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§ 4. Literary Language of the Golden Horde

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The period of the greatest political and economic might of the Jochid Empire was during the reign of the Khans Öz Beg and Jani Beg, when at the height of prosperity of the economy and trading central power was quickly strengthened and a united governing system was set up. Being supported by the khan's administration, dozens of big cities grew fast, with their unique, magnificent, expressive and even eclectic style. The adoption of Islam as the state religion was also completed, and it contributed to the further integration of the peoples, the formation of a united ethnos and left a deep imprint on all the Turkic peoples of Eurasia [Iskhakov, Izmaylov, 2000, pp. 61—62; Fakhrutdinov, 1995, pp. 108—110; Usmanov, 1985, pp. 177—185].

There is no doubt that the religious factor played a significant role in politics, ideology, managing social institutions, economy, trading, spiritual culture and arts. The Islamic principle of the confluence of the secular and spiritual components came into effect. It implies that a supreme governor is obliged to control the right way of all aspects of life, their correspondence to the divine law. Under these conditions, it is not a coincidence that most of the preserved Turkic hand-written works of the 14th century and the copies of them were represented by the religious and religious-didactic literature: 'Kysas al-anbiya' by Rabguzi, 'Nakhj al-Faradis' by Mahmud Bulgari, the dastan 'Djumdjuma Sultan' by Khisam Qiatib, 'Kisekbash kitabi'. The predominance of religious literature was determined by the demand for it as well as by the tradition born and constantly strengthened by the power of the Islamic clergy, its huge influence on all the classes of society and all aspects of life.

The materials known today allow us to characterise the Golden Horde as a state with a predominantly sedentary way of life and a high level of architectural culture. Research into historical works together with other sources (yarliqs, various messages) leads us to conclude that the urban class (merchants, crafts-

men, officials, clergy) had great importance in the cultural life of the Golden Horde populace. It played a significant role in the emergence of the need among society as a whole for spiritual values.

Research into the social and cultural life of the cities and other cultural centres of the Golden Horde allows to make two important conclusions:

1) In these centres the conditions were ripe for the formation of the oral colloquial koine, a language based on Turks, the native speakers of the dialects of the Kipchak language group;

2) The cultural environment, administrative centres and local governors, the Islamic education presented by madrasahs, libraries, ulamas, literate mullah created a base for the written supra-dialectal form of the language and for the creation of written literary texts of different genres and styles based on this language.

The Golden Horde sources are prosaic and poetic fiction literature, religious and juridical texts, known to Turkology for decades. They were drew the attention of generations of Turkologists, beginning with V. Radlov. In domestic Turkology, a significant role in the development of the problem of literary traditions in the written Turkic languages and the declaration of this problem was played by A. Samoylovich.

The state of the united literary language and its changeability under the influence of vernacular dialects were the basis for the periodisation of the writing culture of the Turkic peoples within the Islamic civilization, developed by A. Samoylovich. He paid significant attention to the second period, Kipchak-Oghuz, as exactly at that time (not during the Chagatai period), due to the formation of Genghis Khan's Empire, there was evidence of a situation that was favourable for the development of a united literary language for all the Muslim and Turkic tribes of the Mongol State. Besides, exactly this period is related to the birth of the main modern Muslim and Turkic literary languages. The researcher directly pointed to the succession of

the modern Tatar language in reference to the literary language of the Golden Horde: '...the Kazan Tatar literary language, going through several periods of its development, has got its ancient roots, the Kipchak roots, not from the 15th century, as it is generally claimed, but from the earlier literary works of the Golden Horde, where the Kipchak linguistic elements are dominant. This is also the initial fate of the Crimean Tatar literary language' [Samoylovich, 1928, p. 21].

The further development of the conception of A. Samoylovich about the succession of a uniform book tradition was reflected in the works of E. Tenishev [1988, pp. 67–85; 1997, pp. 35–38].

A great specialist in the history of the medieval literary languages E. Nadjip, unlike A. Samoylovich, proceeds from the recognition of numerous literary languages, languages of different genetic roots and primarily mixed languages [Nadjip, 1965, pp. 3–8; 1970, pp. 87–92; 1989, pp. 244–249]. The comparative studies of the written sources, which appeared in Egypt and were made on the territory of the Golden Horde, which were based, first of all, on distinguishing their lexical specific characteristics, singling out lexemes by their linguistic attributes and their further statistic processing, led E. Nadjip to the following conclusions: 1) By the 14th century, the Kipchak-Oghuz literary language of the y-group had been formed, which was common for the Golden Horde and Egypt; 2) Together with this new literary language, the more archaic written language of the z-group was also used. E. Nadjip called it the Oghuz-Kipchak literary language of the Lower Volga and Khwarezm. Later, this language did not spread farther than the Volga Region, and in Middle Asia it was replaced with the y-language. In the Volga Region, it continued to exist until the early 1900s as a language of narrative works with mysterious contents [Nadjip, 1989, pp. 81–82].

In the history of Tatar linguistics in the early 1920s–the 1940s, linguistic studies of the language of the Golden Horde cycle sources are represented by a small number of works. At the same time, their description from the point of view of literature studies and the definition

of their place in the history of Turkic literature is represented very widely. The first Tatar scientists G. Rakhim, G. Gubaydullin (Gaziz), N. Khakim, and G. Sagdi amply used the texts of Turkic-Tatar literature, and included them into educational books. They also paid attention to the linguistic specific characteristics; it is seen in the research of S. Vakhidi, where observations in different styles are given: 'In the latter half of the 14th century, in the Golden Horde, there was a well crafted local literary language, different from the Uighur language and the so-called Chagatai parlance' [Archives 53–1].

In the studies of the Tatar researchers, the Golden Horde language is called by different terms: the general name 'Terki Tel' is usually used, which is Turki (by specification: *Bulgar Terkise*, *Kazan Terkise*, *Idel-buye Terkise*); the term 'Volga Turki', used in the studies of E. Nadjip [Nadjip, 1957, 17 b.] was easily taken into use by the scientific world; in modern studies, historians and philologists use the term 'Turkic-Tatar', restored by M. Usmanov [Usmanov, 1979, p. 17], who notes that the term carries some new and more concrete contents: Turkic by genetics and Tatar by appearance.

The studies of the Golden Horde sources use the term 'mixed language'. Turkologists understand under the term 'mixed' the presence of phonetic, grammatical and lexical elements that belong to a language of another classification group, in their opinion. Meanwhile, these linguistic elements are assigned to a certain group of languages or dialects (Kipchak, Oghuz, Uighur, Karluk). Often, instead of a mentioned language attribution, these elements are defined with geographical or areal terms: the Khwarezm literary language', 'the literary language of Khwarezm and the Golden Horde' [Inan, 1953], 'Eastern Turkic language' [Brockelmann, 1954], 'the literary language of the Golden Horde and Egypt' [Nadjip, 1965], or chronological definitions are provided: 'Ancient Turkic', 'Middle Turkic', sometimes socio-political ones: 'Mamluk-Kipchak' [Eckmann, 1964], the 'Chagatai' language [Köprülü, 1926].

Taking into account the situation in Turkology with the term 'mixed language' of the written source, in the attribution of the studied

text we prefer to speak about the correlation of norms and variations in the language of the given source instead of speaking about its mixed character. When classifying the language of the written source we start stratifying the text and singling out the fundamental and peripheral elements in it.

The texts of religious-didactic contents. The written source '**Kysas al-anbiya**' by **Rab-guzi** (hereinafter the KR), written in 1310 in the northern part of Khwarezm. His ancient manuscript, which is kept in the British Museum in London, is dated back to 1489. It should be highlighted that this written source was extremely in-demand in the Islamic world, that is why at the present there are a lot of copies, up to 35 in the manuscript archives, not including manuscripts in private collections. The copies of the written source were found in a large number of places: the Russian Federation (including Tatarstan), Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, etc. It is clear that the scribes introduced a lot of linguistic innovations in these copies, and that is why our research is based on the oldest copy. An analysis of its language, in the end, allowed us to distinguish the following normative features in phonetics and graphics. Compare: the KR language includes a one-variation traditional writing of words with ʌ (alif) such as ʌdǧü 'righteous', the graphic variation carries a certain semantic differentiation: ʌr 'man', ʌir 'warrior'. The labial harmony is also stably preserved, words with the δ -grapheme are the orthographic norm, the variation appeared in later copies. The -q- grapheme in the intervocalic position is stably preserved saqyndy 'thought', the combination -ayü- , -uγü- , -yγγ- : ayyz 'mouth', the auslaut -y : saryy 'yellow'.

The morphological features include a fundamental system of declinations related to the Uighur-Kipchak type.

Chronologically close to the KR is a manuscript of the other religious-didactic large-scale work '**Nakhj al-Faradis**' by **Makhmud al-Bulgari as-Sarai** (hereinafter the NF). Despite the small number of copies found (10), the mentioned source played an important role in the cultural life of the Volga peoples. It is particularly interesting in regards to studying

the history of public opinion in the medieval Volga Region, as its author relied on a great number of works (20 sources recorded) of famous Muslim theologians. The text is a combination of religious and ethic studies with the art form of its embodiment. Fascinating novellas and wise parables were aimed at developing loyalty to Islam and a high immunity to temptations lying in wait for a Muslim on the way to celestial bliss. Precisely this didactic tendency makes the text differ from the KR. All this together makes the NF language full of artistic techniques, synonyms, antonyms, phraseologisms, etc., and characterises it in general as close to the folk-colloquial form. The interaction of the literary norm and the folk-colloquial language is confirmed by the fact that the NF language, more often than in the language of the previous source, includes a variation in the phonetic-graphic forms of lexical units and in a set of grammatical indexes. However, here the adherence to a fundamental system, ascending to a stable writing tradition, can be seen. These fundamental features in grapho-phonetics include the succession and preservation of the labial harmony. In the NF, there are some cases in which these affixes are written with a deviation of the labial harmony (more often, the affixes of the past definite tense). In the stems with the hesitating vocalic anlaut, writing with the ʌ (alif) is more often replaced with the ʌy (alif yay). However, this variation is far from being consistent. The variation is also growing in the use of the $\text{d} \sim \delta \sim \text{j}$ with the predominant writing of the δ -grapheme: quduγ 'well', idi 'owner', etc. The expansion of the function of the -j : qajyu 'grief', etc. proves the reflexion in graphics of the elements of colloquial speech. At the domination of the -q- in the intervocalic variation the variation jaruyy 'his light' appears. However, the combinations -ayü- , -uγü- , -yγγ- are stably preserved, as well as auslaut -γ : buyun 'joint', bay 'link', etc. A set of new phenomena includes a consistent reflexion of sonority and voicelessness in the affixes of the cases and in the affixes of the past definite tense. The declination system continues to reflect the Uighur-Kipchak declination type, and the low-frequency peripheral forms reflect the Oghuz declination type. It is

interesting to note that a lot of phraseological units, not only by content but also by form, are still found in the modern Volga languages, in particular, in Tatar. Compare: *irgä barmaq* 'to get married', *küz qamaşmaq* 'ripples in vision', *til tigirmäk* 'to talk a lot', etc.

The analysis of the written source on the basis of the statistic processing of fundamental norms and peripheral elements demonstrates that the NF reflects the stable tradition of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur literary language. In comparison with the KR, its variation increases. In our opinion, this is related to its content aimed at a wide range of readers, on the one hand, and to a strengthening of the influence of the colloquial environment—the Kipchak koine, on the other hand.

The next chronological cut-off is dated back to 1369, and it is reflected in the language of the Volga Region '**Djumdjuma Sultan**' by **Khisam Qiatib** (hereinafter, the Dj), a work of religious-didactic content. It is evident that Kyatib was an outstanding poet of his time. It is seen even from the fact that he starts the given poem in an intriguing way by thinking over the frailty of all things existent on the earth, that all people turn into ashes in the end and live through the same torment for their actions, now matter who they were on earth. The poet, depicting the life and actions of his character Djumdjuma Sultan by artistic means, through his own perception, narrating on behalf of the character, managed to persuasively express the idea of humanism, the idea that the governor should take care of his people. The poem ends philosophically, with the statement that the Islamic religion is the most righteous religion.

The language of this written source maintains the Kara-Khanid-Uighur basis, which is expressed in its fundamental features: in the preservation of the labial harmony: كوزوم *küzüm* 'my eye', the voiceless -q- in the intervocalic position: جيقب *çyqyb* 'having coming out', the auslaut -γ: قوروق *quruy* 'dry', the traditional combinations -uyū-, -yy-, etc. It is notable that under the Kipchak fundamental declination type there is a formation of the ablative case with the affix -dyn. The past with the -dy is one of the most frequent tense forms that create the general background to a narrative.

As the text of the given work is known to us from the late copies, it is possible to presuppose that an obvious strengthening of the Kipchak features in its language is determined by the specific characteristics of the language of its latest scribes. However, on the general backdrop of the written sources studied by us, a picture is formed of the gradual progressive introduction of the Kipchak linguistic features, which are peripheral, into the traditional fundamental system of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur language.

The written source of religious and didactic content '**Kisekbash kitaby**' (hereinafter the KB) is dated to the period under consideration. The genre of the work is defined as the dastan, and this is how it is called by the author itself. While getting familiar with the content of the 'Kisekbash kitaby', it becomes immediately obvious that the plot coincides with the plot of the work 'Djumdjuma Sultan' by Kyatib, famous in the Volga Region, although the KB is simpler and not at such a high artistic and philosophical level as the Dj by H. Kyatib. The poetic dimensions of the studied dastan confirms once again the supposition about the time period of its writing: the Early Middle Ages, when the metre of arud was not approved yet in the Turkic poem [Akhmetgaleyeva 1979, pp. 56–57]. Although Ya. Akhmetgaleyeva considers the prosody in the 'Kisekbash kitaby' an incomplete arud, our studies show that there are no errors in the catalectic iambic hexameter. The abundance of copies demonstrates that the work was one of the popular texts in the Volga Region.

Like in the Dj language, in the language of the written source, the affixes of the genitive case and the past tense were not subordinate to the labial harmony, although in other cases they are kept relatively stable. In the alternation of the d-δ-j in the KB language, the use of words is one-variable: a) or only with the δ-attribute: اذاق *adaq* 'leg'; b) or only with the j-attribute: قويوق *qujuy* 'well'; the variable writing of words is not noted.

The fundamental declination system in the written source is comparable with the Kipchak declination. The described regular forms of the genitive, accusative, and dative cases be-

gin with a consonant in all the paradigms, but precisely in the nominal paradigm of the dative case there is a similar variation of the forms of the Kipchak **-ya** and the Oghuz **-a**. Used in the text, the ablative case with the **-din** is related to the Uighur declination type.

A typical feature of the written source is the traditional use of the past tense form with the **-dy**, in rare cases—with the **-myş** and the absence of the **-yan**.

Evaluating the language of the analysed works of the religious and didactic content, it should be noted that the set of isolated fundamental features characterises this language as a successor to the Kara-Khanid-Uighur writing tradition both in phonetics and morphology. Despite the obvious demonstration of the features of the Kipchak language system in all the analysed texts, it should be mentioned that they are peripheral in the language of the religious and didactic written sources. It is typical that first of all Kipchakisation was reflected in the declination system, which is proved by the data of the Dj and KB (for more details about the linguistic specific characteristics of these written sources see: [Nuriyev, 2004, pp. 48–193]).

Secular texts. Secular texts include the 'Khosrow-va-Shirin' by Qutb (1383), the 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarezmi (1353), the 'Gulistan bit-turki' by Seif Sarai (1391). Secular texts were the subject of a number of studies by turkologists. Taking into account the achievements of our predecessors, we made an analysis of the mentioned texts by using the language stratification method on the fundamental and peripheral components.

The most demonstrative result of this approach is the classification of the fundamental language system of the '**Khosrow-va-Shirin**' by **Qutb** (hereinafter the KhSh), belonging to the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition, and two other texts by their fundamental forms belong to the Kipchak language system. The difference is explained, first of all, by the fact that Qutb, the author, being probably from the Volga Region, connected his literary activities with Sarai, and created this work at the end of his life by order of the governor Tini Beg. As literature specialists have discovered, the model for him was the work of Nizami, the

language of which was the classical literary Farsi. As the studies of Kh. Minnegulov have shown, many of the sides of the poem by Nizami were reflected in the work of Qutb. However, the KhSha is not a literal translation but a free retelling of the content of Nizami's poem [Minnegulov, 1993]. So we should pay attention to the obvious influence of the art form of Nizami's poem on Qutb's works. Besides, by giving his work to the Golden Horde ruler, traditional etiquette was evidently followed that presupposes a high poetic style vested in a poetic literary form of the language, which in the Turkic literature of that period came out of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition. It seems that all these factors influenced the specific characteristics of the poem 'Khosrow-va-Shirin' by Qutb.

As for the '**Gulistan bi-t-turki**' by **Seif Sarai** (hereinafter the GB), this work is a translation of a famous work called the 'Gulistan' by Sa'adi. Sarai was well-known in the world of poets and scientists in the Golden Horde as a skilled master of poetics. That is why his friends recommended he would do the translation. It is known that Sarai was born in 1321 in the Volga Region and emigrated to Mamluk Egypt in the 1380s [Minnegulov, 1976; 1999a]. So his native language was a Kipchak language, but owing to his education he learnt the language of the Turkic classic literature of that period. That is why, in comparison with the KhSh, the conditions of the creation of the GB were different. In our opinion, it explains why the Kipchak language basis is traced in the fundamental system of the language of this source.

The history of the creation of the third secular source, the poem '**Muhabbat-name**' by **Khwarezmi** (hereinafter the MN) is the same. Khwarezmi was a famous poet of this time, who lived in the Golden Horde, in Sygnak, where he wrote the 'Muhabbat-name' by order of Muhammad Hodjabeg, who asked him to create the poem *bizniñ til birlä 'in our language'*, that is in the Turkic-Kipchak language. Khwarezmi took for as a model a plot popular in the East, which was a collection of love messages, vested in poetic form. Probably, being Kipchak by origin and carrying out the specific creative order of his patron, Khwarezmi (this is

a pseudonym, his real name is not known) created the work, the language of which is based on Kipchak. Like the works of other authors, the work of Khwarezmi is not a literal translation of the original but a free retelling of it.

On the backdrop of the latest two written sources, the KhSh language with its Kara-Khanid-Uighur basis contains a fairly large layer of Kipchak elements in its variable part on the level of peripheral features. As our analysis shows, in some cases the Kipchak elements start to become introduced into the fundamental paradigm and often acquire the status of a norm in the language of this source.

In the KhSh, the labial harmony does not form a united strict system anymore. A complex interrelation between a book tradition and a live colloquial language is observed which the variable writing of a huge number of words and word forms points to. Compare: بولوت *bulut* (17 times) ~ بولت *bulyt* (8 times) 'clouds'. Of the KhSh language, the elision -**γ**, -**q** is typical, and with the violation of the labial harmony: *jazuqluy* ~ *jazuqly* 'sinful'. In many words the -**δ**-grapheme is typical, although there are double writings of the words: اذاق *adaq* (77 words) ~ اياق *ajaq* (20 words) 'leg'. Noting the relative stability in the auslaut -**γ**, there is variable writing with the omission of the final -**γ**. The declination is Uighur-Kipchak, and structurally ordered peripheral indexes are related to the Oghuz group.

The study of the language of the 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarizmi is important as it is one of the links of a huge work studying the birth and formation of the Golden Horde literary language, its connections with the other literary languages of the Turkic peoples and the determination of the influence of its norms on the literary languages of later periods. As mentioned above, in this source there is a dominance of the Kipchak linguistic elements. The fundamental system of the declination is close to the Kipchak system, and the peripheral forms are close to the Oghuz forms. In the dative and locative cases, there are traces of the low-frequent Karluk group. The perfect is presented with two competitive forms -**γan**, -**yp tur**. Examples: *çiçäk japraqлары jirgä tüşüptür* 'the flower petals got scattered on the ground';

iki jaktu gävhar yälämga birgän 'he gave two light pearls to the world'.

The language of the poem is colourful, rich and figurative. The author skillfully uses various artistic means, in particular, epithets, comparisons and metaphors. Especially often, Khwarezmi takes advantage of comparisons while creating an image of an amazingly beautiful girl: *irür jüzi qujaş tek yäläm ara* 'her face beautifies her like the sun does the universe', etc. The poem is decorated with numerous artistic metaphors: *ysyryan danasi—zührä, jüzün—aj* 'the Venus is only a stone in your earring, and the Moon is your face', etc. (for details about the description of the linguistic specific characteristics of the mentioned literary written sources, see: [Nuriyeva, 2004, pp. 193–283]).

The above-analysed texts of the written literary language of the Golden Horde do not embrace the entire set of written sources of the Turkic-Tatar literary language of this period. Important sources are the Arabic-Kipchak glossaries, grammars, and also the translated literary works of the 13–15th centuries, created in the Mamluk Egypt for almost 250 years.

Among the sources of the region being studied, a special place belongs to the '**Codex Cumanicus**' (hereinafter the CC), which is the largest written source of the Kipchak colloquial language of the Golden Horde period as well as a wonderful written source for studying the history of the formation and development of practically all the modern languages of the Kipchak group. The advantage of this written source is that here the Turkic language is presented in Latin graphics, which allows the phonetic features to be reflected more precisely. The text of the written source is mainly aimed not only at colloquial speech but first of all at the availability of the language in the Turkic environment. That is why the written source is so valuable as a model for recording the colloquial style in the Kipchak dialects of the 13th century. It is evidenced, in particular, by the regular **j**-attribute: all the words are written in one way through **j**. There is a stable trace of voicing the intervocalic -**q**-, although there are cases in which it is preserved: *çygar* 'release', *sağys* 'sorrow', *joqary baqyp* 'looking up', etc. The combination of -**arγy**, -**uyu** is regularly reflect-

ed as the diphthong **-uw**: *awuz* 'mouth', *buzau* 'calf'. There is a regular omission of the ending **-γ**: *bitti* 'letter', *jamau* 'swatch', *tau* 'mount'. In the declination, the genitive case is subordinate to the labial harmony, the accusative case has the formatives **-ny**, **-ni**, in the third person, **-yn** (17 times) and **-yny** (18 times) are almost equal, the dative case is presented with the affix **-qa-** and its respective harmonic variants, and the ablative case has the form **-dan**, **-tan**. The possessive-nominal declination system includes the widespread infix **-n-**. So the illustrative material of the dictionary demonstrates the clear Kipchak declination. The tense form on **-yp tur** is highly frequently, and the form on **-yan** and **-myş** is relatively rare. So the fully Kipchak language in the 'Codex Cumanicus' is proved.

In the 1990s, the research process embraced the written source of Islamic jurisprudence '**Irshad al-muluk va s-salatin**' (hereinafter the IM). On the last page of the manuscript, there is a record: *'Bu kitabyn vüçüdü zaıfif latif olan Allahyn raxmätinä muxtaş qypçaq sojundan vä Xänäfi mäzhäbinä mänsul Bärkä ibni Bäräküz ibni Ögü tarafyndan jazylşynyn son ärmiş 789 sänäsi şäüval ajynyn jirminçi künündä büjüik Iskändärijä şährindä Illah onu här türlü afätdän korusunluqu bulmuştur'* 'This book is written by a weak and nice creator that needs God's blessing, native of the Kipchak surrounding, belonging to the Hanafi madhhab, Berke ibni Berakuz ibni Ogu in Great Iskanderia in year 789, the month of Shawwal, the 20th day (20 October 1387)'.

The source 'Khosrow-va-Shirin' was rewritten in Egypt by the famous calligrapher Berke Faqih. There were comments that some other manuscripts were also the work of Berke Faqih. Here, Berke emphasises that he is from Kipchaks and is known as a scientist, a poet and a translator in Mamluk Egypt. But the most significant part of his statement is his intention to write all his ideas in the poetic form by using the poetic metre 'Kutagdu bilik', but unfortunately he could not fulfill his intention. These words seem to us an indisputable proof of the fact that the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition for the Turkic speakers of the Islamic culture in the Golden Horde and in Egypt was not an 'abstract model', but was based on a real knowledge of

specific literary texts and, very notably, on the huge literary written source of the Kara-Khanid epoch 'Kutagdu bilik' by Yusuf Balasaghun, which was spoken about by Berke 200 years later. These arguments gave us grounds to use for our analysis the document of the Islamic jurisprudence 'Irshad al-muluk va s-salatin'.

This written source, consisting of the code of Sharia law, is a collection of fatwas, gathered from the works of famous and respected scientists, specialists in Sharia law, who were mostly adherent to the ideas of the Hanafi madhhab. The work includes the introduction, 29 books, 56 sections and 93 chapters. At the end, there is a chapter that contains 49 questions about Sharia law (fiqh), and a conclusion.

The analysis demonstrated that the fundamental language system of this work is organised on the Kipchak basis. It is obvious from the following features: the stable writing **ا** (alif yay), in the alternation of **d~δ~j** only the writing with the **j**- is kept, although there are cases of variations, keeping the voiceless intervocalic **-q-** is presented sporadically: **ا**قار *aqar* ~ **ا**غار *ayar* 'flow', and there is even the transition **-ayu>au**. Compare: **س**ووق ~ **س**ووق *'coldness'*, **ت**ووق ~ **ت**ووق *'hen'*, etc. (for more details, see: [Nuriyeva, 2004, pp. 283–307]).

So the analysis of the two written sources shows their importance for the history of the Turkic-Tatar literary language of the earlier period, especially taking into account that in the 'Codex Cumanicus', the colloquial koine is a fundamental system.

Our research shows that the general line of development of the Turkic-Tatar language, beginning with the 13th century, is as follows. The writing literary language form of the Golden Horde period in its development in its literary centres at first is focused on the phonetic-graphic and grammatical norms of the literary languages of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur areal. It is quite explicable that the mentioned areals at this historical period remained the centres in which Islamic education spread, which included religious fundamentals as well as respective forms of the written literary language. The cultural life of the Golden Horde, beginning with the period of the formation of an independent state, was followed by the

strong influence of famous Muslim devoted theologians. That is why it is of no wonder that in the regional literature centres of the Golden Horde the important positions belonged to the literary written language, being based on the Kara-Khanid-Uighur variant of the Turkic written language, which fixed its positions also in the literature centres of the Golden Horde. At the same time, the main population of the Ulus of Jochu, both settled and nomadic, were speakers of Kipchak tribal languages, although among the residents of the Golden Horde there were Oghuz and Karluk speakers (for example, the Uighurs at the secretariats).

So the mentioned bearers of the Islamic civilization, due to the ethno-demographic conditions, found themselves in the dominant surrounding of the Kipchak speakers. The given ethnic situation was favourable for formation of the supradialectal koine in the cultural and trading centres, based on the Kipchak language elements. The influence and interaction of the old tradition with new linguistic processes are differently reflected in the languages of some written sources, depending on the genre of the written source (religious and didactic literature remained more stable, and secular literature accepted innovations faster), on the level of the education of the author and his affiliation with a certain literary artistic school, on the customer of the work, on specific conditions of the place of its creation, on the scribes, and their tribal affiliation and command of the native language. Our studies demonstrate based on the example of the isolated phonetic-graphic and morphological features and their statistic processing that every written source is a precise and live reflexion of the linguistic situation where it was created, and at the same time language is a source for characterising it. It can be stated that in the early written sources of the Golden Horde there is a stable Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition, together with which the new variant of the regional literary language was being formed precisely in the Volga Region.

So the maximum number of the isolated phonetic features of the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition is given in the 'Kysas al-anbiya' by

Rabguzi, and the minimum in the 'Codex Cumanicus' and the 'Irshad al-muluk'.

The morphological characteristics of the languages in the written sources show that they are a reflexion of common patterns in the formation of the language in the Golden Horde period.

A review of the morphological categories leads to the following conclusions. The systematic study of declination in the language of the written sources and comparison of all data obtained from the analysis of each written source, with all the coincidences and differences recorded enable us to claim that precisely in the 14th century the initial transition from the Uighur-Kipchak declination into the Kipchak declination occurred. By classifying attributes, the Uighur-Kipchak and Kipchak declinations are presented with consonantal forms. The same forms are used in the possessive-nominal paradigm.

The Uighur-Kipchak declination is in the language of the 'Kysas al-anbiya' by Rabguzi, the 'Nakhj al-Faradis' by Mahmud Bulgari, the 'Khosrow-va-Shirin' by Qutb. The Kipchak declination is dominant in the language of the 'Gulistan bi-t-turki' by Sarai, the 'Muhabbat-name' by Khwarezmi, the 'Djumdjuma Sultan' by Kyatib, the 'Kisekbash kitabi', the 'Codex Cumanicus' and the 'Irshad al-muluk'.

Analysing the tense system in the language of the Golden Horde written sources shows that this system, together with stable fundamental components from the earlier stages of development of the Turkic languages and mostly reflecting the Kara-Khanid-Uighur tradition, in the Volga areal, like the system of declination, go through obvious changes by including in it new local regional Kipchak forms. Typically the language of different written sources depicts different stages of these dynamics (compare the NF and MN languages).

As for non-finite forms of the verb, of particular interest is the distribution of the participial forms in the attributive function in the language of different written sources. It should be noted that in the texts there are all the forms of the participles known in the history of the Turkic languages from the period studied: **-r**, **-yan**, **-an**, **-myş**, **-yu**, **-yuçy**, **-duq**, **daçy**, **-asy**.

As seen, among them there are some forms typical of the Oghuz and Uighur-Oghuz, Karluk linguistic groups and the language of the Kipchak group. The Oghuz and Uighur forms are the most peripheral among the non-finite attributive forms: **-an**, **-asy**, **-yu**, **duq**, **yuçy**, **-daçy**. The main rivalry in the attributive function is noticed between the highly frequent **-yan** and **-myş**. And in the language of some sources, their proportion by frequency usage is of interest. In general, the dominant form is **-yan**, although the form **-myş** is still perceived by the authors of the sources as its absolute semantic equivalent which could be used in literary texts.

In the field of impersonal substantive forms, the absolutely dominant form is **-maq**, the synonym of which is **-maça**. The form **-maq**, known in a set of Turkic languages, generally characterises the Turkic languages of the Eastern areal, and its fixation in literary written sources is related, probably, to the post-Kara-Khanid period. It became widespread, starting from the language of the Golden Horde and

Chagatai written sources. In the nine sources analysed by us only in the language of the KhSh, MN, Gb, CC, Sh is the new substantive form present **-rça**. It functions more often as the form of the supine, which means that it defines the goal of an action. Despite its low frequency, this form is regional, inherent to the language of the Volga Region, and some Turkic dialects of North Caucasus. So the analysed written sources show us the initial stage this form spreads in the languages of the Volga Region.

The linguistic analysis performed with socio-linguistic contents, on the one hand, allowed us to single out the sources of the Old Tatar literary language, being supported by an uninterrupted literary tradition of Turkic peoples, which came out of the epoch of the Turkic and Uighur khanates; on the other hand, it defined the role of the regional Kipchak koine, which being widespread within the borders of the Golden Horde enormously influenced the old literary written language. In the end, it led to the formation of the Turkic-Tatar literary language of the early period.

§ 5. Literature

Khatip Minnegulov

In the period of its existence (longer than two hundred years) the Golden Horde made significant progress not only in political, economic, social life but also in the spiritual field. The presence of centuries-long rich Turkic, including Bulgar-Khazar, traditions, the prosperity of cities, religious tolerance, good relations with a lot of states, especially with Mamluk Egypt, helped literature develop in the Golden Horde. However, unfortunately, a lot of the written monuments of that period for different reasons were destroyed or ruined. It is understandable as not only the books written on paper but also the magnificent Volga cities with stone and brick constructions were wiped off from the face of the earth by the conquerers.

The Golden Horde written sources known today are works of a varying nature and purpose. They include dictionaries, epitaph-

ic writings, official documents (the khans' yarliqs), scientific treatises, religious books, travelling books, fiction, etc. The overwhelming majority of the works are written in Turkic-Tatar, that is the language of international communication between the Golden Horde and a big part of Eurasia. There are works created in other languages. In particular, the dictionary 'Codex Cumanicus' (1303), compiled in Latin, and others in Persian. The poet Khwarizmi created his poems both in Turki and Farsi. It should be noted that famous thinkers, poets and travelers of the Islamic Orient, such as Qutb al-Din al-Razi, Sa'ad al-Din al-Taftazani, Kamal Khujandi, etc., lived and worked in Sarai for some years. In the travelling notes of ibn Battuta and ibn Arabshah, there are interesting facts about the spiritual life of the Golden Horde, about the high intellectual level of the Sarai scientists, and in