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INNER-TURKIC EVIDENCE FOR THE CORRESPONDENCE
TURKIC /š/, CHUVASH /ś/ AND MONGOLIAN /č/

As is known, Common Turkic /š/ corresponds not only to Chuvash and Mongolian /l/, but also to Chuvash /ś/ and Mongolian /č/. Like many other Altaic sound correspondences, the correspondence Trk. /š/ = Mo. /č/ too was first noticed and established by RAMSTEDT. As early as 1912, RAMSTEDT drew attention to the similarity of Mongolian and Turkic reciprocal/cooperative suffixes -čā-/čē- and -š-, e.g., Mo. *siqa-čā-* “sich drängen” (from *siqa-* “drängen, pressen”) = Trk. *siq-i-š-* id. (from *siq-* “to press, squeeze”).¹ RAMSTEDT maintained that Trk. reciprocal/cooperative suffix -š- was originally /č/ and the sound change from /č/ to /š/ in Turkic started probably with the past tense forms in -dī/-tī, i.e., *-čā-dī > *-čī > *-šī. Later on, the suffix was generalized as -š- from these past tense forms.²

In the same work, RAMSTEDT also pointed out that in Chuvash cooperative verbs end in -ś- in genuine Chuvash words, whereas the suffix of cooperation is -š- in loanwords borrowed from Tatar.³ Since Turkic /š/ is generally represented by /l/ in Chuvash and Chuvash /ś/ originates from /č/ or /j/, the correspondence Trk. -š- = Chuv. -ś- thus speaks for the assumption that the reciprocal/cooperative suffix in Pre-Turkic was not /l/ or /š/, but /č/.

Establishing his theory in the early 1900's, RAMSTEDT was not in a position to bring evidence from Turkic to support the equation Trk. /š/ = Chuv. /ś/ = Mo. /č/. In my opinion, there is inner-Turkic evidence, i.e., Turkic examples, which support RAMSTEDT's sound correspondence under discussion. In this paper, I would like to present this evidence and try to explain that RAMSTEDT's correspondence is true.

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¹ G. J. RAMSTEDT, “Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mongolisch-türkischen Sprachen,” *JSFOu*, XXVIII, 3, pp. 29, 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The oldest Turkic examples in which the reciprocal/cooperative suffix *-š-* occurs as *-č-*, i. e., unchanged, are found in *Qutadgu Bilig* and Kāšgarī's dictionary. Before giving these examples, I would like to stress the point that a sound which undergoes a change in the final position generally preserves itself in medial position, especially before or after a consonant, e. g., *semiz* "fat" (< **semir*), but *semri-* "to become fat" (< **semir-i-*), *köküz semri-* "to become fat" (< **semir-i-*), *köküz* "breast" (< *kökür*), but *kökrek* id. (< **kökür-ek*), etc.⁴ In the same way, Pre-turkic form of the reciprocal/cooperative suffix *-š-* has preserved itself as such in some examples where it occurs in medial position before or after a consonant. Here are the examples:

MK II 196 *kikčür-* "to make two things strike one another, to incite" (< **kik-i-č-ür-*) < MK II 293 *kik-* "to whet, sharpen, to strike for sharpening" // Orkh. *kikšür-* "to incite" (KT D 6; read as *kiñšür-*, *kiñešür-* so far), Chuast. *kikšür-* (*kišig kikšürü sözle-* "to incite people to mutual enmity" (CLAUSON 714).

MK III 108–109 *yapčün-* // *yapčun-* // *yawčün-* "to adhere, stick to" // *yapšün-* id. (Kāšgarī's statement: Alternative form with *al-šīn*: *yapšundi* and with *al-fā'*: *yawčundi*) < **yap-i-č-i-n-* < *yap-* "to cover."

MK III 97–98 *yapčur-* // *yawčur-* "to stick, paste, glue" // *yapšur-* id. < **yap-i-č-ur-* < *yap-* "to cover."

QB 401 *yapčur* "it clings," QB 1409 *yapčur* id. (Herat copy *yapšur*) // Uig., MK *yapiš-*, *yapuš-* "to stick, cling" < **yap-i-č-* (the form *yapču-* for *yapič-* in *Kutadgu Bilig İndeksi* should be corrected).

MK II 175 *tapčur-* "to hand over, entrust something to someone" (e. g. *men oğulnı anasınga t.-dum*) // Uig. *tapšur-* id. < **tap-i-č-ur-* < *tap-* "to find."

Orkh. *qabiš-*, Uig. *qavış-* "to come together, to assemble", MK *qawuš-* id., *qawšut* "peace negotiations between two kings or khans" // *qapčaq* "the place at which the waters from the branches of a river flow into one another" (MK I 471) < **qabič-aq* < **qab-i-č-* "to approach, come close" (cf. Uig. *qavut-* "to come across," *qavır-* "to bring together, to collect", MK *qawur-* "to constrict"; cf. also Mo. *qabida-* "to come close", *qabildu-* "to approach, to come close", *qabira-* "to stand close to one another").⁵

MK I 423 *tutaši*, *tutši* "neighbor, associated or adjacent; constantly, continuously, everlastingly" // MK *tutči* (13 times), QB *tutči*, *tuči* (many times; *tutaši* 5 times) < **tutač-i* < *tut-*, *tuta-* "to keep, catch" (for the simplex

⁴ T. TEKIN, "Zetacism and sigmatism in Proto-Turkic," *AOH*, XXII, Fasc. 1, pp. 60, 63.

⁵ CLAUSON's etymology of MK *qapčaq*, i. e., "Deverbal noun from *kap-*, perhaps a crasis of **kapişak*" (*EDT*, p. 581) cannot be accepted.

tuta- cf. QB *tutam* “handful, act of grasping”) < *tuta-*. The contracted form *tuči* in QB is additional evidence for RAMSTEDT’s theory: If the original form were with /š/ we would have **tuši*, not *tuči* in QB!

Another early example is found in *Qissa-i Bahrām*, a work which probably dates from the 14th century:

urč-ur “er kämpft” (BROCKELMANN, *Ost.Gram.*, s 205) < **ūr-i-č-* // Uig., MK *uruš-*, Chuv. *vārs-* id. < **ūrič-*.

Here end the examples with /č/ of the reciprocal/cooperative suffix -š- in Middle Turkic texts. It should be emphasized that the examples of the sound change from /č/ to /š/ are not confined to the reciprocal/cooperative stems. Apart from these stems there are other examples, two nouns and two denominal verbs, supporting the sound change under discussion. Here they are:

MK *yapčan* “wormwood,” *yawčan* id. (III 37) // Chag., Osm. *yawšan*, Kipch., Osm. *yavšan*, Trk, *yavšan*, Az., Trkm. *yovšan*, Kum. *yuvšan*, Nog. *yuvsan*, Kzk. *zuwsan*, Kirg. *jūšan*, Tuv. *čašpan* id. < **yapšan* < *yawšan* < **yawčan*.

A second early example is from Volga Bulgarian. In one of the Volga Bulgarian tomb inscriptions there occurs a word *bačne* corresponding to Common Turkic *bašında* and meaning “at the beginning”. The word in question occurs in the following context:

صَفَرِ أَيُّوْهِ بَاجْنِ أَت *şafar ayuñi bačne eti* (YUSUPOV, G. V., “Itogi polevyx epigrafičeskix issledovanij 1961–1963 gg. v Tatarskoj ASSR,” *Épigraphika Vostoka* XXI, 1972, pp. 48–55 and TEKIN, T., “On Volga Bulgarian *bačne*,” *PIAC Newsletter* 10, p. 8).

YUSUPOV was not able to explain the word *bačne* occurring in this Volga Bulgarian sentence dating from the 14th century. As I have explained elsewhere (i. e., in the *PIAC Newsletter*, No. 10) the word *bačne* means “at the beginning” here and corresponds to Common Turkic *bašında*. The analysis of *bačne* is as follows: *bačne* < **bač-i-n-e*, i. e., *bač* “beginning, head”, -i- the 3rd p. poss. suffix, -n- the so-called pronominal *n*, -e the archaic dative-locative suffix -a/-e. It is obvious that this word is formed exactly as Volga Bulgarian *išne* “in, within” < **ič-i-n-e* = Chuv. *ášne* id. Thus, the Volga Bulgarian *bačne* (not **bašne*!) makes it clear that the Volga Bulgarian word for “head, beginning” was not *baš*, but *bač*, a form probably going back to an earlier **balč* as assumed by RAMSTEDT years ago. As is generally known, RAMSTEDT had assumed that the Chuvash *puś* “head” goes back not to Common Turkic *baš*, but because of its final /ś/, it goes back to a hypothetical **balč*, a form which corresponds perfectly to Goldi (Nanay) *balča*, *balja* “face, appearance, head” (I, 109). One may also add

Mo. *-balji* “head” in the compound *tarbalji* “sparrow hawk; tawny eagle” < “bald-headed” to this etymology thus having a three-sided Altaic equation (see T. TEKIN “Once more zetacism and sigmatism,” *CAJ*, XXIII, 1-2, p. 131). Consequently, it may safely be claimed that the Chuvash word *puś* goes back to a form similar to Volga Bulg. *bač*. The latter, in its turn, goes back to a still earlier **balč*, a form which is also the source of Common Turkic *baš*. Thus: **balč* > Volga Bulg. *bač* > Chuv. *puś*, **balč* > **balš* > Old Turkic *baš*.

For the sound change /č/ > /š/ examples can be found even in the modern Turkic languages. Here are two such examples:

1. Common Turkic (Uig., MK, etc.) *qurša-* “to gird; to surround, encircle”, Tat., Bšk. *korša-* id., Tuv. *kurža-* id., Kzk., Kklp., Nog. *kursa-* id., Trk. *kušan-* “to gird oneself” (*kuša-n-*), *kuşat-* “to gird; surround, envelope; to besiege” (*kuşa-t-*), Az. *güşan-* “to gird oneself”, *güşat-* “to wind around the waist”, Trkm. *güşa-* “to gird”, *gürša-* “to encircle, surround”, *güşat-* “to let gird”, *gürşat-* “to surround, encircle, besiege” < **qurša-* < **qurča-* < *qur* “girdle, belt” + *ča-*.

// Alt., Kirg. *kurča-* “to gird, surround, encircle,” Khak. *xurča-* id., Kzk. *korša-* “to surround, enclose” < **qorča-* < **qurča-* < *qur* “belt.”

It is obvious that the Altay, Kirgiz and Khakas forms with /č/ are older than the forms with /š/. So is the Kazakh form with /š/, for it goes back to an older form with /č/. This verb is a derivative of the noun *qur* “girdle, belt”. As for the denominal verbal suffix + *ča-*/+ *če-*, examples for this suffix are found in Mongolian, e.g., *dayiča-*, *dayiči-* “to be hostile, to make war, to act as an enemy” < *dayi(n)* “enemy,” *nököčē-* “to become intimate” < *nökör* “friend,” *qaniča-* “to be a friend or companion” < *qani* “friend, companion,” etc. Yakut *kurdā-* “to gird” cannot go back to a form with /č/; because of its medial /rd/ it goes back to an older and original **qurla-*.

2. Orkh. *yemšaq*, *yimšaq* “soft”,⁶ Uig. *yumšaq* id., *yumša-* “to become soft”, MK *yumšaq* “soft”, *yumša-* “to become soft”, Com. Trk. *yumšaq*, *yumša-* id.

// Tuv. *čimča-* “to become soft” < **yimča-*, Yak. *simnā-* id. < **yimja-* < **yimča-*, Tuv. *čimčak* “soft” < **yimčak*, Yak. *simnagas* id. < **yimčaqaç* (for the change *-mč* > *-mn-* in Yakut cf. Old Trk. *gamči* “whip” > Yak. *kimnī*, etc.), Chuv. *śemśe* “soft” < **yemče(k)*, **yimča(q)*.

Com. Trk. *yumša-*, Tuv. *čimča-* and Yak. *simnā-* (< **yimča-*) is probably derived from a nominal root like **yem*, **yim* or **yim* with the suffix

⁶ See T. TEKIN, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, pp. 231, 403.

-ča- of the above-discussed *qurča*-; cf. Mo. *nimgen*, *nimegen* “thin, shallow,” *nimgere*- “to become thin,” *nimnayun* “thin, emaciated (of animals),” Evk. *nemkun* “thin, tender,” *nemküken*, *nemkân* “very thin.”

Common Turkic *yumşaq* “soft” occurs with /č/ also in some Middle Turkic sources, actually in a Kipchak dictionary dating from the 15th century: Tuhf. *yumčaq* “soft.” CLAUSON is surprised to see here /č/ instead of /š/. However, Tuva and Yakut forms discussed above, i. e., Tuv. *čimča*- “to become soft,” *čimčak* “soft,” Yak. *simnā*- “to become soft” and *simnagas* “soft” prove that the sound /š/ in *yumša*-, *yumşaq* is only secondary. Consequently, the consonant /č/ in Tuhf. *yumčaq* is by no means surprising, for it is primary and original.

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As RAMSTEDT noticed years ago, there are two reciprocal/cooperative suffixes in Chuvash: 1. -ś- (the genuine Chuvash suffix going back to the original -č-), 2. -š- (Common Turkic suffix borrowed from Tatar). A more or less complete list of Chuvash verbal stems formed with the suffix -ś- has been published by NAUTA.⁷ His list contains the following items: *avr-ăś-* (*avăr-*), *ăn-ăś-* (*ăn-*), *kala-ś-*, *kan-ăś-* (*kan-*), *kěv-ěś-* (*kěv-/kü-*), *kurăn-ăś-*, *pět-ěś-*, *śap-ăś-*, *śirt-ăś-*, *śuraś-* (< *śura- < *yara-), *śăn-ăś-*, *śu-ś-*, *tap-ăś-*, *tat-ăś-*, *tit-ăś-*, *tiv-ěś-*, *valeś-* (< *vale- < *üle-), *văr-ś-*. To these 18 verbs the following may also be added:

virnaś- “to settle down” < **virna-ś-* < **orna-č-* = Com. Trk. *orna-š-*.

śipáš- “to stick, adhere” < **yapič-* < *yap-i-č-* = Com. Trk. *yapiš-* < *yap-* “to cover”.

xirěś- “to oppose, stand against, raise an objection” < *qarič-* < *qar-i-č-* = Uig. *qariś-* “to disagree, to quarrel”, Com. Trk. *qarşı*, *qarşu* “opposed, opposite, against” (= Chuv. *xirěś* id. < **xirěś* < **qarči*), MK *qarşut* “the opposite”. The simplex of this verbal stem is perhaps found in MK *qaru* “against” which occurs in the following verse: *Yağı qaru kiriş kurdum* “I set the bow against the enemy” (MK II 83). MK *qaru* can be best explained as a gerund in -u from the verbal root **qar-* “to face, oppose, stand against.”

⁷ ANE NAUTA, “Lambdazismus im Tschuwassischen: Gtū. ś = Tschuw. l und ś,” in *Altaic Studies*, edited by GUNNAR JARRING and STAFFAN ROSÉN, Stockholm 1985, pp. 133–143.