

TURKIC /š/, CHUVASH /ś/ AND  
MONGOLIAN /č/

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As is known, Common Turkic /š/ corresponds not only to Chuvash and Mongolian /l/, but also to Chuvash /ś/ and Mongolian /č/. Like many other Altaic sound correspondences, the correspondence Trk. /š/ = Mo. /č/ too was first noticed and established by Ramstedt. As early as 1912, Ramstedt drew attention to the similarity of Mongolian and Turkic reciprocal/cooperative suffixes *-ča-/-če-* and *-š-*, e. g., Mo. *siqa-ča-* "sich drängen" (from *siqa-* "drängen, pressen") = Trk. *siq-i-š-* id. (from *siq-* "to press, squeeze").<sup>1</sup> Ramstedt maintained that Trk. reciprocal/cooperative suffix *-š-* was originally /č/ and the sound change from /č/ to /š/ in Turkic started probably with the past tense forms in *-di/-ti*, i. e., *\*-ča-di > \*-čti > \*-šti*. Later on, he said, the suffix was generalized as *-š-* from these past tense forms.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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The oldest Turkic examples in which the reciprocal/cooperative suffix *-š-* occurs as *-č-*, i. e., unchanged, are found in *Qutadgu Bilig* and *Kāšgari's*

<sup>1</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, "Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mongolisch-türkischen Sprachen", *JSFOu*, XXVIII, 3, pp. 29, 30

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 29.

dictionary. Before giving these examples, I would like to stress the point that a sound which undergoes a change in the final position generally preserves itself in medial position, especially before or after a consonant, e.g. *semiz* “fat” (<\**semir'*), but *semri-* “to become fat” (<\**semir<sup>1</sup>-i-*), *köküz* “breast” (<\**kökür'*), but *kökrek* id. (<\**kökür'-ek*), etc.<sup>4</sup> In the same way, Pre-turkic form of the reciprocal/cooperative suffix *-š-* has preserved itself as such in some examples where it occurs in medial position before or after a consonant. Here are the examples :

MK II 196 *kikčür-* “to make two things strike one another, to incite” (<\**kik-i-č-ür-*) < MK II 293 *kik-* “to whet, sharpen, to strike for sharpening” ~ Orkh. *kikšür-* “to incite” (K T E 6; read as *kiñšür-*, *kiñešür-* so far), Chuast. *kikšür-* (*kišig kikšürü sözle-* “to incite people to mutual enmity”) (Clason 714).

MK III 108-109 *yapčün-* ~ *yapčun-* ~ *yawčun-* “to adhere, stick to” ~ *yapšun-* id. (Kāšgari’s statement : Alternative form with *al-šin* : *yapšundi* and with *al-fā* : *yawčundi*) <\**yap-i-č-i-n-* < *yap-* “to cover”

MK III 97-98 *yapčur-* ~ *yawčur-* “to stick, paste, glue” ~ *yapšur-* id. <\**yap-i-č-ur-* < *yap-* “to cover”

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

MK II 175 *tapčur-* “to hand over, entrust something to someone” (e.g. *men ogulni anasinga t.-dum*) ~ Uig. *tapšur-* id. <\**tap-i-č-ur-* < *tap-* “to find”.

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

MK I 423 *tutaši*, *tutši* “neighbor, associated or adjacent; constantly, continuously, everlastingly” ~ *tutči* (13 times), QB *tutči*, *tuči* (many times; *tutaši* 5 times) <\**tutač-i* < *tut-*, *tuta-* “to keep, catch” (for the simplex *tuta-* cf. QB *tutam* “handful, act to grasping” < *tuta-*. The contracted form *tuči* in QB is an additional evidence for Ramstedt’s theory : If the original form were with /š/ we would have \**tuši*, not *tuči* in QB!

<sup>4</sup> T. Tekin, “Zetacism and sigmatism in Proto-Turkic”, *AOH*, XXII, Fasc. 1, pp. 60, 63.

<sup>5</sup> Clason’s etymology of MK *qapčaq*, e.i., “Deverbal noun from *kap-*; perhaps a crasis of \**kapišak*” (*EDT*, p. 581) cannot be accepted.

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

*urč-ur* "er kampf" (Brockelmann, *Ost. Gram.*, s. 205) < \**ūr-i-č-* ~ Uig., MK *uruš-*, Chuv. *vārś-* id. < \**ūrič-*.

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

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

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

صَفَرٍ أَيُّخَ بَجْنَ آتِ *šafar ayuḥi bačne eti* (Yusupov, G. V., "Itogi polevyx epigraficeskix issledovanij 1961-1963 gg. v Tatarskoj ASSR", *Epigrafika Vostoka XXI*, 1972, pp. 48-55 and Tekin, T. "On Volga Bulgarian *bačne*", *PIAC Newsletter* 10, p. 8).

Yusupov was not able to explain the word *bačne* occurring in this Volga Bulgarian sentence dating from the 14th century. As I have explained elsewhere (i.e., in the *PIAC Newsletter*, No. 10) the word *bačne* means "at the beginning" here and corresponds to Common Turkic *bašinda*. The analysis of *bačne* is as follows : *bačne* < \**bač-i-n-e*, i.e., *bač* "beginning, head", -*i-* the 3rd p. poss. suffix, -*n-* the so-called pronominal *n*, -*e* the archaic dative-locative suffix -*a/-e*. It obvious that this word is formed exactly as Volga Bulgarian *išne* "in, within" < \**ič-i-n-e* = Chuv. *ášne* id. Thus, The Volga Bulgarian *bačne* (not \**bašne*!) makes it clear that the Volga Bulgarian word for "head, beginning" was not *baš*, but *bač*, a form probably going back to an earlier \**balč* as assumed by Ramstedt years ago. As is generally known, Ramstedt had assumed that the Chuvash *puš* "head" goes back not to Common Turkic *baš*, but, because of its final /š/, it goes back to a hypothetical \**balč*, a form which correponds perfectly to Goldi (Nanay) *balča*, *balja* "face, appearance, head" (I, 109). One may also add Mo. -*balji* "head" in the compound *tarbalji* "sparrow hawk; tawny eagle" < "bald-headed" to this etymology thus having a three-sided Altaic equation (see T. Tekin "Once more zetacism and sigmatism", *CAJ*, XXIII, 1-2, p. 131). Consequently, it may safely be claimed that the Chuvash word *puš* goes back to a form similar to Volga

Bulg. *bač*. The latter, in its turn, goes back to a still earlier *\*balč*, a form which is also the source of Common Turkic *baš*. Thus : *\*balč* > Volga Bulg. *bač* > Chuv. *puś*; *\*balč* > *\*balš* > Old Turkic *baš*.

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

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

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

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

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

~ Tuv. *čimča-* “to become soft” < *\*yimča-*, Yak. *simñā-* id. < *\*yimja-* < *\*yimča-*, Tuv. *čimčak* “soft” < *\*yimčaq*, Yak *simñagas* id. < *\*yimčaqaç* (for the change *-mč-* > *-mñ-* in Yakut cf. Old Trk. *qamči* “whip” > Yak. *kimñu*, etc.), Chuv. *śemśe* “soft” < *\*yemča(q)*.

Com. Trk. *yumša-*, Tuv. *čimča-* and Yak. *simñā-* (< *\*yimča-*) is probably derived from a nominal root like *\*yem*, *\*yim* or *\*yim* with the suffix + *ča-* of the above-discussed *qurča-*; cf. Mo. *nimgen*, *nimegen* “thin, sahlhlow”, *nimgere-* “to become thin” *nimganun* “thin, emaciated (of animals)”, Evk. *nemkun* “thin, tender”, *nemküken*, *nemkān* “very thin”.

Common Turkic *yumšaq* “soft” occurs with /č/ also in some Middle Turkic sources, actually in a Kipchak dictionary dating from the 15th cen-

<sup>6</sup> See T. Tekin, *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, pp. 231, 403.

tury : Tuhf. *yumčaq* “soft”. Clauson is surprised to see here /č/ instead of /š/. However, Tuva and Yakut forms discussed above, i.e., Tuv. *čimča-* “to become soft”, *čimčak* “soft”, Yak. *simñā-* “to become soft” and *simñagas* “soft” prove that the sound /š/ in *yumša-*, *yumšaq* is only secondary. Consequently, the consonant /č/ in Tuhf. *yumčaq* is by no means surprising, for it is primary and original.

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As Ramstedt noticed years ago, there are two reciprocal/cooperative suffixes in Chuvash : 1. -ś- (the genuine Chuvash suffix going back to the original -č-), 2. -š- (Common Turkic suffix borrowed from Tatar. A more or less complete list of Chuvash verbal stems formed with the suffix -ś- has been published by Nauta.<sup>7</sup> His list contains the following stems : *avr-ă-ś-* (*avăr-*), *ăn-ă-ś-* (*ăn-*), *kala-ś-*, *kan-ă-ś-* (*kan-*), *kěv-ě-ś-* (*kěv-~kü-*), *kurăn-ă-ś-*, *pět-ě-ś-*, *sap-ă-ś-*, *śirt-ă-ś-*, *sura-ś-* (< \*śura- < \*yara-), *săn-ă-ś-*, *šu-ś-*, *tap-ă-ś-*, *tat-ă-ś-*, *tut-ă-ś-*, *tiv-ě-ś-*, *vales-* (< \*vale- < \*üle-), *văr-ś-*. To these 18 verbs the following may also be added :

*virnaś-* “to settle down” < \*virna-ś- < \*orna-č- = Com. Trk. *orna-š-*  
*śupăś-* “to stick, adhere” < \*yapič- < *yap-i-č-* = Com. Trk. *yapiš-*  
 < *yap-* “to cover”

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

<sup>7</sup> Ane Nauta, “Lambdazismus im Tschuwassischen : Gtü. š = Tschuw. l und ś”, in *Altaic Studies*, edited by Gunnar Jarring and Staffan Rosen, Stockholm 1985, pp. 133-143.