. *yeñil* "light, easy," ET. 65 *yäñgu-* "to be light," Karakalpak *džeñil* "light, not heavy."

P. 428 *yala* (ЯЛА) "to lick" = Chag., Uzb., ET. 65 *yala-*, Karakalpak *džala-* "to lick."

P. 427 *yalañaş* (ЯЛАНГАШЬ) "naked" = Chag. *yalañaç* ~ *yalañγaç* ~ *yalañqač*, Uzb. *yalañγaç*, ET. 76 *yalañγaç*, Karakalpak *džalañγaş* "naked."

P. 426 *yükürüb yür* (ЮКУРУБ ЮРЬ) "to run" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *yügür-*, ET. *yugur-* "to run," Karakalpak *džür-* "to run."

P. 427 *yer* (ЕРЬ), R. 373 *yir* "earth" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 31 *yer*, Karakalpak *džer* "earth."

P. 428 *yul* (ЮЛЬ) "spring, well" = Dīvān *yul* "spring."

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

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

P. 428 *džugurdux* < **džudruq* < **yudruq* "fist" = Dīvān *yudruq*, Altai *yudruq*, Kirg. *džuduruq*, Karakalpak *džudürüq*; Chag., Osm. *yumruq* "fist," the latter being influenced by *yumalaq* "ball, round."

¹⁰³ MENGES, *l. c.*; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

P. 431 *džigirme* "twenty," cf. R. 373 *igérmi* "twenty"¹⁰⁴ = Dīvān *yigirmi*, Chag., Uzb. *yigirmä*, ET. 126 *yigermä* "twenty," Karakalpak *džigirma* "twenty."

P. 431 *dže* "to eat" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 31 *ye-*, Kirg., Karakalpak *dže-* "to eat."

P. 430 *džarikči*, *džargan kši* "slave" < Mongolian: Mo. *jaru-*, Khalkha *dzar-* "to employ."

P. 429 *džida* "spear" < Mongolian: Mo. *jida*, Kh. *džada*, Buriat Khori *žada*, Buriat Ekhirit *yada*, etc. "spear."

P. 434 *džuab berdi* "he answered" < Arabic *jawāb* "answer."

The initial consonant *z* of foreign words is also rendered by *dž*:

P. 427 *džemin* "earth" = ET. 30 *zemin* < Persian *zamīn*.

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

P. 430 *иң* (ИНГ) "sleeve" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *yeң*, Osm. *yen* "sleeve."

P. 432 *йрла* "sing songs!" = Dīvān *yir-la*, Chag. *yir-la*, Karakalpak *džir-la* "to sing."

P. 431 *иди*, cf. R. 373 *yéte* "seven" = Dīvān, Chag. *yeti*, Uzb. *yetti*, ET. 105 *yete*, Osm. *yedi*, Kirgiz, Karakalpak *džeti* "seven."

P. 431 *итмш* "seventy," cf. R. 373 *yémush* = Chag., Uzb., ET. 105 *yetmš* "seventy."

P. 427 *илан* (ИЛЯН) "snake" = Dīvān, Chag. *yilan*, Uzb. *ilan*, Kirg. *džilan* "snake."

P. 428 *ıldirdžan* "lightning" = Dīvān *yaltur-* "to make fire," Chag. *yaltıra-* "to sparkle, glitter," Kirg. *džültıra-* "to glitter," Karakalpak *džüldürim* "lightning."

P. 431 *үзи* "cheek," cf. *yüz* "face," *vide supra*.

P. 429 *пил* (ПИЛЬ), cf. R. 373 *pilé* "this year" < **bu yıl* "this year."

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

P. 429 *ай*, R. 373 *ai* "moon, month" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *ay*, ET. 74 *āy* "moon."

P. 431 *пујни* "neck" (correctly: "his neck") = Dīvān *boyin* ~ *boyun*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 76 *boyun* "neck."

15. Prelingual consonants.

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

¹⁰⁴ The form *džigirme*, given by POTANIN is probably a Kazak form, while ROCKHILL's *igérmi* is what we should expect Salar to have.

¹⁰⁵ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 168-169; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 190; POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

beginning and at the end of words unless it results in č. The latter development will be discussed later.

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

P. 430 *tor* "net" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *tor*, ET. 77 *tor*~*to* "net."

P. 431 *tört* "four" (cf. R. 373 *tüé*) = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 40 *tort* "four."

P. 431 *tokuz*, R. 373 *tokos* "nine" = Dīvān, Chag. *toquz*~*toqquz*, Uzb. *toqquz*, ET. 77 *toqoz* "nine."

P. 430 *toi* "wedding" = Chag., Uzb., ET. 132 *toy* "a wedding festival."

P. 430 *toŋus* (ТОҢУС) "pig" = Dīvān *toŋuz*, Chag., Uzb. *toŋyuz*, ET. 86 *toŋ(g)oz* "pig."

P. 430 *taš kaya* "rock," R. 374 *tash* "stone" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 114 *taš* "stone."

P. 429 *ter* "perspiration" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *ter*, ET. 85 *tär* "perspiration."

P. 430 *tuz* "salt," R. 374 *t'ūs* "white salt" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 100 *tuz* "salt."

P. 431 *ton* "coat," R. 375 *t'un* "clothes" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 19 *ton* "coat."

P. 427 *temür*, R. 374 *témur* "iron" = Dīvān *temür*, Chag. *temür*, Uzb. *temür*~*temür*, ET. 57 *tumür* "iron."

P. 427 *tamür* "artery" = Dīvān *tamar*~*tamür*~*tamur*, Chag. *tamur*, Uzb. *tamür*, ET. 6 *tomor* "artery."

P. 426 *tüvä* (ТҮВӘ), R. 375 *teuyé* "camel" = Dīvān., Chag. *tewe*, Uzb. *tüyä*, ET. 15 *tivä* "camel."

P. 427 *armut*, R. 375 *armut* "pear" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *armut*, ET. 84 *a(r)mut* "pear."

P. 428 *kanat* "wing" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 135 *qanat* "wing."

P. 428 *at*, R. 375 *at* "horse" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 51 *at*~ET *āt* "horse."

P. 429 *bulut* "cloud" = Dīvān *bulit*~*bulut*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 19 *bulut* "cloud."

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

¹⁰⁶ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹⁰⁷ MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 30-34.

¹⁰⁸ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

guages.¹⁰⁹ Thus Salar is in this respect like Chagatai, Uzbek, and East Turki, but it differs, e. g., from Altai, Telengit, etc.

P. 426 *aš kaɨnatur* "to cook" = Dīvān, Uzb., ET 12. *qaynat-* "to boil."

P. 427 *otun* "fuel" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *otun*, ET. 41 *otun~otan* "fuel."

P. 427 *katun kšī* "woman," R. 374 *kadun* or *kadunksh* "woman" = Dīvān *qatun*, Chag. *χatun*, Uzb. *χatun~χatīn*, ET. 136 *χatyn*, Osm. *qadīn* "woman, lady."

P. 427 *ätü* (ЭТЭ), R. 373 *été* "to-morrow" = Dīvān, Chag. *erte*, Uzb. *ertä*, ET. 123 *ärtü* "to-morrow."

P. 427 *altun*, R. 374 *altan* or *altun* "gold" = Dīvān *altun*, Chag., ET. 44 *altun*, Uzb. *altīn* "gold."

P. 431 *otuz* "thirty," cf. R. 373 *utush* (!) = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *ottuz*, ET. 121 *otoz* "thirty."

P. 428 *otadži* "physician" = Dīvān, Chag. *otači*, cf. Mongolian *otači* < Uig. *otači* "physician, herbologist."

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

P. 431 *idi*, cf. R. 373 *yété* "seven" = Dīvān *yetti*, Chag. *yeti~yetti*, Uzb. *yetti*, Karakalpak *džeti*, Altai, Telengit *yätti*, etc.,¹¹¹ ET. 105 *yete*, Osm. *yedi* "seven."

17. The consonant *t* is probably greatly aspirated in Salar and this may explain why in a few cases POTANIN renders it with the Cyrillic letter ц = *ts*:

P. 427 *otzun* (ОТЗУН) ~ *otun* "fuel" = ET. 41 *otun* "wood, logs," Uzb. *otun* "a log for fire."

P. 427 *aī tsutseldži* "lunar eclipse": *tsutseldži* is a past tense of *tsutseł- < *tutul-* "to be eclipsed," Uzb. *tutul-* "to be kept," cf. Karakalpak *aī tutīlu* "lunar eclipse."

P. 429 *ötsig* (ОЦИГ) ~ *ütüg* (ҮТҮГ) "threshold," cf. Dīvān *öt-* "to pass, go through."

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

P. 431 *adči* < $*altī$, cf. R. 373 *alché* "six" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *altī*, ET. 108 *alte* "six."

¹⁰⁹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 158; cf. POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 319; cf. BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹¹⁰ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff.

¹¹¹ Further examples in MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

P. 434 *ačixči* < **ačiqti* "he became hungry" = Dīvān *ačiqti*, Chag., Uzb. *ačiq-* "to become hungry," Osm. *adžiq-* "to become hungry."

P. 430 *ardži* < **art* + possessive suffix *-i* "the back of the hand" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *art* "the hind side."

P. 428 *sačixčari* < **satīqči* *är* "merchant" = Dīvān *satīγ*, Chag. *satīq* "trade," Uzb. *satīq* "sale," Chag. *satquči* "tradesman, merchant."

P. 434 *otin kalab tosči* "all the fuel has burnt" where *tosči* is a past tense of *tos-*.

P. 429 *čuxür* (ЧУХУР) "to spit" = Chag. *tükürük* "spittle," Uzb. *tüfür-* "to spit," ET. 112 *tükür-*, Osm. *tükür-* "to spit."

P. 427 *čičin* "smoke" = Dīvān *tütün*, Chag., Uzb. *tütün*, ET. 109 *tütün* "smoke."

P. 431 *ton čixkuri* "to sew a coat" = Dīvān *tik-*, Uzb., ET. 105 *tik-* "to sew."

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

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

P. 430 *ayah* "foot," P. 429 *ayag čuyi* "foot sole" = Soyot, Karagas *adaq*, Yakut *atax*, Sagai, Shor *azaq*,¹¹⁵ Chag., Uzb., Osm., etc. *ayaq*, ET. 39 *ayaγ* "foot, leg."

P. 428 *kuirux* "tail" = Chag., Uzb., ET. 118 *quyruq*, cf. *quduruq*, *quzruq*, etc. "tail."¹¹⁶

P. 430 *tož* "wedding" = Chag., Uzb., ET. 132 *toy* "a wedding festival."

P. 429 *ülä* < **iylä* "noon" = Oghuz,¹¹⁷ Ibn Muḥannāh¹¹⁸ *üyle*, Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *üyläk* "noon," cf. Mo. *üde* "noon."

Before **i* or **ī* the consonant **d* results in *č* or *dž*:

P. 428 *ačix*, cf. R. 135 *isht atsé* "bear" = Dīvān *ađiγ*, Uzb. *ayiq*, ET. 9 *āyiq* "bear."

¹¹² INAN, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹¹³ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.

¹¹⁵ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

¹¹⁴ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 211-212.

¹¹⁶ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

¹¹⁷ BESİM ATALAY, *Divanı Lûgat-it-Türk dîzini* "Endeks," Ankara, 1943, p. 470.

¹¹⁸ Aptullah BATTAL, *Ibnü-Mühennâ Lûgati* (Istanbul nüshasının türkçe bölümünün endeksidir), Istanbul, 1934, p. 56.

The past tense is formed in the Turkic languages with the endings *-dim*, *-dīn*, *-dī*, etc.¹¹⁹ In Salar the consonant **d* of this ending has become *dž* under the influence of the following **i*. This development resembles greatly the development *d > ĵ* in Mongolian in which there is a verbal form in *-dži*: cf. Khalkha *-dži* of the past tense and of the so called *converbum imperfecti*,¹²⁰ = Mo. *-ĵuyui* < **ĵiyui* (past tense) and *-ĵu* < **ĵi* (*converbum imperfecti*).¹²¹

P. 434 *bičidži* "he wrote" = Dīvān *bitidi* "he wrote,"¹²² Khalkha *bišidži* "he wrote."

P. 434 *keni* (< **kelinni*) *aldži* (< **aldī*) "he married" ("he took a daughter-in-law") = Dīvān *aldī* "he took."¹²³

P. 433 *kar yagdži* "it snowed" (POTANIN's translation "it snows" is not correct), P. 433 *yagmur yagdži* "it rained" (verbatim: "rain rained," POTANIN translates as "it rains") = Dīvān *yaγdī* "it rained."¹²⁴

P. 433 *mus toγdži* (ТОНГДЖИ) "ice has frozen" = Dīvān *toγdī* "it froze."¹²⁵

P. 429 *ai kičilendži* "the moon has decreased" = Dīvān *kičikledi* "he considered him inferior" or "belittled him," "despised him."¹²⁶

P. 433 *mus iridži* "the ice has melted" = Dīvān *eritti* "he caused to melt."¹²⁷

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

P. 426 *tašinda* "outside" from *taš* "outside" = Dīvān *taš*, Uzb. *tašqari* "outside."

P. 428 *yultus*, R. 373 *yuldus* "star" = Dīvān, Chag. *yulduz*, Uzb. *yuldiz*, ET. 113 *yulduz*, Osm. *γıldiz* "star."

P. 427 *kündüsi* (КУНДЮСИ) "day" = Dīvān, Chag. *kündüz*, Uzb. *kündüz* ~ *kündiz*, ET. 25 *kunduz* "daytime," Osm. *gündüz* "the whole day."

P. 431 *sanduy* (САНДУЧ) "chest, trunk" = Chag. *sanduy*, Uzb. *sandiq* "chest" < Persian.

¹¹⁹ A. VON GABAIN, *Özbekische Grammatik*, Leipzig und Wien, 1945, p. 104; A. VON GABAIN, *Aittürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1950, p. 112.

¹²⁰ N. POPPE, *Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden, 1951, pp. 80, 85.

¹²¹ G. J. RAMSTEDT, "Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen," *MSFOu XIX* (1903), p. 106-107.

¹²² Besim ATALAY, *op. cit.*, p. 95-96.

¹²³ Besim ATALAY, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹²⁴ Besim ATALAY, *op. cit.*, p. 726.

¹²⁵ Besim ATALAY, *op. cit.*, p. 639.

¹²⁶ Besim ATALAY, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

¹²⁷ Besim ATALAY, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

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

- P. 426 *adäm* "Adam" = ET. 69 *adäm*, Osm. *adam* "man" < Arabic.
 P. 429 *čadır* "tent" = ET. 120 *čadır*, Osm. *čadır* "tent" < Persian.
 P. 426 *xudà* "God" = ET. 44 *χudā* "God" < Persian.
 P. 428 *sadix* "bow case" < Mongolian; cf. Khalkha *sādag*, Mo. *saγadaγ* "bow case."
 P. 431 *yatà* "to be tired," *yatamiš* "tired" < Mongolian; cf. Mo. *yada* "to be unable, to be tired."
 P. 431 *padīšax* "khan" = ET. 61 *padīšāh* "king," Osm. *padīšah* "king, sultan" < Persian.

Initial and final *d* of loan words becomes *t*:

- P. 431 *tastar* "turban" = Chag. *dastār* < Persian.
 P. 428 *kelit* "key" = Chag. *kilid* < Persian.

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

P. 434 *čikti* "he came out" in *teř čikti* "he perspired" (lit., "perspiration came out"), *kūñ čikkan yani* "east" ("the place of sun coming out") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *čiq-*, ET. *čiq-* "to come out."

P. 427 *čala* "to call" = Dīvān,¹²⁹ Chag., Uzb. *čarla-*, ET. 15 *čirla-* "to call."

P. 431 *čöb* "grass" = Chag. *čöp* "a grass stalk," Kirgiz *čöp* "dry grass," Karakalpak *šöp* "grass."

P. 426 *čina* "wolf" < Mongolian; cf. Middle Mongolian *činā*, Mogol *činō*, Khalkha *tšono*, Mo. *činua* "wolf." ROCKHILL (p. 375) has *puri* "wolf" = Kirg. *börü*, Uzb. *böri~börü* "wolf."

P. 426 *čamdža* "woman's dress" < Mongolian *čamča* "shirt."

P. 430 *küči ular par* "strong" (lit., "his strength is great") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *küč*, ET. 114 *kuč* "strength."

P. 429 *pičag iglari* "sharp" (this translation is not correct and should be "the edges of a knife"). Cf. R. 374 *pija* "knife" = Dīvān *büč-* "to cut," Chag., Uzb. *pičaq* "knife," ET. 61 *pičaq* "knife."

P. 428 & 431 *očag* "stove" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *očaq*, Osm. *odžaq* "fire place."

P. 429 *kütküdzü* "pasturer" in *kui kütküdzü* "shepherd" and in *at kütküdzü* "horse pasturer" = Dīvān *küt-* "to pasture," Chag. *kütküči* "pasturer."

P. 428 *temirdži* "black smith" = Dīvān *temürči*, ET. 57 *tumürčü* "iron smith," Osm. *demirdži* "smith."

P. 428 *otadžü* "physician" = Dīvān, Chag. *otači* "physician, herbologist."

¹²⁸ Cf. the Uzbek *nomen actoris* -čü / -či: VON GABAIN, *Özbekische Grammatik*, p. 32; cf. RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219.

¹²⁹ Besim ATALAY, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

Otherwise -č- results sometimes from *st and from -dž- < *j in loan words:

P. 427 *iči totax* "upper lip" = Dīvān *üstün* "superior," Uzb. *üst* "the upper side," *üstidä* "on, above," *üstigä* "on the top," Osm. *üstteki* "upper," ET. 127 *usti* "up."

P. 428 *kadža* "to bite" < Mongolian; cf. Mo. *qaja-*, Kh. *xadza-* "to bite."

P. 429 *ändžigä* "donkey" < Mongolian; cf. Mo. *eljigen*, Kh. *ildžig*, Kalm. *eldžᠡᠩᠭ᠋ᠢ* "donkey." ROCKHILL, p. 375, has *ésh* "ass" = Uzb. *ešäk* "ass, donkey."

22. In final position *č results in š. This development was noted by me in Chagatai, as represented in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, before the consonant *t*.¹³⁰ It occurs also in other Chagatai texts.¹³¹ In Karakalpak, Kazak, etc. it has resulted in š in all positions.¹³²

P. 428 *iški*, R. 375 *esko* "goat" = Dīvān *ečkü*, Chag. *öčkü*, Uzb. *ečki*, ET. 44 *äčgü* "goat."

P. 431 *üš*, R. 373 *ush* "three" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *üč*, ET. 122 *uč* "three."

P. 429 *iš* "to drink" = Dīvān *ičdi* "he drank," Chag, Uzb. *ič-* "to drink," but Chag. *ištiler* "they drank,"¹³³ Kazak, Karakalpak *iš-*, Bashkir *es-* "to drink."

P. 430 *kiliš* "sabre," R. 375 *kilish* "sword" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qilič*, ET. 117 *qilič* "sword," Karakalpak, Kazak *qliš* "sabre."

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

P. 426 *išinde* "within" = Uzb. *ičidä*, ET. 54 *ičidä* "in," Karakalpak *išindä* "in, within."

23. The Common Turkic spirant *s is represented in Salar by s in all positions. This is also the case in most Turkic languages with the exception of Bashkir, Turkmen, and Yakut.¹³⁴

P. 430 *sol äl* "left hand," cf. R. *ell* "hand" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 64 *sol* "left."

P. 430 *ax saš* "white haired," cf. R. 373 *ah'e* or *ah'aseu* (!) "white" = Dīvān, Uzb., ET. 47 *sač* "hair."

¹³⁰ POPPE, "Eine viersprachige Zamaxšari-Handschrift," p. 321.

¹³¹ BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 35; on *čt* > *št* cf. RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

¹³² MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹³³ POPPE, *l. c.*

¹³⁴ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

P. 430 *siŋne* "the younger sister," cf. R. 374 *éhé sanyé* "sisters" = Dīvān, Chag. *siŋil*, Uzb. *siŋil*, ET. 108 *siŋil* "younger sister."

P. 430 *sor* "ask!" = Chag. *sor-*, Uzb. *sora-*, ET. 7 *sora-* "to ask."

P. 428 *süt*, R. 374 *sut* "milk" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *süt*, ET. 72 *sut* "milk."

P. 426 *kusax* "belly" = Chag., Osm. *qursaq* "stomach," ET. 10 *qorsaq* "belly."

P. 427 *isi* "hot" = Dīvān *isig*, Chag. *isiγ~isiq*, Uzb, Kirg. *issiq*, Karakalpak, Kazak, Osm. *issī*, ET. 51 *ışşıq* "hot."¹³⁵

P. 427 *äsnä-* "to yawn" = Dīvān, Chag. *äsnä-*, Uzb. *esnä-* "to yawn."

24. The Common Turkic *š and also the sound š in loan words remain as š. In final position it is often soft and, therefore, transcribed by POTANIN as ṣ̌ (ШБ). Salar does not differ from most Turkic languages in the treatment of *š where it is represented by š. The situation is different, however, in Kazak and Karakalpak where *š has resulted in s.¹³⁶

P. 430 *šira* "a small table" < Mongolian; cf. Khalkha *širē*, Oirat *širē*, Mo. *sirege* "table."

P. 431 *šitan* "devil" = Uzb. *šaytan*, ET. 27 *šeytan* "devil" < Arabic.

P. 427 *paš*, R. 374 *pash* "head" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 48 *baš* "head."

P. 426 *aš kairatur* "to cook" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 39 *aš* "food."

P. 431 *atmš* "sixty," cf. R. 373 *hamish* = Chag., Uzb. *atmš*, ET. 108 *atmš* "sixty."

P. 431 *yitmiš*, R. 373 *yémush* "seventy" = Chag., Uzb. *yetmiš*, ET. 105 *yètmiš* "seventy."

P. 430 *kümš*, R. 374 *kumush* "silver" = Dīvān, Chag. *kümš*, Uzb. *kömüş*, ET. 107 *kumuš* "silver."

P. 430 *piya guš* "owl" = Chag., Uzb. *bay quš* "owl."

P. 431 *yakši* "good" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *yaχši*, ET. 44 *yaχši* "good."

P. 431 *kiši* "person" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kiši*, ET. 85 *kiši* "person."

P. 427 *küşe* "to chew" = Dīvān, Chag. *kewše-*, Uzb. *kävšä-* "to ruminate."

P. 427 *taš* "rock, stone," R. 374 *tash* "stone" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 114 *taš* "stone."

P. 427 *tiš* "tooth," R. 374 *t'ich* "teeth" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 123 *tiš* "tooth."

An unusual form is *iški*, R. 373 *ské* "two" = Dīvān *iki-ikki*, Chag., Uzb. *iki-ikki-eki*, Osm., Anatolian (Urfa), Yakut, etc. *ikki*,¹³⁷ where the intrusive š is a further development of *y before *k: *iki > *yiki > *yki > *ški > *iški*. This development occurs also

¹³⁵ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

¹³⁶ MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹³⁷ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

in the language of the Sarö Yögurs in Ma-chuan-tzū where we find *škō* "two."¹³⁸ It is to be noted that the initial **y* results in an *s*-sound (namely *ʃ*) also in Monguor spoken in Kansu, e. g., *ʃge* "big" = Mo. *yeke*; *ʃeniē-* "to laugh" < **yiniye-* < **iniye-* = Mo. *iniye-*, Kh. *inē-*, etc.¹³⁹ In IVANOVSKY'S Dagur material we also find words with an initial *ʃ* < **y*.¹⁴⁰

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

P. 427 *semiz* "fat" = Dīvān *semiz* ~ *semüz*, Chag., ET. 36 *semiz* "fat."

P. 431 *otuz* "thirty," cf. R. 373 *utush* (!) = Chag. *otuz* ~ *ottuz*, Uzb. *ottuz*, ET. 121 *otoz* "thirty."

P. 430 *tuz* "salt," R. 374 *t'us* "white salt" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 101 *tuz* "salt."

P. 430 *süs* "word" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 137 *söz* "word."

P. 431 *kos* "charcoal" = Chag. *qoz*, Osm. *qor* "hot coal, burning coal."

P. 427 *kis pala* "daughter, girl," cf. R. 374 *kézeu* "girl" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qiz*, ET. 24 *qiz* "girl."

P. 428 *kazın* "kettle" = Chag., Uzb., ET. 60 *qazan* "kettle."

P. 428 *tizin* "knee" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 61 *tiz* "knee."

P. 431 *kòzı* "lamb" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qozı*, ET. *qozı* "lamb."

26. Labial Consonants.

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

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

¹³⁹ A. de SMEDT, C. I. C. M. et A. MOSTAERT, C. I. C. M., *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les Mongols du Kansou occidental, III-e partie, Dictionnaire monguor-français, Pei-p'ing*, 1933, pp. 378, 375.

¹⁴⁰ A. O. ИВАНОВСКИЙ, *Образцы солонского и дахурского языковъ, Санктпетербургъ*, 1894; Н. Н. Поппе, *Дагурское наречие*, Ленинград, 1930, p. 137.

¹⁴¹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁴² RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

P. 427 *paš* "head" ~ P. 431 *ii baši* "house master" ("the head of the household"), R. 374 *pash* "head" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 48 *baš* "head."

P. 432 *bar* "is" ~ P. 427 *var* "is" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 57 *bar*, Anat., Azerb. *var*, Crimean *war* "is."¹⁴³

P. 432 *temir ver* "give some iron!" ~ P. 432 *satı ber* "sell!" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *ber-*, Osm. *ver-*, Azerb. *vär-*, Crimean *ver-* "to give."

P. 432 *vagur* "go!" < **vargül* = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *bar-*, Osm. *var-* "to go."

P. 427 *vax* "to watch" = P. 428 *baxumdži* "physician" ("one who takes care") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 67 *baq-* "to look, to take care."

In a few cases, the initial *v* is a prothetic consonant before a rounded vowel. In other words, in these cases, it is by origin a "consonantized vowel," e. g.:

P. 430 *vur* "to shoot" < **ur-* "to beat" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. *ur-* "to beat," Osm. *vur-* "to beat." Such cases occur in Turkic languages, e. g. ET. *vopuš* "kiss" < **öpüş*; Osm. *vur-* "to beat" < **ur-*, etc.¹⁴⁴

POTANIN'S material contains, among others, the following isolated words with an initial *p*:

P. 427 *pala* "child," cf. R. 374 *balaksh* < *bala kiši* = Dīvān *bala* "a young animal or bird," Uzb., ET. 18 *bala* "child."

P. 428 *pal* "honey" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *bal* "honey."

P. 431 *pır*, R. 373 *pır* "one" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., Osm. *bır*, ET. 80 *bi(r)* "one."

P. 430 *palta*, R. 374 *palta* "axe" = Chag. *baltu*, Uzb. *balta*, ET. 7 *paltı* "axe."

P. 426 *pilü* "hone" < Mongolian; cf. Khalkha *bilü*, Mo. *bilegüü* "hone."

P. 431 *pürè* "trumpet" < Mongolian; cf. Kh. *bürè*, Mo. *büriye* "trumpet."

The following words occur only with *b-*:

P. 430 *bars*, cf. R. 375 *pass* "tiger" = Dīvān, Chag. *bars*, Uzb. *yolbars*, ET. 122 *ba(r)s* "tiger."

P. 429 *bulut* "cloud" = Dīvān *bulut* ~ *bulüt*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 19 *bulut* "cloud."

P. 426 *borsug* "badger" = Uzb. *borsuq*, Karakalpak *porsiq*, Osm. *porsuq*, Bashkir *burhıq*, Kazan Tatar *bursaq* "badger" > Russian барсук.

P. 429 *basa gün* (ГУНЬ) "the day after to-morrow," cf. R. 373 *pa-sagon* = Dīvān *basa* "after, later."

P. 426 *bar kši* "rich" (the opposite of *yoq kši* "poor man," "a man with nothing"), cf. R. 376 *parkish* "rich" = Dīvān *bar* "big, great" (semantics: "is"—"big"—"rich" like Russian БОГАТЫЙ and Ukrainian БОГАТО "much"), Chag. *bar* "is" and "property," Osm. *var* "is" and "property."

P. 427 *bazır* "city" = Chag., Uzb., ET. 70 *bazar* "market, bazaar" < Persian.

¹⁴³ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

27. The Common Turkic **b* in final position has disappeared in Salar. The intermediate stage was probably **w* or **v* as in many other Turkic languages.¹⁴⁵

P. 426 *su* < **sub* "water" ~ P. 428 *suγ* (CYX) with a secondary *γ*, R. 374 *su* "water" = Ancient Turkic *sub*, Dīvān, Turkmen, Uzb. *su*, Osm., Azerb. *su*, etc.,¹⁴⁶ ET. 131 *su* "water."

P. 427 *küşe*- < **keüşe*- < **kebiše*- "to chew" = Dīvān, Chag. *keüşe*-, Uzb. *kävšä*-, Osm. *geüşe*- "to ruminate" = Mongolian: Mo. *kebide*-, Kalm. *kew*- "to ruminate."¹⁴⁷

P. 427 *üi* < **üb* "house" (cf. R. 374 *oyé* or *ōwē*) = Ancient Turkic *üb*, Dīvān *äv*, Osm. *ev*, Azerb. *öv*, Turkm. *öy*, Kazak *üy*, etc. "house."¹⁴⁸

P. 426 *tüvä* < **täbä* or **tävü* "camel," R. 375 *teuyé* = Dīvān, Chag. *tävä*, Coman *tövä*, Uzb. *tüyä*, Osm. *deve*,¹⁴⁹ ET. 15 *tivä* ~ *tugä* (with a secondary *g*) "camel."

P. 426 *tavax* "dish" = Osm., Kazan *tabaq*, Uzb. *täbâq* ~ *tävâq*, etc.,¹⁵⁰ ET. 28 *tabaq* (*tavaq*) "dish."

P. 431 *tovar* "silk" = Dīvān *tavar* "property," Chag., Osm. *tavar* "domestic animals," Taranchi *tabar* "silken stuff," etc.,¹⁵¹ ET. 107 *tavar* "silk," cf. Mongolian *ed tavar* "property, goods" > Russian ТОВАР.

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

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

¹⁴⁵ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-184, 186; BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 27; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 28; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. G. J. RAMSTEDT, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki, 1935, p. 229.

¹⁴⁸ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁵⁰ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

¹⁵¹ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁵² G. J. RAMSTEDT, "Ein anlautender stimmloser Labial in der mongolisch-türkischen Ursprache," *JSFOu* 32:2 (1916).

¹⁵³ Martti RÄSÄNEN, "Sprachliche Miscellen," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 19, pp. 101-103; RÄSÄNEN, *Zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, p. 150.

¹⁵⁴ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-172.

P. 427 *sipsä* "broom" = Dīvān *süpürgü*, Chag. *süpürgü* ~ *süpürgi*, Uzb. *süpürgi*, ET. 14 *supurgi*, Mo. *sigür* < **sißür* "broom."

P. 428 *köb* "much, many" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *köp*, ET. 70 *kop* "many."

P. 431 *čöb* "grass" = Chag. *čöp* "grass stalk," Kirg. *čöp* "dry grass."

P. 430 *sap* "handle" (of a tea pot) = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *sap* "handle of a knife."

P. 428 *yarvax* < **yapraq* "leaf" = Dīvān *yapur-yaq*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 64 *yapraq* "leaf."

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

P. 428 *kümir* (КУМЫР) "bridge" = Dīvān *köprüg*, Chag., Uzb. *köprük*, ET. 13 *kupruk* ~ *kovruk* "bridge."

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

29. The Nasals.

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

The consonant $*m$ is in all positions represented by m . Also, where in the language of the Orkhon inscriptions and in Osmanli there is an initial b followed by a nasal (either in the following syllable or closing that beginning with b),¹⁵⁶ we find in Salar the consonant m . Salar also has the consonant m instead of the initial b in a few words not containing a nasal in the following syllable.¹⁵⁷

P. 431 *mīŋ* (МИНГ) "one thousand," cf. R. 373 *pirming* < *pīr* "one" and *mīŋ* "thousand" = Orkhon *biŋ*, Osm. *bin*, Dīvān *mīŋ*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 122 *mīŋ* "one thousand."

P. 430 *men* (МЕНЬ), R. 376 *men* "I" = Orkhon *bän*, Osm. *ben*, Dīvān *män*, Chag., Uzb. *men* ~ *män*, ET. 53 *män* "I."

P. 430 *moŋus* (МОНГУС) "horn" = AT. (Uig.) *müŋüz* ~ *mīŋiz* ~ *müyüz*, Dīvān, Chag. *müŋüz*, Uzb. *mögüz*, Turfan *muŋuz*, ET. 51 *muŋuz*, Tar. *müŋüs* (Le Coq *muŋgus*), Osm. *boynuz*, etc. "horn."¹⁵⁸

P. 428 *mīns* (МЫНС, probably *mīŋis*) "brain" = AT. (Uig.) *māŋi* ~ *mīŋi*, Dīvān *mīŋi*, Chag. *māyın*, ET. 13 *mīŋä*, Blk. *mīyis*, etc.¹⁵⁹

P. 428 *muz* "ice" = Dīvān, Chag. *muz*, ET. 53 *muz* "ice."

P. 431 *kamış* "reeds" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qamış*, ET. 96 *qumuş* "reeds."

¹⁵⁵ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160; cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

¹⁵⁷ For $*b- > m$ in stems not containing nasal consonants cf. RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 152; cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

¹⁵⁸ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

¹⁵⁹ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

P. 427 *temir* (ТЕМЫР), R. 374 *témur* "iron" = Dīvān, Chag. *temür*, Uzb. *temir*, ET. 57 *tymur* "iron."

P. 430 *yumita*, R. 374 *umota* "egg" = Dīvān *yumurt-ya*, Chag. *yumurtqa*, Uzb. *yumurtqa* "egg."

30. The consonants *n* and *ŋ* are represented as *n* and *ŋ* respectively. The final *n* is often rendered by ПОТАНИН with НЬ (= *n̂*) while *ŋ* is transcribed НГ (= *ng*) in the middle of words and Н (= *n*) at the end of words. This system reminds one of the Russian Sinological transcription in which the Chinese *-n* is rendered by НЬ, while the Chinese *-ng* is transcribed as НЪ (or Н in post-Revolutionary books).

P. 430 *moŋus* (МОНУС) "horn," *vide supra*.

P. 431 *miŋ* (МИНГ) "one thousand," *vide supra*.

P. 428 *koŋri* (КОНГРЫ) "bell" = Dīvān *qoŋraγu*, Chag. *qoŋraq*, Kirg. *qoŋγrō*, ET. 10 *qoŋγraq* "bell."

P. 430 *iŋer* (ИНГЕР) "saddle" (with a secondary *ŋ* < **g* < **y* < **d*) = Dīvān *eđer*, Krg. *äzär*, Sag. *izär*, Coman, Osm. *äyär*, Chag., Tar. *ägär*, Uzb. *egär*, etc.,¹⁶⁰ ET. 101 *igär* "saddle."

P. 431 *yüŋ* (ЮН) "wool" = AT. (Uig.), Dīvān, Trkm. *yüŋ* "hair, wool," Küär. *yul* "feather," etc.,¹⁶¹ Chag., Uzb. *yüŋ*, ET. 137 *yul* "wool."

31. The Liquids.

The liquid sounds **r* and **l* are generally represented by *r* and *l* respectively. In Salar the consonant *r* remains in final and medial positions but is dropped at the end of syllables before the consonant *t* or *s*. An inconsistent disappearance of the consonant *r* before other consonants occurs in all Turkic languages. Thus RADLOFF shows the disappearance of the consonant *r* in verbal endings originating from the auxiliary verb *tur* in Kazak (in his terminology "Kirgiz"), Shor, and Sagai.¹⁶² The plural suffix *-lar* has lost its *r* in Karachai in the Northern Caucasus.¹⁶³ The disappearance of *r* before consonants is frequent in East Turki¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁶¹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁶² RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

¹⁶³ From my recollection. My material on the Karachai language was lost during World War II. This observation, however, is not new, because it was already made by W. PRÖHLE in his "Karatschaische Studien," *Keleti Szemle* 10; cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

¹⁶⁴ JARRING, *op. cit.*, p. 114. The examples to which reference is made concern the groups *-rp-* > *p*, *-ry-* > *y*, *-rz-* > *z*, *-rq-* > *q*, *-rγ-* > *γ*, and *-rl-* > *l*.

and this phenomenon constitutes the most characteristic common trait of both East Turki and Salar. This phenomenon seems to be rather old and BROCKELMANN has indicated the disappearance of *r* before a consonant in the dictionary *Dīvān Luḡāt at-Turk* and in other old sources.¹⁶⁵

a.

P. 426 *bar kši*, R. 376 *parkish* "rich" = ET. 57 *bar* "is."

P. 426 *yür* (юрь) "to run" = Chag. *yüri-~yürü-*, Uzb. *yür-~yürü-* "to run," ET. 130 *yur-* "to walk."

P. 426 *sorma* "vodka," R. 374 *sorma* "wine" = ? Osm., Uzb., Karakalpak *šarap* "wine" < Arabic.

P. 427 *armut*, R. 375 *armut* "pear" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *armut*, ET. 84 *a(r)mut~amrud* "pear."

P. 427 *yagmür*, R. 374 *yagmur* "rain" = Dīvān *yaγmur~yamγur*, Chag. *yamγur*, Uzb. *yamγür~yaγmur~yamγur*, ET. 94 *yamγur* "rain."

P. 428 *yarvax* "leaf" = Dīvān *yapurγaq*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 64 *yapraq* "leaf."

P. 429 *burun* "nose" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 78 *burun* "nose."

b.

P. 431 *yumita*, R. 374 *umota* "egg" = Dīvān *yumurtγa*, Chag. *yumurtqa*, Uzb. *yumurqa* "egg."

P. 427 *ätä*, R. 373 *été* "tomorrow," P. 431 *ätäsi* "morning" = Dīvān, Chag. *erte*, Uzb. *ertä*, ET. 74 *ärtä* "morning."

P. 429 *otu* "middle," P. 430 *paš otasi* "the top of the head" (lit., "the middle of the head") = Dīvān *ortu~otra*, Chag., Uzb. *orta*, ET. 72 *oträ* "middle."

P. 431 *gut* "worm" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qurt*, ET. 137 *qurut* "worm."

P. 428 *aslan* "lion" = Dīvān, Chag. *arslan*, Osm., Azerb. *aslan* "lion."

32. POTANIN distinguishes between two types of *l*. The dull *l* (= *l̥*, Russian л) is rendered with л, while the front *l* (= the French or German *l*) is transcribed as лб at the end of syllables. In other positions the front articulation of *l* is indicated by vowels (я, ю).

P. 426 *sagał*, R. 374 *sah'al* "beard" = Chag., Uzb., ET. 9 *saqal* "beard."

P. 427 *attun*, R. 374 *altan* or *altun* "gold" = Dīvān *altun~altin*, Chag. *altun*, Uzb. *altin*, ET. 44 *altyn* "gold."

P. 428 *yütus*, R. 373 *yıldus* "star" = Dīvān, Chag. *yulduz*, Uzb. *yuldiz*, ET. 113 *yulduz* "star."

P. 428 *oγul pata*, R. 374 *öll* "son" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *oγul*, ET. 110 *oγol* "son."

P. 427 *palčig* (пальчиг) "mud" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *balčiq*, ET. 75 *pätiq* "mud."

¹⁶⁵ BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

P. 427 *ilan* (ИЛЯН) "snake" = Dīvān, Chag. *yılan*, Uzb. *ilan*, ET. 109 *yılan* "snake."

P. 427 *kül* (КУЛЬ) "ashes" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kül*, ET. 7 *kul* "ashes."

P. 428 *äl* (ЭЛЬ) "hand" = Dīvān *elig*, Chag. *elik*, ET. 47 *äl* "hand."

P. 431 *til* (ТИЛЬ) "tongue," R. 374 *tili* "tongue" (correctly: "his tongue") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. ET. 123 *til* "tongue."

In a few cases the final **l* of a syllable before *t* disappears. This development occurs irregularly in all Turkic languages,¹⁶⁶ and, particularly in Karakalpak, a final *l* often disappears before a suffix, unless it is a case suffix which begins with a consonant.¹⁶⁷ The disappearance of the consonant *l* before *t* is old in the verb *keltür-* > *kitür-* "to bring" and is attested to in old sources.¹⁶⁸

P. 432 *otur* "sit down!" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 108 *oltur-*, Osm., Kazak *otur-*, Sag. *odür-*, Soyot *olur-~odur-*, Oïrot *ottur-*, Ancient Turkic *olur-*, Yakut *olor-* "to sit down."¹⁶⁹

33. The Vowels.

Because POTANIN was not a linguist nor trained in phonetics, he renders the Salar vowels approximately. He frequently does not distinguish between *u* and *ü*, and is inaccurate also in other aspects. It is difficult to judge from his manner of transcribing whether the vowel *e* is closed or open, i. e. whether the vowel in question is *e*, *ɛ* or *ä*. It is not possible either to determine whether the vowels *ö* and *ü* in Salar have the same quality as the corresponding vowels in Anadolu pronunciation (*ö* and *ü*), German (*ö* and *ü*) and French (*eu* and *u*) or whether they are central (mixed) vowels, i. e., *o* and *u* (otherwise transcribed as *o* and *u* respectively) as in Volga Tatar, Bashkir,¹⁷⁰ Karakalpak,¹⁷¹ East Turki,¹⁷² and some other Turkic languages. Nevertheless, one who does not insist on details is able to get a general picture of the vocalism of the Salar language.

¹⁶⁶ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁶⁷ MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁶⁸ BROCKELMANN, *l. c.*

¹⁶⁹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

¹⁷⁰ N. K. DMITRIEV, "Étude sur la phonétique bachkire," *JA* 209 (1927) 211.

¹⁷¹ MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 24-25; S. WURM, "The Karakalpak Language," *Anthropos* 46 (1951) 501.

¹⁷² JARRING, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

As a general remark it should be said that in Salar there is no distinction between primary (Common Turkic) long and short vowels. For example, the word **ōt* "fire" (versa **ot* "grass") occurs with *o*:

P. 429 *ot* "fire," with *o* as in *otun*~*otzun* (probably *oθun*) "wood" in P. 427, etc.¹⁷³

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

P. 427 *tag* "mountain" = Oirot, Telengit *tū*, Dīvān, Chag. *taγ* "mountain."

P. 428 *ogul pala* (however, R. 374 has *ōll*) "boy, son" = Abakan *ōl*, Telen-git *ūl*, Chag. *oγul* "son."

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

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

P. 426 *arux* "irrigation ditch" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *arīq*, ET. 29 *arīq* "ditch, canal."

P. 426 *agrīg* "sick" = Dīvān *aγrīg*, Chag. *aγrīg*~*aγrīg* "sick," Uzb. *aγrī* "to ail," ET. 107 *aγrīg* "sick."

P. 427 *kaz* "goose" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qaz*, ET. 44 *γaz* "goose."

P. 426 *yaχīn* (ЯХЫН) "near" = Dīvān, Chag. *yaqīn* "near."

P. 427 *yagmīr* (ЯГМЫР), R. 374 *yaghmur* "rain" = Dīvān *yaγmur*, Chag. *yamγur*, Uzb. *yamγīr*~*yaγmur*~*yaγmīr*, ET. 94 *yamγur* "rain."

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

¹⁷³ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 115, 127.

¹⁷⁵ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁷⁶ RÄSÄNEN, *l. c.*

P. 429 *osman* "sky" = ET. 108 *āsmān* "sky" < Arabic.

P. 430 *koǰkà* "rib" = ET. 98 *qabur-yā* "rib."

P. 430 *sovan* "plough" = Tatar *saban*, Bashkir *haban* "plough."

P. 431 *tovar* "silk" = Dīvān *tavar* "property," Taranchi *tabar* "bright silken stuff with a floral design," etc., cf. Mo. *tavar* "property" > Russian *товар* "goods."

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

Another phenomenon is the palatalization of the vowel **a* under the influence of an initial *y* or a following *y* (*ĭ*).¹⁷⁷ In Salar the following examples of **a* > *i* (or *é* according to ROCKHILL) are found:

P. 428 *ü*, R. 373 *yé* < **yay* "summer" = Dīvān *yay* "spring," Chag. *yay* "summer," Uzb. *yay* "spring."

P. 428 *ıldirdžan* < **yaltırčan* "lightning" = Chag. *yaltıra-* "to sparkle, to glimmer," Chag. *yıldırım*, Osm. *yıldırım* "lightning," cf. Uzb. *yalqın* "flame."

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

P. 426 *yok* (йок) *kši* "poor"¹⁷⁸ = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 77 *yoq* "no."

P. 431 *sok* (= *sōq?*) *su* "cold water"¹⁷⁹ = Dīvān *so-yuq*, Uzb. *savuuq*, ET. 19 *sawuuq* "cold."

¹⁷⁷ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁷⁸ ROCKHILL, *op. cit.*, p. 376 has *yarkish* "poor." This can be a distorted *yoγ kši* = *yoq kši* "a poor person," unless *yar* is somehow connected with Turkic *yār* "friend" < Persian.

¹⁷⁹ ROCKHILL does not have this word, but gives *tsormo* "cold" (p. 376) which I cannot identify.

P. 428 *tox* (*tōx* ?) "hen," cf. R. 374 *t'oh* "chicken" = ET. 49 *toxī*~*toxa* "hen," Dīvān *taqa-γu*, cf. Mo. *takiya* "hen," but Manchu *čoqo* "hen."

P. 427 *otun*~*otzun* (*oθun* ?) "wood, fuel" = ET. 41 *otun*~*otan* "fuel."

P. 427 *yoł* "road" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 99 *yoł* "road."

P. 426 *ullè* "big" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 45 *uluγ* "great."

P. 426 *su*~P. 428 *sux*, R. 374 *su* (or *ossu*)¹⁸⁰ "water" = Dīvān *suν*, Chag. *su*, Uzb. *suν*, ET. 131 *su* "water."

P. 431 *yumīta*, R. 374 *umota* (*u* is to be pronounced, obviously, like English *u*, i. e., *yu*) "egg" = Dīvān *yumurt-γa*, Chag. *yumurtqa*, Uzb. *yumurqa* "egg."

P. 421 *burun* "nose," R. 374 *purui* (obviously a distorted *burni* or *purni* "his nose") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 78 *burun* "nose."

P. 427 *yulduz* (ЮЛДУЗ), R. 373 *yulduz* "star" = Dīvān, Chag. *yulduz*, Uzb. *yuldiz*, ET. 113 *yulduz* "star."

P. 430 *tušan geme* "gopher" (Russian СЕНОСТАВКА) with a secondary *u* < **av*~**ab* in *tušan* "hare" (*tušan geme* means lit., "hare mouse" or "rabbit mouse") = Dīvān *tavišqan*, Chag. *taušqan*, ET. 47 *tawšqan*~*tošqan* "hare."

There is only one example of *i* < **u*:

P. 429 *tīšax* "nostril" = Chag. *tumčūq* "beak, snout," ET. 78 *tymšūq* "nose."

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

In several cases, the difference between the vocalism in POTANIN'S material and the data of other Turkic languages may be based on POTANIN'S errors, e. g., P. 429 *kūi* *kūt*~*kūdzi* "shepherd"~P. 426 *koī* "sheep." Cf. R. 374 *koyē* "mutton" = Uzb., ET 106 *qoy* "sheep"; P. 431 *uxu* "to read" instead of *oxu* = Uzb. *oqu*-, ET. 95 *oqo*- "to read."

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

P. 427 *kīs pała* "daughter," cf. R. 374 *ke'zeu* "girl" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qiz*, ET. 24 *qis* "daughter."

P. 427 *kīš*, R. 373 *kish* "winter" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qış*, ET. 135 *qış* "winter."

¹⁸⁰ The form *ossu* is obviously a Mongolian form, cf. Mo. *usun*, Khalkha *usub*, Urdu *usu*, Kalm. *uṣṣ* "water," etc.

¹⁸¹ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁸² RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

P. 428 *tirnaq* "nail," R. 374 *terna* "finger nail" = Dīvān *tirnaq*, Chag., Uzb. *tirnaq*, ET. 76 *tirmaq* "nail."

P. 428 *kizil* (КЫЗЫЛ) "red" (ROCKHILL has on p. 374 *il* "red" and the preceding word is *keuzeu* "yellow." This is, of course, a misunderstanding and both words have to be put together as *keuzeuil* = *kizil* "red" and not "yellow") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qizil*, ET. *qizil* "red."

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

P. 427 *ilan* (ИЛАН) < **yilan* "snake" = Dīvān, Chag. *yilan*, Uzb. *ilan*, ET. 109 *yilan*, Osm. *yilan* "snake."

P. 427 *irax* < **yirraq* "far" = Dīvān *yirraq*, Chag. *yirraq*, ET. 36 *yirraq*, Osm. *irraq* "far."

P. 426 *kün čikkan yarı* "east" ("the place where sun comes out") = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *čiq-*, ET. 20 *čiq-* "to come forth."

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

P. 426 *ugri* "thief" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *oγri*, ET. 121 *oγri*, cf. Kirg. *ūru* "thief."

P. 431 *közä* "lamb" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qozä*, ET. 62 *qozä*, Osm. *quzä*, Kirg. *qozu* "lamb."

P. 431 *yumita*, R. 374 *umota* "egg" = Dīvān *yumurtqa*, Chag. *yumurtqa*, Uzb. *yumurqa* "egg."

P. 430 *kümüş* (КҮМЫШЬ),¹⁸⁴ R. 374 *kumush* "silver" = Dīvān *kümüş*, Chag. *kümüš*, Uzb. *kömüş*, ET. 107 *kümüš* "silver."

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

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

P. 430 *moḡus* (МОНҒУС) "horn" = Dīvān *müḡüz*, Chag. *müḡüz*, Uzb. *mögüz*, ET. 51 *muḡuz* ~ *muḡuz*, Osm. *boynuz* (probably influenced by the word *boyun* "neck") "horn."

P. 427 *altun* (АЛТУНЬ), R. 374 *altan* (probably a Mongolian form) ~ *altun* "gold" = Dīvān, Chag. *altun*, Uzb. *altin*, Osm. *altin*, ET. 44 *altun* "gold."

¹⁸³ Cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff. A thorough discussion of the labial harmony and labial attraction is found in MENGES, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.; cf. WURM, *op. cit.*, p. 504.

¹⁸⁴ The vowel *i* instead of *i* can be explained by the fact that in Russian *и* palatalizes the preceding consonant, but the Turkic vowel *i* does not palatalize the consonant. The vowel *i* not palatalizing the preceding consonant is often presented by Russians with *ы* (= *i*).

- P. 429 *yarimtuq* "half" = Chag. *yarimčūq*, cf. Mo. *jarimduγ* "half."
 P. 430 *aruq* "slim" = Dīvān *aruq* "tired," Chag. *aruq*, Uzb. *arīq* "slim."
 P. 430 *xatun* "thick" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *qalīn*, ET. 121 *qāliṅ* "thick."
 P. 430 *katun kšī*, R. 374 *kadun* or *kadunksh* (= *kadun kšī*) "woman" = Dīvān *qatun*, Chag. *χatun*, Uzb. *χatīn~χatun*, ET. 135 *χatun* "woman."
 P. 430 *karangu* "dark" = Dīvān *qaraṅγu*, Chag. *qaranqu*, Uzb. *qaranγu*, ET. 24 *qarāṅγu*, Kirg. *qaraṅγū*, Bashkir *qaraṅγū* "dark."
 P. 431 *agu* "poison" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *aγu*, Osm. *aγī*, Bashkir *aγū* "poison."
 P. 431 *sanduy* (САНДУХ) "chest, trunk" = Chag. *sanduy*, Uzb. *sandīq*, ET. 17 *sandōq* "chest" < Persian.

The suffix *-liγ / -luγ* is *-lūg* in P. 430 *kūšlūg* "strong." This suffix appears in some Turkic languages with *ī / i*, in others with *u / ū* whereby the rounded vowel is not always due to the influence of the preceding syllable.¹⁸⁵

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

- P. 429 *köl* (КÖЛЬ) "lake" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 62 *köl* "lake."
 P. 427 *köz* (KÖЗЬ) "eye," R. 374 *kuso* (!) or *kos* = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 35 *köz* "eye."
 P. 431 *tört* "four," cf. R. 373 *tüé* (!) = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *tört*, ET. 40 *tört*, Osm. *dört* "four."
 P. 427 *kül* (КҮЛЬ) "ashes" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kül*, ET. 7 *kul* "ashes."
 P. 427 *tün* (ТЮНЬ) "yesterday" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *tün* "night," ET. 138 *tünäkun* "yesterday."
 P. 426 *kün* (КҮНЬ) *čikkan yani* "east," P. 427 *kündüs* (КУНДЮСИ and this means correctly "his day") "day," R. 373 *kun* "sun" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kün*, ET. 25 *kun* "day."
 P. 426 *yükürüb yür* (ЮКУРУБ ЮРЬ) "to run" = Dīvān, Chag. *yügür-*, Uzb. *yügür~yügür-*, ET. 100 *yugur-* "to run."
 P. 429 *ülä* (ҮЛÄ) "noon" = Dīvān *üdlek*, Chag., Uzb. *üylak* "noon." Cf. Mo. *üde* "noon."

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

- P. 431 *gümür* (ГҮМЫР), R. 374 *kuomeur* "coal" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *kömür*, ET. 19 *kumur~kömür* "coal."
 P. 430 *süs* (СҮСЬ) "word" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 137 *söz* "word."

¹⁸⁵ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 97; cf. VON GABAIN, *Özbekische Grammatik*, p. 35; cf. A. VON GABAIN, *Altürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1950, p. 47-48; BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 54; POPPE, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-326; MENGES, *op. cit.*, p. 27; cf. Vilhelm THOMSEN, "Inscriptions de l'Orkhon," *MSFOu* V, p. 13.

¹⁸⁶ RADLOFF, *op. cit.*, p. 86; cf. RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

P. 428 *kümir* (кумыр) “bridge” = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *köprük*, ET. 13 *kupruk* ~ *kovruk* “bridge.”

P. 426 *tış kürmiş* (курмиш) “one who saw a dream” = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 104 *kör-* “to see,” cf. *Konya guren* < **gōrān* “seeing.”¹⁸⁷

P. 427 *kürgündžüx* “dove” = Dīvān *kökürčkün*, Chag. *kövercken*, Osm. *güverdžin* “dove.”

Under the influence of the consonant *š* < **š* and *š* < **č* the vowels *ö* and *ü* developed into *i*. This development is known in Turkic, though effected by other causes.¹⁸⁸

P. 428 *tış* < **tüş* “dream” = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 29 *tüş* “dream.”

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

P. 428 *iški* < **ički*, R. 375 *esko* “goat” = Dīvān *ečkü*, Uzb. *ečki*, ET. *äčgü*, cf. Chag. *öčkü*, etc. “goat.”

38. The vowel **ä* is represented as *ä* (Ә) or *e* (Е). Once РОТАНИН writes Ы.¹⁸⁹

P. 429 *ät* (ЭТ) “meat” = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *et*, ET. 71 *ät* “meat.”

P. 427 *ätä* (ЭТӘ) < **ärtä*, R. 373 *été* “tomorrow” = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *ertä* “morning, tomorrow,” ET. 74 *ärtä* “morning.”

P. 427 *semiz* “fat” = Dīvān, Chag., ET. 36, Osm. *semiz* “fat.”

P. 427 *emdžix* “breast” = Chag., Uzb. *emčak*, ET. 13 *ämček* “breast.”

P. 428 *mñžzi* (МЫНЖЗИ) “forehead” = Dīvān, Chag. *meñiz*, Osm. *beniz* “face.”

Common Turkic had two vowels of the *e*-type: **ä* discussed above, and another one which was *é*, i. e., a narrow (or closed) *e*.¹⁹⁰ In Salar, **é* has resulted in *i*:

P. 431 *idi* < **yéti*, cf. R. 373 *yéte* “seven” = Uzb. *yetti*, ET. 105 *yete* “seven,” Ienissei inscr. *yétmiş* “seventy,” Chuvash *šitšə* “seven.”

P. 431 *čidžek* (чичжек) < **čėček* “flower” = Dīvān, Uzb. *čėčäk* “flower,” ET. 39 *čičäk* “blossom.”

P. 430 *iŋ* (ИНГ) < **yəŋ* “sleeve” = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb. *yeŋ* “sleeve.”

P. 430 *iläx* < **eläk* “sieve” = Dīvān, Chag. *elge-* “to sift, to screen,” Uzb. *eläk* “sieve.”

¹⁸⁷ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁸⁸ RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 96.

¹⁸⁹ The back pronunciation of *e* (= *e*) is common in Buriat. The Russians always transcribe it as Ы. The famous Mongolist Tseben ŽAMCARANO wrote his name ЦЫБЕН.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Vilhelm THOMSON, “Une lettre méconnue des inscriptions de l’Iénissei,” *JSFOu* XXX:4, p. 9; N. POPPE, “Türkisch-tschuwassische vergleichende Studien,” *Islamica* I, pp. 410 ff.; RÄSÄNEN, *op. cit.*, p. 88-89.

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

P. 427 *tış*, R. 374 *tich* "tooth" = Dīvān *tış* < **tış*, Chag., Uzb., ET. 123 *tış* "tooth."

P. 431 *pir*, R. 373 *pir* "one" = Dīvān, Chag., Uzb., ET. 80 *bir* "one."

P. 431 *džigirme*, R. 373 *igérmi*¹⁹¹ "twenty" = Dīvān, Chag. *yigirmi*, Uzb. *yigirmä*, ET. 126 *yigermä* "twenty."

P. 426 *işinde* "within" = Dīvān *içinde*, Chag. *içindä*, Uzb., ET. 56 *içidä* "in, within, inside."

40. Conclusion.

Salar belongs, beyond doubt, to what is generally known as East Turki. East Turki is the common name for the Turkic dialects spoken in East Turkestan. It consists of several dialects.¹⁹²

Salar shares the following characteristics with East Turki:

1. Both are *ayaq*- and *taγ*-languages;
2. Both have *y*- at the beginning of words and not *dž*-.
3. Both have *š* and not *s* as in Kazak.
4. In both of them the final consonant *r* of syllables is dropped in many cases.

On the other hand, Salar differs from East Turki as explored by RAQUETTE and JARRING.

1. Salar has the participle in *-miš* which, according to JARRING, does not occur in the dialects spoken East of the Kucha oasis, i. e., in the dialects of Qarashar, Turfan, and Qomul.¹⁹³

2. In Salar the consonant **č* at the end of syllables and words results in *š* which is a development unknown to the other East Turki dialects.

3. The consonant **t* before **i*, **i̇*, and **ü* results in *č* in Salar but does not in the remaining dialects.

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

¹⁹¹ The form given by ROCKHILL (*igérmi*) is probably the genuine Salar form, while POTANIN'S *džigirme* is obviously a Kazak form.

¹⁹² JARRING, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-6.

¹⁹³ JARRING, *op. cit.*, p. 4.