



CENTRAL ASIA XIV. TURKISH- IRANIAN LANGUAGE CONTACTS

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xiv. Turkish-Iranian Language Contacts

I. Turkish peoples and languages in Central Asia.

Three Turkish languages came together in Central Asia, the territory covered by the modern Turkmen, Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tajik SSRs, excluding Chinese Turkestan: 1. the Uighur or Eastern Turks (e.g., Chaghatay, later Uzbek), 2. the Oghuz, speaking Khorasani Turkish, 3. and the Kipchaks (Qıpcaq/Qepčāq, e.g., Kazakh). The Turks first appeared in the 6th century under the Old Turkish empire. After the decline of the empire strong Turkish elements still remained north of the Aral lake (Oghuz and Kipchak), waging continuous wars against the [caliphate](#) and the Iranian dynasties. The Eastern Turks began entering Central Asia in the 3rd/9th century, but this was a gradual process (cf. Spuler, 1966).

In the 4th/10th century Sālčūk was converted to Islam, separated his tribes from the empire of the Oghuz Yabghu, and started the migration to the south. His successors conquered Nīšāpūr in 429/1038, and after the battle of



Malāzgerd (463/1071) the Oghuz were able to penetrate vast parts of Anatolia.

Three Oghuz nations were formed gradually: 1. The Turkmen were the descendants of those Oghuz who, for some centuries, remained in the old Oghuz territories north of the Aral lake. 2. The Khorasani Turks were the descendants of those Oghuz who had remained in Khorasan (in the broad sense: from northeastern Persia to the Amu Darya basin); during the 10th-12th/16th-18th centuries the area inhabited by speakers of Khorasani Turkish was bisected by a wedge of Turkmen-speaking nomads migrating east, so that Khorasani Turkish is now spoken in the northeastern part of Persia and along the Amu Darya. 3. The western Oghuz (the differentiation into Osmanli Turks and Azerbaijanis only began in the Safavid period; cf. Doerfer, 1977, pp. 191-93).

The Kipchak tribes were held back in the north by the Oghuz and eastern Turkish dynasties for a long time, but in 807-08/1405 the Uzbeks (named after Özbek, an outstanding ruler of the [Golden horde](#), who at this time still spoke Kipchak, pushed forward to K̄vārazm, Bukhara, and Astarābād and finally conquered the territory of modern Uzbekistan.

The Kazakh, however, revolting against the Uzbek khans, remained a free people in the 9th/15th century, although their political organization was chaotic (cf. Doerfer, III, pp. 461-68).

Modern Kipchak-Uzbek is the genuine descendant of the language of the Uzbek conquerors, whereas the language of the bulk of the modern Uzbek population is descended from an old Uighur dialect but contains a small admixture of Kipchak elements.

Western Uighur developed in three stages: 1. K̄vārazm Turkish or Early [Chaghatay](#) (7th-8th/13th-14th cents.), 2. Classical and Late Chaghatay (9th-13th/15th-19th cents., a very late stage of Chaghatay, Sartish, was spoken in the 13th/19th and at the beginning of the 14th/20th cent.), and 3. Uzbek (after the Soviet takeover).

These three groups converged in the Amu Darya basin and have intermingled for centuries. Thus, the Uighur elements in many Khorasani Turkish dialects, for example, are as numerous as those of French in English, and Chaghatay poets could freely use Oghuz forms for metrical and other reasons. But in general the influence of Chaghatay was the strongest, and Chaghatay



remained the only written language in the area until the 11th/17th century, being regarded as the most noble and original of Turkish languages (see, e.g., Ebn Mohannā, p. 73). However, despite its prestige it was not able to absorb the other Turkish languages.

Thus we may distinguish the following groups: 1. those of Uighur descent: Uzbek and modern Uighur in eastern Central Asia; 2. those of Oghuz descent: Turkmen and Khorasani Turkish (with Oghuz-Uzbek); and 3. those of Kipchak descent: Kazakh (with Karakalpak), Kipchak-Uzbek, Kirgiz, and (secondarily) Crimean Tatar.

Modern times. The Turkish languages in modern Central Asia clearly reflect the cultural and linguistic influence of Persia; although the amount of influence differs markedly in the individual Turkish languages (for a linguistic survey of the Central Asian Soviet republics see Tolstova, I, maps pp. 8-9, 164-65, 528-29; II, pp. 8-9, 160-61 and conclusion; cf. also the map in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I). Following is a brief survey of the Turkish peoples of modern Central Asia and their languages. (It may be pointed out here that, generally speaking, the percentage of indigenous populations in the Central Asian republics is now increasing, while that of the Russians is diminishing.)

Turkmen and Khorasani Turks. In 1979, according to the census of that year, 1,892,000 Turkmen were settled in the Turkmen SSR, 92,000 in the Uzbek SSR, and 14,000 in the Tajik SSR (the figure 2,028,000 is given for the whole of the Soviet Union). In these figures is included an indeterminable number of Khorasani Turks (perhaps ca. 400,000; Doerfer, 1977) settled close to the border of Persia and along the Amu Darya (cf. Doerfer, 1987a, p. 429, and map in Doerfer, 1977, end); the majority of Khorasani Turks (ca. 1.5 mill.), however, live in northeastern Persia, some also in Afghanistan. Both Turkmen and Khorasani Turkish (a separate Turkish language [cf. Ivanow, 1926, p. 154], structurally situated between Azarbaijani and Turkmen, but closer to Azarbaijani [Doerfer, 1977]) belong to the Oghuz group of Turkish languages.

Oghuz-Uzbeks. These live somewhat to the northwest of Uzbekistan, along the Amu Darya (see map in Abdullaev, 1967). They may number several hundred thousands, though in the Soviet censuses they are included with the Uzbeks. Their language is closely related to Khorasani Turkish, belonging basically to the Oghuz group, with some admixture of Uzbek elements.

Kipchak-Uzbeks. Most of the Kipchak-Uzbeks live in approximately the same



area as the Oghuz-Uzbeks (see map in Abdullaev, 1967); others are scattered throughout the republic (cf. the map in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I). These are also classified as Uzbek in the censuses, but their number is presumably lower than that of the “Oghuz-Uzbeks.” The language of the Kipchak-Uzbeks is closely related to Kazakh. It is descended from the old Kipchak language of the 10th/16th-century Uzbek conquerors.

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks constitute the most numerous Turkish nation of Central Asia. Numbering a total of 12,456,000 in the entire Soviet Union according to the censuses (though some 100,000 of these are Oghuz- and Kipchak-Uzbeks), they are distributed throughout the Uzbek SSR (10,569,000), the Kazakh SSR (263,000), the Tajik SSR (837,000), the Kirghiz SSR (426,000), and the Turkmen SSR (243,000; this number probably includes some Oghuz-Uzbeks). The actual total today, however, is most probably about 17 million, as their average increase of population is enormous (according to *Itogi*, in 1970 they were only 9,195,000). The language of the Uzbeks is Uighur, with an admixture of Kipchak).

Karakalpaks. The Karakalpaks live south of the Aral Sea, in the Amu Darya delta and its surroundings. They number 298,000. Though they speak a Kazakh, or Kipchak, dialect, their culture and traditions differ considerably from those of the Kazakh nomads. Accordingly they have been regarded as a separate nation from early times.

Kazakhs. The Kazakhs are a relatively numerous Turkish nation. Of a total of 6,556,000 in the Soviet Union, 5,289,000 live in the Kazakh SSR, 620,000 in the Uzbek SSR, 27,000 in the Kirghiz SSR, and 80,000 in the Turkmen SSR. For a long time, however, there have been more Russians (40.8%) living in the Kazakh SSR than Kazakh (36%). The language is Kipchak.

Kirghiz. The Kirghiz population in the Soviet Union totals 1,906,000, with 1,687,000 in the Kirghiz SSR; 142,000 in the Uzbek SSR, and 48,000 in the Tajik SSR. Their language is Kipchak, representing a certain transition to Altay Turkish and, consequently, to the Turkish languages of southern Siberia.

Modern Uighur (formerly Tarañči). 211,000 Uighurs are estimated to live in the Soviet union, with 148,000 in the Kazakh SSR and 30,000 in the Kirghiz SSR. There are also some in Afghanistan. The modern Uighur speak a language close to Uzbek.



Tatars. Finally mention should be made of the Crimean Tatars in Central Asia. In Soviet statistics they appear in the general category of “Tatary” together with the Kazan Tatars. However, the languages of these two groups are very different. The Crimean Tatars are immigrants to Central Asia who were expelled from the Crimean peninsula after World War II when they were accused of collaboration with the German army. There are 649,000 in the Uzbek SSR, 313,000 in the Kazakh SSR, 72,000 in the Kirghiz SSR, 80,000 in the Tajik SSR, and 40,000 in the Turkmen SSR, with a total of 1,154,000 (the figure of Kazan Tatars to be subtracted is unknown, but it appears to be small). Very little is known about their language today.

Before the October Revolution the Turkmen, Kipchak-Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz lived primarily as nomads, while the others were settled and had developed rural and urban cultures.

II. Language contacts.

Medieval times. The mutual influences between Iranian and Turkish languages in Central Asia began in K̅v̅ārazm rather early (see above). K̅v̅ārazm then became increasingly Turkicized, particularly after 436/1044, when it came under the Saljuqs (Tolstow, pp. 290-92). At the same time, however, Persian language was asserting itself in the same area (Spuler, 1966, p. 171), although the indigenous (Middle) Iranian languages Sogdian (q.v.) and Choresmian (q.v.) were also still spoken (Henning, “Mitteliranisch,” pp. 56-58, 84; see also [chinese turkestan](#)).

It is difficult to judge the influence of Central Asian Turkish in Choresmian, as the material at our disposal is very limited and hardly contains any Turkish elements. We cannot exclude the possibility, however, that the Choresmian translators deliberately did not employ any of the Turkish words that may have been in common use, in the same way that Kāšgarī ignored the numerous Iranian loanwords found in other Turkish works of his time (5th/11th century; cf. Mansuroğlu, p. 108). The Choresmian interlinear glosses in Zamaḡsarī’s *Moqaddemat al-adab* (6th/12th cent.; ed. Togan) include a few Turkish words, for example, *kyš* = *kēš* “quiver” (Benzing, p. 37; Togan, p. 43), a word also attested in a Turkish-Khotanese word list (Bailey, p. 291), in the form *kyesä* (i.e., *kēš*, not *kāš*), but the *Qonyat al-monya* of Moktar Zāhedī Ġazmīnī (d. 1257) contains only the Turkish phrase *ār oylum* “my son” in a Choresmian sentence (MacKenzie, p. 58, no. 123). A few terms relating to irrigation (*arna* “large canal” and *yab* “small canal”), which survived only at Kīva and among



the Turkmen were supposed by Barthold (1956, p. 15) to be of Choresmian origin.

With the gradual disappearance of these Middle Iranian languages and the increasing spread of Persian and Turkish, with neither of them gaining the upper hand, an exchange of linguistic elements took place. In the Persian-Turkish symbiosis the Persians were at first the giving part and the Turks the receiving one. This process is strikingly illustrated by the special transformation of the *'arūz* metrical system as it went from the Arabs via the Persians to the Turks. Soon, however, the Turkish languages began to assert themselves, and, parallel to the Old Ottoman literature in the west (from the 7th/13th cent.) and the Kipchak literature of the Golden Horde (from the 8th/14th cent.), a remarkable literature in a language based on Uighur began to unfold in Central Asia (see *chaghatay*): under the Qarakhanids (5th-6th/11th-12th cents.), in Early Chaghatay (“Choresmian Turkish,” 8th/14th cent.), and in Classical Chaghatay (9th-13th/15th-19th cents.). Literary documents in the other Turkish languages spoken in Central Asia did not appear until much later (Turkmen, 12th/18th cent.: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II, p. 725; Kazakh, late 12th/18th cent.: *ibid.*, p. 743; Kirghiz, beg. of 14th/20th century, *ibid.*, p. 760). The correspondence of the Qazaq (Kazakh) khans was also written in Chaghatay, and the languages of the older Turkmen poets was really a mixture of Turkmen, Khorasani Turkish, and Late Chaghatay.

Chaghatay and especially Uzbek (Özbäg) were mixed languages with an Uighur core and Kipchak elements (e.g., the Kipchak suffixes *-li* “provided with” and the ablative ending *-dan*). From the 10th/16th century onward we find both Uighur *yayī* “enemy” (Pers. *yāgī* “rebel”) and Kipchak *jaw* used in Chaghatay beside the older or hybrid form *yaw* (cf. Doerfer, IV, pp. 99-102). Chaghatay poetry also contains some Western Turkish/Oghuz elements (presumably Khorasani Turkish), used mainly for metrical reasons (e.g., Navā’ī, 9th/15th century, uses Oghuz *yïymışam* “I gathered” = long-short-long, instead of Chaghatay *yïymış men* = long-long-long, cf. *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II, p. 334); Gadā’ī, however, employs Oghuz expressions at will, not only for metrical reasons (cf. Gadā’ī, p. 5).

On the other hand, Persian poetry contains very few Turkish elements, aside from a few words that may be considered fads, although Persian historiography (e.g., Mo’īn-al-Dīn Naṭanzī) is replete with Turkish words (see below). However, the early Turkish elements in Persian usually disappeared



again, and Persian grammar was not influenced at all. The comprehensive discussion of the Turkish elements in Persian and Persian/Tajiki in Doerfer (see IV, pp. 496-519, index) shows that the Turkish loanwords mainly belong to the spheres of administration and warfare.

Some Turkish loanwords had been adopted into literary Persian in the Saljuq period, some of which, for instance, *qorbān* “bow-case” (Oghuz, Kipchak, cf. Kāšġarī *qurmān*), even found their way into Ferdowsī’s *Šāh-nāma* (e.g., Moscow, III, p. 88 v. 1358), and some more were borrowed in the Safavid period. These Safavid loanwords (of Azarbaijani origin) appear only in standard Persian, not in Tajiki Persian. In Central Asia, however, Chaghatay was the source of Turkish loanwords in Persian. At the same time it also served as the transmitter of Mongolian loanwords into Persian, for instance words such as *qošiyun* “vanguard,” later “brigade,” attested in Persian from *Tārīk-e Waššāf* (comp. 728/1328) as *qōšūn*, *qošūn* and in Chaghatay from Qoṭb, the Turkish translation of Neẓāmī’s *Kosrow o Šīrīn* (comp. 743/1342; see Doerfer, I, pp. 406-10). A small number of loanwords antedating the Mongol invasion (*ibid.*, I, pp. 39-41) are also mainly from the spheres of state administration and warfare.

The increase in the number of Persian loanwords in Chaghatay from the 5th/11th century was dramatic: Qarakhanid texts of the 5th/11th century contain only about 2% Persian loanwords, Early Chaghatay already has 22%, and more than half (57-63%) of the vocabulary of Classical Chaghatay was Persian (including Arabo-Persian). These Persian words were gradually completely assimilated and are still part of the Turkish languages of Central Asia. For instance, all the words in Navā’ī’s verse *farqi-dīn tā qadām fūsūn u firīb* “from top to toe enchantment and deceit” are used today in Uzbek. Chaghatay also borrowed grammatical elements from Persian, for instance, prepositions, conjunctions, *eẓāfa*, *yā-ye ešārat*, and *yā-ye waḥdat*, elements quite alien to Turkish grammatical structure. This led to a certain revolution in the structure of these languages, which did not originally use prepositions; an expression such as *tā qiyāmāt kūni* “until the day of resurrection” is quite un-Turkish (cf. modern Turkish *kiyamet gününe deġin/kadar*) but still used in Uzbek.

Modern times. The most obvious intermingling of peoples and languages in Central Asia is that seen in the Uzbek SSR between the Uzbeks and the Tajiks, and it is the interaction between Uzbek and some other Turkish languages in this area and Tajiki Persian that has had the strongest impact on the linguistic



history of Central Asia. On the whole, however, the influence by Tajiki Persian is strongest in Uzbek, less strong in Oghuz-Uzbek, and only very slight in Kazakh and Kirghiz. Generally speaking, the Persian loanwords in Uzbek are typically Tajiki, while those in the Turkmen and Khorasani Turkish show standard Persian characteristics (presumably of the Khorasani variety). The loanwords also come from different semantic spheres (cf. Saparov, *passim*, for Turkmen and Uzbek-Oghuz). The Tajiki literary language has been strongly influenced by Uzbek, though not as strongly as Uzbek by Tajiki. Only in certain Tajiki dialects is the Uzbek influence stronger even than the Tajiki influence in Uzbek. Yaghnobi and the Pamir languages contain both Tajiki and Uzbek elements, but there the Uzbek elements have probably been transmitted via Tajiki rather than borrowed directly.

Persian (Tajiki) influence on Turkish languages. The phonology of modern Uzbek is identical with that of Tajiki Persian (which differs from that of standard Persian). The original Turkish vowel phonemes /ä, ö, ü, i/ in first syllables have become /e, o, u, i/; in other than first syllables we find /a/ instead of /e/; the development of Turkish *a (in first syllables) is twofold (cf. Nauta): partly > [ã] (written o), a very low back rounded vowel, partly > [æ] (very low front unrounded); Turkish *o, which was most probably pronounced low back rounded, has become low-mid back rounded, written ŭ, as in Tajiki. Only the Uzbek dialects to the north of Tashkent (roughly those in the Kazakh SSR) have retained the original Turkish vocalism (Fazylov and Chichulina, pp. 65-78), and variations are also found elsewhere. Tajiki has preserved q- (originally foreign to Iranian languages, but found in Arabic and Turkish) under the influence of Uzbek.

Tajiki Persian prepositions (e.g., *to* “until”) and conjunctions (e.g., *čunki* “because”) are commonly used. In word formation a number of prefixes and suffixes (cf. Borovkov, pp. 716-27; Fazylov and Chichulina, pp. 131-33) have become productive (e.g., *kam-* “little,” *no-* “non-,” *-jon* “dear”); examples: *kam-suv* “insufficiently irrigated” (cf. Taj. *kam-ob*, Pers. *kam-āb*), *no-tūyri* “incorrect” (cf. Pers. *nā-dorost*; this word was borrowed in Karakalpak as *natuwri*; and back in Tajiki as *notūgrī*), *otajon* “father dear” (cf. Pers. *bābā jān*).

The ratio of Tajiki Persian words in Uzbek was about 2:3 in the 19th century. However, according to a study by Fazylov and Chichulina (p. 147), in the language of the Uzbek press the Tajik vocabulary has gradually diminished from 45% to 25%, while the Russian vocabulary has increased, from 2% to 15% over a 13-year period from 1927 to 1940. The percentage of Persian (and



Arabic) words in Uzbek has always been greater than in Kazakh, and, according to a statistic taken in 1982 (Rüstemov, p. 21), the ratio of Turkish, Persian, and Russian words in an Uzbek text translated from Russian was 56:31:13, whereas in the Kazakh translation it was 72:15:13.

To evaluate the number of non-Turkish words in Turkish languages one may employ a “p-/f-test.” This is a test based on the fact that in Central Asian Turkish languages *f-* is not found initially in words of Turkish origin and *p-* only in a few words where it has resulted from assimilation (e.g., Turkman *pīčaq* “knife” < *bīčaq*). Aside from words of Russian origin, words with initial *f-* are therefore always of Persian (or Arabo-Persian) origin, and words with *p-* are almost always of Tajiki Persian origin (some rare and colloquial words have secondary *p-* < *f-*, e.g., *palakat* “bad luck” < Pers. *falākat*, Taj. *falokat*; *palon* “N.N.” < Pers. *folān*, Taj. *falon*). Examples: *padar* “father,” *padarkuš* “patricide,” *pazanda* “chef de cuisine, master cook”; *favvora* “fountain” (Pers. *fawwāra*), *favquloda* “extraordinary” (Pers. *fawq-al-āda*), *faje* “tragic” (Pers. *fajī*, Taj. *fajē*).

Applying this test to words in alphabetical order from *pa-* to *pal-* and from *fa-* to *fal-* (including words in *po-* and *fo-* < *pā-* and *fā-*, but omitting words containing Turkish suffixes, e.g., Uzbek *foydalan-* “to use” < *foida* “use,” Pers. *fā’eda*, Taj. *foida*) we find in Borovkov’s Uzbek dictionary (which contains a total of 40,000 words) 116 words (82 words with *p-*, 34 with *f-*), that is 0.29% of the entire dictionary.

In the other Turkish languages of Central Asia the number of *p-/f-* words is much smaller. In Turkmen, where *f-* has become *p-* (e.g., *pāl* “divination” < Pers. *fāl*) we find in Baskakov et al. (1968; 40,000 words) 46 words (35 with original *p-*, 10 with original *f-*) with *pa-* and *pā-* (= Uzbek *pa-*, cf. Turkm. *päydä* = Uzb. *foida*) that is 0.11%. The results for Uzbek-Oghuz (cf. Saparov) are similar.

For Karakalpak, which also has *f-* < *p-*, we find in Baskakov’s dictionary (30,000 words) 26 words (18 with original *p-*, 8 with original *f-*), that is 0.09%.

For Kazakh, with *f-* > *p-* (cf. *payda* “advantage”), only 10 words (5 each with original *p-* and *f-*), that is 0.06%, are found in Shnitnikov’s dictionary (about 17,000 words).

For Kirghiz, where *f-* and *p-* have become *b-* (except in some southern



dialects; e.g., *bal* “divination,” *bada* “stable”), we find in Yudakhin’s dictionary (40,000 words) 25 words (20 with original *p-*, 5 with original *f-*), that is, 0.06%. Several of them are, however, attested only in the southern dialects, spoken in areas close to Uzbek and Tajik (e.g., *payvant* “graft”).

For Uighur we find in Kibirov and Tsunvazo’s dictionary (16,000 words) 13 words with *p-* (9 with original *p-*, 4 with original *f-*), that is, 0.08%. In the Xinjiang (Sinkiang) dialect the number of words beginning with *f-* and *p-* is substantially higher, indicating a stronger Tajiki influence. Jarring’s dictionary (about 8,000 words) contains 16 words with *p-*, 5 with *f-*, a total of 21 words = 0.26%.

These statistics are paralleled by a similar distribution of phonetic developments. Iranian words with consonants in the initial position that in the Turkish languages are confined to the internal position (e.g., *z*) are borrowed in the original Iranian form, for instance, Kirghiz, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Uighur *zor*, Uzbek *zur*, Turkman *zōr* “power.” On the other hand, Tajiki contains consonants, both initial and other, that are either not found in Turkish at all or disappeared early in the history of Turkish languages. Thus Persian *h-* (including Ar. *ḥ-*) has remained *h-* in some languages, probably where the original Turkish *h-* has also been preserved, at least in some instances (cf. Doerfer, 1981-82; e.g., *ḥokm* “decision, order” > Karak. *hükim*, Uzb. *hukm*, Uigh. *höküim*), and in Turkmen it hardened into *x-* (*xöküm*). But in Kazakh and Kirghiz, sometimes also in Karakalpak, it was lost (e.g., Karak. *yesap*, “count” < *ḥesāb*, Kaz. *ükim*, Kirgh. *öküm*). Internally *h* remains in Karakalpak, Uighur, and Uzbek (e.g., *baha* or *baho* “price” < Pers. *bahā*, Taj. *baho*), becomes Turkmen *x* (*baxa*), Kazakh *-γ-* (*baya*), and is lost in Kirghiz (*baa*, pronounced *bā*). Persian *k* and *g* mostly remain but occasionally become *q* (e.g., Kirgh. *qabar* “information” < Pers. *ḵabar*; Uigh. *miq*, Kaz., Kirgh. *mīq*, Karak. *mīyiq* “nail” < Pers. *mīḵ*; Kaz. *baq* or *baw*, Kirgh. *baq* “garden” < Pers. *bāḡ*). Internal *-v-* remains in Uzbek (*devor* < Taj. *devor*, *quvvat* “strength” < Pers. *qowwat*), Uighur (*quvvät*), and Turkmen (*dīvār*, *quvvat*); becomes Karakalpak *-w-* (*dīywal*, *quwat*), Kirghiz *-b-* (*dubal*, *qubat*); and is lost in Kazakh (*dual*, *quat*). Internal *‘ayn* is normally lost (e.g., Kirgh., Karak. *saat*, pronounced *sāt*, Uzb. *soat*, Uigh. *saät* “hour” < Pers. *sā‘at*, Taj. *soat*) but becomes *-γ-* in Kazakh (*sayat*) and Turkmen (*sāyat*).

The situation in modern Uighur is similar to that in Uzbek. It too has assimilated certain prepositions and conjunctions (e.g., *ta* “until,” *čünki* “because”), and forms such as *natoḡra* “incorrect”; however, it has preserved



the “umlauted” vowel phonemes (only exception $\ddot{i} > i$). The remaining Turkish dialects, although containing a certain amount of Persian/Tajiki vocabulary, have resisted the Iranian influence more successfully: $p-$, found in internal and final position in Turkish, has been widely substituted for initial $f-$, and in Kirghiz (in the central and northern dialects) normal Turkish $b-$ has been substituted for $p-$. In the easternmost reaches of the Turkish language area, in south Siberia, Persian loanwords are found only quite sporadically, such as *sabın* “soap” (Pers. *ṣābūn*), *mal* “cattle” (Pers. *māl*), *ḳuday* “God” (Pers. *ḳodā(y)*); see Baskakov and Inkizhekova-Grekul).

In Kirghiz we find mainly loanwords designating religious and abstract concepts: *ayıp* “sin” (Pers. *‘ayb*), *payda* “profit” (Pers. *fā’eda*); economic terms (commerce, agriculture): *baa* “price” (Pers. *bahā*), *bul/pul* “money” (Pers. *pūl*), *baq* “garden” (Pers. *bāḡ*), *piyaz* “onion” (Pers. *pīāz*), *dan* “grain” (Pers. *dān*), *paxta* “cotton” (Pers. *paḳta*); material culture: *dubal* “wall” (Pers. *dīvāl*); most of these are terms unknown to nomadic pastoral life. In a very few instances, however, Persian words have—for unclear reasons—replaced Turkish ones, for instance, Turkish *soyan* “onion” was replaced by *piyaz* from Persian.

Some phonological phenomena show that the Iranian loanwords entered many of the Central Asian Turkish languages rather late, at various times, and sometimes perhaps also not directly. To see this we may examine words beginning with $g-$ and $ṣ-$. Initial $g-$ is rarely preserved in the Central Asian Turkish languages, for example, *gül* “rose” (Uzb. *gul*). In most cases the development is twofold, for example, “grave” (Taj. *gūr*, Pers. *gūr*, older *gōr*) is *gūr* in Uzbek, *gör* in Turkman (where, however, initial $g-$ is usual), Karakalpak and Uighur, but *kör* in Kazakh (only some dialects close to Uzbekistan have *gör*, Kenesbaev, p. 49) and in Kirghiz (only southern Kirghiz, close to Tajikistan, has *gör*). In Uzbek, Uighur, and Karakalpak the initial $g-$ has been preserved because of the strong influence of Tajiki (in Karakalpak presumably via Uzbek, as in the case of *gör* in Kazakh dialects). The development in Kazakh and Kirghiz, however, is the most genuine, as initial $g-$ was not originally found in Turkish, and so it was changed to $k-$.

Another interesting phenomenon is the development of Persian (Tajiki) $ṣ-$, which is retained in Uzbek, Turkmen, and New Uighur, as well as in Kirghiz (*sorpo* “broth” vs. *šorpo*, *šorpa* is an exception and perhaps a loanword from Kaz. *sorpa*). In Kazakh and, to a lesser degree, Karakalpak the situation is different, however. In original Turkish words these languages have $ṣ- > s-$, for example, *sol* “that one” (< *šo-ol*). But Turkish $ṣ-$ did not become $s-$ until the



12th/18th century (Doerfer, 1971, p. 330), and the development is not yet completed in Iranian loanwords, in which š- is still commonly found in southeastern Kazakh dialects (also for Turkish words) and in Karakalpak (both close to Uzbekistan), while northwestern Kazakh dialects mostly have s- (Qaliev and Saribaev, pp. 46-48, 123-28, 131-32). In Mongolian loanwords in the Kazakh and Karakalpak written languages š- became s-, as also in genuine Turkish words (*siltaw* “cause,” *siba-* “to smear”; these words entered Kazakh and Karakalpak during the Yuan/Elkan period or only shortly afterwards, but not later than the 9th/15th century; Kirghiz still has *šiltō*, *šiba-*). Russian loanwords, on the other hand, always have š- (e.g., *šar* “globe”; the oldest of Russian loanwords entered Kazakh in the 13th/19th century, mostly in the Soviet time). Following are some examples of Tajiki Persian loanwords with original š-. There are three categories: (a) š- is retained, (b) vacillation between š- and s-, and (c) development of š- to s-:

(a) *Šalbar* “trousers” (Pers. *šalvār*), *šam* or *šem* “candle” (Pers. *šam*), *šaptalī* “apricot” (Pers. *šaftālū*), *šarap* “wine” (Pers. *šarāb*), *šat* “glad” (Pers. *šād*), *šen* “rank” (Pers. *ša'n*), *šeker* “sugar” (Pers. *šakar*), *šek*, *šäk* “doubt” (Pers. *šakk*), *šäkirt* “disciple” (Pers. *šāgerd*), *šäher* “town” (Pers. *šahr*). (Karakalpak always has forms in š-; for Kazakh Radloff has *šalbar*, *šam*, *šat*; Katarinskiĭ has *šalbar*, *šam*, *šeker*, *šek*; Bukin has *šalbar*, *šam*, *šaptali*, *šäkirt*, *šaxar*, but *seker* “sugar”).

(b) *Šaytan* or *saytan* “devil” (Pers. *šayṭān*), *šali* or *salī* “unhusked rice” (Pers. *šālī*), *šart* or *sert* “condition” (Pers. *šarṭ*), *šembi* or *sembi*, *senbi* “Saturday” (Pers. *šanba*). (Karakalpak has š- in all cases; for Kazakh Radloff gives *šaytan* or *saytan*, *sert*, *sembi*; Katarinskiĭ *saytan*, *sembe*; Bukin *sert*.)

(c) *Samal* “breeze” (Taj. *šamol* “wind,” Pers. *šamāl* “north [wind]”), *semser* “sword” (Pers. *šamšēr*), *serik* “companion” (Pers. *šarīk*), *sorpa* “broth” or *šōrbā*, *sor* “salt marsh” (Pers. *šōr* “salty”). (Karakalpak has *šamal*, in dialects also *samal*, *semser*, *šerik*, *sorpa*, *sor*; on the whole, Karakalpak has a preponderance of forms with š- and in this respect resembles the southeastern Kazakh dialects; for Kazakh Radloff has *samal*, *simsär*, *serik*, *sorpa*, *sor*; see also Menges, 1947, pp. 81-94.)

In conclusion, in Persian loanwords that entered Kazakh and Karakalpak before the 12th/18th century š- became s- as in genuine Turkish and Mongolian words. In Persian words that were borrowed at a later time, for example, from the 12th/18th century onwards (when Russian words also began to be borrowed), after the original sound change had taken place, an



initial š- was either retained or changed to the more common s-.

Geographically this shows that most Central Asian Turkish languages got their loanwords, not from standard (western) Persian, but from Central Asian Persian (Tajiki), some also from Khorasani Persian. Thus, Khorasani Turkish *šāmāl* “wind,” Turkmen *šāmāl* “wind, breeze,” Uzbek *šamol* “wind,” Uighur and Karakalpak *šamal* “wind,” Kazakh *samal* “breeze,” Kirgiz *šamal* “strong wind” are not from standard Persian *šemāl*, *šamāl* “north, north wind” (Azarbaijani *šimal*, idem), but from Tajiki *šamol* “wind” (in general; cf. also Khorasani Pers. *šumol* “cool breeze,” Ivanow, 1928, p. 287). But Central Asian and Khorasani Persian have old geographic contacts with the Turkmen, Uzbek, and Uighur, while their contact with Kirghiz may be younger (the Kirghiz presumably entered their modern area no earlier than the 10th/16th century). Kazakh and Karakalpak, which do not have direct contact with Central Asian Persian, probably received the Persian loanwords via Uzbek, but this question still needs to be investigated.

Turkish influence on the Iranian languages of Central Asia. The most important influence of a Turkish on an Iranian language in Central Asia is that of Uzbek on Tajiki Persian, which has been only insignificantly influenced by other Turkish languages (Khasanov, pp. 194-96, mentions some Kazakhisms in a Tajik border dialect). The influence of Uzbek on Tajiki was acknowledged as early as 1861 by Grigor’ev, later also by Kuznetsov and others (Oranskiy, pp. 19-21, 24-25, 35-38, 43, 48-50, 54-63). In order to describe this influence we have to distinguish three principal varieties of Tajiki: the literary language, the northern dialects, and the southeastern dialects.

Literary Tajiki. The Uzbek loanwords in literary Tajiki (originally a language developed by the Soviets on the basis of dialects that differed most strongly from standard Persian, written in Arabic script until 1930, in Latin script from 1930-40, since then in Cyrillic) were described by Doerfer (based on Bertel’s; see, in particular, the index in Doerfer, IV, pp. 554-72). We must distinguish two layers of Turkish loanwords in literary Tajiki: On one hand there are loanwords that are also attested in literary standard Persian and therefore quite old, for instance, *āzūq*, *āzūqa*, Tajiki *ozuqa* “provisions,” or Persian *yāl*, Tajiki *yol* “horse’s mane” (both attested since the 5th/11th century, see Doerfer, II, pp. 56-57, and IV, pp. 105-06). Such words represent a common standard Persian and Tajiki Persian stock of loanwords. On the other hand, many Uzbek loanwords are only found in Tajiki Persian, for instance, *ang* “intelligence” (Bertel’s, p. 26; Doerfer, II, p. 130).



The number of Uzbek loanwords in literary Tajiki is quite high, exceeding by far the number of Turkish loanwords in standard Persian, and are common in the colloquial language, as well. It should also be remembered that of the some 2,000 Turkish words listed in Doerfer's dictionary some were not integrated loanwords but only Turkish words used in particular contexts. Sometimes the Turkish words represented fads that were used for a short period only and then went out of common use. Certain authors, for instance Mo'īn-al-Dīn Naṭanzī (author of *Montakāb al-tawārīk-e mo'īnī*, comp. 817/1414, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran, 1336 Š./1957), are also particularly fond of showing off their knowledge of Turkish or Mongolian. The total number of integrated Uzbek loanwords in literary Tajiki is therefore more likely to be only about a third of the 2,000 listed by Doerfer.

It is interesting to note that the Uzbek loanwords in Darī, or Afghan Persian, often show different forms from those in Tajiki and more often coincide with the standard Persian forms (cf. Kiseleva and Mikolaichik). Thus to Tajiki *qapidan* "to catch" corresponds Darī and literary Persian *qāpīdan*. The Uzbek loanwords in literary Persian, literary Tajiki, and literary Darī still need to be investigated; however, it appears that Darī contains fewer Turkish loanwords than Tajiki.

A comparison between the Turkish loanwords in standard Persian and Tajiki Persian further reveals that Persian contains a fairly large number of loanwords from the sphere of state and government, whereas Tajiki Persian has a larger number of loanwords from a lower social level, including words such as *yarma* "groats." This would seem to indicate that Persian received the Turkish loanwords via the higher classes, rulers and officers, reigning nobility and officers, but Tajiki through its contact with the Uzbek common people.

The influence of Uzbek may also have contributed to the preservation of the initial voiceless velar plosive *q-* in Tajiki Persian, attested since the 10th/16th century, which has become a voiced velar plosive in standard Persian (written *g*, which in Arabic, however, is a fricative), possibly under Azeri influence (cf. Oranskiy, pp. 59-60, 62-63, quoting Lazard).

Finally, it must be pointed out that the form of the Uzbek loanwords in Tajiki are much closer to Old Turkish than those of modern Uzbek. Thus, for instance, modern Uzbek *botir* "hero," but Tajiki *botur*, Old Turkish *bātur*. Similarly both Persian *qošūn*, *qūšūn* "army" and Tajiki *qūšun* are closer to Mongolian *qošiyun* than Uzbek *qūšin* "army."



Northern Tajiki dialects. The northern Tajiki dialects, that is, the dialects spoken in Ašt, Brič-Mulla, Kanibadam, (Kand-a Bādām), Kassansay, Rištan (Reštān), Čust, and Šaydan, and others, have been very strongly influenced by Uzbek and have even been characterized as Turkish languages *in statu nascendi* (thus Doerfer, 1967, p. 57; cf. Rastorgueva, 1963, 1964). Only the mountain Tajiks may have escaped this influence to some degree (Oranskiy, p. 83). Among the Turkish features in northern Tajiki some are common Turkish, others are typically Uzbek (cf. Doerfer, 1967, pp. 52-56). One of the most striking Uzbek constructions in northern Tajiki is the possessive construction *muallim-a pīsar-aš* (lit., “teacher-genitive [< -rā] son-his”), which has replaced common Tajiki *pīsar-i muallim* (Pers. *pesar-e mo’allem*) and which is identical with Uzbek *muallim-ni ũgl-i*, the common Turkish syntactic construction (cf. Oranskiy, p. 84). Identity between the genitive and accusative is found in both northern Tajiki and many Uzbek dialects (north. Taj. *-a* < **-rā*, Uzb. *-ni*), compare northern Tajiki *in kitob-a kōndagiman* “I have read this book,” Uzbek *bu kotob-ni ũqiyān-man* (Rastorgueva, 1974, pp. 138-39). Many suffixes, even inflectional, have been borrowed, for instance, the ablative suffix *-dan* (*yakūm klasdan* “from the first class,” literary and southern Taj. *az klas-i yakūm*, Pers. *az kelās-e yakom*).

Northern Tajiki has borrowed a number of Turkish verbs not found in literary Tajiki and the southern dialects (e.g., *ič-i-dan* “to drink”; Doerfer, 1967, p. 19). The construction *-miš + kardan* (also found in the west, in Țāleši, Kurdish, Zāzā, Tāti, as well as several non-Iranian languages, see Doerfer, I, p. 33) is quite common, for example, *būl-miš kardan* “to divide” (Uzb. *būl-*; cf. Doerfer, 1967, pp. 67-70); sometimes the *-miš* form is replaced by the simple verbal root, for instance, *tula kardan* beside *tula-miš kardan* “to pay” (Uzb. *tūla-*). The construction is an extension of the common method of forming “compound” verbs from Persian verbal nouns or Arabic nouns, for instance, *pardāxt kardan* “to pay,” *fath kardan* “to conquer.” It must be kept in mind, however, that the suffix *-miš*, unlike in modern Azeri Turkish, is no longer common in modern Uzbek, where it is used only sporadically and in a few dialects. It must therefore have been adopted in northern Tajiki at the time of the old Eastern Turkish Chaghatay (Kononov, p. 272), where it was common as a verbal noun only in the 5th-8th/11th-14th centuries, but as a finite verb also in the 7th-8th/13th-15th centuries, though more often found in poetry than in prose (Eckmann, pp. 141, 167-69), for instance, *bular ketmiš* “they have gone.” The suffix *-miš*, it should be pointed out, is not, however, directly connected with the suffix *-mīšī* found in Persian between the 7th/13th and the outset of the



9th/15th centuries (cf. Doerfer, I, pp. 32-33).

Whereas northern Tajiki has borrowed even case endings (even *-ga* dative, *-da* locative, *-dak* equative, *-gača* terminal, cf. Doerfer, 1967, pp. 54, 62), the influence of the Uzbek verbal system is seen both in northern Tajiki and in the literary language (Doerfer, 1967, pp. 52-55; Bertel's, pp. 560-63). One might say that, although the Tajiks speak Tajiki, they feel Uzbek, as it were.

There are numerous verbal constructions borrowed from Uzbek, of which the following from literary Tajik may serve as examples: *navišta dodan* < Uzb. *yozib bermoq* "to write for another's profit," literally "to give writing"; *navišta giriftan* < Uzb. *yozib olmoq* "to write for one's own profit," lit. "to take writing"; *xūrda didam* < Uzb. *yeb kūrdim* "I tried to eat, I tasted the meal," lit. "I looked eating"; *kanda karda firistod* < Uzb. *kulib yubordi* "he burst out laughing (suddenly and surprisingly)," lit. "he sent laughing"; *kitobro қonda šudam* < Uzb. *kitobni ўqib бўлдим* "I read the book through (completion of an action)," lit. "I became reading the book." The syntactical use of participles, infinitives, and gerunds is just as in Uzbek (both in literary and northern Tajiki): *kitobi man қondagi*, *kitobi қondagiam*, *kitobi қondagii man* < Uzb. *yozgan kitobim* (also *mening yozgan kitobim*, *men yozgan kitob* "the book I've read," literally "my-book reading, the book of my reading." A kind of referative aspect is formed by the participle in *-dagi/-tagi*, for example, *raftagi-am* < Uzb. *ketgan-dir-man* "(one may suppose that) I have gone," lit. "I am gone." As in Uzbek the infinitive is used frequently, for example, (northern Tajik) *kalkos-va daromadan bat* < Uzb. *kolқozga kirmiř blan* "after (with) having come to the kolkhoz," lit. "to-the kolkhoz to come after (with)." The use of the perfect participle in *-da/-ta* as a gerund, also found in standard Persian, is common in long sentences, where Uzbek would use participles in *-ib*, for instance, *piramard ba piyola reқtani čoi nimsard šudai čoynikro lozim nadonista, onro bardořta az nūlař tamom nūsid* "the old man, not thinking it necessary to pour the tea, which had cooled down in the teapot, into the cup, raising (the teapot) drank (it) up from the spout."

Southern Tajiki dialects. These dialects are spoken in the southernmost areas where Tajiki is spoken, along the Afghan border (cf. Rozenfel'd, p. 4: Karategin, Kulyab, Vakiо, Darvāz, Vanj, Badakřān; Oranskiy, pp. 62-64, 65-71). Here the Uzbek influence is minimal and does not affect the grammar. Rozenfel'd lists only 21 Uzbek loanwords with initial *q-* in southern Tajiki of a total of 198 (= 10.6%), compared to 96 listed by Rastorgueva (1963) for northern Tajiki of a total of 134 (= 71.6%), and 52 by Bertel's for the literary language of a total of



348 (= 14.9%). Among the Uzbek loanwords in the southern dialects are some not found in the literary language or the northern dialects (though perhaps only coincidentally), for instance, *tul* “propagation of cattle” (Uzb. *tül*) *axsum* “stubborn horse” (Uzb. *axsum*, *aqsum*), *yalama* “rice pap with meat” (Uzb. idem). It is also clear that in many cases the Uzbek dialect forms found in southern Tajiki differ from those found in the literary language and northern Tajiki, for instance, southern Tajiki *qap* “sack” (north. Taj. *qop* = liter. Uzb.). Very few southern Tajiki verbs contain Uzbek elements; one rare example is *qapidan* “to catch” (from Uzbek *qap*-; see also above).

Yaghnobi. Yaghnobi contains a fairly large number of Uzbek loanwords. Most of these, however, it shares with Tajiki (literary and/or dialects). Of the 139 loanwords found in the dictionary of Andreev and Peshchereva 123 also occur in literary Tajiki (e.g., *boy* “rich” = Uzbek); seven words occur in some dialect (e.g., *tul*, see above); and only nine are not attested in the Tajiki glossaries of Bertel’s, Rastorgueva, and Rozenfel’d (e.g., *qušqoñ* “bridle” < Uzb. *quyušqon*), which, together with the fact that the Yaghnobis are surrounded, not by Uzbek, but by Tajiks, renders it likely that the “Uzbek” loanwords of Yaghnobi have come via (southern) Tajiki dialects (cf. Oranskiy, p. 114).

Pamir languages. The Uzbek influence in the Pamir languages is also principally of lexical nature and has come via Southern Tajiki dialects. Most loanwords with initial *y*- and *q*- are from Uzbek but are found in all or most Tajiki, Yaghnobi, and Pamir dialects, for instance, *yol* “horse’s mane,” *yoš* “jung,” *qoq* “dry,” *qoz* “goose,” and others (cf. e.g., Sköld, pp. 132-68 nos. 52, 87, 112, 255a, 346-47, 354a, 355, 364, 380, 381, 383, 412, 417b, 425).

Central Asian Persians. There is no detailed description of the small group of Persians (about 30,000) living in the Turkmen SSR, above all around Marv (Mary), Bukhara, and Samarqand (cf. Oranskiy, pp. 124-25). According to oral information they understand standard Persian and Uzbek, but not Tajiki.

Baluch. About 7,800 Baluch live around Marv (cf. Sokolova, 1953, I, p. 77; Oranskiy, pp. 121-24; see also baluchistan iii, in *EIr.* III/6, esp. pp. 634-35). They are late immigrants who came from Persia and Afghanistan about 1900. In 1920-40 their second language was still Persian, which today, especially among the younger generation, has been replaced by Turkmen. Elfenbein’s word list contains just a few Turkish loanwords, not, however, of Turkmen origin, as might be expected, but from Persian or Darī Persian, for instance, *dulma* “forcemeat” (Pers. *dolma* < Azeri *dolma*, cf. Doerfer, III, pp. 203-04; *eray* “attire”



< *yarāq*; *yarāwūl* “watchman” < *qarāvul*, see Doerfer, s.vv.; *čol* “desert” < Darī *čol*; *yamčune* “whiplash” < Darī *qamčīna*). The only apparently Turkmen loanword is *yum* “sand” (Turkm. *gum*).

Kurdish. The Kurds of Afghanistan, numbering about 20,000 and settled around Ashkhabad, are Kurmanjī and immigrants from Khorasan (Bakaev, p. 6; cf. Oranskiy, pp. 153, 160; Sokolova, 1953, I, pp. 78-103). They also speak Turkmen. The Turkish loanwords registered by Bakaev proves that the Kurds of the Turkmen SSR must originally have come from Azerbaijan (or a region close to Azarbaijan). Thus we find (Bakaev p. 226) *k’oti* or *k’uti* “bad” (Ivanow, 1927, p. 229: *kuti*) from Azeri Turkish *kötü* (Khorasani Turkish uses *pis* and *gändä*—both from Persian—and *yaman* “bad,” the last also in Turkman); also forms as *yok* “not existing,” *batlağ* “swamp” (Pers. *bātlāq*) are typically Azarbaijani. Like western Kurdish this dialect also contains mixed verbal constructions with *-miş* (e.g., *bašlā-mis kīrīn* “to begin”).

Arabs of Central Asia. The Arabic spoken by the Arabs of Central Asia, above all Bukhara, has been influenced by both Persian/Tajiki and Uzbek (Fischer; Vinnikov; Doerfer, 1969, with further bibliography). Particularly noteworthy are features such as the omission of the article and the position of the verb at the end of the sentence, as well as other features common to Tajiki and Uzbek. Persian features include the expression of the durative aspect with *mi-*, *ki* used as relative particle, *ežāfa*, etc. Uzbek features include the interrogative particle *-mi*, the position of adjectives before the substantives. In the numerals we find both the Uzbek construction ‘*ašer kams*’ “15” (Uzbek *ün beš*) and the Persian construction ‘*ašrīn-u arba*’ “24” (Tajiki *bist u čor*).

Summary. Central Asia, and particularly the territory inhabited by Uzbeks and Tajiks, is an area of extensive language mixture. The long symbiosis of these two nations has caused, not only in cultural but also in linguistic respect, what Bausani has called “an identical Muslim cultural world” (Pagliaro and Bausani, p. 752). Turkmen and Khorasani Turkish all contain a strong admixture of standard Persian elements borrowed from Khorasani Persian, while all the other, smaller, languages have been influenced by Uzbek and/or Tajiki Persian.



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