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A NOTE ON OLD TURKIC *taŋlar-**

1. The verb *taŋlar-* appears only once in Old Turkic texts, namely in the twenty-sixth paragraph of the "Book of omens" (*Yrk bitig*, ninth-tenth cent.?), which reads:

:GMK:iDGoĥ:nᛮ¿:uDu:iDuRY:Þiy:uDu:iDRLhĥ:hĥ
Lo:ᛮgD:hilib:aC:Þit:iĥLoB:qRY:azᛮ

t^{a}ŋ **t^{a}ŋl^{a}rdy** udu jir j^{a}rudy udu kün togdy k^{a}m^{a}g üzä j^{a}r^{u}k bolty tir ^{a}nčа biliŋ ^{ä}dgü ol

'Dawn broke, then the earth lightened, then the sun rose. There became light over everything – it says. Thus know: It is good.' (emphasis added)

It is obvious from the context that the verb in question means 'to break (of dawn)', and that it is derived, one way or another, from the noun *taŋ* 'dawn'. Since the suffix *-lar-*, however, is unknown in Old Turkic (or any modern Turkic language, for that matter), it has been attempted to explain this form either as a compound one, or as a scribal error. Thus, Annemarie von Gabain notes in her grammar (1974, 128/§242): "W 38 [= *Yrk bitig*] *t(a)ŋl(a)-rdï* „es hatte (bereits) gedämmert" und MIII 37,4 [= A. v. Le Coq, *Türk. Manichaica aus Chotscho*, III] *tïd-m(a)zdï* „es wurde nicht gehindert" sind ganz vereinzelte Beispiele für die heute übliche Verschleifung des *ärdi*." But it is exactly for this isolatedness that her interpretation seems unlikely. Moreover, in the "Yrk bitig" all verbs ending in a vowel have their aorist formed by means of the suffix *-jur* (*jory-jur* 'to go', *tilä-jür* 'to seek, to want', &c.; altogether 11 verbs in 18 occurrences), with the single exception of *te-r* 'to say' (60 attestations). Consequently, one would expect **taŋlajurdy* < **taŋlajur ärdi*, rather than *taŋlardy* < **taŋlar ärdi*,

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if A. v. Gabain's hypothesis were correct (cf. also the passage from "Kalyānaṃkara and Pāpaṃkara" quoted in footnote 1).

On the other hand, the editors of the "Old Turkic dictionary" (DTS, s.v. *taŋla-* II) and Sir Gerard Clauson (1972, s.v. 1 *taŋ*) suspect here a mere corruption of a form found in "Kalyānaṃkara and Pāpaṃkara" (tenth cent.), namely *taŋla-* 'to dawn, (of dawn) to break' – this, regrettably, being also a hapax legomenon.[1]

2. Marcel Erdal (1977, 97) attempted to give an etymology to this verb, without however ruling out the possibility of a clerical error:

> CLAUSON, sözlüğünde *taŋ taŋlardı* tümcesini yanlış saymaktaysa da olduğu gibi bırakılması belki daha iyidir. *taŋlar-* şeklinde bir eylemin var olduğu düşünülebilir ve eylem olmayan sözcüklerden eylem türeten *+Ar-* ekiyle *taŋıl* ya da **taŋla*'dan türemiş olmalıdır. Birincisi *qız+ıl* ve *yaş+ıl*'a benzer bir yolda *taŋ*'dan gelir. Kâşgari *taŋıl käyik*'i "bacaklarında çizgiler bulunan geyik" diye çevirip *taŋıl* sıfatının başka şeyler için de kullanıldığını ekler. Bu nitelendirme tan vaktinde gökte gördüğümüz çizgilerden gelmiş olmalıdır. Öte yandan **taŋla* şeklinde bir belirteç doğrudan doğruya *tünlä*, *ärtälä* ve *tünçülä* ile karşılaştırılabilir. Çuvaşça *kăntărla* da aynı şekilde *küntüz*'den gelir. Türeyiş ise *kök+är-*, *yürüŋ+är-*, *tün+är-*, *tün qara+r-dı* ve başka birçok eylemde görülür. Bunlarla yetinilmeyip metin değiştirilecekse, CLAUSON'ın görüşünden başka olanaklar da vardır. Örneğin, *taŋ* yanlışlıkla iki kez yazılmışsa *t*[1] *ŋ l*[1] *r*[1] *d*[1] *y taŋ alardı* diye de okunabilir. O halde *alar-*, *al+ar-* diye çözümlenip tümcenin anlamı "Tan kızardı." olmalıdır.[2]

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[1] So, at least, G. Clauson tries to imply (1972, s.v. 1 *taŋla:-*: "N[oted] o[nly] a[s] b[elow]?"), but in fact the verb is encountered in dialectal Turkish: "*tanla=r* 2 طاڭلامق طاڭلمق prov[incial] 'to dawn'" (Redhouse, s.v.) – this may be a later and independent formation, as the suffix *-la-* is very productive in Turkish, although *taŋla-* is present in L. Budagov's dictionary (1869, s.v. طانك), as well: "تانك اتمق، چقمق، تانكلامق свѣтать, разсвѣтать" (emphasis added).
M. Erdal's remark: "1 *taŋ+la-* Hap[ax] in KP [= *Kalyānaṃkara and Pāpaṃkara*] in the phrase *taŋ taŋlayur ärkän* 'while it was dawning', clear in the facs[imile]. See the *EDPT* [= Clauson 1972]." (1991, 447 – emphasis added) should perhaps be understood as referring solely to the Old Turkic period.

[2] "Although CLAUSON in his dictionary regards the sentence *taŋ taŋlardy* as an error, it is perhaps better to leave it as it stands. It is possible to consider the existence of a verb *taŋlar-*, derived from *taŋyl* or **taŋla* by means of the suffix *+Ar-*, which forms verbs from non-verbal parts of speech. The former stems from *taŋ* in a way similar to *kyz+yl* and *jaš+yl*. Kāšġarī renders *taŋyl käjik* as 'a deer with stripes on its legs', and adds that the adjective *taŋyl* is used for other things, too. This epithet is to be derived from the stripes that we see at dawn in the sky. On the other hand, one may compare an adverb in the form of **taŋla* directly with *tünlä*, *ärtälä* and *tünčülä*.

Assuming a scribal blunder, and hence introducing the necessity of emendation, is certainly a bold solution and not always can it be sufficiently substantiated. Thus, in what follows only the form as it is attested in the text will be discussed, and the unique attempt to explain it has been suggested by M. Erdal. His etymology, or rather etymologies, can be summarized (with some amendments) as follows:

1. ***taŋlar-*** = ***taŋyl*** 'with stripes on forelegs, striped'[3] (← *taŋ* 'dawn'; cf. *jaš-yl* 'green', *kyz-yl* 'red') + **-(*a*)*r*-** (cf. *jürüŋ-är-* 'to be white', *kök-är-* 'to be, or become, sky-coloured, blue, grey', *tün-är-* 'to be, or become, dark')
2. ***taŋlar-*** = (*)***taŋla*** 'at dawn' (← *taŋ*; cf. *tün-lä*, *tün-čü-lä* 'at night', *čyn-la* 'really, indeed', *jaŋy-la* 'anew') + **-(*a*)*r*-** (as above).

The first explanation is little plausible because *taŋyl*, whether really *taŋyl* or *täŋil*, is clearly distinct in its structure (whatever it may be) from *jašyl* and *kyzyl* (cf. Clauson 1972, s.vv. *yaşıl*, *kızıl*; Erdal 1991, 99-100, 331), and the semantic relationship seems rather far-fetched, too. The second one was later repeated in the same author's "Old Turkic word formation" (Erdal 1991, 502):

> *taŋla+r-* is a hap[ax] in IrqB [= *Yrk bitig*] XXVI in the phrase *taŋ taŋlardı* 'It dawned'. Need not be taken to be an error:[115] Cf. *tün+är-* and *tün kara+r-dı* on the one hand, and *tün+lä*, *tün+çülä* and Chuv. *kăntărla* (from *küntüz*) on the other. There is also a verb *taŋ+la-*, but it too is a hapax.
>
> [115] As the *EDPT* [= Clauson 1972] tacitly does s.v. '1 *taŋla:*'.

This etymology will be a starting point for further considerations which should solve some of its weaknesses.

3. The main problem arising here is that of whether it is possible to derive an *-(a)r-* verb from an adverb in *-la*. The suffix *-(a)r-* seems to be used to create verbs only from nouns or adjectives, therefore it ought not prima facie to appear

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Chuvash *kăntărla* also stems in the same manner from *küntüz*. As for the structure [of *taŋlar-*], it can be seen in *kök+är-*, *jürüŋ+är-*, *tün+är-*, *tün kara+r-dy* and many other verbs. If, not contended with the above, one were to change the text, there are other possibilities than the one expressed by CLAUSON, too. For example, if *taŋ* was by mistake written twice, $t^1 ŋ l^1 r^1 d^1 I$ can also be read *taŋ alardy*. In that case, *alar-* could be analysed as *al+ar-*, and the meaning of the sentence would be 'Dawn reddened'."

[3] DTS, s.v. *teŋil*: "с полосатыми передними конечностями (*об оленях*) (МК III 366)". Clauson 1972, s.v. *taŋıl*: "Hap[ax] leg[omenon]; Pass[ive] Dev[erbal] N[oun]/A[djective] fr[om] **taŋ-** ['to wrap up, tie up tightly (with a cord, bandage, etc.)']; lit. 'corded' or the like. **Xak**[**ani**] XI **taŋıl keyik** *al-ẓabyu'lladī fī yadayhi xuṭūṭ*, 'a gazelle with striped legs'; also used of other (striped) things *Kaş.* III 366".

after *taŋla*.[4] It could, however, do so, had its adverbial nature been no longer felt. It is not possible to examine the linguistic consciousness of the ancient Turks, some evidence can nonetheless be collected. Two arguments which may be decisive here are the age of the formation *taŋla* and its syntactical properties. M. Erdal writes (1991, 403-404):

> *+lA* is evidently a very old formation […] *+lA* forms with local function are not too common […] The most common use of *+lA* is to form temporal *adverbs*. […] *tün+lä* […] *tün+çü+lä* […] When *tünlä* serves as kernel to an izāfet construction, it appears in the locative case form: *tolun ay beş yegirmi tünläsindä kamagun birgärü bir orunda yıgılmış terilmişläri kërgäk* (BT [= *Berliner Turfantexte*] III 60) 'At full moon, on the night of the fifteenth, they should all gather$_2$ at one place'. *taŋ+la* 'at dawn' is quoted in the *EDPT* [= Clauson 1972] only from the XIVth century on; it should, however, be the base of *taŋla+r-*, attested already in the IrqB [= *Yrk bitig*].[5]

Indeed, *taŋla* seems not to appear in texts before the fourteenth century (although other adverbs in *-la* do). But when it finally does so, it already exhibits peculiar syntactic properties, since it behaves both like an adverb (examples are numerous and need not be cited here) and like a regular noun. Two examples, from the Ottoman language, show the usage of *taŋla* with case endings (TS, s.vv. *tañladan*, *tañlaya komak*):

> […] **Tañladan** طكلدن sana Tanrı rızası için afv diler niçin affetmedin, şimdi beni gördünse elin çektin. (*Müneb. XIV-XV. 142-2*)

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[4] All verbs in *-(a)r-* listed by M. Erdal (1991, 499-503) are formed either from nouns (simple or derived) or from adjectives (again, simple or derived). Not a single instance of an adverb serving as a base for this formation is quoted. (The verbs are named "intransitive denominals" on page 474.)

[5] C. Brockelmann (1954, 182-183) analyses those derivatives as containing "*ilä*, Ge-r[undium] von *il-* „sich anschliessen" […], als Postp[osition] „mit" selten geworden *bir āh ilä* „mit einem Seufzer" […], oft dagegen unter Verlust des anlautenden Vokals […] in *tiriklä* „bei Lebzeiten" […], *taŋla* „morgens" […], *tünlä* „über Nacht" […]". He is followed by Ė. V. Sevortjan, who writes in his "Etymological dictionary" (1980, s.v. *дaң*) that *taŋla* is a "наречие, образованное с помощью афф[икса] *-ла* (послелога *ле*?)" – emphasis added).
The remark in the Redhouse dictionary (s.v.: "*tanla* 3 طڭلە طنڭلە (*tan ile*) archaic 'at dawn, in the early morning'" – emphasis added) may be synchronic, not historical.

['Why is it that you have not forgiven those who for God's sake have been begging your pardon since the morning, but now that you have seen me, you do give in?' – emphasis added]

Şimdi olacak nesneyi sen **tañlaya** koma قوماطاكلايه

[…] (*Kadı. XIV. 377*)

['Do not defer until the morning what is fated for now.' – emphasis added]

Even when used as an adverb of time, *taŋla* was sometimes put into the locative case, which corroborates the view that it was also perceived as a noun. Compare the following passage from a Turkish commentary on the Koran (*tafsīr*)[6]:

Daḫý ilärűkilärüŋ sözčükläríˊdurur, – dedilär. Jázdý aný Muḥam‿mäd ḫabärdän, ół äsāṭīr imlā ółunúr anúŋ űzärinǎ **ṭaŋładă** daḫý aḫšámdă. (Zajączkowski 1937, 47:6 – emphasis added)

['And they said: "These are words of the ancients. Muhammad has written them down from rumours, and the fables are dictated to him morning and evening."'[7]]

A. Zajączkowski aptly renders *taŋla* as 'morning, dawn' in his glossary (1937, 94: "*ṭaŋla* […] 'rano, świt' | matin, aube"), thus placing it among nouns.

One other instance, and a Chagatai one, can be quoted from W. Radloff's dictionary (1905, s.v. *¹maŋla*), although the form in question is apparently absent in the early manuscripts of Rabġūzī's "Qiṣaṣu ăl-'anbiyā'" (AD 1310):

[*Ḥavvā jarymyn jedi, jarymyn **taŋlaya** kojdy.* – emphasis added] […] Eva ass die eine Hälfte, die andere liess sie für den folgenden Tag zurück (Rbg. [= قصص ربغوزی Kasan, 1859] 26,22).[8]

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6 "[…] 26 chapitres de la traduction, en vieil-osmanli, du Qorân avec le commentaire intitulé *Ǧävāhir-ül-aṣdāf* [جواهر الاصداف], c.-à-d. »Les véritables perles« (textuellement »Les joyaux des coquillages perliers«) provenant de l'époque du règne d'Isfendiyār bin Bāyezīd (1392-1440) dans la partie nord de l'Anatolie, sur le territoire de l'ancienne Paphlagonie." "[…] il faut rapporter le moment de la traduction à la fin du XIV^e ou à la première moitié du XV^e siècle (1385, évent. 1392 à 1440); selon toute probabilité ce sera plus ou moins l'an 1405." (Zajączkowski 1937, V, XV).

7 The fifth verse of the twenty-fifth sura in the original version of the Koran.

8 Compare the manuscript of the fifteenth century (Rabġūzī, I, XIX), 14r°:9: "[…] حوا يارىم يىدى يارىم قويدى *Ḥavvā yarım yėdi, yarım ḳoydı.*" (op. cit., I, 380, 20) ['Eve ate one half and the other she put aside.'].

An intriguing parallel is furthermore provided by the Trakai dialect of Karaim, where *tan* 'morning, dawn' serves as the base for the derivation of ˈ*tanbyła* 'dawn, daybreak' (note the place of stress; Kowalski 1929, XXXII-XXXIII). The latter does contain the postposition *była* (~ *-ba/-b́a*) 'with', yet its meaning is no more adverbial but purely nominal, and in order to function as an adverb of time, it needs to be put into the locative case, i.e., to acquire the shape ˈ*tanbyłada* 'at dawn' (ˈ*tanda* means 'tomorrow'). Compare the following attestation in the Karaim translation of the Book of Job by ribbi Zaχarja b́eń Miχael Micˈḱevič (Job 1:5):

> da boˈłureˌdi ńečïk ištyryłˈseˌdyrłar oł ič́ki ḱuńlárï, da iˈˌjareˌdi Iˌjov da aˌjryχsy eˈt́areˌdi ałarny, da ert́a tuˈrareˌdi ˈ**tanbyłada**, da čyγaˈryreˌdi ołałar saˈnyčâ barłarynyn, ki saγyš eˈt́areˌdi Iˌjov: – ˈšeḿe ˌjazyχły bołdułar uvuŋłarym da ḱuf́ur saγyš ettilar uturu t́eńrḯǵa saγyšlarynda; bułeˌj ḱečïˈnireˌdi Iˌjov bar vaχtłarny (Kowalski 1929, 1:13-18 – emphasis added)
> ['And when it happened that the days of revelling accumulated, then Job used to send and sanctify them. And he would rise early at dawn and offer holocausts according to the number of them all. For Job would think: "Perhaps my sons have become sinful and have blasphemed against God in their thoughts." Job used to do thus at all times.']

A similar process that led to the reinterpretation of *taŋla* (← *taŋ*) as a noun must have worked upon ˈ*tanbyła* (← *tan*), although both changes were undoubtedly independent of each other and separated by a considerable lapse of time.[9]

4. Examples like those cited above support M. Erdal's etymology deriving *taŋlar-* from *taŋla*, as they eliminate the seeming incompatibility of an adverb and the suffix *-(a)r-*. Thus, if *taŋlar-* is not a scribal error (a possibility that can never be ruled out), it parallels perfectly verbs like *tün-är-* (← *tün* 'night') 'to be, or become, dark' or *küz-är-* (← *küz* 'autumn') 'to turn to autumn, become autumnal' (cf. Clauson 1972, s.vv.).

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[9] As pointed out by A. Zajączkowski (1932, 42-43), the postposition *była* appears also in Karaim *erˈt́ańbyła* 'dawn, daybreak', which again is a substantive (← (*)*ert́ań* (Instrumental) ← *ert́a* 'in the morning, early'), and one to be found in the same translation by Z. Micˈḱevič (Job 3:9): *ḱoˈŕuńḿáśeˌjdir balkuvłarynda erˈt́ańbyłanyn* 'sie möge in den Strahlen der Morgenröte nicht erscheinen' (Kowalski 1929, 3:31-32, 185). But *kyˈłabyła* 'spider' may not be related morphologically, although it must be a compound form, too, as indicated by the place of stress.

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S y m b o l s

> <	historical development
→ ←	derivation
=	morphological composition; etymological equivalence
-	morphological boundary

B i b l i o g r a p h y

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