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Bashkir Dialects in the XVIII Century According to the P.S. Pallas Dictionary

Pallas Sözlüğüne Göre XVIII. Yüzyılda Başkurt Lehçeleri[1]

Normanskaja JULIA[1,2] (ID)

[1]Linguistic Platphorm, Ivannikov's Institute of System Programming, Moscow, Russian Federation
[2]Ural-Altaic Department, Institute of Linguistic RAS, Moscow, Russian Federation

[1]*Linguistic Platphorm, Ivannikov'un Sistem Programlama Enstitüsü, Moskova, Rusya*
[2]*Ural-Altay Bölümü, RAS Dilbilimsel, Enstitüsü, Moskova, Rusya*

ABSTRACT

The Bashkir dictionary created by P.S. Pallas in the late 18th century has not been previously linguistically analyzed. However, it is of significant scientific interest because it is the first Cyrillic source that includes vowel sounds and dialectical doublets. Therefore, the analysis of this dictionary allows for two important findings: first, it helps to determine the chronology of processes that differentiate the Bashkir language from other Kipchak languages, and second, it helps to establish the dialects that were present in the Bashkir language during the 18th century. To achieve this analysis, an online dictionary of the Bashkir language by P.S. Pallas was created on the LingvoDoc platform. Modern Bashkir language forms and etymological connections with other Bashkir dialects were added for comparison, and Bashkir examples were also compared with Proto-Turkic reconstructions. As a result, the following cases were analyzed: (1) When P.S. Pallas's dictionary contains doublet forms and when words have the same meaning but differ in various reflexes of one or more phonemes. Clearly, the presence of such words indicates different dialects that P.S. Pallas used. (2) The article examines all cases of words that, even without having duplicates in P.S. Pallas's dictionary, differ from modern Bashkir. The primary dialect-differentiating features between the two Bashkir dialects of that period were the reflexes of Proto-Turkic *j, which shifted to dž- in one dialect and was preserved in another, and Proto-Turkic *č, which shifted to s in one dialect and was preserved in the other. This finding suggests an early division of the Bashkir language into dialects. In comparison the Kazakh, language did not have dialects, based on P.S. Pallas's dictionary, while the Mansi language had no clear isoglosses between dialects. However, in the Khanty language, there were already five regular phonetic differences between western and eastern dialects during that period. It was also interesting to examine the number of sound changes that differentiated the Bashkir dialects of the 18th century from the Proto-Turkic language. The eastern Bashkir dictionary by P.S. Pallas was characterized but following innovations: Proto-Turkic *j > dž-, Proto-Turkic *č > s, Proto-Turkic *i > e, Proto-Turkic *-b > w (u̯), й, Proto-Turkic *g > w (u̯), g/k, Proto-Turkic *o > u, Proto-Turkic *e > i. In the northwestern part of Bashkir P.S. Pallas's dictionary, Proto-Turkic *-b > 0, Proto-Turkic *i > i, Proto-Turkic *o > y, Proto-Turkic *e > и.

Keywords: Bashkir Language, XVIII Century, Kipchak Languages, Finno-Ugric Languages, P.S. Pallas

ÖZ

18. yüzyılın sonlarında Pallas tarafından hazırlanan P.S. Başkurt Sözlüğü daha önce dilbilimsel olarak analiz edilmemiştir. Bununla birlikte, ünlü sesleri ve diyalektik çiftleri içeren ilk Kiril kaynağı olduğu için önemli bir bilimsel ilgiye sahiptir. Dolayısıyla bu sözlüğün analizi iki önemli bulguya imkân vermektedir:18. yüzyılda Başkurt dili ve Başkurt dilini diğer Kıpçak dillerinden ayıran süreçlerin kronolojisinin belirlenmesi. Bu analizi gerçekleştirmek için Başkurt dilinin, P.S. Pallas LingvoDoc platformu oluşturulmuştur. Karşılaştırma için modern Başkurt dili biçimleri ve diğer Başkurt lehçeleriyle etimolojik bağlantıları eklenmiş ve Başkurt örnekleri Proto-Türkçe rekonstrüksiyonlarla karşılaştırılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, aşağıdaki durumlar analiz edilmiştir: 1) P.S. Pallas Sözlüğü, kelimelerin aynı anlama geldiği, ancak bir veya daha fazla ses biriminin çeşitli reflekslerinde farklılık gösterdiği ikili biçimleri içerir. Açıkçası, bu tür kelimelerin varlığı, P.S. Pallas Sözlüğü'nün kullandığı farklı lehçeleri gösterir. 2) Makale, P.S. Pallas Sözlüğü'nde kopyaları olmasa bile, kelimelerin tüm durumlarını inceler. Pallas Sözlüğü, modern Başkurt sözlüğünden farklıdır. Dönemin iki Başkurt

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lehçesi arasındaki başlıca lehçeleri farklılaştıran özellikler ile lehçede dž-'ye kayan ve diğerinden korunan Proto-Türkçedeki *j ve lehçeye geçen Proto-Türkçedeki *č refleksleri bir lehçede ve diğerinde korunmuştur. Bu bulgu, Başkurt dilinin lehçelere erken bir şekilde ayrıldığını göstermektedir. Buna karşılık Kazak dilinin lehçeleri yoktur. P.S. Pallas Sözlüğü, Mansi dilinde ise lehçeler arasında net eş anlamlılar yoktur. Bununla birlikte, Khanty dilinde, o dönemde batı ve doğu lehçeleri arasında zaten beş düzenli fonetik farklılık vardır. 18. yüzyıl Başkurt lehçelerini Proto-Türk dilinden ayıran ses değişikliklerinin sayısını incelemek de önemlidir. P.S. Pallas Doğu Başkurt Sözlüğü, aşağıdaki yeniliklerle karakterize edilmiştir: Proto-Türk *j > dž-, Proto-Türk *č > s, Proto-Türk *i > e, Proto-Türk *-b > w (u̯), é, Proto- Türk *g > w (u̯), g/k, Proto-Türk *o > u, Proto-Türk *e > i. Başkurt'un kuzeybatı kesiminde Proto-Türk *-b > 0, Proto-Türk *ɨ > i, Proto-Türk *o > y, Proto-Türk *e > и.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Başkurt Dili, XVIII. Yüzyıl, Kıpçak Dilleri, Finno-Ugric Dilleri, P.S. Pallas

Introduction

Currently, there are three main dialects in the Bashkir language: Eastern, which is described in Maksyutova (1976); Southern, described in Mirzhanova (1979); and Northwestern, described in Mirzhanova (2006). In each of the dialects, separate accents are distinguished, which are sufficiently described in the mentioned monographs. However, a comprehensive examination of the Bashkir dictionary published by P.S. Pallas cf. (Pallas 1787–1789) shows that in the XVIII century, the Bashkir language was significantly different from its modern dialects.

This dictionary is available online on the LingvoDoc platform.[2]

The further structure of this work is structured as follows:

1. In the first part of the article, doublet forms, which arose due to different reflexes of the same Proto-Turkic phoneme, are listed. Additionally, other lexemes are given as an illustration, which graphemically display several reflexes of this phoneme;
2. The second part of the article presents examples that are not doublets but rather display several possible graphical reflections of the same Proto-Turkic phoneme's reflexes; and
3. The third part of the article lists examples of the preservation of archaic Proto-Turkic phoneme reflexes in the graphemics of the Bashkir dictionary published by P.S. Pallas, in contrast to modern dialects.

Part 1: Special Language Development Is Represented by Doublet Forms in the Dictionary Published by P.S. Pallas

In the Bashkir dictionary of P.S. Pallas, there are doublet forms for a number of words; this presumably indicates the presence of different dialects. Below are such forms classified by the same graphical differences:

дж vs. *й* vs. *з* < Proto-Turkic *j

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*jeḷ	ел	Джиль	wind
		Ель	
*jeṛ	ер	Ерь	earth
		Джирь	
*jürek	йөрәк	Зюрякъ	heart
		Джюрякъ	
		Юряк	
*ū-dɨ-	йоклау	Джуку	dream
		Уйку	
*jAk-	якшы	Джахши	good

This double reflexion occurs not only in doublet forms but also in regular words containing Proto-Turkic *j, cf. examples where йis preserved:

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*jag-	Яума	Яунь	rain
jul-duŕ (-dɨŕ)	йондоҙ	Юлдузь	star
*jāĺ-ɨl	йәшел	Яшиль	green, plants
*jAb-	яуызлык	Явузлыкь	evil
*japur-gak	япрак	Япраклар	leaves
*jŭŕ	йөҙ	Юзъ	face
*jaĺ(č)-	йәшен	Яшнамекь	lightning
*jul	йылға	Елга	river

Transition from Proto-Turkic *j to дж is also a common occurrence:

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*ja5 r	яр	Джарь	shore
*jüŕüm	йөҙөм	Джюзумьемеши	grape
*jü-	йөк	Джокь	cart
*jagɨ	яу	Джау	war
*jɨl	йыл	Джиль	year
*jeŋgü-l	еңел	Джигиль	light
*jāj	йәй	Джай	summer
*jat-	ятыу	Джатурга	lay down
*jalaŋ	ялан	Джалань	field
*jogan	йыуан	Джювань	fat

There is one example of transition Proto-Turkic *j > s: Bashk. *Семуртка* "egg" < Proto-Turkic *jumurtka

As can be seen, the forms with й correspond to the literary Bashkir language and most of the southern accents, with the exception of accents on the border with the eastern dialect, cf. (Mirzhanova 1979: 19) and northwestern dialects, cf. (Mirzhanova 2006: 80), forms with дж correspond to eastern Bashkir "жоканье," cf. (Maksyutova 1976: 18). Currently forms with дж- < *j sporadically found in the Tanypsky, Gaininsky, and Nizhnebelsko-Yk accents of the northwestern dialect, see (Mirzhanova 2006: 80, 152, 224), the transition of Proto-Turkic *j > s is sometimes found in modern southeastern Bashkir dialects and extremely rarely found in the Nizhnebelsko-yk northwestern dialect, cf. (Mirzhanova 2006: 89, 153).

ч vs. с < Proto-Turkic *č

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*s(i)ač	сәс	Сачъ	hair
		Сясъ	
	быsrак	Булсракь	mud
		Булчракь	
*čɨ5 pɨn	себен	Сибинь	a fly
		Чибинь	
*gēč(-e)	кис	Кичь	evening
		Кусь	
*čöčka	суска	Суска	pig
		Чючка	
	сәсеу	Сачарга	sow
		Сасарга	
*baĺ-	балсык	Балсыкь	clay

As in the example earlier, the double reflex occurrence is not limited to doublet forms but also occurs in regular words containing Proto-Turkic *č, cf. examples where ч is preserved:

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*ɨ-(ń)gač	ағас	Агачь	tree
*gŭč	көс	Кючь	power
*čɨj, *čɨj-ɨk	сей	Чи	wet
*gēč(-e)	кис	Кичь	evening

The transition Proto-Turkic *č > s, is less common, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*ič-	эсеү	исмяклыкь	drink
*kičük/-g	кесе	кюскыня	few

From the examples listed earlier, it can be seen that the forms with the reflex Proto-Turkic *č > s correspond to literary Bashkir, as well as eastern, southern dialects, and a number of Northwestern dialects: Karaidel, cf. (Mirzhanova 2006: 30). Forms with the preservation of *č are currently represented in the Northwestern dialects, in particular, in Nizhnebelsko-yk, they are called "Tatar," cf. (Mirzhanova 2006: 153), but, in fact, this is just the preservation of the Proto-Turkic archaic consonant.

e vs. и < Proto-Turkic *i, *ẹ

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*dīri-	тере	Тирикь	alive
		Терре	
*ɨt / *it	эт	Эть	dog
		Ить	
*jel	ел	Джиль	wind
		Ель	
*jer	ер	Ерь	earth

As in the previously discussed transitions, there are also instances of double reflex occurring, as demonstrated by cases involving the preservation of *i (cf. cases with the preservation of *i):

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*ini	эне	Ини	brother (younger)
*imen	имән	Именьагачи	oak
*ič-	эсеү	Исмяклыкь	drink

Cases involving the transition *i to e in the Bashkir dictionary published by P.S. Pallas

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*kirpik	керпек	Керпиклярь	eyelashes
*siŋil	һеңле	Сенгламъ	Sister (younger)

However, there are cases involving irregular reflexes: Proto-Turkic *i > ю (influenced by ü in the second syllable), ы, 0.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*kičük/-g	кесе	Кюскыня	few
*kiĺi	кеше	Кышя	human
*kiĺi		Кши	human

It can be seen that the forms involving e correspond to the literary Bashkir and to most other dialects. The preservation of *i is a characteristic feature of Northwestern dialects, cf. (Mirzhanova 2006: 144, 213): in the XIX century, such reflex was presented in the dictionary

of N. F. Katanov, see (Katanov, 1901): *jip-ӡä* "land-Loc," *jip-ӡiн* "landGen," *iҭ-тӓр* "dog-Pl." This reflex is also presented in the Northwestern audio dictionaries on LingvoDoc, collected in the villages of Nizhnecherekkulevo, Verkhneyarkeyevo, Iteevo, Elpachikha, Konyukovo, Kuzemyarovo, Karaidel, Urshadu. In Mirzhanova (1979: 175), this feature is also noted for the Dem accent of the southern dialect.

в vs. й vs. 0 < Proto-Turkic *-b-

There are only two doublet forms of the Proto-Turkic *b, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*seb-	һөйөү	Суярга	to love
		Севукликь	love

But there are words involving Proto-Turkic *b > 0, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*dabul	дауыл	Дауль	storm
*sib	һыу	Су, Со	water
*Ebür(d)ek	өйрәк	Урдякь	duck

And another example involving Proto-Turkic *b > в, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*jAb-	яуызлык	Явузлыкь	evil

From the examples, it can be seen that in the literary Bashkir, these words involve a transition Proto-Turkic *b > у/й. The phenomenon of monophthongization for those diphthongs, that in the literary Bashkir language have й as the second part, is characteristic of the Northwestern dialect, for example, in Karaidel үрәнеү — lit. өйрәнеү, cf. (Mirzhanova, 2006: 23). When considering the transition Porto-Turkic *b > в in the dictionary of P.S. Pallas in accordance with literary Bashkir, we cannot be sure that these are not just different ways of recording a diphthongoid combination.

г vs. 0 vs. в < Proto-Turkic *-g-

For Proto-Turkic *g in the Bashkir dictionary of P.S. Pallas, there are three different reflexes: г, в, and 0. There are several doublets for these reflexes, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*sig-	һыйыр	Сюрь	"cow"
		Сыгырь	
*ogul	ул	Аулъ	"son"
		Уль	
*Agiŕ	ауыҙ	Аусъ	"mouth"

These types of reflexes are not limited to doublet forms, cf. the preservation of the intervocalic Proto-Turkic *g, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*s[e]göl (/*sögil)	һаҡал	Сакаль	"beard"
*ulug	өлкән	Улугь	"great"
*boguŕ	боғаҙ	Бугасъ	"throat"

Transition of intervocalic Proto-Turkic *g > в, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*jogan	йыуан	Джювань	"fat"
*būg	быу	Бувь	"vapour"
*sag	һау	Савсаляметь	"healthy"

Transition of intervocalic Proto-Turkic *g > 0, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*jagɨ	яу	Джау	war
*dăg	тау	Тау	mountain
*ogul	улан	Оуланъ	baby

From the examples given, it can be seen that the preservation of *g* and its loss correspond to the literary Bashkir language. As noted earlier, it can be assumed that the use of в in accordance with lit. *у* as the second element of the diphthong is only a way of recording.

Summing up the results of the analysis of doublet forms and similar reflexes of Proto-Turkic phonemes, it can be confidently stated that in the XVIII century, there were at least two dialects in the Bashkir. One of them coincided with the eastern one, the characteristic features of which were the development of Proto-Turkic *j>дж-, Proto-Turkic *č > c, Proto-Turkic *i > e, Proto-Turkic *b > в (у), й, Proto-Turkic *g > в (у), г/к and the second dialect, coincided with the north-western, and it preserved unchanged Proto-Turkic *j-, Proto-Turkic *č, Proto-Turkic *i, а. Proto-Turkic *b dropped out, being the second part of the diphthong, which was monophthongized. There is also one example of the development of Proto-Turkic *jin з-, which indicates the presence of different accents of the Northwestern dialect already in the XVIII century.

Part 2: Special Development Is not Shown by Doublet Forms in the Dictionary by P.S. Pallas

Below are examples of double reflexes of Proto-Turkic phonemes that do not have doublets in the dictionary, and we do not know whether this is a dialect variant or a transitional stage. But as shown below, all these variants are also characteristic of Northwestern dialects.

ы vs. и < Proto-Turkic *ɨ

*Proto-Turkic *ɨ in the Bashkir dictionary of P.S. Pallas can be preserved, cf.*

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*Kɨ5 jn		Кынарга	to hit
*Kɨ5 ŕ	кыҙ	Кыскыня, Кызъ, Кысъ	virgin
*Kɨ5 ŕ-	кыҙыл	Кызыль, кысыль	red
*dɨrŋa-k	тырнактар	Тарнакларъ	nails

But in some cases, Proto-Turkic *ɨ > i, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*jɨl	йыл	Джиль	year
*čɨ5 pɨn	себен	Сибинь	a fly
		Чибинь	
*sɨčgan	сыскан	Цисгань	mouse
*ɨjs	еҫ-	Исбелмякъ	sense of smell
*čɨj	сей	Чи	wet

The development of Proto-Turkic *ɨ > i is occurring in some Northwestern dialects, in particular, in Nizhnebelsko-yk, Gaininsky, see (Mirzhanova, 2006: 144, 213), which confirms the hypothesis stated earlier that the second dialect, word forms in which differ from literary Bashkir, coincided with the northwestern one.

у (vs. о) < Proto-Turkic *o

In almost all cases, Proto-Turkic *o turns into *у* in the Bashkir dictionary published by P.S. Pallas, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*tolku-	тулкын	Тулкынь	waves
*Kol	кул	Куль	hand
*orman	урман	Урмань	forest
*ŏt	ут	Уть	fire
*tŏŕ	туҙан	Тузань	dust

Only one example displays a reliable preservation of the Proto-Turkic *o: тонгусь "pig" < Proto-Turkic *doŋuŕ. This form can be explained by the fact that in modern Northwestern dialect, in particular, Gaininsky accent, cf. (Mirzhanova 2006: 214), and southern dialects, for example, Ik-Sakmar Demsky accent, cf. (Mirzhanova 1979: 32–33, 176), there are cases of preservation of Proto-Turkic *o. This also confirms the hypothesis that word forms with vocalism, that are different from the literary language in the dictionary of P.S. Pallas, likely were north-western.

We will not list the forms that coincide with literary Bashkir (Proto-Turkic *ö > y, *e > и), or when the exception is presented in less than three forms. Below, we will analyze cases when the Bashkir dictionary by P.S. Pallas contains an archaic reflex that coincides with the Proto-Turkic one but was lost in the literary language and most Bashkir dialects.

Part 3: Special Language Development in the Dictionary by P.S. Pallas Coincides With the Proto-Turkic Language, but not With the Literary Bashkir Language

Plural Affix *LAr

One of the most important diagnostic features distinguishing Bashkir dialects is the morphophonological alternation of suffixes that begin with -л. As stated in Mirzhanova (1979: 17), "All word-forming affixes and plural forms with an initial -л, in the southern dialect are implemented by two phonetic variants (with initial -л and -н) in contrast to the eastern dialect, where a four-variant type of affixes functions (with initial -л, -д, -ҙ, -т)." The Northwestern type of alternation of affixes currently coincides with the southern dialect. But as was shown in "Graphemic features of books of the XIX century" (2022: 425) and manuscript dictionary published by N. F. Katanov Belebeevsky accent of the North-Western dialect, there still was alternating type of affix, that coincided with the Eastern dialect, in particular, the plural affix had variants "лар — läр, ла̮р — lä̮р, тар — тäр, та̮р — тä̮р, ∂ар — ∂äр, ∂а̮р — ∂ä̮р, Зар — Зäр, За̮р — Зä̮р." As shown in "Graphemic features of books of the XIX century" (2022: 425), these variants are also present in the books of A. G. Bessonov, which were written in the XIX century in the eastern dialect. It seems interesting to establish when the plural affix -LAr had developed four stages of morphophonological alternation which are characteristic of the eastern and the northwestern dialect in the XIX century? It was shown earlier that there were two dialects recorded in the Bashkir dictionary by P.S. Pallas: eastern and northwestern. Unexpectedly, it was discovered that forms with alternations were not recorded in the dictionary by P.S. Pallas, cf. examples of using the plural affix after different types of bases: Lit. Bashk. каштар vs. Кашларъ "eyebrows," Lit. Bashk. кешелəр vs. Кышилярь "people," Тарнакларъ "nails," Танауларъ "nostrils," Lit. Bashk. бармактар vs. Барнахларъ "fingers," Lit. Bashk. керпектəре vs. Керпиклярь "eyelashes," Lit. Bashk. яҥактар vs. Янгакларъ "jowls," Безларь "we," Анларь "they."

Thus, the analysis of the data in the dictionary published by P.S. Pallas allows us to deduct the time of the appearance of morphophonological alternation in Bashkir dialects. It was the beginning of the XIX century. Interestingly, in Kazakh language[3] in the dictionary of P.S. Pallas, the alternation in the plural suffix is also not recorded, although it is present in the modern literary language, cf. lit. kazak. тырнақтар, kazak. Тырнакларъ "nails" < Proto-Turkic *dɨrŋa-k; lit. kazak. кірпіктер, kazak. Керпеклярь "eyelashes" < Proto-Turkic *kirpik.

Preservation of the Proto-Turkic *s

The second most important diagnostic feature is the development of Proto-Turkic *s in Bashkir dialects. As noted in Mirzhanova (1979: 18) "By the use of phonemes h, ç, the accents of the southern dialect are fundamentally different from the accents of the eastern dialect, and by their distribution in the word — from the literary language. The phonemes h, ç of the southern dialect originate from the etymological s in the Turkic languages…In the literary language; the spirant h is regularly being used instead of the common Turkic c in the beginning of the root morpheme and affix." In the Eastern dialect, the implementation of Proto-Turkic *s (> lit. Bashk. h) depends on the accent, see Maksyutova (1976: 17): "In the Ai dialect, h is only used in the beginning of a word, but in the middle of a word, instead of h commonly used in the literary language, ç is used." In the Argayash accent, "one of the specific phonetic features of the dialect is the parallel use of the sounds ç, h," cf. (Maksyutova, 1976: 38). In the northwestern dialect, the sound h was absent as a reflex of Proto-Turkic *s, according to Mirzhanova (2006: 13), the sound c was used instead.

However, in the dictionary by P.S. Pallas, Proto-Turkic *s is preserved in all examples, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*siŋil	heҥле	Сенгламъ	sister (younger)
*Kurg-sak	қорhағы	Курсакъ	stomach
*ɨjs	еç-	Исбелмякъ	sense of smell
*sag	hay	Савсаляметь	healthy
*sɨg-	hыйыр	Сюрь, Сыгырь	cow

The number of such examples is easy to multiply, but there is only one example when Proto-Turkic *s > ц, cf. Цисгань "mouse" < Proto-Turkic *sɨčgan. Presumably, this reflex arose due to the assimilative influence of Proto-Turkic *č in the middle of the word. It seems that the dictionary by P.S. Pallas reliably displays that the transition of Proto-Turkic *s to h, ç in the southern and eastern dialects also occurred only at the beginning of the XIX century. The fact that at the end of the XIX century a reflex similar to the modern one was presented in the Eastern dialect is proved by the texts written at the end of the XIX century, cf. (Normanskaja, 2022: 410).

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3   See http://lingvodoc.ispras.ru/dictionary/4295/1/perspective/4295/2/view

Preservation of Proto-Turkic *u, *ü

In the P.S. Pallas dictionary there is almost complete absence of the fracture of the back-row Proto-Turkic *u, *ü.

Proto-Turkic *u is preserved in the vast majority of cases in the Pallas dictionary, unlike in the literary Bashkir language and most dialects, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*dūŕ (~ *-ŭ-)	тоҙ	Тузь	"salt"
*bujŋuŕ	мөгөҙ	Муюзь	"horn"
(*büjŋüŕ) =			
		Мугуз	
*Kuĺ	кош	кушь	bird
*Kum	ком	Кумь	sand
*burun (*burɨn)	мурун	Бурунъ	nose
		Мурунъ	nose
*Kud-	койоу	Куярга	pour
jul-duŕ (-dɨŕ)	йондоҙ	Юлдузь	star
*uŕɨ-n	үҙән	Узень	valley
*uŕɨ-n	оҙонлоғо	Узюнлыкь	length
*ulug		Улугь	great
*Kurg-sak	корһағы	Курсакъ	stomach
*Kul-kak	колак	Кулакъ	ear

There are only a few examples of standard development for the Bashkir language: *Соло* "oats," lit. bask. *Соло* "oats," lit. bashk. *ноло* < ProtoTurkic *suli / *süli, *Торь* "stand," lit. bashk. *тор* < Proto-Turkic *dur-. Proto-Turkic *ü is represented in a small number of words by P.S. Pallas, cf.

Proto-Turkic	Lit. Bashk.	Bashk. Pallas	Translation
*jüŕüm	йөҙөм	Джюзумьемеши	grape
*gün(el) / *guńaĺ	көн	Кюнь	day
*tün	төн	Тюнь	night
*jürek	йөрәк	Зюрякъ, Джюрякъ, Юряк	heart

Only, in one example, there is vowel fracture, cf. *Джокь* "cart" < Proto-Turkic *jü.

As far as we know, there are currently no Bashkir dialects that have systematically preserved the Proto-Turkic *u, *ü. Thus, the analysis of the dictionary by P.S. Pallas allows us to establish when the process of the fracture of these vowels began, and it was in the XIX century, since in the books of the XIX century there are no fundamental differences from modern dialects, cf. (Normanskaja, 2022: 398).

Conclusion

Of course, a complete analysis of the Bashkir dictionary published by P.S. Pallas is a task to be carried out in the future, since it is an extremely valuable piece of work of the XVIII century that has significant differences from later texts of the XIX century.

But already now it can be argued that in the Bashkir language of that period, there were two dialects that corresponded to the modern north-western and eastern.

The eastern Bashkir dictionary by P.S. Pallas was characterized but following innovations: Proto-Turkic *j > дж-, Proto-Turkic *č > c, Proto-Turkic *i > e, Proto-Turkic *-b> в (у), й, Proto-Turkic *g > в (у), г/к, Proto-Turkic *o > у, Proto-Turkic *e > и. These innovations are present in modern eastern dialect, but Proto-Turkic *u, *ü, *s, and plural affix *LAr are not, but they are recorded in the Pallas dictionary.

In the words of P.S. Pallas's dictionary which are similar to the modern northwest dialect, most of the Proto-Turkic phonemes that have undergone changes in the modern literary language, at that time were still coincided with the Proto-Turkic ones: *j-, *č, *i, *u, *ü, *s, and the plural affix *LAr. But there were a number of innovative changes that characterize modern Northwestern dialects: Proto-Turkic *-b > 0, Proto-Turkic *ɨ > i, Proto-Turkic *o > у, Proto-Turkic *e > и. There is also one example of the development of Proto-Turkic *j in з-, which indicates the presence of different accents of the Northwestern dialect already in the XVIII century.

Thus, the analysis of the dictionary published by P.S. Pallas makes it possible to clarify the chronology of changes in Bashkir dialects and to prove that the changes of the Proto-Turkic *u, *ü, *s and the plural affix *LAr, the last two of which were considered fundamental for the allocation of the southern Bashkir dialect, see (Mirzhanova 2019: 17–19), occurred only in the XIX century. At present, it is not entirely

clear how and when the allocation of the southern dialect began, it seems that further analysis of the texts of the XIX century will allow to find an answer to this question.

The material also shows that in the Bashkir language spoken in the late XVIII century was completed two sound changes: Proto-Turkic *-b->0/ in (ų)/y, *ö>y.

For comparison, in Pallas Kazakh dictionary, only one sound change that was completed that distinguished it from the common Turkic proto-language according to the reconstruction (EDAL): *-b->0;

In the Tatar dictionary (Pallas, 1787–1789)—2 sound changes: Proto-Turkic *-b-> 0/v/y,*ö>y/y;

In the Nogai dictionary (Pallas, 1787–1789)—1 sound change: Proto-Turkic *-b->v;

In the Hill Mari language, cf. (Normanskaja, 2021: 91–99)—2 sound changes: Proto-Mari *ć > c, *-j >0;

In the South Khanty (Tobolsk) cf. (Normanskaja, 2022: 84–93)—5 sound changes: Proto-Khanty. *a > o, *ɔ > u, *l > t/tl, *ć > t', *w > 0/_u;

In the North Khanty (Berezovsky) cf. (Normanskaja, 2022: 84–93)—3 sound changes: Proto-Khanty *kV > x, *č > š, *ć > š;

In the East Khanty (Vasyugan), see (Normanskaja, 2022: 84–93)—1 sound change: Proto-Khanty *ʌ > 0/j;

In the Perm (Western) Mansi dictionary (Pallas, 1787–1789)—1 sound change: Proto-Mansi *-ɣ > 0;

In the Northern Mansi, only one transition, according to the dictionary [Pallas, 1787–1789]—1 sound change: Proto-Mansi.*k|_V_{back} > x.

This comparison leads to a conclusion that from the point of view of sound changes in the XVIII century, the Kipchak languages were so close to each other as Hill Mari, Meadow Mari, and other dialects of the Mansi language are to each other. At the same time, the Khanty dialects or languages according to the European classification differed more significantly from each other. And indeed, mutual understanding between native speakers of the Kipchak languages is preserved in the XXI century, but the native speakers of Western and Eastern Khanty do not understand each other.

-Bashk. Pallas: Bashkir dictionary (Pallas, 1787–1789)

-Kazak.: Kazakh language

-Lit. Bashk.: Literary Bashkir language

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Yapılandırılmış Özet

Başkurtça'da Doğu, Güney ve Kuzeybatı olmak üzere günümüzde üç ana lehçe bulunmaktadır. Her lehçede, monograflarda bahsedilen ayrı şiveler görülür. P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü ile yapılan kapsamlı inceleme sonucu 18. yüzyıl Başkurtça'nın, günümüz modern lehçelerinden önemli ölçüde farklı olduğu görülür.

P.S. Pallas Başkurt Sözlüğü günümüzde, LingvoDoc platformunda çevrimiçi olarak bulunmaktadır.

Bölüm 1: P.S. Pallas tarafından yayımlanan sözlükte özel dil gelişimi çift formlarla temsil edilmektedir.

P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'nde bazı kelimeler için çift biçimler bulunur ve bunlar muhtemelen farklı lehçelerin varlığına işaret eder.

Aşağıda aynı grafiksel farklılıklara göre sınıflandırılmış bu tür biçimler bulunmaktadır:

- дж / й / з < Proto-Türkçe *j: й'li biçimler Başkurtça'da, doğu lehçesi sınırındaki aksanlar hariç güney aksanlarının çoğuna karşılık gelir. (kuzeybatı lehçeleri ve дж'li biçimler Doğu Başkurt lehçesine, "жоканье," Kuzeybatı lehçesinin Tanypsky, Gaininsky ve Nizhnebelsko-Yk şivelerinde nadiren bulunan Proto-Türkçe *j > s geçişi karşılığıdır.)

- ч vs. с < Proto-Türkçe *č: Daha önceki örnekte olduğu gibi, çift refleks oluşumu çift biçimlerle sınırlı değildir. Aynı zamanda düzenli Proto-Türkçe *č içeren sözcüklerde görülür. (ч'nin korunduğu örnekler) Proto-Türkçe *č > s geçişi daha az yaygındır.

- е vs. и < Proto-Türkçe *i, *ẹ: i'nin korunması Kuzeybatı lehçelerinin karakteristik bir özelliğidir.

- в vs. й vs. O < Proto-Türkçe *-b-: Proto-Türkçe *b'nin yalnızca iki çift biçimi varsa da Proto-Türkçe *b içeren sözcükler de vardır (> O ve Proto-Türkçe *b > в içeren başka bir örnek)

- г vs. O vs. в < Proto-Türkçe *-g-: P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'nde Proto-Türkçe *g için üç farklı yansıma vardır. (г, в, O)

Proto-Türkçe sesbirimlerin çift biçimlerinin ve benzer reflekslerinin analizinin sonuçlarını özetleyerek XVIII. yüzyılda Başkurtça'da en az iki lehçe olduğu güvenle ifade edilebilir. Bunlardan biri doğudaki ile örtüşür. Karakteristik özellikleri Proto-Türkçe *j > дж-, *č > с, *i > e, *b > в (ц), й, *g > в (ц), г/к ve ikinci lehçe kuzeybatı ile çakışır ve değişmeden Proto-Türkçe *j-, *č, *i, a, *b, tek sesli hâle getirilen çift seslinin ikinci kısmı olarak düşmüştür. Ayrıca Proto-Türkçe *j'nin з-'deki gelişiminin bir örneği, Kuzeybatı lehçesinin farklı aksanlarının varlığını gösterir ve XVIII. yüzyılda bile mevcuttur.

Bölüm 2: Özel gelişim P.S. Pallas'ın sözlüğündeki çift biçimlerle gösterilmemiştir.

ы vs. и < Proto-Türkçe *ɨ: P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'ndeki Proto-Türkçe *ɨ korunabilir. Ancak bazı durumlarda Proto-Türkçe *ɨ > i ve gelişimi bazı Kuzeybatı lehçelerinde ortaya çıkar.

у vs. O < Proto-Türkçe *o: P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'nde Proto-Türkçe *o hemen hemen her durumda у'ye dönüşür. Sadece bir örnekte Proto-Türkçe *o'nun korunduğunu görülür. (тонгусь 'domuz' < Proto-Türkçe *doŋuř) Bu durum, modern Kuzeybatı lehçesinde, (özellikle Gaininsky şivesi) ile güney lehçelerinde (özellikle Ik-Sakmar Demsky şivesi), Proto-Türkçe'de *o'nun korunduğu gerçeğiyle açıklanabilir.

Bölüm 3: P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'ndeki özel dil gelişimi Proto-Türk dili ile örtüşmekte ancak edebî Başkurt dili ile örtüşmemektedir.

-Çoğul eki *LAr: Başkurt lehçelerini birbirinden ayıran en önemli teşhis özelliklerinden biri -л ile başlayan eklerin morfofonolojik değişimidir. Daha önce belirtildiği üzere P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'nde doğu ve kuzeybatı olmak üzere iki lehçe bulunur. Beklenmedik bir şekilde, dönüşümlü biçimlerin P.S. Pallas tarafından sözlükte kaydedilmemiş, sadece -лар biçimlerinin olduğu belirtilmiştir.

-Proto-Türkçe *s korunması: İkinci en önemli tanısal özellik, Başkurt lehçelerinde Proto-Türkçe *s'nin gelişimidir. P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'nde Proto-Türkçe *s tüm örneklerde korunmuştur. Proto-Türkçe *s > ц olduğunda sadece bir örnek bulunur.(Цисгань "fare" < Proto-Türkçe *sɨčgan). Muhtemelen bu refleks, kelimenin ortasındaki Proto-Türkçe *č'nin asimilatif etkisi nedeniyle ortaya çıkmıştır. P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'nde, güney ve doğu lehçelerinde Proto-Türkçe *s'nin h, ç'ye geçişinin de ancak XIX. yüzyılın başlarında gerçekleştiği gösterilir. XIX. yüzyılın sonunda, Doğu lehçesinde modern lehçeye benzer bir yansımanın sunulduğu, XIX. yüzyılın sonunda yazılmış metinlerle kanıtlanmıştır.

-Proto-Türkçe *u ile *u'nun korunması: P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'nün bir diğer önemli arkaik özelliği Proto-Türkçe *u, korunmasıdır. Proto-Türkçe *u, edebî Başkurt dili ve çoğu lehçenin aksine, Pallas sözlüğündeki vakaların büyük çoğunluğunda korunmuştur. Başkurtça için sadece birkaç standart gelişim örneği görülür. (Соло "yulaf," lit. bask. Соло "oats," lit. bashk. ноло < Proto-Türkçe *suli / *suli, Торь "stand," lit. bashk. тор < Proto-Türkçe *dur-) Proto-Türkçe *u P.S. Pallas tarafından az sayıda kelimeyle temsil edilir.

P.S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü aşağıdaki yeniliklerle karakterize edilmiştir (Proto-Türkçe *j >дж-, *č > с, *i > e, *-b > в (ц), й, *g > в (ц), г/к, *o >у, *e >и.) Bu yenilikler modern doğu lehçesinde mevcut olsa da Proto-Türkçe *u, *u, *s ve çoğul eki *LAr yoktur. Ancak Pallas sözlüğünde kaydedilmiştir. S. Pallas'ın Başkurt Sözlüğü'nün Kuzeybatı bölümünde o dönemde modern edebî dilde değişime uğramış, Proto-Türkçe fonemlerin çoğu hâlâ Proto-Türkçe olanlarla örtüşmektedir. (*j-, *č, *i, *u, *u, *s ve çoğul eki *LAr)

Pallas sözlüğünde modern Kuzeybatı lehçelerini karakterize eden bir dizi yenilikçi değişiklik görülür. (Proto-Türkçe *-b> O, *ɨ > i, *o > у, *e >и)

Ayrıca, XVIII. yüzyılda Kuzeybatı lehçesinin farklı aksanlarının varlığına işaret eden з-'de Proto-Türkçe *j'nin gelişiminin bir örneği de vardır. Böylece, P.S. Pallas tarafından yayımlanan sözlüğün analizi, Başkurt lehçelerindeki değişikliklerin kronolojisini netleştirmeyi ve Proto-Türkçe *u, *u, *s ve son ikisi güney Başkurt lehçesinin tahsisi için temel kabul edilen *LAr çoğul ekindeki değişikliklerin sadece XIX. yüzyılda meydana geldiğini kanıtlamayı mümkün kılmaktadır. Şimdilik güney lehçesinin tahsisinin nasıl ve ne zaman başladığı tam olarak açık değildir. XIX. yüzyıl metinlerinin daha fazla analiz edilmesi ile bu belirsizliğin büyük ölçüde aydınlatılacağına inanmaktayız.