Are Two Volga-Turkī Texts Compiled by Speakers of Different Turkic Varieties?

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The Chagatay (*Turkī*) literary language is an acrolect, a multilayered literary idiom with local variants (Bodrogligeti 2001: 1). "There are dialectal differences in details, mostly in morphology, and traces of historical developments through centuries, mostly in the sound system. These are, however, not significant enough for us to speak of separate languages on their account" (Bodrogligeti 2001: 8). The above citation is a well-known stereotype. Although these dialectical differences may not be significant enough concerning Chagatay-Turkic in its entirety, they are crucial for research on the development of the contemporary local varieties.[2]

In the pre-modern period of Turkic languages (the 16th century onwards), Kipchak Turkic vanished as a major literary language in the territory of the former Golden Horde and was replaced by a local variety of Chagatay (Johanson 1998b: 86), which is designated as Volga-Turkī. Most of the sources written in this variety have no critical edition so far (Ivanics 2017: 37), not to mention a linguistic evaluation.

As a first step on this long road, I aim to demonstrate in the present paper that copied Arabic and Persian lexical items show phonotactic differences in two important Volga-Turkī sources, and I will attempt to evaluate the phenomenon.[3]

I used two texts as corpus, both from the 17th century. (1) The *Ǧāmiʿ at-Tawārīḫ* 'Compendium of Chronicles' written by Qādir ʿAli Beg (QAB), head of the clan Ǧālāyir. He finished his work in 1602, in the territory of the Kasim Khanate (1452–1681), a vassal state of Russia. The source has two more or less whole manuscripts and a fragmentary one in Kazan, Russia. Two new manuscripts have recently been

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discovered in the British Museum (Ivanics 2017: 43). The high-resolution colored photographs of the most complete manuscript are accessible in the Research Repository of the Saint Petersburg State University (Web1). I will refer to this manuscript as QS. The text has two editions, the older one was published by I. N. Berezin (1851) with typography in Arabic script. The other edition was published by R. Syzdykova and M. Kojgeldiev in 1991, with a Cyrillic transcription and a partial Kazakh translation. It includes a description of the historical context and some of the phonological, morphological, and lexical features of the text. Another Kazakh translation of the whole text is edited by M. Kazbekov (1997). R. Alimov (2015) published one of the London manuscripts (QL) with transcription and facsimiles, but without translation. This manuscript contains a copy of QS 8v8-21v11 (=QL 1b3–26a2) My present examination will be limited to this overlapping part of the two manuscripts.

(2) The *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä* (DCN). Its latest edition by Ivanics–Usmanov (2002) contains a transcription, a German vocabulary, and the facsimiles of the four highest quality manuscripts. Its Hungarian translation and cultural-historical analysis has been published by Mária Ivanics (2017). The text is anonymous, its compilation is dated to the second half of the 17th century, otherwise its exact date and place of recording is unknown. Ivanics arrives at the conclusion that the scribe(s) or the compiler-editor(s) of the DCN might have been person(s) with a relatively low degree of education. (Ivanics–Usmanov 2002: 12–15; Ivanics 2017: 201).

Before moving forward, we must first make the following theoretical considerations: [4]

(1) The opposition of frontness vs. backness (f/b) is a basic phonological feature in Turkic, present in all known historical periods, even in the most deviating dialects, including Chagatay and Volga-Turkī. This feature is essentially syllabic; namely frontness and backness is assigned to syllables, shared by all segments within them. Distinctiveness does not belong to individual segments. This phenomenon is called *intrasyllabic harmony.* Certain segments may clearly signal the f/b character of the syllable. These are called *signal segments.* Intrasyllabic harmony is the basis of the agreement between syllables within a phonological word, in their f/b specification. The latter is called *intersyllabic harmony*. Intersyllabic harmony may hold (a) within primary stems and (b) between primary stems and harmonic suffixes. The criterion for the f/b classification of syllables is their types of variants in harmonic suffixes: a syllable which takes back suffixes is back, and vice versa.

Intrasyllabic disharmony is often found in not fully integrated foreign (in our case, Arabic and Persian) lexemes. In such cases, the aberrant segment is marked by an asterisk *, for instance, Tat. зольмэт (*zŏlmät*) "tyranny" has a syllabic structure of [*f-f] (Johanson 1991; 1994).

(2) Copying of Arabic and Persian lexical elements into Turkic.

Arabic and Persian lexical items in Turkic are mostly *global copies* (Johanson 2002, 2006). They started to stream into Turkic (in our case, *dominated basic code*) from Persian (*dominant model code*), as early as the 11th century. These items were copied together with their material, semantic, combinational, and frequential properties as a result of *adaption*, and became widely used in the developing Karakhanid (11th century), Khwarezmian (13th century), and Chagatay (15th century) literary languages.

After Chagatay became the dominant literary language in the territory of the former Golden Horde, local varieties appeared, namely the local spoken varieties (*dominated model code*) started to influence the usage of the literary language (*dominant basic code*) as a result of *imposition*. The process (only with the relevant steps) might be summarized as follows (the dominant codes being on the left, the dominated ones being on the right):

Arabic > (adaption)	Persian > Khwarezmian	(adaption)	Karakhanid
	Chagatay >	(adaption)	local Turkic varieties
	Volga-Turkī <	(imposition)	local Turkic varieties

Copied elements in the basic code are never identical to those of the model code, they are adapted to the grammatical system of the basic code. In our case, this means that copied lexical items undergo a certain level of intrasyllabic and intersyllabic harmonization.

Modern Turkic languages show a great diversity in assigning frontness or backness to foreign elements. Certain languages, especially their higher sociolects (e. g., "Mollasprache") tend toward the *reproduction* ("Reproduktion") of foreign structures with a weaker tendency of intrasyllabic harmonization. Other languages, dialects, or substandard varieties show *resistance* ("Widerstand") in this respect and tend to *assimilate* ("Anpassung") the foreign elements into their own phonotactic systems.

In this respect, modern Turkic languages can be classified in the following way: Turkish, Uzbek, Modern Uyghur, and Azerbayjani (group A), which took these foreign lexical items from their respective literary languages. Tatar (group B) also developed under the strong influence of these literary languages. Group A and B mostly apply reproduction. Turkmen and Kazakh (group C) tends to apply assimilation.

The short *a* is copied as an [f] segment into languages belonging to group A/B while dialectal forms of these languages and those belonging to group C mostly adapt [b] forms (Johanson 1986).

As a working hypothesis, I assume that the underlying spoken dialects of Volga-Turkī can be classified basically in the same way, and that the orthographical tendencies of a written text mirrors the (native) linguistic competence of the scribe or author (Danka 2019: 163–184, 277–278).

The corpus I used is written in Arabic script. The orthography clearly distinguishes syllabic [f/b] oppositions in harmonic suffixes containing *k* (<k>, <q>) or *g* (<k>, <ġ>) which are considered as signal segments. Consequently, these suffixes verify the [f/b] classification of the preceding syllable. In the corpus, the following ones can be attested, also in combinations with other suffixes: the dative case suffix +*GA* <ġh>, <qh> vs. <kʼ>; the terminative case suffix +*GAčA* <ġʼčh> vs. <kʼčh>; the derivational suffixes +*lIK* <lq>, <lyq>, <lyġy> vs. <lyk>; +*lIG* <lyġ>; +*KI* <ġy>; and +*DAKI* <dʼġy>, <dh ġy> vs. <dʼky>. Note that rendering the open vowels with <h> or <ʼ> *do not* signal [f/b] opposition on their own, since (1) the back allomorph of the dative case suffix is consistently written with <h> and the front one with <ʼ>; (2) the terminative case suffix is written with both; while (3) both variants of +*DAKI* is written with <ʼ>. Therefore, the only reliable signals are the graphic representation of *k* and *g*.

I collected the lexical items from the corpus which are attested with the abovementioned suffixes. With a few exceptions, the materials complement each other in QAB and DCN.

The complete stock of data consists of 45 lexical items – QAB: 14 Arabic and 3 Persian items; DCN: 12 Arabic, and 11 Persian items; and 3 Arabic and 2 Persian items are attested in both texts.

The attested lexical material is compared to that of Tatar, Kazakh, Turkmen, and Uzbek, based on the following figure of Boeschoten–Vandamme 1998: 168. To these data, I added Modern Turkish/Ottoman Turkic data for comparison.
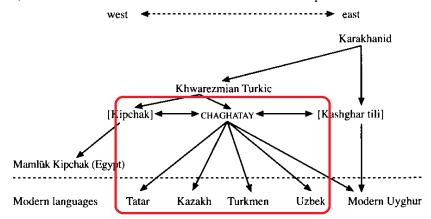

Figure 9.1   Relations of Chaghatay with other written varieties

Unfortunately, nearly half of the attested data had to be filtered out because they did not contribute to our examination for one or more of the following reasons:

(1) Their adaptation to the examined Turkic languages did not show variation in the modern languages that were compared. Arabic: QS: *ʿaql* 'Einsicht, Verstand, Ver-nunft', *ḥaq* 'Wahrheit, Richtigkeit', *muwāfaqat(lïq)* 'Übereinstimmung, Einwilligung', *temāšā* 'walking abroad for recreation, entertainment'; DCN: *dīn* 'Religion', *faydā(lïġ)*

'nützlich'*, ḫalāyïq* 'Geschöpfe, Volk'*, ḫalq* 'Volk, die Menschen' *kāfir/kawur* 'die Ungläubige'*, ṭabaq* 'Teller, Platte'*, ṭaraf* 'Seite'*, QS/DCN *müslümān(lïq)* 'der Moslime'*, zamān* 'Zeit'; Persian: QS, *ḫudāy,* '(self-existent) God', *niyāz(lïq)* 'indigence, necessity, prayer'; DCN: *ḫatūn*[5] 'vornehme Frau'*, ǰān(lïq)* 'Lebewesen'*, kišänä* 'Grabstatte, Mausoleum'*, māl* 'Habe, Vieh, Ware, Schatz *sarāy* 'Serail, Schloss'*, tän* 'Körper'*, ustād(lïq)* 'Meister, Handwerker' QS/DCN:, *ḫān(lïq)* 'Chan,'*,' pādšāh(lïq)* 'Padischach'

(2) They are absent from most of the examined languages: DCN: Ar. *izār(lïq)* 'Windel'*, ġammāz(lïq)* 'Spionage'*,* Persian: QS *zaḫm* 'scar, wound blow'; DCN: *ḫünkār* 'Obenherr, der Osmanische Sultan'*, räwān* 'laufend sogleich'.

The data below is presented in the following way: I present first the lexical stock attested in QS (Arabic and Persian, respectively), then that in the DCN. The data are in Arabic alphabetic order. The entries consist of (1) the attested spelling in Arabic script; (2) transcriptions given by the publishers (QAB: Alimov 2015, although it is sometimes misleading, DCN: Ivanics-Usmanov 2002); (3) transliteration based on the respective facsimiles; (4) meaning (in the case of QAB, I give the meaning from the respective Arabic or Persian dictionary, in the DCN, the meaning is given in the glossary); (5) locus in the texts (QS= QAB St. Petersburg manuscript, QL= QAB London manuscript); (6) the corresponding Arabic word (if there is any); (7) the corresponding Persian word, and (8) Modern Turkic reflexes. These are presented in the order of Group A (Uzbek, Ottoman/Modern Turkish), Group B (Tatar), and Group C (Turkmen, Kazakh). All presented data refers to the respective dictionary with page numbers (see abbreviations). The Arabic and Persian data are transcribed as they are shown in the respective dictionaries. The Turkic data are transcribed according to the Latin orthography (Ottoman/Turkish) or the phonological descriptions of the individual languages (Uzbek: Boeschoten 1998, Tatar: Berta 1998, Turkmen: Schönig 1998, Kazakh: Kirchner 1998). (9) Next to the Turkic data, the syllabic analysis of the stem is shown. Whenever it was attestable from the respective dictionary, I also gave a harmonic derivational or inflectional suffix in parenthesis to verify the quality of the last syllable, except Uzbek, where the development of harmonic suffixes is blocked by Iranian influence (Johanson 1998a: 32).

The examined stock of data in QAB (Arabic):

اولغى , اوُلغى *evvel(ġı)* <ʾwlġy> 'früher, älter, vorherig' QS 12v11= <ʾwʷlġy> QL 8b9

Ar. اول *ʾawwal* (p. 55)

Pe. *auwal* (p.121)

Uzb. *ȧvvȧl* (p. 18)	[f-f]
Osm/Trk. *evvel(ki)* (p. 355)	[f-f]
Tat. *ewel(gĕ)* (p. 734)	[f-f]
Tkm. *oval(qï)* (p. 481)	[b-b]
Kzk *æwel(gi)* (p. 107)	[f-f]

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5 The titles *ḫatūn* and *ḫān* are registered as Persian in the DCN. I do not go into the details of the discussion of their history now.

تعالى *taʿālā* <tʿʿly> 'Gott der Erhabene' +*ġa* <ġh> QS 19v3 = QL 20b7, QL 18a8, 18b10; also علا *ʿalā* <ʿlʾ> 'Höhe, hoher Rang, Adel' +*ġa* <ġh> QS 17v5 = QL 17a7

    Ar. الله تعالى (p. 872); علاء *ʿalāʾ* (p. 874)

    Pe. تعالىٰ *taʿālá* (p. 307); *ʿalāʾ* (p. 861)

    Uzb. *tȧålå* (p. 420)   [f-b-b]

    Osm/Trk. *taalâ* cf. *taali* (p. 1071)   [b-b-*f]

    Tat. *teɣale* (p 566)   [f-b-f]

    Tkm. –

    Kzk. *taɣala* (p. 761)   [b-b-b]

جماعت *cemāʿat* <ĵmʾʿt> 'Schar, Gesellschaft, Gruppe' +*lärgä* <lʾrkʾ> QS1311 = QL 9b6

    Ar. جماعة *ğamāʿa* (p. 198)

    Pe. *jamāʿat* (p. 370)

    Uzb. *ĵȧmåȧt* (p. 147)   [f-b-f]

    Osm/Trk. *cemaat^{ti}* (p. 220)   [f-b-f]

    Tat. *ĵemeɣatʾ(lĕ)* (p. 776)   [f-f-*f]

    Tkm. *ĵemāɣat* (p. 323)   [f-b-b]

    Kzk. *žamaɣat* (p. 277)   [b-b-b]

دنيا *dünyā* <dnyʾ> 'Welt, Erde' +*daġï* <dʾ ġy> QS 9r2 = QL 1b8,

    Ar. دنيا *dunyā* (p. 408)

    Pe. *dunyā* (p. 589)

    Uzb. *dunyå* (p. 127)   [b-b]

    Osm/Trk. *dünya(lık)* (p. 318)   [f-b]

    Tat. *dŏnʾya(daɣï)* (p. 143)   [f-b]

    Tkm. *dünyæ(si)* (p. 292)   [f-f]

    Kzk. *düniye(lik)* (p. 221)   [f-f-f]

دولت ليغ , دولتليغ *devlet(lıġ)* <dwltlyġ> 'Staat, Herrschaft, Reich' QS 10r9 = <dwlt lyġ> QL 4a9

    Ar. دولة *daula* (p. 418)

    Pe. *daulat* (p. 546)

    Uzb. *dȧvlȧt* (p. 110)   [f-f]

    Tat. *dewlet(lĕ)* (p. 141)   [f-f]

    Osm/Trk. *devlet(li)* (p. 291)   [f-f]

    Tkm. *dövlet* (p. 280)   [f-f]

    Kzk. *dæwlet(tilik)* (p. 207)   [f-f]

شمال *šimāl* <šmʾl> 'Norden' +*ġa* <ġh> QS 16r2 = QL 14a3

    Ar. شمال *šamāl, šimāl* (p. 676)

    Pe. *shamāl, shimāl* 'north (wind or quarter)' (p. 758)

    Uzb. *šimål* (p. 563)   [f-b]

    Osm/Trk. *şimal^{li}* (p. 1063)   [f-f]

    Tat. *šimal* (p. 660)   [f-b]

    Tkm. *šemāl(lï)* (p. 756)   [f-b]

    Kzk. *samal(dï)* (p. 696)   [b-b]

صورت لیغ *ṣūrat(lıǧ)* 'Form, Gestalt, Abbild' <ṣwrt lyǧ> QS17v7 = QL 17a10

   Ar. صورة *ṣūra* (p. 733)

   Pe. *ṣūrat, ṣūra* (p. 795)

   Uzb. *suràt* (p. 401)   [b-f]

   Osm/Trk. *suret*[ti] (p. 1036)   [b-f]

   Tat. *suret(lĕ)* (p. 491)   [b-f]

   Tkm. *θūrat(lï)* (p. 594)   [b-b]

   Kzk. *sūret(ti)* (p. 422)   [f-f]

عجب *ʿaceb* <ʿjb> 'Verwunderung, Erstaunen' +*qa* <qh> QS 18r1 = QL 17b9

   Ar. عجب *ʿaǧab* (p. 813)

   Pe. *ʿajab* (pp. 836–837)

   Uzb. *àǰàb, àǰib* (p. 21)   [f-f]

   Osm/Trk. *aceb* (p. 6)   [b-f]

   Tat. *ɣaǰep(len-)* (p. 112)   [b-f]

   Tkm. *aǰap(lïq)* (p. 29)   [b-b]

   Kzk. *ɣažap(tan-)* (p. 195)   [b-b]

قوت لیق , قوەتلیغ *quvvat(lıq), quvvat(lıǧ)* <qwt> 'Stärke, Kraft, Macht' +*lIK* <lyq> QS 10r8–9 = QL 4a8, +*lIG* <lyǧ> QS17r3 = QL 16a4

   Ar. قوة *quwwa* (p. 1072)

   Pe. *qūwat, quwwat* (p. 998)

   Uzb. *quvvàt* (p. 658)   [b-f]

   Osm/Trk. *kuvvet(li)* (p. 692)   [b-f]

   Tat. *quwet(lĕlĕk)* (p. 303)   [b-f]

   Tkm. *quvvat(lï)* (p. 418)   [b-b]

   Kzk. *quwat(tï)* (p. 536)   [b-b]

كمال *kemāl* <kmʾl> 'Vollkommenheit, Vollständigkeit' +*ga* <ǧh> QS 17v8 = QL 17b3

   Ar. كمال *kamāl* (p. 1120),

   Pe. *kamāl* (p. 1047)

   Uzb. *kàmàl* (p. 198)   [f-b]

   Osm/Trk. *kemâl*[li] (p. 635)   [f-*f]

   Tat. *kemal* (p. 320)   [f-b]

   Tkm. *kemāl(lï)* (p. 390)   [f-b]

   Kzk. *kæmelet(tik)* (p. 356)   [f-f]

مثال لیك *miṯāl(lik)* <mṯʾl lyk> 'Gleiches, Gleichnis, Beispiel' QS 10v11=QL 5b4

   Ar. مثال *miṯāl* (p. 1186)

   Pe. *miṣāl* (p. 1172)

   Uzb. *misàl* (p. 268)   [f-b]

   Osm/Trk. *misal*[li] (p. 780)   [f-*f]

   Tat. *misal(lĭ)* (p. 373)   [f-b]

   Tkm. *miθal(li)* (p. 465)   [b-b]

   Kzk. *mïsal(da-)* (p. 616)   [b-b]

The examined stock of data in QAB (Persian):

فرمان *fermān* <frmʾn> 'a mandate, command, order' +*iŋgä* <nk kʾ> QS 19v3 = QL 20a10

    Pe. فرمان *farmān* (p. 921)
    Uzb. *färmån* (p. 503)   [f-b]
    Osm/Trk. *ferman^{nı}* (p. 367)   [f-b]
    Tat. *ferman(ɣa)* (p. 608)   [f-b]
    Tkm. *permān(ï)* (p. 524)   [f-b]
    Kzk. *pærmen(di)* (p. 670)   [f-f]

The examined stock of data in DCN (Arabic):

تقدير *taqdīr* <tqdyr> 'der göttliche Ratschluss, Vorausbestimmung' +*igä* <ykʾ> DCN 37r18

    Ar. تقدير *taqdīr* (p. 1005)
    Pe. *taqdīr* (p. 315)
    Uzb. *täqdir* (p. 431)   [*b-f]
    Osm/Trk. *takdir(e bağlı)* (p. 1087)   [b-f]
    Tat. *teqʾdir(lä-)* (p. 567)   [*b-f]
    Tkm. *taqdīr(a yaδïlanïnï gör-)* (p. 614) [b-b]
    Kzk. *taɣdïr* (p. 762)   [b-b]

دنيا *dünyā* <dnyʾ> 'Welt' +*gä* <kʾ> DCN 11v2, +*ga* <ġh> 22v12, 41r7; see the entry of QAB

ظلم *ẓul(u)m* 'Unrecht, Gewalt +*lïq* <lq> DCN 9r3

    Ar. ظلم *ẓulm* 'Ungerechtigkeit' (p. 802)
    Pe. *ẓulm, ẓalm* (p. 826)
    Uzb. *zulm, zolim(lik)* (p. 165)   [b], [b-f]
    Osm/Trk. *zulm, zulüm^{lmü}* (p. 1290) [b], [b-f]
    Tat. *zŏlŏm, zŏlʾmät* (p.155)   [b-b], [*f-f]
    Tkm. *δulum(lï)* (p. 340)   [b-b]
    Kzk. *zulïm(dïq)* (p. 342)   [b-b]

عخايب *ʿaǰāib* 'Merkwürdigkeit, Bewunderung, Erstauen' +*gä* <kʾ> DCN 47v8,

    Ar. عجائب *ʿaǧāʾib* (pl. of عجيبة *ʿaǧība*) (p. 813)
    Pe. عجائب *ʿaǧāʾib* (p. 836)
    Uzb. *àǰåyib* (pp. 21–22)   [f-b-f]
    Osm/Trk. *acayip^{bi}* 'strange, queer, curious' (p. 6) [b-b-f]
    Tat. *ɣaǰeĕp* (p. 112)   [b-f-f]
    Tkm. *aǰāyïp(lïq)* (p. 29)   [b-b-b]
    Kzk. *ɣažayïp* (p. 195)   [b-b-b]

قلعه, قلا, قالا *qala/qalġa* 'Festung, Stadt' <qʾlʾ> DCN 10r1 <qlʾ> 39v3, 39v4, 46v15,
<qlġh> 46v4 +*sïna/+sïġa* <synʾ/syġh> 39v3
    Ar. قلعة *qalʿa* 'Festung, Fort, Zitadelle' (p. 1053)
    Pe. *qalʿat, qalʿa* (p. 934)
    Uzb. *qàlà* (p. 630)   [*b-f]
    Osm/Trk. *kalʿa, kale^{si}* (p. 586)   [b-b], [b-f]
    Tat. *qala* (p. 214)   [b-b]
    Tkm. *ġalā* (p. 145)   [b-b]
    Kzk. *qala* (p. 455)   [b-b]

قيامت *qïyāmät* <qyʾmt> 'Tag des jüngsten Gerichts' +-*gäčä* <kʾčh> DCN 41r4
    Ar. قيامة *qiyāma* 'Auferstehung' (p. 1070)
    Pe. *qiyāmat* (p. 997)
    Uzb. *qiyåmàt* (p. 640)   [*b-b-f]
    Osm/Trk. *kıyamet(leri)* (p. 660)   [b-b-f]
    Tat. *qïyamet* (p. 317)   [b-b-f]
    Tkm. *qïyāmat(lïq)* (p. 424)   [b-b-b]
    Kzk. *qïyamet* (p. 513)   [b-b-f]

كعبه *käʿbä* <kʾʿbh> 'Kaaba, der heilige Stein in Mekka' +*gä* <kʾ> DCN 40v12
    Ar. الكعبة , كعبة *kaʿba* (p.1108)
    Pe. *kaʿbat, kaʿba* (p. 1036)
    Uzb. *kàʿbà* (p. 204)   [f-f]
    Osm/Trk. *Kâbe* (p. 573)   [f-f]
    Tat. *käɣʿbä* (p. 318)   [b*-f]
    Tkm. *kēbe* (p. 424)   [f-f]
    Kzk *qayba* (p. 433)   [b-b]

نصيبليكا *naṣīb(lig)* <nṣyblykʾ> 'für jemanden bestimmtes' DCN 4v6
    Ar. نصيب *naṣīb* (p. 1278)
    Pe. *naṣīb* (p. 1407)
    Uzb. *nàsib* (p. 286)   [f-f]
    Osm/Trk. *nasib, nasip^{bi}* (p. 868) [b-f]
    Tat. *nasïyp; nasïybe* (p. 394)   [b-b], [b-b-f]
    Tkm. *neθīp, neθībe(li)* (pp. 472–473) [f-f], [f-f-f]
    Kzk. *næsip* (p. 624), *nesip* (p. 627) [f-f]

هيبت ليك *häybät(lik)* <hybt lyk> 'Ehrfurcht' DCN 25v13
    Ar. هيبة *haiba* (p. 1367)
    Pe. *haibat* (p. 1520)
    Uzb. *häybät* (p. 682)   [f-f]
    Osm/Trk. *heybet(li)* (p. 478)   [f-f]
    Tat. *eybet(lĕk)* (p. 726), *heybet(lĕk)* (p. 781) [f-f]
    Tkm. *xaybat(lï)* (p. 681)   [b-b]
    Kzk *aybat(tïlïq)* (pp. 25–26),   [b-b]

The examined stock of data in DCN (Persian):

درمان سزلق *därmān(sïzlïq)* <drmʾn sz lq> 'Arznei, Mittel' DCN 9r15,

    Pe. درمان *darmān* (p. 514)

    Uzb. *dàrmån* (p. 114)   [f-b]

    Osm/Trk. *derman(sızlık)* (p. 286)   [f-b]

    Tat. *derman(sĭzlĭq)* (p. 140)   [f-b]

    Tkm. *dermān(lïq)* (p. 262)   [f-b]

    Kzk. *dærmen(sizdik)* (p. 206)   [f-f]

دوشمان , دشمن *düšmān* 'Feind' <dwšmʾn> DCN 14r8, <dwšmn> 14r9, –*ġa* <ġh> 14r8, 14r9

    Pe. دشمان , دشمن *dushmān, dushman* (p. 526)

    Uzb. *dušmàn* (p. 129)   [b-f]

    Osm/Trk. *düşman(lık), düşmen* (p. 320)   [f-b/f]

    Tat. *dŏšman* (p. 135)   [b-b]

    Tkm. *dušmān(lïq)* (p. 288)   [b-b]

    Kzk. *dušpan* (p. 220)   [b-b]

روشن *rawšān(lïq)* <rwšn> 'hell, leuchtend' +*lïgï* <lġy> DCN 3v4

    Pe. روشن , روشان *raushan, roshān* (p. 595)

    Uzb. *ràvšån* (p. 351)   [f-b]

    Osm/Trk. *ruşen* (p. 963)   [b-f]

    Tat. *rawšan(lïq)* (p. 447)   [b-b]

    Tkm. *rövšen(lik)* (p. 552)   [f-f]

    Kzk. *rawšan* (p. 680)   [b-b]

شهر *šäh(ä)r* <šhr> 'Stadt, Land' DCN +*gä* <kʾ> 34r13, 35v19, 36r14, 37v2, +*igä* <ykʾ> 30v1, 32r18, 34r10, 34v16, 35v21, 36r2, 36r4, 36r14, 36v9, 39v18, 40v21, <ykh> 40v20, +*lärgä* <lʾrkʾ> 36v19, +*imizgä* <mzkʾ> 37r11 +*lärdäki* <lʾrdʾky> 27v14

    Pe. شهر *shahr* (p. 769)

    Uzb. *šàhàr* (p. 560)   [f-f]

    Osm *şehìr*ʰʳⁱ (p. 1053), *şehr* (p. 1053)   [f-f]

    Tat. *šeher* (p. 669)   [f-f]

    Tkm. *šæxer* (p. 766)   [f-f]

    Kzk. *šær* (p. 946), *šahar* (p. 945)   [f]/[b-b]

The tables below summarize the analyses so far and are supplemented with a syllabic analysis of our data in the corpus. The last syllables of the examined lexical elements are given based on suffixal harmony, while the quality of the non-last syllables is reconstructed (whenever possible) based on the compared modern Turkic lexical material. If modern languages show considerable variation in a position, the given syllable is marked as "?".

T.1. The syllabic analysis of the data in QAB based on the comparison with modern Turkic data

QAB	Group A		Group B	Group C	
	Uzb.	Osm./Trk.	Tat.	Tkm.	Kzk.
Lexical elements of Arabic origin					
evvel(ġı)	b-b	f-f	f-f	f-f	b-b	f-f
taʿalā	?-b-b	f-b-b	b-b-*f	f-b-f	–	b-b-b
cemāʿat	?-?-f	f-b-f	f-b-*f	f-f-*f	f-b-b	b-b-b
dünyā	?-b	b-b	f-b	f-b	f-f	f-f-f
devlet(lıġ)	b-b	f-f	f-f	f-f	f-f	f-f
šimāl	?-b	f-b	f-*f	f-b	f-b	b-b
sūrat(lıġ)	b-b	b-f	b-f	b-f	b-b	f-f
ʿaceb	b-b	f-f	b-f	b-f	b-b	b-b
quvvat(lıġ)	b-b	b-f	b-f	b-f	b-b	b-b
kemāl	f-b	f-b	f-*f	f-b	f-b	f-f-f
miṯāl(lik)	f-f	f-b	f-*f	f-b	b-b	b-b
Lexical elements of Persian origin					
fermān	f-f	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-f

T.2. The syllabic analysis of the data in DCN based on the comparison with modern Turkic data

DCN	Group A		Group B	Group C	
	Uzb.	Osm./Trk.	Tat.	Tkm.	Kzk.
Lexical elements of Arabic origin					
taqdīr	b-f	*b-f	b-f	*b-f	b-b	b-b
dünyā	?-b/f	b-b	f-b	f-b	f-f	f-f-f
zul(u)m	b-b	b; b-f	b; b-*f	b-b; *f-f	b-b	b-b
ʿajāib	?-b-f	f-b-f	b-b-f	b-f-f	b-b-b	b-b-b
qala, qalġa	b-b	*b-f	b-b; b-f	b-b	b-b	b-b
qïyāmät	b-b-f	b-b-f	b-b-f	b-b-f	b-b-b	b-b-f
käʿbä	?-f	f*-f	f*-f	b*-f	f-f	b-b
naṣīb	?-f	f-f	b-f	b-b; b-b-f	f-f, f-f-f	f-f
häybät(lik)	f-f	f-f	f-f	f-f	b-b	b-b
Lexical elements of Persian origin					
därmān(sïzlïq)	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-b	f-f
düšmān	?-b	b-f	f-b/f	b-b	b-b	b-b
rawšān(lïq)	?-b	f-b	b-f	b-b	f-f	b-b
šäh(ä)r	f-(f)	f-(f)	f-(f)	f-(f)	f-(f)	f; b-(b)

If we look through T.1, we see that the lexical material of QAB shows resistance to structures containing syllables of a different class, and a very strong tendency towards intersyllabic harmonization and velarization of the stem, as opposed to the corresponding items of Group A and B. The only clear exception is *kemāl*. This supposes that the variety spoken (and underlying the written text) by Qādir ʿAli Beg

belonged to Group C, or a lower sociolect of Group B. This phenomenon might be another trace of the "strong Siberian Tatar strain" reported by Ivanics (2017: 43).

On the other hand, the variety underlying the DCN shows more clear cases of reproduction and acceptance of word stems with syllables consisting of different classes when at least one of the languages of group C shows assimilation. This points to the direction that this variety *does not* belong to group C. The higher number of question marks in T.2. appears because no assimilatory or velarizing tendency can be observed in the corresponding elements of Group A/B, while there is considerable variation between the individual languages. If the author(s)/editor(s) of the DCN were speakers of a lower sociolect, it cannot be verified based on their phonotactic usage of Arabic and Persian vocabulary.

The examined lexical material of the present survey is of course not representative, but is rather a tiny token of a huge corpus. The extension of the methodology presented is encouraged to be extended to more modern languages of the Northwestern (Kipchak) group of Turkic languages as well as more texts.

Abbreviatons

Ar.	Literary Arabic, see Wehr 1985
DCN	*Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä*, see. Ivanics – Usmanov 2002
Kzk.	Kazakh, see Syzdykova Husain 2001
Pe.	Persian, see Steingass 2006
QS	*Qadïr ʿAli Beg's* St. Petersburg manuscript, see Web1
QL	*Qadïr ʿAli Beg's* London Manuscript, see Alimov 2015
Tat.	modern Tatar, see Golovkina 1966
Tkm.	Turkmen, see Baskakov – Garriev – Hamzaev 1968
Osm./Trk.	Ottoman Turkic and Modern Turkish, see Redhouse 1999
Uzb.	Literary Uzbek, see Akobirova – Mihailova 1988

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