

A VOLGA BULGARIAN INSCRIPTION FROM 1307

BY

A. RÓNA-TAS

The inscription which I shall discuss has been known for more than eighty years. In 1894 on behalf of the Society of Archeology, History and Ethnography of the Imperial University, Kazan, G. Achmarov conducted a series of archeological researches in the SE parts of the Kazan Province. In the course of his field-work he found and copied new Volga Bulgarian inscriptions. Ashmarin got his report in manuscript and used its material for his book *Bolgary i čuvaši*, published in 1902. Among the inscriptions found by Achmarov there were three inscriptions located by him to a Tatar village called by him Taš bilgi. Ashmarin quoted one of the three texts as follows: الحكيم للملي الكبير * اليلس اول اسماعيل * اول محمد بكويك * رحمة الله عليه * رحمة واسمة * تاريخ جيات جور * الطسس جال (.....) ايج * اشز اج جرمس * شوز برسوت
Achmarov's translation: «Sud Bogu Vsevyšnemu, Velikomu. Syn Iljjasova Ismagilova syna Muchammed. Milostj Boga emu, milostj širokaja. God 760 . . . mesjaca . . .». Ashmarin corrected Achmarov's translation: «Sud (prinadležit) Bogu Vsevyšnemu, Velikomu. Pamjatnik Muchammeda, syna Ismaila, syna Iljjasa, (Da budet) nad nim milostj Božija milostjju širokogo. Po letočisleniju 706 goda . . . mesjaca (*prestavilsja?*) . . .».¹ Without having seen the original Ashmarin also corrected some of Achmarov's readings

Achmarov

بکویک
الطسس

Ashmarin

یلوکی «ego znak»
آلطنش «šestoj»

He added that the word written by Achmarov as اشزاج in the eighth line reminds him of the word اشز of the inscription of Tetjuši, but he was unable to decipher this word and the last line remained entirely unintelligible for him.²

Achmarov in his book *Bulgar tarihi*, Kazan 1908, edited the inscription for the second time. There are some corrections in the revised text:

¹ Ashmarin, *op. cit.*, pp. 95—96.

² « . . . smysl êtoj stroki, tak že, kak i poslednej, ostaetsja soveršenno zagadočnym » (p. 96).

Ashmarin	Achmarov II
بَلوكى	بلويك
جيات	جات
الطنش	الطش
الح	ايح
جرمس	چرمش
شوز	شور

As we shall see Achmarov's «corrections» were mostly wrong and were carried out without a second study of the original.

The inscription has become known through Ashmarin's book and some of the words have been quoted by the later literature. As in many other cases the wrong readings wandered from one publication to the next. Having no access to a reliable print or photo I included this inscription among the «non authenticated inscriptions» in *Epigraphica Bulgarica* under No. IV.³

In 1973 I had the opportunity to investigate the Volga Bulgarian (VB) inscriptions in the Chuvash ASSR and the Tatar ASSR. In Kazan, thanks to the generosity of the Kazan Branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences I could work through the archives of the Institute of Language, Literature and History.⁴ In the Archives I found an excellent photo of the inscription made presumably by G.V. Jusupov. Coming back from Kazan in Moscow I got hold of the latest volume of *Ėpigrafika Vostoka XXI* where the untimely deceased excellent Tatar scholar G.V. Jusupov published a series of inscriptions collected by him during an expedition of the Kazan Institute in the years 1961—1963. Jusupov republished here the above mentioned inscription without referring to the fact that this had been done earlier by Ashmarin and Achmarov. He quotes, however, some of the readings by Achmarov.

Jusupov's edition is superior to the former ones. He gives the name of the village as Tjažberdino, in Tatar Räjäb and adds that Taš bilge is the name of the cemetery.⁵ He had also recognized that this inscription contains something which is unique among the hitherto known inscriptions. He writes: «V posled-

³ Róna-Tas A.—Fodor S., *Epigraphica Bulgarica: Studia Uralo-Altica* I (Szeged 1973), p. 166 (Further EB).

⁴ I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the direction of the Institute and especially to A. Ch. Chalikov for their kind and effective help.

⁵ Unfortunately also here some error has crept in. Jusupov (*Ėp. Vost. XXI*, p. 51) locates Tjažberdino, Tatar Räjäb into the Kujbyšev rayon. Tjažberdino is in fact in the Aljkeevo rayon. The Tatar village Räjäb is called otherwise Staryj Baran and is in the Kujbišev rayon (I quote a letter of A. Ch. Chalikov, dated 2nd March, 1975). Thus it remains an open question whether the inscription is in Tjažberdino (Aljkeevo) or Räjäb — Staryj Baran (Kujbyšev). On the term *taš bilgi* see also Jusupov, *Vvedenie v bulgaro-tatarskuju Ėpigrafiku*, M-L 1960, p. 96.

nich strokach teksta my vperveye sredi mnogich bulgarskich êpitaŕij vstrečaem drevnebulgarskuju frazu», but he adds: «otdeljnye slova kotoroj ne sovsem ešče ponjatny, poêtomu perevod ee daetsja predpoložiteljno». The main deficiency of Jusupov's publication is that he did not publish the original and thus his readings could not be checked or verified. Not being a linguist Jusupov made practically no comments on this important inscription and my aim is here to evaluate it from the linguistic point of view. In the notes to the text in Arabic and the translation I indicate those places where I differ from Jusupov in my readings, interpretation or translation.

The text and its translation are as follows:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>al-ḥukmu li-l-lāhi-l-ʿaliyyi-l-kabīri</i> | الحكم لله العلي الكبير ١ |
| 2. <i>Elyās awli Ismāʿil</i> | إلياس أول إسماعيل ٢ |
| 3. <i>awli Muḥamad belūwī kū</i> | أول مُحَمَّد بَلَوِي كُ ٣ |
| 4. <i>raḥmatu-l-lāhi ʿalayhi rahmatan</i> | رَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ رَحْمَةٌ ٤ |
| 5. <i>wāsiʿat^{an} tāriḥ-a ḥiyētī</i> | وَأَسِعَهُ تَارِيحَ حَيَاتِ ٥ |
| 6. <i>ḥūr alḥiši ḥāl q^{ul}-q^ada</i> | حُورِ أَطْشِ حَالِ دَوَالِعِ [د١٤] ٦ |
| 7. <i>ayḥi išne²⁰ eči.²¹ čerimsen²²</i> | أَيْحِ إِشْنِ أَحِ حَيْرِ مَسْنِ ٧ |
| 8. <i>šiwne barsa vēlti</i> | شِيونَ بَرَسَ وَلْتِ ٨ |

⁶ Jusupov has *kesra* beneath the *ālif* but I do not see it and an *i-* is very unlikely here. Cf. *eči*.

⁷ Jusupov has *اللّه* but I do not see the *qamma* on the *hā*.

⁸ There is a clear dot beneath the *rā* not noted by Jusupov. In the case of *kabīri* and *raḥmatu* it is impossible to decide whether there is a dot or not beneath the *rā*.

⁹ *Faṭḥa* above *wāw*, *kesra* and three dots beneath *sin* are not noted by Jusupov.

¹⁰ The dot beneath *rā* is not noted by Jusupov.

¹¹ The place is somewhat damaged, the dot registered by Jusupov beneath *ḥīm* is illegible, and so are the dots beneath *yā* and *kesra* beneath *tā*. But the *faṭḥa* on *yā* is good visible though not noted by Jusupov.

¹² Jusupov has *جوز*. The *faṭḥa* is surely a misprint, since he correctly translated «hundred». There is no dot on the *rā*, i.e. it is not *zāy*. The line begins with the usual small triangle characteristic to VB *kūfi* (see *Paleographical remarks*). If this were a dot it would have been placed higher. There is, however, a dot beneath *rā* not noted by Jusupov.

¹³ The dot beneath *ḥīm* is not noted by Jusupov.

¹⁴ It is difficult to read the word. Jusupov gives [!] ذالعدد. This word occurs twice in the authentically edited VB inscriptions *EB* 25 : 7 ذوالعدد and *EB* 44 : 2 ذوالعدد. Though the *wāw* is not very clear in this inscription it is the only possible reading. I do not see the dots on *qāf* indicated by Jusupov, but the place is somewhat damaged and perhaps a *faṭḥa* can be read. There is a dot beneath the *ʿain*.

¹⁵ Jusupov did not indicate the *faṭḥa* and *kesra*.

¹⁶ Jusupov gives *إشب* i.e. *išip*. There is no *hamza* but only *kesra* beneath *ālif*. The *nūn* clearly has its dot above and *faṭḥa* on the *nūn* is clearly visible. There is no dot

1. The judgment belongs to God the Most High, the Great
2. Elyās' son Ismā'il's
3. son Muḥamad's (sepulchral) monument (is) this.
4. The mercy of God, be upon him with mercy
5. abundant. According to history seven
6. hundred sixth year in the *du-l-qa'da*
7. month (it) was. To the Čerimsen
8. river having gone, (he) died.²³

Paleographical remarks

The inscription is written in the style which I call VB *kufī*. This style is connected with the earliest phase of the history of the *kufī* style²⁴ which later developed into a decorative art of writing. The primitive variant of *kufī* has been preserved mostly in the outlying provinces of the Muslim world. It is adapted to the necessities of carving into stone, hence its lines are, where possible, straight. In the VB region a special variant of this style developed. Similar inscriptions can be seen in Jusupov's *Vvedenie* Nos 14, 18, 19, 20 etc. The «head» of *wāw* is almost triangular, the independently written *yā* has a horizontal stroke which is continued by a line leaning somewhat backwards thus resembling an angle. The perpendicular lines of *sīn* are straight, the one on the right is somewhat longer and leaning a bit forward. The letter *kāf* has the special *kufī* form sometimes very similar to the independent *yā* used in other styles but never goes below the line. The oblique initial line of the initial *šīm* is short. The letter *ālif* and some other letters have a small triangular «head».

beneath the *nūn*. In this case Achmarov and Ashmarin read the word almost correctly. The final *nūn* has here its *kūfī* form, very common in other inscriptions, and in the same form as in the words *čerimsen* and *šūne* in our inscription, where also Jusupov read *-n*.

¹⁷ Jusupov reads: (!) جرمسن. The dot and the *kesra* beneath *rā* are clearly visible. Above the initial *šīm* the space is somewhat damaged. The three dots beneath *sīn* are clearly visible, see the photocopy.

¹⁸ The three dots beneath *sīn* and the dot beneath *rā* are not noted by Jusupov, but see the photocopy.

¹⁹ Jusupov put the *fatha* on the *lām* though it is clearly on *wāw*.

²⁰ On *išne* see p. 163 below.

²¹ Written *ešī*.

²² Written *šerimsen*.

²³ Jusupov: 6. v zu-l-ka'da 7. mesjace, v načale bylo. V čermasanskoj 8. vode, utonuv, umer (?).

To this Jusupov adds (p. 52) «Posle daty جرمسن fraza načinaetsja slovom «Čermasan» (sic, with *-s-*), nazvanijem r(eki) Čeremšan (po-tatarski Čermešän) schodnym s nazvanijem r(eki) Čermasan (v zapadnoj Baškirii)».

²⁴ See A. Grohmann, *Arabische paläographie* I—II, Österreichische Akademie der Wiss. Phil-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften, Wien 1967—1971, Bd. I, pp. 71—92.

Orthographical remarks

The very carefully written text has some orthographical peculiarities more or less in common with other inscriptions. The most important of them is the dot put beneath the letter *rā*. This shows that there was a special need in the VB territory to distinguish among the letters *zayn* ز and *rā* ر to assure the correct reading. In an area, where two linguistic groups lived together with languages in which the distinction between e.g. *sekiz* and *sekir* was a question of ethnical identity, this orthographical usage has been of essential importance.

A similar procedure can be observed in the distinction between the letters rendering *s* and *š*. The letter *šin* has the usual three dots above, but the letter *šīn* is especially marked by three dots beneath the letter ش. There have been some speculations about the meaning of these dots beneath, but since they occur in Arabic words as well,²⁵ I see here a clear parallel to the distinction of *z versus r*. In the two languages such word pairs as *sārī* and *šārī* «yellow, white» were important for the ethnical differentiation. It is also relevant that the system is the same. In the first case the dot above was placed beneath to distinguish the letter, in the second case the three dots were used in the same way for the same purpose.

In the VB inscriptions there were consequently used some letters denoting consonants. In those cases where Arabic had the so called emphatic consonants and Turkish had consonants near to their Arabic pronunciation, the Arabic emphatic consonant letters were used in back vocalic words — a usage which can be observed also in other Middle Turkish texts.²⁶ This orthographical usage

²⁵ See *Elyas, Isma'īl* and *wasī'at* in our text.

²⁶ On this usage of the emphatic consonants in Kipchak texts see S. Telegdi: *KCsA Ergänzungsband*, 1935—1939, pp. 287—288. According to O. Pritsak (*Fundamenta I*, p. 77) in the Mamluk-Kipchak orthography the emphatic consonants were also used to differentiate between the pairs *a : ā*, *o : u*, *ö : ü*, *ī : i* as e.g. by Abū Ḥayyān and the al-Qawānīn. In the *Tarjumān*, 1343, published by Houtsma and republished by Kuryš-žanov the emphatic consonants are only used in back-vocalic words, but there inconsequently e.g. *تبرق topraq* «earth» but *طبق topuq* «ankle-bone», *توما turma* «radish», but *طرنا turna* «crane». A similar picture can be found also in the Khwarezmian orthography. The usage of the emphatic consonants in back-vocalic words is known also in the Osman-Turkish texts. I have no place to go in to details here but I would like to mention that in those epigraphical monuments of the Volga region which were written in the literary language of the same period or later, this usage of the emphatic consonants is absent. Only in one of the earliest inscriptions (Bolšie Tarchani 1314) do we find *الطیح altinči* (see Jusupov, *Vvedenie* (No. 12 : 12). Otherwise we find *التیح altunči* «goldsmith» (Bolgari 1317, *ibid*, No. 15 : 5) *اوتوز otuz* «thirty» (Museum of Kazan, 1383, B. Nyrsy 1399, Jusupov, *op. cit.*, No. 45), *التي altī* «six» (B. Nyrsy 1399) in contrast to VB *وטר* (cf. *EB* Nos 10 : 8—9, 19 : 6, 20 : 6) and *الطیس* in our text. That means that there was not only a difference in the languages of the two types of the Volga inscriptions but also in their orthography.

enables us to judge the quality of the vowels in otherwise dubious cases, thus e.g. تو اتم «fourth» can be read only with front vowels in spite of the fact that this word is back vocalic in present Chuvash (*tāvātām*), otherwise we would have طواطم with ط as in الط *alṭi* «six» or وطر *wuṭur* «thirty».

In the VB inscriptions, as in ours, the letter *kāf* ك is consequently used only in front vocalic words. In back vocalic words on place of the deep velar Proto-Turkish (PT) *q*- we find *x*- so there is no *qāf* in VB words. The consonant *x*- is written — with one exception²⁷ — by *hā* in all inscriptions, but the dot is many times omitted since the distinction between *hā* ح and *hā* ح was unimportant.

The long vowels are always written *plene*, i.e. with *wāw*, *yā* or *ālif*, the same system which can be found in Kāšγari's *Divān*.²⁸ The short vowels are denoted by the diacritics *fatha*, *kesra* and *damma*, but often omitted, or illegible. This is the case in our text e.g. in *šiyeti* and *čerimsen*.

Sometimes on place of the PT long vowels we find the triphthongs *-iye-* and *-üwe-*, *-üwi-*, *-uwi-* resp. In carefully written texts also the diacritics are places as in *tüwātīm* or in *šiyeti*. From this it seems to be clear that we have to interpret this clusters as [*iye*] and [*üwe*] resp. containing the semivowels *i* and *u*.

It is remarkable that no distinction is made between *š* and *č* though the orthography used the three dots in the case of *š*.²⁹

These and other regularities in the writing of VB words are very consistent in the VB inscriptions. This fact makes the assumption inevitable that there existed a literature written in the VB language with Arabic letters.³⁰

²⁷ This occurs in the word *hīr* «girl, daughter» < PT *qīz* > Chuvash *xēr*. The word occurs twenty times in the authentically edited inscriptions (see *EB*, p. 152) invariably with *hā* and even in the word *hīrhūm* «girl-slave, maiden» < PT *qirqin* > Chuv. *xārxaṃ* the first letter is always *hā*. In present Chuvash there is no difference among the initial of *xēr* and the other words which have an initial *x* < PT *q*-. In one case (*EB* 22 : 4) Jusupov read *hīr* but this is very uncertain.

²⁸ This system was first discovered by Professor Ligeti, see *Les voyelles longues en turc*: *JA* 1938, pp. 177—204. Lately J. A. Kelly has dealt with the orthography of Kāšγari in a detailed and instructive study (*UJb* 45, 1973, pp. 152—161) without, however, referring to the controversial opinions expressed by many authors.

²⁹ There are many orthographical systems used for rendering Turkish words with Arabic letters. Those under Persian influence use three dots beneath *šim* to render *č*. It is of interest that the VB orthography shows no Persian influence. It is another question why the VB orthography found it necessary to distinguish between *s* and *š* and not between *č* and *š*.

³⁰ Already Fraehn in a lecture delivered in 1830 (cf. *Drei Münzen aer Wolga-Bulgharen aus dem X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*: *Mémoires de l'Académie Imp. des Sc.*, 1832, sér. VI, tome I, pp. 180—181) has supposed the existence of an early literature in Bolgari referring to the *Ta'riḥ Bulγār* of Ya'qub ibn Nu'mān al-Bulγārī (12th century). This work has been lost and we do not know whether it has been written in Arabic or in Turkish, nevertheless

Remarks on the VB words

awli اُولِ «his son» (:2,3). This reading is secured by a *sukun* written in *EB* 46 : 4 and is the form with the possessive suffix *-i* of the word *awul*. The dropping of the vowel of the second syllable is normal in VB see e.g. *ayix* > *ayxi* and known also in Old Turkish texts e.g. in the case of *ayiz* > *ayzi* «his mouth». It is, however, to mention that Chuvash preserved the *-u-* in form of the reduced vowel *ǎ* in *ivälě* «his son». Cf. PT *oyul* + *i*, Chuvash *iväl* + *ě*, Tatar *ul* + *i*.

belüwī بَلُوِي «his (sepulchral) monument (lit. sign) (:3). This word has been discussed many times. The most important remarks were made by K. Thomsen.³¹ Thomsen correctly rejected the former readings according to which the following *kāf* belongs to the word. He was also right in pointing out that the final *-g* already disappeared and that to this VB *الو* *älü* «fifty» < PT *älig* offers a clear parallel. Some problems, however, remained unsolved. Recently M. R. Fedotov has discussed the reading of the word.³² According to him the letters *wāw* and *yā* denote together a Turkish *ü* mechanically following the Uighur orthography. According to him the word has to be read as *belük*. This is impossible for several reasons. It is true that the Uighur orthography exerted some influence on that of Arabic used for rendering Turkish texts mainly beginning with the Khwarezmian period of the East Turkish literary language. This occurred, mainly in the case of denoting the vowels where the originally used opposition *long* : *short* = *plene* : *diacritic* disappeared and the plene writing is used for all vowels, as in Uighur. This was partly due to the loss of the opposition of the long and short vowels. But I do not know of any Turkish texts written in Arabic — nor does Fedotov quote any — in which *wāw* and *yā* denote *ü*. But this is not what is essential. In the system of the Uighur orthography *ü* is denoted by *wāw* and *yod* only in the first syllable. Thus e.g. in the word *bälgüsi*, *bälgü-si* (Suv 618 : 21, 621 : 12) the *ü* is written only with *waw*. In the VB inscriptions we find many words where *ü* has to be read (e.g. *ǰür* or just in the particle *kü*) and it is never rendered by *wāw* and *yā*.

we have evidence that Ya'qub was a Turk. Abū'l Ḥamid al-Garnatī has met him between 1132 and 1136 in Bolgari (see Bartoljč, *Sočinenija* V, p. 518, Hrbek; *EncIsl* 1307). I quote here Fraehn «Welcher Freund der vaterländischen Geschichte teilt nicht mit mir den Wunsch, dass diese Bulgarische Chronik, welche ich hier signalisiert, einmal mögte aufgefunden werden?» (*op. cit.*, 181 note).

³¹ *Zur wolgalbolgarischen Epigraphie: Acta Orientalia Havniae*, XXVI: 3—4 (1962), pp. 189—192. Correctly is the expression read also by G. Doerfer in *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, I, p. 217.

³² *Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 1974: 5, p. 106. This opinion has been earlier put forward by O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*, Wiesbaden 1955, p. 71, and already rejected by L. Ligeti in: *Turkológiai megjegyzések szláv jövevény-szavainkhoz* [Turkological remarks to the Slavic loanwords of the Hungarian language]: *Magyar Nyelv* LXIII (1967), p. 434, note.

The readings, suggested by Fedotov — as *bol-tü* (!) or *bol-tö* (!) for the correct *bältuwi* (not *bältuwi* as Fedotov quoted me) is indefensible. K. Thomsen has correctly quoted the parallel expression *ziyarat-i kü* زیارتک «his sepulchral monument». To this I would only add that we have also *ziyarači kü* (EB 28 : 2) and in one case *ziyarat-i bu* (EB 8 : 3), i.e. in place of the VB *-kü* we find the regular Turkish *bu* which verifies beyond any doubt the interpretation of *kü* as an emphatic particle with the meaning «this (is)». Nevertheless one problem has remained open and this is the history of the word and its connection with the present Chuvash forms. In the Chuvash literary language and the dialects we find the following forms: *pală*, *pallă*, *palăk*, *palkă*. It is clear that the forms with *k* have to be excluded here and cannot be linked directly with the VB form. On the other hand the form with the possessive suffix of the third person of *pală* and *pallă* is *palli*. We know another type of words which have a form resembling the VB form *belüwi* this is *širu* «letter» > *širävě* «his/her letter», or *kětü* «herd» > *kětěvě* «his/her herd»,³³ but this occurs only in words which end in *-u* or *-ü*.³⁴ Thus in the case of a perfect parallel we would expect in Chuvash not *pală* (*pallă* is a secondary form),³⁵ but **palu* which is, however, not the case. Chuvash *pală* can be a continuation of either **belig* or **belég* the latter well attested in Old Church Slavic *belbg* itself a Turkish-Bulgarian loanword there. The Hungarian word *bélyeg* «mark» was — as Professor Ligeti is inclined to suppose³⁶ — borrowed through Slavic. The Turkish words pertaining here have been thoroughly discussed by Professor Ligeti. He reconstructed two prototypes: PT **belgü* and PT **beläk* or **bäläk* supposing that the *-k* > *-g* change occurred in Slavic. Considering the Chuvash form *pală* I would prefer a sonorization within Chuvash as in the type *ätik* «boots» > *ată*, *özek* «the inner part of the tree etc.» > *vara*, which occurred through the phases *-g* > *-β* > *-θ*. The Chuvash form *palkă* is a Kazan Tatar loanword reflecting an original **bälgi* or **bälgü*,³⁷ the latter attested in a Tatar inscription dated 1695/6 where we read *belgüsi*.³⁸ The form *palăk* is a metathetic form also borrowed from Tatar and reflects an original *belüg*. This is of great importance, because this is exactly the form which could be the etymon of VB **belü* > *belüwi*. We know about numerous cases where Tatar has preserved VB words and some of them

³³ *širävě* developed regularly from **širuwi*, *kětěvě* from **kötüwi*.

³⁴ These final *-u/ü* are secondary. The original *-u/ü* became *-ă/ě*. In most cases present *-u/ü* has developed from *-uγ/üγ*.

³⁵ Both *pală* and *pallă* have their form with the possessive suffix as *palli*. The form *pallă* is a secondary re-derivation from *palli*.

³⁶ *Op.cit.*, p. 437.

³⁷ On the details see: *On the Chuvash guttural stops in final position: Studia Turcica* (Budapest 1971), pp. 389—400.

³⁸ The actual Tatar form is *bilge* (see e.g. *Taş bilge* above) from an earlier **belgi* < *belgü* (cf. Ligeti, *op.cit.*, p. 433). The form *belgüsi* occurs e.g. in Jusupov, *Vvedenie* No. 74.

were later borrowed by Chuvash.³⁹ Cf. PT *belgü*, *belüg*, *belek*, Chuvash *palä*, Tatar *bilge*.

kü ك (:3) On this emphatic particle see above. Fedotov⁴⁰ and Poppe⁴¹ have expressed the view that this particle is unknown in the other Turkish languages. The syntactical function of **kü* resembles the Turkish particle *oğ/ök* common in Old and Middle Turkish⁴² and many modern Turkish languages. In Kazan Tatar it is *ük/uk* e.g.: *teläsän irtägü ük sina yauči žibäräm* «If you wish I shall send you the matchmaker just to-morrow» or Bashkir *urmanya uq barip eteü* «to go just to the forest». In some languages and dialects we find, however, this particle in the form *kü*, e.g. in Uzbek *u keldi kü* «he came» or South Kirgiz *ol barat kü* «on-to pojdet, da vedj on že pojdet; he is the one who is just coming.» It seems that *oğ/ök* is the secondary form and we have to do here with an old Turkish demonstrative pronoun **kü* pointing to near in contrast to its back vocalic form **qu* pointing far. The latter has been preserved by Yellow Uighur.⁴³ Cf. Chuvash *ku* «this (near)».

ĵiyeti جيات (:5) «seven» The fully vocalized form *ĵiat* can be found, e.g. in EB Nos 12 : 6, 42 : 4, 49 : 6. In an inscription dated 1338 (EB No 20 : 6) we find *ĵiyeti* جيات a transitional form to the present Chuvash *šičč*. I have to remark that Kazan Tatar has *ĵide* < **ĵedi* while in the inscriptions written in the literary language there is always *y.ti* يت⁴⁴ Cf. PT *yēti*, Chuvash *šičč*, *šičč*, Tatar *ĵide*.

³⁹ I quote only one example here PT *yüzük* «ring» is regularly represented by Chuvash *šērē*. The word — as a special term for weaving — has been borrowed by Tatar (and other Volga languages) where it is *šüre* «spulka, cevka». This word was later reborrowed by Chuvash where we find *šūrē* with *šērē* side-by-side. For more details see *Some Volga Bulgarian words in the Volga Kipchak languages*: (forthcoming).

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴¹ Cf. N. Poppe, *Zur Stellung des Tschuwaschischen*: CAJ XVIII (1974), p. 142.

⁴² See Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, p. 76, Sevortjan, *Ētim. Slov.* I., pp. 438—439, Räsänen (*Materialien zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen*: SO XX, 1957, p. 39) supposed that the Chuvash reflexive pronoun *xam* ~ *xu* ~ *xäy* etc. and the particle *-ax*, *-xa* is connected with *-oq* by assuming an intermediate form **oqa*.

⁴³ See S. E. Malov, *Jazyk želtych uĵurov*, Alma Ata 1957: *yu* «étot daljnij» (< Chinese?) (p. 176), *qu* «von tot»(?), *quya* «kuda» *go* «étot» (p. 56), *yo* «von tot» (p. 22). Malov adds (p. 177) that there is no parallel to *yu* in the Turkish languages, however there could be a — perhaps only formal — similarity with Chuvash *ku*. Egorov (*Ētim. slov.*, p. 114) compares Chuvash *ku* with Turkish *bu* (a quite other particle with a similar function and equally developed from an old demonstrative pronoun) and among the Turkish data cited he quotes also SHERA YÖĞÜR *ko* without indicating that it is back vocalic.

⁴⁴ The *-d-* in the Oghuz languages is due to the long *ē* preceding the original *-t-*. In the Kipchak languages the sonorization of *-t-* is due to its intervocalic position. The *-d-* in some Kipchak languages is very old (*Bulyat al-muštaq*, 14th century, *At-tuhfat*, 14th century, also in Armeno-Kipchak). In this word the *-d-* is however restricted to a small group of Kipchak languages including Tatar, Bashkir, Misher, Baraba, Karaim. But even in the Eastern Tatar dialects of Siberia we find *yette* «seven» and *yete* «week» (cf. D. G. Tumaševa, *Könbatış Seber tatarları tele*, Kazan 1961, p. 124).

ǰūr حور (:6) «hundred» always with plene written -ū-. Cf. PT *yūz*, Chuvash *śér*, *sör*, Tatar *yöz*.

altiši الطيش (:6) «sixth». It is of special importance that in this word the syllable -*tī*- did not become -*čī*- and we have also in Chuvash -*tä*. On the suffix -*ši* see below. Cf. PT *altī*, Chuvash *ultä*, Tatar *altī*.

ǰāl حال (:6) «year». Most Turkish languages have two words one of which denotes the calendar year (*yil*) and the other the age (*yaş*). In an inscription, dated 1311, we read that a certain *Fatima-ilči* died in her twenty second year: *yigirmi iki yaşında* (Jusupov, *Vvedenie*, No. 10), in another inscription also written in the literary language in 1328 we find: *-Hatun otuz biş yaşında . . .* «-Hatun (died) in her thirtyfifth year» (*op. cit.*, No. 22). It is interesting that the word for calendar year occurs relatively late in the inscriptions e.g. *toquz yüz biş yilde* «in the year 905 (according to Hegira, i.e. 1499/1500)», or *tarih ming yil uzup yigirmi-de* «in thousand year and twenty (according to Hegira i.e. 1611/12). In the earlier inscriptions we find the type: *hiřrat-da yeti yüz on birde* «According to Hegira 710 (i.e. 1311—12)». Most recently L. Bazin has dealt with the words *yaş* and *yil*.⁴⁵ He stated that the opposition calendar year: year of age is present in all Turkish languages with the exception of VB, Chuvash and Karachay-Balkar. In the latter we find only *yil* in both meanings which Bazin explains with the Bulgarian substratum in the Balkar Kipchak language. The common Turkic *yāš*, VB *ǰāl* and Chuvash *śul* are the original words for year, while *yil* is according to him an old Mongolian loanword in the z-Turkish languages, most probably from Juanjuan and is etymologically the same word as Mongolian *nil-qa* «young», while Mongolian *ǰil* is a late reborrowing from Turkish. Bazin's proposal is very plausible, however I have to express some doubts. The Mongols had a very old native word for year which has to be reconstructed as **po(n)* and — as Professor Ligeti has demonstrated — was present already in Kitan.⁴⁶ It seems to me a somewhat overcomplicated view that the Mongols knew the word for year **nil*, forgot its original meaning and then borrowed it back from Turkish. If *nil* denoted the calendar year this is highly improbable, if not, what was the difference between *nil* and *pon*, and where and when did the former obtain its meaning? It is sure, as Bazin correctly pointed out, that *yil* ~ *ǰil* is a typical international word. If Turkish *tāš* «stone» pertains to Mongolian **til-a-γun* I see no reason why we could not connect *yāš* with Mongolian *ǰil*. Parallel to Mongolian *čilayun* and *ǰil* we have Chuvash *čul* and *śul*. That the Bulgarian form *ǰāl* was used for denoting the calendar year is attested. It is another question whether Turkish *yil* is a borrowing from some early Onogur-Bulgarian language or it came to these languages by Mongolian mediation. Cf. PT *yāš*, Chuvash *śul*, Tatar *yāš*, *yel*.

⁴⁵ *Les calendriers turcs anciens et médiévaux*, Paris 1974, pp. 70—77 and passim.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Le tabghatch, un dialecte de la langue sien-pi*; *Mongolian Studies* 1970, p. 306: Old Mongolian **pon*, Khitan *po*, Jurchen(Kin) *pon*, Middle Mongolian *hon*.

ayxi اٰيٰخ (:7) «its month». The stem has to be reconstructed as *ayux* or *ayix*, in case of **ayax* we would expect Chuvash **uyax* and not *uyax* which is the extant form. The PT *āy* lost the length of its vowel. The *sukun* on *ya* in the inscription of 1291 (*EB* No. 3 : 4) excludes the reading *ayixi*, and the Chuvash form *uyaxĕ* similarly pertains to another dialect as in the case of *awli*. The *-q* is a typical Bulgarian suffix, which became in VB in back vocalic words *-x*, cf. PT *tīl* «language» > Chuv *čēlxē*. Cf. PT *āy*, Chuvash *uyax*, Tatar *āy*.

išne اِشْنَه (:7) «in (the middle of)». The *kesra* beneath the *ālif*, also clearly written in *EB* No. 9 : 9, shows that this is the only possible reading. This word has been dealt with in detail by O. Pritsak.⁴⁷ He corrected the earlier reading to the one occurring here and already suggested by Jusupov.⁴⁸ Pritsak connected this word with *āš* «das Innere» and read *išinā* deriving the root of this form from PT *ič*. There are, however, some problems which are still unsolved. The word *āš* «interior, stomach» etc. has a labial vowel in the Viryal dialects, where it sounds *ōs*.⁴⁹ This can be due only to the fact that it goes back to an older form with labial vowel which excludes the possibility of connecting the word with *ič*. The final *-č* results regularly in *-š* in Chuvash as PT *ič*- «to drink» > *ēš*-, PT *ač*- «to open» > *uš*-, PT *ūč* > «three» > *viš(ĕ)* etc. Doerfer tried to explain the irregular final postulating an *ič* + *si*.⁵⁰ I think we have to do here with two or perhaps three different words which have been mixed together partly by the lexicographers and partly perhaps already by the native speakers. The first word is of Persian origin where it is *huš* هوش and has the meaning «conscience, mind, memory etc.». This word can be found also in Tatar dialects in the form *uš* «memory»,⁵¹ and among the meanings of Chuvash *āš* in the dictionary of Sirotkin «um, pamjatj» is equally mentioned as, of course, in Ashmarin's Thesaurus. There is also a word in Kāšγarī *oš* with the meaning «the heart, the centre of a tree trunk, branch or horn». Though Räsänen has connected this word with Turkish *ič* in his Etymological Dictionary⁵² this is highly improbable. Radlov's *uš* quoted from the *Codex Cumanicus* with the meaning «das Gedächtniss, die Gelehrigkeit, geistige Fähigkeit etc.» has to be corrected to *us* < PT *ūz*, but his etymology of Tatar *uš* deriving it from the quoted Persian word seems to me valid.⁵³ Thus the labial variants pertain to

⁴⁷ *Bulgaro-Tschuwaschica: UAJb* XXXI (1959), pp. 301–303.

⁴⁸ *O nekotorych bulgarskich ėpigrafičeskich pamjatnikach: Ėpigr. Vost.* VII (1953), p. 28, see also Bulatov, *Ėpigr. Vost.* XVI (1963), p. 60 with the translation «v načale».

⁴⁹ Cf. Ashmarin, *Thesaurus*, IV, p. 80, *ōš*, *žš*, Paasonen, *Csuwas Szójegyzék*, Spassk dialect *ōš*.

⁵⁰ *OLZ* 66 (1971), col. 339.

⁵¹ *Tatar teleneĭ dialektologik süzlege* (Kazan 1969), p. 469 equated with Tatar *is* and the Persian origin indicated.

⁵² *Versuch*, p. 366.

⁵³ *Opyt*, col. 1772.

another word and we have to do with *ās*, *ōš¹* and *ās²* and this latter has in the Viryal dialect also a form *ěš*. There are special conditions under which PT *č* could become *š* in Chuvash. This occurred mainly before consonants, as e.g. *věš* «end» (< PT *uč* not *uč!*) but *věšleke* «peaked» ~ dial. *věšleke*, *ășta* «where» ~ dial. *ășta*, *šta*. The suffix of the so called purposive is in Chuvash *-šan/šen* from PT *učün* perhaps through a form *učne*. To the Turkish reciprocal suffix *-š* corresponds in Chuvash *š*, but in Mongolian *-lča/lče*. Though *-lč-* gives regularly *-š-* in Chuvash it seems to me very improbable that this very common suffix was borrowed from Tatar. In some words *š* has been preserved as in *šuraš-* «to reconcile oneself». On *-minč* > *měš* see below pp. ±. Thus we have a few cases where *č* became *š* in suffixes, postpositions, mainly in clusters with another consonant. So it is not quite impossible that here we have a special development *ične* > *išne* > *ěšne* ~ *ășne*.

eči چ (:7) «was». This word occurs sixteen times (cf. *EB*, p. 151) as آتی *eti* and twice as *eči*, once in an inscription of Atrjasi, 1323 (*EB* No. 8) and once in an inscription of Nižnie Yaki, 1340 (*EB* No. 39). It corresponds to OT *erti*, the past tense third person form. In the inscriptions written in the literary language we find always *irdi*. The *-r-* is going to disappear already in the OT texts and is absent in this word in many modern Turkish languages. In Tatar the *-r-* has also disappeared: *ak ide* «it was white», *yuk ide* «it was not»: *ide* < **erdi*. Or in the form *isä* cf. *ul mine kürde isä köle başlıy* «he only looks at me and begins to smile» < **irsä* < **ersä*. In Chuvash only remnants can be found from the now obsolete verb as *iměš* «seemingly, as it would be», *ikken* «to be seen, to appear somewhere» cf. *väl unta ikken* «he appears there», *väl ultaršä ikkenne purte pělěššě* «that he is a deceiver everybody knows, lit. about his being a deceiver everybody knows.» Here *ikkene* is used in the sense «about the being» < **erken*. While the *-r-* is disappearing in most of the Turkish languages, but other verbs ending in *-r* preserve their final *-r*, in Chuvash there exist ten such verbs ending in *-r* which drop their final *-r* in a similar way. On the suffix *ti* > *či* see below. Cf. PT *erti*, Chuvash *i-* and the suffix *-čě*, Tatar *i-* and the suffix *-di*.

Jerimsen چریمسن *(:7) «the river Čerimsan». At first sight this river name could be identified with the name of the Čeremšan already figuring in the work of Ibn Fadlan, who, according to the manuscript of Meshed, has the form چریمسن .⁵⁴

*With dot beneath *rā* and three dots beneath *sīn*.

⁵⁴ This river name has been identified by Z. V. Togan (*Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXIV: 3, Leipzig 1939, p. 37), I. J. Kračkovskij (*Putešestvija Ibn Fadlana na Volgu*, M—L. 1939, *Kniga Achmeda Ibn Fadlana o ego putešestvii na Volgu v 921—922 g.*, Charkov 1956) and K. Czeglédy (*Magna Hungaria: Századok* LXXVII [1943], p. 305). I quote the Meshed MS according to a photography made by Professor Ligeti and published by K. Czeglédy in facsimile (cf. *Zur mescheder Handschrift von Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht: AOH* I, 1951, pp. 217—260). The actual word occurs on fol. 203b line 3. Togan suggested (*op. cit.*, p. 37) that this river name has to be

The three dots beneath the letter *sīn* exclude, however, the reading *Čerimšan* or *Čerimšen*. In the *Risala tawarih Bulğariya* written by Šaraf-ud-din ibn Hisam-ud-din al-Bulğari⁵⁵ three river-names occur: *Čeremšān* چرمشان, *Sarmasān* and *Qarmasān*. The former is the Čeremšan the second two are located in the territory of the Bashkirs, because it is said in the work that several Bashkir persons came from the valleys of the *Saramsan* and *Qaramsan* to Bolğari to learn the teachings of Islam. These rivers flow into the Bjelaja and are called by the present Bashkirs *Särmäsān* and *Qarmasan*. The initial *s-* in present Bashkir goes back to an earlier *č-* thus Bashkir *Särmäsān* corresponds to an earlier *Čermasan* or *Čeremsan*. The river is called by the Tatars and the Russians now-a-days *Čermasan*. In the dictionary of Ashmarin we find a series of river names: *Šarām*, *Šarāmsam*, *Šarāmsan*, *Šarāmsem*, *Šarāmsen*, and *Šarāmsan*, *Šarmāsān*. All this river names are identified with the Čeremšan but this is surely a lexicographical error. The first five denote the river Čerimsen and only the second two the river Čeremšan. In toponyms Chuvash *š* is the regular correspondence to Tatar *š*.⁵⁶ The word for «ravine, valley of a brook» is in Chuvash *širma* < PT *yarma* from the verb *yār-* «to split». Already Egorov called the attention to the fact⁵⁷ that in the territory of the former Kazan Province there are many toponyms ending in *-širma* as *Orimširma*, *Ikširma*, *Karaširma*, *Ĵauširma*. The last one seems to be identical with the hitherto unidentified *Ĵaušir* of Ibn Fadlan. Jusupov gives also the variant *Ĵauširma*.⁵⁸ The relation of *Ĵaušir* and

connected with the ethnical name of the Cheremis and formed with an Iranian plural suffix. This is hardly acceptable. The ending *-šan* occurs in a series of other river names, and the use of an ethnical name for a river is unusual in the region.

⁵⁵ On this important source see Usmanov, *Tatarskie istoričeskie istočniki XVII—XVIII vv.*, Kazanj 1972. It is very difficult to decide the questions raised because none of the many extant MSS has been hitherto published. I quote an excerpt published by Veljžaminov-Zernov (*Pamjatnik s arabo-tatarskoj nadpisju v Baškirii: Zapiski Arch. Obšč. XIII* [1859], pp. 257—284, see also Berezin, *Bulgar na Volge: Uč. Zapiski Kazansk. Univ. III* (1852), pp. 144—45, 158.

⁵⁶ Tatar had no palatalized *š* (a sound actually near *ṣ̌*) and substituted *š-* for Chuvash *ṣ̌*. This is the case in many Chuvash loanwords in Tatar see e.g. Tatdial *šimran*, *šomran* «suslik» ← **šumran* < PT *yumran* > Tat *yomran*. The present Chuvash *yāmran* is a Tatar loanword, Tatar *šomürt* «čeremuha» ← **šumürt* < PT *yumürt* < Chuv *šémürt* etc.

⁵⁷ *Ētim. slov.*, p. 226.

⁵⁸ Jusupov, *Vvedenie*, p. 76. It is impossible to agree with Kovalevskij (*Čuvaši i bulgary po dannym Achmeda Ibn-Fadlana*, Čeboksary 1954, p. 14) that the form occurring only once as *Ĵāušin* has to be reconstructed as *Ĵaušiz* referring thus to a *-z* variant of the river name *Ĵaušir*. This and the frequently quoted *Suvaz* instead of *Suvar* are simply errors of the copyist. In case of Chuvash *šir* the etymology (PT *yār* «clift» cf. *Kāšyari yār* «the vertically eroded bank of a river» → Russian *jar* «krutoj bereg, boljšoj glubokij ovrag etc.» cf. Fasmer, *Ētim. slov.* IV, p. 559, see also Tatar *yar*) excludes the possibility of a variant with *-z*. Further river names ending in *-širma* are collected by Vasmer, *Wör-*

Ĵauširma is clear if we keep in mind that Chuvash has beside *širma* «ovrag, rečka» also the shorter form *šir* «obryv, krutoj bereg, jar, kraja ovraga, krutoj ovrag, po dnu kotorogo protekaet ručej».⁵⁹ From this we can conclude that the forms *Šarāmsan*, *Šarmašan* i.e. the toponyms ending in *-san* are the extant equivalents of the river name *Čeremšan* flowing into the Volga while the forms ending in *-san* are the Chuvash forms of the *Čermasan* flowing into the Bjelaja. The variants *-sam*, *-sem*, *-sen* are most probably forms developed under the influence of the Chuvash plural suffix *-san/sen*. The relationship between the two river names remains an open question. It has to be borne in mind that جرمسن is located by Ibn Fadlan in the territory of the Bashkirs who later wandered northward. Taking into consideration all these facts I suppose that the river *Čerimsen* in our inscription denotes the river *Čermasan*. Elyas went to this far river and died there perhaps in a battle.⁶⁰

šivne شِيون (:8) «to its water (with the Dative suffix of the possessive declination)». The word for water in OT was *sūv* or the like. The Chuvash form *šiv* ~ *šu* has been for a long time enigmatic. The Bashkir form *hūu* < *sūu* shows clearly that this Chuvash form goes back to an earlier **sūu*. In fact this form is attested as early as the 8th century. To the *Notitae Episcopatumum* composed between 733–746 an anonymous scholiast added some explanations. A river name *χαράσιον* figures in this text the meaning of which is given as «μαῦρον νερόν black water». Moravcsik read this as *Kara-su*⁶¹ but Professor Ligeti⁶² — referring to the Chuvash form — proposed to read either *Kara*

terbuch der russischen Gewässernamen, IV (1968), pp. 275–276, *Nachtrag* 1973, pp. 186–187. Beside *Karaširma* quoted by Jusupov we find *Karašor* (Perm), *Karašur* (Vjatka) with the Finno-Ugrian ending *-šur*.

⁵⁹ Further derivatives are *širan* «obryv, jar, otkos; bereg», *širlan* dial. *širlan* «krutoj bereg, obryv; obmoina, ovrag obrazovavšiesja ot razliva vody».

⁶⁰ *Čeremšan* is a very common river name in the Volga-Kama region. In the material collected by Vasmer we find several river names pertaining here (see *Wörterbuch*). Beside the well-known Bolšoj and Malyj *Čeremšan* we find several river names which have the same origin. Two are in the former Kazan Province (*Čeremšan*, *Čeremšanka*), seven in the former Perm Province (three *Čeremšankas*, one *Čeremša*, one *Čermos* also *Čermas*, *Čjormoz*, one *Čermoda*, one *Šermeyka* also *Šermyait*, *Šermyaik*, *Šermyaitka*, *Šermyayka*), two in the former Samara Gouvernement (*Čeremšanka*) one in the former Vjatka Province (*Čeremšanka*) and three in the former Ufa Province (*Šarmaš*, *Šarmada*, *Sarmas*) the fourth is the already quoted *Saramsan*. The Russian suffix *-ka* is late and secondary, joining many river names of non-Russian origin in this region (see V. F. Baraškov, *Nazvanija vodnych istočnikov Uljanovskoj oblasti: Onomastika Povolž'ja* II, Gorkij 1971, p. 201). From the structure of these variants we can conclude that the second part denotes «water» cf. *Šerm. yaik* or *Čerm. oda*. The geographical distribution of the river name shows that it is of pre-Turkish origin. I have no place to go into details here, I would only stress the fact that the form quoted as *Saramsan* ~ *Čerimsan* is the only one having *-san* as its final syllable.

⁶¹ Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*², Berlin 1958, I, p. 465.

⁶² Review on *Byzantinoturcica*²: *AOH* X (1960), pp. 306–307.

šu or *Xara šu* referring to the fact that *σ* sometimes renders Turkish *š*. On the basis of Bashkir *hūu* Chuvash *šiv* and the *šiv* of our inscription I would prefer *Xara šiu*. Since this river can be located to the Crimean peninsula the word is remnant from a language spoken in the 8th century in the Khazar Khaganate.⁶³ On *-ne* see below. Cf. PT *sūv*, Chuvash *šiv*, Tatar *su*.

barsa بَرَسَ *(:8) «having gone». The dot under *rā* ensures the reading with *-r-* of the word which Jusupov translated as «utonuv» supposing here the verb *bat-* (Tatar *bat-*, Chuvash *put-*). In this case we would have -ط-. Cf. PT *bar-*, Chuvash Anatri *p̄r-*, Viryal *pur-*, Tatar *bar-*.⁶⁴

velti وَلَتِي *(:8) «died». This word is the VB equivalent of PT *öl-* «to die». Though the present Chuvash form of this word is *vil-*, its transitive form is *vēler-* «to kill». Cf. PT *öl-*, Chuvash *vil-*, Tatar *ül-*.

Remarks on the morphology

-i «possessive suffix of the third person» cf. *awli* (:2,3), *belüwī* (:3), *ayxi* (:7). As is known this suffix is in Turkish *V + si* and *C + i*, but in Chuvash we find another distribution. After consonantal word final *-ě*, after words ending with non-reduced vowels *-i*, in case of reduced vowels also *-i*, but if the original word had a short consonant before the reduced vowel, this consonant became geminated. In words ending in *-u/ü* we meet with *-ävě*, *-ěvě*: *ivāl* > *ivälě*, «his/her son», *laša* > *laši* «his/her horse», *pułā* > *pulli* «his/her fish», and *širu* > *širävě* «his/her letter». All these suffixes go back to **i* which preserved its front-vocalic character also in back-vocalic words. This can be seen also in back-vocalic words ending in *-t*, where the *-ti* became *-čě* as e.g. in *yat* «name» > *yačě* «his/her name». The old suffix *-si* has been preserved only in some words pertaining to kinship terminology as *appa* «elder sister» > *appășě* «his/her elder sister», *ama* «mother» > *amășě* «his/her mother», *kěru* «son-in-law, the husband of the younger sister or any younger female relative» > *kěrušě*. This latter case shows that the *-si* > *šě* suffix had no honorific func-

⁶³ In the Khazar Kaghhanate — as in all other Turkish tribal confederacies — many languages, among them several Turkish languages were spoken. There can be no doubt that one of the languages has been of the Onogur-Bulgarian type. It is another question which Onogur-Bulgarian dialects were among them. There has been a lively discussion of the languages spoken in the Khazar Kaghhanate on which I cannot comment here.

*With dot beneath *rā*.

⁶⁴ In some late inscriptions the cause of the death is sometimes given, e.g. 1382 (Jusupov, *Vvedenie* No. 44) . . . *šahid (boldi)* «became martyr», 1491 (*op.cit.* No. 53): *tārīh sekiz yūz tōqsān yētidē ša'bān ayning on bēš'njī kün erdi kīm Tūgel (ibn) mawlā Sa'yid Ahmād y'g'rmī üc beš'nde (sūyā?) tūššūp* «(According to the) *tārīh* in 697 15th day of the month *ša'bān* was, that *Tūgel (J: Tāvākkel)* son of the *mawlā Sayid Ahmad* in his twenty-third (year) in (water) having fallen». The expression *kāfir qolindin šahid boldi* «from the hands of the unbelievers became martyr» is occurring in many inscriptions of the 16th century.

tion as it has been supposed.⁶⁵ It has also been preserved in some rare expressions as *purtä türtěšě/türteši* «the back of the axe», *alä türtěšě* «the back of the hand» (Ašm. XIV, p. 229). We find the PT *-si* also in the nominalized forms of the numerals, e.g. *uyäx šiččěšě* «the seventh day of the lunar month» and as the distributive form of the numerals e.g. *ikkěšě* «two of them», which functions also as nominal stem. The VB inscriptions show practically the same distribution as we have in present-day Chuvash, i.e. the *-i* suffix has been generalized after all word-finals. In Tatar the old Turkish system has been preserved: C + *i/e* and V + *si/se*, (however after the *-u* of the infinitive we find *-i* e.g. *baliknñ totılıu* «the catching of the fish»). For these reasons everywhere I have reconstructed front vocalic *-i* in the inscriptions.

-a «suffix of the Dative case» cf. *tārix-a* (:5). In most instances the *fatha* on the *h* is not written or illegible (cf. *EB* p. 155), but in some cases it is clearly visible (cf. *EB* Nos 8 : 5, 12 : 5, 18 : 7, 22 : 6, 43 : 5) as in our inscription. Pritsak has dealt with these readings,⁶⁶ and has correctly stated that we have to read here *tarix-a*, which he translated «im Datum» and referred to the parallel literary form *tārix-qa*. To this I would add *hiʃrat-qa* of an inscription of 1328, which was misread (though with question mark) by Jusupov as *hiʃrat-dā* (*Vvedenie* No. 22). This usage of the Dative case is very old cf. *ol ödkä* «at this time» (Kül Tegin E 21), *qon̄ yil-qa* «in the sheep year» (*ibid*, NE 1), *bir yil-qa tört yoli süḡsüdüm* «I fought four times in a year» (Bilge Kagan E 30). The use of the Dative case, however, calls for some explanation. In present-day Chuvash the Locative *-ta/ra/če* serves for such purposes. Pritsak himself cites 1880 *šulta* «in 1880». Benzing also cites this function of the Locative case: *pār sunā växätra* «in der Zeit als es hagelte».⁶⁷ Beside this Benzing mentions that the Dative case (which converged with the Accusative), figures in some expression denoting time: *yara-kuna* «den ganzen Tag», *kěšěrxı šere* «diese Nacht/in der diesnächtigen Nacht» and adds that the Dative case expresses the time when an action takes place: *mayän pěrreměš kunne* «am 1. Mai», *kěr kunne* «im Herbst» etc.⁶⁸ In present-day Chuvash the Dative case denotes the time span during which an action occurred, i.e. the duration of an action: *vutä pěr uyäxa šitet* «the combustible is enough for one month», *věsem kunta pěr-ik ernelěxe ančax kilne* «they came here only for one or two weeks», *kanašlu višě kuna pırať* «the gathering lasts three days». Thus *yara kuna* menas «während des ganzen Tages; v tečenie vsego dnja», *mayän pěrreměš kunne* «during the

⁶⁵ This hypothesis put forward by O. Pritsak (*Studia Altaica*, Wiesbaden 1957, pp. 140—143) has been rejected by G. Doerfer (*OLZ* 66, 1971, col 337). More on the suffix see J. Benzing, *Tschuwaschische Forschungen I, Das Possessivsuffix der dritten Person: ZDMG* 94 (1940), pp. 251—267.

⁶⁶ *UJb* XXXI (1959), pp. 290—291.

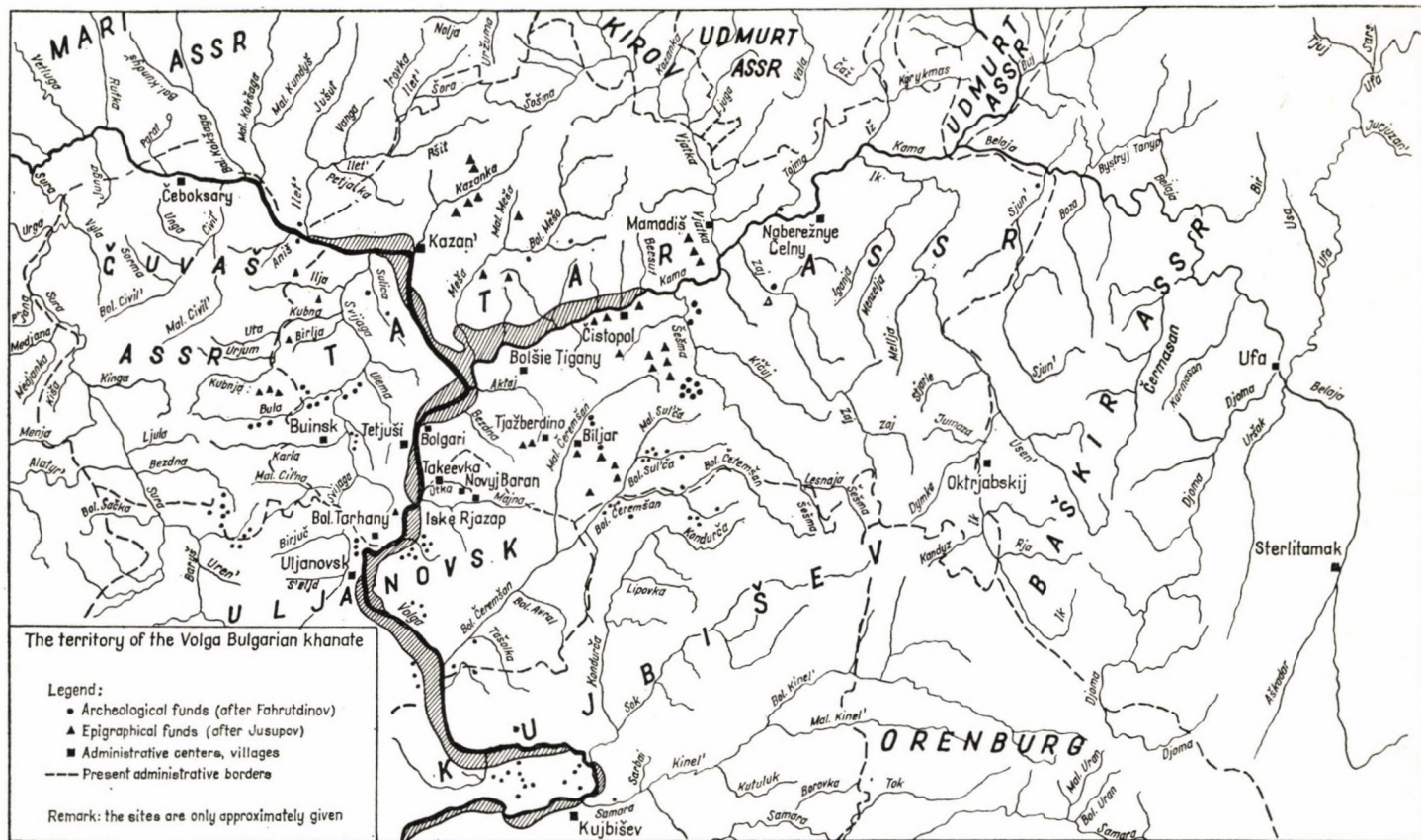
⁶⁷ *Tschuwaschische Forschungen IV, Die Kasus: ZDMG* 96 (1942), p. 438.

⁶⁸ *Op.cit.*, p. 436.

whole day of 1st of May» etc. A similar function of the Dative case can be observed also in Tatar: *ber yelga žitärlek* «it is enough for one year». The Dative suffix *-a* figures also in other expressions in the VB inscriptions: *fānī dunyā-rān bāqī aḥirat-a* «from this world to the other remaining (he went)» (cf. EB p. 158). In five inscriptions we find *žāl-a* (EB Nos 5 : 8, 6 : 8, 22 : 7, 42 : 5, 49 : 7) and in one case *kūwen-e* (23 : 5). According to these facts I would distinguish between the durative and the momentaneous temporal functions, the first being expressed by the Dative, the second by the Locative. It is clear that the shorter the period the more the semantical function of the two converge. Pritsak's translation «im Datum» is based on the Arabic equivalent *fi tariḥ* في تاريخ. If we keep in mind that the suffix *-a* here denotes duration, his translation seems to me somewhat loose. The concept behind the use of the Dative case in *tariḥ-a* is that the death happened during the «historical time», i.e. the date is according to Hegira, and for these reasons I would prefer Jusupov's translation «po letočisleniju», i.e. «according to the *tariḥ*, during the *tariḥ*» or «in the course of history». One of the most important peculiarities of the VB inscriptions is that we never find *-qa/ya* only *-a*. On this see further below.

-ne «the suffix of the Dative case of the possessive declension», cf. *išne* (:7), *šivne* (:8). While the suffix of the Dative case was *-qa* in PT, in OT we find a development which was certainly secondary. After vowels it remained *-qa*, but in the possessive form of the third person the final *-n* and the voiced form *-ya* merged into *-ḡa*, while after other consonantal finals of the possessive declension the voiced *-ya* dropped its *-γ-*. In the Oghuz languages this development went further and the *-γ/g-* was dropped in all cases, while e.g. in the Kipchak languages *γ/q* and *g/k* resp. have been preserved. In Chuvash we find a quite different development. After vocalic word-finals there is always *-n + a*, while after consonantal word-finals *-a* irrespective of whether the stem is a bare root or has a possessive suffix: *žne-ne* «to the cow», *tīna-na* «to the calf», *ivälne* < **ivälēne* «to his son», *xērne* < **xērēne* «to his daughter», where in the latter two cases the late dropping of the final *-ě* before the suffix is demonstrable from the front vocalic character of *-e* in back vocalic words. On the other hand we have *vārman-a* «to the forest», *tiněš-e* «to the sea», *ivālam-a* «to my son» and *xērēm-e* «to my daughter». The development was the following:

Word-final	Vocalic		Consonantal	
	root	poss. suffix 3P <i>-i/-si</i>	root	possessive suffix all other persons
PT	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-n + qa</i>	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-qa > -ya</i>
OT	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-ḡa</i>	<i>-qa</i>	<i>-a</i>
Tatar	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-γ/qa</i>	<i>-a</i>
Oghuz	<i>-(y)a</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-(y)a</i>	<i>-(y)a</i>
Chuvash		<i>-na</i>		<i>-a</i>



To this I would add that in the Viryal dialects the *-n-* is disappearing: lit. *xāta-na* ~ Viryal *xōda-ya*, lit. *pulāna* ~ Viryal *polla*, lit. *taršāna* ~ Viryal *tarsa*. The final type with *-u/ü* is in the Anatri dialect and the literary language *-ēve*, *-āva* while in some Viryal dialects *ūye* and *uya*: lit. *kētēve* ~ Viryal *kēdūye*. In the dialects West of Morgauš the suffix is only back vocalic, e.g. *ēneya*. This is a very archaic feature pointing to the original back vocalic quality of the suffix which can be seen also in the declension of the personal pronouns.⁶⁹ Thus we can see that the development of the suffix of the Dative case was determined by the word final. This has some implications for the interpretation of our inscription. In the case of *išne* we have a secondary form where the vowel of the medial syllable was dropped as in *ivālne* < *ivālēne*. On the other hand, although all words ending in final consonants have *-a*, the word *šiv* gets *-na* cf. *Atāl šivne āsmakān šutā vitre kirlē mar* «to scoop out the water (here in the function of Accusative) of the Volga all the buckets of the world are not enough» This points to the (semi)vocalic character of the final *-v* [y] of *šiv*, and this had to be the case also in our inscription.

As is known the Dative case has converged with the Accusative in present-day Chuvash. Since the Accusative does not occur in our inscription, I would only like to mention one fact. From the extant suffixes of the Accusative *-γ*, *-i*, *-ni* only *-γ* could converge with the Dative: *tana-γ* «the calf (Acc.)» has resulted in *tina* as e.g. *čarlay* «serp» in *šurla*. Taking into account the phonetic developments reflected by the inscriptions we have to suppose that the *-qV* > *-γV* of the Dative and the *-Vγ* of the Accusative converged already in the time of the VB inscriptions.

-ši «ordinal suffix» cf. *altiši* (:6). The ordinal suffix of the VB inscriptions has been discussed many times. Ashmarin saw in the Chuvash ordinal suffix *-māš/mēš* a compound form consisting of the primary *-m* (see *višēm kun* «after to-morrow, the third day») and the old possessiv suffix of the third person *-si* > *-šē*, *-āšē*, *-ēšē*, *-āš*, *-ēš*.⁷⁰ Later discussing the form *šiyerminši* «twentieth» and *ikinči* «second» of the VB inscriptions together with those ending in *-m* as *biyelim* «fifth», *tūvetim* «fourth» he maintained his earlier view⁷¹ and assumed that the two kinds of the ordinal suffix are due to dialectal differences (*mestnye govory*). Benzing devoted a special paper⁷² to the origin of the Chuvash ordinal suffix. He suggested that the two kinds of ordinal suffixes pertain to different dialects (*Mundarten verschiedener Stämme*). Accepting that *-š* in *-mēš* is the possessive suffix of the third person, and leaving the question open whether

⁶⁹ See M. Räsänen, *Materialen zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen: SO XXI* (1959), p. 14 with further literature.

⁷⁰ *Materialy dlja issledovanija čuvaškago jazyka* (Kazanj 1898), pp. 181–182.

⁷¹ *Bolgary i Čuvaši*, Kazanj 1902, p. 91.

⁷² *Tschuwaschische Forschungen V. Die Ordinalzahlen und ein iranisches Suffix zu ihrer Bildung: ZDMG 104* (1954), pp. 386–390.

ikinči goes back to an earlier **ikiniši* or **ikinisi*, he tried to find an etymology for the suffix *-m*. Referring to the fact that this *-m* is present also in some Turkmen dialects (*ikiminji*, *dördiminji*), he connected the *-m* with the Iranian ordinal suffix (cf. Persian *sevrom* «third») and saw in this a trace of old Turkish-Iranian contacts. The Iranian suffix has also been mentioned by Chuvash authors.⁷³ Pritsak has called the attention to the fact that sometimes a *kesra* can be seen beneath the consonant preceding the *-m* therefore it has to be read *-im* which he interprets as [-*əm*]. Pritsak finds in the inscriptions a mixed use of the ordinal suffix (*Vermischung der Ord. [inal]-Suffixe*)⁷⁴ and distinguishes six groups: 1. *-im*, 2. *-nč*, 3. *-nči* 4. *-nš*, 5. *-nši*, 6. *-š*. According to him the form *بش* (quoted after Malov: *EV* 1947, p. 42) is nothing else than the form *bel + š* with the elision of *-l*.⁷⁵ The inscription in question has been quoted by Malov according to Marjani's transcription and the reading is surely wrong. The words written there as *حیرمیش* have to read either as *حیر-یش* or perhaps *حیر-ش* as in *EB* 11 : 8, 12 : 6, 49 : 6. N. A. Andreev distinguished⁷⁶ four groups 1. The date is without any suffix, 2. the ordinal suffix is *-m*, 3. the ordinal suffix is *-š*, 4. the ordinal suffix is *-nš*. Andreev's conclusion is that the inscriptions contain all elements of the present Chuvash suffixes *-mš*, *-m* and *-š* (the nominal character of the latter is correctly stated by him) and therefore: «V bolgarskom jazyke do razvitija v nem kipčaksko-tatarskogo nasloenija formy čisliteljnych byli schodny s čisliteljnymi sovremennogo čuvaškogo jazyka». Jusupov⁷⁷ interprets *-m* as a dialectal variant in the Bulgar language (*sleduet ob''jasnitj dialektaljnom javleniem v bulgarskom jazyke*) while for *-nš* and *-š* he quotes several toponyms of Tataria where *č* corresponds to *š*. Fedotov,⁷⁸ while accepting Andreev's views, adds that the ordinal suffix in Cheremis *-imšo*, *-ši* and Votjak *-mos* are of Bulgarian origin. In a recent paper, Hakimzjanov who does not specifically deal with the ordinal suffix, accepts Ashmarin's views on the dialectal differences within the VB language and corrects *بلج* to *بلنج* i.e. *beliŋ* to *belinŋ* and contrasting this form with *biyelim* and *beš*, *biš* *بیش، بیش*, thinks to

⁷³ *Materialy po grammatike sovremennogo čuvaškogo jazyka*, 1957, p. 114 in a chapter written by N. A. Andreev.

⁷⁴ *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste*, p. 45.

⁷⁵ *Op.cit.*, p. 59.

⁷⁶ *Čuvašskie porjadkovye čisliteljnye v sravnenii s porjadkovymi čisliteljnymi bulgarskich namogiljnych nadpisej: Učenyje Zapiski*, Čeboksary XIV (1956), pp. 236–245.

⁷⁷ *Vvedenie*, pp. 71–76.

⁷⁸ *Istoričeskie svjazi čuvaškogo jazyka s volžskimi i permskimi finno-ugorskimi jazykami* (Čeboksary 1968), p. 44, see also *Istoričeskie svjazi čuvaškogo jazyka s jazykami ugro-finnov Povolžja i Permi* (Čeboksary 1965), p. 40. The Chuvash origin of the Cheremis ordinal suffix has been suggested by Ö. Beke, *A cseremis szorszámnévképzőről* [On the Cheremis ordinal suffix]: *NyK* XLIV (1915–1917), pp. 474–477, and *Zur geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen s-laute: FUF* XXII (1934), p. 120.

have corroborated his opinion on the dialectal differences within the VB dialects.⁷⁹

It has escaped the attention of those who claimed to have found dialectal differences in the various suffixes that some facts contradict this assumption. The first is that the two suffixes occur in one and the same inscription: *altiši* and *biyelem* (1355, *EB* 40: 7,8). It is true that these cases are rare but it is self-evident from the structure of the inscriptions that two ordinal suffixes are rare in one and the same inscription. The rarity of such cases is also due to a second fact which has been hitherto neglected: the various suffixes are always bound to one and the same group of numerals.

Group I		Group II	
PT	-m	PT	-š(i)
	VB		VB
<i>bir-</i>	[<i>bir-</i>]		
<i>üč-</i>	<i>več-</i>		
<i>tört-</i>	<i>tüwet-</i>	<i>eki-</i>	<i>eki-</i>
<i>běš</i>	<i>biyel-</i>		
		<i>altī-</i>	<i>altī-</i>
		<i>yēti-</i>	<i>ŷiyeti-</i>
<i>säkiz-</i>	[<i>säkir-</i>]		
<i>toquz-</i>	[<i>toxur-</i>]		
<i>ōn-</i>	<i>vān-, van-</i>		
		<i>yigirmi-</i>	<i>ŷiyermi-</i>
		<i>älīg-</i>	<i>älü-</i>

⁷⁹ *Sledy dialektov v jazyke pamjatnikov Volžskoj Bulgarii: Sovetskaja Tjurkologija* 1974: 4, p. 30.

⁸⁰ On the inscription of Nižnie Jaki, 1340 (*EB* 39 : 5) I read *bīrījī* following Jusupov's reading (*Vvedenie* No. 47). I have now a very good squeeze of this inscription and *bīrījī* has to be corrected to *bāljī* and *bīru* (line 3) into *bēl'm*. Independently of this fact the inscriptions of Nižnie Jaki are of special interest. They contain many «irregularities» and point to a special dialect and orthographical usage. I obtained some hitherto unpublished inscriptions from the same cemetery and prepare to publish a separate paper on the results of their study. Thus we have no authentic data for the ordinal «first». In accordance to the Turkish usage we expect however a word like Turkish *ilk* «first», on which see later.

⁸¹ *ekīš*, cf. *EB* p. 151.

⁸² *večīm* cf. *EB* p. 156.

⁸³ *tūwāim*, cf. *EB* p. 156.

⁸⁴ *biyelim* cf. *EB* p. 150. ther *biyelem*

⁸⁵ *altīš*, *altīši*, cf. *EB* p. 149.

⁸⁶ *ŷiyētiš*, cf. *EB* p. 153.

⁸⁷ This form is quoted after Ašmarin, *Bolgary i čuvaši*, p. 88, there *sēkīrīm kūwen*.

⁸⁸ See *Bolgary i čuvaši*, p. 87: *tōhūrīm* (jāl).

⁸⁹ *wānim*, cf. *EB* p. 156.

⁹⁰ *ŷiyērmīš(i)*, cf. *EB* p. 153.

⁹¹ In an unpublished inscription: *älūš*.

If we try to find the difference between the two groups first we have to decide whether to start from the PT or the VB forms. There is only one difference between the two groups and this is that the numerals pertaining to the first group end in final consonants and those of the second in a vowel.⁹² Since *älig* belongs to the second group it is clear that this distribution emerged only after the loss of *-g* of *älig* and we can only start from the VB forms. Thus we can find a distribution *-C + m* and *V + š(i)*. There seems to be only one exception. In the inscriptions we find a word written ج.ل.ح. . This word first occurred in an inscription published by Fejzchanov,⁹³ where he read ج.ل.ح. and transcribed *ikinži* «second». This reading has been accepted by Ashmarin,⁹⁴ but later correctly read as ج.ل.ح. by Pritsak⁹⁵ and Jusupov,⁹⁶ who transcribed it as *beliži* and translated it as «fifth». The word occurs in four other inscriptions and the reading *beliži* has been generally accepted.⁹⁷ There are, however, some difficulties hitherto overlooked. In the case «fifth» we would have a numeral with two different ordinal forms: *biyelem* and *beliži*, the only case where such a doublet would exist. The second difficulty is more serious. The word ج.ل.ح. occurs only after the word *ayhi* «month» and before the word *küwen* «day» but is never denoting «year». The word *biyelem* occurs in both cases (the month is always given with its Arabic name).⁹⁸ The third difficulty is that if *beliži* has to be read and its meaning were «fifth», this would be the only case having the ordinal suffix form *-ži*,⁹⁹ *-m* or *-š(i)* occurring in all other cases. Standing invariably before the word *küwen* «day» one would be inclined to suppose that we have to do here with a name of a day. This tempting idea, however, has to be abandoned.

⁹² Other possible causes such as labial-illabial vocalism or mono-disyllabic structure of the root have to be excluded.

⁹³ *Tri nadgrobných bulgarskich nadpisi: Izvestija Imp. Arch. Obšč.* IV (1863), col. 401.

⁹⁴ *Bolgary i čuvaši*, p. 90.

⁹⁵ *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste*, p. 59 quoting Malov who read on a drawing made by V. N. Abramov-Irevli from the original in the village Demkino: ج.ل.ح. i.e. *belinž*: «fifth». On the drawing reproduced by Malov we find a clearly written ج.ل.ح. , see *Bulgaro-Tschuvaschica*, p. 310.

⁹⁶ G. Jusupov—G. Chisamutdinov, *Bulgarskie épigrafičeskie pamjatniki, najdennye letom 1947: Épigr. Vost.* IV (1951), p. 70, *Vvedenie* Nos 3, 16, 24, 31. In 3 : 4 Jusupov read *belinž*, but *-n-* is not there, the same word is noted by Jusupov without *-n-* in other cases.

⁹⁷ See *EB*, p. 150, further some non-authentically edited inscriptions as *EB* Nos III, XX, XXIII. In *EB* I also read *b^lliži*.

⁹⁸ E.g. *EB* 8: *žiyēti žūr žirem biyēlem jāl* «725th year/H», *EB* 23 : 5 *wan biyēlim küwen* «the 15th day», *EB* 40 : 8 *biyelem küwen* «5th day» (misread by me as *mēlem*, but corrected after obtaining better photos).

⁹⁹ The example for *-nēi* quoted by Pritsak in *Die bulg. Fürstenliste*, p. 59 after Ashmarin is the same *ikinži* which has been later correctly read as ج.ل.ح. in the inscription first published by Fejzchanov, and quoted also by Pritsak as *beliži* in *Bulgaro-Tschuvaschica*, p. 310.

In the inscriptions we find a few cases where the names of a day occur. Such are e.g. *EB* No. 2: *tārīḥ-a altī (ḡūr) tūḡur wān altīši ḡāl eti ḡu-l-(hiḡati) ayḡi sākir kūwēn īrnī kūwēn eti* «According to the *tārīḥ*, six(hundred) ninety-sixth year was, *Du-l-hiḡa* month, eight(th) day, Friday was», *EB* No. 11: *tārīḥ-a ḡiyēti ḡūr wān altīši ḡāl muḡaram ayḡi ḡiyermiši ernī kūwēn eti* «According to the *tārīḥ* sevenhundred sixth year, Muharram month, twentieth, Friday was. *EB* 25: *tārīḥ-a ḡiyēti ḡūr ālū sākir ḡāl ḡu-l-qa' (dati) ayḡi wān sākir kūwēn eti, ḡiyēti kūwēn e(ti)* «According to the *tārīḥ* sevenhundred and fifty-eight(th) year, *Dū-l-qa'da* month eighteen(th) day, seven(th) day (of the week) was.» In an inscription published without photo by Jusupov he reads:¹⁰⁰

ناریخ حلع حوزرح طحز حال ایخ ریعمر ایح کوان ایخ حان کوان اخ کجی ارب کون اخ

It is hazardous to correct readings without having access to the original; the inscription under scrutiny is a case in point. Nevertheless some of the readings are surely wrong.¹⁰¹ In the inscription three kinds of days are mentioned. The first is illegible but surely the ordinal number of the day of the month. The second is (if Jusupov's reading is correct) *ḡān kūwen* «blood day», a common name of Wednesday see e.g. Chuvash *ḡun kun*, Tatar, Bashkir, Krimean *kan kūn*. The second is *kiči erne kūwen* «little Friday i.e. Thursday» in Chuvash *kēšnēni kun* < *kēšen erni kun*, *kičīn adina* in other Turkish languages, e.g. Tatar *kečatna* < *keče atna* < *kiči adina*.¹⁰² That means that after the word «month» the day of the month is given by the ordinal numeral and only then the day of the week, which usage is self evident, a «Wednesday of a month Muharram» is of course impossible, they have been at least four Wednesdays. According to the structure of the date of the inscription بَلَج has to be a day of the month.

In the Turkish languages there is an expression denoting the first day of the lunar month, the new moonday: *ay baši*. It occurs — as has been pointed out by L. Bazin¹⁰³ — in Hakass, Özbek, New Uighur, Kirghiz, Kazak, Tatar, Kumyk, Osman-Turkish, Azeri and Türkmen. To this I would add the Chuvash

¹⁰⁰ *Épig. Vost.* XXI (1972), p. 51 inscription of Tatarskie Tolkiši, 1348.

¹⁰¹ Instead of حلع I suggest حاح *ḡiyēfi*, instead of *ḡüz ḡūr*, instead of *ḡōḡuz ḡōḡur*. Instead of ارب I read ارن *erne*.

¹⁰² See A. N. Samojlovič, *Nazvanie dneĵ u tureckich narodov: Jafetičeskij Sbornik II* (1923), pp. 106, 110, B. Munkácsi, *Die heidnischen Namen der Wochentage bei den alten Völkern des Wolga-Uralgebietes: KCsA II* (1926—1932), p. 44. The name «blood day» is also present as a calque in Moksha-Mordwin, Cheremis and Votyak. The Karatay-Mordwin *kan-k'šan* is a loanword from Tatar. The expression «little Friday» as a calque can be found in Cheremis and Votyak, in Karatay-Mordwin *kšetna-kón* is likewise a Tatar loan. Cf. further M. R. Fedotov, *O nazvanijach dneĵ u čuvašej: Učenyje Zapiski, Čeboksary XXI* (1962), pp. 247—248, V. D. Dmitriev, *K voprosu o drevnem čuvašskom kalendare: Učenyje Zapiski, Čeboksary 47* (1969), p. 183

¹⁰³ *Les calendriers*, p. 48.

form *uyăx pušě* see e.g. *uyăx pušěnce čük tună* «On the first day of the month they offer a sacrifice».¹⁰⁴ The original form of Chuvash *puš* «head» had been reconstructed by Ramstedt as *balč*.¹⁰⁵ This could be corroborated by Mongolian *tarbalji* «sparrow hawk, lit. (the bird) with bald head» ~ Turkish *tazbaş*, and the fact that the cluster *-lč-* has developed in other cases regularly into *-š-*.¹⁰⁶ Thus e.g. *EB* No. 3 : 4—5 *hiŕrat-rān altı ŕür tuhur wānim ŕāl ša'bān ayhi balči küwen* has to be translated as «According to the Hegira six hundred and ninetyeth year, *Ša'bān* month, first day». If this hypothesis is valid, we have to delete **beliŕi* as «fifth» and the usage of the ordinal suffix is regular and unexceptional. There is no dialectal difference in this case and the rule *-C + m* and *V + š(i)* is working in all authentically edited inscriptions.

It is very tempting to suppose that VB had two ordinal suffixes *-m* and *-š* and by a compensating process the Chuvash *-mės* developed in a later period. There is, however, another possibility. The OT texts have the ordinal suffix *-inči* (in case of *eki* even *ekinti*). But there are traces of threefold compound suffix *-minči* in the Turkish languages. In Kharakhanid we find *-ilānči*¹⁰⁷ < **ininči* < **iminči* with assimilation and/or dissimilation of the two nasals. This form has been preserved by some Chagatay texts.¹⁰⁸ In some Azeri dialects¹⁰⁹ we find the form *-mči/imči* < **imimči* < **iminči* and this can be traced back to as early as the Babur-name¹¹⁰ where we find *ikimči(si)*, *üčümči(si)*, *törtümči(si)*, *bešümči(si)*, *altımči(si)*, *yetimči(si)* and *sekizimči(si)*. It is of special interest that the connecting vowel is *bešümči* which is due to the analogy of

¹⁰⁴ Ashmarin, *Thesaurus*, X, pp. 17—18, there *v načale mesjaca*. On the sacrifice on new-moon day see Mészáros Gy., *A csuvas ősvallás emlékei* [The remnants of ancient Chuvash religion] I, (Budapest 1908), p. 114.

¹⁰⁵ *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft* I: MSFOu 104 : 1 (1957), p. 109: *balč*. For similar reconstructions see Räsänen, *Versuch*, p. 64, Pritsak: *UJb* 1964, p. 343.

¹⁰⁶ PT *qilč* «sword» > *qilč* > Chuv. *xěš* (homophonous with *xěš* «slay»), PT *ölč* «to measure» > Chuv *viš-*, PT *belčēn* «onopordum acanthicum» > Chuv *pišen* «tatarnik». The disappearance can be observed very early because in Proto Permian we already find it reflecting one of the Middle Bulgarian dialects: PP *kiš* «slay» ← MB **xīs* < *qilč* < PT *qilč*. In some other words the traces of the *-l-* in the cluster *-lč-* (which disappeared through *-v-*) can be even now observed, e.g. PT *külčün* «loan» (→ Hung. *kölcsön*) > Chuv *kivšēn* dial. *kışēn* (Ashm. VI, 247).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Yugnaki: *törtülānči* ~ *törtilenč* «fourth», Qutadıyu Bilig: *ekilānč*, *ikilānč* «second», see *Fundamenta* I, p. 102.

¹⁰⁸ Abū'l Gāzī: *bešilānči* «fifth», *yetilānči* «seventh», *tokuzlanči* «ninth», Nava'i, Maḥbūbu'l Qulūb, MS Istanbul, *altılānči* «sixth», *säkizlānči* «eighth», *onlanči* «tenth», *yigirmälānči* «twentieth» etc., cf. J. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, 1966, pp. 108—109, *Fundamenta* I, p. 149.

¹⁰⁹ *Nahčivan MSSR-in dialekt ve šiväläri*, Baku 1962, p. 105: *ikimči*, *üčümčü*, *dördümčü*, *bešimči*, *altımči* ~ *altimči*, *yeddümči*, *säkkizimči*, *dogguzumči*, *onumču* ~ *unumči*, *ikirmimči* ~ *irimči*.

¹¹⁰ J. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 109.

üčümči, törtümči. In older Kumyk texts we find *-mŋi*.¹¹¹ In some Türkmen dialects¹¹² the original form *-(i)minči* is preserved, and in Khalaj¹¹³ Doerfer found *üčminči, törtminči, birminči*. We have thus to consider the possibility that Chuvash *-měš* is a direct continuation of an earlier *-minč*. The final *-nč* resulted in Chuvash in *-š*, e.g. *savăš* < PT *săvinč* in *savăš kurki* «ladder of joy», or *xăruš(ă)* < PT *qorqunč* «fear(ful)». To the development *-minč* > *-měš* we can find a parallel in the verbal noun system of Chuvash. The concept of pretension is expressed in some Chuvash dialects by the suffix *-iš/ěš* (*pul-*), e.g. *epě sivrish pulăp* «I was pretending to sleep». The negative form has the suffix *-miş/měš*: *pělměš pulăf tata!* «Look, he is pretending not to know!» In other dialects we find this suffix as *-ansı/enši* and its negative form as *-manshi/menshi*: *esě iltmensi pul* «you pretend not to fear». The suffix goes back to the negativ marker *-m-* and the gerundial *-an + či* (< *čě + i*), thus originally **-mAnči* > dial *měš/mis* ~ *manshi/menshi* (see Ashmarin, *Materialy*, p. 232). Similar development is known from the Tofalar language: *-iš-ki* < **-inč-ki*¹¹⁴ in the ordinal suffix, or in the Yakut ordinal suffix *-s* < **-š* < **-nč*.¹¹⁵ Thus the Chuvash ordinal suffix *-měš* can well be of great antiquity and a direct continuation of the earlier **-minč*. But if *-š* of *-měš* is a continuation of *-nč* than we have to put the question when did the *-nč* > *-š* development occur? As we have seen in case of *išne* such types of *č* > *š* development have been present already in VB. This means that the ordinal suffix *-š* of the VB inscriptions can also be the *-š* of the *-š* < *-nč* development. The supposition that the VB ordinal suffix *-ši* is the possessive suffix *-si* is very implausible, in this case «his seven» and «the seventh» would have converged, contradicting the structure of the language. It is quite another question that the *-i* after the ordinal suffix is a possessive suffix, this is quite normal, and the suffixes *-inč* and *-inči* show a similar distribution. There remains only one question. From an earlier *-minč* became *-C + m* and *-V + š*, why? I would leave this question open for further investigation. It is possible that in the case of *věč|imš* the *-š* was dropped and in that of *altï|mš* the *-m-*. The Cheremis *-imš-o(-ămšă)* corroborates the assumption of the existence of a form *-imši*. This latter is also backed by the evidence that we frequently find *-ši* in the texts.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Benzing cites: *ayni ekimŋisinda ya üč-imčisinda* «on the second or third day of the month» from an old Kumyk text.

¹¹² Cf. Benzing 104 (1954), p. 389: *ikiminŋi, dördiminŋi, altiminŋi*.

¹¹³ G. Doerfer, *Khalaj materials*, 1971, p. 161.

¹¹⁴ V. I. Rassadin, *Fonetika i leksika tofalarskogo jazyka*, Ulan Ude 1971, pp. 79–80.

¹¹⁵ F. G. Ischakov in: *Issledovaniya po sravnitel'noj grammatike tjurkskich jazykov*, II Morfologija, M 1956, pp. 193–194.

¹¹⁶ I.e. *-š* with the possessive suffix *-i*. The distribution *C + m*: *V + š* reminds us of the distribution of the suffix of the Accusative-Dative case *C + a* and *V + na*. The importance of the Auslaut of the root in the morphonological processes in Chuvash has not yet been investigated.

-*či/-ti* «suffix of the simple past tense, third person» cf. *eči* (:7), *velti* (:8). The suffix is present in Chuvash where it has the following distribution: *l, n, r + čč*, after all other consonants and the vowels *-rě* also in back vocalic words. Since Chuvash *-r-* is the regular continuation of PT *-d-* (cf. *adaq* > Chuvash *ura* «foot»), and *-či* goes back to an earlier *-ti*, we are confronted with the same distribution as in OT where we find *l, n, r + ti*, and in all other cases *-di*. It is important for the history of this suffix that the final vowel remained front vocalic in all cases. The *-ti* > *-či* development is relatively a late one¹¹⁷ which can be seen from the fact that in the first person we find *-tām/rām*, in the second *-tān/rān* (resp. with *-ě* according to the vowel harmony). As I have pointed out above, the VB inscriptions show just an intermediate stage of this development, and in our inscriptions both forms occur.

-sa «suffix of the coordinate converb», cf. *barsa* (:8). Its grammatical function is similar to Turkish *-ip*, but its usage is more extended and resembles that of Mongolian *-ču*. There is no direct parallel form to this suffix in other Turkish languages. According to Fedotov,¹¹⁸ Poppe¹¹⁹ and others it is a special Chuvash form. Wiedemann,¹²⁰ Wichmann,¹²¹ Ashmarin,¹²² Egorov¹²³ thought it to be of Votyak or Permian origin. Other authors are inclined to see in it a correspondence either to the OT conditional *-sa* or to the gerundial *-sar*. I. P. Pavlov¹²⁴ refers to the fact that its negative form is *-masār*, where *-ma-* is the suffix of the negative stem and *-sār* is the same as *-sa*, only preserved its final *-r* and became reduced because of its unstressed position, and has nothing to do with the privative suffix *-sār* ~ PT *-siz*. I agree with Pavlov's last statement but it remains unclear why the final *-r-* has been dropped. Pritsak has also dealt with this suffix.¹²⁵ In two inscriptions from Ašit he read *kövälčisār* and thus thought to have corroborated his and others' opinion that this suffix

¹¹⁷ The *ti* > *či* development is reflected also in Russian loanwords as e.g. *gostinec* «present» → Chuvash *kučeneš, matica* «girder» → Chuvash *mačča*. Before secondary *i* < *e* or ← *e* the *t* > *č* development has not occurred cf. Tatar *diñgez* «sea» → Chuvash *tines* ~ PT *teñgiz*.

¹¹⁸ *Istoričeskie svjazi čuvašskogo jazyka s volžskimi i permskimi finno-ugorskimi jazykami*, Čeboksary 1968, p. 124.

¹¹⁹ *CAJ* XVIII (1974), p. 147.

¹²⁰ F. J. Wiedemann, *Grammatik der Syrjänischen Sprache mit Berücksichtigung ihrer dialekte und des Wotjakischen*, SPDg. 1884, pp. 178–179 where he only points to the similarity of Votyak, Cheremis and Chuvash.

¹²¹ W. Wichmann, *Die tschuwaschischen Lehnwörter in den permischen Sprachen*, *MSFOu* XXI (1903), p. 154.

¹²² N. I. Ašmarin, *Materialy dlja izsledovanija čuvašskogo jazyka, Kazanj* 1898, 314.

¹²³ V. G. Egorov, *Sovremennyj čuvašskij literaturnyj jazyk v sravnitel'no-istoričeskom osveščeniü*², Čeboksary 1971, p. 110.

¹²⁴ *K voprosu o proischoždenii dvuch deepričactnyh affiksov v čuvašskom jazyke: Uč. Zap. Čeboksary* XIV (1956), pp. 246–257.

¹²⁵ *Bolgaro-Tschuwaschica*, pp. 275–283.

still had its full form *-sar/sär* in VB. I have checked the places in question on reliable photos in Kazan and was able to find that the form is *kⁱwelʃsä*. The emphatic *س* has a similar final stroke as *ra* and presumably this was what misled Pritsak. The use of the emphatic *ša* in a frontvocalic word is irregular, but just in the two inscriptions in question we find parallel cases to this.¹²⁶ The *-lʃ-* is also irregular. In other texts we find *dunyä-rän köʃrūwi* while in this case *dunya-ran küwēlʃsä*, . . . *batuwi*. Pritsak supposed that we have to do here with the OT verb *köč-* «to wander» with the reflexive suffix *-l- köč-il-*; this became in VB *köväč-li* and with metathesis *kövälči-*. This seems to be guesswork. I think we have to suppose here a primary *küweč-* (< PT *köč-* «to wander») pointing to a long *-ō-* and the *-l-* is an anorganic sound which has been inserted for securing the affricate pronunciation of *-č-* before *-sä*, otherwise the affricate quality of *-č* would have been lost under the assimilative influence of *-s-*. In any case the suffix *-sa/sä* is clearly attested in VB and if it had earlier a final *-r* it has been already lost. The presence of this suffix absent from any other Turkish languages shows the close connection between VB and Chuvash.

Remarks on the phonology

PT *a* > VB *a*

PT short *a* is denoted in initial position by *älif* with *fathā* (*altiši*, *ayxi*), in all other cases by *fathā* (*tarih-a*, *barsa*). The opinion expressed by Katanov¹²⁷ that we have to read here according to Persian usage (*na persidskij lad*) *o*, is a misunderstanding unfortunately followed by some later authors. VB had two kinds of *a*, a labial *â* and an illabial vowel. The former — *as* Serebrennikov had rightly pointed out¹²⁸ — can be found all over the Middle Volga area, so in Cheremis, Votyak, Tatar, Bashkir and Chuvash either at the present or at an earlier stage. The present Viryal *o*, Anatri *u* corresponding to Turkish *a* has surely developed through a phase *â*. The *älif* and the *fathā* could denote a labial *â*, but not an *o*, the latter being denoted by *waw* and/or *damma*. More problematical is the illabial counterpart of labial *â*. I postulate such a sound because of the following reasons:

1. The sound *a* of Arabic and Persian words frequently developed in Chuvash not into *o/u* but *i*: Ar. *mashāra* → Chuv. *mīskara* «ridicule», Ar. *hazna* → Chuv. *xīsna* «treasury», Ar. *harāj* → Chuv. *xirās* «tax» etc.
2. In such cases some Viryal dialects have not *o* or *i* but *u*, as e.g. *muskara* (see

¹²⁶ See e.g. a name in the Ašit inscription (*EB*, 25) written *Tuqt'ar*, *توطار* or in the other Ašit inscription the name Tatar is written: *تطر* (*EB* 26).

¹²⁷ N. F. Katanov, *Čuvašskie slova v bolgarskich i tatarskich pamjatnikach*, Kazanj 1920.

¹²⁸ B. A. Serebrennikov: *UJb* XXIX (1957), pp. 224—230.

above). In words in which PT *a* became *ï* in Anatri, in Viryal we find *u* e.g.: PT *bal* > An *pil*, Viryal *pul* «honey». In most of these cases Cheremis reflects *u* and not *ï*.

3. Original PT *ï* became *ǎ/ě*, and this development has to be later than the *a* > *ï* development, because otherwise the two sounds would have converged.

4. Though *t*- became *č*- before *ï/i* in those cases where an *ï* corresponds to OT *a* in Chuvash, this development never occurred: *tïla* < *talaq* «hamp braker», *tïmar* < *tamar* «root», *tïna* < *tanaq* «witness» etc.

5. In our text we find *barsa* in place of later Chuvash *pïrsa*. These facts show that the PT *a* > Chuv *ï* development did not reach the *ï* stage in the VB period and is of a relatively late age. In apparent contradiction with this, in the OB loanwords of Hungarian we already find *ï* > *i*: as in *tinó* «calf» (~ *tana*), *tíló* «hemp-breaker» (see above), *ír-* «to write» (*yaz-*) etc. For this reason Németh¹²⁹ and Gombocz¹³⁰ supposed that the *a* > *ï* development had already run its course before the 8th—9th centuries. On the other hand Doerfer supposed that already in PT we had *a* and *â*.¹³¹ Neither of the two opinions are convincing. It is true that in place of *a* of most Turkish languages, we find sometimes *ï* in Tuva and Yakut, but in the overwhelming majority of the cases not in the same words as in Chuvash. Thus we have no ground for supposing that this sound had already existed in PT as an independent phoneme. The Hungarian correspondence is connected with the much debated question of the chronology of Hungarian labial *â*. If Hungarian had a labial *â* already in the time of OB—Hungarian contacts than the illabial *á* or *ê* could be substituted by *ï*. The Hungarian words of the type *gyertya* (*dërta*) «candle» ~ OT *řarta*, *béka* «frog» ~ OT *baqa* had been interpreted by Gombocz as secondary Hungarian dissimilation features *a—a* > *e—a*.¹³² It is however equally possible that these *-e-* sounds unusual in Hungarian in back vocalic words is another substitution for *â/ê*. The two sounds *â* and *ê(â)* were only allophones in earlier times and their distribution varied in the Bulgarian dialects. This can be seen by Hungarian *dara* ~ Chuv. *tïra* «grain» (< *tarïγ* ~ *taray*) or Hung *gyertya* ~ Chuv *řurta*. The *-u-* of the Viryal dialects in front of the *ï* in Anatri also corroborate this fact. The *a* of *barsa* in our text shows that this illabial sound did not become *ï* in the dialect and in the time of the VB inscriptions. See further PT *ö*- below.

PT *â* > VB *â*

¹²⁹ Németh Gy.: *NyK* XLIII (1914), pp. 290—291.

¹³⁰ *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache: MSFOu* XXX (1912), pp. 139, 144. This opinion is commonly accepted and the Hungarian etymological dictionary (*A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*) contains also reconstructions based on this hypothesis.

¹³¹ G. Doerfer: *UJb* XL (1968), p. 244, *Khalaj Materials*, p. 161.

¹³² *BTLw*, p. 143.

PT long \bar{a} is rendered by a plene *älif* in word medial position (*ǰāl*). There has been also a secondary long \bar{a} in VB in the case of the initial $\bar{o} > v\bar{a}$ (see *wān* «ten»). The long \bar{a} developed either through $\bar{\imath}\bar{a}$ into $\bar{\imath}o/\bar{\imath}u$ or was shortened $a > o/u$. The presence of the $-\bar{\imath}-$ can be traced in word-initial position and after $t-$, $s-$, $x-$. There are no traces in the VB inscriptions of the $-\bar{\imath}-$ of $\bar{\imath}a$ though in the case of $-\bar{e}-$ we find $-\imath ye-$.

PT $e > VB e$

PT e had been preserved in VB (*eči*, *belüwi*, *išne*, *Jerimsen*, *šiwne*) always denoted by *fatha* with the exception of the word initial position where we find *älif* and *fatha*. It is certain that in VB we have to suppose an open \bar{a} and a closed e . The former became in Chuvash a , the latter i . This fully corresponds with the facts of Turkish language structure. However, it must be mentioned that Chuvash $a < \bar{a}$ and $i < e$ do not occur always in the same distribution as in those sources and languages where the opposition $\bar{a} : e$ has been preserved. The existence of a closed e in VB can be corroborated by the fact that in the bilingual inscription of Šapkino¹³³ we find VB *elti* عَلْتِ corresponding to literary *ilči* عَلْچِ , though here the *késra* is omitted but this same word is written with *älif* and *ya* in another inscription as *ilči* عَلْچِ .¹³⁴ If close e had become i already in VB, we would find *kesra* and not *fatha*. On the other hand if \bar{a} had already become back vocalic a , we would find an emphatic consonant and *qāf* in such words as *säkir*, which is not the case.

PT $\bar{e} > VB -\imath ye-$

Long PT \bar{e} and short close \acute{e} converged in Chuvash cf. PT *yēti* $> VB \check{\imath}iyeti > Chuv \check{\imath}ič\check{e}$. In Tatar close and open e , regardless of their original length, became \acute{i} . This is not the case in Chuvash, where long open \bar{a} became a .

PT $i > VB i$

This sound had been preserved in VB; it is denoted with *älif* and *kasra* in initial, and only with *kasra* in all other positions (*išne*, *altiši*, *ayhi*, *belüwi*, *eči*, *velti*, *awli*, *ǰiyeti*).

PT $\bar{i} > VB \bar{i}$

It has to be left open whether \bar{i} in *šiwne* represents an original \bar{i} , but this seems to me very improbable because \bar{i} became \bar{a}/\bar{e} in Chuvash and in our case \bar{i} has been preserved. If so, we have to exclude this word. Cf. *altī*.

PT $\bar{u} > VB \bar{u}$

¹³³ Jusupov, *Épigr. Vost.* XXI (1972), p. 53.

¹³⁴ Inscription of Bolgari, 1291, cf. *EB* No 4 : 7.

This sound is not marked by *damma* as in the other inscriptions in the word *kü*.

PT *ö*- > VB *ve*-

Short *ö* in initial position became in Chuvash either *vě/vö*, *vă/vö* (cf. *vökör*, *văkăr* < *öküz* «ox») or *vi*- as in *vil*- «to die». That means that we have a double development *vi* < *vé* < *ö* > *vö* > *vö/vă/vö/vě*. To this we find a clear parallel in the case of initial *o*: *vī*- < *vā*- < **o* > *vā* > *vö/vă* e.g. *vīran* «place» < *orun* and *vörman*, *vărman* «forest» < *orman*. These regular correspondences are of essential importance for the history of Chuvash vocalism. They show that the splits in the history of the PT vowel system had not yet been finally completed in the time of the emergence of the prothetic *v*-. It is also of some importance that the secondary vowels developing after the prothetic *v*- have in most cases joined the original sounds of the same quality, as e.g. in the case of *velti*.

PT *ū* > VB *ü*

PT long *ū* is noted as a long vowel in our inscription (*ǰūr*) as in other VB inscriptions. The long close labial vowels became as a rule short ones in Chuvash in contrast to the open long labials — a rare exception is PT *tūz* «salt» > Chuv *tăvar*. There is also a difference according to the front or back vocalic character of the vowels in question. While in most instances of long *ō* we find *-ăva-* as in *kök* «blue» > Chuv *kăvak*, *tört* > Chuv *tăvat(tă)*, in the case of the back vocalic *ō* we meet with non-reduced *u* as in *yöl* «way» > Chuv *śul*, *qōz*- «to stir» (mostly mistakenly contaminated with PT *qud*- «to pour out» with which it converged in Chuvash) > Chuv *xur*-. In such examples we have to assume an *-ăva-* > *-u-* development. The case is similar with a group of words where we find in place of PT long *-ū-* and *-u-* in present-day Chuvash as in PT *yūrt* «dwelling place» > Chuv *śurt*. This can be demonstrated in the case of Chuv *kun* «day» going back to a PT form *kūn* the intermediate form of which is fixed in the inscriptions as *kūwen*. Since in the case of *ǰūr* «hundred» we find Chuv *śēr*, *sör* here once more we are confronted with a double development *ě*, *ö* < *ü* < *ū* > *üve* > *ěve* ~ *u*. The alternating forms in Chuvash as *śăvarni* «carnival, maslenica» (< *śu* ~ *śăv* «fat» < *yay* + *arni* < *ărne* ← p. *adina* + *i*) ~ dial. *śurni* shows that even in such secondary cases *-ăva-* became *u*, though normally *ăva*, *ěve* is preserved or became *qa*, *ǰe* in the NW dialects.

PT *oyu* > VB *aw(i)*

This cluster became *awï* in VB though the exact quality of the second vowel remains, for the time being, unascertainable. The *-γ-* > *-w-* development is normal also in non-intervocalic position as in *tegrï* «god» > *tewri* (→ Tat *täre* «cross, ikon») > *tauri* > *tură*. For the intervocalic position see e.g.: PT *tuyan* «relative» > Chuv *tăvan*, PT *bügen* «horsefly» > Chuv *păvan*, PT

yoyaq «mourning (place)» > Chuv *šáva* «cemetery», PT *yayruq* «near» > Chuv *šivăx* etc. The $g > \gamma > \beta > u$ development at the end of words is clearly attested. It remains, however, an open question for me whether in clusters $-VgV-$ we have to do with a $V\gamma V > V\beta V > \bar{o} > \check{a}va$ development or the intermediate stage $-\bar{o}-$ has to be deleted.

PT $-\check{u}g > VB \check{u}(w)$

The development has been discussed in detail above in connection with the word *belüvi* and is paralleled by the history of the cluster *oyu*.

Remarks on the VB vowel system

The question of vowel correspondences has always been the most complicated part of the Chuvash linguistic history. The VB inscriptions help to solve some of these problems.

1. The phonematization of the allophones in the case of $\acute{a}/\bar{a} \sim a \sim \check{a}$ and $\acute{e} \sim e \sim \check{a}$ has to be later as the development of the prothetic *v-* and has not yet been finished in the VB period. Later on the developments $\acute{a} > \check{i}$, $\check{a} > o/u$, $\acute{e} > i$, $\check{a} > a$ wholly changed the structure of the Chuvash vowel system.
2. The double development of the PT primary long vowels *Diphthongue* < *Long* > *Monophthongue* — a general type of development in all Turkish languages — can be observed in VB. The diphthongs became triphthongs and than either remained as such or developed further into a full closed vowel in case of the labials. The monophthongs converged with their originally short counterparts. In case of the illabials a similar development can be observed, only the diphthong contained not the semivowel *y* but the semivowel *ɨ* and developed accordingly. This is the cause of such double developments as PT *qān* «blood» > Chuv *yun* ($\bar{a} > \check{i}\check{a} > \check{i}u$) and *qāz* «goose» > Chuv *xur* ($\bar{a} > \check{a} > u$).¹³⁵
3. The general tendency *Open* > *Closed*, *Closed* > *Reduced* developed fully only after the VB period, and is later than the first stage discussed under 1.
4. The developments *back vocalic* > *front vocalic* (e.g. *qiz* > *xēr* «girl, daughter») and *front vocalic* > *back vocalic* (e.g. *tört* > *tăvat* «four») being the result of various causes had not yet been accomplished in the VB period.

PT $\check{k} > VB x$

¹³⁵ There has been much speculation about this double development. Doerfer suggested that in cases like Chuv *yun* we have to reconstruct a Common Turkish $*k\check{i}ān$ while in case of Chuvash *xur* a CT *kān* (*Khalaj materials*, p. 279). Levitskaja (*Issledovaniya po tjurkologii*, Alma Ata 1969, pp. 63–68) suggested the existence of two PT *k*-sounds, the one preserved in Tuva as *k*- the other which developed into *x*-. This second would have resulted in Chuvash in *y*- before long illabial vowels.

The deep velar \underline{k} which occurred in back vocalic words became χ in VB (cf. *ayxi*) and this rule is without exception in VB. At least in some Onogur-Bulgarian dialects this development is of an early age demonstrable already in the 8th century.¹³⁶

PT $y >$ VB $d\check{z}$

It is a much discussed question in Turkology whether in the case of OT y - we have to reconstruct \check{y} -, d -, \check{d} - or y - in PT. In any case both the \check{y} - and the y - dialects are very old and Bulgarian had very early \check{y} - and this only in word-initial position. In Chuvash this voiced affricate became devoiced and spirantized, i.e. \acute{s} -. It is also clear that this development occurred in different Bulgarian dialects in different times and perhaps in different ways. In the VB inscriptions we find three types of affricates corresponding to PT y -, \check{c} and ti respectively. All the three are rendered with the Arabic letter *šim*, though the first two have developed in Chuvash into \acute{s} while the third one remained \check{c} . In two special cases (*išne* and the ordinal suffix $-š(i)$) we can observe a $\check{c} > \acute{s}$ development. For the solution of this problem we can put forward two hypotheses: 1. The phonetical development of VB \check{c} ($<$ PT y -, \check{c}) $>$ \acute{s} was just at its beginning and the orthography did not follow this development. At the same time $ti > \check{c}i$ was also at its beginning, and the orthography sometimes denoted it sometimes not. 2. We are confronted with dialectal differences i.e. the VB is not the immediate predecessor of that dialect from which Chuvash developed.

It is not quite sure that these two hypotheses exclude each other. We have a series of facts supporting both. In any case the neutralization of the opposition $\check{y} : \check{c}$ ($<$ PT y :- \check{c}) can be safely assumed.

PT si - $>$ VB \acute{s}

The consonant s - before primary and secondary $-i$ - became very early \acute{s} (see the name of *Šarkel* and the OB loanwords in Hungarian). In our inscription *šiv* pertains to this group.

The well-known rhotacism (cf. *jūr*) and lambdaism (cf. *šāl*) can be clearly observed in the inscription. All other PT consonants preserved their earlier character as PT l (*avli*, *belüwi*, *altiši*), PT b (*belüwi*, *barsa*), PT k (*kü*), PT $-y$ (*ayxi*), PT t (*altiši*, *šiyeti*, *velti*), PT r (*barsa*), PT s (*barsa*), PT n (*išne*, *šiwne*).

¹³⁶ See *Xara šiu* above, In the Arabic and Byzantine sources many Turkish words and names are denoted with x -: *xagan*, *xazar*, *xapubalīy* etc. There is no forcing argument according to which Hungarian *homok* «sand» had to be borrowed before the Hungarian $k > h$ development. A Khazar **xumaq* could have been borrowed as *humuk* or *humok* $>$ *homok* without any difficulty. The Hungarian etymological dictionary is not considering this possibility (*op. cit.* II, p. 139).



Remarks on the dialect of the inscription

Between the time of the VB inscriptions and the present-day Chuvash language more than six hundred years elapsed. It is self evident that the bulk of the differences between the language reflected by the VB inscriptions and the present Chuvash language is due to those developments which occurred during that long time. It is also clear that if we try to reconstruct the predecessor of the Chuvash language in the 13th—14th centuries it shows a very close relationship to the language of the VB inscriptions. It remains, however, an open question whether we have to do with slightly different dialects or VB is the immediate predecessor of Chuvash. This question has not yet been put because of several reasons. Those attempts which have tried to find dialectal differences in the distribution of the ordinal suffixes, as I hope to have succeeded to demonstrate above, cannot be maintained. Neither can Hakimzjanov's attempt be defended to classify the VB dialects according to the *ti* > *či* development. Nevertheless the basic idea of Hakimzjanov can be accepted because even within the VB inscriptions we can find some dialectal traces. All this, however, does not settle the question of the relationship of 13th—14th century VB and 13th—14th century Chuvash. Even in our inscription there are some minor facts which call into question a simple equation between the two. I remind to the discussion of *awli*, *ayxi* and *belüwi*. If we bear in mind that in place of PT *y-* in some loanwords of Hungarian we have an *s* instead of *š* (as e.g. in *szél* «wind» ← *šél* < PT *yěl*, *szűcs* «tailor» ← *šüči* < PT *yevči*) which are surely earlier than the end of the 9th century and that the Middle Bulgarian loanwords in Proto Permic show a similar case, we have enough reason to suppose the existence of several Bulgarian dialects. On the analogy of similar cases we can assume that the Onogur-Bulgarian groups which began their migration in the second half of the 7th century were not composed according to their original dialect but according to political reasons. We have also no reason to suppose that the Bulgarian group which reached the Middle Volga region at the end of the 8th century was the only or the last one of the Bulgarian tribes which came to this region. All these suggest that further research needed into the dialectal relations among the Bulgarian tribes of the Middle Volga region in the 9th—14th centuries. A detailed investigation of the language of the VB inscription is urgently called for to clarify problems of this kind.