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## Historical Turkic Literary Languages and Khwarezm Turkic

*Tarihî Edebî Türk Dilleri ve Harezmi Türkçesi*

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There are several unresolved problematic issues in Turkology. This is the result of the settlement of Turkic tribes, which were numerous throughout history, over a wide geography. As a result, the formation of different views of scientists on issues such as the formation of different Turkic literary languages, their names, the classification of historical and modern Turkic languages, etc. In the literary languages that emerged in these regions, Turkic tribes and various dialectal (Koine) factors appeared. For a century, scientists have not come to a unanimous agreement on the naming of the medieval literary Turkic languages. The article presents the opinions of various scholars about the Middle Turkic period, Turkic literary languages in the Middle Ages, Khwarezm and Golden Horde Turkic and works, and their solutions are sought.

Key Words: Turkic literary languages, classification, Khwarezm Turkic, Middle Turkic period.

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## Introduce

A wide area of distribution, different historical conditions, different religious beliefs, a large number of Turkic tribes - each of the listed factors has had its impact on the historically created Turkic literary languages. For this reason, the classification of Turkic languages and the naming of Turkic literary languages have been the object of discussion for many years, and various scientific considerations and opinions among researchers for a century have not been able to determine a common result. It should be noted that many articles have been written and discussions held in this direction. Soviet Turkologists Radlov, Malov, Batmanov, Berezin, Korsh, Katanov, Ilminskiy, Aristov, Samoylovich, Bogoroditsky, foreign researchers Balbi, Remuza, Palmlada, Vamberi, Winkler, Foy, Rakhmati, Ligeti, Räsänen, Ramstedt, (Baskakov 2008: 94-95) in Turkey Banguoglu, Caferoglu, Arat, Ata, in Azerbaijan Chobanzade, Zeynalov, Jafarov and others, no unanimity in the classifications presented by others, each researcher has his own division and various disagreements.

The main problem in the presented classifications is that historical processes are not taken into account in some divisions. According to Kashgari, who was the first to classify Turkic languages, many researchers have grouped them according to the areas where the Turks live, some of them only from the ethno-genealogical point of view, others only from the historical point of view or simply based on phonetic, lexical-grammatical differences. Of course, when classifying the history of the language, it is impossible to draw a border with a jeweler's precision into its periods. It is for this reason those different opinions have arisen regarding the division and naming of Turkic languages into certain periods.

### Middle period in the classification of Turkic languages

As is known, the first scientific classification of Turkic languages was given by Berezin (1848: 25-26). Using Berezin's division, later Radloff added phonetic features, Korsh added phonetic and morphological features and divided Turkic languages into groups. Samoylovich, who is valued as one of the best classifications, made the grouping only phonetic, Baskakov more ancient Turkic languages, Arat the phonetics of ancient Turkic dialects, Menges geographically, Malov from the point of view of the archaisms of Turkic languages, and Tekin

noted the periods of Turkic languages based on the Samoylovich division, etc. Sherbak *On the classification of Turkic languages. Goals and Principles*, he provided extensive information and comments on the classifications of Turkic languages by famous scholars of his time (see for more details: Sherbak, 1994: 12-23).

Among the scholars who group the Turkic languages according to historical stages, there are different opinions on the definition of the ancient and middle Turkic period. Thus, some researchers extended the ancient Turkic era to the Mongol invasion, that is, to the XIII century, and from the XII-XIII centuries of the Middle Ages; others try to prove that the middle period of Turkic languages began in the Xth-XIth centuries, based on the acceptance of Islam by the Turks. For example, Baskakov presented (1981: 25) the following classification based on Turkic written literary languages: I. Hun period (up to the 5th century AD): eastern and western Hun written languages II. Ancient Turkic period (VI-IX centuries): Eastern and Western Turkic written languages III. Middle Turkic period (X-XIV centuries). IV. New Turkic period (XV-XIX centuries). V. The latest Turkic period (XIX-XX centuries). As we have seen, Baskakov covers the Middle Turkic period in the X-XIV centuries and divides this period into two groups: A. Pre-Mongol (X-XII) and B. Post-Mongol period (XIII-XIV).

This is how Caferoglu presented (1984: 51-52) the division of historical Turkic languages - 1. Altai period, 2. Oldest Turkic period, 3. First Turkic period, 4. Old Turkic period, 5. Middle Turkic period, 6. New Turkic period, 7. Modern (newest) Turkic period presented the division. Later, he attributed the Xth-XVIth centuries to the Middle Turkic period and wrote about this period: “*The Middle Turkic period was the period between Turkic, which we call Common Asian Turkic for the literary dialect of the Central Asian Turkic tribes, and what we call “Common Anatolian and Azerbaijani Turkic” in the areas ruled by the Seljuks and Ottomans. organizing literary dialects.*”

Tenishev also writes (1997: 35) that the middle period of the Turkic languages starts from the Xth century and divides the periodization into 3 parts: the ancient Turkic period (XVth centuries), the middle Turkic period (Xth-XVth centuries) and the new Turkic period (XVth-XXth centuries).

Kormushin’s book *Ancient Turkic Languages* noted (2004: 14) that a new epoch in the history of Turkic languages opened with the acceptance of Islam by

the Turks. He calls this period covering the XIth-XIVth centuries the stage of medieval regional Turkic literary languages, which was a time period that was still mainly connected to the ancient Turkic language, but which already laid the groundwork for the emergence of future national literary languages.

According to Heyet: “*Old Turkic; it consists of Köktürk, Uyghur and old Kyrgyz languages and is the language of pre-Islamic Turks with a history of more than 1500 years*” (2011: 51), while Middle Turkic “*is the official language of the Karakhanid state as a continuation of old Turkic. From this Turkic dialect, which was the common literary language of Central Asia for a long time, Kashgar, Khwarezm and Chagatai dialects were formed in three separate periods and in three separate cultural centers*” (2011: 69). Also, Jafarov (2005: 23) presented ancient Turkic in the time period up to the Xth century: “*ancient Turkic is a manifestation of a dialectal (almost literary) language developed as a written language in the Vth-Xth century... The successor of ancient Turkic*” Turki (literary language of all Turks) is a manifestation of a more literary language that existed in the later period of the Middle Ages, covering a wider geography, with more possibilities of stylization.

Zeynalov gave (1981: 14) the ancient Turkic era as the Vth-Xth, and the Middle Turkic era between the Xth-XVth centuries. By the term *Old Turkic* (ancient), Tekin (1976: 143) refers to the Turkic language before the Turks accepted Islam, and it is assisted by Köktürk and Uyghur.

Gabain, who wrote (1950) about the grammar of ancient Turkic, also wrote only about the grammar of Köktürk and Old Uyghur monuments in his book *Alttürkische Grammatik Mit bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnis, auch Neutürkisch*.

Thus, some researchers consider the X-XI centuries as the beginning of the middle period of Turkic languages, the period of the spread of Islam among the Turks. However, Rona-Tas, Johanson, Erdal and other linguists are of the opinion that the middle period of Turkic languages began in the XIIIth century, after the Mongol invasion (Ata, 2010: 32).

As is known, the Mongol invasion has a special and important place in the history of Turkic languages. It is for this reason that Turkic languages are also involved in research with pre-Mongolian and post-Mongolian periodization. For example, Ata defines (2010: 36) the boundary between the ancient and Middle

Ages of Turkic languages with the Mongol movement. So that, he considers the period after Goyturk, Uyghur and Karakhanid Turkic as *the starting point of the Middle Turkic period* and writes that the middle period of the Turkic thus language began in the XIIIth century with the Mongol movement.

Banguoglu also attributes (1964: 77) the old Turkic expression to the VII-XIII centuries. Also, Radloff noted (1911, 452) that the second period of the Turkic languages, after the ancient period, began in the XIIIth century.

Ergin used (1993: 11-12) the term *Old Turkic* to indicate the period from the 8th to the XIIth-XIIIth centuries, and after that, he wrote that Turkic appeared in various written languages.

Karamanlioglu, in turn, classified (1972: 21-22) the ancient (old) and new eras of the Turkic language as follows, 1. Altaic era (Mother Altaic), 2. Oldest Turkic era (Proto-Turkic), 3. First Turkic era 4. Old Turkic era (Köktürk, Uyghur), 5. Middle Turkic period, 6. New Turkic period, 7. Newest (modern) Turkic period. In this classification, he noted that the ancient (old) Turkic period was between the VIth and Xth centuries, and the middle Turkic period was between the XIth and XVth centuries.

Korkmaz writes (1995: 209) about the XIth century of the Turkic language as follows: “*The period between the 6th and XIth centuries of the Turkic language, despite some phonetic, morphological and lexical differences due to various factors, generally followed one branch in terms of language structure and historical development conditions. period*”.

From the classifications given as an example, it is concluded that the researchers divided into two sides when dividing the ancient and Middle Ages in the division of Turkic languages: 1. The ancient Turkic period covers the 8th-Xth centuries, until the acceptance of Islam by the Turks. Here, the middle Turkic period begins from the Xth or XIIth centuries; 2. Ancient Turkic is the stage before the VIII-XIII centuries, in other words, the period before the Mongol invasion. In this division, the researchers defend the idea that the middle period of Turkic languages began in the XIIIth century.

In the Turkology of modern Turkiye, the opinion that the middle period of Turkic languages began with Khwarezm Turkic, that is, in the XIIIth century,

prevails. Thus, the opinions in the collection of articles *The First Phase of the Middle Turkic Period: Problems and Solutions of Khwarezm Turkic* published (Şimşek 2021) under the editorship of Şimşek, among the latest publications, are a proof of this.

In general, both the acceptance of Islam by the Turks and the Mongol invasion affected the life, living, history, literature, language, etc. of the Turkic languages. Influenced, both factors created a turning point in the history of the Turks. According to those who extend the ancient Turkic period to the XIIIth century, our written monuments of the XIth century, Karakhanid Turkic, are a continuation of the ancient Turkic, traces of the old Turkic have been preserved here, and therefore the ancient period should be recorded up to the XIIIth century. In fact, not only Karakhanid Turkic, but all middle or modern Turkic literary languages did not appear suddenly and, of course, were formed, matured and developed against the background of the literary language that preceded it. If we accept that the middle period of Turkic languages began in the XIIIth century, then we do not draw a boundary between the language of the Orkhon-Yenisei monuments and Karakhanid, and we attribute both to the ancient period, which I think is not true. Because when we examine the language of works of the XIth century, we come across so many different features in a single lexicon that, in my opinion, it would be more appropriate to separate the period after the Xth century with the adoption of Islam by the Turks from ancient Turkic and call the beginning of Islamic Turkic literature (XIth century) the middle period.

### **Khwarezm Turkic in periodization and naming of historical Turkic literary languages**

The spread of Turks over a wide geographical area throughout history, their large number, the formation of unique features in the language of each tribe, the simultaneous processing of elements of different tribes in the language in some periods, the adoption of different religions by Turks and the new lexical units brought by this religion, etc. such factors have complicated the naming of Turkic literary languages. So, along with different opinions on the historical periodization of Turkic languages, the issue of naming historical Turkic literary languages also remains controversial and unresolved. In order to correctly name the historical Turkic literary languages, in which periods and in which areas

these literary languages were active, and to correctly determine the written monuments of each literary language, the linguistic characteristics of each tribe and tribal associations should be reviewed both separately and as a whole, the period attention should be paid to the historical conditions. Thus, in the scientific literature, one historical Turkic literary language is classified according to the geographical area (for example, the Western Turkic language), another by the name of the state (for example, Karakhanid Turkic), and another by the name of the tribe (for example, Kipchak Turkic) or in a mixed case (for example, Mamluk-Kipchak Turkic) which, in our opinion, is not the correct method. Because there should be a system in the naming of historical Turkic literary languages.

According to Jafarov (2005: 21), the dialectical (almost literary) language manifestations that spread widely in Central Asia in the Vth-Xth century were the source for the formation of Turkic; Observations on the language of the written monuments (ancient Turkic written monuments) of that period show that *“ancient Turkic (written Turkic before Turkiye) had a fairly high level of normativity and was not the language of a tribe that had reached some political hegemony, or a mechanical collection of various Turkic tribal languages, but a perfect, is a centralized, even conservative epic language”*. Hajiyevev wrote (2012/1: 76) about the importance of considering what points should be considered in the periodization of the literary language of Azerbaijan (this should be considered when compiling the periodization of literary languages in general): *“Periodicalization of the history of literary language has the scientific and theoretical importance of determining the relationship between the language and history of the people, the spirituality and material culture, the way of thinking and the economic life conditions, the artistic thought and the intellectual level”*. Therefore, all the factors listed above should be considered when defining the literary language.

Tenishev noted (2021: 30) that several literary languages appeared in the course of the development of the Turkic language: I. The language of the Orkhon monuments, which is the first literary written version, II. Ancient Uyghur literary language, III. Karakhanid literary language, IV. Khwarezm literary language, V. Chagatai literary language, VI. Turki literary language, VII. Seljuk, Mamluk-Kipchak, Bulgar literary language, etc.

The oldest Turkic works that have come down to our time belong to the 8th century and are known to be the monuments we call Orkhon-Yenisei. Almost all researchers call this period the ancient Turkic period and consider the language in which the monuments were written to be the first written literary version of ancient Turkic. There are several ideas about the ancient Turkic language: a) the language of the Orkhon-Yenisei monuments is a combination of dialects and dialects; b). the beginning of Turkic languages is the language of their ancestors; c) dialectal (koine) and is the embodiment of a single language used by different tribes, in other words, here the literary language is distinguished from the spoken language (the last opinion belongs to Malov and Radlov) (Tenishev, 2021: 32). Speaking about this language, Radlov called it *a literary language based on several dialects* (Kormushin, 2021: 45).

Tenishev writes (1997: 35) that “*runic writing is called the language of monuments (runic koine) - the first literary written version, and this language was created with the participation of Uyghur and Kipchak, based on Oghuz*”. According to Kononov (1980: 47), the language of the ancient Turkic monuments contained the most characteristic features of the two largest language groups at that time - the Uyghur and Oghuz languages. Samoylovich (2005: 939) is in favor of calling the Islamic era a common Central Asian literary Turkic (not Chagatai or Eastern Turkic) and showing several stages within this era: The first stage is the Karakhanids, the second is Oghuz-Kipchak, and the third is Chagatai.

Although many researchers note that the period of Chagatai began in the XIIIth century, Samoylovich emphasized (2005: 61) that it would be correct to attribute the term Chagatai to the XVth-XXth centuries at the beginning of the XXth century. Eckmann, like Samoylovich, divides the literary language of Central Asia into three periods: 1. Karakhanid or Khaganiya Turkic (XIth-XIIIth centuries), 2. Khwarezm Turkic (XIVth century), 3. Chagatai Turkic (XVth-early XXth centuries) (Ercilasun 2004: 408).

Zayonchkovski (1967: 85) also groups the languages of the Turkic monuments written in the medieval Muslim era (approximately XI-XVI centuries) in terms of historical-regional structure as follows: 1. Karakhanid Turkic, 2. Khwarezm-Golden Horde and Mamluk (Kipchak), 3. Chagatai (Eastern Turkic) and 4. Anatolian-Ottoman (Oghuz) Turkic.



Tenishev writes (1997: 33-34) about the formation of the ancient Uyghur literary language after the language of the Orkhon monuments: “on the basis of the runic koine (the language of the Orkhon monuments) understood by the general public (on the condition that its Oghuz-Uyghur layer is preserved from the runic koine) a new literary language - Turkic Uyghur language was born”, “the ancient Uyghur language was well known to other Turkic tribes, and later, this ancient Uyghur literary language took part in the formation of other literary languages”.

After the ancient Uyghur literary language, in the XI-XII centuries, under different historical conditions, the Karakhanid state’s own literary language was formed. This literary language is called by different names in historical works: Karakhanid Turkic (in *Divanu Lugat-it-Turk*), Bugrakhan language (in *Kutadgu Bilig*), Kashgar language (in *Atabatu’l-hakayik*).

In the verse preface attached to Yusuf Balasagunlu’s poem *Kutadgu Bilig*, which is considered the first example of Turkic-Islamic literature, the following information is given about the language of the work: *çin-ü maçin ‘alimleri ve hâkimleri kamuğ ittifağ boldılar kim meşriğ vilâyetinde kamuğ türkistan illerinde buğra han tilinçe türk luğatinçe bu kîtabdın yaqşırak hergiz kim erse taşnıf kılmađı* (Arat, 1947: 5) “All the scholars and judges of China and Machin agreed that in the eastern province, in all the lands of Turkistan, in the Bugrakhan language, in Turkic, a better book than this book has not been classified by anyone”.

There is a verse written by Arslan Khodja Tarhan on the copy of Mahmud Yügneki’s *Atabatu’l-hakayik*. In this appendix, Arslan Hodja wrote about the language of the work and emphasized that Yungneki wrote in the Kashgar language (*tamamı erür kaşğari til bile* [Arat, 1992: 50]).

Kashgari, who conducted (DLT 1995) the first comparative study of Turkic languages, gave information about Turkic tribal languages in the XIth century mainly from two perspectives: 1. by the name of tribal languages, 2. as the language of the people of a certain geographical area. If we make a table of what the scientist said, then we will see such a picture:

Urban (i.e., sedentary) tribes	Argu	The height of a bilingual Turk*	
	Sogd	Balasagun, a Turkicized tribes (bilingual) living between Bukhara and Samarkand	
	Kenchek	Bilingual Turks tribe. His language is not pure.	
	Hoten	The name of a region and city between the Indus and Kashgar. They have different languages and writings; they cannot speak Turkic well. This language is influenced by Indian languages.	
	Tübüt (Tibet)	They have separate languages and writings; they cannot speak Turkic well	
	Tangut	A Turk tribe living near China	
	Uyghur	It is pure Turkic, but there is also a dialect that they use among themselves. There are two scripts: 1) Turkic script with 24 letters, 2) the script used by the Chinese	
Nomad tribes	Chomul	Turkic tribes. Although they have a different dialect, they know Turkic well	
	Kay		
	Yabagu		
	Tatar		
	Basmyl		
	Kyrgyz		Turkic tribes. They only speak Turkic
	Kıphchak		
	Oghuz	the simplest	
	Tohsi	the most	
	Yaghma	correct	
	Chigil		
	Oghrak		
	Charuk		
	Yemek	They are Turkic tribes. Their languages are close to the above Turkic tribal languages (Kyrgyz, Kyfchak, Oghuz...)	
	Bashkir	They are Turkic tribes. They shorten the end of many words.	
	Bulgar		
	Suvar		

\* English translation and tabulation are the author's.

	Khaganiya people	The most proper, fluent and less influenced language
	Balasagun people	They speak both Sogdian and Turkic
	The peoples living along the rivers Artish, Ila, Atil up to the Uyghur cities	Proper Turkic language
	Peoples living in Argu cities from Ispicab (now Chimkend) to Balasagun	Their languages are mixed

Thus, the language of the XIth-XIIIth century monuments, which appears in historical monuments as Bugrakan language, Karakhanid Turkic, and Kashgar language, and is more commonly known as Karakhanid Turkic in modern times, is also expressed in other terms in the scientific literature: Karakhanid-Uyghur, Eastern Turkic (Brockelman), Oghuz-Kipchak, Uyghur-Kipchak (Samoylovich), Karluk-Khwarezm (Baskakov), Karluk-Uyghur (Najib), Karakhanid-Kashgar (Reshetov), Old Turkic and etc (Abduraxmanov, 1996: 64).

The literary language that came after Karakhanid Turkic is called Khwarezm Turkic and spans the XIIIth-XIVth centuries. The term *Khwarezm Turkic* was first encountered in Ali Shir Navai's (Navoi, 1970: 14, Levend, 1968: 72) tazkira book *Majalisun-nafayis*. In this book, he gave information about how Mawlana Huseyn Kharazmi wrote a commentary on *Kasidayi-Burda* with *Harizmiçe Türki Tili* 'Kharizm Turkic language'.

Khwarezm Turkic is also called variously in scientific literature: (for the XIIIth-XIVth centuries) Karluk-Kharazm, Eastern Turkic, Middle Turkic, Oghuz-Kipchag, Golden Horde or Kharazm-Golden Horde (Fazilov, 1996: 139).

Although there are different ideas about the naming of Khwarezm Turkic belonging to the southeastern group of the XIII-XIV centuries, two opinions regarding this literary language have been accepted unambiguously by scholars: Khwarezm Turkic is a continuation of Karakhanid Turkic. For example,

according to E. Fazilov (1996: 140) Khwarezm Turkic belongs to the southeastern group of Turkic languages, but due to a number of phonetic and morphological features, it is also related to Karakhanid-Uyghur, which belongs to the northeastern group. Baskakov called (2008: 175-176) the language of Ahmed Yasavi *Divani-hikmat* and Yasavi's successors Karakhanid-Khwarezm or Oghuz-Kipchak literary language, which arose in Khwarezm in the twelfth century, based on the living Oghuz-Kipchak dialects and the Karakhanid literary language. Eckmann also writes (2017: 1) “*We call the stage of the development of the Central Asian Turkic (Eastern Middle Turkic) literary language, which was partially influenced by the local dialects of Oghuz and Kipchak in the lower part of Khwarezm and Syr Darya from the XIIIth century, which was formed from Karakhanid, and we call it Khwarezm Turkic*”. The second opinion, as mentioned above by Baskakov and Eckman, is that the Oghuz and Kipchak tribes were mainly involved in the formation of Khwarezm Turkic. Because when the language of the written monuments of the aforementioned period is examined, it can be seen that Oghuz elements are more prominent in one part and Kipchak elements in the other (compared to other tribal languages).

It is noticeable that there are fewer Uyghur elements in the texts written in Kharazm. Koine seems to have more polished, stylistic variants in the genres of poetry and prose (Tenishev, 2021: 36).

The Oghuz were a Turkic tribe spread over a wide area. In the Xth century, the Oghuz tribes were en masse on both sides of the Syr Darya, mainly in the areas extending from the right side to the north. Even this spread was in such a wide area that the Islamic geographers of the Xth century named the vast desert north of Injin (Syr Darya) and east of the Caspian Sea as *Oghuz Desert* (Sümer: 135). At that time, the Oghuz bordered with Khwarezm, Mavaraunnahr and Khorasan (see photo 1).

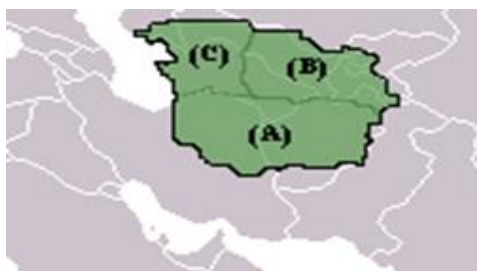


photo 1. (A) Khorasan, (B) Mavaraunnahr, (C) Khwarezm

The Arab geographer and traveler of the Xth century, Istakhri, writes (Aqadjanov, 1969: 178) that all the borders of Mavaraunnahr are a war zone: Guz Turks (i.e., Oghuz) from Khwarezm to Isfijab (ancient name of Sayram city in North Kazakhstan-A.M.), with Karluk Turks from Isfijab to the remotest parts of Ferghana. It also states that the lands of the Oghuz reached the borders of Taraz in the east. “*From here, the borders of the Oghuz extended in the form of an arc around Farab, Biskent, Samarkand, Bukhara and Khwarezm to the Aral Sea*” (Aqadjanov, 1969: 177). Of course, under such historical and geographical conditions, it is natural that the Oghuz played a key role in the formation of the emerging Turkic literary languages.

In general, the Oghuz, Uyghur and Kipchak tribes (provided that the role of other Turkic tribes is also taken into account) played a key role in the formation of almost all historical literary languages. However, the aforementioned tribes determined the formation of different characteristics in the new literary language that arose depending on the environment and historical conditions in which they fell in a certain period, the geographical area where they spread, which state they were part of, which geography they migrated from, and which Turkic tribes they mixed with.

Apparently, the century-long controversy has not yet been resolved. Of course, any literary language or the language of the work should mention the more prominent tribal language, but it is not correct to call literary languages by tribal language. In our opinion, it would be more appropriate to call these languages from a historical-regional perspective: Karakhan Turkic, Khwarezm Turkic, Mamluk Turkic, etc.

### **Khwarezm and Golden-Horde (Kharazm) Turkic**

The Khwarezm written language was not limited to the borders of the Khwarezm region, it reached the regions under the rule of the Golden Horde in the north, the Seljuk in the west, and the Mamluk states in the Middle East (Öztürk, 2021: 5). However, Khwarezm Turkic did not appear in the same literary language structure in these listed regions. In general, it is difficult to find and generalize general literary language norms in the language of works written in regions, because various factors (the area where the work was written, the place where the author was born and grew up and later moved to another place, etc.)

had more or less influence on the language of each author. For example, the Khwarezm region, which belonged to the Khwarezm shahs, became part of the Golden Horde (Juchi nation) after the Mongol invasion. If the main capital during the Kharazmshahs was Urgench (Samarkand at a certain time), after the Mongol invasion, Saray became the capital of the Golden Horde empire, which was established including Kharazm. Of course, it is a well-known fact that the newly founded Turkic empires and their capitals attracted writers, poets and artists living in other places. A creative person felt it his duty to be in the cultural center. Thus, since the XIVth century, many scientists, writers, poets and artists came from Khwarezmt to the western cultural center of the Juchi Empire, encouraging the expansion of the literary language of Khwarezm Turkic and writing works in this language (Eckmann, 2017: 2). For example, as the name suggests, Seyfi Sarayi was born in Saray, the capital of the Golden Horde. Banarly noted (1971: 361) that he was in Kharazm, the Golden Horde, Kipchak regions, and finally he came to Egypt and wrote his valuable works in the Mamluk area. In other words, Turkic poets and writers who came to any region presented in their works a mixture of the language characteristics of the places where they lived (or the tribe they belonged to) and the Turkic tribes of the area they came from. That is why sometimes the works written in the Mamluk, Golden Horde, and Khwarezm regions are given under Khwarezm Turkic, but this does not exactly reflect the reality. Because according to each region, the literary language has brought its own characteristics to the fore.

That is why researchers such as Ata (2002; 2014), Ünlü (2012), Agca (2020) prefer to be called Khwarezm and Kharazm-Altyn Horde Turkic (Öztürk, 2021:5). Ata grouped the works written in the Golden Horde as follows:

Khwarezm Turkic works: *Kıyasu'l-enbiya*, *Nahju'l-faradis*, "*Mukaddimatu'l-edeb*, *Muynu'l-murid* and Interlineal Translation of the Qur'an.

Kharazm-Golden Horde Turkic works: Kutub's *Khosrow and Shirin*, *Mahabbatname*, *Siraju'l-kulüb*, *Mirajname*, *Dastani-jumjuma*, *Yarlık* and *Bitiks*.

Kharazm and Syrdarya, which for a long time were politically connected with the Golden Horde, defended their values during the Golden Horde as well (Eckmann, 2017: 2). According to the Italian turcologist Alessio Bombaci (1956, Eckmann 2017: 2) the Turkic language used in the Golden Horde was a local Kipchak dialect, separate from Khwarezm Turkic.

Turks had such strong cultural and moral characteristics and language that they naturally assimilated the other peoples who occupied it. Arab scholar Ibn Fazlulah al-Omari writes about the natural assimilation of the Mongols of the Red Army by the Kipchaks in his work *Masaliku'l-ebshar fi memâliki'l-emshar*: “In ancient times, this state was the country of the Kipchaks. However, when the Tatars (that is, the Mongols) invaded the region, the Kipchaks became their subjects. Then they (Mongols) mixed with them (Kipchaks) and became relatives, and the land overcame their (Mongols) natural characteristics and ethnicity, and they all became completely like Kipchaks, as if they belonged to the same tribe” (Qriqoryev, 1977: 82).

Therefore, the languages of the monuments written in the Middle Ages should be considered as historical and geographical variants of a common Turkic literary language. Therefore, in addition to differences in literary languages from a geographical point of view, parallel impressions are manifested in the language of works from a phonetic, lexical and morphological point of view.

#### **Works written in Khwarezm Turkic**

Among scholars, there are disagreements on the question of which literary language should be attributed to works written in the Middle Ages. The fact that there are more similarities than differences in the language of the written monuments, the parallel development of various tribal language features in phonetics, lexis, and morphology makes it difficult to assign these works to which Turkic literary language and to group them. What we have said also applies to the research object of Khwarezm Turkic and works written in that literary language. In the works written in Khwarezm Turkic, from the phonetic, grammatical and lexical point of view, the characteristics characteristic of Karakhanid Turkic, as well as the elements of Oghuz and Kipchak are mixed. Therefore, the language of the works written in the Middle Ages was named by scholars with different terms, and the works were grouped in different ways. Fazilov (1974: 15), a researcher of Old Uzbek, wrote: “among the main and unsolved problems of Turkology is the language of the works of Khwarezm of the XIVth century, because the research allows to obtain more general conclusions about the relationship of many language groups”. As Argunshah also mentioned (2020: 54), none of the works written in this period are the same. Differences in the phonetic,

morphological, and lexical layers are evident, so it is impossible to speak of a pure Khwarezm Turkic.

In general, some researchers attribute the works written in the XIVth century to the Khwarezm Turkic, while others place some of these works in Karakhanid, Golden Horde, Mamluk or Chagatai Turkic. For example, Fazilov wrote (1996: 140) about the mixed grammatical and lexical norms of Karakhanid-Uyghur, Oghuz, and Kipchak features in the language of works that he considered to be a product of Khwarezm Turkic. Later, he emphasized that in the works *Khosrow and Shirin* and *Nahju'l-faradis* by Kutub, more Karakhanid Turkic was used (in any case, Karakhanid Turkic had already become archaic at the time of writing the work) with Oghuz and Kipchak elements, and in the translation *Mahabbatnama* by Khwarezmi and *Gulistan* by Seyfi Sarai, Oghuz-Kipchak elements are more noticeable (and that Oghuz features are even more noticeable). Thus, he mentioned Seyfi Sarayi's *Gulistan* translation, Kharazmi's *Mahabbatnama*, Kutub's *Khosrow and Shirin* as XIVth century Khwarezm monuments with the old Uzbek name.

Baskakov introduced (2008: 177) the language of *Nahju'l-faradis*, *Mahabbatnama*, *Khosrow and Shirin*, *Mirajnama* as the literary language of the Golden Horde; *Mukaddimatu'l-edeb*, *Yusuf and Zuleyha*, *Oghuzname* as the literary language of the Chagatai Ulus. Sherbak attributes (1962: 21-22) Kutub and Khwarezmi to the Golden Horde period. Samoylovich (2005: 909, 912), on the other hand, distinguishes Khwarezmi's *Mahabbatnama* from the Chigatai language and considers them important works of the literary language and literature of the Juchi Ulus. He also wrote on page 909 of the article entitled *History of Turkic literatures and history of literary languages* of the published collection of articles that "Kutub's work *Khosrow and Shirin* from the XIVth century monuments is very important for evaluating the high culture of the Golden Horde, as well as for studying the literary language and literature of the Juchi nation". But then on page 912 of the same article, he called Kutub's work *Khosrow and Shirin* "a mixed type of Uyghur-Kipchak language that is not fully defined".

Jafarov noted (2005: 23-24) the Eastern (or Turkestan) Turki in the regional manifestations that emerged as a result of the ethno-social processes of the Turkic that was formed in the XI-XIIth centuries: And attributed the written



monuments *Mahabbatnama* (XIIIth century), *Kisasu'l-enbiya* (XIVth century) and *Mukaddimatu'l-edeb* (XIVth century) to the Oghuz monuments, *Nahju'l-faradis* (XIVth century) to the Kipchak monuments, Sayfi Sarai's *Gulistan bit-Turk* (XIVth century) and Kutub's *Khosrow and Shirin* (XIVth century) to the Turki of the Northwestern (Kipchak).

Banarlı showed (1983: 354-357) that one of the dialects he collected under the general name of Central Asian Turkic was “a dialect formed by the combination of *Khaganiya Turkic* and *Oghuz-Kipchak Turkic* in *Khwarezm* in the XIVth century” (i.e., Khwarezm Turkic - MA). He included here Rabguzi, the first major author of works written in Khwarezm, and his works *Kisasu'l-enbiya*, *Muynu'l-murid* of Islam, *Nahju'l-faradis* of Kardarli Mahmud, and *Khosrow and Shirin* of Kutub, *Mahabbatnama* of Khwarezmi and *Jumjumanama* of Katib he included to the Golden Horde works.

Ercilasun (2004: 373-386) relates *Mukaddimetu'l-edeb*, *Kisasu'l-enbiya*, *Khosrow and Shirin* by Kutub, *Mahabbatnama*, *Nahju'l-faradis*, *Jumjumanama*, *Mirajnama*, *Translation of the Koran*, *Yarlık* (decree) and *Bitik* (letter) of the Golden Horde to works in Khwarezm-Turkic (two *Yarlık* and one *Bitik*, which belong to the end of the XIVth - beginning of the XVth century, belong to the Khwarezm Turkic language, stocks of the Chagatai period). In addition, Ercilasun also provided the Istanbul copy of Ibni Muhanna's dictionary, which is included in Azerbaijani-Turkic works, in Khwarezm-Turkic (Ercilasun, 2004: 385). It should be noted that Melioransky, Inan, Malov, Hajiyev and other researchers noted that the Ibni Muhanna dictionary was written in Azerbaijani.

Koprulu (1980: 285-309) under the title *Turkic works in Kharazm* includes *Kisasu'l-enbiya*, *Muynu'l-murid*, *Javahiru'l-esrar*, *Nahju'l-faradis*, *Khosrow and Shirin*, *Mahabbatnama*, *Jumjumanama* written in the area of the Golden Horde. Zayonchkovsky (1967: 89) also attributes Kutub's work *Khosrow and Shirin* to the literature of the Golden Horde.

Hacieminoglu (2000: X), who studied the language features of Kutub's work *Khosrow and Shirin*, wrote that “*Khosrow and Shirin*, which is accepted as “Kipchak” in the Golden Horde area, bears the characteristics of both the Khwarezm written language and the Chigatai language”.

Argunşah noted (2020: 54-56) that *Mukaddimatu'l-edeb*, *Kıyasu'l-enbiya*, *Muynu'l-murid*, *Nahju'l-faradis*, *Khosrow and Shirin*, *Mahabbatname*, *Siraju'l-kulub*, *Mirajhname*, dictionary *Ibni Muhanna* and the translation of the Qur'an were written in Khwarezm Turkic. Guldan Sagol (2002: 805) also included *Mukaddimatu'l-edeb*, *Kıyasu'l-enbiya*, *Muynu'l-murid*, *Nahju'l-faradis*, *Kutub's Khosrow and Shirin*, *Mahabbatnama*, *Mirajnama* and translations of the Qur'an in Khwarezm Turkic.

Eckmann calls (2017: 4) *Kıyasu'l-enbiya* and *Muynu'l-murid* works in Khwarezm Turkic, and *Kutub* a poet of the Golden Horde. Samoylovich wrote (2005: 60) that *Kıyasu'l-Enbiya* language is closer to Karakhanid Turkic, and therefore it is not correct to call it Chagatai Turkic.

Finally, a few points should be noted. Firstly, it is that the adoption of Islam by the Turks influenced both their way of life and their language. Therefore, it is necessary to separate Old Turkic from Middle Turkic and start it from the Xth-XIth century, and it does not make sense to extend the ancient period to the XIIIth century. Secondly, Turkic languages spread over a wide area formed a new literary language according to the historical conditions in each period. Although phonetically, lexically, and morphologically parallel elements are used in these literary languages, it is possible to see the dialectical koine of each literary language. Thirdly, the naming of these literary languages should be systematic (that is, it is not correct to name one geographically, another historically, and another by the name of the state). And lastly, after examining all these different opinions and considering the language of the works, we considered it appropriate to attribute the following works to Khwarezm Turkic – *Mukaddimatu'l-edeb*, *Kıyasu'l-enbiya*, *Nahju'l-faradis*, *Muynu'l-murid*, *Interlineal Qur'an translation*, *Istanbul copy of Ibni-Muhanna Dictionary*, *Siracu'l-kulub*.

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