# KHALAJ AND ITS RELATION TO THE OTHER TURKIC LANGUAGES

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### 0. Introduction*

The following survey of the Khalaj grammar can only be of a provisional character. Although a large amount of material (57 tapes) has been gathered, only a rather small part of this material has been evaluated. Dr. Semih Tezcan is preparing a "Morphologie des Chaladsch", and this writer a "Phonologie des Chaladsch"; but these works will presumably not be published before 1979. I hope that this survey will be of some use in the meantime.

Khalaj is only *one* language, but it represents as independent a branch of the Turkic family of languages as, for example, Chuvash; it is not possible to assign it to another Turkic group (Kipchak, Oghuz, etc.). It is spoken (by about 20,000 persons) in 50 villages, situated about 100 miles SW of Teheran (a map was given in *Khalaj Materials*, see Bibliography, Nr. 7). Each of these villages has a special dialect; the linguistic difference between the most distant dialects is not smaller (it is even bigger) than, to give an example, between Kazan-Tatar and Bashkir or between Rumeli-Turkish and Azerbaijani. Thus, the western dialects, e.g. of Talx-āb, are regarded by other Khalaj as a different language, and this is a well tenable conception.

### 1. History of investigation of Khalaj. Bibliography

The first scholar to hear Khalaj was V. Minorsky (in 1906); he published an article about it in 1940. Shortly after, Moghaddam published

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* The following simplified transcription has been used in this article:

[1] Low vowels are not marked.

[2] High vowels are marked with dots in some cases (i,e), in other cases we used accent signs (ó=high o; also ő,ű).

[3] ý marks nasalized y of Yakut; i is consonantic i.

a short word-list and some phonological remarks. But the gathering of a
sufficient amount of material did not begin before 1968. It is only since
that time that the special character of Khalaj has been adequately
evaluated. The material was gathered during two expeditions (in 1968
and 1969) and during the stay of a native speaker (Mr. Mosaiyeb Arab-
gol) in Göttingen (from March to June, 1970). Furthermore, Professor
Bazin gathered some Khalaj material during a short trip in Persia (Sep-
tember 29, 1969). The following description of Khalaj is based on these
materials. However, since it has been impossible to consider all differ-
ences in the forty-seven dialects, I have confined myself to (a) a re-
construction of Proto-Khalaj forms; (b) to a discussion of the forms of
the dialect of Xarrāb (which is the best-investigated one, because our
main authority, Mr. Arabgol, is a native of that village); and (c) to a
discussion of some striking deviations among the dialects.

The following lines present a complete bibliography of works deal-
ing with the Khalaj language (but works on Khalaj history will be
omitted). They are enumerated in chronological order. I have *numbered*
the titles of the works, and these numbers will be quoted in the follow-
ing chapters.

(1)  Minorsky, V. *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, BSOAS 10 (1940),
     417–37.

(2)  Moghaddam, M. *Gūy̦ishā-yi Wafs wa Āštiyān wa Tafraš*, Irān-
     kūda 11, Teheran 1318 h.š.

(3)  Doerfer, G. *Das Chaladsch - eine archaische Türksprache in Zent-
     ralpersien*, ZDMG 118 (1968), 79–112.

(4)  ———, *Das Chaladsch - eine neuentdeckte archaische Türksprache*,
     ZDMG, Supplementa I (1969), 719–25.

(5)  ———, *İran'daki Türk dilleri*, TDAYB 302 (1969), 1–23.

(6)  ———, *Irano-Altaistica, Turkish and Mongolian Languages of Persia
     and Afghanistan*, Current Trends in Linguistics 6 (The Hague
     1971), 217–34.

(7)  ———, (with the collaboration of W. Hesche, H. Scheinhardt, S.
     Tezcan) *Khalaj materials*, UAS 115 (1971).

(8)  ———, *O sostojanii issledovanija xaladžkoj gruppy jazykov*, VJa
     1972: 1. 89–96.

(9) ——, *Der Imperativ im Chaladsch*, FUF 39 (1972), 295–340.

(10) ——, *Eine seltsame alttürkisch-chaladsch Parallele*, TDAYB 406 (1973/1974), 1–24.

(11) Scheinhardt, H. *Halacistan'a bir araştırma gezisi*, Çağrı, 1 eylül 1968, Nr. 128. 16–7.

(12) Çağatay, S. *Türk Lehçeleri Örnekleri*, *II (yaşayan Türk lehçe ve ağızları*, Ankara 1972, 255–60.

(13) Zejnalov, F. *Türk dillärinin täsnifi vä "Xalac dili grupu" mäsäläsi*. Jazky i literatura, Baku 1972, 37–48.

(14) ——, *Ob odnom "drevnem tjurkskom jazyke" v srednem Irane*, Sovetskaja Tjurkologija 1972: 6. 74–9.

The following works of mine have just appeared or are to appear:

(15) *Javljaetsja li xaladžskij jazyk dialektom azerbajdžanskogo jazyka?* Sovetskaja Tjurkologija 1974: 1. 45–51.

(16) *Altertümliche türkische Wörter im Chaladsch*, Proceedings of the Birinci Türk Dili Bilimsel Kurultayı.

(17) *Zur These der drei türkischen "Quantitäten"*, Sovetskaja Tjrkologija Cf furthermore:

(18) Tezcan, S. *Zum Stand der Chaladsch - Forschung*, Sprache, geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker. Ed. Hazai, G. und Zieme, P. Berlin 1974, 613–20.

For a complete bibliography cf. G. Doerfer, S. Tezcan, Wörterbuch des Chaladsch, to appear in Budapest, in about 1979.

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels

The Proto-Khalaj vowel system is the one characteristic of Turkic:

a ï u o

ä i ü ö

Howeve, there are some striking features:

(1) Khalaj has the original system of Proto-Turkic threefold quantity (or pitch-quantity), namely, short: long (or level-long, or half-long): Dipthongal (moved length), e.g. in *hat* 'horse': *bāš* 'head' : *tā^a r*

'narrow'. (Bazin, who investigated the dialect of Dāɣān, distinguishes short : half-long : long). In this respect, Khalaj is extremely important for the reconstruction of Proto-Turkic, since it is the only Turkic language which has preserved this threefold opposition (in *lento* speech). Cf. (7), chapter 13 (pp. 183–267). Even Turkmen (and Yakut) have changed *bāš* > *baš* (they generally change long vowels to short ones). The proofs for the originality of the Khalaj quantity system are the following:

a) We have taken Khalaj materials on tape and listened to them rather thoroughly, v. (7). 40.

b) Bazin (who did not know 7) also noticed the same *threefold* quantity.

c) Arabgol, our native speaker, transcribed the words quoted above (in Arabic script): *ht, b'š, t'r* ; i.e. for him Khalaj *bāš* does not have a short vowel. (as Turkmen *baš* does).

d) I requested the Physikalisch-technische Bundesanstalt, in Braunschweig to determine the phonetic annotations according to Grützmacher. These clearly proved an opposition of short : long: somewhat longer + a moved pitch, v. (17).

e) Logical consistency. The generally accepted "explanation", that in cases like al-Kāšɣarī *bāš* > Turkmen *baš* (although al-Kāšɣarī *qāš* 'brow' > Turkmen *ğâš*) we find a "tendency to shorten", is not a real explanation. (What if an Indo-Europeanist did not know Verner's law and said that in cases like German *ziehen* : *gezogen*, we find a "tendency of h to become g"?) A development *bāš* > Turkmen *baš*, but *qāš* > *ğâš* is unintelligible, whereas the assertion *bāš* > *baš*, *qāš* > *ğâš* is a genuine explanation.

f) As my student Tezcan has proved in his Ph. D. thesis (Das uigurische Insadi-Sūtra, Berlin 1974, pp. 12, 94)'in some cases in Ancient Turkic not only *ōt* 'fire' is written *oot*, but *ot* 'grass' is also written the same way. Based on Turkmen it seems to be odd that not only does the long ō of *ōt* 'fire' appear in this way, but also the short o of *ot* 'grass'. However, the Khalaj forms *hū°t* 'fire', *uot* 'grass' (from Proto-Turkic *pôt, ōt, respectively) explain the Ancient Turkic way of writing. Another item: *qool* 'arm' > Turkmen *ğol*, but al-Kāšɣarī *qōl*, Khalaj *quol*, etc.

g) As Mr. Nauta will prove in his dissertation, the Chuvash vowel system can only be explained on the basis of a threefold opposition in Proto-Turkic; e.g. Proto-Turkic *a > Chuv. ï, but *ā as well as â > u.

h) Khalaj agrees with the Karakhanide sources, above all, with al-Kāšɣarī. Cf. (7). 217, 234-5 where it has been shown that in correspondence with the Karakhanide words qōl, āš, kōz, ūč, bāš, ōr-, yēl, būr-, tïl, we find forms with (unmoved) long vowels in Khalaj; whereas Turkmen has short vowels.

(2) On the other hand, we find some Iranian influence: / a / normally is pronounced [å] (labialized), e.g., hát 'horse', /ä / is pronounced [a] (a vowel between ä and a), like a in English hat. In some villages short and (unmoved) long / a, ā / have become à (Xurax-ābād hát 'horse'), or we find variants, such as in Dāɣān: båš 'head' (older generation, speaker 75 years old) ∼ baš (younger generation, speaker 30 years old).

(3) Khalaj has preserved (or may have preserved) some original oppositions (perhaps those between –i and –e, –ï and ë) in the auslaut (just as in Brahmi-Turkic, Yakut, New Uighur), e.g. àkkị (Talx-āb àkkü) 'two' : yätti 'seven', cf. also alta 'six' (all dialects). Note: ị means closed (high) i, i means open (low) i. Cf. (7). 161-2.

(4) The reduced vowels of Ancient Turkic (= Uighur Turkic i / ï / ü / u in non-first syllables) have become *ü / u and, later on (cf. point 5), i / u. However, we find many variants. E.g., we normally find qaᵃdun 'relative-in-law', qa·run 'belly', but qāᵃdin, qa·rin in some villages. Sometimes we find such variants as in Manṣūr-ābād: qāᵃdun (isolated), but qādin àbä 'mother-in-law'. The front variant ü is rare, but cf. Talxāb kündük 'navel' = Middle Turkic kindik (whereas Talx-āb has at the same time kàlin 'bride' : Xalt-ābād kàlün = Middle Turkic kälin). Cf. (7). 173-4

In some dialects even –ï / –i have become –u / –ü, e.g., Talx-āb ba·ju 'sister', àkkü 'two'.

(5) A remarkable dialectal difference is the development of *ü, *ö. As a general rule, these vowels have been preserved (or only quite slightly delabialized) in the North (e.g., Talx-āb, Xalt-ābād, Ispit, Mihr-i Zamīn) whereas we find delabialized forms in the South (in the main part of the Khalaj area): ü > i, ö > i, e, e.g., kül- 'to laugh', köz 'eye' (in the listed villages) : kil-, kiz ∼kez (in most other villages).

## 2.2. Consonants

As for consonantism, the following points are relevant:

(1) Khalaj has preserved original t–, k– (in contrast to Azerbaijani): *til* 'tongue', *kiz* 'eye', etc. Cf. (3). 100–1.

(15). The consonants –t–, –k / q–, –p– have been preserved as well, e.g. in Qara-sū *topuqum* 'my ankle', Talx-āb *hadaqin* 'his feet (acc.)', and this quite in contrast to almost all modern Turkic dialects (of. Turkish *topuk : topuğum, ayak : ayağım*) but agreeing with Ancient Turkic.

(2) Khalaj has preserved original –d–: *kidàn* 'wedding', *bidik* 'big', *hadaq* 'foot', etc. Cf. (7). 162–3, (15).

(3) Khalaj has changed Ancient Turkic ń > n (not to –y– as most of the Turkic dialects): *qanu* 'which', *qu°n* 'sheep', etc. Cf. (7). 160, 172–3.

(4) Khalaj has preserved Ancient Turkic h– (cf. 10): *hị°l, hö̀l* 'wet' (cf. Azerbaijani, New Uighur *höl*, Uzbek *hol*); but in contrast to the Turkic dialects mentioned before it has preserved h– (< Proto-Turkic *p–) in *all* cases (even in *hàr* 'man', *hada·q* 'foot', etc.). To a Middle Mongolian h– always corresponds Khalaj h–: Middle Mongolian *hürgü–* 'to be frightened' = Khalaj *hịrk–*, MMo. *haryal* 'excrement' = Kh. *harq*, Mmo. *hütügün* 'vulva' = Kh. *hị̀t* 'hole'. Cf. (7). 163–5, (10), (15), (16). For the original character of Khalaj h– < *p– I have found the following proofs:

a) h– never appears prothetically in loanwords (whereas the A-zerbaijani dialects with sporadic secondary h– show such forms as *haf-tamobil* ← Russian *avtomobil'*).

b) Where Azerbaijani, New Uighur, and Uzbek show h–, Khalaj always shows h–, as well (v. *hị°l*, above).

c) Where Middle Mongolian shows h–, Khalaj does the same (v. *hịrk–*, above, by the way, cf. also Azerbaijani *hürk–*, etc.)

d) Khalaj shows a well-balanced distribution of h– and vowel in the anlaut (whereas secondary h– in Azerbaijani dialects is sporadic).

e) Derived forms always preserve h–, even in such cases which for a native speaker may be etymologically imperceptible, such as *hụ°tun* 'firewood', from *hụ°t* 'fire'.

f) The distribution of the opposition h– : ∅– is absolutely uniform in all Khalaj dialects, quite in contrast to the Azerbaijani dialects. Con-

sidering the enormous differences among the Khalaj dialects (v. chapter O.) this fact must be a relevant.

g) h- and ⌀- are found in the same positions (= have the same distribution); i.e., they must be different phonemes.

h) Some Ancient Turkic words in a Tibetan source show h- (e.g., *hadag* 'foot' = Khalaj *hadaq*).

i) Finally, the opposition can be reconstructed for Ancient Turkic, in an indirect way, v. (10).

(5) A characteristic development is that of -ŋ- (and -ŋ): Whereas in most of the dialects we find -n- (e.g., *mänä*, *sänä* 'to me, to you' in Naudih, Nadr-ābād, Mūsī-ābād, Saqarcūq, Xurak-ābād, Maucān, Talx-ābād), -y is found in Xarrāb, Xalt-ābād *(mäyä, säyä)* and the intermediate sound -ń- in Kārdiyān *(mäńä, säńä)*. Actually, we find many variants.

(6) Of course, there are many minor dialect differences. E.g., some dialects have lost -r- before consonants (Dāγān *g̣uot* 'worm', elsewhere *qū^urt* < *\*qûrt*, Talx-āb *bö̆ök* 'hat', elsewhere *biryäk* and similar forms < *\*bö̂rk*) ; throughout all Khalajistan we find *bī* 'one' (< *\*bîr*). Some Northern dialects show -č > -š (Xalt-ābād, Talx-āb *ūš* 'three' : elsewhere *īč*). We find a large number of assimilations, and similer phenomena. E.g., the word 'egg' (ATu. *yumurtγa*) has become *yumurqa* (most dialects) ∼ *yumurxa* (Mansūr-ābād, Maucān) ∼ *numurqa* (Qara-sū, Naudih, Mūsī-ābād) ∼ *numurxa* (Bāγ-i yak, Sift, Xalt-ābād) ∼ *numurġa* (Talx-āb); Ispīt *yumurta* (probably ← Azeri). The most likely reconstruction may be *yumurtγa* > *yumurtqa* (-γ- booming voiceless after voiceless -t-, assimilation) > *yumurqa* (in most dialects, only Talx-āb —which is in many points isolated and by some Khalaj even considered to be a different language— has preserved -t-) > *numurqa* (assimilation: y- > nasal n- before the nasal -m-). As to the many differences of dialects, we are just beginning to investigate.

## 2.3. Stress

Stress is just as in the other Turkic languages (or as in most of them), even in such cases as *hàvdä'* 'from the house' : *hà'včä* 'in the house'.

## 3. Morphology

### 3.1. The noun

3.1.1. The usual *plural* suffix is *-lar / -lär*, no archaic features.

3.1.2. The *case* system of Khalaj shows many striking features. Here are two paradigms, one for a stem ending in a consonant, the other for a stem ending in a vowel (forms of Xarrāb):

|              | *hàv* 'house'            | *bāba* 'father'           |
|--------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| nominative   | *hàv*                    | *bāba*                    |
| genitive     | *hàv* (rarely *hàv-üy*)   | *bāba* (rarely *bāba-y*)  |
| dative       | *hàv-kà*                 | *bāba-qa*                 |
| accusative   | *hàv-i*                  | *bāba-y*                  |
| locative     | *hà′v-čà*                | *bāba′-ča*                |
| ablative     | *hàv-dà*                 | *bāba-da*                 |
| instrumental | *hà′v-la*                | *bāba′-la*                |
| equative     | *hà′v-vara*              | *bāba′-vara*              |

The following points are relevant:

(1) Instead of a special genitive form the nominative is mostly used, just as in Ancient Turkic (and Yakut). The nominative, by the way, is used as *casus indefinitus* in other constructions as well, such as (Maucān) *i^erdik baluq* 'we arrived at (our) village'; but Persian influence is possible here.

(2) The accusative is in *-i* (as in Yakut), even after vowels (*-y* < *-yi*, *-i*) (whereas Yakut has *-ni*). This suffix may have developed from such pronominal Turkic forms as *män-i* 'me'; but even a development from Ancient Turkic *-ig* cannot be excluded (e.g., Ancient Turkic *ällig* 'fifty' is represented in the Khalaj dialects by such forms as *ällig*, *älli^g*, *älli^y*, *älli*; the accusative in *-i* may have been an original *presto* form). At any rate, we do not find an accusative in *-ni*, neither after vowels (as in Yakut, Azerbaijani, Khorasan-Turkic, Turkmen), nor after vowels *and* consonants (as in most Turkic languages).

(3) The locative in *-čA* is = the Ancient Turkic *terminalis* (which is sometimes wrongly called "equative", cf. Ancient Turkic *bel-čä bo-γoz-ča suwda yorïp* 'up to their hips and throats walking in water', J.r. Hamilton: Le conte bouddhique du bon et du mauvais prince en version

ouïgoure, Paris 1971, 26). Only in pronominal forms do we find a locative in *-dA* (cf. chapter 318.).

(4) The ablative is *-dA* is the same as in Ancient Turkic and the Yakut Partitive (only in Xalt-ābād we find *-dAn*).

(5) *-lA* seems to be an abbreviation of *bilä* 'with' < Ancient Turkic *birlä* (as in other Turkic languages), rather than the Turkic suffix *-lA* (*taŋ-la* 'at dawn', etc.).

(6) As to *-vāra* cf. Persian *vār* 'like, similar, equal'.

3.1.3. The *possessive* suffixes are (dialect of Xarrāb):

|              |          | *hàv*       | *bāba*   |
|--------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| 1.           | singular | *hàv-im*    | *bāba-m* |
| 2.           |          | *-üy*       | *-y*     |
| 3.           |          | *-i*        | *-si*    |
| 1.           | plural   | *-(i)miz*   | *-miz*   |
| 2.           |          | *-īz*       | *-yiz*   |
| 3.           |          | *-làri*     | *-lari*  |

In the declension of the possessive suffixes we find the following striking features (apart from variants having merely a phonological explaination, such as *hàv-in* 'your house', in dialects where Ancient Turkic *-ŋ* has become *-n*):

(1) Even in this case, the genitive is normally like the accusative: *bābam oγli* 'my father's son' (~ rather rarely *bābamuy oγli*).

(2) It is only after the pronominal suffix of the third person that we find the genitive in *-nuy* (*bābasïnuy oγli* 'his father's son'), whereas in the majority of the Turkic languages *-n°ŋ* (with *-n-*) is the normal form. Cf. point (5).

(3) The dative is: *bāba-m-a*, *bāba-y-a*, *bāba-si-ya*, *bāba-miz-qa*, *bāba-yiz-qa*, *bāba-lari-ya*; i.e. it resembles the Ancient Turkic system: dative in *-KA*, after *-n-* (i.e. the combination *-nqa*)> *-ŋA* (> *-yA* in most Khalaj dialects); only in the first person singular has *-A* become the normal form of Khalaj (Ancient Turkic *.-KA* ~ *-A*), in analogy to the second person singular.

(4) The accusative form is *-U*, *-I* (after consonants) ~ *-y* (after vowels), e.g. (Xarrāb) *bābamu kerdüm* 'I have seen my father') : *bāba-*

*siy kerdüm* 'I have seen his father' (~ , e.g. Mansūr-ābād, *dïwārïn čä-kïyam* 'I shall construct its wall', as in Ancient Turkic).

(5) In the third person, forms without –n– are usual: *oylïda* 'from his son' (in contrast to Ancient Turkic *oylïnda*). This is the same analogical development as in New Uighur. Only in the genitive form –n– has been preserved (cf. point 2).

(6) Observe: *oylï* 'his son', but in all other cases *oylïda* (with high i), etc.

(7) After words designating parts of the body or relatives we often find a double possessive suffix: *älisi* 'his hand' (Mūsī-ābād, Hizār-ābād). Cf. OLZ 66 (1971). 339.

3.1.4. The *comparative* suffix is *-tar / -tàr* (← Iranian), e.g., *bïdïktàr* 'bigger'; the superlative uses a circumlocution: 'the biggest village' = *hàmà baluqlar bïdïktàr baluqi*, literally "of all villages the bigger village", and similar constructions.

3.1.5. The *numerals* have the forms: *bï, àkkï* (Talx-āb *àkkű*), *ïč* (Northern dialects *ūš*), *tï^ert* (~ *tṓ^ert*), *bï^eš, alta, yätti, sàkkiz, toqquz, ū^on*; *yigirmi, hottuz, qïrq, àllig* (~ *àllïy, àllï*, etc.), *altmiš* (~ *altmuš*), *yätmiš, säysàn, toxsan, yïz* (~ *yűz*), *mïŋk* (Talx-āb *mïn*. We find the following special features in the dialects:

(1) The higher numerals 70, 80, 90 are very often Persian: *hàfta·d, hàšta·d, nàvàd* (this is just as in many Khorasan Turkic dialects which have been influenced by Persian in the same extreme manner as Khalaj; by the way, some Khorasan dialects also have the comparative in *-tar*, cf. 314.). Often we find variants like *nàvàd* ~ *toxsan* (e.g., Talx-āb).

(2) In Kārdiyān we find '80' *hàšta·d* ~ *àkkï gïrq* (= "2 x 40")

(3) In the speech of many villages we find numerals compounded with *hottuz* '30' (the h– of which disappears in *presto* speech): '60' *àkki-ottuz*, '70' *àkki-ottuz-(u-)ūôn* (= 2 x 30 + 10), '80' *àkki-ottuz-u-yigirmi*, '90' *ïčottuz*, even '150' *bï^eš-ottuz*. Cf. (7). 166 (e.g., Xalt-ābād).

(4) In some villages (e.g.,.Xarrāb, Sift) an ordinal suffix *–minci* exists (as in Turkmen and Azerbaijani dialects).

3.1.6. Some special *postpositions* are these: *saru* 'because of' (with ablative) = Ancient Turkic *sarï, arsa* 'beneath' = ATu. *asra, hāya* 'be-

hind' <ATu. *âγa (converb of âγ- 'to come back', cf. 323.), bärä 'since, on this side of' = ATu. bärö, ärä 'on that side of'.

3.1.7. The *personal and demonstrative pronouns* (of Xarrāb) are these:

|       | 'I'       | 'we'      | 'thou'    | 'you'     | 'this'     | 'that'    |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Nom.  | män       | biz       | sän       | siz       | bô·        | ô·        |
|       |           | bizlär    |           | sizlär    |            |           |
| Gen.  | mänüm     | bizüm     | säniiy    | sizüy     | mu̧·nuy    | u̧·nuy    |
| Dat.  | mäyä      | bizkä     | säyä      | sizkä     | mu̧·ya     | u̧·ya     |
| Acc.  | mänü      | bizü      | sänü      | sizü      | mu̧·nu     | u̧·nu     |
| Loc.  | mändičä   | bizdičä   | sändičä   | sizdičä   | mu̧·ndiča  | u̧·ndiča  |
| Abl.  | mändä     | bizdä     | sändä     | sizdä     | mu̧·nda    | u̧·nda    |
| Ins.  | mändilä   | bizdilä   | sändilä   | sizdilä   | mu̧·ndila  | u̧·ndila  |
| Equ.  | mändivara | bizdivara | sändivara | sizdivara | mu̧·ndivara| u̧·ndivara|

The plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns are regular: *bôllar*, *ôllar* (loo. *bôllarča*, etc., only in the instrumental *bôllarla* ∼ *bôllardila*). We find the following striking features:

(1) In some case forms we find an infix *-di-* (originally = adverbialis, e.g., in ATu. *qatïγdï* 'firmly'), which is found in ATu. pronouns as well: A.v. Gabain: *Alttürkische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1950. 91: *mindidä* = Khalaj *mändičä*, *sintidä* = *sändičä*. The form *u̧·nča* of the Talxāb dialect may be shortened from *u̧·ndiča*; but it may correspond to *onda* of other Turkic languages, as well.

(2) The dative is not *baŋa, *maŋa, but analogous to the other case forms, varying only according to the phonetic laws (-ŋ- > -n-, -ń-, -y- in the dialects, cf. 22., point 5). It resembles Azerbaijani forms (which fact may be a mere coincidence: the same tendency of analogy in both languages).

(3) The original ATu. forms were *bo : ol*. The form in *-l* has been preserved in the plural: *ôllar*, and, for its part, influenced *bolar* 'these' > *bôllar*; on the other hand, the singular form *bô·* has influenced *ol* 'that' > *ô·*.

(4) We find a kind of ablaut o· (nominative): u (other case forms) in the demonstrative pronouns (just as in Ancient Turkic and many modern Turkic languages), in all Khalaj dialects (Talx-āb *ū°* 'that' ∼ presto *ô·* : *u̧·nča*; Winārč *o·*, *bo·* : *u̧·nuŋ*, *u̧na*, *mu̧·nuŋ*, *mu̧·na*, etc.).

However, we find no ablaut of the type ATu. *män* 'I' : *mini (meni?)* 'me'. (In some Khalaj dialects, among them Xarrāb, Bunčinār, there seems to be an opposition *män* 'I' : *māni* 'me'.).

Some adverbs have been derived from these stems, e.g., *bu°ra* 'here', *u°ra* 'there' (also *nī°rä* 'where'). Here we find some exceptions from the normal declension: the dative is = the nominative, the locative is *bu°da*, etc. (ablative *bu°rda*, etc.).

The interrogative pronouns are: *nä* 'what' (accusative *näy*), *kim* 'who' (Xarrāb, ∼ Manṣūr-ābād *ki°m*, which may be, connected with ATu. *käm* = Oirat and some other Turkic languages, even Chuvash *kam < käm*); *qā̄ᵃ* 'where, which' (*ô· qī̄z qā̄ᵃ* 'where is this girl?, *qā̄ᵃ yā̄ᵃnda käliyoruy* 'on which side do you come?'); *qā̄ᵃni, qā̄ᵃni, qā̄ᵃnu* 'where, which'. *Kim* shows forms with *-di-*, cf. point (1), above.

3.1.8. The *copula* shows two series, after vowels, and after consonants:

|  | after vowels | after consonants |
|---|---|---|
| 'I am' | *-rsäm* | *-äm* |
| 'thou art' | *-rsäy* | *-äy* |
| 'he, she, it is' | *-ri* | *-är* |
| 'we are' | *-rsäk* | *-äk* |
| '(all of) you are' | *-rsäyiz* | *-äyiz* |
| 'they are' | *-ri, -llär* | *-állär* |

These forms are derived from ATu. *är-* 'to be' (cf. also Khalaj *ärti* 'he was' = ATu. *ärti*), the suffixes are influenced by the perfect forms (cf. chapter 325.). Instead of *-är* (or *-ri?*) we often find the fuller (more archaic) form *äri* (e.g., Talx-āb *härin bå·cusi, balduz äri* 'the husband's sister is called "*balduz*"' ∼ *håy-våra-ru* 'it's like the moon'). The forms *-rsäm* etc. may be derived as follows: *män Ali-rsäm* 'I am Ali' < 'if I am Ali' *(Ali ärsäm,* cf. *Ali'rti < Ali ärti* 'this was Ali'); this may have been a modest kind of expression. In some dialects, e.g. Sift, we find simplified forms like *havčäsäm* instead of *havčärsäm* 'I am at home' (of. 22., point 5).

3.2. The verb

3.2.1. We find two kinds of *predicative suffixes,* cf. (9). 297. The normal forms are:

1. Sg.      *-(U)m*

2.          *-(U)y*

3.          –

1. pl.      *-(U)K(In)*

2.          *-iz ~ -yiz*

3.          *-lAr*

These forms are well-known in other Turkic languages as the forms of the perfect (and, mostly, conditional). In Khalaj, they are almost universal, e.g., also in the present tense in *-yor-*, in the future tense in *-GA-*, etc. The only exception is found in the aorist, and this only in the 1. plural: *-miz*, e.g., *käl-imiz* 'we come' (: *käl-iyoruq* 'we are coming'). Interesting are the 1. pl. forms in *-KIn*, e.g., *aliyaqin* 'we shall take' (Mansūr-ābād). Some tenses are combined with the copula, e.g., *kälmiš äm* 'I have come' (< *kälmiš ärür män*), not *\*kälmišim*.

As I have shown in (9). 331–40, there is a certain chance that the conjugation with possessive suffixes is the original one in Turkic (i.e., originally not only *käl-t-im* 'I came' but also in the aorist *tut-a-m* 'I hold'), whereas the forms with personal pronouns originally were used only after nouns and adjectives *(alp män* 'I am courageous', *bäg män* 'I am a prince'), only secondarily influencing verbal forms *(tutar män* 'I hold'). Furthermore, there is a certain chance that the different vowels of the aorist *(-A-, -U-, -I-)* originally were aspects (markers of directions). However, up to now these are unconfirmed speculations.

3.2.2. The *verbal nouns* are of two kinds: infinitives and participles.

We find infinitives in *-mA*, *-mAK*, *-GU* (e.g., *kälgüsi u°lmata* 'he may not come, let him not come', lit. 'his coming may not be', *kälgüčä tä* 'until one comes'), *-dUK* (use very similar to Osmanli, e.g., *käldükküm kin* 'the day when I came', *käldikimčä* 'when I came').

The participles are in: *-miš* (negative *-mädük / -maduq*), mostly predicative (but, e.g., Xarrāb *puzilmiš* 'destroyed', Mūsī-ābād *bišmiš* 'cooked'); *-GUr* (only in curses, such as *bïᵉri yïᵉgür* 'may the wolf eat [him ]); *-GULUK* (e.g., Xalt-ābād *kälgülük äm* 'I must come', cf. ATu. *-GULUK)*; *-GILi* (normally marking perfect, or past tense: Xalt-ā-bād *kàšgüli iïl* 'last year', lit. "the year which has passed" = Winārč *kàčgili iïl*, Kārdiyān *bô· kàlgili hàrlàr* 'these arrived men'; as a noun mark-

ing a usual actor, i.e., somebody who has always done something and continues to do it even now, e.g., Xarrāb *hikmäk yapyịlị* 'the baker', lit. "the bread-maker"; this form is derived, by metathesis, from ATu. *-GLI*); *-An* marks an action performed continuously (Bunčinār *hịnän tẹvä* 'riding camel = camel for riding', Xalt-ābād *kàlàn yịl* 'coming year = next year'), it very often is in competition with *-GILi* (cf. *hik-mäk yapan* 'baker' in Nadr-ābād, Mūsī-ābād, Hizār-ābād, Kārdiyān); rather seldom we find *-AGAn* (cf. Middle Turkic, al-Kāšġarī, e.g., Talx-āb *külägàn oyul* 'the [always ] laughing son' [∼ *küländ här* 'the laughing man' ], a marshy valley near by Talx-āb is called *yidägän därä* 'Stinking Valley'); the participle in *-r* has been preserved only in some fixed terms, such as (Talx-āb) *kǖn batar* 'evening, West' ("sun going down"), *kǖn čalar* 'East'.

All participles may be used as predicative forms when combined with the copula, e.g., Talx-āb *män kälgịlị-säm* 'I have come'.

I can not decide whether *-An* is a loan suffix from Azeri or whether Middle Turkic *-GAn* is a contamination of older *-An* (preserved in Khalaj) and *-AGAn* (preserved in Khalaj and in Middle Turkic; neither *-AGAn* nor *-GAn* are found in the oldest Turkic documents: the Orkhon inscriptions). I have the impression (corroborated by some facts of Khorasan Turkic) that *-GAn* is *not* the original form of Proto-Turkic but rather a contamination of *-An* and *-AGAn* (cf., e.g., Khorasan Turkic of Güegi: *išlägän* 'working', with presumably the same contamination although Khorasan Turkic, as an Oghuz language, ought to lose -g-).

3.2.3. *Converbs* are rare in Khalaj. They continue to exist in some imperative forms (cf. 324.), in some fixed terms such as *ịᵉnä* 'below' (< 'going down'), *hāya* 'back, behind' (< 'going back, turning'), (Bunčinār) *arqäyčä hịnä käčäm* 'I mount onto your back', (Maucān) *varibildim* 'I was able to go', *hay-yali* 'in order to say', *bo·šladiq varyali* 'we began to go' (also Xarrāb, Bunčinār, etc.), (Xarrāb) *kịlä kịlä vardum* 'I went off, continuously laughing' (even here *kịlma'la* is preferred). Cf. (9). 318–9: the converb in *-°p* is preserved only in the imperative. Only two converb forms are productive and frequently used in Khalaj: *-GAli* and (to lesser degree) *-A* (doubled).

3.2.4. The *imperative* forms of Khalaj are very numerous and difficult. We find ten types of imperative forms (almost each of them with sub-

,types). It is above all in the imperative that ancient converb forms in $-p$ and $-V$ (vowel, undoubled) have been preserved, e.g., *qālup-arta* 'may he remain' (= lit. ATu. *qalïp ärzün*; *\*qâl-zun* does not exist in Khalaj). Even the second person singular normally has a suffix, e.g., *ali* 'take' (not *\*al*). The predicative suffixes are:

1. sg.  $-(d)Um$, $-(d)Am$
2.       $-I$, etc., $-\varnothing$ (rarely), $-GIl$ (rarely)
3.       $-tA$
1. pl.  $-(d)UK$, $-(d)AK$, rarely $-AlUm$
2.       $-y$, $-dīz$
3.       $-tAlAr$

These forms do not coincide with the forms of any other Turkic languages. As to the imperative forms, Khalaj deviates from Common Turkic just in the same degree as Chuvash, cf., e.g., ATu. *käl-zün* 'may he come' = Azerbaijani *gäl-sin* (and similarly most of the modern Turkic languages), but Chuvash *kil-tĕr*, Khalaj *yä-käl-tä*, etc.

The ten types of conjugation of the imperative are (only 2. sg.):

( 1)  $-i$ / $-y$  *(ali* 'take')
( 2)  $-ir$  *(basïr* 'press')
( 3)  $-Up$ / $-UpA$  *(qālup* 'remain')
( 4)  $-Al$  *(kädäl* 'put on clothes')
( 5)  $-AK$  *(ī$^e$räk* 'arrive')
( 6)  $yA-$  *(yäkä* 'come', *yova* 'go')
( 7)  $-Uv$  *(yātuv* 'lie down')
( 8)  $-Ar$  *(tulār* < *\*turār* 'stand')
( 9)  *yeti–*  *(yetikä* 'bring', from *kälit-*)
(10)  $-pi$  *(yi$^e$pi* 'eat')

Generally, cf. (9).

3.2.5. For other *tenses* cf. (9). 295–7. We find: perfect in $-dUm$ etc. (cf. for the predicative forms chapter 321.), conditional in $-sAm$, present in $-(i)yorum$ (← older Azerbaijani? - but this form is known in Kipchak dialects, as well, cf. *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, I. Aquis Mattiacis 1959. 809; Xalt-ābād has $-VtUrUm$, well-known in many Turkic dialects, cf. Fundamenta 808), preterite in $-miš$ *äm* (cf. 318., negative form: $-mAdUK$ *äm*, the same opposition positive $-mIš$: negative $-mA-dUK$ as in Ancient Turkic), many compound forms, such as *käldüm*

*är* (= *käldüm* + copula), *-miš wolsam* (preterite of conditional). The
aorist has the forms (V = vowel, dialect of Xarrāb):

$$-Vm$$
$$-Vy$$
$$-Vr$$
$$-Vmiz$$
$$-V\bar{\imath}z \text{ or contraction } -\bar{\imath}z$$
$$-VllAr$$

The vowels are the same as in Ancient Turkic, e.g. *yāt-ur* 'he lies' (not
*\*yat-ar*, as in most modern Turkic dialects). After vowels we find forms
like *ba·šla-yur* 'he begins' (= Ancient Turkic, whereas in Middle Turkic
forms like *bašla-r* are usual; these are valid in all modern Turkic dialects
with the exception of Khalaj and Yakut: *bastïr* < *bāšlayur*). The fu-
ture in *-GA* shows very similar to those of the imperative (e.g., *al-i-ɣa*
'he will take', *yīᵉ-pi-gä* 'he will eat' instead of *\*al-ɣa, -yīᵉagä*), cf. (9).
298-9.

4. Lexicology

Khalaj syntax cannot be dealt with here. The Khalaj lexicon is
characterized by five striking features:

(1) Khalaj has preserved a very large number of Ancient Turkic
words which are extinct in other modern Turkic dialects, some of them
*hapax legomena* in Ancient Turkic vocabularies. For further information
cf. my article *Altertümliche türkische Wörter im Chaladsch* (bibliography
nr. (16). Here are some examples: *īᵉm* 'trousers', *kisi* 'wife' *(kiši* 'wom-
an'), *hirin* 'white' (< *ürüŋ*), *harq* 'excrement', *baluq* 'village', *vāᵃ-*
'to bind', *sī¹-* 'to break', *kidän* 'wedding', *ū* 'sleep', *qudɣu* 'fly'; we also
find (Winārč) *ärdän* 'bride' (= *Codex Comanicus*, and only there, *er-
deŋ* 'virgin').

(2) Khalaj has many (about 150) words of unknown origin, some of
which are spread all over the Khalaj area (e.g., *havul* 'good'), whereas
other terms are characteristic only of certain dialects.

(3) In cases of opposition between Oghuz and Non-Oghuz vocab-
ulary, Khalaj is Non-Oghuz, e.g., *ä·rin* 'lip' (not *\*tôtaq*), *bīᵉri* 'wolf'
(not *\*qûrt*). Some Khalaj words are typically Arghu, above all *dāɣ*
(~ *dāɣïl*) 'is not' (= Arghu *dāɣ, dāɣ ol*); for the fact that Khalaj is =