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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA - LOS ANGELES

A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures

by

Talat Tekin

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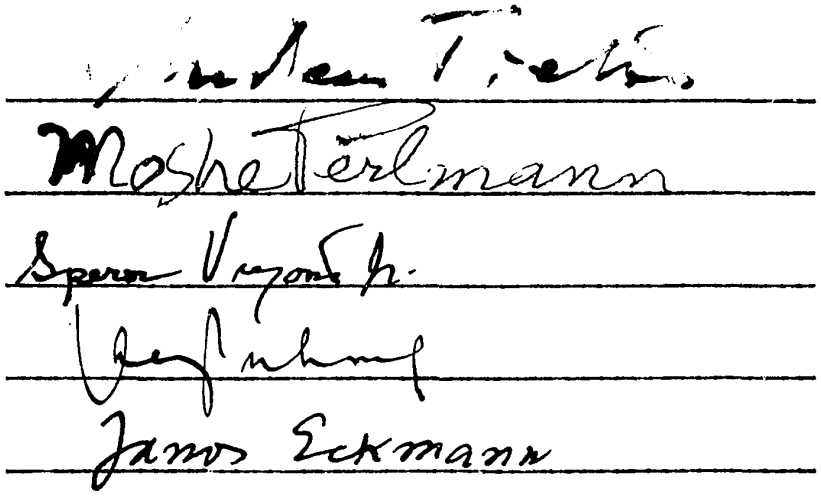
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1965

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University of California, Los Angeles

1965

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vita, Publications and Fields of Study vii

Abstract viii

0. Introduction 1

1. Script 18

1.1. The Alphabet 18

1.11. The Characters 18

1.12. Origin of the Alphabet 22

1.2. Orthography 27

1.21. System of Writing 27

1.22. Spelling Rules 27

1.221. Indication of the Vowels 27

1.2211. Indication of the Initial Vowels 27

1.2212. Indication of the Non-Initial Vowels of the First Syllable 29

1.2213. Indication of Word-Final Vowels 31

1.2214. Indication of the Vowels of Non-First Syllables 32

1.222. Indication of Consonants 38

1.2220. The Double "Consonant-Characters" System 38

1.2221. Use of the Front-Vocalic Sign s^2 39

1.2222. Use of the Front-Vocalic Sign y^2 40

1.2223. Use of Syllabic Signs 40

1.2224. Use of the Ligature či 46

1.2225. Use of the Compound Consonant-Characters 46

1.2226. Indication of Doubled Consonants 49

1.3. Punctuation 50

2. Phonology 52

2.1. Vowels 52

2.11. Vowels of the First Syllable 52

2.12. Vowels of the Non-First Syllables 59

2.121. The Vocalic Harmony 59

21211. The Palatal Harmony 59

2.1212. The Labial Harmony 67
2.122. Long Vowels of Non-First Syllables 73
2.13. Vowel Alternations 77
2.14. Palatalization 77
2.15. Assimilation 79
2.16. Contraction 80
2.17. Loss 80
2.2. Consonants 82
2.21. Labial Consonants 82
2.22. Dental and Alveolars 85
2.23. Palatal Consonants 95
2.24. Velar Consonants 97
2.3. Consonant Changes 103
2.31. Nasalization 103
2.32. Denasalization 103
2.33. Dentalization of š 104
2.34. The Alternation l ~ š 110
2.4. Assimilation of Consonants 111
2.5. Dissimilation of Consonants 112
2.6. Contraction 113
2.7. Dropping of Consonants 114
2.8. Prothesis 114
2.9. Epenthesis 114
2.10. Stress 115
3. Morphology 116
3.1. Word-Formation 116
3.11. Suffixation 116
3.111. Denominal Nouns 116
3.112. Denominal Verbs 121
3.113. Deverbal Nouns 125
3.114. Deverbal Verbs 131
3.12. Composition 135
3.2. Inflection 139
3.21. Noun Inflection 139
3.211. Plurality 139

3.212. Possession 140
3.213. Coordination 143
3.214. Case 144
3.2141. Nominative 144
3.2142. Genitive 146
3.2143. Accusative 147
3.2144. Dative-Locative 151
3.2145. Locative-Ablative 154
3.2146. Directive 157
3.2147. Equative 158
3.2148. Instrumental 159
3.2149. Comitative 161
3.215. Pronouns 161
3.2151. Personal Pronouns 161
3.2152. Demontrative Pronouns 164
3.2153. Intensive Pronouns 166
3.2154. Interrogative Pronouns 168
3.2155. Indefinite Pronouns 169
3.216. Numerals 170
3.2161. Cardinal Numerals 170
3.2162. Ordinal Numerals 173
3.2163. Collective Numerals 174
3.2164. Multiplicative Numerals 175
3.2165. Indefinite Numerals 175
3.217. Adverbs 177
3.2171. Adverbs of Place 177
3.2172. Adverbs of Time 185
3.2173. Adverbs of Manner 186
3.2174. Adverbs of Degree 187
3.2175. Adverbs of Comparison 192
3.2176. Adverbs of Number 192
3.2177. Adverbs of Affirmation 193
3.2178. The Interrogative Adverb 193
3.218. Postposition 194
3.219. Conjunctions 201

3.2110. Particles 206
3.22. Verb Inflection 210
3.221. Verbal Nouns 210
3.222. Gerunds 217
3.223. Finite Forms 225
3.2231. Primary Finite Forms 225
3.2232. Secondary Finite Forms 230

4. Syntax 240
4.1. Phrase Structure 240
4.11. Additive Phrases 240
4.12. Alternative Phrases 242
4.13. Appositive Phrases 242
4.14. Attributive Phrases 243
4.15. Postpositional Phrases 247
4.16. Verbal Complement 248
4.2. Clause Structure 250
4.21. The Predicate 250
4.22. The Subject 251
4.221. Agreement between the subject and predicate 253
4.2211. Agreement in person 253
4.2212. Agreement in number 253
4.222. Word Order 253
4.223. Negation 254
4.23. Combination of Clauses 254
4.231. Coordination 254
4.2311. Coordination without conjunction 255
4.2312. Coordination with conjunction 255
4.232. Subordination 256
4.2321. Direct Discourse 256
4.24. Parenthetical Clause 257

Grammatical Index 258
Bibliography 279
Abbreviations 286

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic

by

Talat Tekin

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures

University of California, Los Angeles, 1965

Professor Janos Eckmann, Chairman

The aim of this investigation is to give a detailed grammar of the Orkhon inscriptions, to discover further peculiarities of Orkhon Turkic, and to interpret the uninterpreted, obscure and misinterpreted words and expressions. In order to reproduce more accurate and complete texts of the inscriptions, I referred to all the published transcriptions, reproductions, copies and photographs of the inscriptions. Among these are the reproductions of inked squeezes of the major inscriptions by A. O. Heikel, Sprengling's and Aalto's reproductions of the Tonyukuk inscription, Clauson's reproduction of the Ongin inscription, Aalto's photographs of the Tonyukuk and Kotwicz's photographs of the Kūli Čor inscriptions.

The basic apriori assumptions which guided my reevaluation of the Old Turkic "runic" script and my rereading the Orkhon inscriptions were the following: (1) any given sign, with the exception of the vocalic and syllabic signs, represents only one and the same sound wherever it occurs; (2) use of the front-vocalic consonant signs in back-vocalic words is phonetically significant;

(3) vowel signs indicate long vowels as well as short ones. By applying these basic principles, I tried to determine the spelling rules of the Old Turkic script as used in the Orkhon inscriptions. Then, with the help of these spelling rules and our present knowledge of Turkic languages, I reread the inscriptions and found new readings for the words and expressions which have been misread or misinterpreted so far.

The main findings of the study are the following:

(1) The letters s^1 and s^2 represent only the consonant s;

(2) The letter M represents only lt, not ld/ld and lt as well;

(3) The letter (:) represents the sound group nt, not nd;

(4) The existence of long vowels is evident from the orthography: r^2n^2 ärin "with men", r^2in^2 ärīn "their men" (acc.), etc.;

(5) The following suffixes do not observe the palatal harmony: -miš, -či, -ī/-sī;

(6) The following suffixes do not observe the labial harmony: -ïñ/-iñ (genitive), -lïq/-lik, -sïq/-sik, -sïra-/-sirä-, -sïz/-siz;

(7) The vowel ï shows strong tendency toward becoming i in palatal environment: buñsiz (~ buñsïz), si- (<*sï-), tiñla- (<*tïñla-), yimšaq (<*yïmšaq), yōlsizin, etc.;

(8) The consonant š frequently alternates with s: bīš ~ bīs, tašïq- ~ tasïq-, -miš ~ -mis, etc.;

(9) The consonant l alternates with š in the following words: qïl- ~ qïš- (~ qïs-), ilgärü ~ išgärü (BK E 11);

(10) The following verbs are middle verbs (verba media) in -r- (cf. Mong. -ra-/-re-): kīr- (cf. kīgür- "to let in"), olur- (cf. Uigur olγur- "to seat"), yaγur- (< yaγu-r-; cf. yaγut-);

(11) The verbal nouns in -duq/-dük and -sïq/-sik are also used predicatively: äbkä tägdüküm "I arrived at the camp" (lit.: "my having arrived to the residence") (O R 2), türük bodun ölsikiñ (KT S 6, BK N 5) ~ türük bodun ölsikig (KT S 7, BK N 5) "(O) Turkish people, you will perish!" (lit. "Turkish people thy future dying");

(12) The unwitnessed past tense is formed with -miš (~ -mis), and its negative with -duq/-dük: ītinü yaratunu ūma-duq yana ičikmiš "they could not form and organize themselves and submitted again" (KT E 10, BK E 9);

(13) ol amtï ańïγ yōq "they are not rebellious now" (KT S 3, BK N 2) is a sentence, ańïγ yōq being its predicate;

(14) sūmiz kältäčimiz in TI S 7 is an appositive phrase: "our soldiers, our ones who will come";

(15) New readings: özinčä (KT E 3, 30): ōzī anča; apurum (KT E 4, BK E 5): purum; oγlï atï (KT E 5, BK E 5): oγlïtī; birtükrü (BK E 9): bīrtük(k)ärü; töpäsindä (KT E 11, BK E 10): töpüsīntä; yögärü (KT E 11, SW; BK E 10): yüg(g)ärü; yarlïqa-: yarlïq(q)a-; igiti (KT E 16, BK E 14): igit(t)i; körgüñin (KT E 23, BK E 19): kürägüñin; silik (KT E 7, 24; BK E 7): esīlik; yüzkä (KT E 33): yūzīñä; udïšru (KT E 36, N 2): ud ašru; kül tigin bäg bašlayu qïtïmïz (KT N 8): kül tigin äbig bašlayu aqït(t)ïmïz; iniygünüm (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1): ini yägūnüm; näñ säñün (KT N 12): änik

säñün; qïdmaz (KT S 6): ïqïdmaz; üläsikiñ, üläsikig (KT S 7, BK N 5): ölsikiñ, ölsikig; toqraqïqasän (KT S 8, BK N 6): toqurqaq sän; turu ölü (KT S 9, BK N 7): toru ölü; üläsikiñin (KT S 10, BK N 8): ölsikiñin; bitidim (KT S 13, BK N 15): bitī̈d(d)im; qur·dan (KT W): qurïdïn; (.)uγ(.) (KT W 1): soγ(u)d; anuq(.)qa (KT W 1): ayuqīqa; iki ädizkär külig (BK E 1): ekī ädiz käräkülüg; ičgir- (BK E 25): ičgär-; qïsalata (BK E 37): qïsïlta; ilgärü (BK N 11): išgärü; yaratdïm (BK N 14): yaratid(d)im; köbrügäsi (BK W 4): köbürgäsī; ätida (KT N 11): tīda; ilgikgi (KT N 3): ilig ikägü; bolmayïn (TI W 2): bulmayin; bolayïn (TI W 7): boluyïn; birdinäyin (TI S 4): biridin yän; öñdünäyin (TI S 4): öñdün yän; yïrdïndayïn (TI S 4): yirïdïnta yan; qačïniïñ ärsär (TI E 3, N 5): qača(n) näñ ärsär; qačïniïñ ärsär (TI E 4): qačan (n)añ ärsär; yatïγma (TII W 9): aytïγma; yerüki (TII S 2): berüki; bilig ešin (TII S 5): bilgäsīn; bilig eši čab eši (TI W 7): bilgäsī čabïsī; tükäti (TII E 2): töküti; bünt(ü)gi (TII E 7): büntägī; $t^2ür^2_{\underline{o}}k$: türük, etc.

(16) New interpretations: čïqan (KT N 13) "nephew"; tayγun (KT SE): plural of tay "colt"; amtï (BK S 13, 14): matï "faithful"; anïn (TI E 7): the instrumental case of ol; yïγ- (O F 1) "to frighten, threaten", etc.

0. INTRODUCTION

With the term "Orkhon Turkic" we designate the old Turkic dialect which was spoken by the Turks or the T'u-küe--as the Chinese called them--primarily in Mongolia in the first half of the 8th century A. D. This dialect was undoubtedly the official language of the second North Turkic Empire (ca. 680-740) and was, of course, nothing else but a natural continuation of the old Turkic dialect which had previously been spoken by the same people in the same area.

Orkhon Turkic is the oldest Turkic dialect written records of which have come down to us. Its peculiar features can be summarized as follows:

(a) Preservation of the bilabial stop b which later developed into w in medial and final positions: yabïz "bad", sub "water", etc.;

(b) Preservation of the voiced dental stop d which later passed to a voiced interdental: adaq "foot", tod- "to be satiated", etc.;

(c) Preservation of the palatal nasal ń which later changed to n in some dialects and to y in others: aṅïγ "bad, evil", qoń "sheep", etc.;

(d) Alternation of the velar nasal ñ with γ/g: söñüküñ - söñüküg "thy bones", bardïγ (<*bardïñ) "thou didst go", etc.;

(e) Formation of the genitive case with -ïñ/-iñ;

(f) Formation of the ablative case with -da/-dä;

(g) Formation of the present participle with -γma/-gmä;

(h) Formation of the future participle with -dači/-däči;

(i) Formation of the future-necessitative participle with -sïg/-sik.

To designate this old Turkic dialect, various terms have been used. Radloff called it "Alttürkisch" ("Old Turkic") from the very beginning. W. Bang put forward the term "Kök-türkisch" on the grounds that "Bilgä Khan sein Volk an mehreren Stellen ganz unzweideutig die kök Türk nennt" (cf. Über die köktürkische Inschrift auf der Südseite des Kül-Tägin-Denkmals, Leipzig 1896, Vorwort). These grounds, however, seem to be rather unsound despite Bang's definite statement, since the name kök türk (to be more exact, kök türük) occurs only once in the inscriptions (cf. KT E 3, BK E 4). Radloff found this term completely inappropriate (cf. Neue Folge, Vorwort, note 1). Thomsen, too, rejected the term "Kök-türkisch" (cf. Turcica, p. 20, note 4 = Afh., p. 107 ff.) and agreed with Radloff on the name "Alttürkisch". He suggested the terms "vieux turc" ("Old Turkic"), "turc runique" ("Runic Turkic"), "vieux turc de l'Orkhon" ("Old Orkhon-Turkic") or simply "turc de l'Orkhon" ("Orkhon Turkic"), and in his article "Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish "Runic" Script from Miran and Tun-huang" (in: JRAS 1912, p. 181-227 = Afh., p. 217-267) he used the term "Old Turkish" (= Old Turkic). The term "Alttürkisch" ("Old Turkic") became more common especially after A. von Gabain's well-known work, Alttürkische Grammatik, had been published. She, as is known, called the dialects in

which the inscriptions (both the Yenisei and Orkhon) and the so-called Uigur manuscripts are written, collectively, "Alttürkisch".

Recently three more terms have been proposed. N. A. Baskakov used the term "drevneoguzskiy" ("Ancient Oguz") for Orkhon Turkic and the term "drevneuygurskiy" ("Ancient Uigur") for Uigur (cf. N. A. Baskakov, Tyurkskie yazïki, Moscow 1960, p. 189, 226). G. Clauson put forward the term "Türkü" (cf. G. Clauson, Turkish and Mongolian Studies, London 1962) and O. Pritsak the term "Türkütisch" ("Türküt") (cf. O. Pritsak, "Das Alttürkische," in: Handbuch der Orientalistik, Turkologie, Leiden/Köln 1963, p. 27 ff.). Of these terms, "Türkü" is mainly based on a false reading of the word türük in the inscriptions. As for the name "Türküt", it depends on a rather doubtful assumption of P. Pelliot. The term "Ancient Oguz", too, does not seem to be appropriate for Orkhon Turkic, because the Oguz or Tokuz-Oguz were not the only ethnic group which belonged to the North Turkic confederation, as is known from the inscriptions. Thus, to designate the official dialect of the second North Turkic Empire, we find the term "Orkhon Turkic", at least until a better one is found, more satisfactory and convenient than any other term.

Orkhon Turkic is known to us through the inscriptions found in present-day Outer Mongolia, mainly in the basin of the Orkhon River, thus being conveniently called "the Orkhon inscriptions". These are the Kül Tigin, Bilgä Kagan, Tonyukuk, Išbara Tarkan

(Ongin), and Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu) inscriptions.

The Kül Tigin and Bilgä Kagan inscriptions are located in the vicinity of the old course of the Orkhon River and the inland lake named Košo Čaydam (ca. 47° north latitude and 102° east longitude) at approximately one kilometer distance from each other. The Kül Tigin monument is a large four-sided monolith of poor quality limestone or marble. It is 3.75 m. high. The east and west sides of the stone are 1.22 m. wide on the top and 1.32 m. wide at the bottom. The north and south sides are 46 - 44 cm. wide.

All sides of the monument are covered with inscriptions on a height of approximately 2.75 m. On the west side a big Chinese inscription is also inscribed. The other sides are entirely covered with Turkic inscriptions. There are 40 lines on the east side and 13 on the south and north sides. There are also some small inscriptions on the edges between the north and east, south and east, and south and west sides. Another small Turkic inscription is also on the west side. This monument was erected in honor of Kül Tigin ("Prince Kül"). The date of erection was 1 August 732, as is known from the Chinese inscription on it.

The Bilgä Kagan monument is a few centimeters higher than the other. This monument is in a worse state of preservation than the Kül Tigin monument. There are 41 lines on the east side and 15 on the narrower north and south sides. This stone, too, has a Chinese inscription on the west side, which, however, is poorly preserved.

Of the inscriptions on the four sides, that on the north side is identical with that inscribed on the south side of the Kül Tigin monument except the last 7 lines. Of the inscription on the east side, lines 2 to 24 are, with the exception of some slight divergencies, almost identical with the lines 1 to 30 on the east side of the Kül Tigin monument. This monument was erected in 735 in honor of Bilgä Kagan who died in the fall of 734.

These two inscriptions give a first-hand account of the military history of the second North Turkic Empire (ca. 680-740) and are of great importance for Turkic studies. These inscriptions also contain Bilgä Kagan's advice to his people about their behavior toward the intrigues of the Chinese, and his warnings about the inevitable tragic end should the Turkish people be deceived by the "sweet words" and the "soft materials" of the Chinese.

The Tonyukuk monument is found in the same territory, about 300 kilometers to the east of the two Orkhon inscriptions, approximately between 48° north latitude and 107° east longitude, in the vicinity of Bain Čokto, along the upper course of the Tola River. This monument consists of two stone steles which are still standing. The first and bigger stone contains an inscription of 35 lines. There are 27 lines on the second and smaller stone.

This monument is obviously a memorial to Tonyukuk, the great Turkish statesman and commander-in-chief, who worked under the

first two kagans of the second North Turkic Empire. Tonyukuk was still alive in 716, the year in which Bilgä Kagan succeeded to the throne. He probably died a few years later. His memorial must have been erected around 720. In this inscription, Tonyukuk gives a brief report on the first two kagan's and his achievements, and relates the military campaigns which he, together with Ilteriš and Kapgan kagans, carried on.

The Ongin inscription was found in 1891 by Yadrincev in Outer Mongolia on the Manet Mountains, near the tributary of the Ongin River (ca. 46° north latitude and 102° east longitude), about 100 miles south of the two major Orkhon inscriptions and some 250 miles west-southwest of the Tonyukuk inscription.

The main inscription is inscribed on the front and one side of a stone stele. There are 8 long lines on the front side, and 4 on the right side. There is a supplementary inscription of 7 short, horizontal lines as the stone stands. The stone is badly weathered. Especially the bottom parts of the lines of the main inscription and a great part of the supplementary inscription have been lost.

This memorial was erected by Bilgä Išbara Tamγan Tarqan to his father, El-etmiš Yabγu. As we learn from the inscription, El-etmiš Yabγu was entitled shad by Täñrikän (= Ilteriš Kagan?) by virtue of his rendering his service to the kagan. The author was born in the reign of Kapgan Ilteriš Kagan (682-692), as is clear from line four. In the inscription, he relates his own exploits as well as his father's. But the inscription has been

composed incoherently, and it seems that it has been influenced by the Kül Tigin memorial. Probably it was erected in the same year as the Kül Tigin monument or one or two years later as Clauson sensibly assumes (cf. Gerard Clauson, "The Ongin Inscription," JRAS 1957, p. 183).

The monument of Küli Čor was discovered by Kotwicz in Ikhe-Khushotu, Central Mongolia, in 1911. The inscription is inscribed on the two large sides of the stone. The dimensions are 1.90 m. high, 0.61 m. wide and 0.16 m. thick.

There are 13 lines on the east side of the stone, 12 on the west side, and 4 on the south; but the monument is badly damaged, especially on the upper part. Consequently, the initial parts of the lines are lost.

This monument is a memorial to Küli Čor, the chief of the Tardush people, whose full title is Išbara Bilgä Küli Čor. This name must be identical with Kül Čor which occurs in BK S 13 as the name of the shad of the Tardush in 716 (cf. W. Kotwicz and A. Samoïlovitch, "Le monument turc d'Ikhe-khuchotu en Mongolie centrale," RO IV, p. 72). According to the inscription, Küli Čor was killed while still young in the war against the Karluks (cf. East side, line 11). This campaign was accomplished sometime between 718 and 722. Therefore it may be assumed that this monument was erected sometime between 719 and 723.

This inscription enumerates the exploits of Küli Čor, as is learned from the readable parts of it. The first four lines on the west side give information about an uluγ küli čor ("Küli Čor

the Elder") who grew old in the reign of Ilteriš Kagan and died at the age of eighty. Küli Čor the Elder must have been father of the Küli Čor to whom the monument was erected.

General Survey of Research on Orkhon Turkic

Old Turkic studies started in the last decade of the 19th century, when the well-known Danish scholar Vilhelm Thomsen (1842-1927) succeeded in deciphering the old Turkic script used in the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions of the ancient Turks.

The existence of some rune-like inscriptions in Southern Siberia along the upper course of the Yenisei River was known already in the first decades of the 18th century, chiefly by the work of Ph. J. von Strahlenberg, Das Nord und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm 1730. But it was only toward the end of the last century that an expedition was sent to Siberia for merely scientific purposes. In fact, in 1887 and 1888 two expeditions were sent by Finland to Siberia. The result of these scientific journeys appeared in 1889 as a valuable reproduction of the Yenisei inscriptions: Inscriptions de l'Iénisséi, recueillies et publiées par la Société finlandaise d'Archéologie, Helsingfors 1889. In the same year, the Russian archeologist N. M. Yadrincev found similar inscriptions in Mongolia, near the Orkhon River, namely the Orkhon Inscriptions. Yadrincev's work appeared in 1890: Anciens caractères trouvés sur des pierres et des ornements au bord de l'Orkhon, St. Pétersbourg 1890. Upon these new discoveries, the Finns sent

a new expedition under A. O. Heikel to Mongolia. As a result, perfect copies of Orkhon inscriptions became available in 1892: Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890 et publiées par la Société finno-ougrienne, Helsingfors 1892. In the same year, the Orkhon inscriptions were published in Russia. The latter appeared as a result of a new Russian expedition under the leadership of W. Radloff: Atlas der Altertümer der Mongolei, St. Petersburg 1892 upto 1899.

The Finnish edition of the Orkhon inscriptions also included a translation of the readable parts of the Chinese inscription on one of the stones. This short Chinese text obviously was not a translation of the long text in an unknown script and language; but it at least informed us that one of these two large stones was erected in 732 A. D. in honor of a Turkish prince. Thus, the problem of to whom these inscriptions belonged and in what language they were written was solved: These inscriptions were left by the ancestors of the modern Turks and the language used was assumed to be an old Turkic dialect.

This point became completely clear on December 15, 1893, when the Danish scholar Vilhelm Thomsen, at a meeting of the Copenhagen Academy of Sciences, announced that he had succeeded in deciphering the script used in the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions. His preliminary notice on the decipherment soon appeared in the Bulletin of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Literature of Denmark: "Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénissei, notice préliminaire," Bulletin de l'Aca-

démie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark, Copenhague 1893, pp. 285-299 (= Afh., pp. 3-19).

Thomsen's decipherment of the Turkish runic script caused great sensation among Turkologists. As early as March, 1894, W. Radloff published the first part of his first edition of the Orkhon inscriptions: Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Erste Lieferung, St. Petersburg 1894. The second part of this work appeared in May of the same year, and the third part in 1895. This edition of the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions, however, carries all the deficiencies of being the first work in its field and of being prepared in a hurry. One often comes across all kinds of mistakes on almost every page of this work.

In 1896 Thomsen's edition of the two major inscriptions appeared: Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées (= MSFOu V), Helsingfors 1896. This excellent work consists of two parts. The first part is a detailed study of the old Turkic runic script and system of writing, illustrated with many examples in original script (pp. 7-44). It also contains an investigation of the origin of the Turkic runic alphabet (pp. 44-54). The second part of the work begins with another introductory essay which gives a historical background (pp. 57-96). Then follow the texts in precise transcription and their translations (pp. 97-134), explanatory notes and a word-index (pp. 135-211). The work also contains an English translation of the Chinese text on the first monument by E. H. Parker: "The Deceased Köl Tegin's Tablet" (op. cit., pp. 212-216). This edition of the inscrip-

tions by Thomsen was a great success. Scholars who later edited the inscriptions took it as a model for their publications.

In 1897 Radloff published his second edition of the inscriptions: Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Neue Folge, St. Petersburg 1897. In 1899 a Russian edition of the Kül Tigin inscription was made by P. M. Melioranskiy: Pamyatnik v čest Kyul-Tegina (ZVO XII, 2-3, Sanktpeterburg 1899, pp. 1-144). In the same year Radloff published the second volume of his new edition: Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Zweite Folge, St. Petersburg 1899. This work contains the runic text, transcription and translation of the Tonyukuk inscription which was found by F. Klementz in Bain-Tsokto in 1897 (pp. 1-27), notes (pp. 28-85) and a glossary (pp. 86-115). This work also contains two articles of great importance: Friedrich Hirth's Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk (140 p.) and W. Barthold's Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen (29 p.).

Some manuscripts in Turkic runic script, including Ïrq Bitig ("Book of Divination"), found in Miran and Tun-huang in Eastern Turkestan, were published by Thomsen in 1912: "Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish 'Runic' Script from Miran and Tun-huang," JRAS 1912, p. 181-227 (= Afh., p. 217-267). Ten years later, in 1922, Thomsen gave a new and improved translation of the two main inscriptions together with that of the Tonyukuk monument: "Gammel-tyrkiske indskrifter fra Mongoliet i oversaettelse og med indledning," Samlede Afhandlinger III, pp. 465-516). Two years later a German translation of this work was published by

H. H. Schaeder: "Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei," ZDMG 1924, pp. 121-175.

Meanwhile two new inscriptions in runic script were found in Mongolia and published by the Finnish scholar J. G. Ramstedt: "Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften in der Nord-Mongolei," JSFOu 30, 1913. Both had been left by the Uigurs. One of them, the Shine-Usu inscription, is a monument to Il-itmiš Kagan (746-59). Unfortunately the stone is badly damaged. Another badly weathered and damaged inscription, the Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu) inscription, was found by Kotwicz in Central Mongolia and published by him and by A. N. Samoïlovitch: "Le monument turc d'Ikhe-khuchotu en Mongolie centrale," RO 1926 (Lwów, 1928), pp. 60-107.

The Orkhon inscriptions were first published in Turkey by Necib Asım: Orhon Abideleri, Istanbul 1341 (= 1925). But the most comprehensive edition of the Turkic inscriptions in runic script was produced by H. N. Orkun: Eski Türk Yazıtları, Istanbul, I: 1936, II: 1938, III: 1940, IV: 1941. Orkun took Thomsen's well-known edition as a model for his work and made some corrections with the aid of later knowledge, chiefly making use of Thomsen's later publications and Kāšγarī's dictionary. He left, however, many errors uncorrected.

Orkun's work was followed by improved editions of individual texts. M. Sprengling produced a reliable runic text of the Tonyukuk inscription: "Tonyukuk's Epitaph: An Old Masterpiece," AJSL LVI, No. 1 (January 1939), pp. 1-19. A. von Gabain re-

edited the Kül Tigin inscription in her Alttürkische Grammatik, Leipzig 1941 (2nd ed. 1950), but she did not render a translation. The Russian scholar S. E. Malov produced new editions of the Kül Tigin and Tonyukuk inscriptions: Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti, Moscow 1951, pp. 1-73. In 1952 he also published his comprehensive work which contains improved editions of all the Yenisei inscriptions in Orkun's publication, and some additional ones previously published by him and S. V. Kiselev: Yeniseyskaya pis'mennost' tyurkov, Moscow 1952. In 1957 Gerard Clauson re-edited the Ongin inscription and made some important corrections: "The Ongin Inscription," JRAS 1957, pp. 177-192. In 1958 Pennti Aalto produced a new edition of the Tonyukuk inscription which can be regarded as the best of all previous editions: G. J. Ramstedt, J. G. Granö and Pennti Aalto, "Materialien zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei," JSFOu 60, 7, Helsinki 1958. In the following year Malov's edition of the Bilgä Kagan, Küli Čor, Moyun Čor (Il-itmiš Kagan) and the Ongin inscriptions appeared: Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii, Moscow 1959. In 1961 René Giraud produced another edition of the Tonyukuk inscription, without taking, however, into account the corrections made by Aalto: L'inscription de Baïn Tsokto, Paris 1961. Giraud made some corrections, but he also misread and misinterpreted some words and passages which are clear in the photographs and copies of the inscription.

As for lexical and grammatical studies, following the first editions of the inscriptions, a good many works on Orkhon Turkic

appeared in various countries. A brief morphological sketch of Old Turkic was given in Radloff's first edition: "Materialien zum Verständniss der Morphologie des alttürkischen Dialektes," Dritte Lieferung (St. Petersburg 1895), pp. 388-422. Thomsen's edition, too, contained some grammatical explanations (Notes: pp. 135-198), and lexical and grammatical indexes (pp. 199-211). But the first grammatical sketch of Old Turkic was rendered by Radloff: "Grammatische Skizze der alttürkischen Sprache," Neue Folge (St. Petersburg 1897), pp. 1-129. Concerning certain passages of the Orkhon inscriptions, some suggestions were made by W. Bang: Über die köktürkische Inschrift auf der Südseite des Kül-tägin-Denkmals, Leipzig 1896;"Zu den Kök-türk-Inschriften der Mongolei," TP 7 (1896), pp. 325-355; "Zu den köktürkischen Inschriften," TP 9 (1898), pp. 117-141. A. Vámbéry, too, made some suggestions in his Noten zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei und Sibiriens (= MSFOu 1899). At the turn of the century Karl Foy published an important article dealing with the distinction between the vowels ä, e and i of the initial syllable in Orkhon Turkic: "Türkische Vocalstudien," MSOS 1900, pp. 180-215. In 1913 Thomsen published his well-known article on a hitherto unknown runic letter, the sign for the closed e, occurring in the Yenisei inscriptions: "Une lettre méconnue des inscriptions de l'Iénissei," JSFOu 30. Radloff's studies in Old Turkic, however, precede this work of Thomsen: "Alttürkische Studien," Bull. Acad. imp. Petersburg, I: 1909, pp. 1213-1222; II: 1910, pp. 217-228; III: ibid. pp. 1025-1036; IV: 1911, pp.

305-326; V: ibid. pp. 427-452; VI: 1912, pp. 747-778. Thomsen's above-mentioned article was followed by his Turcica, a very valuable work dealing with various unclear, uninterpreted or misinterpreted words, locutions and passages in the inscriptions: Turcica, études concernant l'interprétation des inscriptions turques de la Mongolie et de la Sibérie (= MSFOu XXXVII), Helsingfors 1916 (= Afh., pp. 92-198). W. Bang's series in the field of Turkic comparative studies should be mentioned here: "Vom Köktürkischen zum Osmanischen" I: ABAW 1917, pp. 1-62; II-III: ABAW 1919, pp. 1-79; IV: ABAW 1921, pp. 1-26.

In 1932 the Finnish scholar Martti Räsänen published an important article on the history of vowel harmony in Turkic: "Beiträge zur Frage der türkischen Vokalharmonie," JSFOu XLV, Helsinki 1932, pp. 1-10. In this article he brought evidence for the assumption that the third person possessive suffix was -i/-si in Orkhon Turkic. This suggestion, however, was not a new one; it was considered over thirty years ago by Radloff on the ground that the accusative suffix -n was always written with the sign n^2 after the third person possessive suffix (cf. Neue Folge, p. 9). In 1936, on the grammatical structure of Turkic, a very remarkable and instructive study, Kaare Gronbech's doctoral dissertation, was published: Der türkische Sprachbau, Kopenhagen 1936. In this work a great many of grammatical problems of Orkhon Turkic have been discussed and solved in a very convincing manner. In 1939 the Hungarian scholar Julius Németh published an authoritative article on the closed e problem in

Turkic: "Zur Kenntnis des geschlossener e im Türkischen," KCsA I, Supplement, Budapest and Leipzig 1939, pp. 515-531. Two years later the first grammar of Old Turkic was published by A. von Gabain: Alttürkische Grammatik, Leipzig 1941 (2nd ed. 1950). In this grammar all Turkic texts in runic, Uigur, Sogdian, Manichean, and Brahmi scripts serve as linguistic material. Gabain's work also contains a chrestomathy (pp. 247-290) and an Old Turkic-German-Turkish glossary (pp. 292-357). A dictionary of the words occurring in the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions was compiled by H. N. Orkun: Eski Türk Yazıtları IV, Istanbul 1941. In the same year Németh re-interpreted two puzzling sentences in the Orkhon inscriptions: "Zur Erklärung der Orchon-inschriften," Festschrift Friedrich Giese (= Die Welt des Islams, Sonderband, 1941), pp. 35-45. In 1947 Martti Räsänen re-edited the last fragmentary passage of the Bilgä Kagan inscription: "Regenbogen-Himmelsbrücke," SO XIV, 1 (Helsingfors 1947), pp. 3-11. Two years later a brief but interesting study of Orkhon Turkic phonology appeared in Turkey: A. Cevat Emre, Türk Lehçelerinin Mukayeseli Grameri, Fonetik, Istanbul 1949, pp. 27-55. In 1950 Gabain published an article dealing with certain local adverbs in Old Turkic: "Über Ortsbezeichnungen im Alttürkischen," SO XIV, 5 (Helsinki 1950). In 1952 two articles dealing with the problem of vowel harmonies in Old Turkic were published by A. von Gabain ("Zur Geschichte der türkischen Vokalharmonie," UAJb XXIV, 1-2, pp. 105-111) and by Alessio Bombaci ("Probleme der historischen Lautlehre der türkischen Sprache," UAJb XXIV, 3-4,

pp. 89-105). In 1955 A. von Gabain published an interesting article on the Old Turkic system of dating: "Alttürkische Datierungsformen," UAJb XXVII, 3-4, pp. 191-203. In the following year an important study of the conjunctions in Old Turkic was published: Ahmet Temir, "Die Konjunktionen und Satzeinleitungen im Alttürkischen," Oriens IX (Leiden 1956), pp. 41-85 and 233-280. In 1957 Nedim Tuna published an article dealing with some spelling rules and certain passages in the Orkhon inscriptions: "Bazı imlâ gelenekleri," TDAY 1957, pp. 41-81. In 1960 two more articles by him were published: "Köktürk yazıtlarında 'ölüm' kavramı ile ilgili kelimeler ve 'kergek bol-' deyiminin izahı," in: Bilimsel Bildiriler (TDK yayınlarından, Sayı: 179), Ankara 1960, pp. 131-148; "Köktürk yazılı belgelerinde ve Uygurcada uzun vokaller," TDAY 1960, pp. 213-282. The latter, however, contains quite a few conclusions based on some false assumptions.

In 1959 A. von Gabain produced a concise grammar of Old Turkic: "Das Alttürkische," in: Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 21-45. In the following year a grammar of the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions was published in Russia: V. M. Nasilov, Yazïk orxono-yeniseyskix pamyatnikov, Moscow 1960. Unfortunately, the author of this book did not take into account the works published outside Russia, through which he could have avoided a number of errors. The most recent treatise on the subject is an interesting article by Omeljan Pritsak: "Das Alttürkische," in: Handbuch der Orientalistik, Fünfter Band: Altaistik, Erster Abschnitt: Turkologie, Leiden/Köln 1963, pp. 27-52.

1. SCRIPT

1.1. The Alphabet

The script used in the inscriptions consists of rune-like characters mostly formed with vertical and oblique lines. There are also curved lines in some characters, but horizontal lines are very few.

The old Turkic script is written horizontally from right to left. In some of the Yenisei inscriptions, however, it runs from left to right. In this case the characters are inscribed in the reverse direction.

1.11. The characters

The old Turkic script used in the Orkhon inscriptions consists of 38 characters; combined with two syllabic characters, each of which has been used only once in the inscription of Tonyukuk, the total becomes 40.

Of the 38 characters generally used, 4 are vowel signs. Each vowel sign expresses two different vowels; more precisely, there is only one letter for the vowels a and ä, one for ï and i, one for o and u, and finally one for ö and ü. The double consonant-characters system of the alphabet and the vocalic harmony prevent possible mistakes in reading the vowels a, ä and ï, i; but there is no criterion by which one could distinguish between the vowels o and u, and ö and ü.

Of the remaining characters, 20 are double "consonant-charac-

ters" (syllabic characters) which designate syllables beginning with a or ä and ending in the characteristic consonant. They can also represent the consonants alone. These characters are: ab, äb; ad, äd; aγ, äg; aq, äk; al, äl; an, än; ar, är; as, äs; at, ät; ay, äy.

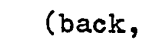
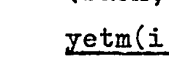
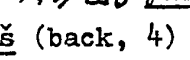
There are two consonant characters designating syllables with rounded vowels: oq/uq, ök/ük, and two consonant characters representing syllables with ï or i, respectively: ïq, ič.

The consonant characters for the sounds č, m, ń, ñ, p, š, and z are neutral in relation to vowels. In other words, they are used in both back- and front-vocalic words.

There are three compound consonant-characters: lt, nč, and nt. The last two are neutral in relation to vowels, while the first is used only in back-vocalic words.

Finally, there are two syllabic characters, one representing the syllable aš, and the other baš.[1]

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[1] The sign for the sound-combination aš occurs ten times in the Kemčik-Ǧirgak inscription where the letter ∧ is used to represent the consonant š, e.g.,  ašnuqï (front, 2, 4),  baš (back, 2),  yaš(ï)m (back, 4),  altm(ï)š (back, 4), yetm(i)š (back, 4) (see Orkun III, pp. 79, 80). The sign for the syllable or the word baš also occurs in the Uyug-Arkhan, Ak-Yüs and Tuva I inscriptions (see Malov 1952, pp. 14, 97, and FAtlas, XXXI). For the interpretation of this sign see W. Bang, "Turcica," in: Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Ges. 1917, pp. 288, 289.

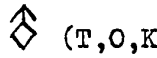
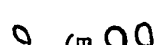
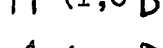
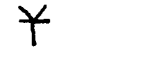
To these characters we may add the ligature  (= či) which occurs only once in the inscription of Tonyukuk (see l.2224, p.

The characters of the old Turkic script are stable in form. Some of them, however, have varieties which slightly differ from each other.

The characters are given in the following table.

Characters of the Old Turkic Alphabet

Characters	Transliteration	Transcription
	a	a, ä
	i	i, ï
	u	u, o
	ü	ü, ö
 (T, KČ)	b[1]	ab, b
 (T, O, KČ )	b[2]	äb, b
 (KČ )	d[1]	ad, d
	d[2]	äd, d
 (T )	γ	aγ, γ
 (O )	g	äg, g
	q	aq, q
 (T, O , KČ)	k	äk, k
	l[1]	al, l
	l[2]	äl, l
	n[1]	an, n
 (T , KČ)	n[2]	än, n
	r[1]	ar, r
	r[2]	är, r
 (T , KČ)	s[1]	as, s
	s[2]	äs, s

Characters	Transliteration	Transcription
 (T,o,Kč, o)	t^1	at, t
	t^2	ät, t
	y^1	ay, y
 (T, o, Kč)	y^2	äy, y
	$\overset{o}{q}$	oq, uq, qo, qu, q
 (T,o, Kč)	$\overset{k}{o}$	ök, ük, kö, kü, k
 (T,o)	$\overset{1}{q}$	ïq, qï, q
	ič	ič
	č	ač, äč, č
(T)	m	am, äm, m
	ń	ań, äń, ń
	ñ	añ, äñ, ñ
	p	ap, äp, p
	š	aš, äš, š
 (T,o,Kč)	z	az, äz, z
	lt	alt, lt
	nč	anč, änč, nč
 (T, o, Kč)	nt	ant, änt, nt
	aš	aš
	baš	baš [1]

[1] Apart from the letters discussed above and given in the table, the following signs occur in the Uigur and Yenisei inscriptions, and in the manuscripts found in Eastern Turkestan:  = s^1 (in back-vocalic words),  = e (closed e),  = $\tilde{n}^1$,  = up (in the manuscripts),  = ot (in Ïrq Bitig),  = š.

1.12. Origin of the Alphabet

Various theories have so far been put forward on the origin of the Turkic "runic" script. Otto Donner, still before the script was deciphered, drew attention to the general conformity between the characters of the Yenisei script, that is, the Turkic "runic" script, and the Lycian and Carian alphabets of Asia Minor of the antiquity, and assumed that the Yenisei script might have been derived from these alphabet.[1] Thomsen, who deciphered the Turkic "runic" script, did not accept this assumption and put forward the theory that the Turkic alphabet was derived from the late Semitic (Aramaic) alphabet, with or without an Iranian intermediary.[2] Aristov and Mallitskiy suggested that the letters of the Turkic "runic" script might have been developed from the Turkic tamgas.[3] According to Polivanov, the Turkic script was mainly derived from the Turkic tamgas, but was slightly influenced by the Aramaic-Sogdian and Pehlevi alphabets.[4] He also

[1] Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, p. XLXXX ff.

[2] Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées, p. 44. ff.

[3] N. N. Aristov, "Zametki ob etničeskom sostave tyurkskix plemen i narodov," in: Živaya Starina III-IV, 1896 (I quote this from A. Caferoğlu, Türk Dili Tarihi I, Istanbul 1958, p. 115).

N. G. Mallitskiy, "O svyazi tyurkskix tamga s orxonskimi pismenami," in: Protok. sozed. i soobšč. Turkestanskogo kružka lyub. arxeologii, 1897-1898 (I quote this from A. Caferoğlu, Türk Dili Tarihi I, Istanbul 1958, p. 115).

[4] E. D. Polivanov, "Ideografičeskiy motiv v formacii orxonskogo alfavita," in Byulleten Sredne-Aziatskogo Gosud. Universiteta (Tashkent 1925), p. 9 (I quote this from Caferoğlu, ibid.).

suggested that certain letters of the alphabet are ideograms. Finally, A. C. Emre put forward the theory that the Turkic "runes" are ideographic in character and developed from the same source as the Sumerian linears.[1]

Of these theories, the one which has found more supporters than any other theory is that of Thomsen.[2] Today it is generally accepted that the old Turkic alphabet is mainly derived from the Aramaic alphabet, through one or more Iranian intermediaries.[3] In fact, there is a fairly close resemblance between certain letters of the Turkic alphabet and those of the Aramaic/Iranian

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[1] A. C. Emre, Eski Türk Yazısının Menşei, Ankara 1938; in French: Sur l'origine de l'alphabet vieux turc, Ankara 1939.

[2] Otto Donner, in his article "Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie," JSFOu XIV, 1 (Helsingfors 1896), agreed with Thomsen and made the first attempt to identify the Aramaic/Iranian originals of certain "runic" letters.

Hans Jensen, in his book Geschichte der Schrift (Hannover, 1925), compared the old Turkic alphabet with the Aramaic and Pehlevi alphabets (see the table on page 206) and remarked that resemblances between the "runic" alphabet and the Pehlevi alphabet are greater than those between the "runic" alphabet and the Aramaic alphabet (p. 209 ff.).

Holger Pedersen was of the opinion that the Turkic "runic" alphabet was undoubtedly developed from an Aramaic source, apparently without an Iranian intermediary (see the English translation of his book: The Discovery of Language, Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century, Bloomington 1962, p. 199).

[3] See, e.g., Sir Gerard Clauson, Turkish and Mongolian Studies, London 1962, p. 73 ff.

alphabets.[1] Therefore, it is possible that the inventor of the Turkic alphabet took as his principal model some form of the Aramaic alphabet which had been adapted for writing some Iranian language; but, obviously, this was no more than a beginning. The inventor must have invented a number of letters for which no Aramaic/Iranian model can be found. Furthermore, he made at least two great innovations: (1) he invented special letters used only to designate vowels; (2) he invented a number of letters which could be used only to designate consonants occurring in back-vocalic words and a number of letters which could be used only to designate consonants occurring in front-vocalic words.

Thus, all uniconsonantal and vocalic signs of the Turkic alphabet can be explained partly as reproductions of the letters of some Aramaic/Iranian alphabet and partly being the inventions of an inventor; but, this assumption still leaves quite a few, almost a dozen, signs unexplained. These are the so-called "di-

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[1] Sir Gerard Clauson, who most recently reviewed the matter, made a new attempt to identify the Aramaic/Iranian originals of certain "runic" letters and came to the conclusion that the inventor of the Turkic script used fifteen of the twenty-two Aramaic/Iranian letters as models for his alphabet; in other words, of the uniconsonantal signs of the "runic" script, only fifteen can certainly be identified with the Aramaic/Iranian models (Turkish and Mongolian Studies, London 1962, p. 79). These letters are: a/e= aleph, b/v= beth, o/u= vau, front s/š= zain, velar k= cheth, post-palatal k= caph, back l= lamed, m= mem, back n= nun, back s= samech, p/f= pe, č= tzaddi, back r= resh, back š= schin and front t= tau (op. cit., pp. 78, 79).

graphs" or "ligatures". It has been suggested that these signs, too, were invented by the inventor who may have got this idea from the ligatures in Greek cursive script.[1] The fact that there is no resemblance between any of the "digraphs" and the letters representing their constituent sounds refutes this theory. The signs for the sound combinations lt, nč, nt, oq/uq/qo/qu, ök/ük/kö/kü, ïg/qï, ič, aš, baš, up, and ot cannot be regarded as ligatures, because none of them seems to be a combination of two letters.[2] There is no doubt that these signs are syllabic, not alphabetic. Therefore, it would be sensible to assume that they have an independent origin and developed from ideograms. It should be noted that even Thomsen, founder of the Aramaic origin theory, admitted that the letters y^1 (back y), oq/uq and b^2 might have been ideographic in character, e.g., ay= moon, oq= arrow and äb= house.[3]

Another difficulty in accepting the Aramaic/Iranian origin theory is that in Aramaic a given sign designates syllables consisting of a given consonant and any vowel, e.g., beth means ba, bi, bu, etc., while in the Turkic script consonantal signs represent syllables beginning with a or ä and ending in the characteristic consonant, e.g., ab, äb, aq, äk, al, äl, etc. It must

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[1] Thomsen, Inscrip., pp. 50, 51; G. Clauson, op. cit., p. 74.

[2] The only ligature used in the Orkhon inscriptions is  = či (see l.2224). This ligature is obviously a combination of the letters  = č and  = i.

[3] Thomsen, L'Alphabet runiforme turc, in: Afh., p. 78.

be for this reason that initial a and ä are left unwritten, and that all final vowels are designated.

No matter how it was invented or came into being, there is no doubt that the Turkic "runic" script is one of the most ingeniously devised alphabets of the first millenium. How early it was invented and began to be used is not known; but, it is certainly older than the Turkic inscriptions which date from the first half of the eighth century A. D. and are the earliest specimens of this script which have come down to us.[1] The Turkic "runic" script probably began to be used as early as the middle of the sixth century, as the official alphabet of the Turkic Empire.[2]

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[1] Because of their generally primitive appearance it was first supposed that the Yenisei inscriptions found in the basin of the upper Yenisei and its tributaries must be older than the Orkhon inscriptions. This theory, however, now turns out false. For merely archeological reasons, it has been suggested that, with one or two exceptions, these inscriptions cannot be earlier than the ninth and tenth centuries (see G. Clauson, Turkish and Mongolian Studies, p. 69 ff.). The same can be claimed for linguistical, graphical and orthographical reasons. The dialects in which these inscriptions are written do not seem to be more archaic than that of the Orkhon inscriptions. Primitive appearance of these inscriptions must be due to the fact that they were inscribed by less educated and less skilled masons in some distant tribal region.

[2] The Chinese chronicle Chou-shu, which was finished in about 629, says that "The script of the T'u-küe resembles that of the Hu-Barbarians (Sogdians)" (see Liu, p. 10).

After this empire had collapsed in the middle of the eighth century, it was retained for a time, probably for about a century, as the official alphabet of the first Uigur Empire (745-840). Finally, it was replaced by the Uigur alphabet.

1.2. Orthography

1.21. System of Writing

The old Turkic system of writing is a mixture of the syllabic and alphabetic systems of writing. The use of vowel-signs is limited and subject to certain orthographic rules. Most of the consonant signs designate syllables ending in the characteristic consonant. In certain cases, however, they represent only a consonant sound. Judging from this, we can say that the old Turkic script was on the verge of becoming an alphabetic system of writing. The spelling system used in the manuscripts found in Eastern Turkestan testifies to this fact. In these manuscripts the vocalic signs were used abundantly and the system of writing can very well be called alphabetic.

1.22. Spelling Rules

1.221. Indication of Vowels

1.2211. Indication of the Initial Vowels

1°. The vowels a, ä, and e are not designated at the beginning of words. This rule is probably due to the fact that most of the consonant characters designate syllables beginning with a or ä and ending in the proper consonant: d^1q adaq "foot"

(KT N 7), $l^1t^1un^1$ altun "gold" (BK S 11), $r^1t^1o_q$ artuq "too many, very many" (KČ E 13), $d^2gü$ ädgü "good" (BK S 12), mgk ämgäk "trouble" (KT E 19), r^2n^2 äräп "men" (BK S 11), ki eki "two" (TI W 4), l^2 el "people" (KT E 4), etc.

2°. The vowel ā, however, is sometimes marked. Throughout the five inscriptions, only in the following instances the initial ā is indicated: ač āč "hungry" (BK E 38), $ač s^1q$ āčsïq "the being hungry" (BK N 6), $ač s^2q$ āčsïq id. (KT S 8, 8), $ač s^1r^1$ āčsar "if you are hungry" (BK N 6), at^1 āt "name, title" (BK E 41), $at^1ɣ$ ātïɣ "the title" (acc.) (KT W 2, KČ W 1), at^1in^2 ātīn "the titles of" (acc.) (KT E 7, 7).

3°. The vowels ï and i are always indicated at the beginning of words: id^1o_q ïduq "sacred, holy" (TII W 3), $iɣr^1$ ïɣar "dear, beloved" (KT SE), it^1i ït(t)ï "(they) sent" (KT S 12), $ičkd^2i$ ičikdi "(they) submitted" (TI W 2), igd^2 igid "falsehood" (KT S 10), $il^2gr^2ü$ ilgärü "eastwards" (KT E 12), etc.

If the following sound is č, the syllabic sign ᛉ (= ič) may be used to designate the initial sound group ič: $ičkd^2i$ ičikdi "(they) submitted" (BK E 37), $ičr^2a$ ičrä "secret" (TI N 10), see 1.22234.

The initial i has not been marked only in the following examples: $s^2b^1r^1a$ (i)sbara proper name (O F 4), $s^2b^1r^1t^1r^1qn^1$ (i)sbar(a) tarqan (O Balbal), s^2g (i)sig "the labor" (acc.) (TII E 2; O R 2, 3), s^2t^2mi (i)stämi proper name (BK E 3), üzči öz (i)či "its own interior" (TI S 6), d^2i (i)di "completely" (TI E 4), $l^2gr^2ü$ (i)lgärü "eastwards" (KT E 21), $ñl^2ki$ añ (i)lki

"first" (KT E 32).

4°. The rounded vowels o, u, ö, and ü are always indicated at the beginning of words: uγl^{1}m oγlum "my son" (BK S 9), ut^{1}z otuz "thirty" (KT N 1), učz učuz "easy" (TI W 13), ur^{1}š uruš "battle" (O R 2), ügz ögüz "river" (KT E 17), ül^{2}gl^{2}i ölgäli "in order to die" (KT N 10), üčn^{2} üčün "since" (KT W 1), üzgl^{2}i üzgäli "in order to break" (TI S 6), etc.

If the following sound is q, the syllabic sign ↓ (= oq/uq) is preferably used to designate the sound group oq: $\overset{o}{q}$un^{1} oqun "with an arrow" (KT E 33, 36), etc. (see 1.22231).

If the following sound is k, the syllabic sign 𐰴 , 𐰚 (= ök/ük) is preferably used to designate the initial sound groups ök and ük: $\underset{o}{k}$ün^{2} ökün "regret!" (BK E 19), $\underset{o}{k}$üš üküš "numerous" (KT S 10), etc. (see 1.22232).

1.2212. Indication of the Non-Initial Vowel of the First Syllable

1°. The non-initial a, ä and e of the first syllable are usually not expressed: b^{1}l^{1}ı$\dot{q}$ balïq "city, town" (TI E 2), t^{1}b^{1}s^{1}γn^{1} tabïsγan "rabbit" (TI S 1), b^{2}d^{2}z bädiz "picture" (KT S 12), s^{2}b^{2}n^{2}p säbinip "having been pleased" (BK E 2), b^{2}r^{2}ms^{2} bermis "he gave" (KT E 14), y^{2}r^{2} yer "earth" (BK N 10), etc.

The vowel ā of the first syllable is marked only in the following word: t^{1}amqa tāmqa "on the wall" (KT SE).

2°. The vowel ï/i of the first syllable is, as a rule,

marked: $b^1iñ$ biñ "thousand" (TI E 1), qir^1q qïrq "forty" (KT N 2), y^1il^1qa yïlqa "in the year" (O R 4), b^2il^2ga bilgä "wise" (KT E 3), kis^2i kisi "man, human being" (BK E 3), $y^2imšq$ yimšaq "soft" (KT S 5), etc.

If the preceding sound is q, the syllabic sign ◁ , ▷ (= ïq/qï) may be used to indicate the sound group qï: q^1l^1p qïlïp "having done" (O R 2), $q^1s^2ms^2$ qïsmis "he suppressed" (O F 1). See 1.22233.2°.

In the following examples, however, ï/i of the first syllable is not indicated: s^1md^1i sïmadï "he did not destroyed" (KČ E 8), $y^1γd^1m$ yïγdïm "I terrified" (O R 1), $y^2γd^1m$ yiγdïm id. (O R 1); $b^2l^2tkmn^2$ biltükümün "with what I know" (KČ S 3), b^2l^2ga bilgä (TI W 5; O R 2, 3, 4; KČ W 8, 10, 12), $(b^2l^2)ga$ bilgä (KČ E 2; O Supp. 4), $(b^2l^2g)a$ bilgä (KČ E 7), $b^2l^2gas^2i$ bilgäsī "his counselor" (KČ E 5), $b^2l^2gs^2i$ bilgäsī id. (TI W 7), $(b^2)l^2gs^2in^2$ bilgäsīn "his wiseness" (acc.) (KČ W 7), $b^2l^2gn^2$ biligin "with intellect" (KČ S 3), $b^2n^2t^2r^2a$ bintürä "having ordered (the soldiers) to mount" (TI N 1), b^2z biz "we" (O F 7, 7; TI S 6), b^2zn^2i bizni "us" (TI E 3), $t^2l^2d^2m$ tilädim "I looked for" (TI E 6), $y^2mšq$ yimšaq "soft" (KT S 5, 6; BK N 4, 4), $y^2nčga$ yinčgä "tender" (TI S 6, 6), $y^2nčü$ yinčü proper name (KT S 3; BK N 3; TII S 2; KČ E 4).

3°. The rounded vowel of the first syllable is, as a rule, marked: $b^1ud^1n^1$ bodun "people" (KT E 9), $qur^1γn^1$ qoryan "fort, fortress" (KT N 8), $b^1ul^1ñ$ buluñ "quarter" (KT E 2), y^1uy^1qa yuyqa "thin" (TI S 6), $b^2ür^2i$ böri "wolf" (KT E 12), $kür^2g$

körüg "scout" (TI S 1), kün^{2}i küni "envy" (BK E 30), t^{2}ükt^{2}i tükäti "completely" (KT S 1), etc.

If the following sound is q, the syllabic sign ↓ may be used to represent the sound groups oq and uq: t^{1}o̲q toq "full, satiated" (TI S 1), t^{1}o̲quz toquz "nine" (KT N 6), b^{1}o̲qa buqa "bull" (TI W 6), etc. (see 1.22231).

If the following sound is k, the sound groups ök and ük may be written with the syllabic sign 𐰴, 𐰚 : s^{2}k̲d^{2}m sökdüm "I made a way" (TI N 1), t^{2}k̲t^{2}i töküti "having shed" (TII E 2), y^{2}k̲n^{2}t^{2}i yükünti "(they) submitted" (TI N 4), etc. (see 1.22232).

If the initial consonant is q, the syllabic sign ↓ may be used to represent the sound groups qo and qu: o̲qpn^{2} qopin "all together" (TI S 9), o̲qn^{1}l^{1}d^{1}m qunladïm "I took my revenge" (O R 1), o̲qt^{1} qut "fortune" (O F 8).

If the initial consonant is k, the sound groups kö and kü may be marked with the syllabic sign 𐰴, 𐰚 : k̲l^{2}kn^{2} kölikin "with carts" (TI S 8), k̲r^{2} kör "try (to ride on)!" (TI N 2), k̲r^{2}t^{2}g körtüg "you (lit.: "thou") have seen" (O F 7).

The rounded vowel of the first syllable is not expressed only in the following examples: b^{1}l^{1}ñ buluñ "quarter" (KT E 2), b^{2}gü bögü personal name (TII S 6).

1.2213. Indication of Word-Final Vowels

1°. All final vowels are marked. This rule testifies to the fact that the consonant signs designate syllables ending in the proper consonant: r^{1}a ara "between" (KT E 1), b^{1}uγzl^{1}nti boγuzlantï "he was slaughtered" (TI N 2), ul^{1}y^{1}u ulayu "and" (KT N 9),

kis^{2}i kisi "people, person" (TI S 3), b^{2}ñgü bäñgü "everlasting" (KT S 8), etc.

2°. In the following word groups written together the final vowel of the first is not represented. This is probably due to the fact that such words were considered one word by the inscriber: nčt^{1}qi anča-taqï "moreover" (KT S 13), s^{2}b^{1}r^{1}t^{1}r^{1}qn^{1} (i)sbara-tarqan personal name (O Balbal), qnty^{1}n^{2} qanta-yan "from Khan" (TI N 9), y^{2}ir^{1}d^{1}nty^{1}n^{1} yirïdïnta-yan "from the north" (TI S 4).

1.2214. Indication of the Vowels of Non-First Syllables

1°. The vowels a and ä of non-first syllables, as a rule, are not marked: qzγn^{1}ms^{1}r^{1} qazγanmasar "if (I) had not won" (TII E 5), y^{1}l^{1}b^{1}či yalabači "their envoy" (BK E 39), b^{2}üks^{2}i bökäsi "his champion warrior" (KČ E 5), kl^{2}r^{2}m äkälärim "my elder sisters" (KT N 9), s^{2}ül^{2}ms^{2}r^{2} sülämäsär "if (we) do not wage war" (TI E 3), etc.

The vowels ā/ǟ, however, are sometimes marked. Only in the following examples ā/ǟ of the non-first syllables are written: pam apām "my ancestors" (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), pamz apāmïz "our ancestors" (KT E 19; O F 1), r^{1}qas^{1}in^{2} arqāsīn "its rump" (acc.) (KČ E 9), s^{1}iγt^{1}ams^{2} sïγtāmis "they lamented" (KT E 4), s^{2}iγt^{1}amš siγtāmiš id. (BK E 5), t^{1}pl^{1}amd^{1}i taplāmadï "they did not like" (BK E 35), un^{1}amñ unāmañ "do not agree!" (TI N 11), y^{1}uγl^{1}amš yoγlāmiš "they mourned" (BK E 5), y^{1}uγl^{1}ams^{2} yoγlāmis id. (KT E 4); b^{2}l^{2}gas^{2}i bilgäsī "his counselor" (KČ E 5),

(b^{2})l^{2}gas^{2}in^{2} bilgäsïn "his wiseness" (acc.) (KČ W 7).

2°. The vowels ï/i of non-first syllables are generally left undesignated: d^{1}γr^{1}γ adγïrïγ "the stallion" (acc.) (KT E 36), d^{1}r^{1}l^{1}ml^{1}m adrïlmalïm "let us not be parted!" (O R 3), b^{1}uñs^{2}z buñsiz "in abundance" (TII S 4), t^{1}ut^{1}s^{1}qñn^{1} tutsïqïñïn "your ruling" (acc.) (KT S 10), b^{2}d^{2}z bädiz "picture" (KT N 13), y^{2}gr^{2}mi yegirmi "twenty" (KT E 11), ül^{2}s^{2}kñn^{2} ölsikiñin "your being killed" (acc.) (KT S 10), t^{2}ür^{2}gs^{2} türgis ethnical name (KT N 13), etc.

The exceptions are: qit^{1}mz aqït(t)ïmïz "we rode fast" (KT N 8), but qt^{1}d^{1}mz aqïtdïmïz id. (TI N 1); n^{1}in^{1} anïn "by means of it" (TI E 7); r^{1}iγu arïγu "to become tired" (TII W 2); b^{2}ir^{2}ü äbirü "going around" (TI N 2), but b^{2}r^{2}ü äbirü (TI N 4; BK E 25); kin^{2}l^{2}g äkinlig "hemmed?" (BK N 11); r^{2}ig ärig "reachable" (KT S 13), but r^{2}g ärig (KT S 13); s^{2}id^{2} äsid "hear!" (KT S 2), s^{2}id^{2}gl^{2} äsidgil id. (KT S 1), s^{2}id^{2}ñ äsidiñ id. (KT S 10; BK N 8), but generally s^{2}d^{2}-; in^{2}is^{2}i inisï "their younger brothers" (KT E 5), but generally in^{2}s^{2}i inisï; o̊ur^{1}iγr^{1}u qurïγaru "westwards" (KT S 2, 3, E 24; BK N 2, 3, E 11), but generally o̊ur^{1}+; o̊ur^{1}iqn^{1} qurïqan ethnical name (KT E 4, 14; BK E 5); uγl^{1}it^{1}i oγlïtï "their sons" (KT E 5; BK E 5); y^{2}gir^{2}mi yegirmi "twenty", but generally y^{2}gr^{2}mi; y^{2}t^{2}inč yētinč "seventh" (O R 4), but y^{2}it^{2}nč yītinč (KT N 5, NE); y^{2}pr^{1}iγ yiparïγ "the scent" (acc.) (BK S 11); y^{1}ul^{1}id^{1}mz yulïdïmïz "we plundered" (TII W 4), but y^{1}ul^{1}γl^{1}i yulïγalï "in order to plunder" (BK E 32), y^{1}ul^{1}γči yulïγči "plunderer" (BK SE); r^{1}mqčis^{2}in^{2} armaqčisïn

(KT E 6), $y^1\gamma$učis^{2}i ayγučisī (TI S 3, E 4, N 5), b^2d^2žig bädizčig (KT S 12, NE; BK N 14), $y^1\gamma$ičis^{2}i yaγïčisī (TII S 6); kl^2t^2čimz kältäčimiz (TI S 7), $ül^2t^2$čiča öltäčičä (BK E 2); d^1nčiγ adïnč(č)ïγ (KT S 12), but generally d^1nčγ; $y^1\gamma s^2$iz yaγïsiz (KT E 30), but generally -s^1z/-s^2z.

3°. The vowels ï/ī of non-first syllables are generally written: γis^{2}i aγïsī (KT S 5), $b^2it^2id^2$m bitīdim (KT SE), t^1uqid^1m toqïdïm (BK E 31), $y^1\gamma i\gamma$ yaγïγ (KT E 15), y^1zid^1a yazïda (TI N 9), ql^1is^2z qalïsiz (KT N 1), qr^1ip qarïp (KČ W 3), kis^{2}ig kisīg (KT S 6), etc.

The exceptions are: $b^2it^2d^2$m bitidim (KT SW; BK SW), $b^2(t^2)d^2$m (KČ S 2), but generally bitīdim, bitīt-; b^2it^2gma bitigmä (KT S 13, SE); b^2it^2g bitig (KT S 13, SE, N 13, NE; O Supp. 1), but b^2t^2ig bitīg (KČ S 3); čm äčim (KT E 17; BK E 15, 20, N 9), but generally čim äčīm; kn^2t^2i (KT N 5), knti (BK S 1), but generally ekīnti; s^2l^2k (BK E 7; KT E 24), but s^2il^2k esīlik (KT E 7); kis$^2l^2$gü kisiligü (BK E 41), but generally kisīg, kisīsīn; s^2üčg süčig (BK N 4, 4, 5), but s^2üčig süčīg (KT S 5, 5, 6); $t^2ül^2s^2$ (BK E 12, S 13), but $t^2ül^2is^2$ tölīs (KT E 33); ud^1mad^1m udïmadïm (KT E 27), but ud^1imd^1m udïmadïm (BK E 22); ud^1mt^1i udïmatï (TII E 1); ud^1s^2ïqm udïsïqïm (TI E 5), ud^1s^2iqm udïsïqïm (TI S 5); $y^1\gamma s^2$i yaγïsī (BK E 11), $y^1\gamma$mz yaγïmïz (TI S 1, TII E 2); $y^1\gamma s^2$iz (KT E 30), $y^1\gamma s^2$z (BK E 24) yaγïsiz, but generally yaγïγ, yaγïqa, yaγïsī; y^1ur^1- yorï- (KT E 12, 40, S 9; BK E 37, SE; TI S 4, N 5; O F 5, R 3), but generally y^1ur^1i- yorï-; $y^1ur^1t^1$ yorït- (KT S 4, 6), but $y^1ur^1it^1$

yorït- (TI N 1, 11); t^2zkka täzikkä (KČ E 4), but t^2zik täzïk (TII S 1); in the suffix -ayïn/-äyïn: ńt^{1}y^{1}n^2 ańïtayin (BK E 41), igd^{2}y^{2}n^2 igidäyin (BK E 35), but generally -y^{1}in^2/-y^{2}in^2; in the suffix -ï/-sï: b^{1}t^{1}s^{2}qña batsïqïña (O F 2), b^{2}ña äbiñä (KČ W 3, E 8), r^{2}n^2 ärin (O F 3), l^{2}ña eliñä (O F 4), il^{2}n^2 ilin (BK E 28), il^{2}ña iliñä (TI W 1), o̊qut^{1}ña qutïña (KT E 31), uγl^{1}n^2 oγlin (KT E 7), t^{1}s^{1}n^1 tasïn (TI S 6), t^{2}gd^{2}ko̊n^2 tägdükin (O R 2), t^{1}uγs^{2}qña toγsïqïña (O F 2), (tur)γqña (tur)γaqïña (BK E 40), y^{1}zña yazïña (BK E 31), y^{2}r^{2}n^2 yerin (BK E 35), y^{2}r^{2}ñr^{2}ü yeriñärü (BK E 40), y^{2}r^{2}ña yeriñä (BK N 3), y^{2}ir^{2}ña yiriñä (BK E 15), y^2(ü)z(ña) yüziñä (KT E 33); in the suffix -ïr/-ïr: b^{2}il^{2}r^2 bilir (KT N 10), but b^{2}il^{2}ir^2 bilïr (KT E 34); kl^{2}r^2 kälir (O R 2), but kl^{2}ir^2 kälïr (TI N 8).

4°. The vowels u/ü are generally written after syllables formed with the unrounded vowels: l^{1}t^{1}un^1 altun "gold" (KT N 12), t^{1}l^{1}uy^1 taluy "sea, ocean" (TI E 1), d^{2}güt^{2}i ädgüti "well" (TI N 10), čüm äčüm "my ancestors" (KT E 1), etc.

Rounded vowels occurring after unrounded ones are not marked only in the following examples: ltzd^{1}i altuzdï (KT E 38), b^{2}n^{2}t^{2}r^{2}a bintürä (TI N 1), r^{2}mzn^2 ärmäzün (O F 3), t^{2}ir^{2}gr^{2}ü tirgürü (KT E 29), y^{1}ntr^{1}u yanturu (KT N 11), y^{2}it^{2}mzn^2 yitmäzün (O F 3), y^{2}it^{2}rü yitürü (KT E 7; BK E 7).

5°. Rounded vowels occurring after syllables formed with rounded vowels are not written in general: b^{1}ud^{1}n^1 bodun (KT N 3), t^{1}uqz toquz (BK E 1), ügzg ögüzüg (BK E 30), s^{2}üñš süñüš

(BK E 34), kümš kümüš (KT S 5), etc.

The exceptions are:

A. The short connective vowels in the following words: $b^1ud^1un^1$ bodun (KT E 4), but generally $b^1ud^1n^1$; $qr^1l^1{}^{o}quy$ qarluquy (KT N 2); ${}^{o}qun\check{c}y^1uy$ qunčuyuy (KT E 20), but ${}^{o}qu(n\check{c})y^1y$ (BK E 17); ${}^{o}qun^1$ oqun (KT E 33, 36); ul^1ur^1- olur- (TI N 8), but generally ul^1r^1-; $s^2\ddot{u}\tilde{n}{}^{o}k\ddot{u}\tilde{n}$ söñüküñ (KT E 24), but $s^2\ddot{u}\tilde{n}{}^{o}kg$ söñüküg (BK E 20); ${}^{o}k\ddot{u}\check{s}$ üküš (KT S 10), but generally ükš; ${}^{o}k\ddot{u}s^2$ üküs (KT S 6; TII W 4, 5), but $\ddot{u}ks^2$ (TI W 7) and $\ddot{u}ks^2g$ üküsüg (O F 7).

B. The stem-final vowels of the following words: $b^1ul^1\check{c}ud^1a$ bolčuda (BK E 28; KT E 37), $b^1ul^1\check{c}uqa$ bolčuqa (TI N 11); $ur^1tus^2i\tilde{n}r^1u$ ortusīñaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2), but $ur^1t^1s^2i\tilde{n}r^1u$ (BK N 2).

C. The rounded vowels of the following suffixes:

a. -čun: $b^1ul^1\check{c}un^1$ bolčun (KT E 11; BK E 10).

b. -yur-/-gür-: $b^1u\check{s}yur^1ms^2$ bošyurmis (KT E 13), $b^1u\check{s}yur^1m\check{s}$ bošyurmiš (BK E 12), $b^1u\check{s}yur^1ur$ bošyurūr (KT S 7, 7; BK N 5).

c. -qun (<-yun): $b^1uz{}^{o}qun\check{c}a$ buzqunča (O R 1).

d. -tur-/-tür-: ${}^{o}quntur^1$- qontur- (KT E 21), but generally ${}^{o}quntr^1$- ; $k\ddot{u}t^2\ddot{u}r^2$- kötür- (KT E 11), but generally $k\ddot{u}t^2r^2$- ; $\ddot{u}gt^2\ddot{u}r^2$- ögtür- (KT W 2); $ur^1t^1ur^1$- ūrtur- (KT S 12); $y^2\ddot{u}gt^2\ddot{u}r^2$- yügtür- (KČ W 2); $y^2\ddot{u}kt\ddot{u}(r^2)$- yüküntür- (KT E 15), but generally $y^2\ddot{u}kntr^2$- .

e. -ur-/-ür-: $\ddot{u}l^2\ddot{u}r^2$- ölür- (KT E 10, N 1; TI S 3, 4), but generally $\ddot{u}l^2r^2$- ; $s^2\ddot{u}k\ddot{u}r$ - sökür- (KT E 2, 15), but generally

$s^2ükr^2$- ; $t^2üs^2ür^2$- tüsür- (TI N 3); $y^1uñšur^1$- yoñšur- (KT E 6; BK E 7).

D. The rounded vowels of the following words: $ükün^2$ ökün- (KT E 23), $k\underset{o}{ü}n^2$ ökün (BK E 19), but $ükn^2$ ökün- ; $t^1\underset{o}{u}qu_z$ toquz (KT N 4 and 8 more occurrences), but generally t^1uqz; $t^2ügl^2t^2ün^2$ tügültün (BK N 5), but $t^2ügl^2t^2n^2$ (KT S 6); $y^2\underset{o}{ü}ntr^2$- yüküntür- (KT E 18), but generally $y^2ükntr^2$-.

E. Long vowels: $ur^1d^1uγ$ ordūγ (KT N 8, 9); $ur^1u\overset{o}{q}i$ orūqī (TI E 7); $s^2üñüg$ süñūg (KT E 35), but generally $s^2üñg$; $t^2ür^2üg$ törūg (KT E 3, 16, 30; BK E 2, 4, 36), $t^2ür^2üd^2a$ törūdä (KT E 16, BK E 14), $t^2ür^2ümz$ törūmiz (KT E 22), $t^2ür^2ün^2$ törūn (BK N 9, 10, 10), $t^2ür^2üñn$ törūñin (KT E 22), $t^2ür^2üs^2in^2$ törūsīn (KT E 1, 8, 13, 31; BK E 3), $t^2ür^2üs^2inča$ törūsīnčä (KT E 13; BK E 12), but $t^2ür^2gn^2$ törügin (BK E 19), $t^2ür^2s^2in^2$ törüsīn (BK E 8), $(t^2ü)r^2s^2in^2$ törüsīn (BK E 11); $t^2ür^2ü$- törū- (KT N 10), $t^2üpüt^2$ tüpūt (KT E 4; BK E 5), $t^2üpüt^2ka$ tüpūtkä (KT S 3; BK N 3); $üt^2ükn^2$ ötūkän (KT S 8; BK N 6), but generally $üt^2\underset{o}{k}n^2$, $üt^2kn^2$; $üt^2ül^2g$ ötūlüg (BK E 34); $üčün^2$ üčūn (KT N 4 and 17 more occurrences), but generally $üčn^2$; $ül^2ügm$ ülūgüm (KT E 29), but generally $ül^2g$; in the suffix -ūr/-ūr: $kür^2ür^2$ körūr (KT N 10; BK N 2), but $k\underset{o}{ü}r^2r^2$ (TI W 1); $\overset{o}{q}ur^1\overset{o}{q}ur^1$ qorqūr (TII W 4); $ul^1r^1ur^1$ olurūr (KT E 3; BK E 4; TI W 7, S 1; TII N 4), but $ul^1r^1r^1$ (TI S 1); $üy^2ür^2$ öyūr (KT S 5); $ükl^2ür^2$ ökülūr (TI N 8); $b^1ušγur^1ur^1$ bošγurūr (KT S 7, 7; BK N 5).

1.222. Indication of Consonants

1.2220. The Double "Consonant-Characters" System

As we have already seen, the Old Turkic script has a large stock of consonant signs. An important feature of the script is that there are two different characters for most of the consonant sounds, one being a back-vocalic and the other a front-vocalic sign. The back-vocalic consonant signs are used in back-vocalic words, and the front-vocalic signs in front-vocalic words. This system and the vowel harmony prevent the reader from misreading which otherwise could have been unavoidable because of the insufficiency of vowel signs:

$q l^1 m d^1 i$	qalmadï (TI W 4)	$k l^2 m d^2 i$	kälmädi (TI S 5)
$b^1 l^1 s^1 r^1$	ablasar (KČ W 9)	$b^2 l^2 s^2 r^2$	äbläsär
$s^1 b^1 \gamma$	sabïγ (TI N 9)	$s^2 b^2 g$	säbig (BK S 14)
$y^1 l^1 m$ +	yalma + (KT E 33)	$y^2 l^2 ma$	yälmä (TI N 10)

However, there are instances in which certain front-vocalic consonant signs are used instead of their back-vocalic counterparts. Some of these spellings are just scribal errors and do not reflect any phonetical development: $b^2 u l^1 \tilde{n} \gamma$ buluñuγ (O F 1), $q \gamma n^1 l^1 d^2 o q$ qaγanladuq (O F 2), $q z \gamma n^1 m s^1 r^2$ qazγanmasar (TII E 4, N 1), etc. Some of them, however, seem phonetically significant: $q t^1 \gamma d^2 i$ qatïγdi (KT N 11), $s^2 i y^1 u$ siyu (KT E 36), $t^2 i \tilde{n} l^1 a$ tiñla (KT S 2), $y^2 i m š q$ yimšaq (KT S 5), etc. (see Palatalization 2.14).

The most common front-vocalic consonant signs frequently used

in back-vocalic words are | (= s^2) and ϥ (= y^2).

1.2221. Use of the Front-Vocalic Consonant Sign s^2

The front-vocalic consonant sign for the sound s is often used to represent the consonant which occurs in the vicinity of the vowel ï in back-vocalic words. This fact should be due to the quality of the vowel ï in such instances; probably it was an intermediate sound between ï and i in some of the examples, while in the others, it was just a front unrounded high vowel.

The sign s^2 is used also before or after the vowels a and u in some back-vocalic words . This use of the sign s^2, however, does not seem to have been phonetically significant.

A. Before or after ï: ačs^{2}q ačsïq (KT S 8, 8), but ačs^{1}q (BK N 6); b^1(s^2)qd^{1}i basïqdï (KT N 8); b^{1}t^{1}s^{2}q̈iña batsïqïña (KT S 2), b^{1}t^{1}s^{2}qña batsïqïña (O F 2), but b^{1}t^{1}s^{1}q̈iña (BK N 2), b^{1}t^{1}s^{1}qd^{1}qi (KT N 12); čb^{1}s^{2}i čabïsï (TI W 7; KČ E 5); qb^{1}s^{2}l^{1}m qabïsalïm (TI E 3), but qb^{1}s^{1}p qabïsïp (TI E 4), qb^{1}s^{1}r^1 qabïs(s)ar (TI S 5); ul^{1}r^{1}s^{2}qm olursïqïm (TI E 5), but ul^{1}r^{1}s^{1}qm (TI S 5); t^{1}uγs^{2}qña toγsïqïña (O F 2); ud^{1}s^{2}iqm (TI S 5) and ud^{1}s^{2}q̈m udïsïqïm (TI E 5); y^{2}il^{1}s^{2}γ (KT E 26) and (y)il^{1}s^{2}γ yïlsïγ (BK E 21). See Palatalization 2.14.

B. Before or after the vowels a and u: b^{1}s^{2}d^{1}m basdïm (O R 1), generally b^{1}s^1- ; b^{1}s^{2}ms^2 basmis (O F 1); b^{1}ul^{1}s^{2}r^1 bolsar (TI S 6), generally -s^{1}r^1; b^{1}us^{2}t^1... busta... (KT NE); s^{2}b^{1}n^1 sabïn (TI N 5), generally s^{1}b^1; s^{2}b^{1}γ sabïγ (TI S 5); s^{2}d^1 sad (O F 6, 8), generally šd^1, s^{1}d^1; s^{2}nčd^{1}m sančdïm

(O R 2), generally s^1nč- ; s^2qntm saqïntïm (TI W 6; O R 2), generally s^1qntm; s^2u^1 sub (TII W 3), generally s^1u^1; t^1r^1-d^1us^2 tardus (TI N 7, TII W 6), generally $t^1r^1d^1$uš; $t^1s^2u^1$l... tasul... (O F 8); ul^1s^2 ulus (KT N 12); $y^1l^1ñus^2$ yalïñus (KČ E 11), $y^1ur^1ms^2r^1$ yorïmasar (TI N 5).

1.2222. Use of the Front-Vocalic Consonant Sign y^2

1°. In first syllable with ï initial y is generally represented by the front-vocalic consonant sign y^2 instead of its back counterpart y^1: y^2il^1 yïl (in general), but y^1il^1qa yïlqa (O R 4); y^2il^1qi yïlqï (in general), but $y^1(l^1)q(..)in^1$ yïlqï-sïn (KT SW); $y^2il^1pγut^1i$ yïlpaγutï (BK E 31); $y^2il^1s^2γ$ yïlsïγ (KT E 26); $y^2is^1γr^1u$ yïsγaru (TI S 8), but generally y^1is^1.

2°. The sign y^2 is also used to designate initial y in the following words: $y^2uγn^1$ yoγun (TI S 7), but $y^1uγn^1$ (BK S 15); y^2uq yōq (TI E 1), y^2q (TI E 4), but generally y^1q, y^1uq ; $y^2ur^1il^1m$ yorïlïm (TI N 5), but generally y^1ur^1i-; $y^2ur^1it^1$-yorït- (TI N 11), but $y^1ur^1it^1$- (TI N 1), $y^1ur^1t^1$- (KT S 4, 6).

1.2223. Use of Syllabic Signs

1.22231. Use of the Syllabic Sign q

The syllabic sign q is used to represent:

1°. The sound group oq: q oq emphasizing particle (TII W 7, E 2, E 3), un^1q on-oq (in general), qun^1 oqun (KT E 33, 36), but uqs^1z oqsïz (KT E 3; BK E 4), $uqγl^1i$ oqïγalï (BK E 38); t^1q toq (TI S 1), t^1qr^1 toqar (TII S 1); t^1qid^1i toqïdï (KT

N 6), but t^{1}uqid^{1}m toqïdïm (BK E 31, S 8); t^{1}o̤qit^{1}d^{1}m toqïtdïm (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15, 15), but t^{1}uqit^{1}d^{1}m (KT S 12); t^{1}o̤qr^{1}qq toqurqaq (KT S 8), but t^{1}uqr^{1}qq (BK N 6); t^{1}o̤quz toquz (KT N 4, 6, 9, S 2, S 3, E 14; BK E 12, 35), t^{1}o̤q(uz) toquz (BK S 9), t^{1}o̤qz toquz (BK E 34), but t^{1}uqz (BK E 1, S 9; TI S 2; KČ E 4; O F 6), t^{1}uqznč toquzunč (KT NE); y^{1}o̤q yoq (in general), y^{2}o̤q (TI E 4), but y^{2}uq (TI E 1), y^{1}uqd^{1}u yoqadu (KT E 10).

The vowel sign u is used before the syllabic sign o̤q in the following example: y^{1}uo̤q yōq (KT E 11, 39; O F 1).

2°. The sound group uq in medial and final positions: r^{1}t^{1}o̤q artuq (KT E 33), d^{1}r^{1}md^{1}o̤q adrïlmaduq (O R 3), b^{1}r^{1}d^{1}o̤q barduq (KT E 24), b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}o̤qd^{1}a boltuqda (O F 1), b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}o̤qinta boltuqïnta (KT N 3), b^{1}o̤qa buqa (TI W 6), b^{1}uy^{1}r^{1}o̤q buyruq (KT S 1), etc.

The vowel sign u is used before the syllabic sign o̤q in the following examples: b^{1}uo̤qa būqa (TI W 6), b^{1}uo̤q1^{1}i būqalï (TI W 5, 5), ur^{1}uo̤qi orūqī (TI E 7).

The exceptions are: zuqi azuqī (KT E 39), b^{1}uqγ buquγ (BK S 10), s^{1}uqn^{1} suqun (BK E 38).

3°. The sound groups qo and qu in the following words: o̤qpn^{2} qopin (TI S 9); o̤qn^{1}l^{1}d^{1}m qunladïm (O R 4), o̤qt^{1} qut (O F 8).

4°. The consonant q before the vowels o and u:

A. Before o: o̤qub^{1}s^{1}r^{1}p qobsarïp (KC S 2), o̤qud^{1}p qodup (TI W 2, 3), o̤qud^{1}i qodï (BK E 37; TI N 3), o̤quq1^{1}q qoqlïq (BK S 11), o̤quntr^{1}- qontur- (generally), but qu... qo(nturtumïz) (KT E 38), o̤qun^{1}- qon- (generally); o̤qup qop (generally), but

qup (KT E 2, 2, 2); °qup(n^1) qopïn (TII W 1); °$qur^1γñn^1$i qoraγïñ-nï (O R 4); °$qur^1γu$ qorïγu (BK E 41); °$qur^1γ$... qorïγ(anqa) (BK E 40), but $qur^1γn^1$ (KT N 8; BK E 31); °qur^1q- qorq- (TII W 4, 6; O F 7); °qušu qošu (KT N 1); °qut^1i qot(t)ï (BK S 12); °quń qoń (KT E 12, NE; BK E 11), but quń (O R 4).

B. Before u: °quγ quγ (BK S 9), °qun^1i qunï (TI S 2), but qu (BK S 8); °$qub^1r^1n^1$- qubran- (TI W 4), °$qub^1r^1t^1$- qubrat- (KT S 10; BK N 7), but $qub^1r^1t^1$- (KT E 12; BK E 11); °qud^1z quduz (TII S 4), but qud^1zin^1 quduzïn (MČ E 3); °qul^1 qul (generally), but qul^1 (KT E 7; BK E 17, 36); °$qul^1l^1γ$ qulluγ (KT E 21; BK E 18); °$qul^1d^1ms^2$ quladmis (KT E 13); °qul^1qqn^1 qulqaqïn (BK N 11), °qul^1qqin^2 qulqaqīn (BK S 12); °qunčy$^1l^1r^1$m qunčuylarïm (KT N 9), °qunčy^1uγ qunčuyuγ (KT E 20), °qu(nč)y^{1}γ qunčuyuγ (BK E 17); °qur^1-d^1n^1 qurïdïn (KT W 1), but qur^1d^1nta qurïdïnta (TI S 7); °$qur^1γr^1u$ ~ °qur^1ir^1u qurïγaru (generally); °qur^1y^1qi qurïyaqï (TI S 10), but qur^1y^1a (KT N 12; TI S 7); °qur^1iqn^1 qurïqan (KT E 4, 14; BK E 5); °qut^1i qutī (BK E 35), °$qut^1ña$ qutïña (KT E 31), °qut^1m qutum (KT E 29, S 9; BK E 23, N 7); °qut^1y^1 qutay (KT S 5; BK N 4), °$qut^1y^1in^2$ qutayīn (BK N 11).

The exceptions are: qumγ qumuγ (TI W 7), qu(r^1d^1)m qurdum (O R 4), $quš l^1γqd^1a$ quš-alγaqda (KT N 5), $quzin^2$ quzīn (TI W 7).

C. Before u, medially: $b^1y^1r^1$°qu bayïrqu (KT S 4; BK N 3), $b^1y^1r^1$°q(u) bayïrqu (KT E 34), $b^1y^1r^1qun^1$(ñ) bayïrquniñ (KT E 35), $b^1y^1r^1$°qun^2ñ bayïrquniñ (KT E 36); b^1uz°qunča buzqunča (O R 1), °qur^1°qur^1 qorqūr (TII W 4); t^1ut^1°q(u?) tutqu... (BK S 10).

The exception is: r^1quy^1 arquy (TII E 3).

1.22232. Use of the Syllabic Sign k°

The syllabic sign k° is used to represent:

1°. The sound groups ök and ük in initial position: k° ök emphasizing particle (generally); k°ün^2 ökün (BK E 19), but üküm^2 (KT E 23), ükn^{2}p ökünüp (KT E 40; BK E 38); k°üš üküš (KT S 10), k°üs^2 üküs (KT S 6; TII W 4, 5), but generally ükš, üks^2.

But: ükl^{2}ür^2 ökülür (TI N 8).

2°. The sound group ök in medial and final positions: kk° kök emphasizing particle (TI N 6), kk°° kök id. (TI S 8, E 4); s^{2}kd^{2}m sökdüm (TI N 1), but s^{2}ükpn^2 söküpän (KT E 35; BK E 27), s^{2}ükür^2- ~ s^{2}ükr^2- sökür- (in general); t^{2}kt^{2}i töküti (TII E 2).

But: b^{2}üks^{2}i bökäsi (KČ E 5); kük (generally), k°ük (KT E 3) kök "blue"; t^{2}ükd^{2}i tökdi (KČ E 5).

3°. The sound group ük in medial and final positions: b^{2}d^{2}k° bädük (O F 6), b^{2}il^{2}md^{2}k° bilmädük (KT E 24), b^{2}l^{2}t^{2}k°mn^2 biltükümün (KČ S 3), s^{2}d^{2}md^{2}k° äsidmädük (BK N 11), t^{2}ür^{2}k° türük (KT S 1), etc.

The exceptions are: üt^{2}ükn^2 (KT S 8; BK N 6), üt^{2}kn^2 (TI S 8, 10, 10), but generally üt^{2}k°n^2 ötükän; y^{2}ükntr^2- yüküntür- (BK E 13, N 10), y^{2}ükntü.. yüküntür- (KT E 15), (y^{2}ü)kntr- yüküntür- (BK E 3), but y^{2}k°ntr^2- (KT E 2); b^{2}ükl^{2}i bükli (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5, 8); t^{2}ükt^{2}i tükäti (KT S 1; BK N 1).

The vowel sign ü is used before the syllabic sign k° in the following example: y^{2}ük°nti yükünti (TII W 8), but generally y^{2}k°nti .

4°. The sound group kö in the following examples: k°l^{2}kn^2

kölikin (TI S 8), kr^{2} kör (TI S 8), kr^{2}t^{2}g körtüg (O F 7).

5°. The initial consonant k before the vowels ö and ü:

A. Before ö: kügmn^{2} kögmän (TI E 6, N 4), but generally kügmn^{2}; kük kök "blue" (KT E 3), but generally kük kök; kk kök emphasizing particle (TI S 8, E 4); küñl^{2}ñča köñlüñčä (TI N 8), but generally küñl^{2} köñül; kür^{2}- kör- (TI W 1), but generally kür^{2}- kör-; kür^{2}g körüg (TI N 5, 9), but kür^{2}g (TI S 1, 2).

The exceptions are: küb^{2}r^{2}gs^{2}i köbürgäsī (BK W 4), külta kültä (KT E 34, N 2), küt^{2}ür^{2}- ~ küt^{2}r^{2}- kötür- (generally), küzd^{2}a közdä (KT N 11), küzi közī (KT N 11; BK E 2), küzm közüm (KT N 10), küzn^{2} közün (BK N 11).

B. Before ü: kü kü (KČ W 12), but generally kü; kükd^{2}i kükädi (KČ W 4); küč küč (KT E 12), küčg küčüg (KT W 1; TII E 2), küčl^{2}g küčlüg (O R 4), but generally küč; kül^{2} kül (KT W 1, 1, E 26; BK E 21), but generally kül; kül^{2}i küli (KČ W 2 and 11 more occurrences); kül^{2}g külüg (O Supp. 6), but kül^{2}g (KT E 4; BK E 5); küms^{2} kümüs (TII S 4), but generally kümš, küms^{2}; kün^{2} kün (KT E 4, 8; TI N 3; TII W 4), but generally kün^{2}; küntz küntüz (TII E 2), but kün^{2}t^{2}z (KT E 27; TI S 5), küntz (BK E 22); kür^{2} kür (TI N 8), but kür^{2}l^{2}g (KT E 6), kür^{2}l^{2}gin^{2} (BK E 6); küzd^{2}ü küzädü (KT W 1).

The exceptions are: küñ küñ (KT E 7 and 7 more occurrences), küñd^{2}ms^{2} küñädmis (KT E 13), küñl^{2}g küñlüg (BK E 18); kür^{2}güñn^{2} kürägüñin (KT E 23; BK E 19).

1.22233. Use of the Syllabic Sign $\overset{1}{q}$

The syllabic sign $\overset{1}{q}$ is used to represent:

1°. The sound group ïq in initial, medial, and final positions: ^{1}qid^{1}mz ïqïdmaz (KT S 6); b^{1}l^{1}^{1}q balïq (BK E 28, 28; TI E 2), b^{1}l^{1}^{1}qd^{1}a balïqda (KT N 4; BK E 30; KČ W 11), b^{1}l^{1}^{1}qd^{1}qi balïqdaqï (KT E 12), b^{1}l^{1}^{1}qa balïq(q)a (TI E 1; O R 1), b^{1}(^{1}l^{1}^{1}qa) balïq(q)a (TI E 2); b^{1}t^{1}s^{1}^{1}qiña (BK N 2), b^{1}t^{1}s^{2}^{1}qiña (KT S 2) batsïqïña, but b^{1}t^{1}s^{1}qd^{1}qi batsïqdaqï (KT N 12), b^{1}t^{1}s^{2}qña batsïqïña (O F 2); t^{1}γ^{1}q- taγïq- (KT E 12); t^{1}š^{1}q- tašïq- (BK E 32), t^{1}s^{1}^{1}q- tasïq- (TI N 9, 9, 6, 6), but t^{1}šq- tašïq- (KT E 11, N 8); ud^{1}s^{2}^{1}qm udïsïqïm (TI E 5), but ud^{1}s^{2}iqm udïsïqïm (TI S 5).

The vowel sign i is used before the syllabic sign ^{1}q in the following example: b^{1}l^{1}i^{1}qa balïq(q)a "into the mud" (KT N 8).

The exceptions are: ačs^{1}q āčsïq (BK N 6), ačs^{2}q āčsïq (KT E 8, 8); b^{1}(s^{2})q- basïq- (KT N 8); čiqn^{1} čïqan (KČ W 1, 2), čiqn^{1}i čïqanī (KT N 13); ul^{1}r^{1}s^{1}qm (TI S 5), ul^{1}r^{1}s^{2}qm (TI E 5) olursïqïm; t^{1}us^{1}q tosïq (KT S 8; BK N 4), t^{1}uγs^{1}qa toγsïq(q)a (KT S 2; BK E 8), t^{1}uγs^{1}qiña toγsïqïña (BK N 2), t^{1}uγs^{2}qña toγsïqïña (O F 2); ud^{1}l^{1}qin^{2} udlïqïn (KT E 36); y^{1}r^{1}qinta yarïqïnta (KT E 33); y^{1}r^{1}l^{1}q - yarlïq(q)a- (TI S 9 and 12 more occurrences).

2°. The sound group qï in the following words: z^{1}qńa azqïńa (KT E 34), but zqńa azqïńa (TI S 2); ^{1}ql^{1}p qïlïp (O R 2); ^{1}qs^{2}ms^{2} qïsmis (O F 1).

3°. The initial consonant q before the vowel ï: ^{1}qilti qïltï (BK E 14), but generally qil^{1}-; ^{1}qil^{1}ntm qïlïntïm (O F 4), ^{1}qil^{2}ntm qïlintim (TI W 1), but generally qil^{1}n^{1}-; ^{1}qil^{1}č^{1}d^{1}i qïlïčladï (KT N 5); ^{1}qir^{1}γγ^{1}γ qïrγaγlïγ (BK N 11); ^{1}qir^{1}q qïrq (KT E 15, NE), but qir^{1}q (KT N 2); ^{1}qirqz qïrqïz (generally),

but qir^{1}qz (KT E 20); q̈is^{1}- qïs- (TI E 4, W 5, W 11), but qis^{1}- (TI W 6), qiš- qïš- (KT E 32, 34; BK E 25); q̈is^{1}γa qïsγa (KČ E 11); q̈is^{1}l^{1}t^{1}a qïsïlta (BK E 37); q̈išn^{1} qïšïn (BK S 2), q̈išl^{1}d^{1}o q̈ d^{1}a qïšladuqda (BK E 31), but qišl^{1}p qïšlap (KT N 8); q̈it^{1}ń qïtań (generally), but qit^{1}ńγr^{1}u qïtańγaru (TI S 2), qit^{1}ńγ qïtańïγ (TI W 7); q̈iy^{1}n^{2}γ qïyinïγ (TI N 8); q̈iz qïz (generally); q̈izp qïzïp (TII W 5); q̈izl^{1} qïzïl (TII E 2).

1.22234. Use of the Syllabic Sign ič

The syllabic sign ič is rarely used to designate the initial sound group ič: ičgr^{2}t^{2}m ičgärtim (BK E 25); ičkd^{2}i ičikdi (BK E 37; TI N 4), ~~ičkmš ičikmiš~~ (BK E 9), but generally ičk- ičik-; ičr^{2}a ičrä (TI N 10), but generally ičr^{2}a.

1.22235. Use of the Syllabic Sign aš

The syllabic sign aš is used once in the inscription of Tonyukuk: ašg ašig ? (TI S 1).

1.22236. Us e of the Syllabic Sign baš

The syllabic sign baš is used only once in the inscription of Tonyukuk: baš (TI N 2).

1.2224. Use of the Ligature ⅄ (= či)

In the following word the medial sound group či is designated with the ligature ⅄ : kl^{2}t^{2}čimz kältäčimiz (TI S 7).

1.2225. Use of Compound Consonant-Characters

1.22251. Use of the Compound Consonant-Character lt

The compound consonant-character lt is used to represent the

sounds groups alt and lt in back-vocalic words:

1°. alt: ltm altïm (O R 1), but generally $l^{1}t^{1}m$, $l^{1}t^{1}mz$, $l^{1}t^{1}i$; $ltzd^{1}i$ altuzdï (KT E 38); qltči qaltači (KT N 9; TI S 6), but $ql^{1}t^{1}m$ qaltïm (BK E 14);

2°. lt: $b^{1}ultči$ boltači (generally), but $b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}či$ (KT N 11; BK E 31); $b^{1}ulti$ boltï (generally), but $b^{1}ul^{1}(t^{1}i)$ (KČ W 3), $b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}{}^{o}qd^{1}a$ (O F 1, 6), $b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}{}^{o}qinta$ (KT N 3, 3); $b^{1}ultm$ boltum (TII E 6, 6); $b^{1}ulti$ bultï (KT E 31), but $b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}m$ bultum (TI E 6); $^{1}qilti$ (BK E 14), qilti (BK E 7, 14) qïltï, but $qil^{1}t^{1}i$ (BK E 7); qiltγ qïltïγ (BK E 20, 20); qiltm qïltïm (generally), but $qil^{1}t^{1}m$ (KT E 29); $y^{1}ñltči$ yañïltači (KT S 11); $y^{1}ñlti$ yañïltï (KT E 20), $(y^{1})ñlti$ yañïltï (BK E 35); $y^{1}ñltγ$ yañïltïγ (KT E 23; BK E 19); $y^{1}ñlt{}^{o}qin^{2}$ yañïltuqïn (BK E 16); $y^{1}ulta$ yolta (TI S 9), but $y^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}a$ (KT N 9).

The exceptions are: $l^{1}t^{1}i$ altï "six" (generally) (cf. lti altï : MČ N 4, N 9, S 5, W 7); $l^{1}t^{1}un^{1}$ altun (generally) (cf. Tašeba inscription, Orkun III, p. 175: $ltun^{1}$ altun); $r^{1}l^{1}t^{1}γ$ arïltïγ (KT S 9); $^{1}qis^{1}l^{1}t^{1}a$ qïsïlta (BK E 37).

1.22252. Use of the Compound Consonant-Character nt

The compound consonant-character nt is used to represent the sound groups ant, änt, and nt in back- and front-vocalic words.

1°. ant: nta anta (generally); ntγ antaγ (generally); ntg antäg (TI N 5); $ntr^{1}γud^{1}a$ antïrγuda (BK E 30); $t^{1}l^{1}nti$ atlantï (KČ E 8); $b^{1}uγzl^{1}nti$ boγuzlantï (TI N 2), etc.

2°. änt: kntü käntü (KT E 23; BK E 19).

3°. nt: $l^{1}qnti$ alqïntï (TI W 3), $l^{1}qntγ$ alqïntïγ (KT S 9;

BK N 7); b^{1}unta bunta (KT E 20, S 10, S 11; BK E 17), čintn^{1} čïntan (BK S 11), qil^{1}nt^{o}q̈d^{1}a qïlïntuqda (KT E 1), etc.

The exceptions are: b^{2}n^{2}t^{2}r^{2}a bintürä (TI N 1); b^{2}izn^{2}t^{2}a bizintä (TII W 5); b^{2}ün^{2}t^{2}gi büntägī (TII E 7); zgn^{2}t^{2}i äzginti (KT N 7), but zgnti (BK E 31); kin^{2}t^{2}i ekīnti (KT E 33; TII W 4), kn^{2}t^{2}i ekinti (KT N 5), but knti (BK S 1), kint(i) ekīnti (BK E 30); l^{2}in^{2}t^{2}a elīntä (KČ W 3); in^{2}t^{2}mz intimiz (TI N 2); kčgn^{2}t^{2}i käčginti (KČ E 8); kn^{2}t^{2}ü käntü (KT N 4), but kntü (KT E 23; BK E 19); kün^{2}t^{2}z küntüz (KT E 27; TI S 5), k^{o}ün^{2}t^{2}z (TII E 2), but küntz (BK E 22); ün^{2}t^{2}i önti (KČ E 7); ün^{2}t^{2}r^{2}ü öntürü (TI N 11); ür^{2}pn^{2}t^{2}a örpäntä (BK E 26); üt^{2}n^{2}t^{2}k^{o} ötüntük (TI S 8), üt^{2}n^{2}t^{2}m ötüntüm (TI S 5, 5, 7; TI N 1); y^{2}r^{2}in^{2}t^{2}a yerīntä (TI W 3, S 4; TII N 2); y^{2}ük^{o}n^{2}t^{2}i yük̈ünti (TII W 8), y^{2}k^{o}n^{2}t^{2}i yükünti (TI N 4, TII S 2), but y^{2}ükntr^{2}- yüküntür- (generally).

1.22253. Use of the Compound Consonant-Character nč

The compound consonant-character nč is used to represent the sound groups anč, änč, and nč in back- and front-vocalic words.

1°. anč: nča anča (generally), nčul^{1}d^{1}i ančuladï (KT E 32), s^{1}nč- sanč- (KT N 5), etc.

2°. änč: n^{2}nča nänčä (BK N 9).

3°. nč: b^{1}unča bunča (generally), r^{2}nč ärinč (generally), b^{2}is^{2}nč bīsinč (KT N 2; BK S 10), un^{1}nč onunč (BK S 10), t^{1}uqznč toquzunč (KT NE), t^{2}ür^{2}t^{2}nč törtünč (KT N 6; BK E 31), y^{2}inčü yinčü (KT E 39), y^{2}nčga yinčgä (TI S 6, 6), y^{2}it^{2}nč yītinč (KT N 5), etc.

1. 2226. Indication of Doubled Consonants

Doubled (geminated, long) consonants are rarely indicated in the Old Turkic script; in other words, a long consonant is mostly represented by one character.

1°. č(č): d^1nčiγ adïnč(č)ïγ (KT S 12), d^1nčγ adïnč(č)ïγ (BK N 14, 14).

2°. d(d): $b^2it^2id^2m$ bitīd(d)im (KT S 13; BK N 15), cf. $b^2it^2it^2d^2m$ bitītdim (TII E 8); $y^1r^1t^1d^2m$ yaratid(d)im (BK N 14), cf. $y^1r^1t^1t^1d^1m$ yaratïtdïm (MČ E 8, 9, 10).

3°. γ(γ): $y^1\gamma l^1$ yaγ(γ)ïl (TI W 5).

4°. g(g): $y^2ügr^2ü$ yüg(g)ärü (KT E 11, SW; BK E 2, 10).

5°. q(q): $b^1l^1\underset{o}{q}a$ balïq(q)a (TI E 1; O R 1); $b^1l^1i\underset{o}{q}a$ balïq(q)a "into the mud" (KT N 8); $id^1\underset{o}{q}t^1$ ïduq(q)ut (BK E 25), cf. $t^1ut^1\underset{o}{q}t^1qa$ tutuq (q)utqa (Abakan, front); $ul^1r^1t^1\underset{o}{q}a$ olurtuq(q)a (BK E 14); $t^1u\gamma s^1qa$ toγsïq(q)a (KT S 2; BK E 8); $t^1u\acute{n}\underset{oo}{q}\underset{o}{q}a$ tońuquq(q)a (TI N 7); $y^1r^1l^1q$ - yarlïq(q)a- (generally); $y^1\underset{o}{q}r^1u$ yoq(q)aru (TI N 1).

6°. k(k): $b^2ir^2t^2\underset{o}{k}r^2ü$ birtük(k)ärü (BK E 9) = $b^2ir^2t^2\underset{o}{k}gr^2ü$ (KT E 10).

7°. l(l), l(l): $y^1ul^1\gamma$ yol(l)uγ (KT S 13, SE, ŞE); $čül^2g$ čöl(l)üg (KT E 4; BK E 5), $il^2d^2\underset{o}{k}$ il(l)ädük (BK E 7).

8°. n(n): $q\check{c}n^2\tilde{n}$ qačan (n)äñ (TI E 3, N 5), $q\check{c}n^1\tilde{n}$ qačan (n)añ (TI E 4).

9°. ñ(ñ) < ñγ/g: $b^2\tilde{n}a$ äbiñ(ñ)ä (BK N 14), $l^2\tilde{n}a$ eliñ(ñ)ä (KT E 23; BK E 19); $q\gamma n^1\tilde{n}a$ qaγanïñ(ñ)a (BK E 19).

10°. s(s) < šs: $qb^1s^1r^1$ qabïs(s)ar (TI S 5).

11. t(t): $\gamma t^1 m$ aγït(t)ïm (BK E 31); $qit^1 mz$ aqït(t)ïmïz (KT N 8), cf. $qt^1 d^1 mz$ aqïtdïmïz (TI N 11); $b^2 d^2 zt^2 i$ bädizät(t)i (KČ E 12), $b^2 d^2 zt^2 m$ bädizät(t)im (KT S 11); $s^2 t^2 m$ äsit(t)im (TI E 7), cf. $s^2 d^2 t^2 i$ äsidti (Irq Bitig, 83, 93); $it^1 i$ ït(t)ï (KT E 7, S 12; BK E 7, N 14), $it^1 m$ ït(t)ïm (BK E 40; TI N 9; TII E 2), $it^1 mz$ ït(t)ïmïz (KT E 40; TII W 7); $igt^2 i$ igit(t)i (KT E 16; BK E 14; KČ E 13), $igt^2 m$ igit(t)im (KT E 29; BK E 23, 38); $\overset{o}{q}ut^1 i$ qot(t)ï (BK S 12); $\overset{o}{q}ub^1 r^1 t^1 m$ qubrat(t)ïm (BK N 7); $ul^1 r^1 t^1 i$ olurt(t)ï (KČ E 12); $y^1 \gamma t^1 \overset{o}{q} d^1 a$ yaγït(t)uqda (KČ W 5, E 6); $y^1 u\gamma l^1 t^1 i$ yoγlat(t)ï (KČ E 12).

The exceptions are: $čur^1 qqa$ čoraqqa (BK SE), $l^2 l^2 gd^2 a$ elligdä (KT E 29; BK E 24), $il^2 l^2 d^2 \underset{o}{k}$ illädük (KT E 6), $il^2 l^2 gg$ illigig (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), $qr^1 l^1 \overset{o}{q}qa$ qarluqqa (KČ E 7), $\overset{o}{q}ul^1 l^1 \gamma$ qulluγ (KT E 21; BK E 18), $t^2 zkka$ täzikkä (KČ E 4), $y^1 ul^1 l^1 \gamma$ yolluγ (KT SW).

1.23. Punctuation

The only punctuation mark used in the Orkhon inscriptions is a mark resembling a colon (:). This mark is used to separate words and word groups from each other. Relating to the use of this mark the following rules can be stated:

1°. Words are generally separated by colons:

:$t^2 \tilde{n} r^2 id^2 a$:$b^1 ul^1 m\check{s}$:$t^2 ür^2 \underset{o}{k}$:$b^2 il^2 ga$:$q\gamma n^1$: (KT S 1)

täñridä bolmiš türük bilgä qaγan

:$t^2 ür^2 \underset{o}{k}$:$b^2 gl^2 r^2$:$b^1 ud^1 n^1$:$b^1 un^1 i$:$s^2 id^2 \tilde{n}$: (KT S 10)

türük bäglär bodun bunï äsidiñ

Very short words such as at, är, and alp are generally written together with the following or preceding word or group of words:

:ul^{1}t^{2}gd^{2}k̥d^{2}a:b^{1}y^{1}r^{1}o̥un^{2}ñ:qd^{1}γr^{1}γ: (KT E 36)

ol tägdükdä bayïrqūniñ aq adγïrïγ

:kir^{2}g:ud^{1}šr^{1}u:s^{1}nčd^{1}i: (KT E 36, N 2)

eki ärig ud ašru sančdï

:b^{2}izñs^{2}ü:t^{1}i:t^{1}ur^{1}o̥q:zuqi:y^{1}uo̥r^{2}t^{2}i: (KT E 39)

biziñ sǖ atī toruq azuqī yōq ärti

2°. Compounds, word groups or phrases are often placed between colons:

:čümpam:b^{1}umn^{1}qγn^{1}:is^{2}t^{2}miqγn^{1}:ul^{1}r^{1}mš: (KT E 1)

äčüm apām bumïn qaγan istämi qaγan olurmiš

:n^{2}aqγn^{1}qa:is^{2}gküčg:b^{2}ir^{2}ür^{2}mn^{2}:t^{2}ir^{2}r^{2}mš: (BK E 9)

nä qaγanqa īsig küčüg bīrür män tīr ärmiš

Sometimes two words which do not constitute a phrase are put between a pair of colons:

:y^{2}ir^{2}:s^{1}y^{1}uo̥up:t^{1}ur^{1}u:ül^{2}ü: yir sayu qop toru ölü (KT S 9)

:üzakük:t^{2}ñr^{2}i: üzä kök täñri (KT E 1)

:b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}či:r^{2}t^{2}iuza:y^{1}ńa:kl^{2}gma: bōltači ärti oza yańa käligmä (BK E 30)

:üd^{2}t^{2}ñr^{2}i:y^{1}s^{1}r^{1}: öd täñri yasar (KT N 10) (instead of :üd^{2}:t^{2}ñr^{2}iy^{1}s^{1}r: or :üd^{2}:t^{2}ñr^{2}i:y^{1}s^{1}r^{1}:)

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. The Vowels

Orkhon Turkic has the following vowels: a, ä, e, ï, i, o, ö, u, and ü. With the exception of e, the vowels stand in contrast to each other in a three-dimensional system: front vowels (ä, i, ö, ü) versus back vowels (a, ï, o, u), high vowels (ï, i, u, ü) versus low vowels (a, ä, o, ö), and unrounded vowels (a, ä, ï, i) versus rounded vowels (o, ö, u, ü).

A peculiar feature of the vowel system of Orkhon Turkic is the contrast of long vowels versus short vowels. The distinction between short and long vowels is phonemically significant in Orkhon Turkic: ač- "to open", āč- "to feel hungry"; at "horse", āt "name, reputation".

There are also reduced vowels. In polysyllabic words, the short vowels of the medial syllable are greatly reduced and subject to drop under certain circumstances.

2.11. Vowels of the First Syllable

2.111. The Vowel a

1°. Short: adaq "foot" (KT N 7), adγïr "stallion" (BK N 11), balïq "city, town" (TI E 2), bar- "to go" (BK E 35), qarā "black" (TII E 2), taluy "sea, ocean" (TI E 1), yayïn "in the summer" (BK E 39), yazï "plain" (KT S 7), etc.

2°. Long: The existence of a long and phonemically significant a in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the orthography (see 1.2211.2° and 1.2212.1°): āč "hungry" (BK E 38) (cf. Kāš. āč,

Turkm. āč, Yak. ās, Karag. ayš id.), āč- "to feel hungry" (KT S 8, 8; BK N 6, 6) (cf. Yak. ās-, Chuv. vïś- id.), āt "name, title" (BK E 41; KT E 7, 7, W 2; KČ W 1) (cf. Kāš. āt, Turkm. āt, Yak. āt, Chuv. yat, Turk. ad id.), tām "wall" (KT SE) (cf. Kāš. tām, OK taγam, Turkm. tām id.).

2.112. The Vowel ï

1°. The existence of ï in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the orthography. The Altaic and Pre-Turkic (Vortürkisch) *ï (see Poppe, Verg., 112-116) is generally preserved in Orkhon Turkic: (b)ïč- "to cut out" (BK S 12) (= Tuv. bïš-, Yak. bïs-, Khak. pïs- id.), (ï)t "dog" (BK S 10) (= Yak., Tuv. ït, Sar.uig. ïšt id.), qïl- (KT E 15) ~ qïš- (BK E 25) ~ qïs- (TI W 6) "to do, make", qïšla- "to spend the winter" (KT N 8), sïγtā- "to lament, wail" (KT E 4) (= Yak. ïtā- "to cry"), tïl "word, news" (TII W 1)(= Yak. tïl, Tuv. dïl id.), yïlqï "stud, horses" (KČ E 13) (= Khak., Tuv. čïlγï, Yak. sïlγï id.), yïs "wooded mountain" (TI E 3) (= Khak. čïs "thick forest, taiga"), etc.

2°. The existence of a long ï in the first syllable is not clear from the script. The use of the syllabic sign q (= ïq/qï) could have been a criterion to distinguish between ï and ï in at least one group of words, but its use initially and before the sign i is not phonetic. Thus, the only criterion is comparison. We may assume that a long ï occurred in such words as these: ï "trees, forest" (TI N 2) (cf. Uig. ï, ïγ, ïi id.), ïd- "to send, dispatch" (BK E 35) (= Yak. ït- id.), qïz "female" (KT E 24) (= Yak. kïs, Turkm. γïz id.).

2.113. The Vowel o

1°. Short: bod "tribe, a group of people" (TI W 4) (= Kāš., Turk. boy id.), čoraq "a dry land, salty land" (BK SE) (cf. Kirg. šor id.), qodï "down, downward" (BK E 37) (= Sar.uig. qozu, qozï id.), olur- "to sit, dwell" (TI N 8) (= Yak. olor- id.), toq "satiated, full" (TI S 1), yoq(q)aru "upwards" (TI N 1), etc.

2°. The existence of a long o in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the spelling of the word yōq "there is not, does not exist" in some of its occurrences: the vowel sign u is used before the syllabic sign q: $y^{l}u^{o}q$ yōq (KT E 11, 39; O F 1) (cf. MČ W 4: $y^{l}u^{o}q$; Abakan, front 4: $y^{l}u^{o}q$; Kāš. yōq, Yak. suox id.).

The existence of ō in other words like ōt "fire" and tōn "clothes" is not clear from the spelling; therefore, no further examples will be given here.

2.114. The vowel u

1°. Short: buluñ "corner, quarter" (KT E 2) (= Tuv. buluñ, Khak. puluñ id.), qut "good luck, fortune" (BK N 7), uzun "long" (TII E 2) (= Yak. uhun id.), yulï- "to pillage, plunder" (TII W 4) (= Khak., Tuv. čul- "to tear, rend"), yurč "brother of the wife, brother-in-law" (KT E 32) (Kāš. yurč, Khak. čurču, Tuv. čuržu id.) etc.

2°. Long u. The existence of a long u in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the spelling of the word būqa "bull": $b^{l}u^{o}qa$ būqa (TI W 6), $b^{l}u^{o}q^{l}i$ būqalï (TI W 5, 5); cf. this spelling with that of buqaraq "Bukhara" (KT N 2) and that of buquγ "the evil spirits" (acc.) (BK S 10).

It may be assumed that the vowel ū was found also in such words as these: ū "sleep" (TI N 3) (cf. Uig. uu id.), ūč "end, edge, wing" (TII W 5) (cf. Kāš. ūč, Turkm. ūč, Chuv. veś ~ veśe id.; cf. also Turk. and Az.: voicing of č before a vowel), ūr- "to hit; to place" (KT E 36) (cf. Yak. ūr- "to place, put", Turk. vur- id.).

2.115. The Vowel ä (the front counterpart of a): äb "camp, home" (BK E 32) (= Chuv. av "house"), äkä "elder sister" (KT N 9) (= Chuv. akka id.), är- "to be" (TI N 5) (= Yak. är- id.), är "man" (KT E 12) (= Yak. är, Az. är, Chuv. ar id.), bän "I" (TI W 7) ~ män (BK S 9) (= Az. män, Chuv. man+: stem of the oblique cases), käl- "to come" (KT E 23) (= Yak. käl-), käm "who" (BK E 19) (= Chuv. kam; cf. also Mong. ken id.), sämiz "fat, fleshy" (TI W 5) (= Yak. ämis id.), sän "thou" (KT S 8) (= Yak. än, Chuv. san+: stem of oblique cases), etc.

2.116. The Vowel e (closed e)

In a great many of stems the low or mid front vowel of the first syllable frequently alternates with i. This alternation is evident from the orthography. The vowel of such stems sometimes appears written with the vowel sign for i, and sometimes without any sign. This graphical inconsistency is probably due to the quality of the vowel in question, as Thomsen remarked in his Inscriptions de l'Orkhon (pp. 15, 16). The fact that this vowel has been written with a special vowel sign in some of the Yenisei inscriptions testifies to Thomsen's assumption (see Une

lettre méconnue, in: JSFOu 30, 4). According to Thomsen the stems having this vowel (closed e) are the following: eki, el, eš, et-, bel, beš, keš, yeti, yetmiš. In the Orkhon inscriptions, all these words except bel "waist" and keš "quiver" occur and display the same orthographical inconsistency mentioned above.

As for the quantity of this vowel, as Thomsen remarked in his article (op. cit., p. 4= Afh., p. 86), it should have been a long vowel in such words as ber- "to give" and beš "five" which gave rise to diphtongs in Yakut: biär- (<*bēr-), biäs (<*bēš).

1°. Short: eki "two" (TI E 1) ~ ikägü "two, in two parts" (KT N 3) (= Turkm. eki, Yak. ikki, Chuv. ikke), elt- "to carry away, take, lead" (TI N 8) ~ ilt- (BK E 19) (cf. Mong. ile- "to send", Uig.Brah. elt-), kerü "backwards, toward the back" (O R 3; KČ E 4) ~ kirü (KT E 2) (= Az. geri), kesrä "after" (O F 1; KČ E 7) ~ kisrä (KT E 5 and 10 more occurrences), keyik "wild animal, deer" (TI S 1) (cf. Uig. käyik, kiyik id.), yegirmi "twenty" (TII S 5) ~ yigirmi (KT SE), yer "land, earth" (BK N 10) ~ yir (KT N 4) (= Yak. sir, Chuv. śer, Az. yer id.).

2°. Long: bēr- "to give" (KT E 12) ~ bīr- (KT E 8) (= Yak. biär-, Turk., Az. ber-), bēs "five" (TII S 5) ~ bīs (BK S 11) ~ bīš (KT N 4, E 18) (= Yak. biäs, Az. beš, Volga Bulg. biäl+ id.), ēl "people, tribes, state" (KT E 4) ~ īl (BK E 5) (= Turkm. īl), ēt- "to do, make, organize" (KT E 11, BK E 10) ~ īt- (generally), kīñsür- "to create a rift between" (KT E 6) (cf. Kāš. kīñ "wide", Turkm. gīñ, Yak. kiäñ id.), tē- "to say, tell" (TI W 5) ~ tī- (KT E 9) (= Yak. diä-, Turkm. dī-, Az. de-, Chuv. te- ~ tey- id.)

tēr- "to bring together, gather" in ēl-tēris (O F 4) ~ tīr- (BK E 11) (= Khak. tēr-, Turkm. tīr- id.), yē- "to eat" (TI S 1) ~ yī- (TI S 1) (= Turkm. ī- , Yak. siä-, Chuv. śi- ~ śiy- id.), yēg "better" (BK E 24) ~ yīg (KT S 4, BK N 3) (= Kāš. yīg id.), yēti "seven" (KT E 15) ~ yīti (BK SE) (= Az. yeddi, Yak. sättä, Chuv. śiççe: gemination of t under the influence of the preceding long vowel; Turk. yedi: voicing of t), yētmiš "seventy" (BK E 11), yētmis (KT E 12) (Yen. $y^2et^2mš$; it is very remarkable that in Uyug-Turan b 2 the separation mark is put after the sign for e: $y^2e{:}t^2mš$ = yētmiš).

To these the following words may also be added: kīčä "evening" (MČ E 1) (= Turkm. gīcä "night", Yak. kiäsä "evening", Chuv. kaś id.), yēl- "to ride fast, trot" (TI N 3) (= Yak. siäl- id.), yēt- "to lead, conduct" (TI N 1) (= Turkm. īt-, Yak. siät- id.; Turk. yed-: voicing of t).

A long e is opposed to other vowels in such words as these:

ēl "people, state" : il "front" in ilgärü, ilk

yēt- "to lead" : yit- "to be lost" : yet- "to reach"

yētmiš "seventy" : yitmiš "has been lost"

The vowel e (short e) is not opposed, however, to ä. Furthermore, the existence of a long ä apart from ē can hardly be claimed and illustrated. My opinion is that e is an allophone of the low front unrounded vowel phoneme, and a long ä, if there is any, that of the long low front unrounded vowel phoneme.

2.117. The Vowel i

1°. Short: bil- "to know" (BK N 15) (= Yak., Turkm. bil-),

ič "inside, interior" (BK S 14) (= Turkm. iç, Yak. is id.), il-gärü "forwadr, eastward" (KT S 2), inigäk "cow, cattle" (TI S 8), tik- "to erect" (KT E 25), yit- "to be lost, disappear" (KT E 27), etc.

2°. Long: The existence of a long i in the first syllable is not evident from the orthography. However, it may be assumed that the vowel ī existed in Orkhon Turkic and stood in contrast to other vowels: bīn- "to mount, ride" (KT N 5) (= Yak. mīn- id.), bīr "one" (KT S 8) (= Yak. bīr id.), bīrik- "to join, unite" (BK E 22) (= Turkm. bīrik- "to be accumulated"), īs "work, labor" (KT W 1) (= Turkm. īš id.), kīr- "to go into, plunge" (KČ E 11) (= Yak. kīr-, Turkm. gīr- id.), kīs "sable" (BK S 12) (= Yak. kīs id.), tīz "knee" (BK N 10) (= Turkm. dīz id.), etc.

2.118. The Vowel ö

1°. Short: bökä "strong, brave, champion" (KČ E 5) (= Kirg. bökö, Yak. bögö, Mong. böke id.), böri "wolf" (KT E 12) (= Kirg. börü, Yak. börö, Baš. büri id.), ög "mother" (KT E 25) (= Khak. ök in öksis "orphan", Baš. ük-heð id.), törü- "to be created, spring up" (KT N 10) (= Yak. törö- "to be born"), etc.

2°. Long: kök "blue" (KT E 3) (= Yak. küöx, Turkm. gök id.), köl "lake" (KT E 34) (= Yak. küöl, Turkm. köl), öd "gall" (BK E 29) (= Kāš. öt, Khak. öt, Turkm. öd), öz "own, self" (TI S 6) (cf. Uyug-Turan, back 2: üuz= üöz id., Yak. üös "heart of a tree, center", Turkm. öz id., Khak. öz "thorax"), tört "four" (BK E 2) (= Yak. tüörd, Turkm. dört), etc.

2.119. The Vowel ü

1°. Short: küñ "female slave" (KT E 24) (= Sar.uig. kuñ id.), küzäd- "to guard, protect, take care of" (KT W 1) (cf. Kirg. küzötčü "guardian"), süñüš- "to combat, fight" (BK E 30) (cf. Kirg. süñgü- "to pierce through, penetrate"), tükäti "completely" (KT S 1), tüš- "to go down, fall" (TI N 6), yügür- "to run, flow" (KT E 24) (= Yak. sür- id.), etc.

2°. Long: kü "fame" (KČ W 12) (cf. Uig. küü id.), küč "power, strength" (KT E 12) (= Yak. küs, Turkm. güyč id.; Turk. güc-ü: voicing of č before a vowel), kükä- "to gain fame" (KČ W 4), sü "army, troops" (BK E 25) (cf. Uig. süü id.), tün "night" (BK E 32) (= Yak. tün, Turkm. düyn id.), etc.

2.12. Vowels of the Non-First Syllables

2.121. The Vocalic Harmony

2.1211. The Palatal Harmony

In Orkhon Turkic, all vowels except o, ö and e occur in non-first syllables. The vowels of the non-first syllables occur according to the rules of vocalic harmony. The vocalic harmony manifests itself in that in one word only back or only front vowels may occur. Thus, if the initial syllable of a word has been formed with a back vowel, the succeeding syllables of that word, too, have to be formed with back vowels and vice versa.

However, there are certain cases in which the vocalic harmony does not work. Certain words no longer observe the vocalic harmony because of the palatalization of their vowels. Furthermore,

certain suffixes occur only in one form, that is, they are not subject to the rules of vocalic harmony. These exceptions will be discussed and illustrated further below. First, we will deal with polysyllabic stems which generally observe the vocalic harmony.

Since the vowels o, ö and e do not occur in non-first syllables, the rules of the vocalic harmony may be demonstrated as follows:

First syllable	Following syllables
a, ï, o, u	a, ï, u
ä, e, i, ö, ü	ä, i, ü

Thus, the possible vocalic schemes of dissyllabic stems, for example, are: a - a, a - ï, a - u, ï - a, ï - ï, ï - u, o - a, o - ï, o - u, and so on.

a - a: adaq "foot", yaday "on foot", etc.

a - ï: adyïr "stallion", balïq "city, town", etc.

a - u: altun "gold", qatun "empress", etc.

ï - a: čïqan "nephew", ïraq "far, distant", etc.

ï - ï: ïčγïn- "to be lost", qïlïč "sword", etc.

ï - u: ïduq "sacred, holy", etc.

o - a: boyla a title, oγlan "children, sons", etc.

o - ï: qodï "down, downward", toqï- "to beat", etc.

o - u: olur- "to sit, dwell", toquz "nine", etc.

u - a: qulqaq "ear", yuyqa "light, not heavy", etc.

u - ï: bulït "cloud", yulï- "to pillage, plunder", etc.

u - u: buluñ "corner, quarter", uzun "long", etc.

ä - ä: ämgäk "trouble, distress", ärän "men", etc.

ä - i: älig "hand", sämiz "fat, fleshy", etc.

ä - ü: bädük "great, big", ädgü "good, well", etc.

e - i: ekī "two", keyik "wild animal, deer", etc.

e - ü: kerü "back, backward", etc.

i - ä: ičgär- "to subdue", ilgärü "forward", etc.

i - i: ičik- "to submit", kisī ~ kišī "man, people", etc.

i - ü: kīgür- "to let in, bring, introduce", etc.

ö - ä: bökä "hero, champion", etc.

ö - i: böri "wolf", kölik "vehicle, cart", etc.

ö - ü: köñül "heart", ögüz "river", etc.

ü - ä: küzäd- "to look after, protect", kükä- "to gain fame"

ü - i: künī "envy", sučīg "sweat, pleasant", etc.

ü - ü: küntüz "by day", üküš ~ üküs "many", etc.

The derivational and inflectional suffixes generally observe the vocalic harmony. This means that these suffixes occur in at least two forms: (1) in a back-vocalic form, (2) in a front-vocalic form.

Examples:

atlïγ "horseman"	īllig "owning a state"
sānsïz "innumerable"	biligsiz "unwise"
qīsγa "short"	bilgä "wise, sage"
toplaγuluq "the folding"	üzgülük "the breaking"
tašïq- "to go out"	ičik- "to submit"
yantur- "to turn back"	bīntür- "to cause to mount"
qaγanqa "to the kagan"	äbkä "to the camp"
yazīda "on the plain"	äbdä "at the camp"

The exceptions to the rules of palatal harmony may be classified as follows: (1) words containing a palatalized vowel (generally an i < ï), (2) words having one of the suffixes which occur in only one form.

1°. Words containing a palatalized vowel: ašig ? "mountain pass?" (TI S 1) (<*ašïγ; cf. Khak. azïγ <*asïγ <*ašïγ id., Kirg. ašū <*ašïγ id.), atig ethnical name (O F 5, 6, R 2), bayïrqūniñ "Bayïrqu's" (KT E 36) < bayïrqūn(ïñ) (KT E 35), bulmayin "having not found" (TI W 2)(<*bulmayïn), buñsiz "abundantly" (TII S 4) < buñsïz (generally; cf. Ačura, left 2: buñsiz), qadizdä "at the rocky cliffs of" (KT N 7) < qadïzda (BK E 31), qaγanïmin "with my kagan" (TII E 3) (<*qaγanïmïn), qanïñin "your kagan" (acc.) (TI W 3) (<*qanïñïn)(cf. Suği 6: oγlumin "my sons", atïmin "my grandchildren"), qalïsiz "completely, entirely" (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9) (<*qalïsïz) (cf. Kežilig-Khobu 2: qañsiz "orphan"), qatïγdi "well, carefully" (KT N 11) < qatïγdï (KT S 2), qïlintim "I was born" (TI W 1) < qïlïntïm (O F 4) (cf. Altyn-Köl, c 1: yïrildim "I have been separated"), qopin "all together" (TI S 9) < qop(ïn) qïyinïγ "the sentence, punishment" (acc.) (TI N 8) (<*qïyïn), laγzïn "pig" (BK S 10) (cf. MČ N 11: laγzïn id., Ikhe-Askhete b 2: laqzïn id.), sabïmin "my words" (acc.) (KT S 2) < sabïmïn (generally), yaγïsiz "without enemy" (KT E 30; BK E 24) (<*yaγïsïz), yaγutïr "(the Chinese) bring closer" (KT S 5; BK N 4) (<*yaγutïr), yaratid(d)im "I had them to build" (BK N 14) (<*yaratïddïm; cf. yaratïtdïm: MČ E 8, 9, 10), yašïk "sun" (KT NE) (<*yašïq), yōlsizin "without any roads" (TI N 11) (<*yōlsïzïn).

To these the following may be added:

A. Words having the suffix -ayīn (1st person voluntative): aṅïtayīn "I shall frighten" (BK E 41) (<*aṅïtay̆ïn), ayayīn "I shall say" (TI N 8), qïsayīn "I shall make" (TI W 5), qonayīn "I shall settle down" (KT S 7), (qonay)īn id. (BK N 5), ïdmayīn "I shall not lose" (BK E 33), uruγsïratayīn "I shall exterminate" (KT E 10), yoγlatayīn "I shall hold (her) funeral" (TI N 7).

In Uigur, however, this palatalization does not occur: bulγay̆ïn "I shall disorder" (MČ S 4), tasïqay̆ïn "I shall march off" (MČ E 10), yazmay̆ïn "I shall not disregard (the advice of ...)" (MČ W 5), yorï̆yïn "I shall march (with the army)" (MČ E 5).

B. The following word having the suffix -matīn: almatīn "without taking" (KT S 9; BK N 7).

C. yïriyä "in the north" (O F 2, 5) < yïrïya (TI W 7, S 7).

For the rest of the exceptions see Palatalization 2.14).

2°. The suffixes which are not subject to the rules of palatal harmony are: the 3rd person possessive suffix -ī, -sī, the past participle suffix -miš ~ -mis, the derivational suffix -či.

A. The third person possessive suffix generally occurs as -ī and -sī in Orkhon Turkic. This is evident from the spelling: the accusative suffix -n is generally designated with the sign n^2 after the possessive suffix, and the initial s of the allomorph -sī is generally written with the sign s^2. Furthermore, the high front unrounded vowel of the suffix is probably long, because it is almost always written, while the short vowels ï and i are not written in general. This fact may be best demonstrated by the

following minimal pairs:

atïn "with horses" (TI N 1)	atīn "his horse" (KT E 40)
ärin "with men" (KT E 11)	ärīn "his men" (KT N 1)
qulqaqïn "by ear" (BK N 11)	qulqaqīn "their ears" (BK S 12)
sabïn "with words" (BK N 4)	sabīn "his advice" (KT S 9)

It is very remarkable that this suffix still occurs long in Taranchi, and in Chuvash it occurs as -ĕ and -i; that is, it does not observe the vocalic harmony.

The above phenomenon is attested in the following words: adγïrīn (BK N 11), aγïsïña (KT S 6; BK N 5), aqīn (KT N 2, 3, 9), (aq)īn (KT N 2), alpīn (TII S 5; KČ W 7, 12), (altunī)n (BK N 11), armaqčisīn (KT E 6), arqāsīn (KČ E 9), atīn (KT E 40; BK S 12, N 11), ātīn (KT E 7, 7; BK E 7), atïsī (KT S 13, SE; BK SW), ayγučisī (TI S 3, E 4, N 5), ay(γ)uč(isī) (TII S 5), barïmīn (KT N 1; BK E 24), barqīn (KT NE; BK E 34, 37, N 15), bodunīn (BK S 15; TII W 7, 8), bulγaqīn (KT N 4; BK E 29), qaγanīn (KT E 35, 36, 38; BK E 27, 28, 7; TII W 6), qanīn (TI W 2, 2; TI N 4), qañīn (KT E 5; BK E 6, 18), qarāsīn (O R 1) (spelt: $qr^{1}s^{2}n^{2}$), qazγantuqīn (TII E 5), qulqaqīn (BK S 12), qutayīn (BK N 11), quzīn (TI W 7), oγlīn (KT E 7; BK E 7, 7, 24, S 3; KČ W 5, E 1, E 10), (oγ)lïn (BK E 38), oγlïn (KT E 7) (spelt: $uγl^{1}n^{2}$), ortusïñaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2), sabīn (KT S 9; BK N 7), sačīn (BK S 12), sadīn (TII W 6), šadīn (BK E 28), subīn (BK E 35), tašīn "its exterior" (KT S 12; BK N 15), tāšīn "his tombstone" (BK W 7), udlïqīn (KT E 36), yabγusīn (TII W 6), yabγu(sī)n (BK E 28), yaγïsī (KT E 12; BK E 11), yaγïčisī (TII S 6), yaγïzīn (KT N 5, 8)

yañïluqīn (KT E 19), yañïltuqīn (BK E 16), yarlïq(q)aduqīn (KT S 9), yazïntuqīn (BK E 16), yïlqīsīn (BK E 24), yoñšurtuqīn (KT E 6; BK E 7), yurčīn (KT E 32), yutuzīn (BK E 38), yu(tuz)īn (BK E 24), (yu)tuzīn (BK S 4).

Therefore: boduni (KT E 3), čabïsī (TI W 7), qaγanī (KT E 19), etc.

In the Uigur dialect, however, this suffix generally observes the palatal harmony: barïmïn (MČ E 3), barqïn (MČ E 2), qatunïn (MČ N 10), qïzïn (MČ E 3), quduzïn (MČ E 3), tabarïn (MČ S 5), yablaqïn (MČ E 5, 5), yïlqïsïn (MČ E 2, 3). See Progressive Assimilation 2.151.

B. The past participle suffix -miš ~ -mis does not observe the vocalic harmony in Orkhon Turkic. This fact is evident from the orthography: the final consonant of the suffix is always indicated with the sign s^2 except the cases in which it is represented by the sign for the sound š. Thomsen, who successfully deciphered the Old Turkic script, was of the opinion that the sign s^2 in the suffix -ms^2 represents the sound š (Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées, pp. 36, 38). Furthermore, he transcribed the suffix as -mïš and -mïs in back-vocalic words; that is, he considered that this suffix observes the vocalic harmony. This transcription of Thomsen has been generally accepted by other scholars who have worked on the inscriptions. In 1949 A. C. Emre made an assumption about the quality of the vowel in question and suggested that the suffix -miš ~ -mis was invariable, irrespective of the vowels in the word to which it was

attached (Türk lehçelerinin mukayeseli grameri, Istanbul 1949, p. 34); but, it is curious that this sensible assumption of Emre could not find any supporters.

We agree with Emre on his assumption about the quality of the vowel in the suffix under discussion. The sign s^2 represents the sound s wherever it occurs, and the vowel in the suffix -miš ~ -mis is always i, regardless of the vocalism of the word to which the suffix is attached. The evidence for this is the following:

(a) There are examples in which both the signs š and s^2 are used in the same word: bošγurmis (KT E 13), tašïqmis (KT E 11).

(b) There are many instances in which the sign s^2 represents the sound s of the suffix, while the sign s^1 designates the same consonant occurring in the vicinity of the back vowel ï: qaγansïramis (KT E 13), sïγtāmis (KT E 4), tasïqmis (TI N 6), etc.

(c) Finally, in the inscription of Moyun Čor (Il-itmis) the suffix in question also occurs as $-ms^1$, namely -mïs: barmïs (MČ S 7), basmïs (MČ E 12), qatïlmïs (MČ S 8).

Taking the above-mentioned evidence into consideration, we come to the conclusion that the vowel of the suffix -miš ~ -mis is invariably i in Orkhon Turkic of the eight century. Thus: almis (KT E 2) ~ almiš (KT E 40), barmis (KT E 16, 23; TI E 7, 7; O F 3) ~ barmiš (KT E 28), basmis (O F 1) (cf. MČ E 12: basmïs), bolmis (generally), bošγurmis (KT E 13) ~ bošγurmiš (BK E 12), ïčγïnmis (KT E 13; O F 1), ïdmis (KT E 6, 7; TI S 2, 2, N 10) ~ ïdmiš (BK E 7, 7), qaγansïramis (KT E 13), qaγansïratmis (KT E 15) ~ qaγansïratmiš (BK E 13), qalmisī (TI W 4) ~ qalmišī (KT S 9),

qazγanmis (KT E 22) ~ qazγanmiš (BK E 18, 22), qïlmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ qïlmiš (BK E 13), qïlïnmis (KT E 1), qïsmis (O F 1), qonmis (TI S 10), qonturmis (KT E 4), qubratmiš (BK E 11), quladmis (KT E 13) olurmis (KT E 5, 5; BK E 6) ~ olurmiš (KT E 1; BK E 3, 6), sïγtāmis (KT E 4) ~ siγtāmiš (BK E 5), tasïqmis (TI N 6, 6), tašïqmis (KT E 11) ~ tašïqmiš (BK E 32), tutmis (KT E 3, 19; TI S 6) ~ tutmiš (BK E 4), yaγmisī (TI W 5), yaratmis (KT E 13) ~ yaratmiš (BK E 1, 12; BK S 13), yarlïq(q)amis (O F 6), yaγmis (O F 1), yoγlāmis (KT E 4) ~ yoγlāmiš (BK E 5), yorïmis (O F 5).

C. The suffix -či, too, probably had no back-vocalic variant in Orkhon Turkic. The following examples may serve as evidence for this assumption: qoǹčilärkä "to the shepherds" (Miran, c 5), tuγuqčin "farrier?" (Kemčik-Ǧirgak, front 2).

Thus: armaqči "tricky, deceitful person" in armaqčisīn (KT E 6), ayγučisī "his counselor" (TI S 3, E 4, N 5), siγïtči "lamenter" (KT E 4, N 11; BK E 5), šalči proper name? (KT E 40, N 2, N 2, N 3), tamγači "seal-keeper" (KT N 13, 13), yaγïčisī "his war-leader" (TII S 6), yoγči "mourner" (KT E 4, N 11; BK E 5), yuluγči "plunderer, pillager" (BK SE); in the suffix -dači: boltači (KT N 9, 11; BK E 31, N 14), (bolt)ači (BK E 28, 33), bo(ltač)i (KT N 7), qaltači (KT N 9; TI S 6), olurtači (KT S 8), (olurtač)i (BK N 6), udači (BK E 19), yañïltači (KT S 11); in the suffix -māči (<-mayači): yaramāči (TI E 6).

2.1212. The Labial Harmony

Labial harmony manifests itself in that in a word after a syllable containing a rounded vowel either a rounded vowel or

a wide unrounded vowel may occur. In other words, after a rounded vowel a narrow unrounded vowel does not occur. Likewise, after an unrounded vowel only an unrounded vowel may occur. This variety of labial harmony exists, for example, in modern Turkish.

In Orkhon Turkic the labial harmony is at its first stage of development. There only connective vowels and certain suffixes of the CVC type observe the labial harmony.

2.12121. Connective Vowels

1°. Before the possessive suffix -m: qañ-ïm "my father" (BK S 13) (cf. IB 86: yaylaγïm), tär-im "my sweat" (TII E 2), qut-um "my fortune" (BK E 23) (cf. Tele I, 4: qunčuyum), ülüg-üm "my good luck" (KT E 29) (cf. IB 90: ögüm), etc.

2°. Before the possessive suffix -ñ/-γ: qan-ïñ "thy blood" (KT E 24), ölsik-iñ "you will die (lit.: "thy death")" (KT S 6), buñ-uγ (<*buñuñ) "thy trouble" (KT S 8), söñük-üñ "thy bones" (KT E 24), etc.

3°. Before the possessive suffix -mïz/-miz: qañ-ïmïz "our father" (KT E 26), ēl-imiz "our state" (KT E 22), türük-ümiz "our Turks" (KT E 18), etc.

4°. Before the possessive suffix -ñïz/-ñiz: oγlan-ïñïz-da "than your children" (KT SE), tayγun-uñïz-da "than your sons (lit. "colts")" (KT SE).

5°. Before the accusative suffix -γ/-g: yïpar-ïγ "the scented candles" (BK S 11), äb-ig "the tents" (BK E 32) (cf. IB 91: täg-misig), qarluq-uγ "the Karluks" (KT N 2), qunčuy-uγ (KT E 20), tutuq-uγ "the military governor" (KT E 38), küč-üg "the strength"

(KT W 1) (cf. IB 37: öküzüg), etc.

6°. Before the instrumental suffix -n: sab-ïn "by means of words" (KT S 5), är-in "with men" (KT E 11), oq-un "with an arrow" (KT E 33, 36) (cf. IB 59: yalñusun "alone"), süñüg-ün "with lances" (TI N 4), köz-ün "by eye" (BK N 11), etc., but qopin "all together" (TI S 9).

7°. Before the suffix -ɣma/-gmä: bar-ïɣma "going" (KT E 24), käl-igmä "coming" (BK E 31), uduz-uɣma "leading" (TI W 5), kötür-ügmä "raising, lifting up" (BK E 21), etc.

8°. Before the suffixes -p and -pan/-pän: qazɣan-ïp "conquering" (BK S 10), tïril-ip "coming together" (BK E 11), olur-up "staying" (KT S 4) (cf. IB 25: oñuup "languishing"), ölür-üp "killing" (BK S 7) (cf. IB 75: önüp "ascending"), etc.; käl-ipän "coming" (KT E 23) (cf. IB 26: ičipän "drinking", barïpan "arriving"), olur-upan "mounting (the throne)" (KT E 16) (cf. IB 1: olurupan; IB 6: oluruupan), sök-üpän "clearing (the snow)" (BK E 27) (cf. IB 25: körüpän; ürküpän: IB 40).

9°. Before the imperative suffix -ñ: bar-ïñ "go!" (TI N 7), äsid-iñ "hear!" (KT S 10) (cf. IB 3: biliñ "know!"), olur-uñ "stay!" (TI N 7), etc.

10°. Before the deverbal suffix -ɣ/-g: qapïɣ "gate" (BK E 15), ärig "reachable" (KT S 13), ölüg "dead" (KT N 9), yuluɣ "plunder, pillage" in yuluɣči (BK SE), etc.

11°. Before the deverbal suffix -n: qïyin "sentence, penalty" in qïyinïɣ (TI N 8), kälin "daughter-in-law" in käliñünüm "my daughters-in-law" (KT N 9), bulun "captive, prisoner of war"

(KČ W 5), tögün "brand" in tögünlüg (TII E 4).

12°. Before the deverbal suffix -nč: tarqïnč "displeased, opposing" (TI E 5), ärinč "apparently" (KT E 3), ötünč "representation, request" in ötünčümin (TI S 8).

13°. Before the deverbal suffix -š/-s: tägiš "contact, conflict" in tägišīntä (KT N 5), uruš "fight, battle" (O R 2), üküš "many, numerous" (KT S 10".

14°. Before the ordinal suffix -nč: bīsinč "fifth" (BK S 10), toquzunč "ninth" (KT NE), tȫrtünč "fourthly" (BK E 31; KT N 6) (cf. Miran a 1: törtinč), üčünč "thirdly" (KT E 33, N 6) (cf. IB 9, 21: üčünč), etc.

15°. Before the denominal suffix -l-: tüzül- "to come to a peacable agreement" (KT S 5).

16°. Before the passive suffix -l-: adrïl- "to be parted" (TI W 2), tīril- "to come together" (KT E 12), ökül- "to be planned" (TI N 8) (<*ök-; cf. ö- "to plan, to think"), etc.

17°. Before the passive-reflexive suffix -n-: qïlïn- "to be created" (KT E 1), tälin- "to cave in" (KT E 22), tutun- "to hold, to take a hold" (TI N 1), etc.

18°. Before the causative suffix -t-: aqït- "to order to raid" (KT N 8), töküt- "to let pour" (TII E 2), yüzüt- "to cause swim" (BK E 30), etc.

The exceptions are: qopin "all together" (TI S 9), qop(ïn) ? id. (TII W 1); yaratun- "to form and organize itself" (KT E 10), but yaratïn- id. (BK E 9).

The vowel between the deverbal suffix -g/-k and the consonant-

al verb-stem is invariably u/ü: artuq "more (than)" (KT E 33), ayuq "dominion, territory under the control of a ruler" in ayuqïqa (KT W 1) (<ay- "to command, rule, dominate"), ïduq "sacred, holy" (TII W 3), yañïluq "opposed, opposing" (KT E 19), yazuq id. in yazuqla- (BK E 36), etc.

The vowel between the accusative suffix -n and the possessive stems of the third and second persons is invariably ï/i: sabïmïn "my words" (KT S 1), sabïmin id. (KT S 2), ēliñin "your (lit.: "thy") state" (KT E 22), bodunumïn "my people" (BK N 11) (cf. Suği 6: oγlumin "my sons"; IB 4: taplāduqumin "what I like"), oγluñïn "your children" (BK E 20), törüñin "your institutions" (KT E 22) - törügin (BK E 19) (cf. IB 5: säbdükümin "what I love"; IB 30: köpükümin "my froth").

2.12122. Suffix Vowels

1°. In -γïn/-γun: buzqun "storm?" in buzqunča (O R 1), tuγγun personal name? (KT NE) (cf. Yak. tuγγun "excellent, superior").

2°. In -lïγ/-luγ: qaγanlïγ "owning a kagan" (KT E 9) (cf. IB 12: bašlïγ "headed"), īllig "owning a state" (KT E 9) (cf. IB 9: mäñilig "lucky, happy"; IB 15: ärdämlig "owning manly qualities"), qulluγ "owning a slave" (KT E 21) (cf. IB 34: muñluγ "painful"; IB 35, 86: qutluγ "happy"), kūčlüg "powerful, capable" (O R 4) (cf. IB 5, 32: küčlüg), etc.

3°. In -dïm/-dum, -dïñ/-duñ; (first vowel) -dïmïz/-dumïz, -dïñïz/-duñïz: altïm " I conquered" (BK E 27), bitīdim "I inscribed" (KT SE), buzdum "I put to rout" (BK E 24), kälürtüm "I sent for" (KT S 11), bardïγ (<*bardïñ) "you (lit.: "thou")

went" (BK E 20), ičikdiñ "you submitted" (TI W 3), kigürtüg (<*kigürtüñ) "you brought" (KT E 23), qorqmadïmïz "we did not fear" (T II W 6), bïrtimiz "we gave" (KT E 20), buzdumïz "we routed" (KT E 31), süñüšdümiz "we fought" (BK E 28), etc.

4°. In -dïn/-dun: qurïdïn "from behind, from the west" (KT W 1), biridin "from this side, from the south" (TI S 4), öñdün "from the front, from the east" (TI S 4) (cf. Uig. öñdün id., oñdun "to the right", soltun "to the left").

The vowel in the following suffixes resists labial harmony:

1°. In the coordinating suffix -lï̄/-lī: bäglī bodunlï̄-γ "lords and peoples" (acc.) (KT E 6), tün̄lī künlī "night and day" (KT SE), etc.

2°. In the genitive suffix -ïñ/-iñ, -nïñ/-niñ: bayïrqūniñ "Bayïrqu's" (KT E 35), boduniïñ "of the people" (BK E 3), etc.

3°. In the accusative suffix -nï/-ni: bizni "us" (TI N 5), qunï "Qu" (TI S 2).

4°. In the imperative suffix -γïl/-gil: yaγ(γ)ïl "join!" (TI W 5), urγïl "place!" (TI N 10).

5°. In the past tense suffix -dï/-di: učdï "(Prince Kül) flew (i.e., died)" (KT NE), ölti "(that horse) was killed" (KT E 33).

6°. In the adjectival suffix -γï/-gi: tabγačγï "belonging to China, Chinese" (KT E 7), čölgi "being or living on the plains" (TI E 6).

7°. In the adverbial suffix -tï/-ti: qatïγdï "firmly, well" (KT S 2), ädgüti "well, properly" (KT S 2).

8°. In the suffix -lïq/-lik: bäglik "worthy of becoming a

lord" (BK E 7), udlïq "thigh, hip, rump" (KT E 36), qoqlïq "scenting material" (BK S 11), özlik "personal" (BK N 11; BK S 12); but toplaγuluq "the bending, the folding up" (TI S 6), üzgülük "the breaking" (TI S 7), özlükī "his mount" (KČ E 3, 3, W 4).

9°. In the suffix -sïz/-siz: aššïz "foodless" (KT E 26), biligsiz "unwise, unintelligent" (KT E 5), buñsïz "free from trouble" (BK N 14), buñsiz "in abundance" (TII S 4) (cf. Ačura, left 2:buñsiz), yōlsizin "without any roads" (TI N 11), ögsiz "motherless" (KT N 9) (cf. Khak. öksis id.).

10°. In the suffix -sïra-/-sirä-: qaγansïra- "to become rulerless, to lose indepence" (KT E 13), ēlsirä- "to become stateless, to lose independence" (KT E 13), uruγsïrat- "to exterminate" (KT E 10).

11°. In the suffix -sïq/-sik: olursïqïm "my wish for taking a rest" (TI E 5, S 5), tosïq "the being satiated in the future" (KT S 8; BK N 6), toγsïq "the rising" (KT E 4, 8, S 2; BK E 5, 8, 8, N 2; O F 2), ölsikiñ "you will die" (KT S 6; BK N 5), ölsikig id. (KT S 7; BK N 5), ölsikiñin "your being killed, your being annihilated" (acc.) (KT S 10; BK N 8).

See 2.1211.2°.

2.122. Long Vowels of Non-First Syllables

The existence of long vowels in non-first syllables is evident from the spelling. Long vowels of non-first syllables are generally written even when they occur in closed syllables, while the short vowels are not indicated in general (see 1.2214.1° and 2°).

1°. Long a: apā "grandfather, ancestor" (cf. Khak. abā "elder

brother", Yak. ubay id., Chuv. appa "elder sister"): apām (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), apāmïz (KT E 19; O F 1); arqā "back, rump" (cf. Yak. aryā "west"): arqāsïn (KČ E 9); sïγtā- "to lament, wail" (= Yak. ïtā- "to cry"): sïγtāmis (KT E 4), siγtāmiš (BK E 5); taplā- "to like, agree" (= Yak. taptā- "to like, love"): taplāmadï (BK E 35); unā- "to agree, approve": unāmañ (TI N 11) (cf. IB 57: unāmaduq); yoγlā- "to mourn": yoγlāmiš (BK E 5), yoγlāmis (KT E 4).

The final vowel of the following word, too, is probably long: qarā "black" (KT E 8) (cf. Begre, left: qarāmïγ; Kežilig-Khobu 7: qarām; Abakan-Čulym: qarā, Pritsak Fund. 610; Kyzyl xarā "black; night").

2°. Long ä: bilgǟ "wise; counselor": bilgäsī (KČ E 5), (bi)lgäsïn (KČ W 7) (cf. Uig. Brah. bilgǟ, TT VIII 87; Yak. biliä id.); älǟ "hawk, vulture" (KČ W 9) (cf. Yak. äliä, Mong. eliye id.).

3°. Long ï: aγï̄ - aγī "treasure, material": aγï̄sī (KT S 5; BK N 4), aγīn (KT S 5; BK N 4); aγï̄š "wealth, riches, property": aγïšïn (KT SW); bulït "cloud" (KT NE); qalï̄ "remainder, rest": qalïsiz (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9); qarï̄- "to grow old" (= Yak. qïrïy-): qarïp (KČ W 5); toqï̄- "to strike, beat": toqïdï (KT N 6), toqïdïm (BK E 31, S 8); toqït- "to cause to inscribe": toqïtdïm (KT S 12, 13, 13; BK N 15); udï̄- "to sleep"(= Yak. utuy- id.): udïmadïm (BK E 22); yabrït- "to destroy" (BK E 31, 31); yaγï̄ "enemy, hostile": yaγï̄γ (KT E 15; BK E 13; TII E 3, 4), yaγïqa (KC E 11), yaγï̄sī (KT E 12); yaγïd- "to start hostilities": yaγït(t)uqda (KC E 6, W 5); yazï̄ "plain" (= Yak. sïsï̄ id.): yazïda (TI N 9;

TII W 1), yazïqa (KT E 17, S 3; BK E 15); yïlqï "a flock of horses" (cf. Turf. ïlqā "horse", Khot. ǧilxā "horse herd": Pritsak, Fund. 539): yïlqïγ (BK E 38; KČ E 13), yïlqïsïn (BK E 24), yïlqï(sïn) (BK E 39); yorï- "to walk, march; to make progress": yorï(dïm) (BK E 27), yorïdïmïz (KT E 37), yorïduqï (TII N 3), yorïlïm (TI N 5, 11), yorïp (KT E 35), yorïsar (TI E 6, 7), yorïyur (TI S 3); yorït- "to order to march" (TI N 1, 11).

4°. Long ï: bäñïgü "blessed, beloved" (O Supp. 2); bičïn "monkey" (KT NE); bitï- "to write": bitïdim (KT SE, SE; KČ S 3); bitït- "to have written": bitïtdim (TII E 8), bitïd(d)im (KT S 13; BK N 15); bitïg "inscription, writing" (KČ S 3); ekï "two": ekïsïn (KT E 38), ekïn (KT E 1, 2; BK E 4, 32; O R 2); ekïnti "second, secondly" (KT E 33, TII W 4), ekïnt(i) (BK E 36); kisï "man, human": kisïg (KT S 6, 6; BK N 4, 4; TI W 4), kisïsïn (KČ E 10, W 5) (cf. Uig. kišäi id.: TT III 87); künï "envy, jealousy" (BK E 30) (= Yak. künü id.); laγzïn "pig" (BK S 10) (cf. MC N 11: laγzïn); süčïg "sweet" (KT S 5, 5, 6); täñrï "heaven, god": täñrïdä (KT S 1; BK N 1), täñrïsï (KT E 10; BK E 10); täzïk "Arab" (TII S 1); täbï "camel" (TII S 4) (cf. Tele 3: täbēm "my camels"; Kāš. täwäy, däväy, Mong. temegen id.); tölïs proper name (KT E 33); yašïk "sun" (KT NE) (<*yašïq).

5°. Long u: bayïrqū proper name: bayïrqūniñ (KT E 36), bayïrqūn(ïñ) (KT E 35); qarγū "watchtower, tower for military observations": qarγūγ (TII E 3) (cf. Kāš. qarγu, qarγuy id.); ordū "main camp, kagan's residence": ordūγ (KT N 8, 9) (= Yak. ordū "campsite, camp"); orūq "road, way": orūqï (TI E 7).

6°. Long ü: ädgü "good" (KT S 6) (= Yak. ütüö id.); ötükän proper name (KT S 8; BK N 6); ötülüg "respected?" (BK E 34); sönük "bone": sönüküñ (KT E 24), sönüküg (BK E 20) (= Yak. uñuox id.; Khak., Tuv. sök id.); süñüg "lance" (KT E 35); törü- "to be born, created" (KT N 10) (= Yak. törö- id.); tüpüt "Tibet" (KT E 4, N 12; BK E 5), tüpütkä (KT S 3; BK N 3); üčün "for, because of, in order to" (KT N 4 and 17 more occurrences) (= Turkm. üčin id.); ülüg "good luck": ülügüm (KT E 29); yägün "younger brother": yägünüm (KT S 1, N 11; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degü id.).

Long vowels are also found in the following suffixes:

A. The voluntative suffix -ayïn/-äyïn: ayayïn (TI N 8), ïdmayïn (BK E 33), igidäyïn (KT E 28; BK E 25), ïtäyïn (KT E 39), qïsayïn (TI W 5), qonayïn (KT S 7), (qonay)ïn (BK N 5), ölüräyïn (KT E 10), tägäyïn (TI S 4), tüsäyïn (TI N 6), uruγsïratayïn (KT E 10), yoγlatayïn (TI N 7).

See 1.2214.2°Ba.

B. The third person possessive suffix -ï/-ï, -sï/-sï: adyïrïn "his stallions" (acc.) (BK N 11), altunïn "(Prince Kül's) gold" (acc.) (KT SW), äbïn "their tents" (acc.) (BK E 34), süsïn "their army" (acc.) (KT N 7), yalmasïnta "on his caftan" (KT E33).

See 1.2214.2°Bd and 2.1211.2°A.

C. The participle suffixes -ïr/-ïr, -ür/-ür: barïr (KT E 10), bilïr (KT E 34), kälïr (TI N 8), kälürïr (TII E 3), yaγutïr (KT S 5; BK N 4), körür (KT N 10; BK N 2), qorqür (TII W 4), olurür (KT E 3; BK E 4; TI W 7, S 1; TII N 4), öyür (KT S 5), ökülür (TI N 8), bošγurür (KT S 7; BK N 5).

See 1.2214.2°Be and 4°Bf.

D. The coordinating suffix -lï̄/-lī: bäglī bodunlï̄-γ (KT E6).

See 1.2214.2°Bf.

E. The gerundial suffix -matīn/-mätīn: almatīn (KT S 9; BK N 7).

2.13. Vowel Alternations

1°. a ~ ï: In the following words, the short vowel a of the first syllable alternates with ï: ïγar "precious, important, esteemed" (KT E 29, SE; BK E 24) ~ aγar "heavy; important" (BK S 15, E 2); yïlpaγut "champion warriors" (BK E 31) ~ *alpaγut pl. of alpaγu (KT N 7) (cf. Uig. alpaγut a title: Pfahl., 23).

This alternation probably is due to the unaccentedness of the first syllable (cf. Uig. tïwar ~ tawar "possessions, property, animals owned": Alttürk., 49).

2°. ä ~ i: In the following words, the vowel ä of the first syllable alternates with i: bini "me" (TI S 3), but bän "I" (TI W 1) ~ män (BK S 9); sini "thee" (TI S 3), but sän "thou" (KT S 8); ir- "to reach, arrive" (TII S 1) ~ är- in ärig "reachable" (KT S 13, 13); irtür- "to cause to reach" (KT E 40) ~ *ärtür- (see above); ir- "to be" (KT S 13) ~ är- (generally).

3°. e ~ i: See "The Vowel e" (2.116).

2.14. Palatalization

The vowel ï of the first syllable shows a strong tendency toward becoming i under the palatalizing influence of dento-alveolar and palatal consonants: biñ "thousand" (BK S 1; TI S 7,

9) ~ bïñ (TI E 1); biri+ "this side, south" in biriyä (KT S 6), birigärü (KT S 3), biridin (TI S 4) <*bïrï (cf. Uig. bïrqaru "to the south"); īd- "to send, dispatch" (O F 2) ~ ïd- (generally); īs "labor, work" (KT E 8) <*ïš (cf. Kāš. ïš ~ iš, Turkm. īš id.); si- "to break, destroy" (KT E 36; TI E 2; KČ E 9) ~ *sï-, sima- "not to destroy" (KT S 11; BK N 14) ~ sïma- (KČ E 8); siγït "wail, lament" (KT N 11), siγïtči "lamenter" (KT E 4, N 11; BK E 5) <*sï-γït (cf. sïγtā- "to lament" in KT E 4); siγun "deer" (BK W 5) <*sïγun; siñar "half" (BK E 32), siñarča (TII W 5) <*sïñar (= Yak. añar ~ añār id., Kirg. sïñar "one of a pair"); tīda "holding back" (KT N 11) <*tïd- (= Mong. čida-: see Poppe, Verg. 15; Chuv. čar- id.); tilïγ "the news, tidings" (acc.) (TI N 8) ~ tïlïγ (TII W 1); tiñla- "to listen" (KT S 2) <*tïñla- (= Mong. čiñla-: see Poppe, Verg. 15); yiγdïm "I terrified" (O R 1) ~ yïγdïm (O R 1); yiγd(ïm) "I gathered together" (BK N 9) ~ yïγ- (TII W 8); yirïdïnta "from the north" (TI S 4) <*yïrïdïnta; yirïγaru "to the north" (KT S 2, 4, E 28; BK N 2, 3, E 23) <*yïrïγaru; yirïya "in the north" (KT E 14, S 1; BK E 12), yirïyaqï "being in the north" (TI S 10) ~ yïrï-ya (TI W 7, S 7); yïriyä (O F 2, 5) < yïrïya; yiš "wooded mountain" (KT S 3, 4, 6, 8; BK N 3, 5, E 39), y(iš) (BK E 19), (y)iš (BK N 6) <*yïš (cf. yïs id.: TI E 3); yišda "at the wooded mountain" (KT E 35, S 4; BK E 27) <*yïšda (cf. yïsda id. in TI N 7, 8) yišïγ (KT E 21, 35; BK E 27, 27), y(išïγ) (BK E 17) <*yïšïγ (cf. yïsïγ id. in TI N 4, 11); yišqa Dat. of yiš (KT E 1; BK E 37) <*yïšqa (cf. yïsγaru "toward the wooded mountain" in TI S 8); yis-(qa) (O F 2) <*yïsqa <*yïšqa; yiparïγ "the scented candles" (acc.)

(BK S 11) <*yïpar; yimšaq "soft" (KT S 5, 5, 6; BK N 4, 4) <*yïmšaq.

See 2.1211.1°.

2.15. Assimilation

2.151. Progressive Assimilation

1°. The third person possessive suffix has been assimilated to ï in the following examples: aγïšïn "his wealth" (KT SW) <*aγïšïn, altunïn "his gold" (KT SW) < (altunï)n (BK N 11), ayuqïqa "over the dominion of" (KT W 1) <*ayuqï, barïmïn "his possessions" (KT SW) < barïmïn (KT N 1; BK E 24), qaγanïn "their kagan" (KT E 7) < qaγanïn (generally), qïzïn "his daughter" (BK N 10) <*qïzïn, sabïn "his words" (TI E 5) < sabïn (KT S 9; BK N 7), tasïn "its exterior" (TI S 6) < tašïn (KT S 12; BK N 14), üsïn "his sleep" (TI E 2) <*üsïn, yalmasïnta "on his caftan" (KT E 33) <*yalmasï, y(ïl)q(ïs)ïn "his horses" (KT SW) < yïlqïsïn (BK E 24).

2°. antaγ "like that, as follows" (TI S 2, etc.) < antäg (TI N 5) (<*anï täg), biridin-yän "from the south" (TI S 4) <*biridin yan, öñdün-yän "from the east" (TI S 4) <*öñdün yan, täñrikän-yän "to the side of Täñrikän" (O F 5) <*täñrikän yan, qačan-(n)añ "any time, sooner or later" (TI E 4) < qačan-(n)äñ (TI E 3, 5).

2.152. Regressive Assimilation

1°. ï - a < i - a: ïsbara a title (KC W 8, E 10, E 12) < isbara (O F 4, 4, O Balbal) ~ išbara (KT E 33, KČ W 2).

2°. ü - ä < u - ä: büntägï "the one like this" (TII E 7)

<*buntägī <*bunï tägī.

2.16. Contraction

ā <*aγa: yaramāči "it will not be good" (TI E 6) <*yaramaγači (cf. Khak. present and future participle in -ačï/-äči and the negative forms in -māčï/-māči, -bāčï/-bāči and -pāčï/-pāči; cf. also Yak. istäčči "listener, one who hears" <*isitgäči).

ǟ <*ägä: tägmǟči "one who will not come into contact, one who will not attack" (O R 2) <*tägmägäči (see above), älǟ "hawk, vulture" (KČ W 9) <*älägä (cf. Yak. äliä id., Mong. eliye id.).

2.17. Loss

2.171. Loss of Vowels

2.1711. Syncope

1°. In trisyllabic words the unstressed short vowel of the medial syllable is greatly reduced and easily disappears in the neighborhood of r, l, n, γ/g and y: adrïl- "to be separated" (TI W 2, O R 4) <*adïrïl-, antaγ "like that, as follows" (TI S 2) ~ antäg (TI N 5) <*anï täg, ašru "through, beyond" (KT E 36, N 2) <*ašuru, balbal "statue" (BK S 9) <*balïbal <*barïmal, birlä "with" (KT S 4) <*biril-ä, boγzī "the stomach of" (TI S 1) <*boγuzī, bu(l)na- "to capture" (KČ E 10) <*bulun+a-, buyruq "government official, minister" (KT S 1) <*buyuruq, büntäg "like this" in büntägī (TII E 7) <*buntäg <*bunï täg, ägri "bent, curved" (TII S 4) <*ägiri, ärkli "being" (TI S 6) <*ärikli <*ärigli, qoryan "fort, enclosure" (BK E 31) <*qorïγan, käčgin- "to grant a favor, to forgive" (KČ E 8) <*käčigin- (cf. Mong. kešig "grace,

favor, blessing"), kīñsür- "to create a rift between" (KT E 6) <*kīñüšür- (cf. Kāš. kiñü- "to become wide"), köñlüñ "thy heart" in köñlüñčä (TI S 8, N 8) < köñülüñ, oγlan "children, sons" in oγlanïm (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1) and oγlanïïñïzda (KT SE) <*oγïlan, oγlï "son of" (KT E 1) <*oγïlï, oγlït "children, sons" in oγlïtï (KT E 5; BK E 5) <*oγïlït, ötrü "then, after" (TI S 5, 9) <*ötürü, sïγtā- "to lament, wail" (KT E 4; BK E 5) <*sïγïtā-, tarqïnč "displeased, cross" (TI E 5) <*tarïqïnč (cf. Khak. tarïx- "to become angry"), tägrä "around" (TI S 1) <*tägirä, täñrī "heaven, sky" (KT E 1) <*täñirī, yabrït- "to destroy, ruin" (BK E 31) <*yabïrït- (cf. yabïz "bad, routed"), yägrän "red, chestnut (horse)" (KČ E 3, 9) <*yägirän (cf. Yak. siär <*yägir id.), yoñšur- "to cause to slander" (KT E 6; BK E 7) <*yoñašur- (cf. Kāš. yoña- "to slander, to tell tales").

2°. In dissyllabic stems the short narrow vowel of the final syllable may disappear after the consonants r, l and y: ayt- "to tell, say" in aytïγma (TII W 9, S 3) and aytïp (TI E 7), barq "building, construction" (KT N 13, etc.) <*barïq (cf. Mong. bari- "to build, construct"), elt- "to carry away, take, lead" (TI N 8, etc.) <*elit- (cf. Uig. ilit-, ilt- id.), qorq- "to fear" (TII W 4, 6; O F 7) <*qorïq-, türk "Turk" (TI W 3 and 15 more occurrences) < türük (generally).

2.1712. Apocope

Apocope occurs in the following words: kül proper name (in KT and BK) ~ küli (in KČ), yul- "to plunder" in yulγalï (BK E 32), yuluγči (BK SE) and yuluq (O F 3) ~ yulï- in yulïdïmïz (TII W 4).

2.1713. Crasis

bödkä "on the throne, to the throne" (BK N 1, 8, E 2; KT S 11) ~ bu ödkä (KT S 1), bučägü "these three together" (TI S 5) <*bu üčägü.

2.172. Haplology

Haplology occurs in the following word: yoγurča "as if kneading" (TI N 2) <*yoγururča.

2.2. Consonants

Orkhon Turkic has the following consonants: p, b, t, d, k, q, g, γ, č, s, z, š, m, n, ñ, ń, l, r, y.

The consonants of Orkhon Turkic may be classified into the following groups: 1. labials (p, b, m), 2. dentals and alveolars (t, d, č, s, z, š, n, l, r), 3. palatals (ń, y), 4. velars (k, q, g, γ, ñ).

All consonants except d, g, γ, ñ, ń, r, and z occur initially; l- and p- occur only in loan-words. In initial position no consonant clusters occur. The permitted final consonant clusters are: lq/lk, lp, lt, nč, nt, rč, rq/rk, rs, rt, yt. The permissible syllable types may be formulated as follows: V, VC, VCC, CV, CVC, CVCC.

2.21. Labial Consonants

2.211. The Consonant p

The voiceless bilabial stop p occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially, p occurs only in the following loan-word:

purum "East Rome, Syria" (KT E 4; BK E 5) < Parth. frum "Rome" (cf. Chin. fu-lin "Syria, Rome").

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: apā "ancestor", apar "Avar", qapïγ, qop-(ïn) ~ qopin, opul- "to rush, attack" (KČ E 11), tapa, topul- "to throw oneself upon, attack" (KČ E 7), töpü, tüpüt, yipar.

B. Before a consonant: qapγan, opla-, topla-.

C. After a consonant: alpaγu ~ yïlpaγut, örpän.

3°. Finally, p occurs after vowels or after l.

A. After vowels: *qap- "to attack" (in qapγan), qop, *op (in opla- "to assault, dash"), *tap- "to search for, locate, find" (in tapa), *top (in topla- "to bend, fold up"); gerund in -p: ayrïp, äsidip, qodup, ölürüp, etc.

2.212. The consonant b

The voiced bilabial stop b occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: bā-, baγa, balbal, balïq "city; mud", bar-, bār, barïm, barq, bars, bas-, basmïl, baš ~ bas, bašad-, bašγu, bašla-, bat, bat-, batï, batïm, bāy, bayïrqū, baz, bädiz, bädiz-, bädizät-, bädük, bäg, bän, bäñgü, bäñïgü, bäñïlig, bärčik, bēr-bīr-, berü, bēs ~ bīs ~ bīš, bïč-, bïñ ~ biñ, bičīn, bil-, bīn-bīr, biri "south", bīriki, birlä, bīsinč, bisük, bitï-, biz, bod, bodun, boγuz, bōl-, bor, bošγur-, boyla, boz, bögü, bökä, bölün (< Tib. blon), böri, bu, buq "evil spirit", būqa, buqaraq, bul-, bulγa-, bulït, bulun, bu(l)na-, buluñ, buntat-, buñ, buñad-, bumïn, busta-, buyruq, buz-, bükli, büñ- "to kick" (cf. Kāš. müñ- id.).

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: čabïs "aide-de-camp, adjutant", äbir-, qabïs-, säbig, säbin-, tabar geographical name, tabïsγan, tatabï, täbär (in ïl-täbär), täbï, yabïz, yubul-.

B. Before a consonant: subča, äbdä, äbgärü, yabγu, äbkä, subqa, abla-, täblig, yablaq, qubran-, qubrat-, yabrït-, qobsar-.

C. After a consonant: balbal, tarban ~ tarman, isbara ~ ïsbara ~ išbara.

3°. Finally: ab, čub, äb, sab, *säb- (in säbin-), sub, *täb (in täblig), *täb- (in ïl-täbär).

2.213. The consonant m

The labial nasal m occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially, its occurrence is limited to a small number of words: maγ "glorified, magnificent" (BK S 15) (cf. Mong. maγta- "to praise, laud, glorify", Kirg. maqta- id. <*maγta-), maqarač (<Ind. mahārāj, see Thom. Turcica, p. 14, n. 2), matï "faithful, loyal, obedient" (KT S 11; BK N 8, S 13, 14) (cf. Mong. batu "strong, loyal, reliable", Tuv. badï "faithful, true", badïla- "to affirm, assert", Kkpk. mätibiy "householder, head of a family, one who likes to manage a household" <*matï bäg?); see 2.31.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: bumïn, istämi, qamaγ, qam(ïl) "Qomul, Hami" (O R 1), tamaγ geographical name, taman, tämir, tümän, tümät ethnical name, sämiz, yamï personal name, yämä.

B. Before a consonant: amγa geographical name, ämgäk, ämgät-, tamγači, tamγan, qamšaγ, qamšat-, yimšaq, amtï, yamtar.

C. After a consonant: kögmän, aytïγma, yalma, yälmä, tälinmä-armaqči, ärmäk "mare" (KČ E 9) (cf. Mong. ermeg id.), yegirmi, tarman (~ tarban), basmïl, qïsmis, süñüšmiš ~ süñüsmis, yētmiš ~ yētmis, aymaγlïγ, tuyma-, yaymis, azma-, azman, täzmis.

3°. Finally: *am in amtï "now" (cf. Khak. am "now"), barïm, batïm, *äm in ämgäk and ämgät-, äsim personal name, qum, kädim, käm "who", käm "Yenisei", purum "East Rome, Syria", tām "wall".

2.22. Dentals and Alveolars

2.221. The Consonant t

The voiceless dental stop occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: tabar geog. n., tabγač, tabïsγan, tadïq pers. n., taγ, taγïq-, taḷ-, taḷuy, tām, tamaγ geog. n., tamγači, tamγan, tañ, tañut, tapa, taplā-, taq "the very" (KČ E 5), taqï, tarduš, tarman, tarqan, tarqïnč, taš "stone", taš "outside, exterior", tašïq-, tasuḷ- "to be deriven" (O F 8), tašra, tat, tatabï, tatar, tay "great" (BK S 11) (< Chin. ta id.), tayγun "sons (lit.:"colts") (KT SE), täbï, täblig, täg, täg-, tägi, tägis, tägrä, tägür-, tälinmä-, tämir, tāñrï, tāñrikän, tär, tärmil geog. n., täyāñ, täz-, täzïk, tē-, tēyin, tēril-, ti "very, most" (BK S 15) (cf. Uig. tii "fest, beständig", Alttürk.; cf. also Chuv. či "very, most"), tigin, tik-, tilä-, tinsi (< Chin.), tiñla-, tïr- "to gather together", (ti)r- "to live", tirgür- "to bring to life", tirig, tiril- "to come to life", tirkiš, tïzlig, to-, tod-, toγ-, toγla, toγu, toq, toqar, toqï-, toqït-, toquz, toquzunč, tolγat-, tōn (< Sak. thauna), toña, toñra, toñta-, topla-, topuḷ-, tor-, toruq, toruγ, tögültün geog. n., tögünlüg, tök-, töküt-, tölïs, töñkär

geog. n., töpü, tȫrt, tȫrtünč, törü, törü̲-, tu-, tudun, tuγ, tońuquq, tut-, tutun-, tutuq (< Chin.), tutuz-, tuγγun pers. n., tuγγut pers. n., tuγ-, tükäti, tümän, tümät, tün̲, tüpüt, türgi geog. n., türgis, türük ~ türk, tüs-, tüsür-, tüz, tüzül-, tïl, tid-.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: ata, atač, atï, atig ethnog. n., batï "surely, certainly, indeed" (TII W 2), bitï̄-, bitïg, bitït- , äsgiti ~ isgiti "silk" (cf. Uig. išgirti id., Kāš. äšgürti id.), ädgüti, ätiz, ītin-, qatïγdï, qatun, qïtań, kötür-, matï "faithful" (see above), otuz, ötüg, ötükän, ötülüg, ötün-, *ötür- in ötrü, tatabï, tatar, tutuq, tutun-, tutuz-, yaratid-, yaratun-, yaratur-, yētï, yētinč, yitür-, yutuz.

B. Before a consonant: siγïtči, ītgüči, atlan-, ötlä-, yētmiš, ötrü, batsïq, tutsïq.

C. After a consonant: aγtur-, sïγtā-, yügtür-, altï, altuz-, altun, amtï, yamtar pers. n., anta, antaγ, bunta, buntat- "to make inadequate, insufficient" (TI E 2) (cf. Mong. munda- "to be inadequate, insufficient"), büntäg, bīntür- , äzginti geog. n., ekīnti, käntü, küntüz, ortu, bust(a)- "to roar" (KT NE) (cf. Khak. pusta- "to bellow, roar, squall", Tuv. busta- "to bellow, low"), istämi.

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: at "horse", āt "name, title", bat "certainly, without doubt?" (O F 7), bat-, bitït-, bulït, buntat-, äsit- (< äsid-) (TI E 7), ät- "to thunder, roar, bellow" (BK W 4, 5), (ï)t, ït- (< īd-), qut, oγlït, *öt in ötlä- "to give advice", *öt-

in ötrü, siγït, tarqat, tat, tut-, tuγγut, tümät, yaγït- (< yaγïd-), yarat-, yat-, yit-, ït-, yut; causative stems in -t: aγït-, aqït-, artat-, basït-, bädizät-, ēlsirät-, qaγansïrat-, qamšat-, qubrat-, oγurqalat- "to let someone warm his back" (TI N 1) (cf. Tuv. ōrγala- "to warm one's back", ōrγa "back" <*oγurqa "backbone"), ölüt-, sülät-, toqït-, etc.

B. After the consonants l, n, r, and y: elt- ~ ilt-; tu(nt) "central?" (KT S 13); *art- in artuq, olurt-, ört, tört, ulγart-, yurt; ayt- .

2.222. The Consonant d

The voiced dental stop d does not occur initially. Medially, it occurs between vowels and in the positions dC and Cd. Finally, d occurs after a vowel.

1°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: adaq, adïnč(č)ïγ, bädiz, bädiz-, bädizät-, bädük, bodun, ïduq, idi "owner, lord", idi "never, by no means", qadïrqan geog. n., qadïz ~ qadiz "slope, cliff?", qodï, quduz, kädim, ödüš, tadïq pers. n., tudun, udar pers. n., udï-, uduz- , yadaγ.

B. Before a consonant: adγïr, ädgü, udlïq, äsidmä-, igidmiš, adrïl-, ödsig "distinguished?" (BK E 34).

C. After a consonant: yēgdi, qatïγdï ~ qatïγdi, soγdaq, yaraqlïγdï, ärdäm, ordū, tarduš.

2°. Finally: bašad-, bod, buñad-, äsid-, ïd- ~ īd-, igid-, igid, qod-, *käd- in kädim, qulad-, küñäd-, küzäd-, öd "time", ōd "gall", šad, tīd- (<*tïd-), tod-, ud "thigh, hip", ud-, yōqad-,

*ud "sleep" in udï̄-.

2.223. The Affricate č

The voiceless alveolar affricate č occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: čabïs "aide-de-camp, adjutant" (TI W 7; KČ E 5) (<*čabïš; cf. Turk. çavuş "sergeant"), čača (< Chin.) pers. n., čañ (< Chin.) pers. n., čärig "army, troops" (KČ W 9) (= Sar.uig. čerig, Tuv. šerig, Yak. särï id.), čïγań, čïqan "nephew, son of a paternal or maternal aunt, cousin" (KT N 13; KČ W 1, 2) (= Kāš. čïqan id., Sar.uig. čïqan id.), čïntan "sandalwood" (< Skr.), čik ethnog. n., čoγay geog. n., čor "prince", čoraq, čöl, čub, čuš geog. n., čuluγan a title? (KČ W 5).

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: bičīn (< Iran.), äči "paternal uncle; older brother", äčü "ancestor", ičik-, qačan, käčä, kīčä "evening", käčin (käčän ?) geog. n., käčig "ford", kičig, süčīg, tamγači, učuq, učuz, üčägün, üčün, üčünč, yičä; words having the suffixes -γuči/-güči, -dači/-däči, -*γači/-gäči.

B. Before a consonant: ïčγïn-, tabγačγï, ičgär-, käčgin-, kŭčlüg, ičrä, qïlïčla-, āčsïq.

C. After a consonant: subča, äligčä, taγča, yoγči, armaqči, bolču geog. n., šalči, anča, bunča, näńčä, inanču, qunčuy (<Chin.), borča "like a storm", bärčik "Persian", yerči, ōtča "like fire", siγïtči, bädizči, ögüzčä, yüzčä.

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: ač- "to open, clear", āč "hungry", āč- "to feel hungry", atač, (b)ïč-, ïyač, ič, qač-, käč-, kŭč, sač, tab-

ɣač, ūč, uč-, üč.

B. After the consonants n and r: *adïnč in adïnč(č)ïɣ, bïsinč, bulɣanč "in disorder" (TI E 5), ärinč, ötünč, sanč-, tarqïnč "displeased, rebellious" (TI E 5), tŏrtünč, unč "possible" (TI E 7), üčünč, yētinč, toquzunč, ōnunč; yurč "brother of the wife, brother-in-law" (KT E 32) (= Kāš. yurč id., Khak. čurču id.).

2.224. The Consonant s

The voiceless dental spirant occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: sa- "to inform, send a message" (TII W 7), sab, sač, sanč- , sān, sāqïn-, sāyu (= Yak. āyï id.), sarïɣ, säbig, säbin-, säkiz, säläñä "Selenga", sämiz, sän, säñün "general" (< Chin. tsiang-kün), sï- ~ si-, sïɣtā-, siɣït, siɣun, silig pers. n., siñar, siñil, sir ethnog. n., siz, soña geog. n., soɣdaq, (s)oɣ(ï)d ? (KT W 1), sök- , sökür-, sön "time?" (KČ E 8), söñük, sözläš-, sub, suq "ambition, anger", sū, sučīg, sūlä-, süñüg, süñüš, süñüš-, sür-.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: asuq (< Sogd. ?) pers. n., ba(sa) "then, again", basïq-, basïn-, bīsinč, bisük "relatives, kin" (KT S 6), äsid-, äsim, esī "lady, woman of high social position" (KT E 7, 24; BK E 24), isiyi (< Chin.) pers. n., qïsïl "glen, mountain-cleft" (BK E 37), kisī, lisün (< Chin. Li-ts'ün) pers. n., tasïq- (~ tašïq-), tosïq, tüsür- (<*tüšür-), yasa-, yasa- (~ yaša-) (KČ W 3).

B. Before a consonant: ïsbara ~ isbara (~ išbara), qïsɣa, tabïsɣan, äsg(iti) ~ isgiti, basmïl, asra, kisrä, istämi, busta-.

C. After a consonant: qobsar- "to mourn" (KČ S 2), āčsïq, ödsig, toγsïq, ölsik, ēlsirä- , yïlsïγ, tinsi (< Chin. t'ien-tzu "the son of Heaven, the Chinese Emperor"), qaγansïra-, bērsäg, olursïq, kīñsür- (<*kīñšür-), aššïz.

3°. Finally, s occurs after vowels or after r:

A. After vowels: as in asra "below", bas-, čabïs (<*čabïš), ulus, yalïñus.

B. After r: bars pers. n.

See Dentalization of š (2.33).

2.224. The Consonant z

The voiced dental spirant z does not occur initially.

1°. Medially:

A. Intervocalically: āzu, azïγlïγ "furious, ferocious" (KČ E 6), azuq, bädizät-, qïzïl, küzäd-, tüzül-, uzun, üzä, yāzïn, yazï, yāzïn-, yāzuq in yāzuqla- (BK E 36), yüzüt-.

B. Before a consonant: azqïńa, azma-, azman, bädizči, buzqun, boγuzlan-, äzginti geog. n., izgil, qazγan-, özlik ~ özlük, sözläš-, tīzlig, tüzsiz, üzgülük.

C. After a consonant: laγzīn.

2°. Finally: altuz-, az "few", az ethnog. n., āz-, baz, bädiz, bädiz-, biz, boγuz, boz, buz-, ädiz, ätiz geog. n., äz-, qadïz, qïrqïz, qïz, qïz-, quduz, quz, köz, kūz (MČ E 8), oγuz, otuz, oz-, ögüz, öz, säkiz, sämiz, siz, söz in sözläš-, täz-, tīz, toquz, tutuz-, tüz, uduz-, ūz "skill, art" (BK SW), üz "ill-tempered" (TI N 10), üz-, yabïz, yaγïz, yāz, yūz, yüz- in yüzüt-, yutuz.

2.225. The Consonant š

The voiceless palatal spirant š occurs in initial, medial, and final positions.

1°. Initially, its occurrence is limited to the following words: šad (< Sogd. ?), šadpït (<*šad+pït ?), šalči pers. n. ?, šantuñ "the Shantung plain" (< Chin.).

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: aša, ašig "mountain pass?", ašur- in ašru, bašad-, qïšïn, qošu pers. n., kiši (~ kisi), tašïq- (~ tasïq-), yaša- (~ yasa-), yašik, yašïl.

B. Before a consonant: išbara (~ isbara ~ ïsbara); bašγu, bošγur-; bašla-, bašlïγ, qïšla-; ašru, tašra; aššïz.

C. After a consonant: qamšaγ, qamšat- (cf. Uig. qamša- "to be stirred"), yimšaq; yoñšur-.

3°. Finally: arqïš, aš, aš- (~ as-), baš (~ bas), biš (~bis ~ bes), čuš geog. n., qaš, qïš- (~ qïs-), quš in quš-alγaq geog. n. (KT N 5), oγuš, ödüš, süñüš (~ süñüs), süñüš- (~ süñüs-), taš "stone", taš (~ tas) "exterior", tirkiš, tarduš (~ tardus), uruš, üküš (~ üküs), yaš, yiš "wooded mountain" (~ yis ~ yïs).

2.226. The Consonant n

The dental nasal n occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially, its occurrences is limited to the following words: nä "what" and its inflected forms näkä "for what" (TII W 3, 4) and näntä "so many, so much" (BK N 9), näñ "any".

2°. Medially, n occurs in all positions:

A. Between vowels: anï acc. of ol, anï geog. n., anïn instr.

of ol, bini acc. of bän, bunï acc. of bu, änik pers. n. (KT N 12), inanču - inänču, inäl, ini, qanï, sini acc. of sän, yana, etc.

B. Before a consonant: anča, bunča, buzqunča, qunčuy (< Chin. qung-chu), yinčü; kačindä "at Kačin" (KČ W 10); qayanγaru, tarqanγaru; bodunqa, qayanqa, tarmanqa, ärsinkä, kačinkä, täñrikänkä; qayanla-, qanlan-, qunla-, äkinlig, tögünlüg; tälinmä-; qayansïrasānsïz, tinsi (< Chin.), tōnsïz; anta, antaγ, antïrγu geog. n., bīntür-, bizintä, bunta, buntat-, büntäg, ekīnti, qontur-, käntü, küntüz, ōntür-, örpäntä, yantur-, yūküntür-, etc.

Before word-final č: bīsinč, bulγanč, ärinč, ōnunč, ötünč, sanč-, tarqïnč, toquzunč, tōrtünč, unč, üčünč, yētinč - yītinc, etc.; before word-final t: yunt (MČ), etc.

Before syllable-final č: adïnč(č)ïγ, sančdï, yinčgä, etc.

C. After a consonant: bu(l)na-, qoraγïñnï (O R 4), bizni, etc.

3°. Finally: alqïn-, altun, asan- (<*ašan-), basïn-, bän, bičīn, bīn-, bodun, bölün (< Tib. blon "high official"), bulun, bumïn, buzqun, čïqan, ärän, ekīn, ïčγïn-, irkin, qačan, qayan, qalïn, qan "khan", qān "blood", qapγan, qazγan-, qïlïn-, qon-, qopïn, qorγan, kāčgin-, kāčin geog. n., kōgmän, kün, laγzīn, lisün (< Chin.), oγlan, ōn, ökün-, ōn- in ōntür-, ötün-, sāqïn- , säbin-, sän, sön, tamγan, tarqan, tēyin - tīyin, tigin, tōn, tögültün geog. n., tögün, tutun-, tümän, tūn, üčūn, ülgän, yan, yan-, yägrän, yägūn, yoγun, yūkün-, etc.

2.227. The Consonant l

The lateral sonorant l has two variants (allophones): a back

velar ɬ and a front palatal l. The back variety of l occurs in words of back vowels, and the palatal l occurs in words of front vowels.

The lateral l occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially, l occurs only in loan-words and foreign names: laγzīn "pig" (<?), likäñ (< Chin. Liu-hiang) pers. n., lisün (< Chin. Li-ts'ün) pers. n., lū "dragon" (O Supp. 4) (< Chin. lung; cf. Uig. luu id.).

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: balïq "town, city; mud", bilig, bölün, bulīt, bulun "captive", buluñ, čuluγan a title ? (KČ W 5), älā "hawk, vulture" (KČ W 9), älig "hand", älig "fifty", ilig "ruler" (KT N 3), qalīsiz, qalïn, qalïñ, qïlïč, qïlïn-, qulad-, kälür-, kölik, olur-, ölüg, ölür-, säläñä "Selenga", sülä-, taluy, tälin-, tilä-, ulayu, uluγ, ülüg, yalabač, yolï "time", yulï-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: balbal, ilbilgā (compound); bolču geog. n., bolča "when (he) became", bolčun "let it be"; bilgā, bulγa-, bulγaq, bulγanč, čölgi, ilgärü, tolγat-, ulγart-, ülgän "big, great" (O R 3); alqïn-, qulqaq, yïlqï; ēllig ~ īllig, īllä-, qulluγ, yolluγ; bolma-, yalma, yälmä; bu(l)na-; alpaγu ~ yïlpayut; ēlsirät-, ölsik, yïlsïγ, yōlsizin; altï, altun, altuz-, etc.

Before a word-final stop: alq-, ilk, alp, elt- ~ ilt-.

Before a syllable-final stop: alqd(ïmï)z, eltdi ~ iltdi.

C. After a consonant: abla-, täblig, yablaq; qïlïčla-, küčlüg; udlïq; azïγlïγ, aymaγlïγ, bäglär, bäglik, oγlan, oγlït, öglüs-, süñüglüg, yoγlā-; bükli geog. n., yaraqlïγ; čöl(l)üg; kädim-

lig; qaγanla-, qanlan-, qunla-; opla-, taplā-, topla-; birlä, yarlïq(q)a-; bašla-; baslïγ (< bašlïγ); atlïγ, atlan-, ötlä-; ōzlik, sözläš-, tīzlig, etc.

3°. Finally: al-, adrïl-, arïl-, basmïl, bil-, bōl-, bul-, čöl, ēl ~ īl, inäl, izgil, qal-, qïl-, qïsïl, qïzïl, qul, käl-, kōl, könül, kül (~ küli), oγïl, ol, opul-, ökül-, öl-, siñil, tal-, täl- in tälin-, tïl, tēril- ~ tīril- "to come together", tiril- "to come to life", topul- "to attack, assault" (cf. Kkpk. tobïl- id.) (KČ E 7), yañïl-, yašïl, yäl-, yïl, yōl, etc.

2.228. The Consonant r

The vibrant sonorant r does not occur initially.

1°. Medially, r occurs intervocalically and in the positions rC and Cr:

A. Between vowels: āra, ārïγu, arïl-, barïm, biri "south", (b)erüki, bīriki, böri, buqaraq "Bukhara", čärig, čoraq, äräm "big, large, huge" (KČ W 9) (cf. Khak. iräm id.), ärän "men", ärig "reachable", ärinč, ēlsirä-, ïraq, ilgärü, qarā, qarï̄-, qurï "west", qurïqan, käñiris geog. n., käräkū, körüg, kürägü, maqarač (< Ind.), sarïγ, *tarïq- in tarqïnč, tēril-, tirig, tirig, toruγ, toruq, törü, törū-, türük (~ türk), urï, yara-, yaraq, yarat-, yarïq, yarïs geog. n., yïrï "north", yorï̄-, yoq(q)aru, yüg(g)ärü, etc.

B. Before a consonant: tarban (~ tarman) geog. n.; bärčik "Persian", borča, yerči; ärdäm, ordū, tarduš; qarγan geog n., qarγu, qïrγaγlïγ, qorγan, kärgäk, köbürgä; arqā, arqïš, arquy, bayïrqū, irkin, qadïrqan, qïrqïz, toqurqaq; birlä, kürlüg; armaq-

čі, ärmäk "mare" (KČ E 9), yeğirmi; bērsäg, ärsin geog. n.; ar-tat-, artuq, artur-, ärtis "Irtish", ärtür-, ortu, urtur-; barzun "let him go", etc.

Before a word-final consonant: yurč; barq, qïrq, qorq-, ärk, türk (~ türük); art- in artuq, ärt-, olurt-, ört-, ulγart-, tōrt, yurt, yügürt-; bars.

Before a syllable-final consonant: ärkli "being; while", ärk-lig "mighty", qorqma-, ärt(t)imiz, olurt(t)ï (KČ E 12), olurtdï, olurtdum, yurtda, örtčä, yügürtmä-.

C. After a consonant: qubran-, qubrat-, yabrīt-; ičrä; adrïl- (<*adïrïl-), sadra "toward the šad" (TII W 6); aγrï-, ägri, täg-rä; öñrä, täñrī; asra, kisrä; ašru (<*ašuru), tašra; ötrü; buy-ruq, etc.

2°. Finally: adγïr, adïr- in adrïl-, aγar ~ ïγar, aγtur-, añar dat. of ol, apar, ar-, ašur- in ašru, bār, bar-, bēr- ~ bīr-, bīr, bor, bošγur-, buyur- in buyruq, čor, ägir- "to follow, be-siege", ägir- "to be pleased", äbir-, är, är- "to be", är- ~ ir- "to come, reach, arrive", ärtür-, ēltäbär, ičgär-, qār, qontur-, qu(r)- (O R 4), kälür-, kigür-, kīñsür-, kīr-, kör-, kötür-, kür in kürlüg, olur-, ölür-, ötür- in ötrü, siñar, sir, sökür-, sür-, tabar geog. n., tägir- in tägrä, tägür-, tēr- ~ tīr- "to gather together", tir- "to live" in tiril-, tirgür-, tor-, tüsür-, ūr-, ūrtur-, uγγur, yaγur-, yaratur-, yältür-, yer ~ yir, yipar, yo-γur-, yoñšur-, yügür-, yügtür-, yūküntür-, etc.

2.23. Palatal Consonants

2.231. The Consonant γ

The palatal consonant y occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: yabγu, yabïz, yablaq, yabrït-, yadaγ, yaγ- "to join, follow, accompany" (TI W 5) (cf. Mong. daγa- id.), yaγï, yaγït- (< yaγïd-), yaγïz, yaγuq, yaγur-, yaγut-, yalabač, yalïñ, yalïñus, yalma, yamï, yamtar, yan, yan-, yana, yantur-, yañïl-, yara-, yaraq "weapon", yarat-, yaratun-, yaratur-, yarγan, yarγun geog. n., yarïq "armor" (KT E 33), yarïs geog. n. (= Khak. Čarïš), yarlïq(q)a-, yasa-, yaš, yaša-, yašïl, yašïk (<*yašïq) "sun", yat-, yań- ~ yay-, yay "summer", yāz, yazï, yāzïn-, yāzuq, yägrän, yägün "younger brother" (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degü id.), yäk pers. n. (KČ E 12, S 1), yäl-, yälmä, yältür-, yämä, yät-, yē- ~ yī-, yēg ~ yīg, yegän ~ yigän, yegirmi, yer, yēti ~ yīti, yētinč ~ yītinč, yētmiš, yïγ- "to gather together" (BK N 9; TII W 8), yïγ- "to frighten" (O F 1, R 1), yïl, yïlqï, yïlpayut, yïlsïγ, yïrï, yipar, yimšaq, yinčgä, yinčü, yiš, yit-, yitür-, yoγ, yoγlā-, yoγun, yoγur-, yōq, yōqad-, yoq(q)aru, yōl, yolï, yolluγ pers. n. (= Tuv. čolduγ "fortunate, lucky"), yoñšur-, yorï-, yutuz, yubul- "to roll, turn round" (TI N 2) (= Kāš. yuwul- id.), yurč, yurt, yut, yuyqa, yüg(g)ärü, yügtür-, yügür-, yükün-, yüz "100", yüz "face", yüzüt-, etc.

2°. Medially, y occurs between vowels and before consonants:

A. Between vowels: ayuq "dominion?" (KT W 1), bayïrqū, buyur- in buyruq, qïyin "punishment, sentence" (TI N 8), keyik, sāyu, täyäñ "squirrel" (= Khak. tiyin id.), yayïn "in summer"; words having the consonant y as a hiatus-filling sound: bašlayu, bāyur, biriyä, etc.; words having the suffix -ayïn/-äyïn: ayayïn,

igidäyīn, etc.

B. Before a consonant: ayγuči, tuyγun, tuyγut, uyγur; yuyqa; boyla; aymaγ (O F 4) (cf. Mong. aymaγ "tribe, clan", Kirg. aymaq id.); buyruq; aytïγma.

3°. Finally, y occurs after vowels: ay "month", ay-, bāy, qunčuy (< Chin. qung-chu), arquy, qutay "silk", taluy, tay "great" (< Chin. ta id.), tay in tayγun, tuy-, yay, yay- (~ yań-).

2.232. The Consonant ń

The palatal nasal ń occurs in medial and final positions.

1°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: ańïγ, ańït- "to frighten, threaten" (BK E 41), qańu "which?" (Kara Balgasun inscription, S 3), tońuquq (generally) ~ tonyuquq (BK S 14; KČ W 1); words having the suffix -qïńa/-kińä: azqïńa.

B. Before a consonant: qońči "shepherd" (Miran, c 5), yańduq "those who were dispersed" (TI S 9), qïtańqa "to the Chinese" (TII S 5), turuńya "crane" (IB S 9) (cf. Yak. turuya, Tuv. duruγa, Koib. turuńa id.).

2°. Finally: *ań- in ańït- (cf. Mong. ayu- "to fear, dread", ayul "fright, fear"), čïγań, qoń, *köń- in köńig (Minusinsk, d 1), qïtań, yań- (~ yay-) "to disperse, put to rout".

2.24. Velar Consonants

Orkhon Turkic has the following velar consonants: k, q, g, γ, and ñ. The consonants k and q are allophones of the phoneme /k/; k occurs in front-vocalic stems, and q occurs in back-vocalic

stems. Similarly, g and ɣ are allophones of the phoneme /g/; g occurs in words with front vowels, and ɣ occurs in words with back vowels.

2.241. The Consonant q

The voiceless postvelar consonant q occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: qabïs-, qač-, qačan, qadïrqan, qadïz, qaɣan, qal-, qalīsiz, qalïn, qalïñ (BK E 25), qamaɣ, qam(ïl), qamšaɣ, qamšat-, qan "khan", qān "blood", qanï, qantïn, qañ, qañï pers. n., qapɣan, qapïɣ, qār, qarā, qarɣan geog. n., qarɣu, qarī, qarī-, qarluq, qāš, qatïɣdï, qatun, qazɣan-, qïl-, qïlïčla-, qïrɣaɣlïɣ, "hemmed" (BK N 11), qïrq, qïrqïz, qïs- "to suppress", qïsɣa, qïsïl, qïš- ~ qıs- (< qïl-), qïšïn, qïšla-, qïtań, qïyin, qīz, qïz-, qïzïl, qobsar-, qod-, qodï, qoqlïq, qon-, qontur-, qop, qoraɣ, qorïɣu "protector, guardian, lord" (BK E 41), qorɣan "fort, fortress, shelter", qorq-, qošu, qoń, qu pers. n., qubran-, qubrat-, quduz, qul, qulqaq, qum, qunčuy, qunla- "to revenge for" (O R 1), qu(r)- (O R 4), qurï, qurïqan, quš-alɣaq geog. n., qut, qutaɣ, quz, etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: aqït-, būqa, buqaraq, qurïqan, sāqïn-, taqï, toqar "Tokharian", toqī-, toqīt-, toquz, toquzunč, tońuquq, yōqad-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: armaqči; yarlïq(q)a-; yaraqlïɣ; taɣïqmis; oqsïz, etc.

C. After a consonant:alqïn-, qulqaq, yïlqī; arqā, arqïš, arquy, qadïrqan, qïrqïz, tarqan, tarqïnč, toqurqaq; tutqu (BK S

10); yuyqa; azqïńa, buzqun.

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: adaq, aq, aq- in aqït-, armaq, asuq (< Sogd. ?) pers. n., azuq, artuq, ayuq, balïq, buq "evil spirits, demons" (BK S 10) (cf. Tuv. buq id.), buyruq, čoraq, ïduq, ïraq, qarluq, qoq "scent" in qoqlïq (BK S 11) (cf. Turkm. goq id.), oq particle of intensity, oq "arrow", orūq, soγdaq, suq "anger, ambition" in suqun (BK E 38), tadïq, taq, taq- in taqï, tarïq- in tarqïnč, tašïq-, toq, tońuquq, tutuq (< Chin.), yablaq, yaγuq, yaraq, yarïq, yāzuq, yoq "rise, rising (ground)" in yoq(q)aru, yōq, yuluq; words having the suffixes -uq, -duq, -lïq, -sïq.

B. After a consonant: alq-; barq, qïrq, qorq-.

2.242. The consonant k

The voiceless velar consonant k occurs in all positions in words of front vowels.

1°. Initially: käč-, käčin geog. n., käčgin-, käčig, kädim, käl-, kälür-, käm "who?", käm "Yenisei", käntü, käñiris, käñü geog. n., käräkū "tent", kärgäk, kerü ~ kirü, keyik, kīčä, kičig, kigür-, kīñsür-, kīr-, kīs "sable", kisī ~ kišī, kisrä, köbürgä, kögmän, kök particle of definitness, kōk "blue", kōl, kölik "cart, vehicle" (TI S 8), köñül, kör-, körüg, kötür-, köz, kū, kūkä-, kūč, kül ~ küli pers. n., kümüš ~ kümüs, kün, künī, küntüz, küñ, küñäd-, kürägü "unruliness", kürlüg, küzäd-, kūz, etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: biriyäki, berüki, bökä, äkä, äkinlig "hemmed?", ekī, ekīnti, ičräki, käräkū, kūkä-, likäñ (< Chin.)

pers. n., ökül-, ökün-, öñräki, ötükän, säkiz, sökür-, täñrikän, töküt-, tükäti, üküš ~ üküs, yükün-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: bükli geog. n., ärkli, ärklig, kärgäksiz, etc.

C. After a consonant: ilki, töñkär geog. n., irkin.

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: bädük, bäglik, bärčik, bïrik-, bisük "kin, relative", äk geog. n. (TII W 9), änik pers. n., esïlik (<*ešïlik) "worthy of becoming a lady" (KT E 7, etc.), ičik-, inigäk, kärgäk, kök "blue", kök particle, kölik, ök particle, özlik ~ özlük, sök-, söñük, täzïk, tik-, tök-, türük (~ türk), yašïk "sun" (<*yašïg), yäk pers. n., etc.

B. After a consonant: ärk in ärklig (BK N 12), türk (~ türük) ilk.

2.243. The Consonant γ

The voiced postvelar γ occurs only in back-vocalic words. It does not occur initially except in the interrogative particle γu which is an enclitic: bär-γu "is there?" (KT S 10).

1°. Medially, γ occurs in all positions.

A. Between vowels: aγar ~ ïγar, aγï, aγïš, aγït-, ayu geog. n., ärïγu, čïγań, čoγay, čuluγan a title? (KČ W 5), ïγač, qaγan, oγïl, oγurqalat-, oγuš, oγuz, siγït, siγun, soγ(u)d (KT W 1), toγu, toplaγuluq, yaγï, yaγït-, yaγïz, yaγur-, yaγut-, yaγuq, yoγun, etc.

B. Before a consonant: yoγči, taγča; qatïγdï, soγdaq, yaraqlïγdï; yaγ(γ)ïl "join!" (TI W 5); aymaγlïγ, azïγlïγ, oγlan, oγlït,

toγla geog. n., yoγlā-; aytïγma; aγrï-; toγsïq; aγtur-, sïγtā-; laγzīn, etc.

C. After a consonant: tabγač, yabγu; ïčγïn-, tabγačγï; adγïr; yaγ(γ)ïl; amγa geog. n., tamγači; bulγa-, bulγaq, bulγanč, tolγat-; qapγan; qarγan geog. n., qarγu, qïrγaylïγ, qorγan; qïsγa, tabïsγan; bašγu, bošγur-; ayγučï, tuγγun, tuγγut, uγγur; qazγan-, etc.

2°. Finally: adïnč(č)ïγ, aγ- in aγït-, antaγ, añïγ, azïγ in azïγlïγ (KČ E 6), qamaγ, qamšaγ, maγ "glorified, magnificient" (BK S 15), qoraγ "loss, death, funeral" (O R 4), taγ, toγ-, tuγ, uluγ, uruγ in uruγsïrat-, yadaγ, yaγ- "to join, follow, accompany" (TI W 5) (cf. Mong. daγa- id.), yïγ- "to gather together", yïγ- "to frighten" (O F 1, R 1), yïlsïγ, yoγ, yolluγ, etc.

2.244. The Consonant g

The voiced velar g occurs only in front-vocalic words. It does not occur initially except in the interrogative particle gü which is an enclitic: bäglär-gü "will you, lords, ..." (KT S 11).

1°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: bäñīgü "lucky, blessed" (O Supp. 2), bägim ? (KT SW), bučägü, ägir- "to surround, besiege", ägir- "to be pleased" (BK E 2), igid-, igid, ikägü (KT N 3), inigäk "cow" (TI S 7), kigür-, kürägü, ögüz, tägi, tägür-, tigin, tögültün geog. n., tögün "brand", üčägün, yägūn, yegirmi, yügür-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: äligčä "about fifty"; yēgdi "better"; yüg(g)ärü; bäglär, bäglik; kögmän; tägrä, ägri, yägrän; ögsiz; yügtür-, etc.

C. After a consonant: äbgärü; ičgär-, käčgin-; ädgü, äsidgil,

yüg(g)ärü; bĭrtükgärü; bilgā, čölgi, ilgärü, ülgän; ämgäk, ämgät-; kärgäk, tirgür-, türgi geog. n., türgis, köbürgä, isgiti; išgärü "forward" (BK N 11); ītgüči; äzginti, izgil, üzgülük; bäñgü, etc.

2°. Finally: antäg, ašig (?), atig (?), bäg, bērsäg in bērsägim, bilig, bitīg, büntäg, čärig, älig "hand", älig "fifty", ärig, ilig, käčig, kičig, körüg, ög "mother", ög "mind, reason" in ögläs- (<*ögläš-), ög-, ölüg, ötüg, ötūlüg "esteemed, respected" (BK E 34), säbig, silig, süñūg, täg, täg-, tirig, yēg ~ yīg, yüg in yüg(g)ärü, etc.

2.245. The Consonant ñ

The velar nasal ñ does not occur initially; it occurs in medial and final positions.

1°. Medially, ñ occurs between vowels and before a consonant:

A. Between vowels: añar dat. of ol, añaru direct. of ol, baña ~ maña dat. of bän ~ män, bañaru direct. of bän, bäñīgü, bäñīlik, buñad-, ärtiñü, käñü geog. n., käñiris geog. n., köñül, küñäd-, säñä dat. of sän, siñil, söñūk, süñūg, süñüš, tañut, toña pers. n., yalĭñus, yañĭl-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: buluñdaqĭ, öñdün; bäñgü; töñkär (?) geog. n.; küñlüg, tiñla-; täñrī, toñra, öñrä; buñsïz, kīñsür-; yoñšur-; toñta-, etc.

2°. Finally: añ, bĭñ ~ biñ, buñ, buluñ, büñ- "to kick" (TI W 6) (cf. Kāš. müñ- id.), galĭñ, gañ, kīñ in kīñsür-, küñ, likäñ (< Chin.) pers. n., näñ, oñ (< Chin.) pers. n., öñ geog. n., öñ "front" in öñdün and öñrä, örüñ, šantuñ (< Chin.), tañ, täyäñ, yalĭñ, etc.

2.3. Consonant Changes

2.31. Nasalization

Under the influence of a following nasal consonant, b is sometimes nasalized. This phenomenon, however, does not seem to have been very common in Orkhon Turkic. It is attested only in the following words: män "I" (KT, BK) ~ bän (T, KČ), -män (<bän): bi-rür-män (KT E 9), qazγanur-män (KT E 9), sāqïnur-män (BK W 6), tägmāči-män (O R 2), tēr-män (TII W 2), mańa "to me" (generally) ~ bańa (TI N 7), mäniñ "my" (KT S 11; BK E 29) ~ bäniñ (TI E 4).

2.32. Denasalization

2.321. Denasalization of ñ

The velar nasal ñ alternates with γ/g in intervocalic and final positions in the following words: alqïntïγ "you were ruined" (KT S 9; BK N 7) <*alqïntïñ, arïltïγ "you were destroyed" (KT S 9) <*arïltïñ, bardïγ "you went" (generally), bardïγïz "you went" (KT SE) ~ bardïñïz (O R 4), bäglärig(dä) "from your lord" (BK N 13) <*bäglärińdä, bilmädükügin (BK E 20) <*bilmädüküñin, bodunïγ "of the people" (KT E 25) <*bodunïñ, buñuγ "your trouble" (KT S 8) <*buñuñ, ädgüg "your benefit" (KT E 24; BK E 20) <*ädgüñ, ärtig "you were" (KT S 9; BK N 7) <*ärtiñ, ärtigiz "you were" (KT SE; KT N 9, 10) <*ärtiñiz, qïltïγ "you made" (BK E 20, 20) <*qïltïñ, kigürtüg "you brought" (KT E 23; BK E 19) <*kigürtüñ, körtüg "you saw" (O F 7) <*körtüñ, oγurqa (in oγurqalat-) "backbone" (TI N 1) <*oñurqa (= Turkm. oñurγa, Turk. omurga < oñurγa, Tuv. ōrγa <*oγurqa id.), öltüg "you died" (KT S 6, 7; BK N 5, 6) <*öltüñ, öl-sikig "you will die" (KT S 7; BK N 5) ~ ölsikiñ (KT S 6; BK N 5),

sönüküg "your bones" (BK E 20) ~ sönüküñ (KT E 24), törügin "your institutions" (BK E 19) ~ törüñin (KT E 22).

2.322. Denasalization of ń

The palatal nasal ń alternates with y in the following words: tay "colt" in tayγunuñïzda (KT SE) <*tań (cf. Kemčik-Ğirgak, front 2: tańlarïm "my colts"), yay- "to disperse, to put to flight" (O F 1, R 1) ~ yań- (generally), ayït- "to frighten, threaten" (MČ E 8) ~ ańït- (BK E 41).

2.323. Denasalization of m

The labial nasal m alternates with b in the following word: tarban-qa (BK E 18) ~ tarman-qa (KT E 21) geog. n. (= Chin. T'an-man mountains? See Thomsen, Inscr., p. 196).

2.33. Dentalization of š

As is known, the sign for š occurs less frequently in the inscription of Kül Tigin than it does in the Bilgä Kagan inscription. In places where one would expect the sign for š, the front-vocalic consonantal sign s^2 is found. The suffix -miš, for instance, has generally been written -ms^2 in the Kül Tigin inscription. The same is true of the inscriptions of Tonyukuk, Išbara Tarkan (Ongin), and Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu). In these inscriptions the use of the sign for š is extremely rare; the front- and back-vocalic consonantal signs for s have been used instead.

Judging from this use, Thomsen came to the conclusion that the signs s^1 and s^2 have also been used to represent the consonant š in back- and front-vocalic words respectively (see "Dé-

chiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénissei," in Afh. p. 18; Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées, pp. 36-39 = Afh. pp. 61-64). Consequently, he equated, for example, the spellings b^{2}is^2, kis^{2}i and küms^2 to biš, kiši and kümüš, although the transcribed the sign s^2 with s everywhere in his edition of the inscriptions. Radloff was of the same opinion (Neue Folge, pp. 18, 19) and transcribed the letter in question with š on such occasions. So did the other scholars who later published the inscriptions. A. C. Emre was the first to assume that the use of the sign s^2 in writing the suffix -miš and other words containing an š sound in Common Turkic might be phonetic (Türk Lehçelerinin Mukayeseli Grameri, Istanbul 1949, p. 34). Emre was of the opinion that this orthographical alternation indicates that the consonant s was on the verge of becoming š in the vicinity of front vowels. Two years later, an exactly opposite assumption was made by the Russian scholar, Malov, in connection with some phonetic peculiarities of Khuastuanift (Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti, pp. 125, 126). According to him, in Old Turkic, the sound š probably existed in the literary language; but in vulgar Turkic only s was heard instead of š.

We agree with Malov on this assumption of his. The use of the signs s^1 and s^2 in places where one would expect the sign for š is phonetically significant and reflects an early development of the sound š into s in Orkhon Turkic. In addition to that given above (2.1211.2°B), the following may serve as evidence for this assumption:

(a) A letter representing the sound š does not occur in the Moyun Čor inscription, in readable parts of Orkhon III (Kara Balgasun), in MS. I (Miran) and MS. II (Irk Bitig).

(b) In certain Turfan manuscripts in Turkic "runic" script a distinction is made between the letters representing the sounds s and š. In a sheet of paper found in Turfan and first published by A. von Le Coq ("Köktürkisches aus Turfan," SBAW 1909, p. 1047 ff.) the sign ⊤ represents š in front-vocalic words in general, and a special letter, the sign  , designates the same sound in back-vocalic words. This modification of the letter | (= s^2) shows that it designates only the consonant s in itself.

(c) In a fragment found in Turfan and published by Le Coq, the names or phonetic values of 19 of the old Turkic letters are given in Manichaean script. There the sign s^1 is equated to the sound group as (op. cit., p. 1050).

Thus, it is clear that an early development of š into s took place in the Orkhon Turkic of the 8th century.

The inscriptions differ from one another in treatment of š. In the inscription of Bilgä Kagan, in general, it remains as such. In the Kül Tigin inscription the suffix -miš generally occurs as -mis, e.g., bīrmiš (BK E 8) = bīrmis (KT E 8), while š usually appears as such elsewhere. The occurrence of š is restricted to a few words in the inscriptions of Tonyukuk, Išbara Tarkan and Küli Čor. In the inscription of Moyun Čor it never occurs, as we have already mentioned.

In the process of the development of š into s, a consonant

between š and s, probably a voiceless palatal fricative, must have taken place as an intermediate sound. Use of the front-vocalic consonantal sign s^2 in some back-vocalic words may be shown as evidence for the existence of such a transitional sound.

1°. The development š-> s-: sad (TI N 7; TII W 6, 6; O F 6, 8) ~ šad (TI W 5; KT, BK) < Sogd. ?; santuñ (TI E 1, 2) ~ šantuñ (KT, BK) < Chin. Shan-tung.

2°. The development -š-> -s-: asa "climbing over" (TII W 2) ~ aša (KT, BK), asan- "to eat, be fed" (TI N 3) <*ašan- (= Uig. ašan-), bisük "kin, relative, friend" (KT S 6) <*bišük (cf. Uig. bösük id.), bīsinč "fifth, fifthly" (KT N 7; BK S 10) <*bīšinč, äsid- "to hear" (in general) <*äšid- (cf. UII: äsid-), äsg(iti) "silk, silken" (BK N 3, 11) ~ isgiti (KT S 5) <*äšgiti (cf. Uig. išgirti, Kāš. äšgürti id.: see TT VI, p. 80), äsim pers. n.(TI S 2) <*äšim (cf. Kkpk. Ešim male name), esī "lady" in esīlik (KT E 7, 24; BK E 7) <*ešī (= Uig. iši, išiy "lady, princess"), ïsbara (KČ E 10, 12, W 8) ~ isbara (O F 4, 4, Balbal) ~ išbara (KT E 33; KČ W 2), istämi (KT E 1; BK E 3) <*ištämi (= Chin. Shi-tien-mi), kīñsür- "to create a rift between" (KT E 6) <*kīñšür- <*kīñüšür- (cf. Kāš. kiñü- "to become wide"), kisī (in general) ~ kišī (KT S 7; BK E 28, N 6) (= Khak. kizi <*kisi, Yak. kihi <*kisi), tabïs-ɣan "hare" (TI S 1) <*tabïšɣan (= Yak. tabïs an <*tabïsqan, Sar. uig. tosqan ~ tousqan <*tabïsqan id.), tasïq- (TI N 6, 6, 9, 9) ~ tašïq- (KT N 8, E 11; BK E 32), tasul- "to be carried away, be driven" (O F 8) <*tašul- (cf. Kāš. tašu-"to carry away", Khak. tazïl- "to be carried away" <*tasïl-), tüsür- "to cause to dis-

mount" (TI N 3) <*tüšür- (= Khak. tüzir- <*tüsir-), yasa- "to live be such and such years old" (KČ W 3) ~ yaša- (KT N 2, 2) and yaš "age" (in general) (= Khak. čaza- <*yasa- id.).

3°. The development -š > -s: ās- "to climb over" (TI N 2, 11) ~ āš- (BK S 1) (= Khak. as- id., Yak. ās- id.), bas "head" (TI N 7) ~ baš (in general) (= Yak. bas; Khak., Sar.uig. pas id.), basliγ (TII S 2) ~ bašliγ (KT, BK), bēs "five" (generally) ~ bīs (KT E 31; BK S 11) ~ bīš (KT E 18, N 4) (= Yak. biäs, Khak. pis, Sar. uig. peš ~ pes ~ pis), čabīs"aide-de-camp, adjutant" (TI W 7; KČ E 5) <*čabïš (cf. Uibat II, left, 2: čabïš, Turk. çavuş), ēltēris (O F 4, R 3; KČ W 3) ~ īltēris (in general) <*ēl tēriš, īs "work, labor" (generally) <*īš (= Khak. is, Turkm. īš), qabïs- "to come together" (TI E 3, 4, S 5) <*qabïš-, qïs- "to do, make" (TI E 4, S 4, W 4, W 5, W 6; O F 1) ~ qïš- (BK E 25; KT E 32, 34), kümüs (BK S 11, N 3; KT SW; TII S 4) ~ kümüš (KT S 5, N 12; BK N 11) (= Khak. kümüs, Yak. kömüs), ögläs- "to decide together" (TI E 3, 3) <*ögläš-, süñüs "battle, fight" (KT E 15; KČ E 4, 5, 8, W 9, W 11) ~ süñüš (BK E 13, 34; KT E 40, N 2), süñüs- "to fight, battle" (generally) ~ süñüš- (KT, BK), tardus (TI N 7, TII W 6) ~ tarduš (KT, BK; KČ E 2), tas "exterior" (TI S 6) ~ taš (KT S 12; BK N 14) and tašra (KT E 11, 26; BK E 21), tägis "encounter" (KT N 5) <*tägiš, tüs- "to go down, descent; to fall down" (TI N 6, S 9; KT N 4) <*tüš- (= Khak. tüs-, Sar.uig. tüs-, Yak. tüs- id.), ulus "city, land" (KT N 12) <*uluš (cf. Uig. uluš ~ ulus, Kāš. uluš), üküs "many" (KT S 6; TI W 7, TII W 4, W 5; O F 7) ~ üküš (generally) (= Yak. ügüs id.), yarïs "Charish" (TI N 9, TII W 1) <*ča-

rïš (= Khak. Čarïš), yētmis "seventy" (KT E 12) ~ yētmiš (BK E 11), yïs "wooded mountain" (TI E 3, N 4, N 7, N 8, N 8, N 11; TII W 2) <*yïš (= Khak. čïs id.) ~ yis (O F 2) ~ yiš (KT, BK) <*yïš, kīs "sable" (BK S 12) <*kīš (= Yak. kīs id.).

In the suffix -miš: almis (KT E 2) ~ almiš (KT E 40), barmis (KT E 16, 23; TI E 7, 7; O F 3) ~ barmiš (KT E 28; BK E 22) (cf. MČ S 7: barmïs), basmis (O F 1) <*basmiš (cf. MČ E 12: basmïs), bērmis (KT E 14; BK E 12; KČ W 1; O F 5, 6) ~ bīrmis (KT E 8, 8, 8, 8; KT E 1, 1; BK E 3, 3) ~ bīrmiš (BK E 8, 8, 8, 8), bōlmis (KT E 4, 5, 5, 9, 12, 13; TI N 7; O R 2; KČ W 2) ~ bōlmiš (BK E 5, 9, 11, 11, 18, 40, N 1; KT E 21, 39, S 1), bošγurmis (KT E 13) ~ bošγurmiš (BK E 12), ärmis (KT, T, O and KČ: in general; BK E 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 6) ~ ärmiš (KT S 4, 6; BK: in general), ētmis (KT E 11) and in ēlētmis (O F 4, 4) ~ ītmis (KT E 3, 22) ~ ētmiš (BK E 10) ~ ītmiš (BK E 12, 18), ēlsirämis (KT E 13) <*ēlsirämiš, ēlsirätmis (KT E 15) ~ īlsirätmiš (BK E 13), ïčγïnmis (KT E 13; O F 1) <*ïčγïnmiš, ïdmis (KT E 6, 7; TI S 2, 2, N 10) ~ īdmis (O F 2) ~ ïdmiš (BK E 7, 7), ičikmis (KT E 10) ~ ičikmiš (BK E 9), igidmis (KT E 23) ~ igidmiš (generally), inmis (KT E 12) ~ inmiš (BK E 11) qaγansïramis (KT E 13) <*qaγansïramiš, qaγansïratmis (KT E 15) ~ qaγansïratmiš (BK E 13), qalmis (TI W 4) ~ qalmiš (KT S 9), qazγanmis (KT E 22) ~ qazγanmiš (BK E 18, 22), qïlmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ qïlmiš (BK E 13), qïlïnmis (KT E 1) <*qïlïnmiš, qïsmis (O F 1) <*qïsmiš, qonmis (TI S 10) <*qonmiš, qonturmis (KT E 2; BK E 4) <*qonturmiš, qubrat(mis) (KT E 12) ~ qubratmiš (BK E 11), quladmis (KT E 13) <*quladmiš, kälmis (TII W 3) and (k)älmis (KT N 7)<*käl-

miš, körmis (KT E 8) <*körmiš, kötürmis (KT E 11) ~ kötürmiš (KT E 25), küñädmis (KT E 13) <*küñädmiš, olurmis (KT E 5, 5; BK E 6) ~ olurmiš (KT E 1; BK E 6), ölürmis (KT N 1) ~ ölürmiš (KT E 40), ölütmis (TI W 3) <*ölütmiš, ötünmis (O F 8) <*ötünmiš, sïγtāmis (KT E 4) ~ siγtāmiš (BK E 5), sökürmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ sökürmiš (BK E 13), sülämis (KT E 15) ~ sülämiš (BK E 13), süñüsmis (KT E 15) ~ süñüšmiš (KT E 40, N 1), sü(ñüš)miš (BK E 13), tayïqmis (KT E 12) <*tayïqmiš, tasïqmis (TI N 6, 6) ~ tašïqmis (KT E 11) ~ tašïqmiš (BK E 32), tägmis (TI E 1, TII S 3) ~ tägmiš (KT E 40, 40), täzmis (TII W 8) <*täzmiš, tēmis (generally) ~ tīmis (KT E 9) ~ tīmiš (BK E 8), tērilmis (TI N 4) <*tērilmiš, törümis (KT N 10) < *törümiš, tumis (TI E 6) <*tumiš, tutmis (KT E 3, 19; TI S 6) ~ tutmiš (BK E 4), yïdmis (TI N 10) <*yïdmiš (see ïdmis ~ ïdmiš), yïγmis "he frightened" (O F 1) <*yïγmiš, yitmis (O F 1) <*yitmiš, yoγlāmis (KT E 4) ~ yoγlāmiš (BK E 5), yügtürmis (KČ W 2) <*yügtürmiš, yüküntürmis (KT E 2) and (yü)küntürmis (BK E 3) ~ yükün-türmiš (BK E 13), yaymis (O F 1) <*yaymiš, yorïmis (O F 5) <*yorïmiš, yaratmis (KT E 13) ~ yaratmiš (BK E 1, 12, S 13), yarlïq-(q)amis (O F 6) <*yarlïqqamiš.

2.34. Alternation l ~ š (~ s)

In the following words, l alternates with š (~ s): qïš- "to make" in yoq qïš- (KT E 32, 34; BK E 25) ~ qïs- (TI W 5, 6, S 4, E 4) ~ qïl- (generally); išgärü "forwards, eastwards" (BK E 11: Thomsen, Radloff, Orkun and Malov: ilgärü; but in Heikel's atlas the word is spelled as follows: 𐰃𐰍𐰇𐰴𐰃. Thomsen regards this spelling as an error for 𐰃𐰍𐰇𐰴𐰉: Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, p. 39,

n. 1) ~ ilgärü (generally) (cf. Khak. iskär "in the east" <*iškäri <*išgärü).

2.4. Assimilation of Consonants

2.41. Progressive Assimilation

1°. Contact assimilation: čč <*čs: adïnč(č)ïγ "extraordinary, wonderful" (KT S 12; BK N 14, 14) <*adïnčsïγ (cf. Uig. qorqïnčïγ "fearful" <*qorqïnčsïγ); gd <*gt: yēgdi "better" (KT SE; BK E 36) <*yēgti (cf. Mong. adverbial suffix -ta/-te); γd <*γt: qatïγdï (KT S 2) ~ qatïγdi (KT N 11) "firmly, hard" <*qatïγtï (see above; cf. also IB 19: qatïγtï id.); kk < kg: bĭrtük(k)ärü "about (their) having given (service)" (BK E 9) ~ bĭrtükgärü (KT E 10); qq <*qγ: yoq(q)aru "upwards" (TI N 1) <*yoqγaru; tt < td: aγït(t)ïm (BK E 31) <*aγïtdïm, aqït(t)ïmïz (KT N 8) ~ aqïtdïmïz (TI N 11), bädizät(t)i (KČ E 12) <*bädizätdi, bädizät(t)im (KT S 11) <*bädizätdim, qubrat(t)ïm (BK N 7) <*qubratdïm, olurt(t)ï (KČ E 12) <*olurtdï, yoγlat(t)ï (KČ E 12) <*yoγlatdï; zt < zd: bädiztim (BK SW) < *bädizdim, tutuzt(ï) (KT E 38) <*tutuzdï, uduztum (TI S 8) <*uduzdum, uduzt(uqï) (KČ E 1) <*uduzduqï (cf. IB 20: äztï (twice); Khoitu Tamyr X 3: kŭztä).

2°. Distance assimilation: b - b < b - m: balbal "statue, sculpture" (KT E 25, etc.) <*barmal (cf. Mong. barimal id.).

2.42. Regressive Assimilation

1°. Contact assimilation: tt < dt: äsit(t)im (TI E 7) <*äsidtim (cf. IB 83: äsidti), ĭt(t)ï (KT E 7, S 12; BK E 7, N 14) <*ĭdtï (cf. Toiok, front, 7: ĭdtï), ït(t)ïm (BK E 40; TI N 9, TII E 2)

ït(t)ïmïz (KT E 40; TII W 7) <*ïdtïmïz, igit(t)i (KT E 16; BK E 14; KČ E 13) <*igidti, igit(t)im (KT E 29; BK E 23, 38) <*igidtim, qot(t)ï (BK S 12) <*qodtï, yaγït(t)uqda (KČ W 5, E 6) <*yaγïdtuqda; dd < td: bitïd(d)im (KT S 13; BK N 15) ~ bitïtdim (TII E 8), yaratid(d)im (BK N 14) <*yaratitdim (cf. MČ E 8, 9, 10: yaratïtdïm); dm < tm: ïqïdmaz "(the Chinese) do not give shelter to" (KT S 6) <*ïqïtmaz (cf. Kirg. ïq- "to shelter from wind, bad weather, etc."); qq < γq: yarlïq(q)a- "to command, order" (KT S 9, etc.) <*yarlïγqa- (cf. Uig. yarlïγqa- id.); ss < šs: qabïs(s)ar (TI S 5) <*qabïšsar.

2°. Distance assimilation: č - č < š - č: čača pers. n. (KT E 32; BK E 26) < Chin. Sha-cha (see Alttürk., p. 306); l - l < r - l: balbal "statue" <*balmal <*barmal (cf. Mong. barimal id.); r - r < l - r: ertäbär (KČ E 9; Ramstedt, 109, transcribes the word as eltäbir, but the photograph is clear) ~ eltäbär (generally).

2.5. Dissimilation of Consonants

1°. Contact dissimilation: kl < gl: ärkli "while; being" (TI S 1, 6, 6; KT N 1; BK E 29) <*ärgli <*ärigli; lq < lγ: qulqaq "ear" (BK S 12, N 11) <*qulγaq; lt < ld: Regularly in the locative-ablative forms: iltä (KT S 3) , yolta (KT N 9, TI S 9); in the past tense in -dï: altïm (BK E 24, etc.), kälti (KT N 12,etc.) the past participle in -duq: biltükümün (KČ S 3), boltuqda (O F 1, 6); the future participle in -dači: boltači (KT N 9, etc.), öltäči (KT E 29, etc.); nt < nd: Regularly in the locative-ablative

forms: bizintä (TII W 5), bodunta (KT N 2, etc.), qaγanta (KT N 12, etc.), örpäntä (BK E 26), etc., but käčindä (KČ W 10); the past tense in -dï: alqïntï (TI W 3), yükünti (TI N 4, etc.), etc.; the participle in -duq: qazγantuq (BK E 33, TII N 3), ötüntük (TI S 8), etc.; rt < rd: Locative-ablative forms: yertä (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15), but yerdä (BK E 35, 36), yerdäki (TII E 6), tabarda (KT E 38); regularly in the past tense in-dï: aγturtum (TI N 1), bērti (TI S 8, TII W 3; O R 3) ~ bīrti (BK S 11), olurtï (KT E 16, etc.), etc., but bardï (KT E 34, etc.), bardïγ (KT E 24, etc.), bardïγïz (KT SE), bardïmïz (TI N 2, etc.), bardïñïz (O R 4); the past participle in -duq: bērtük (TI W 6) ~ bīrtük (KT E 10, etc.), olurtuqda (KT E 17), etc., but barduq (KT E 24; BK E 20); the future participle in -dači: ärtäči (TII E 5, 7, N 2), kīrtäči (BK N 14), körtäči (BK N 14), olurtači (KT S 8), ölürtäči (TI S 3, etc.).

2°. Distance dissimilation: b - n < m - n: tarban (BK E 18) ~ tarman (KT E 21) (see 2.323); l - n < l - l: qïlïn- (KT E 1, etc.) <*qïlïl-.

2.6. Contraction

ñ < nγ/ng: ärtiñü (BK N 10, etc.) <*ärtingü; käliñün "daughters-in-law" (KT N 9) <*kälingün; baña (TI N 7) ~ maña (KT S 2, etc.) <*bängä, säñä (TI N 8) <*sängä, biziñä (KT E 19, 40; BK E 16) <*bizingä; aγīsīña (KT S 6; BK N 5) <*aγīsīnγa, bašīña (KT E 33), batsïqīña (KT S 2, etc.), äbīñä (KČ W 3), īlīñä (TII E 8), qutīña (KT E 31), oγlīña (BK N 15), ödīñä (BK E 29), sabīña (KT S 6; BK N 5), tatīña (BK N 15), toγsïqīña (BK N 2), yašīña (KT N 1, yazīña (KT N 8; BK E 31), yirīñä (KT S 4; BK E 15); añar (KT S 11,

etc.) <*anγar; añaru (TI E 3) <*anγaru, bañaru (TI N 10) <*bänγaru, ortusīñaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2, 2), subīñaru (BK E 40), yerīñärü (BK E 40).

2.7. Dropping of Consonants

2.71. Dropping of -n: ekī "two" (generally) ~ ekīn (in ekīn āra: KT E 1, 2, BK E 4), yaγī "enemy; war" (KT N 1, etc.) <*yaγīn (cf. yaγīn id.: MČ E 6; cf. also Mong. dayin id.).

2.72. Dropping of r: äsg(iti) (BK N 3, 11) ~ isgiti (KT S 5) "silk cloth" <*äsgirti (cf. Uig. išgirti id., Kāš. äšgürti id.).

2.8. Prothesis

A prothetic y appears in the following word: yïlṭayut "heroes" (BK E 31) <*ïlṭayut <*alṭayut (cf. Mong. albayud "government officials, officers").

2.9. Epenthesis

Internal or external hiatus is filled with the consonant y.

1°. Internal hiatus: biriyä "in the south" (KT S 1, etc.) < biri+y+ä, qurïya "in the west" (TI S 7, etc.) < qurï+y+a, yïrïya "in the north" (TI W 7, etc.) < yïrï+y+a; bašlayu "first" (KT E 25, etc.) < bašla-y-u, bulγayu (KČ W 11) < bulγa-y-u, oplayu (KT N 5, etc.) < opla-y-u, sayu "sending a message" (TII W 7) < sa-y-u (cf. sab "word, news, message"), sāyu "every" (KT S 9, etc.)< sā-y-u (lit.: "counting"), siyu (KT E 36; KČ E 9) < si-yu <*sï-y-u, süläyü (KT E 8, etc.) < sülä-y-ü, ulayu "and" (KT S 1, etc.)< ula-y-u, yēyü (TI S 1) ~ yīyü (TI S 1) < yē-y-ü; bāyur (TI N 3) < bā-

y-ur, öyür (KT S 5) < ö-y-ür, yašayur (KT N 2, 2) < yaša-y-ur, yorïyur (KT E 12, S 9; TI S 3) < yorï-y-ur.

2°. External hiatus is filled only in the following example: anča yïdmis "he sent (a message) as follows" (TI N 10) < anča ïdmis.

2.10. Stress

In Orkhon Turkic the accent probably was an expiratory stress and fell upon the last syllable in general. The fact that the vowel alternations and changes generally take place in non-final syllables testifies to this assumption: aγár ~ ïγár "precious, important", alpaγú ~ yïlpaγút "heroes, champion warriors", ärsár ~ irsär "if it is" (see 2.13.1° and 2°) (cf. Uig. tawár ~ tïwár, Kāš. tašïq- ~ tïšïq-, etc.), etc.

In trisyllabic words a secondary stress probably fell upon the first syllable. The medial syllable was obviously unstressed. For this reason its short narrow vowel was extremely reduced and subject to fall in many cases (see 2.1711.1°): inigäk "cow" (TI S 7) (cf. Mong. üniyen id.), yalabač "envoy" (BK E 39) (cf. Kāš. yalawač id.), yegirmi "twenty" (KT E 15, etc.), etc.

When a suffix was added to a word, the stress shifted upon the latter: bodún "people" (BK E 5, etc.), bodunúm "my people" (KT S 1, etc.), bodunumïn "my people" (acc.) (BK N 11), etc.

Certain suffixes, however, did not take the stress: bïrmädi "he did not give" (KT N 9), bíliñ "know ye!" (BK E 33), óqun "with an arrow" (KT E 33, 36), qaγanïmin "with my kagan" (TII E 3), ótča "like a fire" (KT E 37), etc.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Word-Formation

There are two kinds of stems: simple (primary) stems, derivatives (secondary stems). The simple stems are those which cannot be further analyzed, e.g., ab "chase, hunt", käl- "to come". The derivatives are obtained from the simple stems either by suffixation or by composition, e.g., abla- "to hunt", kälür- "to bring", yir-sub "territory, land" (yir "earth", sub "water").

A peculiar feature of the morphological system is the sharp distinction between the nominal and verbal stems expressing closely related ideas. The identical nominal and verbal stems are extremely few, and restricted to the following: āč "hungry" and āč- "to feel hungry", qarī "old, aged" and qarī- "to grow old".

The derivational suffixes, too, fall roughly into two classes: those which form new stems from the nominal stems, and those which form new stems from the verbal stems.

3.11. Suffixation

3.111. Denominal nouns

1°. -a/-ä. The old dative-locative suffix: üzä "above, on" (TI N 1, etc.) <*üz "upper part" (cf. Uig. üztün ~ üstün "on, above"); see Adverbs.

2°. -ač/-äč. Only in: ïγač "tree" (TI N 1; BK S 11) <*ïγ "trees, forest" (cf. Uig. ïγ ~ ïi id.).

3°. -aq/-äk. Only in: čoraq "a dry land" (BK SE) <*čor id. (cf. Sar.uig., Kirg., Kkpk. šor <*čor id.).

4°. -an/-än. Only in: yägrän "red, reddish-brown (horse)" (KČ E 3, 9) <*yägir id. (cf. Khak. čigrän id., Yak. siär <*yägir id., Baš. yerän id.).

5°. -č. Forms diminutives, hypocoristic names: atač "beloved father" in atačïm (O R 4, Supp. 3, 4) <*ata "father".

6°. -či. Forms professional names: bädizči "painter, sculptor"(KT S 11, etc.) < bädiz "picture, sculpture", siγïtči "lamenter" (KT N 11, etc.) < siγït "lament, wail", tamγači "seal-keeper" (KT N 13) <*tamγa "seal", yaγïči "war-leader" (TII S 6) < yaγï "war; enemy", yoγči "mourner" (BK E 5, etc.) < yoγ "funeral", yuluγči "plunderer" (BK SE) <*yuluγ "plunder", armaqči "deceitful, a deceitful person" (KT E 6) <*armaq "fraud"; see -γuči/-güči and -dači/-däči.

7°. -čïγ (<-sïγ). Only in: adïnč(č)ïγ "extraordinary, wonderful" (KT S 12, etc.) <*adïnčsïγ (cf. Uig. adïn- "to wonder, be astonished"; also cf. qorqïnčïγ "fearful" <*qorqïnčsïγ); see -sïγ.

8°. -dam/-däm. Only in: ärdäm "manliness, courage" (KČ W 4, etc.) < är "man".

9°. -γï/-gi. Function: to form nouns meaning "belonging to, being in": tabγačγï "being or living in China" (KT E 7), čölgi "being or living on the plains" (TI E 6); see -qï/-ki.

10°. -γaru/-gärü. The directive suffix: yoq(q)aru "upward" (TI N 1) <*yoqγaru (cf. Kāš. yoq "rise, rising (ground)"), yüg-(g)ärü "upward, to a high place" (KT E 11, BK E 10) <*yüg (cf. Kāš. yügsä- "to rise, go up", Turk. yüksek "high"); see Adverbs.

11°. -γu/-gü. Forms nouns designating qualities: ädgü "good"

(BK N 5, etc.) <*äd (cf. Uig. ädsiz "useless", ädlig "precious, valuable"; Kāš. äδlig "useful", äδgär- "to improve"), bäñīgü "happy, lucky, blessed" (O Supp. 2) <*bäñī "joy, happiness, bliss" (cf. Uig. mäñi id., mäñilä- "to be happy"), bašγu "white-headed?" (KT E 37) < baš? (cf. Kāš. bašγïl "white-headed (animal)").

12°. -k. Only in: ilk "first" (KT N 4, etc.) <*il "front".

13°. -qa. The dative-locative suffix: arqa "back, rump" (KČ E 9) <*ar (cf. Mong. aru "back, rear").

14°. -qan/-kän. In titles and proper names: täñrikän "God-like" (title of the Turkic kagan) (O F 5, etc.) < täñri "God", tarqan a high rank-title (KT W 2, etc.) <*tar (vf. Uig. tarïm title of noblewomen; see Alttürk., pp. 60, 61), ötükän geog. n. ("Khangai mountains") <*ötü? (cf. ötülüg "esteemed, respected?": BK E 34), qadïrqan geog. n. ("Khingan mountains") <*qadïr (cf. Uig., Kāš. qadïr "hard, severe, harsh, violent").

15°. -qï/-ki. Forms nouns meaning "belonging to, being in" (see -γï/-gi): ičräki "situated within, domestic, belonging to the court" (BK N 14, etc.) < ičrä "within", öñräki "being in front, being in the east" (TI N 1, S 10) < öñrä "in front", (b)ärüki "that which is on this side" (TII S 2) <*bärü "the near side, this side, hither"; after the locative suffixes -a/-ä and -da/-dä: biriyäki "being in the south" (TI S 10) < biriyä "in the south", yïrïyaqï "being in the north" (TI S 10) < yirïya "in the north", qurïyaqï "being in the west" (TI S 10) < qurïya "in the west"; balïqdaqï, buluñdaqï, köñültäki, taγdaqï, yantaqï.

16°. -qïńa/-kińä. Diminutives, hypocoristic words: azqïńa

"very few" (KT E 34; TI S 2) < az "few".

17°. -l. Function: to form nouns designating colors: qïzïl "red" (TII E 2) <*qïz "hot" (cf. Uig. qïz id., Kāš. qïzar- "to turn red"), yašïl "green" (BK E 15; KT E 17) <*yaš "fresh; vegetation".

18°. -lïγ/-lig/-luγ/-lüg. Function: to form nouns meaning "possessing or having something": atlïγ "having a horse, horseman" (TI E 7, etc.) < at "horse", ātlïγ "having a title" (BK E 41) < āt "name, title", aymaγlïγ "of noble birth, of high lineage" (O F 4) < aymaγ "clan, family" (cf. Turk. soylu "of good family" < soy "family, lineage"), azïγlïγ "ferocious, unbridled" (KČ E 6) < azïγ "furor", bašlïγ "proud (lit.: "having a head")" (BK E 3, etc.) < baš "head", bäñīlig "sacred, blessed" (TII W 9) <*bäñī "happiness, bliss" (cf. bäñīgü), äkinlig "hemmed" (?) (BK N 11) <*äkin "edge on a garment" (?), ärklig "powerful, free" (BK N 12) <*ärk "power, might", ēllig "owning a state" (KT E 29; BK E 24) - īllig (KT E 9, etc.) < ēl, ēltäbärlig "owning an ēltäbär" (BK E 38), qaγanlïγ "owning a kagan" (TII E 6, etc.), qïrγaγlïγ "hemmed" (BK N 11) < *qïrγaγ "hem", qulluγ "owning a slave" (KT E 21; BK E 18), kädimlig "dressed" (KT E 33), käräkūlüg "nomadic" (BK E 1) <*käräkū "tent", kürlüg "deceitful, tricky" (KT E 6; BK E 6) <*kür "fraud, deceit", küñlüg "owning a female slave" (BK E 18), ötūlüg "respected, esteemed" (BK E 34) <*ötū, süñūglüg "owning a lance" (KT E 33; BK E 19), täblig "deceitful" (KT E 6; BK E 6) <*täb, tīzlig "powerful (lit.: "having knees")" (BK N 10, etc.) < tīz "knee", tōnluγ "owning clothes, dressed" (KT E 29; BK E 23), tögünlüg

"branded" (TII E 4), kŭčlüg "powerful, mighty" (O R 4), yaraqlïγ "having a weapon" (TII E 4), yolluγ "fortunate, happy" (personal name) (KT SW, etc.) <*yol "happiness, fortune, prosperity" (= Tuv. čolduγ "fortunate, happy" <*yolluγ, Yak. ǧol "fortune, happiness").

19°. -lïg/-lik/-luq/-lük: bäglik "worthy of becoming a lord" (KT E 7, etc.) < bäg, esīlik "worthy of becoming a lady" (KT E 7, etc.) <*esī "noblewoman, princess, lady" (cf. Uig. iši id., išiy id., Kāš. išilär id.), qoqlïq "scenting material" (BK S 11) <*qoq "smell, scent" (cf. Turkm. qoq id.), ŏzlik (BK N 11, S 12) ~ ŏzlük (KC E 3, 3, W 4) "personal; mount, riding horse" < ŏz "self, own", udlïq "haunch, thigh" (KT E 36) < ud "thigh" (KT N 2, E 36); see -γuluq/-gülük.

20°. -man/-män. Function: to form nouns designating slight shades of colors (?): azman "yellowish" (?) (KT N 5, 6) <*az (cf. Uig. az "braunes Pferd": Alttürk., p. 297; also cf. Kāš. as ~ az "ermine, stoat"), kŏgmän geog. n. ("bluish")? <*kŏkmän.

21°. -n: bodun "people, tribes" (KT E 14, etc.) < bod "clan, tribe" (TII N 2).

22°. -nč. Forms ordinal numerals: bīsinč "fifthly" (KT N 7, etc.) < bīs "five"; see Ordinal Numerals.

23°. -ra/-rä. Directive suffix: asra "below" (KT E 1, etc.) <*as "lower part" (cf. Kāš. astīn "below"); see Adverbs of Place.

24°. -sïγ/-sig (= Mong. particle siγ "similar to, like"): öd-sig "dear, beloved" (BK E 34) <*öd (cf. Kāš. öδik "love", öδür- "to select, prefer"), yïlsïγ "wealthy, prosperous, significant" (KT E 26) <*yïl (cf. Mong. yali "significant, important", yali-

"to be of good quality"); see -čïγ.

25°. -sïz/-siz. Privative: aššïz "foodless, hungry" (KT E 26; BK E 21) < aš "food", biligsiz "unwise, unintelligent" (KT E 5, etc.) < bilig "wisdom, intellect, power of knowing", buñsïz (BK N 14, etc.) ~ buñsiz (TII S 4) "having no trouble; abundantly" < buñ "trouble, distress, need", idisiz "having no owner or possessor" (KT E 20, etc.) < idi "owner", qalïsiz "completely, wholly" (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9) < qalï "rest, remainder", kärgäksiz "innumerably, exceedingly" (BK S 11; KT N 12) < kärgäk "absent, nonexistent, lacking", ögsiz "motherless" (KT N 9) < ög "mother", sānsïz "innumerably" (BK S 12) < sān "number", tōnsïz "having no clothes, destitude" (KT E 26; BK E 21) < tōn "clothes", tüzsiz "discordant, disagreeing" (KT E 6; BK E 6) < tüz "accord, harmony, agreement", ogsïz "having no tribal organization" (KT E 3; BK E 4) < oq "a unit in the tribal organization", yōlsiz in yōlsizin "without any roads" (TI N 11) < yōl "road, way".

26°. -š: aγïš "wealth, riches, property" (KT SW) < aγï id., ödüš "time, unit of time" (BK SE) < öd "time" (cf. Kāš. qarï, qarïš "span").

27°. -tï. Adverbial: amtï "now" (KT E 9, S 3; BK N 2) <*am id. (cf. Khak. am "now, at present"), ekīnti "second, secondly" (KT N 5, etc.) < ekīn "second" (BK E 32); see Adverbs.

3.112. Denominal verbs

1°. -a-/-ä-: bädizä- "to design, decorate" in bädizät- (KT S 11; KČ E 12) < bädiz "picture, design", bu(l)na- "to capture, take prisoner" (KČ E 10) < bulun "captive, prisoner of war" (KČ W

5), kürä- "to become unruly" in kürägü (KT E 25; BK E 19) <*kür "bold, stout-hearted, unruly" (cf. Kāš. kür id.), sïγtā- "to lament, wail" (KT E 4; BK E 5) < sïγït "lament, wail", yaša- "to be at the age of ..." (KT N 2, etc.) < yaš "age"; see -sïra-/-sirä-.

2°. -ad-/-äd- (after consonants), -d- (after vowels): bašad- "to command, lead" (BK S 8, 11) < baš "leader, commander", buñad- "to be in trouble, become bored" (TI N 2) < buñ "trouble", qulad- "to become a slave" (KT E 13) < qul "male slave", küñäd- "to become a slave" (KT E 13) < küñ "female slave", yaγït- (< yaγïd-) "to start hostilities" (KČ E 6) < yaγï "enemy, hostile", yōqad- "to be annihilated" (KT E 11) < yōq "non-existent".

3°. -γar-/-gär-: ičgär- "to subdue, subjugate" (BK E 25) < ič "inside, interior", tasγar- "to remove, lead out" (MČ E 10) <*taš-γar- < taš "outside, exterior"; see -ar-/-är- and -q-/-k-.

4°. -ï-/-ī-: bitī- "to write, inscribe" (KT SE, etc.) <*bit (cf. Chin. pi <*piet "pencil, brush": see Alttürk., p. 303), toqï- "to beat, strike, defeat" (BK S 8, etc.) <*toq onomatopoetic word, udï- "to sleep" (BK E 22, etc.) <*ud "sleep" (cf. Kāš. u id.), yabrï- "to become bad, be routed" in yabrït- (BK E 31) <*yabïr (cf. yabïz "bad"), *yašī- "to shine" in yašīk (?) "sun" (KT NE), yorï- "to go, walk, march" (KT E 37, etc.) <*yor (cf. Kāš. yorčï "guide, person that shows the way", Mong. ǧorči- "to go, walk, travel"); see -a-/-ä- and -u-/-ü-.

5°. -q-/-k-: ičik- "to submit" (TI N 4) < ič "inside", tašïq- (~ tasïq-) "to go out, start a campaign" (KT E 11, etc.) < taš "outside, exterior", bīrik- "to join, unite, gather" (KT E 27,

etc.) < bīr "one".

6°. -qa-/-kä-, -ɣa-/-gä-: kūkä- "to gain fame, become well-known" (KČ W 4) < kū "fame, reputation", yarlïq(q)a- "to command, order" (KT S 9, etc.) <*yarlïɣqa- <*yarlïɣ "word, order, decree"; ämgä- "to be distressed, suffer pain" in ämgät- (BK N 13) <*äm "remedy, medicine" (cf. Uig. äm id.).

7°. -l-: tüzül- "to make peace" (KT S 5) < tüz "even, in order, in tune" (KT E 3).

8°. -la-/-lä-: abla- "to hunt, chase" (KČ W 9) < ab "hunt, chase" (KČ W 9), ančula- "to present, submit" (KT E 32) <*ančy "reward" (cf. Uig. ančy id., Mong. angγu "fine, punishment", angγula- "to exact a fine"), atla- in atlan- "to get on horses" (KČ E 8) < at "horse", bašla- "to lead" (BK E 33, etc.) < baš "head, leader, commander", boɣuzla- "to slaughter" in boɣuzlan- (TI N 2) < boɣuz "throat", īllä- "to establish a state" (KT E 6; BK E 7) < īl "state, land", qaɣanla- "to make someone a kagan" (KT E 7; BK E 7; O F 2) < qaɣan "kagan, emperor", qïlïčla- "to put to the sword" (KT N 5) < qïlïč "sword", qïšla- "to spend the winter" (BK E 31; KT N 8) < qïš "winter", qunla- "to revenge for" (O R 1) < *qun "revenge" (cf. Kirg. qun id.), oɣurqala- "to warm one's back" in oɣurqalat- (TI N 1) <*oɣurqa "back, backbone" (cf. Tuv. ōrɣa id., ōrɣala- "to warm one's back" < oɣurqala-), opla- "to rush, attack with much speed" (KT N 5, etc.) <*op onomatopoetic word (cf. Kirg. opton- "not to be able to restrain oneself" <*oplan-), öglä- "to think over, decide" in ögläs- (<*ögläš-) (TI E 3) <*ög "intellect, mind, reason", taplā- "to like, agree" (BK E 35) <*ta-

pïla- <*tapï "agreement" (cf. Kāš. tapï id.), yoγlā- "to mourn, perform funeral ceremonies" (KT E 4, etc.) < yoγ "funeral", ötlä- "to give advice" (O R 3) <*öt "advice", sülä- "to start a campaign, go to war" (BK E 40, etc.) < sü "army", tiñla- "to listen" (KT S 2) <*tïñla- <*tïñ "sound" (cf. Uig. tïñ id.), topla- "to fold up, bend" (TI S 6) <*top "collected together".

9°. -ra-/-rä-: qubra- "to gather" in qubrat- (BK E 11, etc.) and qubran- (TI W 4) <*qub (cf. Mong. χubi "part, share, portion").

10°. -rqa-/-rkä-: toqurqa- "to regard as satiated" in toqurqaq (KT S 8; BK N 6) < toq "satiated, full".

11°. -sïra-/-sirä- (< -sïr-a-/-sir-ä-; see -sïz/-siz <*-sïr/-sir): ēlsirä- "to become stateless, lose independence" (KT E 13) < ēl "state, land", qaγansïra- "to become kingless, lose independence" (KT E 13) < qaγan "kagan, king", uruγsïra- in uruγsïrat- "to exterminate, deprive someone of his descendants" (KT E 10) < uruγ "descendant".

12°. -ta-/-tä-: toñta- "to turn down" (BK E 2) <*toñ (cf. Khak. toñχar- "to turn, turn upside-down"), bunta- "not to suffice, be inadequate" in buntat- "to make less, lessen" (TI E 2) <*buñta- < buñ "need, lack" (cf. Mong. muñda- "to become insufficient").

13°. -u-/-ü-: kīñü- "to become wide" in kīñsür- (<*kīñüšür-) "to create a rift between" (KT E 6) <*kīñ "wide", tasu- "to carry, take away" in tasul- "to be dragged" (O F 8) <*tašu- <*taš "outside, exterior" (cf. Kāš. tašu- "to take away, take out"), yaγu- "to approach, come close" in yaγut- (KT S 5; BK N 4) <*yaγ (cf. Kāš. yaq "near, close").

3.113. Deverbal nouns

1°. -a/-ä. Gerundial suffix: āra "between" (KT E 1, etc.) <*ār- "to pass through, traverse, cross" (cf. Uig. ar- id.), basa "then, again" (O F 5) < bas-, birlä "together, with" (BK E 26, etc.) <*bïril- "to join, unite", tapa "toward" (KT E 35, etc.) < *tap- "to look for, seek", tägrä "around" (TI S 1) <*tägir- "to surround", yana "again" (KT E 10, etc.) < yan- "to turn back", yämä "and, also, too" (TII N 2, etc.) <*yäm- "to add, attach" (cf. Mong. neme- id.; see Poppe, Verg., p. 38); see Gerunds.

2°. -bač: yalabač "messenger, envoy" (BK E 39) <*yala- "to invite, send for" (cf. Mong. ğala- id., Kāš. yalafar "envoy" <*ya-la-bar).

3°. -bal (< -mal): balbal "statue" (KT E 25, etc.) <*balmal <*barmal <*bar- "to build, construct, shape" (cf. barq "building, construction", Mong. bari- "to build, construct", barimal "statue").

4°. -dači/-däči (after vowels), -tači/-täči (after l, n, r): kältäči "those who will come" (TI S 7); see Verbal Nouns.

5°. -duq/-dük; after l, n, and r (except bar-) -tuq/-tük. Forms verbal nouns denoting completed actions: barduq yir "the places which you went" (BK E 20), tägdük "conflict, battle" (KT E 36) < täg- "to attack"; see Verbal Nouns.

6°. -ɣ/-g. Forms nouns designating results of actions, places in which actions take place: azïɣ "furor" in azïɣlïɣ "ferocious" (KČ E 6) <*az- "to become furious", bērsäg "the wish for giving" (O R 2) <*bērsä- "to wish to give", bilig "wisdom, intel-

lect" (TI W 6, etc.) < bil- "to know", bitīg "writing, script" (KČ S 3, etc.) < bitī- "to write, inscribe", ärig "reachable" (KT S 13) < är- "to reach", qapïγ "gate" (BK E 15, etc.) <*qap- "to cover, shut" (cf. Kāš. qapïl- "to be closed, be imprisoned", qapγa "door of a castle", qapγaq "cover"), qoraγ "loss, death, funeral" (O R 4) <*qora- "to lose, suffer loss" (cf. Uig. qora- id., Kirg. qoro- "to decrease, be reduced" <*qora-), kičig "small" (BK E 41, etc.) <*kič- (cf. Kāš. kičük "small"), käčig "ford" (TI N 11) < käč- "to pass", qamšaγ "shaky" (KT N 3) <*qamša- "to be shaken" (cf. Uig. qamša- id.), körüg "scout" (TI S 2, etc.) < kör- "to see", ölüg "dead" (KT N 9) < öl- "to die", ötüg "request" (BK E 39) <*öt- "to ask for, request" (cf. Uig. öt- id.: Alttürk., p. 324), säbig "lovable" (personal name) (BK S 14) <*säb- "to like, love", süčīg "sweet" (KT S 6, etc.) <*süčī- "to become sweet" (cf. Kāš. süči- id.), süñüg "lance" (KT E 35, etc.) <*süñü- "to thrust into, pierce" (cf. süñüš- "to fight, lance one another"), tirig "alive" (KT N 9) and "life" (KT SE) <*tir- "to live", tuγ "barrier" (TI N 2) < tu- "to bar, block" (TI E 6), ülüg "portion; good luck" (KT E 29, etc.) <*ülü- "to share out, distribute" (cf. Uig., Kāš. ülä- id.), yadaγ "on foot" (TI W 4, etc.) <*yada- "to be unable" (cf. Mong. yada- id., yadayu "poor, miserable": see Poppe, Verg., p. 32), yuluγ "plunder" in yuluγči "plunderer" (BK SE) < yul- ~ yulï- "to plunder", yoγ "funeral, obsequies" (BK S 10, etc.) <*yo- (cf. yōq "non-existent").

7°. -γa/-gä: bilgä "wise" (KT S 6, etc.) < bil- "to know", qïsγa "short" (KČ E 11) <*qïs- "to shorten, make narrow", tamγa

"brand, seal" in tamγači (KT N 13) <*tam- "to burn" (cf. Uig. tam-tur- "to fire, cause to burn", Kāš. tamduq "a flaming fire").

8°. -γaq/-gäk: qulqaq "ear" (BK S 12; N 11) <*qulγaq <*qul- "to hear" (cf. Finnish kuule- id., Cheremiss kol- id.: see Németh, "Probleme der türkischen Urzeit," in Analecta orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Korös Dicata, Vol. 1, Budapest 1942, 57-102).

9°. -γan/-gän: qapγan "one who attacks" (regal title of Mo-č'o Kagan) (TII E 1, etc.) <*qap- "to attack, seize" (cf. Uig. qap- "to seize", Kāš. qap- "to snatch, steal; attack"), qorγan "fort, fortress, shelter" (BK E 31; KT N 8) <*qorïγan <*qorï- "to protect, shelter" (cf. Mong. χoriyan "camp, barracks").

10°. -γma/-gmä. Forms agent nouns: bitïgmä "one who writes" (KT S 13, etc.) < bitï- "to write"; see Verbal Nouns.

11°. -γu/-gü. Forms action nouns (infinitives): ārïγu "exhaustion, fatigue" (TII W 2) <*ārï- "to be tired, exhausted" (cf. Uig. arï- id., Kāš. ar- id., Kirg. arï- id.), kürägü "unruliness" (KT E 23; BK E 19) <*kürä- "to be unruly" (cf. Kāš. kür "bold, unruly, stout-hearted"); the actor: qorïγu "protector" (BK E 41) < *qorï- "to protect"; the means by which an action is performed: qarγu "watchtower" (TI N 10, TII E 3) <*qaraγu <*qara- "to watch" (cf. Uig. qara- id., Kāš. qarγu ~ qarγuy "watchtower"); see -γuči/-güči and -γuluq/-gülük.

12°. -γuči/-güči (< -γu-či/-gü-či). Forms agent nouns: īt-güči "doer, maker" (KT N 13) < īt- "to do, make", ayγuči "counselor, chief executive" (TI N 5, etc.) < ay- "to speak; to rule".

13°. -γuluq/-gülük (< -γu-luq/-gü-lük). Action nouns: topla-

ɣuluq "the folding up, bending" (TI S 6) < topla- "to fold up, bend", üzgülük "the breaking, cutting" (TI S 7) < üz- "to break, cut".

14°. -ï/-i: ägri "bent, crooked" (TII S 4) <*ägir- "to turn, bend, twist", qalï "rest, remainder" in qalïsiz (TI N 9, etc.) < qal- "to remain, be left over", taqï "more, further" (O R 2; KT S 13) <*taq- "to attach, affix", yazï "plain, steppe" (BK N 5, etc.) <*yaz- "to spread out, extend"; see Gerunds.

15°. -q/-k; after consonantal stems -uq/-ük. Nouns designating results of actions, qualities resulting from the action: ayuq "dominion" (KT W 1) < ay- "to rule, command", barq "building, mausoleum" (BK N 14, etc.) <*barïq <*bar- "to build, construct" (cf. Mong. bari- id.), bädük "great, numerous" (O F 6) <*bädü- "to grow", bulɣaq "riotous, provocative" (KT N 4; BK E 29) < bulɣa- "to provoke, disturb the order", buyruq "high official, functionary" (KT S 1, etc.) < buyur- "to order, give commands", artuq "exceeding, more, much" (KČ E 13, etc.) <*art- "to increase, remain over", ämgäk "trouble, harm" (BK E 16) <*ämgä- "to suffer trouble, suffer pain", ïduq "sacred, holy" (TII W 3) < ïd- "to send", ïraq "far, distant, remote" (KT S 7, etc.) <*ïra- "to go to a distance" (cf. Kāš. yïra- id.), kärgäk "lacking, absent, needed" (KT E 4, etc.) <*kärgä- "to lack, be without" (Uig. kärgä- id., kärgät- "to cause to lack"), kölik "cart, vehicle" (TI S 8) <*köli- "to harness", toq "satiated, full" (TI S 1) < to- "to be satiated", toruq "lean" (KT E 39; TI W 5) < tor- "to become lean, be emaciated" (KT S 9; BK N 7), yaɣuq "close by, near" (KT S 7) <*yaɣu-

"to come close, approach", yašīk (?) "sun" (KT NE) <*yašīq <*yašī- "to shine", yāzuq "mischief, wrong, fault" in yāzuqla- (BK E 36) <*yāz- "to go astray", yimšaq "soft" (KT S 5, etc.) <*yimša- "to become softer", yōq "non-existent" (TI W 5, etc.) <*yō- "not to exist, cease to exist" (cf. yoγ "funeral" <*yo-γ), yuluq "plundered" (O F 3) < yul- (~ yulï-) "to plunder", toqurqaq "one who regards himself as satiated" (KT S 8; BK N 6) <*toqurqa- "to regard oneself as satiated", yañïluq "one who has betrayed, unfaithful" (KT E 20) < yañïl- "to go astray, betray".

16°. -qun (< -γun): buzqun "storm" (?) (O R 1) < buz- "to ruin, destroy".

17°. -l: inäl "trustworthy, reliable" (personal name or title) <*inal <*ina- "to trust, rely on, believe" (cf. Uig. inan- id.), qïsïl "glen, mountain-cleft, canyon" (BK E 37) <*qïs- "to make narrow".

18°. -m: batïm "a sinking, going down" (KT E 35, etc.) < bat- "to go down, sink", kädim "clothing, dress" (KT E 35) <*käd- "to wear, put on".

19°. -ma/-mä: yälmä "vanguard, advanced columns" (TI N 10) and "campaign, expedition" (TII E 2) < yäl- "to ride fast, trot".

20°. -maq/-mäk: armaq "deceiving, deceit" in armaqči "deceitful" (KT E 6) < ar- "to deceive".

21°. -maz/-mäz: bilmäz "one who does not know" (KČ S 3, etc.) < bil- "to know"; see Participles.

22°. -miš, -mis. Forms verbal nouns denoting agents and actions: igidmiš "one who has fed" (BK N 6), qalmiš "those who

have survived" (KT S 9), tägmis "the having reached" (TI E 1, TII S 3) < täg- "to reach, arrive"; see Verbal Nouns.

23°. -n. Result of action: bulun "captive, prisoner of war" (KČ W 5) <*bul- "to get, obtain" (cf. Mong. buli- "to take by force"), qïyin "punishment, penalty" (TI N 8) <*qïy- "to punish", kälin "daughter-in-law" in käliñünüm (KT N 9) < käl- "to come", sān "number" in sānsïz (BK S 12) <*sā- "to count".

24°. -nč, -nču/-nčü: bulγanč "in disorder" (TI E 5) < bulγa- "to disturb the order", ärinč "apparently, certainly, indeed" (KT E 3, etc.) < är- "to be", inanču "trustworthy, reliable" (a title) (KT W 2) <*ina- (cf. inäl <*inal id.), tarqïnč "riotous, displeased, angry" (TI E 5) <*tarïq- "to get angry, become offended" (cf. Khak. tarï - id.), ötünč "petition, representation" (TI S 8) <*öt- "to petition, request" (cf. ötüg "request"), unč "possible" (TI E 7) < u- "to be able".

25°. -p. Gerundial suffix: qop "all, entirely, completely" (KT N 10, etc.) <*qo- "to leave, let remain" (cf. qod- id.).

26°. -r, -ar/-är, -ïr/-ir, -ur/-ür. Forms participles: bilīr "one who knows, knowing" (KT N 17) < bil- "to know"; see Verbal Nouns.

27°. -sïq/-sik. Forms verbal nouns having a future-necessitative meaning: āčsïq "a being hungry in the future" (KT S 8, etc.) < āč- "to feel hungry"; see Verbal Nouns.

28°. -š,-s: tägis (<*tägiš) "contact, conflict" (KT N 5) <täg- "to reach, arrive, touch", süñüš "battle" (BK E 34, etc.) <*süñü- "to pierce, stab" (cf. süñüg "lance", süñüš- "to fight, battle"),

tēris (<*tēriš) "one who gathers" in īl-tēris "one who gathers the tribes" (regal name of Qutluγ) (TII N 1, etc.), ūruš "fight" (O R 2) < ūr- "to hit, strike", üküš "many" (BK N 5, etc.) <*ük- "to gather, heap".

29°. -z: bāz "subject, dependent" (KT E 15) < bā- "to tie, fasten, subject", boγuz "throat" (TI S 1) <*boγ- "to constrict, strangle", köz "eye" (KT N 11, etc.) <*kö- (cf. kör- "to see"), söz "word" in sözläš- "to agree together" (KT E 24) <*sö-, ūz "artistical work, ornament" (KT SW) < ū- "to be able".

3.114. Deverbal verbs

1°. -d-. Forms intensive stems: īd- "to send, dispatch" (KT E 6, etc.) < ī- id. (KT S 8; BK N 6), qod- "to leave, abandon" (TI W 2, etc.) <*qo- id. (cf. Turk. ko-, koy- id.), tod- "to become full, be satiated" (KT S 8) < to- id. (BK N 6).

2°. -γur-/-gür-. Forms causative stems: kīgür- "to let in, introduce" (KČ E 8) <*kī- (cf. kīr- "to go in, enter"), tirgür- "to bring to life" (KT E 29) <*tir- "to live".

3°. -q-/-k-. Forms intensive stems: alq- "to bring to an end, finish, complete" (KT NE) < al- "to take", ba(sï)q- "to press, suppress" (KT N 8) < bas- id., qorq- "to fear" (TII W 4) < *qorï- "to fear", *ök- in ökül- "to be planned" (TI N 8) < ö- "to think, plan".

4°. -l-. Forms passive stems: adrïl- "to be separated, be disjoined" (TI W 2, etc.) <*adïr- "to separate", ökül- "to be planned" (TI N 8) <*ök- "to think" (cf. Uig. ök- id.), tēril- ~ tīril- "to come together" (TI N 4, etc.) < tēr- ~ tīr- "to gath-

er", tiril- "to come to life" (BK E 31) <*tir- "to live", tasul- "to be dragged, be driven" (O F 8) <*tasu- "to carry".

5°. -ma-/-mä-. Forms negative stems: bōlma- "not to become" (KT E 25, etc.) < bōl- "to become"; bulma- "not to find" (TI W 2) < bul- "to find", ämgätmä-, ärmä-, äsidmä-, ïdma-, qalma-, qazγanma-, qïlma-, qïlïnma-, qorqma-, kälmä-, körmä-, olurma-, sïma-, sülämä-, tälinmä-, tolγatma-, tuyma-, ūma-, udïma-, yālmä-, yitmä-, yorïma-, yāltürmä-, yügürtmä-, etc.

6°. -n-. Forms passive and reflexive stems: alqïn- "to come to an end, be exterminated" (KT S 9, etc.) < alq- "to finish, to bring to an end", atlan- "to become mounted" (KČ E 8) <*atla- "to get on a horse", basïn- "to be overcome" (TII W 4) < bas- "to press, overcome", boγuzlan- "to be slaughtered" (TI N 2) <*boγuzla-, ītin- "to form or organize oneself" (KT E 40; BK E 9) < īt- "to form, organize", qïlïn- "to be created, be born" (KT E 1, etc.) < qïl- "to make, create", qon- "to settle" (BK E 40) <*qo- "to lay down, place", qubran- "to come together" (TI W 4) <*qubra- (cf. qubrat- "to gather"), käčgin- "to pardon, forgive" (KČ E 8) <*käčgi-, ötün- "to make representations" (TI E 1) <*öt- "to request" (cf. ötüg "request"), sāqïn- "to think" (BK E 2, etc.) < *sāqï- (cf. Uig. saqï- "to reflect", saq "watchful, attentive"), säbin- "to be pleased, be happy" (BK E 2) <*säb- "to like", tälin- "to collapse, give way" (KT E 22; BK E 18) <*täl- "to hole, cause to cave in", yaratun- "to organize oneself" (KT E 10) < yarat- "to make, form, organize", yāzïn- "to separate oneself, go astray" (BK E 16) <*yāz- "to go astray", tutun- "to take a hold" (TI N 1)

< tut- "to hold, hold on".

7°. -r-. Forms middle verbs (Verba media): kīr- "to go in, enter" (BK E 38, etc.) <*kī- (cf. kīgür- "to let in" < kī-gür-), olur- "to sit; to dwell, inhabit" (TI N 8, etc.) <*ol- (cf. Kāš. olγut- "to cause to sit", Kirg. olut "place, seat, chair"), yaγur- "to come close, approach" (KT S 5, etc.) <*yaγu- (cf. Kāš. yaγu- id.).

8°. -sa-/-sä-. Forms desiderative stems. Only in: bērsä- "to wish to give" in bērsägim "my wish for giving" (O R 2) < bēr-.

9°. -š-, -s-. Forms reciprocal stems: ögläs- (<*ögläš-) "to think together, plan together" (TI E 3) <*öglä- (cf. Uig. ögläṅ- "to come to one's senses"), sözläš- "to agree together" (KT E 24, etc.) <*sözlä- "to speak", süñüš- "to fight, battle" (BK E 25, etc.) <*süñü- "to thrust into, pierce", *yoñaš- "to slander one another" in yoñšur- (KT E 6; BK E 7).

10°. -t-. Forms causative stems: aγït- "to put to flight" (BK E 31, etc.) < aγ- "to go up, ascend", aqït- "to let raid, order to raid" (TI N 11; KT N 8) <*aq- "to raid", artat- "to destroy" (KT E 22; BK E 19) <*arta- "to be destroyed", aṅït- "to threaten, frighten" (BK E 41) <*aṅ- "to fear" (cf. Mong. ayu- "to fear", Uig. ayïnč "awe, fear"); ayt- "to say, tell" (TI E 7, etc.) < ay- id., basït- "to be overcome" (TI N 10) < bas- "to overcome", bädizät- (KT S 11; KČ E 12), bitīt- (TII E 8) ~ bitīd- (KT S 13; BK N 15), buntat- (see -ta-/-tä-), ämgät-, ēlsirät-, ïqïd- (<*ïqït-) "to give shelter to" (KT S 6) <*ïq- (cf. Kirg. ïq- "to take refuge or shelter"), qaγansïrat-, qamšat- (BK E 30), qubrat- ,

oγurqalat- "to let someone to warm his back" (TI N 1) (see -la-/-lä-), olurt- (KT E 26, etc.), ölüt- (TI W 3), sülät- (TII W 8), tolγat-, toqīt-, töküt- (TII E 2), tükät- (KT S 1; BK N 1), ulγart- (TII E 3), uruγsïrat-, yabrīt-, yaγut-, yaratid- (<*yaratit- < yaratït-), yoγlat-, yorīt-, yügürt-, yüzüt- (BK E 30) "to order to swim".

10°. -tur-/-tür-. Forms causative stems: aγtur- "to cause to ascend" (TI N 1) < aγ- "to ascend", artur- "to let deceive, to cause somebody else to deceive (the speaker), to be deceived" (BK N 5) < ar- "to deceive", bīntür-, ärtür- "to cause to be" (KT NE) < är-, irtür- "to cause to arrive, send" (KT E 40) < ir- "to reach, arrive", qontur-, kötür- "to cause to rise, elevate" (KT E 11; BK E 10) <*kö- (cf. kör- "to see"), ōntür-, ūrtur-, yantur-, yāltür-, yügtür- "to promote" (KČ W 2), yükūntür-.

11°. -ur-/-ür-. Forms causative stems: kälür- "to bring" (TII S 4) < käl- "to come", kīñsür- "to create a rift between" (KT E 6) <*kīñšür- <*kīñüš-, ölür-, ötür- in ötrü, sökür-, tägür-, tüsür- (<*tüšür-), yitür- "to lose", yoñšur- "to cause to slander" (BK E 7) <*yoñašur- <*yoñaš- (cf. Kāš. yoña- "to slander"), yügür- (cf. yügtür- "to cause to rise, promote", Mong. yöge- "to move, transport, carry"), yaratur-.

12°. -tuz-/-tüz- (see -tur-/-tür-). Forms causative stems: altuz- "to cause to capture" (KT E 38) < al-.

13°. -z- (see -ur-/-ür-). Forms causative stems: tutuz- "to cause to seize" (KT E 38) < tut- "to catch, seize, capture", uduz- "to lead" (TI S 8, etc.) < ud- "to follow".

3.12. Composition

3.121. Coordinate composition

Two words of the same structure and function are joined: yir-sub "territory, land" (KT E 20): yir "earth", sub "water"; see Coordinate Phrases.

3.122. Subordinate composition

3.1221. Compound nouns

1°. Attributive compounds: bäñgü taš "memorial" (BK N 15, etc.) (lit.: "eternal stone"), qarā kōl "the Black Lake" (KT N 2), qarā qum "the Black Sand" (TI W 7); see Attributive Phrases.

2°. Objective compounds: īltēris (<*īltēriš) "one who gathers the tribes" (regal name of Qutluγ) (TI W 7, etc.): īl "tribes, people" + tēris "one who gathers"; ēlētmis (<*ēlētmiš) "one who has organized the tribes" (personal name or honorific) (O F 4): ēl "tribes" + ētmis "one who has organized"; ēltäbär "one who puts the tribes in order" (a title) (BK E 37, etc.): ēl "tribes" + täbär "one who puts in order" (täb- "to put in order"; cf. Kāš. täw- "to arrange in a row").

3.1222. Compound adverbs

The following compound adverbs are postpositional phrases: antaγ "like that, as follows" (TI S 2, etc.) - antäg (TI N 5) <*a-nï täg "similar to that, like that", büntäg "like this, such" (TII E 7) <*buntäg <*bunï täg "similar to this, like this".

3.1223. Compound verbs

Compound verbs consist of a verb preceded by a noun function-

ing as complement or by a gerund.

3.12231. Noun as a complement

1°. As equational complement with the verb bōl- "to be, become": qaγan bōl- "to become kagan" (KT E 5: qaγan "kagan, emperor"; qul bōl- "to become slave" (BK E 36): qul "slave"; qarī bōl- "to grow old" (TII E 6): qarī "old, old man"; kärgäk bōl- "to become lacking, become absent, i.e. to die" (KT E 4): kärgäk "lacking, absent, needed"; yaγī bōl- "to start hostilities" (KT N 2): yaγī "enemy; hostile"; yōq bōl- "to be annihilated, perish" (BK E 36): yōq "non-existent"; etc.

2°. As the object into which the direct object is transformed: bāz qïl- "to subjugate" (KT E 15): bāz "subject, dependent", qïl- "to do, make"; bāy qïl- "to make rich" (BK E 14): bāy "rich, wealthy"; bulun qï(l)- "to take prisoner" (KČ W 5): bulun "captive, prisoner of war"; qul qïl- "to enslave" (BK E 20): qul "slave"; qaγan qïs- "to make kagan" (TI W 6): qïs- (< qïš- ~ qïl-) "to do, make"; yōq qïš- (BK E 25) ~ yōq qïs- (TI E 4) "to annihilate"; etc.

3°. As direct object with the verb qïl-: ūruš qïl- "to fight, battle" (O R 2): ūruš "battle".

3.12232. Gerund + verb

The following types of gerund compounds occur:

1°. The verb bar- "to go" with the gerund in -p and -a (/-ä, -ï/-i, -u/-ü) denotes actions completely finished: täzip bar- "to flee, run away" (lit.: "to go running away") (BK E 41; KT E 34),

uča bar- "to fly, i.e., to die" (lit.: "to go flying") (KT E 16; BK S 10; KT SE), adrïlu bar- "to be separated" (lit.: "to go being separated" (O R 4), äbirü bar- "to go around" (lit.: to advance going around") (TI N 2), yōqadu bar- "to be annihilated, to cease to exist" (KT E 10), yālü bar- "to ride fast, to ride at a gallop" (TI N 3), äliri bar- "to become enthusiastic" (O R 3) (cf. Kirg. elir- id.), yōq bōlu bar- "to vanish, to cease to be" (O F 3).

2°. The verb bēr- ~ bīr- "to give" with the same gerund denotes actions done in the interest of someone else: alï bīr- "to take" (BK N 9, 10), basa bēr- "to overcome" (TII W 3), äsidü bēr- "to hear, listen to" (TI S 8), ïti bīr- "to organize, put in order" (KT E 1; BK E 3), qïlu bēr- "to make" (BK S 7), qazγanu bīr- "to win, conquer" (BK S 10), süläyü bīr- "to go on campaigns" (KT E 8), tikä bīr- "to erect, set up" (BK S 9, 11), tuta bīr- "to organize, rule" (KT E 1; BK E 3).

3°. The verb ïd- "to send, release" with the same gerund denotes intensive actions: ïčγïnu ïd- "to lose, fail to keep" (KT E 6), yitürü ïd- id. (ibid.), irtürü ïd- "to make reach, make arrive" (KT E 40), sanča ïd- "to stab" (KČ E 7).

4°. The verb elt- ~ ilt- "to send" with the same gerund denotes intensive actions: yaṅa elt- "to disperse, to put to rout" (KT E 23), sürä elt- "to drive away" (ibid.).

5°. The verb qal- "to stay, remain" with the same gerund denotes the continuation of an action: yatu qal- "to lie down" (KT N 9; TI E 2).

6°. The verb käl- "to come" with the same gerund denotes the continuation of an action: udu käl- "to keep following, keep being subject to" (MČ E 2).

7°. The verb kör- "to see" with the same gerund denotes intensive actions (in the imperative): yāl̈ü kör "ride fast!" (TI N2).

8°. The verb ū- "to be able" with the same gerund denotes the ability to perform an action: artatï ū- "to be able to destroy" (BK E 19); the negative stem of ū- with the same gerund denotes the inability to perform an action: ītinü ūma- "not to be able to organize itself" and yaratunu ūma- "not to be able to form itself" in ītinü yaratunu ūma- (KT E 10; BK E 9).

9°. The verb yorī- "to walk, march" with the same gerund denotes the continuation of an action: udu yorī- "to keep pursuing" (MČ E 4).

See Gerunds.

3.2. Inflection

3.21. Noun Inflection

In Orkhon Turkic, nouns are inflected mainly for person and case. They may also be inflected for number and coordination.

3.211. Plurality

Nouns generally are not inflected for number. All words denoting objects can function as both singular and plural nouns in their nominative singular forms: ol at "that horse" (KT E 33), at yētä "towing the horses" (TI N 1); kūlüg är "the well-known man" (O Supp. 6), öñräki är "the soldiers marching in front, the vanguard" (TI N 1).

However, plurality may be emphasized by the morphological device, too. There are various suffixes which are added to certain words and form collective nouns. These suffixes are: -lar/-lär, -yun/-gün, -an/-än, -t and -s.

1°. -lar/-lär (cf. Mong. plural suffix -nar/-ner). This suffix is added to a very limited number of stems denoting human beings (chiefly relatives): bäglär "the Turkish aristocracy, the upper class, lords, knights" (KT S 10, etc.) < bäg "lord, a feudal superior", äkälär-im "my elder sisters, the group of my elder sisters" (KT N 9) < äkä "elder sister", qunčuylar-ïm "my princesses, my women" (KT N 9) < qunčuy "princess", öglär-im "my mothers, i. e., my stepmothers" (KT N 9) < ög "mother".

It is very remarkable that the Mongolian suffix -nar/-ner, too, is added to words denoting relatives and respected people

(see Poppe, Grammar of Written Mongolian, p. 69).

2°. -ɣun/-gün (cf. Uig. kün in the phrase īl kün "people, folks" <? Mong. kümün "man, people"). This suffix forms the following collective nouns: käliñün-üm "my daughters-in-law" (KT N 9) <*kälingün <*kälin "daughter-in-law" (cf. Uyug-Turan, back 3: kälinlärim id.), tayɣun-uñïz "your children, your sons (lit.: "your colts")" (KT SE) <*tay "young horse, colt" (cf. Kemčik-Ǧirgak, front 2: tańlarïm "my colts").

3°. -an/-än (cf. Mongolian plural suffix -n). This suffix appears only in the following collective nouns: oɣlan-ïm "my children, my sons" (KT S 1; BK N 1) < oɣïl "child, son", oɣlan-ïñïz "your children, your sons" (KT SE), ärän "men" (KT N 9; BK S 11; O F 5) < är "man".

4°. -t (cf. Mongolian plural suffix -d, -ud/-üd): oɣlït "children, sons" (KT E 5; BK E 5) < oɣïl, tarqat "Tarkans" (KT S1) < tarqan (with the final n dropped), yïlpaɣut "champion warriors" (BK E 31) <*yïlpaɣu (~ alpaɣu) "champion warrior, hero" (cf. Mong. albaɣud "public servants, government officials"); bulït "clouds" (KT NE) <*bulï (cf. Finnish pilvi "sky").

5°. -s (cf. Mongolian plural suffix -s): ïsbaras in ïsbaras tarqat "Išbara Tarkans" (MČ S 2) < ïsbara (~ isbara ~ išbara) a rank.

The final s in the following tribal names is probably the same suffix: tölïs, tardus (~ tarduš), türgis.

3.212. Possession

In Orkhon Turkic, nouns are inflected for person, that is,

they can take the possessive suffixes which indicate the person of the possessor of the thing involved. The possessive suffixes are:

	Singular	Plural
1st person:	-m	-mïz/-miz
2nd person:	-ñ ~ -ɣ/-g	-ñïz/-ñiz
3rd person:	-ī/-sī (seldom -ï̄/-sï̄)	-ī/-sī, -ï̄/-sï̄

The connecting vowel which occurs between the stem of a word and the possessive suffixes of the first and second persons is subject to the rules of vowel harmonies (see 2.1212). The third person possessive suffix has a final n which appears only when the case suffixes are added to the possessive stems of the third person.

1°. The nominative possessive stems of the first person are the following:

A. Singular: apā-m "my ancestors" (KT E 1; BK E 3), ata-m "my father" (O F 4), atač-ïm "my beloved father" (O R 4, O Supp. 3, 4), bäg-im (KT SW), bäglär-im (KT N 11), bērsäg-im "my wish to give" (O R 2), bilig-im (KT N 10), bodun-um (KT S 1, etc.), äčī-m "my uncle" (KT E 16, etc.), äčü-m "my ancestors" (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), īl-im "my state" (KT E 9), ini-m "my younger brother" (KT E 26, etc.), qaɣan-ïm "my kagan" (KT E 9, etc.), qan-ïm "my blood" (TII E 2), qañ-ïm "my father" (KT E 11, etc.), qazɣantuq-um (TII E 5), qunčuɣlar-ïm (KT N 9), qut-um (KT S 9, etc.), köz-üm (KT N 10), oɣlan-ïm (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1), oɣl-um (KT N 13; BK S 9), olursïq-ïm "my wish to rest" (TI S 5, E 5), olurtuq-um (BK E 36), ög-üm "my mother" (KT E 11, etc.), öglär-im (KT N 9), ōz-üm (KT E

17, etc.), oγuš-um (KT S 1; BK E 25, N 1), sab-ïm (KT S 11, etc.), siñl-im (KT E 20; BK E 17), tägdük-üm "I arrived (lit.:"my having arrived")" (O R 2), tär-im (TII E 2), türük-(üm) (BK E 16), udï-sïq-ïm "my wish to sleep" (TI S 5, E 5), ülüg-üm "my fortune" (KT E 29; BK E 23), yägün-üm "my younger brothers" (KT S 1, N 11; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degü "younger brother").

B. Plural: apā-mïz "our ancestors" (KT E 19; O F 1), äčī-miz "our uncle" (KT E 26; BK E 22), äčü-miz "our ancestors" (KT E 19; O F 1), ēl-imiz "our realm" (KT E 22), īl-im(iz) id. (BK E 18), qañ-ïmïz (KT E 26), kältäči-miz "our ones who will come" (TI S 7), sü-miz (TI S 7), törü-miz (KT E 22), türük-ümiz "our Turks" (KT E 18), yaγï-mïz (TI S 1, E 2, E 2), sü-m(iz) (TI E 1).

2°. The nominative possessive stems of the second person:

A. Singular: buñ-uγ "your (lit.: "thy") trouble" (KT S 8), ädgü-g "your profit" (KT E 24; BK E 20), qan-ïñ "your blood" (KT E 24), oγl-uñ "your children" (KT E 24, 24), ölsik-iñ "you will die (lit.: "thy dying in the future")" (KT S 6; BK N 5), ölsik-ig id. (KT S 7; BK N 5), söñük-üñ "your bones" (KT E24), söñük-üg id. (BK E 20), yoγ-uñ "thy funeral" (O R 4).

B. Plural: oγlan-ïñïz "your children, your sons" (KT SE), tayγun-uñïz "your sons (lit.: "your colts")" (KT SE).

3°. The nominative possessive stems of the third person:

A. -ī/-sī: aγï-sī (KT S 5; BK N 4), alp-ī "his hero" (KČ E 5), alp-ī "his courage" (KČ W 4), (ar)qïš-ī (BK E 41), at-ī "the horses of ..." (KT E 39), āt-ī "the name of ..." (KT E 25, etc.), atï-sī "the nephew of ..." (KT S 13, SE; BK SW), ayγuči-sī (TI N

5, E 4, S 3), ayγuči-(sï) (TII S 5), balbal-ï (O Balbal), bas-ï (< baš "head") (TI N 7), batïm-ï (KT E 35; BK E 26), bäglär-ï (KT E 3, etc.), bodun-ï (KT E 3, etc.), boγz-ï "the stomach of ..." (TI S 1), buñ-ï (TII E 7), büntäg-ï (TII E 7), čabïs-ï (TI W 7; KČ E 5), čïqan-ï (KT N 13), är-ï (TI E 6), ärdäm-ï (KČ W 4), ič-ï (TI S 5), ïl-ï (KT N 5), ilk-ï (KT E 32; BK E 30), ini-sï (KT E 4, etc.), qaγan-ï (KT E 19, etc.), qalmiš-ï (KT S 9), qalmis-ï (TI W 4), qan-ï "their khan" (TI N 4), qāš-ï (KT N 11), kälmis-ï (TII W 4), köbürgä-sï "the bridge of ..." (BK W 4), köz-ï (KT N 11; BK E 2), kü-sï (KT E 25, etc.), oγlït-ï (KT E 5; BK E 5), oγl-ï (KT E 1, etc.), oγuz-ï (TI E 5), ölüg-ï (KT N 9), öz-ï "himself" (KT E 30, 38; KČ E 9, 11), öz-ï "themselves" (KT E 3, 20; BK E 17), özlük-ï (KČ E 3, 3, W 4), sab-ï (KT S 5), sub-ï (KT E 11; BK E 10), sü-sï (KT E 12, etc.), tirig-ï (KT N 9), üč-ï (TII W 5), ülüg-ï "its part" (TI W 4, 4), ülüg-ï "his fate"(KČ E 11), yaγmis-ï "his follower" (TI W 5), yaγï-sï (KT E 12; BK E 11), yaγïči-sï "his war-leader" (TII S 6), yalabač-ï (BK E 39), yïlpaγut-ï (BK E 31), yir-ï (KT E 10; BK E 10); artuq-ï (BK SW, etc.), buyruq-ï (KT E 3, etc.), qamaγ-ï (KT E 18; BK E 11), (q)amaγ-ï (KT E 12), orüq-ï (TI E 7), uduzt(uq-ï) (KČ E 1), uluγ-ï (TI W 5), yoriduq-ï (TII N 3), azuq-ï (KT E 39).

B. -ï/-sï: See Accusative (3.2143.2°).

3.213. Coordination

In Orkhon Turkic, nouns may also be inflected for coordination. Two nouns of the same structure and function are joined by the suffix -lï/-lï and form a coordinate construction. The coordinat-

ing conjunctive suffix -lï̄/-lī is taken by both of the constituents. The case suffixes, however, are added only to the last element of the construction.

This grammatical category does not seem to have been systematic in Orkhon Turkic. The examples consist of the following: ini-lī äči-lī "younger and elder brothers" (acc.) (KT E 6), bäg-lī bodun-lï̄-γ "the lords and peoples" (acc.) (KT E 6), toruq būqa-lï̄ sämiz būqa-lï̄ "lean bulls and fat bulls" (TI W 5), tün-lī kün-lī "night and day" (BK SE).

3.214. Case

There are the following cases: nominative, genitive, accusative, dative-locative, locative-ablative, directive, equative, instrumental, and comitative (sociative). The case suffixes are added to the singular, plural, possessive and coordinate stems of nouns.

3.2141. Nominative

The nominative has no suffix, that is, it is identical with the stem. The nominative case of a noun functions as follows:

1°. As the subject of a clause: ol a t anta ölti "that horse was killed there" (KT E 33), q a t u n yōq bōlmis ärti "the katun had died" (TI N 7), bīr a t l ï γ barmis "a horseman reportedly went" (TI E 7), b ä g l ä r qop(ïn) yanalïm tēdi "the lords all said: 'Let us go back!'" (TII W 2), ol törüdä üzä ä č ī m qaγan olurtï "in accordance with that rule, my uncle succeeded to the throne" (KT E 16; BK E 14), toruq b ū q a l ï̄

sämiz b ū q a l ī ïraqda büñsär "if lean and fat bulls kick one another at a distance, ..." (TI W 5) (cf. Kāš. müñ- "to kick, to give a kick").

2°. As the predicate noun of a clause: anta kisrä inisī q a γ a n bōlmis ärinč "then the younger brothers succeeded to the throne" (KT E 4), tarduš bodun üzä š a d ärtim "I became šad over the Tardush people" (KT E 17), bäglik urï oγluñ q u l bōltï "your sons, worthy of becoming lords, became slaves" (KT E 24), t(oquz oγu)z mäniñ b o d u n u m ärti "the Tokuz-Oguz were my (own) people" (BK E 29).

3°. As an indefinite direct object of a clause: üč otuz b a l ï q sidï "(the kagan) devastated twenty-three cities" (TI E 2), (bunč)a b o d u n qop ītdim "I completely organized these many tribes" (KT S 2-3), yaγuq ärsär ädgü a γ ï bīrür "if (a people) live close (to them), (the Chinese) give good presents" (KT S 7; BK N 5), bunča b i t ī g bitīdim "I inscribed these many writings" (KČ S 3).

4°. As an adverbial complement with a postposition: bu türük b o d u n āra "among this Turkish people" (TII E 4), ol s u b qodï bardïmïz "we went down along that river" (TI N 3), türük b o d u n üčün "for the sake of the Turkish people" (KT E 27), yāzïña o γ u z tapa sülädim "I started a campaign toward the Oguz in the summer (of that year)" (BK E 31-32).

5°. As an adverbial complement indicating the place or the time of an action (if the noun already has a local or temporal meaning): ötükän y i š olursar "if you stay in the Ötükän

forests" (KT S 8), türük bodun üčün t ü n udïmadïm "I have not slept by night for the sake of the Turkish people" (BK E 22), t ü n udïmatï k ü n t ü z olurmatï "without sleeping by night and without resting by day" (TII E 1).

6°. As a possessive attribute of another noun which has the possessive suffix of the third person: s ü at-ï "horses of the army, army horses" (KT E 39), t ü r ü k āt-ï-n "the Turkish titles" (acc.) (KT E 7), b ä g l ä r i m b o d u n u m köz-ï qāš-ï "the eyes and brows of my lords and people" (KT N 11).

3.2142. Genitive

The genitive suffix is -ïñ/-iñ on the consonantal stems, and -nïñ/-niñ on the vocalic stems. This suffix generally observes the vowel harmony (the palatal harmony); but it does not seem to have been subject to the rules of labial harmony, since in KT E 36 the initial n of the suffix on a back-vocalic word has been written with n^2: $b^1y^1r^{1o}qun^2\tilde{n}$ = bayïrqū-niñ "Bayïrqu's". Furthermore, the suffix once occurs as -γ. In two examples, it also occurs as -n after the possessive suffix of the second person singular.

The genitive case of a noun functions as a definite possessive attribute, its head generally having the third person possessive suffix:

1°. -ïñ/-iñ: bayïrqū-n(ïñ) (aq adγï)r "Bayïrqu's white stallion" (KT E 35), bayïrqū-niñ aq adγïr id. (KT E 36), yigän silig bäg-iñ kädimlig toruγ at "Yigän Silig Bey's dressed bay horse" (KT E 33), türük bodun-ïñ ïlïn törüsïn "the state and the institutions

of the Turkish people" (acc.) (KT E 1; BK E 3), bilgä qaγan-ïñ bodunī "Bilgä Kagan's people" (O R 3), tabγač qaγan-ïñ ičräki bädizčig "the private painters of the Chinese emperor" (acc.) (KT S 12), kül tigin-iñ altunïn kümüsīn "the gold and silver of Prince Kül" (acc.) (KT SW).

2°. -ïγ (< -ïñ): türük bodun-ïγ ātī kūsī "the name and fame of the Turkish people" (KT E 25) = türük bodun ātī kūsī (BK E 20).

3°. -ïn (< -ïñ): qaγanïñ-ïn sabīn almatīn "without taking the advice of your kagan" (KT S 9), qaγanïñ-ïn ... ädgū ēlīñä "to the good realm of your kagan" (KT E 23).

In the following example, the genitive suffix -ïñ is taken by both constituents of the phrase denoting the possessor: tadïq-ïñ čor-ïñ boz (at) "Prince Tadïq's gray horse" (KT E 32).

3.2143. Accusative

The accusative suffixes are -γ/-g (on the pure stem and the plural stem of a noun) and -n (on the possessive stems). The accusative is rarely formed also with the suffix -nï/-ni both on pure and possessive stems.

The accusative case of a noun functions as a definite direct object.

1°. -γ/-g: qaγan āt-ïγ bunta biz bīrtimiz "it was we who gave (him) the title kagan" (BK E 17) = qaγan āt bunta biz bīrtimiz (KT E 20), siñlim qunčuy-uγ bīrtimiz "we gave (him) my younger sister, the princess" (KT E 20), aγar tāš-ïγ yoγun ï-γ "the heavy stones and thick wood" (BK S 15), (siñ)ar sūsī äb-ig barq-ïγ yulγalï bardï "one half of their two armies went in order to plunder

the tents and properties (of ours)" (BK E 32), az tutuq-uγ äligin tutdï "(Prince Kül) captured the military governor of the Az people by hand" (KT E 38), ol yïlqï̄-γ alïp igit(t)im "I took the cattle and nourished (the Turkish people" (BK E 38); adγïr-ïγ (KT E 36), aq-ïγ "the white (horse)" (KT N 5, 6), at-ïγ "the horse" (KT E 33; TI N 3), at-ïγ "the horses" (TII N 3), āt-ïγ "the title of ..." (KT W 2; KČ W 1; O F 6), az-ïγ (BK E 14; O F 7), barq-ïγ (BK SW), bašlïγ-ïγ (KT E 2, etc.), bädiz-ig (BK SW), bädizči-g (KT NE; BK N 14; KT S 12), bodun-uγ (BK E 25, etc.), buluñ-uγ (O F 1), buq-uγ "the evil spirits" (BK S 10) (cf. Tuv. buq id.), čor-uγ (KČ E 12), äb-ig (KT N 8), är-ig (KČ E 3, etc.), ärmäk-ig "the mare" (KČ E 9) (cf. Mong. ermeg id.), toñra äsim-ig (TI S 2), ēl-ig (KČ W 6) ~ īl-ig (KT E 3, etc.), ēl-täbär-ig (KT N 3), īllig-ig (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), īs-ig küč-üg (KT W 1, etc.), qaγan-ïγ (KT E 25, etc.), qaγanlïγ-ïγ (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), qār-ïγ (TI N 1; KT E 35; BK E 27), qarγū-γ (TII E 3), qarluq-uγ (KT N 2; KČ E 8), qatun-uγ (KT E 11, 25; BK E 10), qïrqïz-ïγ (TI N 3), qïtań-ïγ (TI W 7, S 3), qïyin-ïγ (TI N 8), qarā qum-uγ (TI W 7), kisī-g (KT S 6, etc.), oγuš-uγ (BK E 31), oγuz-uγ (TI W 7, S 3), ordū-γ (KT N 8, 9), ögüz-üg (BK E 30, etc.), öñ-üg (TI S 8; BK SE), sab-ïγ (KT S 7, etc.), säñün-üg (BK S 9; TI S 2), sū̄-g (BK E 25 , etc.), šad-ïγ (KT E 14; BK E 12), tabγač-ïγ (TI W 7, S 3), taγ-ïγ (TII W 9), tāš-ïγ (BK N 13), t(āšï)γ (O Supp. 1), til-ïγ (TI N 8), tigin-ig (KT E 40, W 1), tīzlig-ig (KT E 2, etc.), törü-g (BK E 2, etc.), uz-uγ (BK SW), üküs-üg (O F 7), yabγu-γ (KT E 14; BK E12), yaγï̄-γ (TII E 3, etc.), yamtar-ïγ (BK E 40), yālmä-g (TII E 2), yer-ig

(TI S 10), yïlqï-γ (KČ E 13), yïs-ïγ (TI N 4, 11; TII W 2) ~ yiš-ïγ (KT E 21, etc.), yipar-ïγ (BK S 11).

2°. The suffix -n is added to the possessive stems. The connecting vowel between the suffix and the stem-final consonant does not observe the labial harmony. The following examples may serve as evidence for this fact: $t^1pl^1ad^1uqmin^2$ = taplāduqumin "that I like" (IB 4), $uγl^1mn^2$= oγlumin "my sons" (Suǧi 6).

A. On the possessive stem of the first person: bodunum-ïn (BK N 11), qïzïm-(ïn) (BK N 9), ötünčüm-in (TI S 8), özüm-in (BK E 21), sabïm-ïn tükäti äsidgil "hear ye my words entirely!" (KT S 1), bu sabïm-in ädgüti äsid "hear these words of mine well!" (KT S 2), mäniñ sabïm-ïn simadï "(the Chinese Emperor) did not reject my request" (KT S 11).

B. On the possessive stem of the second person: bilmädüküg-in üčün "because of your unawareness" (BK E 20), antaγïñ-ïn üčün "because you were so" (KT S 8; BK N 6), ēliñ-in (KT E 22) ~ īliñ-in (BK E 19), qanïñ-in qodup ičikdiñ "you abandoned your khan and submitted (again)" (TI W 3), kürägüñ-in üčün "because of your unruliness" (KT E 23; BK E 19), bäglik urï oγluñ-ïn qul qïltïγ "you caused your noble sons to be slaves" (BK E 20), ölsikiñ-in (KT S 10; BK N 8), törüñ-in (KT E 22) ~ törüg-in (BK E 19), tutsïqïñ-ïn (KT S 10; BK N 8), yablaqïñ-ïn üčün "because of your mischievousness" (BK E 20).

C. On the possessive stem of the third person: adγïrï-n (BK N 11), aγïšï-n (KT SW), aqï-n (KT N 2, 3, 9), (aq)ï-n (KT N 2), alpï-n (TII S 5; KC W 7, 12), altunï-n (KT SW) ~ (altunï)n (BK N

11), arqāsī-n (KČ E 9), ātī-n (KT E 7, 7; BK E 7) "the titles of", barïmī-n (KT N 1; BK E 24) ~ barïmï̄-n (KT SW), barqī-n (KT NE, etc.), bädizī-n (KT NE; KČ E 12), bäglärī-n (BK S 15; TII W 8), bilmädükī-n (BK E 16), bilgāsī-n (TII S 4), (bi)lgāsī-n (KČ W 7), biligī-n (BK N 4), bodunī-n (BK S 15; TII W 7, 8), bulγaqī-n (KT N 4; BK E 29), äbī-n (KT N 1; BK E 34, 37), ärī-n (KT N 1; BK S 7; O F 3), ärdämī-n (KC W 7, 12), (ärdäm)ī-n (KČ S 2), äčisī-n (KT E 5; BK E 18), ekīsī-n (KT E 38), ēlī-n (BK E 34; KC E 10) ~ īlī-n (KT N 6, etc.), qaγanī-n (BK E 7, etc.) ~ qaγanï̄-n (KT E 7), qanī-n (TI W 2, 2, N 4), qarāsī-n (O R 1), qutayī-n (BK N 11), quzī-n (TI W 7), kīñsürtükī-n (KT E 6), kisīsī-n (KČ E 10, W 5), (kisīs)ī-n (KČ E 1), kürlügī-n (BK E 6), oγlī-n (KT E 7, etc.), sabī-n (KT S 9; BK N 7) ~ sabï̄-n (TI E 5), sačī-n (BK S 12), šadī-n (BK E 28) ~ sadī-n (TII W 6), subī-n (BK E 35), sūsī-n (BK E 26), tašī-n (BK N14) ~ tasï̄-n (TI S 7) "its exterior", tāšī-n (BK W 7) "his memorial", tāš(īn) id. (KT NE), täbligī-n (KT E 6; BK E 6), tägdükī-n (KT E 34; O R 2), täyäñī-n (BK S 12, N 12), kīsī-n (BK S 12) "their (black) sables", törüsī-n (KT E 1, etc.), ūsï̄-n "his sleep" (TI E 2), udlïqī-n (KT E 36), yabγusī-n (TII W 6), yabγu-(sī)n (BK E 28), yaγïzī-n (KT N 5, 8), yañïltuqī-n (BK E 16), yañïluqī-n (KT E 19), yarlïq(q)aduqī-n (KT S 9), yāzïntuqī-n (BK E 16), yerī-n (BK E 35), yïlqïsī-n (BK E 24) ~ y(ïl)q(ïs)ï̄-n (KT SW), yoñšurtuqī-n (KT E 6; BK E 7), yotuzī-n (BK E 38), (yo)tuzī-n (BK S 4), yo(tuz)ī-n (BK E 24), yurčī-n (KT E 32).

3°. -nï̄/-ni: qorayïñ-nï̄ "your (lit.: "thy") obsequies" (O R 4), qu-nï̄ "(General) Qu" (TI S 2).

The accusative suffix is added to the last constituent of the phrase in the following examples: bäglī bodunlī-γ "both the lords and the peoples" (KT E 6) (cf. Uig. täñrili yirli-dä "both in the sky and on the earth": TT VI 02), arquy qaryū-γ "the fortifications and watchtowers" (TII E 3), yoγuñ qoraγïñ-nï "your funeral and obsequies" (O R 4). This rule is observed in the following parallel clauses, too: inilī äčilī kīñsürtükīn üčün bäglī bodunlī-γ yoñšurtuqīn üčün "since (the Chinese people) created a rift between younger and elder brothers, and caused the lords and peoples to slander one another" (KT E 6).

In the following examples, however, the accusative suffix is taken by each of the constituents of the phrase qu säñün "General Qu": qu-γ säñün-üg balbal tikä bīrtim "for (him) I erected (the statue of) General Qu as a balbal" (BK S 9) (cf. tadïq-ïñ čor-ïñ "Prince Tadïq's" in KT E 32), tabγačγaru qu-nï säñün-üg īdmis "he sent General Qu to the Chinese" (TI S 2).

3.2144. Dative-Locative

The dative-locative case is formed with the suffixes -qa/-kä and -a/-ä. The usual dative-locative suffix is -qa/-kä; it occurs with the pure stems. Stems having the third person possessive suffix take the dative-locative suffix as -ña/-ñä. The so-called pronominal n and the suffix-initial velar consonant must have given rise to this form: -ña/-ñä <*-nγa/-ngä.

The suffix -a/-ä is the old dative-locative suffix (cf. Mong. dative-locative suffix -a/-e). This suffix occurs in certain adverbs of place, to be more exact, it forms adverbs from certain

nominal stems or roots indicating place or direction. The suffix -a/-ä regularly forms the dative-locative case of the possessive stems of the first and second person singular.

1°. -qa/-kä: āt-qa "to the name" (O R 3), balïq-(q)a "to the city" (O R 1; TI E 1), balïq-(q)a "into the mud" (KT N 8), bodun-qa (KT E 7, etc.), čoraq-qa (BK SE), äb-kä (O R 2), (qut) ärmäz-kä (O F 8), ärsin-kä (KT S 3; BK N 3), ïï-qa (TI N 3), qaγan-qa (KT E 8, etc.), qapïγ-qa (KT S 4, etc.), qarluq-qa (KČ E 7), qïtań-qa (TII S 5), käčin-kä (BK SE), oγuz-qa (TII S 5; KČ E 4), olurtuq-(q)a (BK E 14), otuz-qa (KT NE, etc.), öd-kä (KT S 1, etc.), ödüš-kä (BK SE), ögüz-kä (TI S 9, etc.), säñün-kä (KT E 32), sub-(qa) (TI N 3), tabγač-qa (BK E 38, etc.), taγ-qa (BK S 7; TII S 3), taluy-qa (KT S 3), tām-qa (KT SE), tarman-qa (KT E 21) ~ tarban-qa (BK E 18), tāš-qa "on the stone" (KT SE, etc.), täñrikän-kä (O F 6), täzīk-kä (KČ E 4), toγsïq-(q)a (BK E 8; KT S 2), tońuquq-(q)a (TI N 7), tün-kä (TI N 2), tüpüt-kä (KT S 3; BK N 3), ū-qa (TI N 3), yaγï-qa (KČ E 11), yazï-qa (KT E 17, etc.), yer-kä (TI S 10, TII S 3) ~ yir-kä (KT S 4), yïl-qa (KT NE, etc.), yeγirmi-kä (KT NE), yiš-qa (KT E 1; BK E 37).

2°. -ña/-ñä (<*-nγa/-ngä): aγïsī-ña (KT S 6; BK N 5), bašī-ña (KT E 33), batsïqï-ña (KT S2), äbī-ñä (KC E 8; KČ W 3), ēlī-ñä (KT E 23; O F 4) ~ īlī-ñä (TII E 8, TI W 1), qutī-ña (KT E 31), oγlī-ña (BK N 15), ödī-ñä (BK E 29), sabī-ña (KT S 6; BK N 5), tatī-ña (KT S 12; BK N 15), toγsïqï-ña (BK N 2; O F 2), yāšī-ña (KT E 31, etc.), yāzī-ña (KT N 8; BK E 31), yerī-ñä (KT S 4; BK E 15) ~ yirī-ñä (BK N 3), yüz(īñä) (KT E 33).

But: ayuqī-qa "over the dominion of" (KT W 1) (cf. Miran a 6: özīkä "to himself").

3°. -a/-ä: bodunum-a (BK S 10, N 12), qaγanïm-a (TI S 5, E 1, E 7), oγlum-a (BK N 10; O R 3), olurtuqum-a (BK E 2, N 9), özüm-ä (BK S 15), türüküm-ä (BK S 10, N 12), yāšïm-a (BK E 24, etc.); but: (atačïm)-qa (O Supp. 1), yāšïm-qa (BK E 15).

On the possessive stem of the second person singular: äbiñ-ä "to your homeland" (BK N 14), ēliñ-ä "to your state" (BK E 19), qaγanïñ-a (BK E 19).

The dative-locative case of a noun functions as follows:

1°. As an adverbial complement indicating the object toward which the action is performed: qaγan-qa qïrqïz bodunī ičikdi "the Kirgiz people submitted to the kagan" (TI N 4), äb-kä tägdüküm "I arrived at the camp-site" (O R 2), oγuz täzip tabγač-qa kīrti "the Oguz fled and entered China" (BK E 38).

2°. As an adverbial complement indicating the object for the benefit of which the action is fulfilled: nä qaγan-qa īsig kūčüg bīrūr män "to what kagan do I render service?" (KT E 9; BK E 9), ülgän āt-qa īsig kūčüg bērti "he rendered service to the great name" (O R 3).

3°. As an adverbial complement with a postposition: ilgärü yašïl ögüz šantuñ yazī-qa tägi sūlädimiz "we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River and the Shantung Plain" (BK E 15), qurïγaru tämir qapïγ-qa tägi sūlädimiz "we went on campaigns westwards up to the Iron Gate" (KT E 17).

4°. As an adverbial complement indicating the place of an

action: tabγač ïlï-ñä qïlintïm "I was born in China" (TI W 1), näñ yïlsïγ bodun-qa olurmadïm "I did not become a ruler over a wealthy people" (KT E 26), bu tāš-qa bu tām-qa qop yol(l)uγ tigin bitïdim "it is I, Prince Yolluγ, who has inscribed (all these inscriptions) on this stone and on this wall" (KT SE).

5°. As an adverbial complement denoting the time of an action: ol öd-kä qul qulluγ küñ küñlüg bōlmiš ärti "at that time slaves themselves had slaves and female slaves themselves had maids" (KT E 21), kül tigin qoń yïl-qa yïti yegirmi-kä učdï "Prince Kül died on the seventeenth day of the Sheep Year" (KT NE) yāzï-ña oγuz tapa sülädim "in the spring, I started a campaign against the Oguz" (BK E 31-32), qïrqïzïγ ü-qa basdïmïz "we fell upon the Kirgiz while they were asleep" (TI N 3).

6°. As an adverbial complement indicating the duration of time within which the action is performed: bïr yïl-qa tōrt yolï süñüšdüm "I fought four times in a year" (BK E 30), ōn tün-kä yantaqï tuγ äbirü bardïmïz "we went on going around the barriers (of snow) on the side (of the mountain) for ten nights" (TI N 2), tünlï künlï yïti ödüš-kä subsïz käčdim "I passed through a waterless land for seven days, day and night" (BK SE).

See Adverbs of Place and Adverbs of Time.

3.2145. Locative-Ablative

The locative-ablative case is formed with the suffix -da/-dä ~ -ta/-tä. Stems ending in vowels and consonants other than l, n and r take -da/-dä. Stems ending in any of the consonants l, n and r (except a few exceptions) take -ta/-tä. The ablative case

is rarely formed also with the suffixes -dïn/-din and -dan/-dän.

1°. -da/-dä: aγu-da (BK E 34), antïrγu-da (BK E 30), balïq-da (KT N 4; BK E 30; KČ W 11), balïq-da-qï (KT E 12), batsïq-da-qï (KT N 12), bäglärig-(dä) (BK N 13), buluñ-da-qï (BK E 2, etc.), äb-dä (BK E 32), ätiz-dä (KČ E 6), ēllig-dä (KT E 29; BK E 24), ī-da (TI W 4), ïraq-da (TI W 5), qadïz-da (BK E 31) ~ qadiz-dä (KT N 7), qaγanïm-da (O R 4), qaγanïñ-da (BK N 13), qaγanlïγ-da (BK E 24), qïlïntuq-da (KT E 1), qïtañ-da (BK S 7; TI S 7), qontuq-da (KT S 5), quš-alγaq-da (KT N 5), käčin-dä (sic!) (KČ W 10), oγlanïñïz-da (KT SE), oγuz-da (TI S 7), olurtuq-da (KT E 17), sabïm-da (KT S10; BK N 8), süñüš-dä (KT N 2), süñüšdük-dä (KČ E 4, etc.), tabar-da (KT E 38), tabγač-da (BK E 36, etc.), taγ-da (BK S 8, W 5), taγ-da-qï (KT E 12), taš-da (TI W 4), tayγunuñïz-da (KT SE), tägdük-dä (KT E 36), täñrī-dä (KT S 1; BK N 1), tirig-dä-ki-čä (KT SE), toγ-sïq-da (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5), törū-dä (KT E 16; BK E 14), ū-da (KT E 35, 37; BK E 27), učduq-da (KT E 30; BK E 14), yaγït(t)uq-da (KČ E 6), yāš-da (BK E 14), yazī-da (TI N 9, TII W 1), yer-dä (BK E 20, 35, 36), yer-dä-ki (TII E 6), yir-dä (KT S 4, E24), yiš-da (KT E 35, S 4; BK E 27), yïs-da (TI N 7, 8), yurt-da (TI E 2; KT N 9).

2°. -ta/-tä: bodun-ta (KT E 26, N 12; BK E 21), īl-tä (KT S 3), (īl)-tä (BK N 2), qaγan-ta (KT S 11, etc.), kōl-tä (KT E 34, N 2), köñül-tä (KT N 1), köñül-tä-ki (KT S 12), yer-tä (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15; but generally yerdä: see above), yōl-ta (KT N 9; TI S 9); qurïdïn-ta "from the west" (TI S 7), yirïdïn-ta "from the north" (TI S 4); ēlīn-tä (KČ E 6), oγlīn-ta (KT E 1; BK E 3), olurtuqīn-ta (BK S 13), tägisīn-tä (KT N 5), töpüsīn-tä (KT E 11;

BK E 10), yalmasïn-ta (KT E 33), yarïqïn-ta (KT E 33), yerïn-tä (TI W 3, S 4; TII N 2), yoγïn-ta (KT N 7).

3°. -dïn/-din: See Interrogative Pronouns.

4°. -tan/-tän: tasdïn-tan "from the outside" (MČ S 4) <*taš-dïn; oγuzdun-tan "from the Oguz" (TI S 1) (The latter must have been formed analogically. Cf. qurïdïnta "from the west", yirïdïn-ta "from the north").

The locative-ablative form of a noun fuctions:

1°. As an adverbial complement indicating the place in which the action is performed: qarā kōl-tä süñüšdümiz "we fought at the Black Lake" (KT N 2), ekïn sū äb-dä ärti "the second army was at the camp" (BK E 32), (bi)riyä tabγač-da ātī kūsī yōq bōltï "to the south, in China, the name and fame of (the Tokuz-Oguz) have disappeared" (BK E 36), āzu bu sabïm-da igid bār yu "or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?" (KT S 10).

2°. As an adverbial complement indicating the state or condition of the object while the action takes place: qïrqïz bodunuγ ū-da basdïmïz "we fell upon the Kirgiz people, while they were asleep (KT E 35).

3°. As an adverbial complement denoting the starting point of an action: (tabγač) qaγan-ta bädizči kälürtüm "I sent for painters from the Chinese emperor" (KT S 12), köz-dä yāš kälsär tīda köñül-tä siγït kälsär yanturu sāqïntïm "when tears came down from the eyes, I mourned by holding them back, and when wails came out from the heart, I mourned turning them back" (KT N 11).

4°. As an adverbial complement with a postposition or a post-

positional word: yabïz yablaq bodun-ta üzä olurtum "I became ruler over a poor and destitute people" (BK E 21), bän yirïdïn-ta yan tägäyīn "I shall attack (them) from the north (lit.: "from the direction of north")" (TI S 4); see Postpositions.

5°. The locative-ablative is also used to make comparisons: ötükän yiš-da yīg idi yōq ärmis "a land better than the Ötükän Mountains does not exist at all" (KT S 4), ïγar oγlanïñïz-da tayγunuñïz-da yēgdi igidür ärtigiz "you used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved children and descendants" (KT SE).

3.2146. Directive

The directive case is formed with the suffixes -γaru/-gärü (-γa-ru/-gä-rü), -ñaru/-ñärü (<-nγaru/-ngärü), -aru/-ärü (-a-ru/-ä-rü) and -ra/-rä. The directive case of a noun functions as an adverbial complement indicating the object toward which the action is performed.

1°. -γaru/-gärü (< -γa-ru/-gä-rü): bän äb-gärü tüsäyīn "I shall go down to the camp" (TI N 6), amγa qorγan qïšlap yāzīña oγuz-γaru sū tašïqdïmïz "after we spent the winter at Amga-Korgan, in spring we started a campaign against the Oguz" (KT N 8), tabγač-γaru quni säñünüg īdmis qïtań-γaru toñra äsimig īdmis "he is said to have sent General Qu to the Chinese, and Toñra Äsim to the Qïtań" (TI S 2), öñrä türk qaγan-γaru sūlälim "let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks" (TI E 3), ötūkän yïs-γaru uduztum "I led (the army) in the direction of the Ötükän Mountains" (TI S 8), apa tarqan-γaru ičrä sab īdmis "he sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan" (TI N 10); bunča īsig kūčüg bīrtük-gärü

sāqïnmatī "(the Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese), ..." (KT E 10); qaγan-γaru (TI N 5, 9), tabγač-γaru (BK E 35), yer-gärü (KT S 8), yer(gär)ü (BK N 6); see Adverbs of Place.

2°. -ñaru/-ñärü (<*-nγaru/-ngärü): birigärü kün ortusī-ñaru "southwards to the midday" (KT S 2; BK N 2), yirïγaru tün ortusī-ñaru "northwards to the midnight" (KT S 2; BK N 2), yerī-ñärü subī-ñaru qontï "they settled themselves in their (old) habitat and native land" (BK E 40).

3°. -aru/-ärü. This suffix occurs after the first person possessive suffix: basmïl yaγïdïp äbim-ärü bardī "having started hostilities (against me), the Basmïl went toward my residence" (MČ S 4).

4°. The suffix -ra/-rä occurs in the following examples only: taš-ra yorïγur tīyin kü äsidip "having heard the news that (my father) was marching off, ..." (KT E 11-12), tardus sad-ra udï yaṅdïmïz "we put (the enemy) to rout, pursuing them toward the šad of the Tardush" (TII W 6).

3.2147. Equative

The equative case is formed with the suffix -ča/-čä.

The equative form of a noun functions as an adverb of comparison, equality, and the like (see Adverbs):

1°. Equality: türgis qaγan süsī bolčuda ot-ča bor-ča kälti "the army of the Türgis kagan came (upon us) like fire and storm at Bolču" (KT W 37), buzqun-ča kälīr ärtimiz "we were coming like

a storm" (O R 1), qānïñ sub-ča yügürti sōñūküñ taγ-ča yatdï "your blood ran like a river, and your bones were heaped up like a mountain" (KT E 24), ögüz-čä "like a river" (BK E 20), ekīnti kün örtčä qïzïp kälti "the next day they came rushing hotly like flames" (TII W 4-5); see Verbal Verbal Nouns.

2°. Approximation of quantity: älig-čä är "about fifty men" (TII W 7); see Numerals.

3°. Accordance: bodunuγ äčüm apām törūsīn-čä yaratmiš "he organized the people in accordance with the rules of my ancestors" (KT E 13; BK E 12), köñlüñ-čä uduz "lead (the army) according to your own will!" (TI S 8), qïyinïγ köñlüñ-čä ay "give the judgements according to your own conscience" (TI N 8).

3.2148. Instrumental

The instrumental case is formed with the suffix -n. The connecting vowel inserted between the stem and the suffix generally observes the labial harmony: oqun "with an arrow" (KT E 36): oq "arrow".

The instrumental indicates:

1°. the tool of an action: bīr ärig oq-un urtï "(Prince Kül) hit one man with an arrow" (KT E 36), az tutuquγ älig-in tutdï "(Prince Kül) captured the Governor of the Az people by (his own) hands" (KT E 38), bu yōl-un yorïsar yaramāči "it will not be good (for us) to go this way" (TI E 6), süčīg sab-ïn yimšaq aγī-n arïp "deceiving by means of (their) sweet words and soft materials, ..." (KT S 5), inigäk kölik-in toγlada oγuz kälti "with carts drawn by oxen the Oguz came from the Toγla" (TI S 8), altun yïsïγ

yōlsiz-in asdïmïz ärtis ögüzüg käčigsiz-in käčdimiz "we climbed over the Altai Mountains without any roads, and we crossed over the Irtish River without any fords" (TI N 11).

2°. the idea of companionship with someone: qaγanïm-in sū eltdimiz "I, together with my kagan, went on campaigns" (TII E 3), qañïm qaγan yīti yegirmi är-in tašïqmis "my father, the kagan, went off with seventeen men" (KT E 11), uluγ irkin azqïńa är-in täzip bardï "Uluγ Irkin ran away together with a few men" (KT E 34), uyγur ēl(t)äbär yüzčä är-in ilg(är)ü t(äzip bardï) "the Governor of the Uigurs, together with about one hundred men, fled towards the east" (BK E 37).

3°. the manner in which an action is performed: bäglär qop(ïn) yanalïm ... tēdi "the lords all said: 'let us go back!'" (TII W 1), anta ötrü oγuz qopin kälti "then the Oguz came altogether" (TI S 9), oñ tutuq yurčīn yaraqlïγ älig-in tutdï "(Prince Kül) took the Governor Oñ's brother-in-law prisoner while he (i.e., the prisoner) had weapons in his hand" (KT E 32), yir sāyu barmiš bodun ölü yitü yadaγ-ïn yalïñ-ïn yana kälti "(when I succeeded to the throne), the people who had gone in (almost) all directions, came back utterly exhausted, without horses and without clothes" (KT E 28).

4°. the time of an action: qïš-ïn qïtań tapa sülädim "in the winter, I went on a campaign against the Qïtań" (BK S 2), yāz-ïn tatabï tapa sülädim "in the spring, I went on a campaign against the Tatabï" (BK S 2), yay-ïn "in the summer" (BK E 39), kūz-ün "in fall" (MČ E 8).

Other examples are: at-ïn "with horses" (TI N 1), biltüküm-ün "with what I know" (KČ S 3), bilig-in in bilmäz biligin "with ignorance" (KČ S 3), köz-ün "by means of eye" (BK N 11), qulqaq-ïn "by means of ear" (BK N 11), suq-un "with anger" (BK E 38), ödüküm-ün "with what I remember" (KČ S 3), süñüg-ün "with lances" (TI N 4), törü-n "with a ceremony" (BK N 9, 10).

3.2149. Comitative

The comitative is formed with the suffix *-lïγu/-ligü. This is a rare case form.

The comitative answers the question "together with whom?": män ini-ligü bunča bašlayu qazγanm(asar) türük bodun öltäči ärti "if I, together with (my) younger brother, had not led (the people) and had not got so many victories, the Turkish people would have been killed and perished" (BK E 33), qorïγu ekī üč kisī-ligü täzip bardï "(their) protector fled together with a few people" (BK E 41).

3.215. Pronouns

3.2151. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are: bän (T, KČ, MČ) ~ män (KT, BK) "I"; sän "thou"; biz, in oblique cases bizin, "we", siz "you". Pronouns of the third person do not exist. The demonstrative pronoun ol "that, those" is used instead.

The inflection of the personal pronouns slightly differs from that of the nouns. The case suffixes are, in general, the same as in the noun inflection. The stems of the pronouns, however, vary

in certain cases.

Nom.	bän, män	sän	biz	siz
Gen.	bäniñ, däniñ		biziñ	
Acc.	bini	sini	bizni	
Dat.-Loc.	baña, maña	säñä (TI N 8)	biziñä	
Loc.-Abl.			bizintä	
Directive	bañaru			

1°. Nom.: bän äbgärü tüsäyīn "I shall go down to the camp" (TI N 6), bän säñä nä ayayīn "what shall I say to thee?" (TI N 8), bän yirïdïnta yan tägäyīn "I shall attack (them) from the direction of north" (TI S 4), män toquz yegirmi yïl šad olurtum "I reigned as šad for nineteen years" (BK S 9); biz az ärtimiz "we were few" (BK E 32), biz ekī biñ ärtimiz "we were two thousand (men)" (TI S 9), biz yämä sülädimiz "we, too, marched off" (TII W 9), qayan āt bunta biz bīrtimiz "it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan" (KT E 20), biz az biz "we are few" (O F 7); yaymisī bän ärtim "it was I who followed him (lit.: "his follower was I")" (TI W 5), bilgäsī čabïsī bän ök ärtim "it was I who was his counselor and his aide-de-camp" (TI W 7).

The personal pronouns are also used copulatively: bän anča tēr män "I say as follows (lit.: "I am the one who says as follows")" (TII W 2), sāqïnur män "I mourn (lit.: "I am the one who mourns")" (BK W 6), öltäči sän "you (lit.: "thou") will die" (KT S 8), türük bodun toqurqaq sän "O Turkish people, you always consider yourselves satiated" (KT S 8), biz az biz "we are few" (O F 7), yabïz bat biz "we certainly are bad" (O F 7), bučägü qabïs-

(s)ar qaltači biz "if these three form an alliance, we would be helpless" (TI S 6).

2. Gen.: bäniñ bodunum anta ärür "my people will be there" (TI E 4), mäniñ sabïmïn simadï "he did not reject my request" (KT S 11), t(oquz oγu)z mäniñ bodunum ärti "the Tokuz-Oguz were my (own) people" (BK E 29), biziñ sü atï toruq azuqï yoq ärti "our army horses were lean (and exhausted), and our army had no provisions" (KT E 39).

3°. Acc.: bini oγuzuγ ölürtäči k(ök) "(they) will (also) kill us (lit.: "me"), the Oguz" (TI S 3), sini tabγačïγ ölürtäči "they will kill you (lit.: "thee"), Chinese" (TI S 3), qačan (n)äñ ärsär ol bizni ... ölürtäči kök "he will sooner or later kill us" (TI E 3), bizni ölürtäči kök "he will definitely kill us" (TI N 6).

4°. Dat.: bilgä toñuquq(q)a baña aydï "he commanded me, Bilgä Tonyukuk" (TI N 7), qop maña körti "they have all submitted to me" (KT E 30), bu yerdä maña qul bolṭï "they became slaves to me in this land" (BK E 36), anta ičräki bodun (qop) m(aña) k(örür) "all the peoples within these boundaries are subject to me" (KT S 2), bän säñä nä ayayïn "what shall I say to thee?" (TI N 8), biziñä yañïltuqïn yazïntuqïn üčün qaγanï ölti "because they were unfaithful to us their kagan was killed" (BK E 16), alp är biziñä tägmiš ärti "(furthermore) those who had attacked us were brave men" (KT E 40).

5°. Loc.-Abl.: bizintä ekï učï siñarča artuq ärti "their two wings were about half again as many as we" (TII W 5).

6°. Directive: bög(ü) qaγan bañaru anča yïdmis "such was the

message Bögü Kagan sent me" (TI N 10).

3.2152. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are: bu "this" and ol "that, it". The latter is also used as the pronouns of the third person. In oblique cases the stems of the pronouns bu and ol are bun- and an- respectively.

Nom.	bu	ol
Gen.		
Acc.	bunï	anï
Dat.-Loc.		añar (<*anγar)
Loc.-Abl.	bunta	anta
Directive		añaru (<*anγaru)
Equative	bunča	anča
Instr.		anïn (TI E 7)

Other forms derived from the pronouns bu and ol are the following: antaγ ~ antäg (TI N 5) "like that, as follows" <*anï täg, büntäg "like this, such one as this" (TII E 7) <*buntäg <*bunï täg.

1°. Nom.: ïltēris qaγan bilgä toñuquq qazγantuq üčün qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yorïduqï bu "since Ilteriš Kagan and Bilgä Tonyukuk have won, Kapgan Kagan's Turkish Sir people have flourished this much" (TII N 3), qačan (n)äñ ärsär ol bizni ... ölürtäči kök "he will sooner or later kill us" (TI E 3-4), ol amtï añïγ yōq "these (peoples) are not rebellious now" (KT S 3), barduq yirdä ädgüg ol ärinč "in the places you went, your (only)

profit has become the following" (KT E 24).

The pronoun ol is also used copulatively: bilgä toñuquq añïγ ol üz ol "Bilgä Tonyukuk is malicious and evil-minded" (TI N 10), (türk bodunï yämä) bulγanč (o)l (tēm)is oγuzï yämä tarqïnč ol tēmis "(the Turkish people) is in disorder; the Oguz, their subjects, are also displeased (with them)' he said" (TI E 5).

2°. Acc.: türük bäglär bodun bunï äsidiñ "O Turkish lords and people, hear this!" (KT S 10), bunï körü biliñ "see these and get a lesson (from them)!" (KT S 12; BK N 15), anï körüp anča biliñ "see it and learn its contents, as it is" (KT S 13), anï üčün "because of it, for that" (KT E 3; BK E 28), anï yoγlatayïn "I shall hold her funeral" (TI N 7), anï añïtayïn tïp sülädim "in order to frighten him I started a campaign (against him)" (BK E 41), anï yañïp türgi yarγun költä buzdumïz "we dispersed them and put them to rout at the Lake Türgi-Yargun" (KT E 34), anï ärt(t)imiz "we followed them up" (TII W 9).

3°. Dat.: añar körü biliñ "look at it and learn (its contents) (KT S 11), añar aytïp "offering him my opinion ..." (TI E 7), añar adïnč(č)ïγ barq yaraturtum "I got them to build an extraordinary mausoleum" (KT S 12), añar adïnč(č)ïγ barq yaratid(d)im id. (BK N 14).

4°. Loc.-Abl.: See Adverbs of Place.

5°. Directive: añaru sülämäsär qačan (n)äñ ärsär ol bizni ... ölürtäči kök "if we do not wage war against him, he will sooner or later kill us" (TI E 3-4).

6°. Equative: See Adverbs.

7°. Instrumental: anïn barmis "he is said to have gone by that (way)" (TI E 7).

The demonstrative pronouns are demonstrative adjectives when used to modify nouns: bu sūg elt tīdi "'lead this army!' he said" (TI N 8), bu sabïmin ädgūti äsid "hear these words of mine well!" (KT S 2), ol sub qodï bardïmïz "we rode down along that river" (TI N 3); see Attributive Phrases.

3.2153. Intensive Pronouns

The intensive pronouns are the following: käntü "self, person, own", ōzüm "myself, I", ōzī "himself, he". These are used to emphasize a noun or another pronoun.

1°. käntü "self": ädgū ēliñä käntü yañïltïγ "you yourselves betrayed your good state (lit.: "thou thyself ...")" (KT E 23; BK E 19).

2°. ōzüm, ōzī (no more forms are attested): bän ōzüm tabγač īlīñä qïlintim "I myself was born in China" (TI W 1), män ōzüm qaγan olurtuqum üčün "since I myself succeeded to the throne, ..." (BK E 36), türk bodunuγ ötūkän yerkä bän ōzüm bilgä toṅuquq (kälürtüm?) "it was I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, (who led the Turkish kagan and) the Turkish people to the Ötükän land" (TI S 10), qaγanïm (bän) ōzüm bilgä toṅuquq ötüntük ötünčümin äsidü bērti "my kagan deigned to listen to the representations which (I) myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, made (to him)" (TI S 8), bän ōzüm bilgä toṅuquq qazγanmasar "if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, had not won, ..." (TII N 1), īltēris qaγan qazγanmasar udu bän ōzüm qazγanmasar "if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won, ..." (TII E 5);

ēltäbär ōzī kälti "the Governor himself came" (KČ E 9), inim kül tigin ōzī anča kärgäk bōltï "my younger brother, Prince Kül, himself died (lit.: "became absent or lacking") in this way" (KT E30).

A noun or pronoun emphasized by an intensive pronoun is often omitted. In such cases intensive pronouns function as personal pronouns: ōzüm "I": äčim qaγan oḷurtuqda ōzüm tarduš bodun üzä šad ärtim "when my uncle succeeded to the throne, I was šad over the Tardush people" (KT E 17), ōzüm qarī bōḷtum "I am grown old" (TII E 6), inim kül tigin kärgäk bōltï ōzüm sāqïntïm "my brother, Prince Kül, died; I mourned" (KT N 10), (qañïm) qaγan učduqda ōzüm säkiz yāšda qaḷtïm "when my father, the kagan, died I was eight years old" (BK E 14), qazγantuqīn üčün udu ōzüm qazγantuqum üčün "since he won, and since I won, ..." (TII E 5), täñrī bilig bērtük üčün ōzüm ök qaγan qïsdïm "since Heaven granted me insight, I myself made him kagan" (TI W 6), etc.; ōzī "he": ekīsīn ōzī altuzdï "he captured two of them" (KT E 38), ōzī qïsγa kärgäk bōltï "he was killed while still young" (KČ E 11), ōzī yañïltï "he betrayed (us)" (KT E 20); ōzī "they": ōzī anča kärgäk bōlmis "they thus passed away (lit.: "they thus became lacking")" (KT E 3); inflected forms: ōzümä "to me" (BK S 15), ōzümīn oḷ täñrī qaγan oḷurt(dï ärinč) "that Heaven enthroned me" (BK E 21).

The words käntü and ōz are also used attributively: toquz oγuz bodun käntü bodunum ärti "the Tokuz-Oguz people were my own people" (KT N 4), käntü bodunum tīdim "O my own people! I said" (MČ E 2), ōz ičī tasïn tutmis täg biz "it seems as if we are holding the exterior with (our) own interior (i.e., with our own forces)"

(TI S 6).

3.2154. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are: käm "who?" and nä "what?". Only the following inflected forms occur in the inscriptions: käm-kä "to whom?", näkä "for what?", nänčä "so many, so much".

1°. käm "who?" (cf. Mong. kem id.): üzä täñrī basm(asar asra) yer tälinmäsär türük bodun īliñin törügin käm artatï ūdači (ärt)i "if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and your institutions?" (BK E 18-19), kämkä īlig qazγanur män "for whose benefit are we conquering these countries?" (KT E 9).

2°. nä: bän säñä nä ayayīn "what shall I say to thee?" (TI N 8), üküs tēyin näkä qorqur biz "why should we be afraid of their being many?" (TII W 4), näkä täzär biz "why should we flee?" (TII W 3), (qañïm) qaγan äčim qaγan oḷurtuqīnta tōrt buḷuñdaqï bodunuγ nänčä īt̤m(iš) "when (my father), the kagan, and my uncle, the kagan, mounted the throne, they completely organized the peoples in the four quarters (of the world)" (BK N 9).

The pronoun nä is also used attributively and adverbially:

A. Attributively: nä qaγanqa īsig kūčüg bīrür män "to which kagan are we giving our services?" (KT E 9), näñ yerdäki qaγanlïγ bodunqa büntägī bār ärsär nä buñī bār ärtäči ärmis "if a people living anywhere and owning a kagan had such a (man), what kind of trouble would it have?" (TII E 6-7).

B. Adverbially: az tēyin nä basïnalïm "why should we be over-

whelmed because of (our) being few?" (TII W 4).

When used after the interrogative particle mu/mü the pronoun nä functions as a particle of probability: öñrä qïtańda biriyä tabγačda qurïya qurïdïnta yïrïya oγuzda ekī üč biñ sūmiz kältäčimiz bār mu nä "we probably have two or three thousand soldiers to come from the Qïtań in the east, from the Chinese in the south, from the western (Turks) in the west, and from the Oguz in the north" (TI S 7).

3°. qanï "where? where is it?" and qantïn "from where?", the inflected forms of the old interrogative pronoun *qa ~ *qan "what? what place?" (see A. Temir, "Konjunktionen und Satzeinleitungen im Alt-Türkischen," Oriens, IX (1956), p. 264), function as interrogative adverbs: ïlim amtï qanï "where is our (lit.: "my") own state now?" (KT E 9), yaraqlïγ qantïn kälip yańa eltdi süñüglüg qantïn kälipän sürä eltdi "from where did the armed come and put you to flight? From where did the lancer come and drive you away?" (KT E 23).

3.2155. Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns or words used as such are: büntägī "such a one", qamaγī "all, all of them".

1°. büntägī (<*buntäg-ī): näñ yerdäki qaγanlïγ bodunqa büntägī bār ärsär nä buñī bār ärtäči ärmis "if a people living anywhere and having a kagan had such a one (i.e., such a man like me), what kind of trouble would it have?" (TII E 6-7).

2°. qamaγī (< qamaγ-ī): qamaγī yēti yüz är bōlmiš "they all numbered seven hundred men" (lit.: "all of them became seven

hundred men") BK E 11); adverbially: qamaγī bīš otuz sülädimiz "we went on campaigns twenty-five times in all" (KT E 18).

3.216. Numerals

The cardinal numerals are: 1 bīr, 2 ekī, 3 üč, 4 tȫrt, 5 bīš ~ bīs ~ bēs, 6 altï, 7 yēti ~ yīti, 8 säkiz, 9 toquz, 10 ōn, 20 yegirmi ~ yigirmi, 30 otuz, 40 qïrq, 50 älig, 60 altmïš (Yenisei), 70 yētmiš ~ yētmis, 80 säkiz ōn, 90 toquz ōn, 100 yüz, 1000 bïñ ~ biñ, 10 000 bīr tümän (BK S 1).

The numerals between decades:

(a) 11 - 19 and 21 - 29: These numerals are considered steps to the next higher decade and named as follows: 11 bīr yegirmi (MČ S 8), 12 ekī yegir(mi) (KT E 28), 13 üč yegirmi (KT E 18), 14 tȫrt yegirmi (BK E 15), 15 bīš yegirmi (MČ E 6), 16 altï yegirmi (KT E 31), 17 yēti yegirmi (TII S 5), 18 säkiz yegirmi (BK E 24), 19 toquz yegirmi (BK S 9), 21 bīr otuz (KT E 32), 22 ekī otuz (BK E 25), 23 üč otuz (TI E 2), 25 bīš otuz (KT E 18), 26 altï otuz (BK E 26), 27 yīti otuz (KT N 1), 29 toquz otuz (Miran, A 1).

(b) The numerals above 30 are additive constructions. The word artuqī "plus" (lit.: "its remainder") serves as the coordinator: 31 otuz artuqī bīr (BK S 9), also bīr qïrq (KT N 2), 33 otuz artuqī üč (BK E 34), 34 otuz artuqī tȫrt (BK E 38), 38 otuz artuqī säkiz (BK S 2), 47 qïrq artuqī yēti (KT NE).

The hundreds and thousands are attributive constructions: 500 bīs yüz (BK S 11), 700 yēti yüz (TI W 4), 2000 ekī bïñ/biñ, 7000 yēti biñ, 10 000 bīr tümän (BK S 1), 30 000 üč tümän, 40 000 tȫrt tümän, 50 000 bēs tümän, 80 000 säkiz tümän, 100 000 ōn tümän.

The numerals between hundreds and thousands: 17 000 bīr tümän artuqī yēti biñ (BK S 1).

The cardinal numerals function as follows:

1°. As an attribute of a noun or another numeral: bīr ärig sančdï "(Prince Kül) stabbed one man" (KT N 5), bīr atlïγ barmis "a horseman is said to have gone" (TI E 7), ekī ülūgī atlïγ ärti bīr ülūgī yadaγ ärti "two-thirds (lit.: "two parts") of them were mounted, a (third) part was on foot" (TI W 4), ekī uluγ süñüš "two great battles" (BK E 34), bēs balïq "Bishbalik" ("The Five Cities") (BK E 28), üč otuz balïq "twenty-three cities" (TI E 2), yēti yūz "700" (TI W 4), ekī bïñ "2000" (TI E 1), üč tümän sū "thirty thousand soldiers" (BK S 8), etc.

In the following examples the head agrees with its attribute in number: toquz äräп sančdï "(Prince Kül) stabbed nine men" (KT N 9), yēti äräп "seven men" (O F 3), bīs yūz äräп kälti "five hundred men came" (BK S 11).

2°. As a substantive with the third person possessive suffix: ekīsīn ōzī altuzdï "(he) himself captured two of them" (KT E 38).

3°. As an adverbial complement indicating the duration or frequency of the action: īltēris qaγan bilgāsīn üčūn alpīn üčūn tabγačqa yēti yegirmi süñüsdi qïtańqa yēti süñüsdi oγuzqa bēs süñüsdi "by virtue of his being wise and brave, Ilteriš Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese, seven times against the Qïtań and five times against the Oguz" (TII S 4-5), kül tigin bīr qïrq yašaγur ärti "Prince Kül was thirty-one years old (by then)" (KT N 2), uluγ küli čor säkiz ōn yasap yōq bol(tï) "Küli Čor the Elder,

having lived eighty years, deceased" (KČ W 3), bīr todsar āčsïq ömäz sän "if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again)" (KT S 8), yüz(īñä) bašīña bīr t(ägürmädi) "(Prince Kül) did not let (the enemy) hit him even once on the face and head" (KT E 33), qamaγī bīš otuz sūlädimiz üč yegirmi süñüšdümiz "in all we went on campaigns twenty-five times and we fought thirteen times" (KT E 18), etc.

4°. As the predicate noun of a clause: biz ekī bïñ ärtimiz "we were two thousand" (TI E 1), kögmän yōlī bīr ärmis "there is (only) one road over Kögmän" (TI E 6), etc.

3.21611. Fractions

The only fraction which occurs in the inscriptions is the word siñar "half, one of a pair" (= Kirg. sïñar id., Yak. añar ~ añār id.): (siñ)ar sūsī äbig barqïγ yulγalï bardï siñar sūsī süñüšgäli kälti "one half of their army went in order to plunder the tents and dwellings, the other half of their army came in order to fight" (BK E 32).

In the Moyun Čor inscription this word occurs with the third person possessive suffix: sïñarī bodun ičikdi sïñarī b(odun ...) "one half of the people submitted (to me), and the other half of it ..." (MČ E 6-7).

3.21612. Approximative Numerals

The approximative numerals are formed morphologically and syntactically.

1°. -ča/-čä (the equative suffix): äligčä är tutdumïz "we

captured about fifty men" (TII W 7), uyγur ēltäbär yüzčä ärin il-g(är)ü t(äzip bardï) "the Governor of the Uigurs, together with about one hundred men, fled towards the east" (BK E 37), bizintä ekī ūčī siñarča artuq ärti "their two wings were about half again as many as we" (TII W 5).

2°. Syntactically: qorïγu ekī üč kisīligü täzip bardï "the protector fled together with a few (lit.: "two or three") people" (BK E 41), yūz artuq oqun "with more than one hundred arrows" (KT E 33).

3.2162. Ordinal Numerals

The ordinal numerals and numerical words are: ilki (<*il + -ki; cf. Uig. ortunqï, kinki) "first", añ ilk ~ añ ilkī "at first"; ekīn, ekīnti; üčünč; törtünč; bīsinč; *altïnč; yētinč; säkizinč; toquzunč; onunč; bīr yegirminč (MČ S 11), etc.

The ordinal numerals function:

1°. as an attribute: ilki sū tašïqmiš ärti ekīn sū äbdä ärti "the first army had marched off, the second army was at home" (BK E 32), bīr tümän artuqī yēti biñ sūg ilki kün ölürtüm "I killed a seventeen-thousand-men army on the first day" (BK S 1), yadaγ sūsīn ekīnti kün qop (ölür)tüm "on the second day, I killed their infantrymen in great numbers" (BK S 1), ekīnti kün örtčä qïzïp kälti "the next day they came rushing hotly like flames" (TII W 4-5), laγzīn yïl bīsinč ay yīti otuzqa yoγ ärtürtüm "in the Year of Pig, on the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month, I held (his) funeral" (BK S 10), qoń yïlqa yētinč ay kūčlüg alp qaγanïmda ad-rïlu bardïñïz "you were separated from my mighty and brave kagan

in the seventh month of the Sheep Year" (O R 4), toquzunč ay yēti otuzqa učа bardï "we held (his) funeral on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month" (KT NE), (ï)t yïl ọnunč ay altï otuzqa učа bardï "(my father, the kagan,) passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of the Dog Year (= 734 A.D.)" (BK S 10), bïr yegirminč ay yegirmikä "on the twentieth (day) of the eleventh month" (MČ S 11).

2°. as an adverbial complement: añ ilk toγu balïqda süñüšdümiz "first we fought at Toγu-Balïq" (KT N 4), añ ilkī toγu balïqda süñüšdüm "first I fought at Toγu-Balïq" (BK E 30), añ ilkī tadïqïñ čorïñ boz (atïγ bīnip tägdi) "first (he mounted) Tadïq Čor's gray (horse and attacked)" (KT E 32), ekīnti išbara yamtar boz atïγ bīnip tägdi "secondly, he mounted Išbara Yamtar's gray horse and attacked" (KT E 33), üčünč yigän silig bägiñ kädimlig toruγ at bīnip tägdi "thirdly, he mounted Yigän Silig Bey's dressed (= armored?) bay horse and attacked" (KT E 33), tȫrtünč čuš bašīnta süñüšdümiz "fourthly, we fought at the headwaters of Čuš" (KT N 6), etc.

3.2163. Collective Numerals

The suffix -aγu(n)/-ägü(n) forms numerals with the meaning of "two together", "three together", and so on. The collective numerals which occur in the inscriptions are the following: üčägü, üčägün; ikägü.

1°. üčägü in bučägü (<*bu üčägü) "these three together": tabγač qïtań tatabï bučägü qabïs(s)ar qaltači biz "if the Chinese, Qïtań and Tatabï, these three, form an alliance, we would be help-

less" (TI S 5-6); with a final n: üčägün qabïsïp sūlälim "let us, we three, ally and wage war (against the Turkish kagan)" (TI E 4).

2°. In the following example the word ikägü means "two, in two parts": äčim qaγan ïlï qamšaγ bōltuqïnta bodun ilig ikäg(ü) bōltuqïnta izgil bodun birlä süñüšdümiz "when the realm of my uncle, the kagan, became shaky and when the people and ruler were split into two parts, we fought against the Izgil people" (KT N 3).

3.2164. Multiplicative Numerals

The numerals meaning "one time", "two times", etc., are formed syntactically: tōrt yolï "four times", bïš yolï "five times", and so on. The word yolï must have been a noun in the nominative.

1°. Numeral + yolï: bïr yïlqa tōrt yolï süñüšdüm "I fought four times in a year" (BK E 30), bïr yïlqa bïš yolï süñüšdümiz "we fought five times in a year" (KT N 4), altï yolï süñüšdüm "I fought six times" (BK E 28), ... (y)olï sūlädim "I went on campaigns ... times" (BK S 2), qañïm qaγan ... qïrq artuqï yēti yolï sūlämis "my father, the kagan, went on campaigns forty-seven times" (KT E 15).

2°. A cardinal numeral can also function as a multiplicative numeral. See 3.2161.3°.

3.2165. Indefinite Numerals

The indefinite numerals, that is, numerical words expressing indefinite quantities, are: az "few", azča "a few", azqïńa "few, very few", üküš ~ üküs "many".

The indefinite numerals numerals are used:

1°. attributively: az bodunuγ üküš qïltïm "I have made the few people numerous" (KT S 10, etc.), kül tiginig az ärin irtürü ït(t)ïmïz "we sent Prince Kül forward together with a few men" (KT E 40), azča bodun täzmis ärti "a few people had escaped" (TII W 8), uluγ irkin azqïńa ärin täzip bardï "Uluγ Irkin, together with very few people, escaped" (KT E 34), azqïńa türk (bodun) yorïyur ärmis "the very few Turkish people seem to have been making progress" (TI S 2), yaγuru barïp üküš kiši öltüg "having gone close to (the Chinese), you were (consequently) killed in great numbers" (KT S 7) üküš öltäči anta tirilti "many people who were about to be killed there came to life (again)" (BK E 31), üküš (KT: üküs) türük bodun öltüg "you, Turkish people, were killed in great numbers" (BK N 5; KT S 6).

2°. substantively: azïγ üküš qïltï "(my uncle, the kagan,) made the few numerous" (BK E 14), azïγ üküsüg körtüg "you have seen the few and the numerous" (O F 7).

3°. adverbially: biriyä tabγačïγ öñrä qïtańïγ yïrïya oγuzuγ üküs ök ölürti "to the south (Ilteriš Kagan) killed the Chinese, to the east the Qïtań, and to the north the Oguz in great number" (TI W 7).

The numerals biñ "1000" and tümän "10 000" are also used to express immense quantities: bïñ yïlqïq tümän künlik bitig "the inscription which will survive hundreds of years and thousands of days" (MČ E 9-10).

The following words, too, can function as indefinite numerals: bunča "these many", anča "so many": bunča bodun kälipän sïγtamiš

yoγlāmiš (KT: siytāmis yoγlāmis) "... these many peoples came, and lamented and mourned" (BK E 5; KT E 4), bunča bodun sačīn qulqaqīn (.... b)ičdi "these many peoples cut out their hairs and tore their ears and ..." (BK S 12), bunča bodun qobsarïp yoγladï "(since he was ...) these many peoples grieved and mourned" (KČ S 2), bunča bädizčig tuyγun ēltäbär kälü(r)ti "Governor Tuyγun brought these many painters and sculptors" (KT NE), bunča bitīg bitīgmä "the one who has inscribed these many inscriptions" (KT SE), biltükümün ödükümün bunča bitīg bitīdim "with what I know and remember, I have inscribed these many inscriptions" (KČ S 3), bunča barqïγ bädizig ūzuγ "these many constructions, pictures and sculptures, and artistical works ..." (BK SW), bunča matï bäglär "these many faithful lords" (BK S 14), (bunč)a bodun qop ītdim "I have thoroughly organized these many peoples" (KT S 2-3), bunča aγar törüg "these many important rules and regulations" (BK E 2), anča tümän "so many thousand (lit.: "ten thousand")" (BK N 12).

3.217. Adverbs

3.2171. Adverbs of Place

The adverbs of place are formed with the following suffixes:

1°. -a/-ä (The old dative-locative suffix; see 3.2144):

A. biriyä "hither, in the south" (<*biri <*birï "this side"): biriyä tabγač bodun yaγī ärmiš (KT: ärmis) "to the south the Chinese people was (our) enemy" (BK E 12; KT E 14), biriyä čoγay yiš tögültün yazī qonayīn tīsär türük bodun ölsikig "if you intend to settle at the Čoγay Mountains and on the Tögültün Plain in the

south, O Turkish people, you will perish!" (KT S 6-7), (bi)riyä tabγačda ātī küsī yōq bōltï "to the south, in China, their name and fame went to ruin" (BK E36), biriyä tabγačïγ öñrä qïtańïγ yïrïya oγuzuγ üküs ök ölürti "to the south he killed the Chinese, to the east the Qïtań, and to the north the Oguz in great numbers" (TI W 7), öñrä qïtańda biriyä tabγačda qurïya qurïdïnta yïrïya oγuzda ekī üč biñ sümiz kältäčimiz bār mu nä "we probably have two or three thousand soldiers to come from the Qïtań in the east, from the Chinese in the south, from the western (Turks) in the west, and from the Oguz in the north" (TI S 7), türk bodun öñrä kün toγsïqīña kisrä kün batsïqīña tägi biriyä tabγačqa yïrïya yis-(qa tägi ...) "the Turkish people (went on campaigns) eastwards up to the sunrise, westwards as far as the sunset, southwards up to China and northwards as far as the wooded mountains ..." (O F 2).

B. yïrïya ~ yirïya ~ yïriyä "thither, in the north" (<*yïrï "that side, north"): yirïya bāz qayan toquz oγuz bodun yaγī ärmis "to the north Baz Kagan and the Tokuz-Oguz people were (our) enemies" (KT E 14), yirïya tarqat buyruq bäglär "(you), tarkans and buyruk-beys to the north" (KT S 1), b(asa) tabγačda yïriyä atig oγuz āra yēti ärän yaγī bōlmis "then to the north of China among the Atig and Oguz seven men started hostilities (against us)" (O F 5); see above.

C. qurïya "at the back, in the west" (<*qurï "back"; cf. quz "northern slope of a mountain"): qurïya kün batsïqdaqï soγ(u)d bärčik är buqaraq ulus bodunta änik säñün oγul tarqan kälti "General Änik and Oγul Tarkan came from the Sogdians, Persians, and

the people of the city of Bukhara who live in the west, at the sunset" (KT N 12); see A.

D. üzä "on, above" (<*üz "upper part"; cf. Uig. üztün ~ üstün "on, above"): üzä kök täñrī asra yaγïz yer qïlïntuqda ekīn āra kisī oγlī qïlïnmis "when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two, human beings were created" (KT E 1), üzä türük täñrīsī türük ïduq yirī subī anča ētmis "but, the Turkish god above and the Turkish holy earth and water (spirits) asted in the following way" (KT E 10), üzä täñrī basm(asar asra) yer tälinmäsär türük bodun īliñin törügin käm artatï ūdači (ärt)i "if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions?" (BK E 18-19), üzä täñrī asra yer yarlïq(q)aduq üč(ün) ... "since Heaven above and Earth below were gracious (to me) ..." (BK N 10), (ü)zä täñrī ïduq yer sub (äčim q)ayan qutī taplāmadï ärinč "the heavens above, the sacred Earth and Water, and the soul of my uncle, the kagan, certainly did not like it" (BK E 35); other occurrences of üzä: BK N 12, W1, W 3; O F 3, R 4; see Postpositions.

The suffix -qï/-ki may be added to the adverbs in -a/-ä. The resulting form is used attributively: ötükän yerig qonmis tēyin äsidip biriyäki bodun qurïyaqï yirïyaqï öñräki bodun kälti "having heard the news that (the Turks) settled themselves in the Ötükän land, (all) the peoples who were living in the south, in the west, in the north and in the east came (and submitted to us)" (TI S 10).

2°. -dïn/-din/-dun/-dün: qurïdïn (s)oγ(u)d ōrti "from the

west the Sogdians rose in revolt" (KT W 1); with the noun yan ~ yän "side, direction": tabγač biridin yän täg qïtań öñdün yän täg bän yirïdïnta yan tägäyïn "(you), Chinese, attack (them) from the south (lit.: "from the southern side"), and (you), Qïtań, attack (them) from the east, and I shall attack (them) from the north" (TI S 4).

The adverbs in -dïn/-din are also used:

A. substantively: qurïdïn-ta "from the west" (TI S 7), yirïdïn-ta "from the north" (TI S 4); see above.

B. attributively: öñdün qaγanγaru sǖ yorï̄lïm tēmis "let us wage war against the Eastern Kagan" (TI N 5).

See Interrogative Pronouns.

3°. -γaru/-gärü (The directive suffix):

A. ilgärü (generally) ~ išgärü (BK N 11) "forward, eastward" (<*il "front"): ilgärü šantuñ yazï̄qa tägi sǖlädim "I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung Plain" (KT S 3), ilgärü qadïrqan yišqa tägi ... qonturmis "they settled (the Turkish people) eastwards up to the Qadïrqan Mountains" (KT E 2), ilgärü yašïl ögüz šantuñ yazï̄qa tägi sǖlädimiz "we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River (= Yellow River, Hwang Ho) and the Shantung Plain" (KT E 17), ilgärü qurïγaru sǖläp tī̄(r)m(is) qubrat(mis) "having gone on campaigns forward and backward, he gathered together and collected (men)" (KT E 12); other occurrences of ilgärü are in: KT S 2, E 8, E 28; BK E 8, 11, 15, 19, 23, 37; išgärü kün to(γsïqī̄ña ...) "eastwards up to the sunrise" (BK N 11) (see The Alternation l ~ š).

B. qurïγaru "backward, westward" (<*qurï "back"): (ilgärü kün) toγsïqīña birigärü kün ortusīñaru qurïγaru kün batsïqīña yirïγaru tūn ortusīñaru anta ičräki bodun qop mańa körür "eastwards to the sunrise, southwards to the midday, westwards as far as the sunset, and northwards to the midnight ... all the peoples within these boundaries are subject to me" (BK N 2), qurïγaru yinčü ögüz käčä tämir qapïγqa tägi sūlädim "westwards I went on campaigns up to the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River" (BK N 3), qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi sūlädimiz "westwards we went on expeditions up to the Iron Gate" (KT E 17; BK E 15), qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi sūläyü bīrmis "(for the benefit of the Chinese), they went on campaigns as far as the Iron Gate in the west" (KT E 8), qurïγaru käñü tarmanqa tägi türük bodunuγ anča qonturtumïz anča ētdimiz "westwards as far as Käñü Tarman we thus settled and organized the Turkish people" (KT E 21), (īduq ötūkän yi)š bodun bardïγ ilgärü (barïγma) bardïγ qurïγaru barïγma bardïγ "(you,) people (of the sacred Ötükän Mountains,) went away; those who meant to go to the east went away, and those who meant to go to the west went away" (BK E 19-20), qurïγaru (kün batsïqīña ...) "westwards as far as the sunset" (BK N 11).

C. birigärü "toward the south, southwards" (<*biri): birigärü toquz ärsinkä tägi sūlädim tüpūtkä kičig (täg)mädim "southwards I went on campaigns up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet" (KT S 3), bodunuγ igidäyīn tīyin yirïγaru oγuz bodun tapa ilgärü qïtań tatabï bodun tapa birigärü tabγač tapa uluγ sū ekī yegir(mi sūlädim) "in order to nourish the people, I, with great armies, went

on campaigns twelve times northwards against the Oguz people, eastwards against the Qïtań and Tatabï peoples, and southwards against the Chinese" (KT E 28), birigärü ... "southwards ..." (BK N 11); see B.

D. yirïγaru <*yïrïγaru "thitherwards, northwards" (<*yïrï): yirïγaru yir bayïrqū yirīñä tägi sūlädim "northwards I went on campaigns up to the land of Yir Bayïrqu" (KT S 4); see above.

E. yoq(q)aru "upwards" (<*yoqγaru; yoq "rise, upgrade"): yoq-(q)aru at yētä yadaγïn ïγač tutunu aγturtum " (then) I ordered them to ascend upwards on foot, leading the horses, and holding on to trees" (TI N 1).

F. yüg(g)ärü "upwards" (<*yüg; cf. Kaš. yügsä- "to rise, go up", Turk. yüksek "high"): olurtuquma öltäčičä sāqïnïγma türük bäglär bodun ägirip säbinip toñtamiš közī yüg(g)ärü körti "when I succeeded to the throne, the Turkish lords and people who were sorrowful as if they were to die became pleased and delighted, and their down-looking eyes looked upward" (BK E 2), qañïm īltēris qaγanïγ ögüm īlbilgä qatunuγ täñrī töpüsīntä tutup yüg(g)ärü kötürmis ärinč "(the Turkish god and the holy spirits) held my father, Ilteriš Kagan, and my mother, Ilbilgä Katun, at the top of heaven and raised them upwards" (KT E 11).

4. -ra/-rä (see Directive):

A. asra "downward, below" (<*as "the lowest part, bottom"): üzä kōk täñrī asra yaγïz yer qïlïntuqda "when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, ..." (KT E 1), üzä täñrī basmasar asra yir tälinmäsär "if the sky above did not col-

lapse, and if the earth below did not give way, ..." (KT E 22), üzä täñrī asra yer yarlïq(q)aduq üč(ün) ... "since Heaven above and Earth below were gracious (to me), ..." (BK N 10).

B. ičrä "in, inside, inward" (< ič "interior"): ičrä ašsïz tašra tōnsïz yabïz yablaq bodunta üzä olurtum "I became ruler over a poor and miserable people who were foodless in the inside and clothless on the outside" (KT E 26).

The word ičrä is also used attributively: apā tarqanyaru ičrä sab ïdmis "(but), he apparently sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan" (TI N 10).

The adjectival suffix -ki may be added to this word (see Word-Formatin): ičräki bädizči "court painters" (lit.: "painter being within") (KT S 12; BK N 14), (anta) ičräki nä kiši ... "all the people being in it ..." (BK E 28).

C. tašra "out, outside, outward" (< taš "exterior"): tašra yorïyur tīyin kū äsidip balïqdaqï tayïqmis taydaqï inmis tīrilip yetmis är bōlmis "having heard the news that (Ilteriš) was marching off, those who were in towns went up mountains and those who were on mountains came down (from there); they thus gathered and numbered to seventy men" (KT E 11-12); see above.

D. öñrä "forward, eastward" (<*öñ "front"): öñrä kün toysïqda "to the east at the sunrise ..." (KT E 4; BK E 5), öñrä tölīs bäglär apā tarqan bašlayu ulayu šadpït bäglär "to the east Tölis lords: Apa Tarkan at the head, following him šadpït lords" (BK S 13), öñrä qïtańïy ölürtäči tīr män "'to the east they will kill the Qïtań' I say" (TI S 3); see 3.2171.1°A.

The word öñrä may also be used attributively: öñrä türk qaγan-γaru sülälim "let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks" (TI E 3); cf. öñdün qaγanγaru sü yorïlïm "let us wage war against the Eastern Kagan (i.e., the kagan of the Eastern Turks)" (TI N 5).

The adjectival suffix -ki may be added to this word: öñräki är "soldiers marching in front" (TI N 1); see 3.2171.1°.

E. kisrä "backward, westward" (<*kis; cf. kirü "backward", Uig. kidin "in back, in the west, from the west", Kāš. ki "back"): kisrä tarduš bäglär kül čor bašlayu ulayu šadpït bäglär "to the west the Tardush lords: Kül Čor at the head, following him šadpït lords" (BK S 15); see 3.2171.1°.A.

5°. -ru/-rü (Directive):

A. kirü ~ kerü "backwards, westwards" (<*ki; cf. kisrä): il-gärü qadïrqan yišqa tägi kirü tämir qapïγqa tägi qonturmis "they settled (the Turkish people) eastwards up to the Qadïrqan Mountains and westwards as far as the Iron Gate" (KT E 2), kerü barïγ-ma bardï "those who meant to back went (back)" (O R 3), anta kerü barïp yinčü ögüzüg käčä tämir qapïγqa täzïkkä tägi sü(läp ...) "then he went westward; crossing over the Yinčü ("Pearl") River, he led the army as far as the Iron Gate and (the land of) the Täziks" (KČ E 4).

B. *bärü "hitherward, toward this place" in bärüki "being on this side": inäl qaγanqa (añïp) ... täzïk toqar ... anta (b)ärüki asuq baslïγ soγdaq bodun qop kälti yükünti "having feared, ... the Täziks, Tokharians, ... and the Sogdian people under Asuk (?Asok),

which are on this side (of the others), all came and submitted to Inäl Kagan" (TII S 1-2).

6°. -da/-dä (The locative-ablative suffix):

A. bunta "here, in this place" (see Demonstrative Pronouns): qaγan āt bunta biz bīrtimiz "it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan" (KT E 20), türük (bodun ti)rip īl tutsïqïñïn bunta urtum yañïlïp ölsikiñin yämä bunta urtum "(how you), O Turkish people, came to life and dominated (other tribes), this I have recorded here; and how you, having become faithless, perished, this, too, I have recorded here" (KT S 10-11).

B. anta "there, in that place" (see Demonstrative Pronouns): anta ańïγ kisī anča bošγurur ärmis "there the ill-willed persons apparently made harmful suggestions as follows" (KT S 7), ol sūg anta yōq qïšdïmïz "there we destroyed that army" (KT E 32), qaγanīn anta ölürtümiz īlīn altïmïz "there we killed their kagan and took their realm" (KT E 38), üküš öltäči anta tirilti "many people who were going to be killed there came to life (again)" (BK E 31), bäniñ bodunum anta ärür "my people will be there" (TI E 4), alpī ärdämī anta kūkädi "his heroism and manly qualities gained much fame there" (KČ W 4), etc.

Other adverbs of place are: tägrä "around" (<*tägir- "to surround"): yaγïmïz tägrä učuq täg ärti "our enemies were all around like peaks" (?) (TI S 1); qanï "where?", qantïn "from where?": see Interrogative Pronouns.

3.2172. Adverbs of Time

1°. The suffix -tüz. This adverbial suffix occurs only in

küntüz "during the day, by day" (< kün "day"; cf. Mong. dative-locative suffix -dur/-dür; also cf. Uig. -düri in öñdüri "in the east" < öñ "front, fore"): türük bodun üčün tün udımadım küntüz olurmadım "for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not relax by day" (BK E 22), ol sabıγ äsidip tün udısıqım kälmädi küntüz olursıqım kälmädi "after I heard these words, I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest by day" (TI S 5), tün udımatı küntüz olurmatı ... ısıg küčüg bırtım ök "without sleeping by night or getting rest by day, ... I have given my services (to my kagans and my people)" (TII E 1-2).

2. -n (The suffix of the instrumental case): qıšın "in winter", yazın "in spring", yayın "in summer", küzün "in fall": see Instrumental.

3. Other adverbs of time are amtı "now", bäñgü "forever": ılım amtı qanı "where is our (lit.: "my") state now?" (KT E 9), ol amtı aṅıγ yoq "they are not rebellious now" (KT S 3; BK N 2), ötükän yiš olursar bäñgü ıl tuta olurtači sän "if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains, you will live forever dominating the tribes" (KT S 8).

3.2173. Adverbs of Manner

The adverbs of manner are formed with the following suffixes:

1°. -tı/-ti, -dı/-di: ädgüti "well" (< ädgü "good"), qatıγdı ~ qatıγdi "hard, firmly" (<*qatıγ "hard, firm"), yegdi "better" (< yeg "better"), yaraqlıγdı "equipped with weapons" (< yaraqlıγ "armed, having weapons"): bu sabımın ädgüti äsid qatıγdı tiñla "hear these words of mine well, and listen to them carefully!"

(KT S 2), yā̈lmä qaryū ädgṻti ūrÿïl "place the vanguard and patrols properly" (TI N 10), qatïγdi sāqïntïm "I mourned deeply" (KT N 11), (īlig) törüg yēgdi qazγantïm "I arranged and organized (the state) and institutions better" (BK E 36), ïγar oγlanïñïzda tayγunuñïzda yēgdi igidür ärtigiz "you used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved children and descendants" (KT SE), oñ tutuq yurčīn yaraqlïγ äligin tutdï yaraqlïγdï qaγanqa ančuladï "(Prince Kül) took Governor Oñ's brother-in-law prisoner while he (i.e., the prisoner) had weapons in his hands and presented him to the kagan in (this) armed manner" (KT E 32).

2°. -ča/-čä (The equative suffix): ança "in that manner, so, as follows" (see Demonstrative Pronouns): ïraq bodunuγ ança yaγutīr ärmis "(the Chinese) are said to have caused remote peoples to come close in this manner" (KT S 5), ōzī ança kärgäk bōlmis "they thus passed away (lit.: "became lacking")" (KT E 3), bän ança tēr män "I say as follows" (TII W 2), etc. See Verbal Nouns.

3°. -n (The instrumental suffix): (yir sāyu) barmiš bodun ölü yitü yadaγïn yalïñïn yana kälti "(when I succeeded to the throne), the people who had gone in (almost) all directions, came back utterly exhausted, without horses and without clothes" (KT E 28), türüküma bodunuma (y)ēgin ança qazγanu bīrtim "for the benefit of my Turks and my people I have thus won victories in the best way" (BK S 10); see Instrumental (3.2148).

3.2174. Adverbs of Degree

The adverbs of degree or extent are qop "all, entirely", qopïn ~ qopin id., tükäti "completely, entirely", bunča "this much, this

many", anča "such, such a", näncä "so many, so much", buñsïz ~ buñsiz "abundantly, in abundance", qalïsiz "completely, wholly", kärgäksiz "in abundance", sānsïz "innumerably", üküš ~ üküs "many, exceedingly", antaγ "that much, so", ärtiñü "very, much", taqï "more", idi "never, by no means", kičig "little, less, least", näñ "any".

1°. qop "all, completely" (<*qo- "to leave, let remain" + -p; see Deverbal Nouns, 25°): tȫrt buluñ qop yaγï ärmis sü süläpän tȫrt buluñdaqï bodunuγ qop almis qop bāz qïlmis "(the peoples being in) the four quarters of (the world) were all hostile to them. Having marched with the armies, they conquered all the peoples in the four quarters of the world and subjugated all of them" (KT E 2), qarā türgis bodun qop ičikdi "the common Türgis people all submitted to (us)" (KT E 38), ärïn qop ölürmis "he killed all of their men" (KT N 1), kisï oγlï qop ölgäli törümis "human beings have all been created in order to die" (KT N 10), kül tigin yȫq ärsär qop öltäči ärtigiz "if Prince Kül had never existed, you all would have been killed" (KT N 10), etc.

2°. qopïn ~ qopin: See Instrumental (3.2148.3°).

3°. tükäti "completely" (< tükät- "to bring to an end" + -i; see Gerunds): sabïmïn tükäti äsidgil "hear my words completely!" (KT S 1), sabïmïn tükäti äsid id. (BK N 1).

4°. bunča: bunča qazγanïp (qañïm qayan ï)t yïl ȫnünč ay altï otuzqa uča bardï "after he had won so many victories, (my father, the kagan,) passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of the Dog Year (= 734 A.D.)" (BK S 10), (tab)γačqa bunča süñüsüp

alpīn ärdämīn üčün kü bunča tutdï "having fought these many times against the Chinese, (Küli Čor) gained this much fame by virtue of his courage and his manly qualities" (KČ W 12), män iniligü bunča bašlayu qazγanm(asar) türük bodun öltäči ärti "if I, together with (my) younger brother, had not led (the people) and had not gotten so many victories, the Turkish people would have been killed and perished" (BK E 33).

5°. anča: altun kümüs isgiti qutay buñsïz anča bïrür "they (i.e., the Chinese) give (us) gold, silver and silk abundantly" (KT S 5), anča ärig yertä bängü täš toqïtdïm "in such a frequented place I had the memorial stone (lit.: "eternal stone") inscribed" (KT S 13).

6°. nänčä: See Interrogative Pronouns (3.2154.2°).

7°. buñsïz ~ buñsiz "abundantly" (< buñ "want, deficiency" + -sïz): sarïγ altun örüñ kümüs qïz quduz ägri täbï aγï buñsiz kälürti "they brought (home) the yellow gold, and the white silver, girls and maidens, huncbacked camels and silk clothes in great abundance" (TII S 4); see above.

8°. qalïsiz "completely, all" (<*qalï "rest, remainder" + -sïz): ön oq bodunï qalïsiz tasïqdï "the army of the On-Ok has marched off, all to a man" (TI N 9), ön oq bodunï qalïsiz tasïqmis "the On-Ok people have marched off to a man" (TI N 6), äbïn barïmïn qalïsiz qop kälürti "he brought their properties and belongings without leaving anything behind" (KT N 1).

9°. kärgäksiz "in abundance" (< kärgäk "lacking, want" +-siz): bïr tümän aγï altun kümüš kärgäksiz kälürti "he brought an immeas-

urable quantity of cloths, gold and silver (in abundance)" (KT N 12), altun kümüs kärgäksiz kälürti "they brought gold and silver in abundance" (BK S 11).

10°. sānsïz "innumerably" (<*sān "number" + -sïz): ädgü özlik atïn qarā kïsïn kök täyäñïn sānsïz kälürüp qop qot(t)ï "they brought their good saddle-horses, their black sables and blue squirrels in an uncountable number and left them all" (BK S 12).

11°. üküš ~ üküs: See Indefinite Numerals (3.2165.3°).

12°. antaγ: antaγ külüg qaγan ärmis "so famous kagans were they" (KT E 4); see Postpositions.

13°. ärtiñü "very, much" (<*ärtin- "to exceed, pass the limit" + -gü): tür(gis qaγan) qïzïn ärtiñü uluγ törün oγluma alï bïrtim "with a very great wedding ceremony, I took the daughter of the Türgis kagan as a wife for my son" (BK N 10), ärtiñü (uluγ) törün "with a very great ceremony" (BK N 9), bunča matï bäglär qañïm qaγanqa ärtiñü ärtiñü tï maγ ï(tdi) "these many faithful lords magnified and glorified my father, the kagan, profoundly" (BK S 14-15), (t)ürük bäglärïn bodunïn ärtiñü tï maγ ïtdi ögd(i) "(my father, the kagan,) profoundly glorified and praised the Turkish lords and people" (BK S 15).

14°. taqï "more" (<*taq- "to affix, attach"): täñrï bilgä qaγanqa (t)aqï ïsig küčüg bërsägim bār ärmis "apparently I had a wish for giving my further services to the Sacred Bilgä Kagan" (O R 2).

15°. idi "never" (with negative): ötükän yišda yïg idi yōq ärmis "(I concluded:) a land better than the Ötükän Mountains does

not exist at all!" (KT S 4), ekīn āra idi oqsïz kök türük īti anča olurur ärmis "between the two (boundaries) they thus ruled organizing the Kök ("Blue") Turks who had no tribal organization at all" (BK E 4), türk sir bodun yerīntä idi yorïmazun "let the Turkish Sir people not make any progress at all in their land" (TI S 4), ūsar idi yōq qïsalïm "let us exterminate (them) completely, if possible" (TI S 4), üčägün qabïsïp sūlälim idi yōq qïsalïm "let us, we three, ally and wage war (against the Turkish kagan), and exterminate him" (TI E 4), türük bodun tämir qapïγqa tinsi oγlī aytïγma taγqa tägmis ärmis "the Turkish people had never reached the Iron Gate and the mountain called Tinsi oγlī ("the Son of Heaven")" (TII S 2-3), īltēris qaγan qazγanmasar yōq ärti ärsär bän ōzüm bilgä toñuquq qazγanmasar bän yōq ärtim ärsär qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerīntä bod yämä bodun yämä kisī yämä idi yōq ärtäči ärti "if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, had not won, or if I had never existed, in the land of Kapgan Kagan's Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor any human beings at all" (TII N 1-2).

16°. kičig "little, less, least": ilgärü šantuñ yazīqa tägi sūlädim taluγqa kičig tägmädim "I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung Plain; I almost reached the ocean" (KT S 3), birigärü toquz ärsinkä tägi sūlädim tüpūtkä kičig tägmädim "I went on campaigns southwards up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet" (KT S 3).

17°. näñ "any": ötūkän yir olurup arqïš tirkiš īsar näñ buñuγ

yōq "if you stay in the land of Ötükän and send caravans (from there), you will have no trouble at all" (KT S 8), näñ yïlsïγ bodunqa olurmadïm "I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people at all" (KT E 36).

The word näñ is also used attributively: näñ yerdäki qaγanlïγ bodunqa ... "if a people living anywhere and having a kagan ..." (TII E 6); with reduplication: näñ näñ sabïm ärsär bäñgü tāšqa ūrtum "I have recorded all words which I had to tell you on the memorial stone" (KT S 11). See Interrogative Adverb.

3.2175. Adverbs of Comparison

The only adverb of comparison used is añ "most": añ ilk toγu balïqda süñüšdümiz "first we fought at Toγu-Balïq" (KT N 4); the word ilk "first" may take the possessive suffix of the third person: añ ilkī "first of all, at first"; see Ordinal Numerals.

3.2176. Adverbs of Number

The adverbs of number or words which are so used are: baš̌layu "first, at first", ekīnti "secondly", yičä "again, anew", yana id., ulayu "first and foremost", añ ilk ~ añ ilkī "first, at first": bašlayu qïrqïz qaγanïγ balbal tikdim "first I erected (the statue of) the Kirgiz Kagan as a balbal" (KT E 25), qañïm qaγanqa bašlayu bāz qaγanïγ balbal tikmis "(my uncle, the kagan,) first erected (the statue of) Baz Kagan as a balbal for my father, the kagan" (KT E 16), sabïmïn tükäti äsidgil ulayu ini yägūnüm oγlanïm bīriki oγušum bodunum ... "hear my words completely, first of all you, my younger brothers and my sons, joining you my folks and relatives"

(KT S 1), äčim qaγan oḷurupan türük bodunuγ yičä īṭdi igit(t)i "having succeeded to the throne, my uncle, the kagan, organized and nourished the Turkish people anew" (KT E 16), (äčim qaγan) oḷurupan türük bodunuγ yičä īṭdi yičä igit(t)i "having succeeded to the throne, (my uncle, the kagan,) organized the Turkish people anew, and nourished them afresh" (BK E 14); yaγï bolup īṭinü yaratunu ūmaduq yana ičikmiš (KT: ičikmis) "they became hostile (to the Chinese emperor), but they could not form and organize themselves (i.e., the state) well, and therefore they again submitted to (the Chinese)" (BK E 9; KT E 10), qanīn qodup tabγačqa yana ičikdi "they abandoned their khan and submitted to China again" (TI W 2), anta yana kīrip ... "there (Prince Kül) again broke into (the enemy's lines) and ..." (KT E 38), qarā türgis bodunuγ anta ölürmiš aḷmiš yana yorïp ... "he killed (i.e., defeated) and subjugated the common Türgis people there. Having marched (forward) again, ..." (KT E 40), etc.

For ekīnti, üčünč "thirdly", and others see Ordinal Numerals.

3.2177. Adverbs of Affirmation

The only adverb of affirmation used is batï "indeed, certainly, of course": ārïγu batï yēg "to become tired is, of course, better" (TII W 2) (cf. Tuv. badï "faithful, true", badïḷa- "to affirm, assert"; also cf. matï "faithful, loyal" in KT S 11, BK S 13, BK S 14, BK N 8).

3.2178. The Interrogative Adverb

The interrogative adverb qačan "when" occurs in the compound

qačan (n)äñ "when, whenever" (TI E 3, N 5) - qačan (n)añ (TI E 4): qačan (n)äñ ärsär ol bizni ... ölürtäči kök "he will sooner or later kill us" (TI E 3-4), etc.

3.218. Postpositions

The postpositions are: āra, āša, ašru, birlä, ïnγaru, käčä, kisrä, qodï, ötrü, sāyu, tapa, täg, üčün, üzä. Most of these are of verbal origin. They govern various cases.

3.2181. Postpositions governing the nominative

1°. āra "between, among" (<*ār- "to go through, pass through, traverse, cross"; cf. Uig. ar- id., Kāš. arγula- "to pass through, break through", arquči "mediator", Uig. arquru "transversal, widthwise"): üzä kök täñrī asra yaγïz yer qïlïntuqda ekīn āra kisī oγlī qïlïnmis "when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two, human beings were created" (KT E 1), ekīn āra idi oqsïz kök türük īti anča olurur ärmis "between the two (boundaries) they thus ruled organizing the Kök ("Blue") Turks who had no tribal organization at all" (BK E 14), bu türük bodun āra yarïqlïγ yaγīγ yāltürmädim "I have not let any armored enemy ride among this Turkish people" (TII E 4), ekīn āra atig yaγī bōlmis "meanwhile, the Atig started hostilities" (O R 2), atig oγuz āra yēti ärän yaγī bōlmis "among the Atig and Oguz seven men started hostilities (against us)" (O F 5).

2°. āša "beyond" (< āš- "to climb over, pass over"): kögmän āša qïrqïz yirīñä tägi s(ülädimiz) "we went on campaigns up to the land of Kirgiz beyond Kögmän" (BK E 15).

3°. ašru "through" (<*ašur- "to pass over, go beyond"): ekī ärig ud ašru sančdï "(Prince Kül) stabbed two soldiers through the thighs" (KT E 36, N 2).

4°. birlä "with, in the company of" (<*biril- "to join"): alotuz yāšïma čik bodun qïrqïz birlä yaγī bolṭï "at my age of twenty-six, the Čik people, together with the Kirgiz, started hostilities (against us)" (BK E 26), inim kül tigin birlä sözläšdimiz "I and Prince Kül, my younger brother, consulted together" (KT E 26), o(γuz) bodun toquz tatar birlä tīrilip kälti "the Oguz people came being gathered together with the Tokuz-Tatar" (BK E 34), bilgä tońuquq boyla baγa tarqan birlä īltēris qaγan boluyïn ... "having become kagan in the company of Bilgä Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan, Ilteriš ..." (TI W 6-7), äčim qaγan birlä ilgärü yašïl ögüz šantuñ yazīqa tägi sülädimiz "together with my uncle, the kagan, we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River and the Shantung Plain" (KT E 17), etc.

The postposition birlä governs the accusative case of the possessive stems having the third person possessive suffix: qaγanīn birlä soña yišda süñüšdümiz "we fought against their kagan at the Soña Mountains" (KT E 35), qaγanīn birlä "against their kagan" (BK E 27).

5°. qodï "down, down along" (< qod- "to put down"): säläñä qodï yorïpan "having marched down along Selenga, ..." (BK E 37), ol sub qodï bardïmïz "we went down along that river" (TI N 3).

6°. käčä "beyond, across" (< käč- "to cross over, pass over"): käm käčä čik tapa sülädim "I went on a campaign against the Čik

beyond the Kem (River)" (BK E 26), aq tärmil käčä oγurqalatdïm "I let (the soldiers) warm their backs beyond Ak-Tärmil" (TI N 1), qurïγaru yinčü ögüz käčä tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädim "westwards I went on campaigns up to the Iron Gate beyond the Yinčü ("Pearl") River" (BK N 3).

7°. sāyu "every" (<*sā- "to count"): igidmiš qaγanïñïn sabïn almatïn yir sāyu bardïγ "you went in (almost) all directions without asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished (you)" (KT S 9), anta qalmišï yir sāyu qop toru ölü yorïyur ärtig "(of you), those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions" (KT S 9), yir sāyu barmiš bo(dun yadaγïn yalïñïn) ölü yitü (yana) kälti "the people who had gone in (almost) all directions came back utterly exhausted, without horses and without clothes" (BK E 22-23).

8°. tapa "toward, in the direction of" (<*tap- "to look for, seek, find"): bodunuγ igidäyïn tïyin yirïγaru oγuz bodun tapa ilgärü qïtań tatabï bodun tapa birigärü tabγač tapa uluγ sü ekï yegir(mi sülädim) "in order to nourish the people, I, with great armies, went on campaigns twelve times, northwards against the Oguz people, eastwards against the Qïtań and Tatabï peoples, and southwards against the Chinese" (KT E 28), yāzïña oγuz tapa sülädim "in the spring, I went on a campaign against the Oguz" (BK E 31-32), ekï otuz yāšïma tabγač tapa sülädim "at my age of twenty-two I went on a campaign against the Chinese" (BK E 25-26), etc.

9°. täg "like": qañïm qaγan süsï böri täg ärmis yaγïsï qoń täg ärmis "the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves,

and his enemies were like sheep" (KT E 12), täñrī täg täñrīdä bo̱l-miš türük bilgä qaγan "(I,) the Heaven-like and Heaven-born Bilgä ("Wise") Kagan of Turks" (KT S 1; BK N 1), täñrī täg täñrī yarat-miš türük bilgä qaγan sabïm "(I,) the Heaven-like and Heaven-born (lit.: "created by Heaven") Turkish Bilgä Kagan, these are my words" (BK E 1), yaγïmïz tägrä učuq täg ärti "our enemies were all around like peaks" (?) (TI S 1), umay täg ögüm qatun qutïña "by the good luck of my Umay-like mother, the katun" (KT E 31), ab ab-lasar äräm älā täg ärti "in hunting he resembled a huge hawk" (KČ W 9), ōz ičī tasïn tutmis täg biz "it seems as if we are holding the exterior with our own interior (i.e., with our own forces)" (TI S 6), körür közüm körmäz täg bilir biligim bilmäz täg boltï "my eyes which have always seen well became as if they were blind, and my mind which has always been conscious became as if it were unconscious" (KT N 10).

The postposition täg governs the accusative case of the possessive stems and pronouns: anta kisrä inisī äčisïn täg qïlïnma-duq ärinč oγlī qañïn täg qïlïnmaduq ärinč "then the younger brothers apparently did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons did not resemble their fathers" (KT E 5); antaγ - antäg (<*anï täg "similar to that, like that"): körüg sabī antaγ "the words of the scout were as follows" (TI S 2), tïlïγ kälürti sabī antaγ "they brought a man (from the enemy); his words were as follows" (TII W 1), türgis qaγanta körüg kälti sabī antäg "(meanwhile) a scout came from the Türgis kagan; his words were as follows" (TI N 5), antaγ ödkä ökünüp "having been discouraged under such circum-

stances" (KT E 40); substantively: antaγïñïn üčün "on account of your being so" (KT S 8; BK N 6); büntägī "such one as this" (TII E 7).

10°. üčün "for, because of, on account of, by virtue of, for the sake of": türük bodun üčün tün udïmadïm küntüz oḷurmadïm "for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not relax by day" (KT E 27).

The postposition üčün governs the accusative case of the pronouns and possessive stems: anï üčün ïlig anča tutmis ärinč "for that reason they kept the state under control in that way" (KT E 3), bēs baḷïq anï üčün ozdï "it is why Bishbalik escaped (from being destroyed)" (BK E 28), antaγïñïn üčün igidmiš qaγanïñïn sabïn alṃatïn yir sāyu bardïγ "on account of your being so, you went in (almost) all directions without asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished (you)" (KT S 8-9), kürägüñin üčün "because of your unruliness" (KT E 23; BK E 19), ol bilmädükügin üčün yabḷaqïñïn üčün äčim qaγan uča bardï "because of your unawareness and because of your mischievousness, my uncle, the kagan, met his death" (BK E 20), tabγač bodun täbligïn kürlüg(ïn) üčün "since the Chinese people were deceitful and tricky" (KT E 6), täñrī yir buḷγaqïn üčün yaγï bōḷtï "since Heaven and Earth were in disorder, they revolted against us" (KT N 4), ïltēris qaγan bilgäsïn üčün alpïn üčün tabγačqa yēti yegirmi süñüsdi qïtaṅqa yēti süñüsdi oγuzqa bēs süñüsdi "by virtue of his being wise and brave, Ilteriš Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese, seven times against the Qïtaṅ and five times against the Oguz" (TII S 4-5), alpïn är-

dämīn üčün kū bunča tutdï "he gained this much fame virtue of his courage and his manly qualities" (KČ W 12), (bi)lgāsīn üčün alpīn ärdämīn (üčü)n "by virtue of his wiseness, his courage and manly qualities ..." (KČ W 7); täñrī yarlïq(q)aduqīn üčün ... qaγan olurtum "by the grace of Heaven, ... I succeeded to the throne" (KT S 9), bilmädükīn üčün biziñä yañïltuqīn yāzïntuqīn üčün qaγanī ölti "on account of their foolishness and their being traitorous to us, their kagan was killed" (BK E 16), inilī äčilī kīñsürtükīn üčün bäglī bodunlīγ yoñšurtuqīn üčün "since (the Chinese people) created a rift between younger and elder brothers, and caused lords and peoples to slander one another" (KT E 6), qazγantuqīn üčün "since he won (lit.: "because of his having won")" (TII E 5), tägdükīn üčün "since they attacked (us)" (O R 2).

The word üčün is also used as a conjunction. See Conjunctions.

11°. üzä "over, above" (see Adverbs of Place, 1°.D): tōrt yegirmi yāšïmqa tarduš bodun üzä šad olurtum "at my age of fourteen I became šad over the Tardush people" (BK E 15), toquz oγuz bodun üzä qaγan olurtï "over the Tokuz-Oguz people a kagan has set himself (as ruler)" (TI S 2), altun yïs üzä qabïsalïm "let us come together at the Altun ("Gold") Mountains" (TI E 3), at üzä bīntürä qārïγ sökdüm "having ordered them to mount (their) horses, I made a way for us through the snow" (TI N 1).

This postposition also governs the locative-ablative case. See below.

3.2182. Postpositions governing the dative-locative

The only postposition which governs the dative-locative case

is tägi "up to" (< täg- "to touch, reach, arrive"): ilgärü qadïrqan yišqa tägi kirü tämir qapïγqa tägi qonturmis "they settled (the Turkish people) eastwards up to the Qadïrqan Mountains and westwards as far as the Iron Gate" (KT E 2), ilgärü šantuñ yazïqa tägi sülädim "eastwards I went on campaigns up to the Shantung Plain" (KT S 3), bunča yirkä tägi yorïtdïm "I have led the armies up to all these places" (KT S 4), täzïkkä tägi "up to the Täziks" (KČ E 4), kisrä kün batsïqïña tägi "westwards as far as the sunset" (O F 2), ilgärü yašïl ögüz šantuñ yazïqa tägi sülädimiz qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädimiz "we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River and the Shantung Plain, and westwards as far as the Iron Gate" (KT E 17), etc.

3.2183. Postpositions governing the locative-ablative case

1°. ötrü "after" (<*ötür- "to make pass, let pass"): anta ötrü qaγanïma ötüntüm "after that, I made my representations to my kagan"(TI S 5), anta ötrü oγuz qopin kälti "then the Oguz came all together" (TI S 9).

2°. kisrä "after" (see Adverbs of Place, 4°. E): yaγuru qontuqda kisrä aṅïγ bilig anta öyür ärmis "after (such a people) settled close to them, (the Chinese) are said to plan (their) ill will there" (KT S 5), ol qan yōq bōltuqda kisrä ēl yitmis ïčγïnmis "after that khan had died, the empire apparently went to ruin, collapsed and ..." (O F 1), anta kisrä "after that" (KT E 4, 5, 29, 34, 39; BK E 23, N 14; TI W 6).

3°. üzä "over; in accordance with" (see above): kisī oγlïnta üzä äčüm apām bumïn qaγan istämi qaγan olurmiš "over the human

beings, my ancestors Bumïn Kagan and Istämi Kagan became rulers" (KT E 1), (näñ y)ïlsïγ bodunta üzä olurmadïm "I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people" (BK E 21), ičrä ašsïz tašra tōnsïz yabïz yablaq bodunta üzä olurtum "I became ruler over a poor and miserable people who were foodless in the inside and clothless on the outside" (KT E 26), ol törüdä üzä äčim qayan olurtï "in accordance with that rule, my uncle succeeded to the throne" (KT E 16; BK E 14).

4°. ïnγaru "forward, further on" (cf. Uig. iñaru id.): türük bodun anta ïnγaru yōq bōltï "the Turkish people were extinguished from that (time) on" (MČ N 10).

3.2184. Postpositional Nouns

The noun yan "side, direction" also serves as a postposition. When used postpositionally, the word yan is an enclitic; that is, it forms a phonetic unit with the accented word preceding it.

1°. With the nominative of nouns: qañïm ... täñrikän yän anta yorïmis "my father ... (then) marched there, in the direction of Täñrikän" (O F 5).

2°. With the ablative of nouns: tabγač biridin yän täg qïtań öñdün yän täg bän yirïdïnta yan tägäyīn "(you), Chinese, attack (them) from the south (lit.: "from the direction of the south"), and (you), Qïtań, attack (them) from the east; I shall attack from the north" (TI S 4), qanta yan sabïγ yana kälti "from the Khan (lit.: "from the side of the khan") a message came back" (TI N 9).

3.219. Conjunctions

3.2191. Co-ordinate Conjunctions

The co-ordinate conjunctions or words which are so used are: āzu, artuqī, bīriki, taqï, udu, uḷayu, yämä. All of these conjunctions except artuqī are gerunds in -a, -ï and -u in origin.

1°. āzu "or" (= Tuv. azï id. < āz- "to go astray", Kāš. āz- id., Yak. ās- id.): āzu bu sabïmda igid bār yu "(I made the poor people wealthy and the few people numerous;) or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?" (KT S 10).

2°. artuqī "plus, and more" (< artuq "more, excess" + the 3rd person possessive suffix -ī): bunča barqïγ bädizig uzuγ ..... (bilgä q)aγan atïsī yoḷ(l)uγ tigin män ay artuqī tōrt kün (oḷu)rup bitīdim bädiztim "all these constructions, statues and pictures, and artistical works ..... I, Prince Yolluγ, Bilgä Kagan's nephew, inscribed and decorated, sitting down thirty-four days (lit.: "a month plus four days")" (BK SW), otuz artuqī bīr "thirty-one" (lit.: "thirty plus one") (BK S 9); see Cardinal Numerals (3.2161).

3°. bīriki "and" (lit.: "joining") (< bīrik- "to join, put together"): sabïmïn tükäti äsidgil uḷayu ini yägünüm oγḷanïm bīriki oγušum bodunum "hear my words from the beginning to the end, first of all (you), my younger brothers and my children, and my folks and relatives, ..." (KT S 1).

4°. taqï "and" in the compound anča-taqï ("moreover"): tu(nt) (?) ēl ärsär anča-taqï ärig yertä ïrsär anča ärig yertä bäñgü tāš toqïtdïm bitīd(d)im "since this is a central (?) place, and since it is situated in a much frequented territory, in such a frequented place I had the memorial stone inscribed and written" (KT S 13);

see Adverbs of Degree, 14°.

5°. udu "and" (lit.: "following") (< ud- "to follow"): ïltēris qaγan qazγanmasar udu bän ōzüm qazγanmasar ... "if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won, ..." (TII E 5), qazγantuqīn üčün udu ōzüm qazγantuqum üčün īl yämä īl bōltï bodun yämä bodun bōltï "since he won, and since (I) myself won, both the state has become a state, and the people a people" (TII E 5-6).

6°. ulayu "and" (lit.: "connecting") (< ula- "to unite, join, connect"): ögüm qatun ulayu öglärim äkälärim käliñünüm qunčuylarïm "my mother, the katun, and my stepmothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses ..." (KT N 9), ekī šad ulayu ini yägünüm oγlanïm bäglärim bodunum közī qāšī yablaq bōltači tīp sāqïntïm "I worried that the eyes and eyebrows of the two šads and of my younger brothers, my sons, my lords and my people could have been ruined (by weeping)" (KT N 11), tonyuquq boyla baγa tarqan ulayu buyruq ... "Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan and (other) high officials ..." (BK S 14), čor tigin kälip ulayu tōrt tigin kälip ... "Prince Čor came and four (other) princes came ..." (KČ E 12).

After a gerundial phrase terminated by bašlayu "leading, being at the head": kisrä tarduš bäglär kül čor bašlayu ulayu šadpït bäglär önrä tölīs bäglär apā tarqan bašlayu ulayu šad(pït) bäglär "to the west the Tardush lords, Kül Čor at the head, following him šadpït lords; to the east the Tölis lords, Apa Tarkan at the head, following him šadpït lords ..." (BK S 13), säbig kül irkin bašlayu ulayu buyruq "Säbig Kül Irkin at the head, following him (other) high officials ..." (BK S 14); see Adverbs of Number (3.2176).

7°. yämä "and, also, too" (<*yäm- "to add, attach"; cf. Mong. neme- id.; see Poppe, Verg., p. 38):

A. Alone: bilgä qaγan ärmis alp qaγan ärmis buyruqī yämä bilgä ärmis ärinč alp ärmis ärinč "wise kagans were they, brave kagans were they; their officials, too, were wise and brave" (KT E 3), qaγanī ölti buyruqī bäglärī yämä ölti "their kagan was killed; their officials and lords were also killed" (KT E 19; BK E 16), īl tutsïqïñïn bunta urtum yañïlïp ölsikiñin yämä bunta urtum "I have recorded here: how you should dominate (other) tribes; and I have also recorded here: how you would (otherwise) perish by being unfaithful (to your kagan)" (KT S 10-11), ōn oq sūsīn sūlätdim biz yämä sūlädimiz "I ordered the On-Ok ("Ten-Arrows") army to march off. We, too, marched off" (TII W 8-9), ögüzkä tüsdi yańduq yōlta yämä ölti kök "they were poured into the river. Those who were put to rout were also killed on the way (while they were trying to escape)" (TI S 9), īsig kūčüg bērtim ök uzun yālmäg yämä ït(t)ïm oq "I have given my services (to my kagans and my people). I have also sent them forward on far expeditions" (TII E 2).

B. Repeatedly: ... yämä ... yämä "both ... and ...": bäglärī yämä bodunī yämä tüz ärmis "both the lords and peoples were peaceable" (KT E 3), kün yämä tūn yämä yālü bardïmïz "we went on riding at a gallop by day and by night" (TI N 3), anta ayγuči(sī) yämä bän ök ärtim yaγ(ïčisī) yämä bän ök ärtim "there it was I who was his counselor, and it was I who was his wartime leader" (TII S 5-6), īl yämä bodun yämä yōq ärtäči ärti "(if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won,) there would have been neither

the state nor the people" (TII E 4-5), qazγantuqīn üčün udu özüm qazγantuqum üčün īl γämä īl bōltï bodun γämä bodun bōltï "since he won, and since (I) myself won, both the state has become a state, and the people a people" (TII E 6), (türk bodun γämä) bulγanč (o)l (tēm)is oγuzī γämä tarqïnč ol tēmis "(both the Turkish people) is in disorder and the Oguz, their subjects, are displeased with (them)" (TI E 5), ol sabīn äsidip tün γämä udïsïqïm kälmäz ärti (kün γämä) olursïqïm kälmäz ärti "after I had heard these words, I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest (by day)" (TI E 5).

C. The conjunction γämä may be repeated three times: qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerīntä bod γämä bodun γämä kisī γämä idi yōq ärtäči ärti "(if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk had not won, or if I had never existed,) in the land of Kapgan Kagan's Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings at all" (TII N 2).

3.2192. Subordinate Conjunctions

The subordinate conjunctions or words which function as such are: üčün, tēyin ~ tīyin, tīp.

1°. üčün "since, as, because" (see Postpositions, 10°) connects a predicative construction, which substitutes for a subordinate clause, to another clause, on which it depends: qutum bār üčün ülügüm bār üčün öltäči bodunuγ tirgürü igit(t)im "since I had (lit.: "have") fortune and since I had good luck, I brought the people to life who were going to perish, and nourished them" (KT E

29), qutum ülügüm bār üčün "since I had fortune and good luck, ..." (BK E 23), bäglärī bodunī tüzsiz üčün ... türük bodun īllädük īlīn ïčγïnu īdmiš qaγanladuq qaγanīn yitürü īdmiš "since the lords and tribes were not peaceful, ... the Turkish people caused the state which they had established to go to ruin, and let their kagan whom they had crowned collapse" (BK E 6-7), män özüm qaγan olurtuqum üčün türük bodunuγ ... qïlmadïm "since I myself succeeded to the throne, I did not make the Turkish people ..." (BK E 36), täñrī yarlïq(q)aduq üčün män qazγantuq üčün türük bodun qazγ(anmiš ärï)nč "since Heaven was gracious and since I (myself) got victories, the Turkish people got victories" (BK E 33), etc.

2°. tēyin ~ tīyin "because; in order to, for the purpose of" (lit.: "saying") connects a clause of cause or purpose to a main clause: arqïš īdmaz tīyin sülädim "I went on a campaign (against them) because they did not send caravans (with tribute)" (BK E 25), soγdaq bodun ītäyīn tīyin yinčü ögüzüg käčä tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädimiz "in order to organize the Sogdian people we went on a campaign as far as the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River" (KT E 39), bodunuγ igidäyīn tīyin ... uluγ sü ekī yegir(mi sülädim) "in order to nourish the people, I went on campaigns twelve times with great armies" (KT E 28), etc.

3°. tīp "in order to, with the intention of" (lit.: "saying"): anï añïtayīn tīp sülädim "in order to frighten them I started a campaign (against them)" (BK E 41).

3.2110. Particles

3.21101. The Particle oq/ök

This particle emphasizes the meaning of the word which precedes it. This word may be:

1°. a pronoun: anta ayγučī(sī) yämä bän ök ärtim yaγ(ïčisī) yämä bän ök ärtim "there it was I who was his counselor, and it was I who was his wartime leader" (TII S 5-6), bilgäsī čabïsī bän ök ärtim "it was I who was his counselor and his aide-de-camp" (TI W 7), ol oq tün bodunïn sayu ït(t)ïmïz "that very night we sent a message to their peoples" (TII W 7), anta kisrä täñrī bilig bertük üčün özüm ök qaγan qïsdïm "then, since Heaven granted (me) insight, I myself made (him) kagan" (TI W 6).

2°. an adverb: biriyä tabγačïγ öñrä qïtańïγ yïrïya oγuzuγ üküs ök ölürti "to the south he killed the Chinese, to the east the Qïtań, and to the north the Oguz in great numbers" (TI W 7).

3°. a finite verb: tün udïmatī küntüz olurmatī qïzïl qānïm töküti qarā tärim yügürti ïsig küčüg bertim ök "without getting sleep by night or rest by day, and shedding my red blood and sweating my black sweat, I have given my services (to my kagan and people)" (TII E 1-2), uzun yälmäg yämä ït(t)ïm oq arquy qaryūγ ulγartdïm oq "I have sent the army forth on far campaigns; I have increased the fortifications and watch-towers" (TII E 2-3).

3.21102. The Particle kök

The particle kök occurs after finite verbs and denotes that the action has been or will definitely be performed: ol bizni ... qačan (n)añ ärsär ölürtäči kök "(the kagan of the Turks), sooner or later, will definitely kill us" (TI E 3-4), qačan (n)äñ ärsär bizni ölürtäči kök "he, sooner or later, will definitely kill us"

(TI N 5-6), yańduq yōlta yämä ölti kök "those who were routed and dispersed were also killed in flight" (TI S 8), bini oγuzuγ ölürtäči k(ök) tīr män "'they will definitely kill us, the Oguz' I say" (TI S 3-4).

3.21103. The Particle ärinč

This particle expresses a strong probablity and is translated as "apparently, certainly, indeed". It generally occurs with the past tense suffix -miš ~ -mis. It rarely occurs with the past tense suffixes -dï and -duq. The particle ärinč also occurs with the nominal predicate.

1°. With the past tense in -miš ~ -mis: buyruqī yämä bilgä ärmis ärinč alp ärmis ärinč "their officials, too, were apparently wise and brave" (KT E 3), anta kisrä inisī qaγan bōlmis ärinč oγlïtī qaγan bōlmis ärinč "then, certainly the younger brothers became kagans, and the sons became kagans" (KT E 4-5), biligsiz qaγan olurmis ärinč yablaq qaγan olurmis ärinč "(therefore,) apparently unwise kagans succeeded to the throne, and bad kagans succeeded to the throne" (KT E 5), buyruqī yämä biligsiz (ärmis) ärinč yablaq ärmis ärinč "apparently their officials, too, were unwise and bad" (KT E 5), täñrī bilgä qaγanqa (t)aqï īsig kūčüg bērsägim bār ärmis ärinč "apparently I had a wish for giving my services to the sacred Bilgä Kagan" (O R 2), ičikdük üčūn täñrī ölütmis ärinč "as a punishment for this submission Heaven apparently caused them to be killed" (TI W 3), etc.

2°. With the past tense in -dï: (özümin ol täñrī) qaγan olurtdï ärinč "(in order that the name and fame of the Turkish people

would not perish,) apparently that Heaven enthroned me" (KT E 26), üzä täñrī ïduq yer sub (äčim q)ayan qutī taplāmadï ärinč "Heaven above, the sacred Earth and Water (below), and the soul of my uncle, the kagan, apparently did not like it" (BK E 35), yüg(g)ärü kötürti ärinč "they raised (my father and mother) upwards" (BK E 10), täñrī umay ïduq yer sub basa bērti ärinč "Heaven, Umay, and the sacred Earth and Water apparently favored us" (TII W 3).

3°. With the past tense in -duq: anta kisrä inisī äčisīn täg qïlïnmaduq ärinč oγlī qañīn täg qïlïnmaduq ärinč "afterwards, the younger brothers apparently did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons apparently did not resemble their fathers" (KT E 5).

4°. With nominal predicate: barduq yirdä ädgüg ol ärinč "in the lands to which you went, this was your (only) benefit:" (KT E 24; BK E 20).

3.21104. The Particle γu/gü

This is an interrogative particle: āzu bu sabïmda igid bār γu "or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?" (KT S 10), bödkä körügmä bäglär gü yañïltači siz "you lords, you who have so far been obedient to the throne, are you going to betray?" (KT S 11).

3.21105. The Particle mu/mü

This is an interrogative particle, too: qaγan mu qïsayīn tēdim "shall I make (him) kagan? said I" (TI W 5).

This particle may be followed by the pronoun nä (see Interrogative Pronouns, 2°).

3.21106. The particle a/ä

The particle a/ä is an interjection of address: bäglärim ä tēr ärmis biz az biz tēyin qorq(mañ) "O my lords!' he said, 'do not fear because of our being few!'" (O F 7).

3.22. Verb Inflection

Verb forms fall roughly into three classes: verbal nouns, gerunds, and finite forms.

3.221. Verbal Nouns

The verbal nouns have all characteristic of nouns. They are inflected exactly as nouns. On the other hand, they are verbal forms; they denote the process of an action (action nouns), or the actor (agent nouns). Most of the verbal nouns are also used as attributes (participles). Some of them can serve as predicates of completed sentences.

3.2211. Verbal Noun in -ɣu/-gü

The verbal noun in -ɣu/-gü functions as an action noun: ārïɣu "exhaustion, fatigue": ārïɣu batï yēg "to become exhausted is, of course, better" (TII W 2); kürägü "unruliness": kürägüñin üčün "on account of your being unruly" (KT E 23).

The verbal noun in -ɣuluq/-gülük (< -ɣu + -luq), too, functions as an action noun (cf. Khwar. -maqlïq/-mäklik: Eckmann, Fund., p. 126): yuyqa qalïn bōlsar toplaɣuluq alp ärmis yinčgä yoɣun bōlsar üzgülük alp ärmis "if thin becomes thick, it is difficult to bend it, and if tender becomes hard it is difficult

to break it, they say" (TI S 6-7).

The verbal noun in -γučі/-güčі (< -γu + -či) functions as an agent noun: ayγučі "counselor, chief executive" (TI S 3, E 4, N 5, TII S 5), barq ītgüči "builder, architect" (KT N 13), bitīg tāš ītgüči "tombstone maker" (KT N 13).

3.2212. Verbal Noun in -maq/-mäk

The verbal noun in -maq/-mäk (= Mong. -maγ/-meg) functions as an action noun: armaq "the act of deceiving" in armaqči "a deceitful person".

The verbal noun in -maqči/-mäkči functions as an agent noun: tabγač bodun ... armaqčisīn üčün "since the Chinese people were deceitful persons, ..." (KT E 6).

3.2213. Verbal Noun in -sïq/-sik

The verbal noun in -sïq/-sik has a future-necessitative meaning. It functions:

1°. as a noun: āčsïq "the necessity of being hungry in the future" (KT S 8; BK N 6), tosïq "the necessity of being satiated in the future" (KT S 8; BK N 6), tün udısïqïm kälmädi küntüz olursïqïm kälmädi "I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest by day" (TI S 5), tün yämä udısïqïm kälmäz ärti (kün yämä) olursïqïm kälmäz ärti id. (TI E 5), īl tutsıqïñïn bunta urtum yañïlïp ölsikiñin yämä bunta urtum "I have recorded here: how you should dominate (other) tribes; and I have also recorded here: how you would (otherwise) perish by being unfatithful (to your kagan)" (KT S 10-11); kün toγsïq (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5, 8; KT S 2) -

kün toγsïqī (O F 2) "sunrise" (lit.: "the rising of the sun"), kün batsïq (KT N 12) ~ kün batsïqī (KT S 2; BK N 2; O F 2) "sunset" (lit.: "the going down of the sun").

2°. as a verbal adjective: īl tutsïq yir "the territory from which the tribes should be ruled" (KT S 4).

The verbal noun in -sïq/-sik is also used predicatively (see Finite Forms).

3.2214. The Participle in -γma/-gmä

The participle in -γma/-gmä ("one who does, one who has done") is used as an attribute: qañïm qaγanïγ ögüm qatunuγ kötürügmä (KT: kötürmiš) täñrī "Heaven who had raised my father, the kagan, and my mother, the katun" (KT E 25; BK E 20-21), īl bīrigmä täñrī "Heaven who had granted the state" (KT E 25), bödkä körügmä bäglär "the lords who are obedient to this throne" (KT S 11), öltäčičä sāqïnïγma türük bäglär bodun "the Turkish lords and people who were sorrowful as if they were to die" (BK E 2), tinsi oγlī aytïγma taγ "the mountain called Tinsi oγlī ("the Son of Heaven")" (TII S 2-3), ilgärü (barïγma) bardïγ qurïγaru barïγma bardïγ "those who meant to go to the east went, and those who meant to go to the west went" (BK E 19-20), ičikigmä ičikdi bodun bōlṭï ölügmä ölti "those who meant to submit submitted (to me) and became a people, those who meant to die died" (BK E 37), yēti yūz kisīg uduzuγma uluγī šad ärti "he who led the seven hundred men as their chief was a šad" (TI W 4-5), bädiz yaratïγma "one who does artistical work, painter, sculptor" (KT N 13), bu bitīg bitīgmä atïsī yol-(l)uγ t(igin ...) "the one who inscribed these inscriptions is his

nephew, Yolluγ Tigin ("Prince Yolluγ")" (KT S 13).

The participle in -γma/-gmä does not occur in predicative function.

3.2215. The Participle in -r, -ar/-är, -ïr/-ïr, -ür/-ür

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffix as -ür/-ür: bā-y-ür, ö-y-ür, yaša-y-ür, yorï-y-ür; but tï-r ~ tē-r, yasa-r (cf. IB: yi-y-ür, but tï-r). Monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant take the suffix either as -ür/-ür, or as -ïr/-ïr, or as -ar/-är: bar-ur (KT N 1; BK E 29) ~ bar-ïr (KT E 10), bïr-ür, är-ür, kïr-ür, kör-ür, qal-ur, qorq-ur; bil-ir, käl-ir, täg-ir (IB); ït-är, täz-är, bat-ar (MČ E 1). Polysyllabic stems generally take the suffix as -ür/-ür: bošγur-ür, igid-ür, qazγan-ür, olur-ür, sāqïn-ür; but kälür-ïr (TII E 3), yaγut-ïr (KT S 5; BK N 4), tasïq-ar (MČ E 5).

This participle denotes actions which take place at present: körür közüm körmäz täg bilïr biligim bilmäz täg bōltï "my seeing eyes became as if they did not see, and my grasping mind became as if it did not grasp" (KT N 10); ärür barür "one who acts freely and independently" (see Thomsen, Turcica, p. 62 ff.). This combination is used with the auxiliary ärkli "being": kül tigin yïti otuz yāšïña qarluq bodun ärür barür ärkli yaγï bōltï "when Prince Kül was twenty-seven years old, the Karluk people became an enemy who began to act freely and independently" (KT N 1), otuz artuqï bïr yāšïma qarluq bodun buñsïz (är)ür barür ärkli yaγï bōltï "at my age of thirty-one, the Karluk people became an enemy who began to act freely and fearlessly" (BK E 29); üzä t(äñrï) köbürgäsï ätärčä "as if the bridge of Heaven above thunders" (BK W 3-4),

öñräki är yoγurča (for *yoγururča) ïdïp ï bār baš āsdïmïz "having sent the vanguard forward as if kneading (the snow), we climbed over the wooded peak" (TI N 1-2).

The word bār "exists, existing, there is/are" is, in origin, a participle in -r: bār <*bā-r (cf. Mong. bayi- "to be, exist, have"): ï bār baš "the wooded hill" (lit.: "forest-existing top") (TI N 2).

The participle in -r mainly occurs in predicative function. See Finite Forms.

3.2216. The Participle in -maz/-mäz

The participle in -maz/-mäz is the negative of the above-mentioned participle. It is used attributively and predicatively: bilig bilmäz kisī "you unwise people" (lit.: "people who do not know knowledge") (KT S 7), bilmäz biligin "with ignorance" (lit.: "with a mind which does not comprehend") (KČ S 3); see above.

For its occurrence in predicative function see Finite Forms.

3.2217. Verbal Noun in -duq/-dük

After the sonorants l, n and r (with the exception of bar- "to go") the suffix occurs as -tuq/-tük (see Dissimilation of Consonants). This verbal noun functions as follows:

1°. As an action noun: biltükümün ödükümün bunča bitīg bitī-dim "with what I know and remember, I have inscribed all these inscriptions" (KČ S 3), bilmädükügin üčün "on account of your having not known" (BK E 20), qazγantuqīn üčün "since he won" (lit.: "because of his having won") (TII E 5), täñrī yarlïq(q)aduqīn üčün

... qaγan oḷurtum "by the grace of Heaven, ... I succeeded to the throne" (KT S 9), bilmädükīn üčün biziñä yañïltuqīn yāzïntuqīn üčün qaγanī ölti "on account of their foolishness and their having been traitorous to us, their kagan was killed" (BK E 16), oḷurtuquma öltäčičä sāqïnïγma türük bäglär bodun ägirip säbinip toñtamiš közī yüg(g)ärü körti "when I succeeded to the throne, the Turkish lords and people, who were sorrowful as if they were to die, became pleased and glad, and their down-looking eyes looked upwards" (BK E 2), (qañïm) qaγan učduqda "when my father, the kagan, passed away" (BK E 13-14), bunča īsig küčüg bīrtükgärü sāqïnmatī "without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese)" (KT E 10), yańduq yōḷta yämä ölti kök "those who were routed and dispersed were also killed in flight" (TI S 8), etc.

2°. As a past participle: barduq yirdä ädgüg oḷ ärinč "in the lands to which you went this was your (only) benefit:" (KT E 24; BK E 20), türük bodun īllädük īlīn ïčγïnu īdmis qaγanḷaduq qaγanīn yitürü īdmis "the Turkish people caused their state which they had established to go to ruin, and let their kagan whom they had crowned collapse" (KT E 6), közün körmädük qulqaqın äsidmädük bodunum "my people in such numbers as have not been seen by eye and have not been heard by ear (before)" (BK N 11), sančduq yer "the place where (we) pierced (the enemy)" (MČ W 7).

This verbal noun also functions as predicate. See Finite Forms.

3.2218. Verbal Noun in -miš ~ -mis (in MČ also -mïs)

This verbal noun functions as follows:

1°. As an action noun: türük bodun tämir qapïγqa tinsi oγlī aytïγma taγqa tägmis idi yōq ärmis "the Turkish people had never (before) reached the Iron Gate and the mountain called Tinsi oγlī ("the Son of Heaven")" (TII S 2-3), türk bodun q(ïlïnγal)ï türk qaγan oluṛγalï santuñ balïq(q)a taluy ögüzkä tägmis yōq ärmis "the Turkish people and the Turkish kagan had never reached the towns of Shantung (Plain) and the ocean since they were created and since he (i.e., the first Turkish kagan) was enthroned" (TI E 1) (lit.: "their reaching did not exist").

2°. As a past participle: ēlsirämis qaγansïramis bodun "the people who have become stateless and rulerless" (KT E 13), yir sāγu barmis bo(dun) "the people who had gone in (almost) all directions" (BK E 22), igidmiš qaγan "the kagan who has nourished (you)" (BK N 6), äčümiz apāmïz tutmis yir sub "the lands which were owned and ruled by our ancestors" (KT E 19), (qañïmïz) äčimiz qazγanmiš bodun "the peoples who were conquered by our father and uncle" (BK E 22), anta qalmišī yir sāγu qop toru ölü yorïγūr ärtig "(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions" (KT S 9), ïda tāšda qalmisī qubranïp yēti yüz bōltï "those who had remained in woods and wilderness came together and amounted to seven hundred" (TI W 4), yaγmisī bän ärtim "it was I who joined him" (TI W 5), etc.

For its occurrence in predicative function see Finite Forms.

3.2219. The Participle in -dači/-däči

The future participle in -dači/-däči (after l, n and r: -tači

/-täči) is used attributively and predicatively (see Finite Forms): öltäči bodunuγ tirgürü igit(t)im "I brought the people to life who were going to die, and nourished (them)" (KT E 29), üküš öltäči anta tirilti "many people who were going to die there came to life (again)" (BK E 31), ekī üč biñ sümiz kältäčimiz bār mu nä "we probably have two or three thousand men to come (lit.: "our army, our ones who will come")" (TI S 7), öltäčičä "like those who are going to die" (BK E 2).

3.22110. ärkli

The participle in -γlï/-gli does not occur in the inscriptions. The suffix -γlï/-gli is found only in the petrified form ärkli (<*ärgli < är-igli) "being, that which is": yuyqa ärkli toplaγalï učuz ärmis yinčgä ärkli-g üzgäli učuz "that which is thin is easy to bend, they say; that which is tender is easy to break, (they say)" (TI S 6), ärür barür ärkli "one who is free and independent" (KT N 1).

For the gerundial function of ärkli see below.

3.222. Gerunds

The gerunds or converbs are those verb forms which function only as adverbs and adverbial complements.

3.2221. The Gerund in -a/-ä, -ï/-i, -u/-ü

With -a/-ä: aš-a (KT E 21; BK E 27) - as-a (TII W 2), bas-a (BK E 32; TII W 3), bïntür-ä (TI N 1), ägir-ä (BK E 31; KT N 6), käč-ä (KT E 37, etc.), oz-a (KT N 7; BK E 31), sanč-a (KČ E 7), sür-ä (KT E 23; BK E 19), tïd-a (KT N 11), tik-ä (BK S 9, 11),

toγ-a (KT E 35, 37; BK E 27), tut-a (KT E 1, S 8; BK E 3), uč-a (KT E 16, SE; BK E 20, S 10), yan-a (KT E 28; TI N 9), yaṅ-a (KT E 23; BK E 19, 31), yēt-ä (TI N 1).

With -ï/-i: artat-ï (KT E 22; BK E 19), ïčγïn-ï (O F 2) (~ ïčγïn-u), īt-i (KT E 1, etc.), töküt-i (TII E 2), ud-ï (TII W 6) (~ ud-u), yügürt-i (TII E 2), yüzüt-i (BK E 30).

With -u/-ü: adrïl-u, ay-u, bašad-u, bašla-y-u, bōl-u, bulγa-y-u, buntat-u (TI E 2), äbir-ü (BK E 25; TI N 2, 4), ärt-ü (TII W 9), äsid-ü, ïčγïn-u (KT E 6; BK E 7) (~ ïčγïn-ï), irtür-ü, ītin-ü, qazγan-u, qïl-u, kör-ü, küzäd-ü, opla-y-u, opul-u, ōntür-ü, sa-y-u "informing" (TII W 7), si-y-u, sülä-y-ü, topul-u, tor-u, öl-ü, tutun-u, yaγur-u, yantur-u, yaratun-u, yat-u, yāl-ü, yē-y-ü ~ yī-y-ü (TI S 1), yit-ü, yitür-ü, yoγur-u (BK SE; TI S 8), yōqad-u, yubul-u (TI N 2), tirgür-ü (KT E 29).

Function: to denote actions simultaneous with the main action, to form adverbial complements: ol yïlqa türgis tapa altun yišïγ āš-a (är)tis ögüzüg käč-ä yorï(dïm) "in that year, I marched against the Türgis, climbing over the Altun Mountains and crossing over the Irtish River" (BK E 27), altun yïsïγ ās-a kältimiz ärtis ögüzüg käč-ä kältimiz "we have come (this far), by climbing over the Altun Mountains, and we have come (this far), by crossing over the Irtish River" (TII W 2), küli čor tarduš bodunuγ īt-i ay-u olurtï "Küli Čor reigned organizing and ruling the Tardush people" (KČ E 2), qïzïl qānïm töküt-i qarā tärim yügürt-i īsig kūčüg bērtim ök "shedding my red blood and sweating my black sweat, I have given my services (to my kagan)" (TII E 2), anta qalmišī yir sāyu

qop tor-u öl-ü yorïγūr ärtig "(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in all directions" (KT S 9)(lit.: "being exhausted and dying"), inim kül tigin birlä ekī šad birlä öl-ü yit-ü qazγantïm "together with my younger brother, Prince Kül, and together with the two šads, I worked to death and I won" (KT E 27), közdä yāš kälsär tīd-a köñültä siγït kälsär yantur-u sāqïntïm "when tears came down from the eyes, I mourned by holding them back, and when wails came out from the heart, I mourned by turning them back" (KT N 11), yoq(q)aru at yēt-ä yadaγïn ïγač tu-tun-u aγturtum "(then) I ordered them to ascend upwards on foot, pulling the horses after them, and holding on to the trees" (TI N 1), ūsïn buntat-u yurtda yat-u qalur ärti "(the kagan), having not been able to sleep enough, was stuck at the campsite" (TI E 2) (buntat- "to make insufficient"; cf. Mong. mungda- "to become insufficient"), etc.

The verbal complement of most auxiliary and descriptive verbs is a gerund in -a/-ä, -ï/-i or -u/-ü: qazγan-u bïr- "to conquer for the benefit of someone else", artat-ï ū- "to be able to destroy"; see Compound Verbs (3.1223).

Most of the postpositions and conjunctions are gerunds in -a/-ä, -ï/-i or -u/-ü: tägi "up to" (< täg-i "reaching, touching"), āzu "or" (< āz-u "going astray"); see Postpositions, Conjunctions.

Negative stems with the suffixes -a/-ä, -ï/-i and -u/-ü are not attested.

3.2222. The Gerund in -p

This gerund denotes actions which take place before the main

action: toquz oγuz bodun yerīn subīn ïd-ïp tabγačγaru bardï "the Tokuz-Oguz people left their land and went toward China" (lit.: "leaving their lands and waters, the Tokuz-Oguz people went toward China") (BK E 35), amγa qorγan qïšḷa-p yāzīña oγuzγaru sū tašïqdï-mïz "having spent the winter at Amga-Korgan, in spring, we marched off against the Oguz" (KT N 8), süčīg sabïn yimšaq aγīn ar-ïp ïraq bodunuγ anča yaγutīr ärmis "deceiving by means of their sweet words and soft materials, (the Chinese) are said to cause remote peoples to come close (to them) in this manner" (KT S 5), buñad-ïp qaγan yālü kör tēmis "having become utterly bored, the kagan said: 'ride fast!'" (TI N 2), ūruš qïḷ-ïp täg-ip inimä oγḷuma anča ötlä-dim "after I had fought and reached (home), I advised my younger brothers and my sons as follows" (O R 2-3), bilig bilmäz kisī oḷ sabïγ aḷ-ïp yaγuru bar-ïp üküš kišī öltüg "having heard these words, you unwise people went close to (the Chinese) and were (consequently) killed in great numbers" (KT S 7); aγït-ïp "having put to flight" (KT N 7; KČ E 7), aγrï-p "having become sick" (BK S 9), aḷ-ïp, artur-up "having been deceived" (KT S 6; BK N 5), āš-ïp (BK S 1), ayt-ïp, bar-ïp, bīn-ip, bōḷ-up, ägir-ip "havinf surrounded" (KT N 7), ägir-ip "having been pleased" (BK E 2), äsid-ip "having heard", īt-ip, qabïs-ïp (<*qabïš-), qazγan-ïp, qïz-ïp, qobsar-ïp "having grieved" (KČ S 2), qod-up, qubran-ïp, käč-ip, käl-ip, kälür-üp, kīr-ip, kör-üp, oḷur-up, ökün-üp, ölür-üp, ötü-n-üp, sanč-ïp, säbin-ip, sūlä-p, süñüs-üp (< süñüš-), täz-ip, tï-p, tiril-ip "having come together" (KT E 12, etc.), tut-up, yañïl-ïp, yarat-ïp, yań-ïp, yïγ-ïp, yorï-p, yasa-p (< yaša-) (KČ

W 3).

3.2223. The Gerund in -pan/-pän

This gerund is an enlarged variety of the gerund in -p: bunča bodun käl-ipän sïγtāmiš yoγlāmiš "these many people came and mourned and lamented" (BK E 5), olur-upan "having succeeded to the throne" (KT E 1; BK E 3), sü sülä-pän tört buluñdaqï bodunuγ qop almis qop bāz qïlmis "having marched with the armies, they conquered all the peoples in the four quarters (of the world) and subjugated all of them" (KT E 2), yaraqlïγ qantïn kälip yaña eltdi süñüglüg qantïn käl-ipän sürä eltdi "from where did the armed come and put you to flight? from where did the lancer come and drive you away?" (KT E 23), süñüg batïmï qārïγ sök-üpän kögmän yišïγ toγa yo(rïp) qïrqïz bodunuγ ūda basdïm "having made a way for us through the lance-deep snow, we marched up over the Kögmän Mountains and fell upon the Kirgiz people while they were asleep" (BK E 26-27), tabγač ātïn tut-upan "having held the Chinese titles" (KT E 7), säläñä qodï yorï-pan "having marched down along Selenga" (BK E 37).

3.2224. The Gerund in -yïn/-yin (< -y-ïn/-y-in)

This gerund occurs very seldom. Its function is the same as that of the gerund in -a/-ä, etc. (cf. Kipch. gerund in -y, and Chag. gerund in -may/-mäy and in -mayïn/-mäyin): bilgä toñuquq boyla baγa tarqan birlä ïltēris qaγan bol-uyïn biriyä tabγačïγ öñrä qïtañïγ yïrïya oγuzuγ üküs ök ölürti "having become kagan in the company of Bilgä Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan, Ilteriš killed

the Chinese to the south, the Qïtań to the east, and the Oguz to the north in great numbers" (TI W 6-7), türk bodun qanīn bulma-yin tabγačda adrïltï "having not found their kagan, the Turkish people were parted from the Chinese (and got themselves a kagan)" (TI W 2).

The word tēyin ~ tīyin "saying", which is used to close a direct discourse, is a gerund in -yin: kögmän yōlī bīr ärmis tumis tē-yin äsidip "when I heard that there is only one road over Kögmän, and that is closed (by snow)" (TI E 6), täñrī bilgä qaγanta adrïlmalïm āzmalïm tē-yin anča ötlädim "I advised (my younger brothers and my sons) as follows: 'let us not be parted from the sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray" (O R 3); see Direct Discourse.

3.2225. The Gerund in -matī/-mätī, -matīn/-mätīn

This gerund serves as the negative of the gerunds in -a/-ä, -ï/-i, -u/-ü and -p, -pan/-pän: tün udī-matī küntüz olur-matī ... īsig kūčüg bērtim ök "without sleeping by night or getting rest by day, ... I have given my services (to my kagan)" (TII E 2), bunča īsig kūčüg bīrtükgärü sāqïn-matī türük bodun ölüräyīn uruγsïratayīn tīr ärmis "(the Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (themselves), apparently said: 'let us kill and exterminate the Turkish people!'" (KT E 10), antaγïñīn üčün igidmiš qaγanïñīn sabīn al-matīn yir sāyu bardïγ "on account of your being like that you went in (almost) all directions without asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished you (well)" (KT S 9).

3.2226. The Gerund in -γalï/-gäli

The gerund in -γalï/-gäli expresses:

1°. the aim of the action of the predicate: yadaγ yabïz bōltï tīp al-γalï kälti "thinking that we must have been out of horses and in a bad condition, they came in order to conquer us" (BK E 32) (siñ)ar sūsī äbig barqïγ yul-γalï bardï siñar sūsī süñüš-gäli kälti "one half of their army went in order to plunder (our) tents and dwellings, the other half of their army came in order to fight (against us)" (BK E 32), asan-γalï tüsürtümiz "we ordered (the army) to dismount in order to be fed" (TI N 3), oqï-γalï kälti "... came in order to invite (us)" (BK E 28), yuyqa ärkli topla-γalï učuz ärmis yinčgä ärklig üz-gäli učuz "that which is thin is easy to bend, they say; that which is tender is easy to break, (they say)" (TI S 6).

2°. an action since the beginning of which that of the predicate takes place: türk bodun q(ïlïn-γal)ï türk qaγan olur-γalï santuñ balïq(q)a taluy ögüzkä tägmis yōq ärmis "the Turkish people and the Turkish kagan had never reached the towns of Shantung and the ocean since they (were created) and since he (i.e., the first Turkish kagan) came to the throne" (TI E 1).

3.2227. The Gerund in -sar/-sär

The verb form in -sar/-sär is the conditional gerund: āč-sar tosïq ömäz sän bïr tod-sar āčsïq ömäz sän "if you are hungry, you do not think of being satiated; if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again)" (BK N 6), ötūkän yir olurup

arqïš tirkiš ï̄-sar näñ buñuγ yōq "if you stay in the land of Ötükän, and send caravans (from there), you will have no trouble at all" (KT S 8), ol yergärü bar-sar türük bodun öltäči sän "if you go toward those places, O Turkish people, you will perish!" (KT S 8), ïraq är-sär yabḷaq aγï̄ bïrūr yaγuq är-sär ädgü aγï̄ bïrūr "if (a people) live afar (from them), they (i.e., the Chinese) give them bad materials, and if (a people) live close to them, (the Chinese) give them good materials" (KT S 7), ötūkän yiš oḷur-sar bäñgü īl tuta oḷurtači sän "if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains, you will live owning an everlasting state" (KT S 8), üzä täñrī basma-(sar asra) yir tälinmä-sär türük bodun ēliñin törügin käm artatï̄ ūdači (ärt)i "if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and your institutions?" (BK E 22-23), ū-sar idi yōq qïsaḷïm "if possible, let us destroy (them) completely!" (TI S 4), tabγač oγuz qïtań bučägü qabïs-(s)ar qaḷtači biz "if the Chinese, Oguz and Qïtań, these three form an alliance, we will be helpless" (TI S 5-6), etc.

The conditional gerund also expresses the circumstances under which the action of the finite verb takes place: süñüs bōḷ-sar čärig ïtär ärti ab abḷa-sar äräm älā täg ärti "in fighting he commanded the army; in hunting he resembled a huge hawk" (KČ W 9), yay bōḷ-sar "in summer" (lit.: "when it is summer", "when it becomes summer") (BK W 3), tayda siγun ät-sär "when a deer bellows at mountains" (BK W 5), közdä yāš käl-sär tīda köñültä siγït käl-sär yanturu sāqïntïm "when tears came down from the eyes, I mourn-

ed by holding them back, and when wails came out from the heart, I mourned by turning them back" (KT N 11).

3.2228. The Gerund in -*ča*/-*čä*

This gerund denotes an action which precedes, in time, the action of the finite verb. It occurs only in the following sentence: *uluγ oγlum ayrïp yōq bōl-ča quγ sänünüg balbal tikä bīrtim* "when my eldest son became sick and died, I erected (the statue of) General Qu as a *balbal* for him" (BK S 9).

3.2229. *ärkli*

The petrified participial form *ärkli* "being" (see 3.22110), together with the verbal noun in -*r*, forms a gerundial phrase. Such a phrase denotes an action which is in progress when the action of the finite verb takes place: *anča olur-ur ärkli oγuzdun-tan körüg kälti* "while we were dwelling in this manner, there came a scout from the Oguz" (TI S 1), *kīčä yarïq bat-ar ärkli süñüsdüm* "I fought in the evening, when the sun was setting" (MČ E 1), *tuγ tasïq-ar ärkli yālmä ärī kälti* "the vanguard came while the flag was being taken out" (MČ E 5).

3.223. Finite Forms

There are two types of finite forms: (1) primary finite forms, (2) secondary finite forms.

3.2231. Primary Finite Forms

The primary finite forms are those verb forms which can function only as predicates. These are the forms of the voluntative-

imperative and the perfect.

3.22311. The Voluntative-Imperative

1st person singular -ayīn/-äyīn (MČ: -ayn̈/-äyīn), on vocalic stems -yīn (MČ: -yn̈/-yīn): bän säñä nä ay-ayīn tīdi "'what shall I say to thee?' he said" (TI N 8), qaγan mu qïs-ayīn tēdim "'shall I make (him) kagan?' I said (to myself)" (TI W 5), bän äbgärü tüs-äyīn "I shall go down to the camp" (TI N 6), anï yoγlaṭ-ayīn tēdi "'I shall hold her funeral,' he said" (TI N 7), sün̈ yorï-yn̈ tīdim "'I shall march out with the army,' I said (to myself)" (MČ E 5), män tasïq-ayn̈ tīmis "'I shall march off (with the army),' he said" (MČ E 10), türük bodun ölür-äyīn uruγsïrat-ayīn tīr ärmis "(the Chinese) apparently said, 'let us (lit.: "let me") kill and exterminate the Turkish people!'" (KT E 10), qon-ayīn "I shall settle down" (KT S 7).

2nd person singular: zero ending or -γïl/-gil: bu sün̈g elt tīdi "'lead this army!' he ordered" (TI N 8), tilïγ sabïγ alï olur "stay there quietly and collect information and tidings!" (TI N 8), basïtma "do not let 6the enemy) fall upon you!" (TI N 10); yaγ-(γ)ïl tīdi "'join me!' he said" (TI W 5), yälmä qaryū ädgüti ür-γïl "place the vanguard and patrols properly!" (TI N 10), sabïmïn tükäti äsid (KT: äsidgil) "hear my words from the beginning to the end!" (BK N 1; KT S 1).

3rd person singular: -zun, -zu, -čun: tardus sad bar-zun "let the Tardush šad go forth!" (TI N 8), türk sir bodun yerīntä idi yorïma-zun "let the Turkish Sir people not make any progress in their land!" (TI S 4), täñrī yarlïq(q)a-zu "by the grace of Heaven

(lit.: "may Heaven be gracious!")" (KT E 29; TII E 3), türük bodun yōq bolma-zun tīyin bodun bōl-čun tīyin "saying, 'let the Turkish people not be annihilated!', and saying, 'let them be a people (again)!'" (KT E 11; BK E 10), kögmän yir sub idisiz qalma-zun tīyin "in order that the Kögmän land would not remain without owner" (lit.: "saying, 'let the Kögmän land not remain without owner!'") (KT E 20; BK E 17).

1st person plural: -alïm/-älim, on vocalic stems -lïm/-lim: täñrī bilgä qaγanta adrïlma-lïm āzma-lïm "let us not be parted from the sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray!" (O R 3), öñrä türk qaγanγaru sülä-lim "let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks!" (TI E 3), altun yïs üzä qabïs-alïm "let us come together at the Altun Mountains!" (TI E 3), yan-alïm "let us go back!" (TII W 2), ūsar idi yōq qïs-alïm "if possible, let us exterminate (the Turkish people) completely!" (TI S 4), sü yorï-lïm "let us march off with the army!" (TI N 11).

2nd person plural: -ñ, also pure stem: sü bar-ïñ tēdi altun yïsda olur-uñ tēdi "'you, army, go on marching!' he said; 'stay at the Altun Mountains!' he said" (TI N 6), türük oγuz bäglärī äsid-iñ (BK: äsid) "you, Turkish and Oguz lords and peoples, hear this!" (KT E 22), bunï körü bil-iñ "see these (inscriptions) and get a lesson (from them)!" (KT S 12), anï körüp anča bil-iñ "see it (i.e., this memorial) and learn its contents, as it is" (KT S 13), (anč)a sāqïn-ïñ anča bil-iñ "(O Turkish lords and people), think of it in this way, and know it in this way!" (BK E 33), igid-iñ "nourih (the people)!" (BK N 13), ämgätmä-ñ tolγatma-ñ

"do not trouble and torment (them)!" (BK N 13), unāma-ñ "do not agree (with him)!" (TI N 11), taḷ atïn tēdim "enter the water on horseback!' I ordered" (TI N 1), toquz oγuz bäglärī bodunī bu sabïmin ädgüti äsid qatïγdï tiñla "you, Tokuz-Oguz lords and people! Hear these words of mine well, and listen to them carefully!" (KT S 2).

3rd person plural is the same as the 3rd person singular.

3.22312. The Perfect

The perfect is used to express an action begun and completed in the past. The action is supposed to have been witnessed by the speaker. The suffix is -d/-t, with the possessive suffixes added to it: -dïm/-tïm, -dïñ(~γ)/-tïñ(~γ), -dï/-tï, and so on. -d occurs after vowels and all consonants except l, n and r, and -t occurs after l, n and r (with the exception of the verb bar-).

It is evident from the personal endings that this past form is a verbal noun in -d/-t in origin.

1st person singular: otuz yāšïma bīs baliq tapa sūlädim "at my age of thirty I went on a campaign against Bishbalik" (BK E 28), sūsīn sanč-dïm yabrït-dïm "there I put their army to the lance, and destroyed" (BK E 31), yerči tilä-dim čölgi az ärī bul-tum äsit(t)im "I looked for a guide and found a man from the Az people living on the plain. I heard (from him)" (TI E 6-7), tañut bodunuγ buz-dum "I put the Tangut people to rout" (BK E 24), (tabγa)č qaγanta bädizči kälür-tüm "I sent for painters and sculptors from the Chinese emperor" (KT S 11), etc.; negative: türük bodun üčün tün udïma-dïm küntüz olurma-dïm "for the sake of the Turkish peo-

ple, I did not sleep by night and I did not get rest by day" (BK E 22), etc.

2nd person singular: täñrikänkä īsig bēr-tig "thou hast given thy services to Täñrikän" (O F 6), qanïñin qodup ičik-diñ "you have abandoned your khan and submitted (again)" (lit.: "thous hast abandoned thy khan and submitted") (TI W 3), käntü yañïl-tïγ "you yourselves (lit.: "thou thyself") betrayed" (KT E 23; BK E 19), yabḷaq kīgür-tüg "you (yourselves) caused discord" (KT E 23; BK E 19), bar-dïγ "you went" (BK E 19), qop anta alqïn-tïγ arïl-tïγ "there you were completely ruined and destroyed" (KT S 9), üküš (KT: üküs) türük bodun öl-tüg "you, Turkish people, were killed in great numbers" (KT S 6; BK N 5), üküš kišī (BK: kisī) öl-tüg "you were killed in great numbers" (KT S 7; BK N 6), qul qïl-tïγ "you let (your sons) become slaves" (BK E 20).

3rd person singular: yaγ(γ)ïl tī-di "'join me!' he said" (TI W 5), boγuzlan-tï "he was slaughtered" (TI N 2), bilgä tońuquq(q)a bańa ay-dï "he ordered me, Bilgä Tonyukuk, as follows" (TI N 7), täzip bar-dï "he fled" (BK E 40), altï ärig sanč-dï "(Prince Kül) stabbed six men with a lance" (KT N 5), sǖ (tä)gisīntä yītinč ärig qïlïčla-dï "in hand-to-hand fighting, he cut down a seventh man with a sword" (KT N 5); orduγ bīrmä-di "he did not surrender the camp" (KT N 9).

1st person plural: qïrqïz tapa sǖlä-dimiz "we started a campaign against the Kirgiz" (KT E 35), qïrqïz bodunuγ ūda bas-dïmïz "we fell upon the Kirgiz while they were asleep" (KT E 35), qïrqïz qaγanīn ölür-tümiz īlīn al-tïmïz "we killed the Kirgiz kagan and

conquered their realm" (KT E 36), bīr yïlqa bīš yolï süñüš-dümiz "we fought fiwe times in a year" (KT N 4), tīzligig sökür-tümiz bašlïγïγ yüküntür-tümiz "we made the powerful kneel and the proud bow" (KT E 18), bodunuγ anča qontur-tumïz "we thus settled the people" (KT E 21), buz-dumïz "we routed (them)" (KT E 31); qorqma-dïmïz "we did not fear" (TII W 6).

2nd person plural: är-tigiz in yatu qaltači ärtigiz "you would have been left lying" (KT N 9) and in öltäči ärtigiz "you would have been killed" (KT N 10). The suffix -dïñïz/-dïγïz occurs in the following singular polite forms: uča bar-dïγïz "you passed away" (lit.: "you went flying") (KT SE), küčlüg alp qaγanïmda ad-rïlu bar-dïñïz "you parted from my mighty and brave kagan, and went away" (O R 4).

3rd person plural is the same as the 3rd person singular: ōn oq bäglärī bodunī qop käl-ti "the lords and people of the On-Ok all came" (TII W 7-8), bäglär qop(ïn) yanalïm ... tē-di "all the lords said: 'let us go back!'" (TII W 1) , etc.

3.2232. Secondary Finite Forms

The secondary finite forms are verbal nouns and participles in origin. There are two types of the secondary finite forms: 1. verbal noun + possessive suffix, 2. participle + personal pronoun.

3.22321. Verbal Noun + Possessive Suffix

1°. The verbal noun in -duq/-dük (see 3.2217) also functions as a past tense: äbkä täg-dük-üm "I arrived in the camp" (lit.: "to the camp - my having arrived") (O R 2).

The suffix -duq/-dük forms the negative of the past tense in -miš (~ -mis): ītinü yaratunu ūma-duq yana ičikmiš (KT: ičikmis) "(the Turkish people) could not form and organize themselves well, and therefore they again submitted (to the Chinese)" (BK E 9; KT E 10), anta kisrä inisī äčisīn täg qïlïnma-duq ärinč oγlī qañīn täg qïlïnma-duq ärinč "then the younger brothers apparently did nor resemble their elder brothers, and the sons apparently did not resemble their fathers" (KT E 5), qañ yorïp ēltēris qaγanqa adrïlma-duq yañïlma-duq "(my) father (always) marched (behind) Ilteriš Kagan and did not become separated from him or did not betray him" (O R 3), (bükäg)ükdä säkiz oγuz toquz tatar qalma-duq "there were neither the Säkiz-Oguz nor the Tokuz-Oguz left in Bükägük" (MČ E 1), qarluq īsīñä kälmä-dük "the Karluks apparently did not come to their allies" (MČ S 1), täñrī unāma-duq "Heaven apparently did not like it" (IB 57).

2°. The verbal noun in -sïq/-sik is also used predicatively: türük bodun öl-sik-iñ "O Turkish people, you will perish" (lit.: "Turkish people - the necessity of thy death in the future") (KT S 6; BK N 5), türük bodun öl-sik-ig id. (KT S 7; BK N 5).

The forms of the first and third persons are not attested.

3.22322. Participle + Personal Pronoun

3.223221. The Present Tense

The participle in -ūr/-ïr, etc. (see 3.2215) with the personal pronouns occurring in a postponed position forms the present. The participle in -maz/-mäz (see 3.2216) functions as the negative of the present.

1st person singular: bän ančа tē-r män "I say as follows" (TII W 2), sāqïn-ūr män "I mourn" (lit.: "one who thinks - I", i.e., "I am the one who thinks") (BK W 6), kämkä īlig qazγan-ūr män "for whom am I conquering (these) countries?" (KT E 9), nä qaγanqa īsig kūčüg bīr-ür män "to which kagan am I giving my services?" (KT E 9; BK E 9), tī-r män "I say" (TI S 3, 4).

1st person plural: näkä qorq-ūr biz "why should we be afraid of (them)?" (TII W 4).

2nd person plural: türük bäglär qop bil-īr siz "Turkish lords, you all know that ..." (KT E 34).

3rd person singular and plural: öd täñrī yasa-r "it is Heaven who determines lifetimes" (KT N 10), bäniñ bodunum anta är-ür "my people will be there" (TI E 4), türük bilgä qaγan türük sir bodunuγ oγuz bodunuγ igidü olur-ūr "the Turkish Bilgä Kagan is ruling, taking care of the Turkish Sir people and Oguz people" (TII N 4).

Negative forms: āčsar tosïq ö-mäz sän bīr todsar āčsïq ö-mäz sän "if you are (lit.: "thou art") hungry, you do not think (lit.: "thou thinkest not") of being satiated; if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again)" (BK N 6).

The word bār "exists, existing, there is/are", a participle in -r (see 3.2215), mainly occurs in predicative function: āzu bu sabïmda igid bār γu "or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?" (KT S 10), ekī üč biñ sūmiz kältäčimiz bār mu nä "we probably have two or three thousand soldiers to come" (TI S 7).

3.223222. The Future

The future participle in -dači/-däči (see 3.2219) occurs in

predicative function: ol yergärü barsar türük bodun öl-täči sän "if you go to those places, O Turkish people, you will (lit.:"thou wilt") persih!" (KT S 8), ötükän yis olursar bäñgü il tuta olur-tači sän "if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains, you will live owning an everlasting state" (KT S 8), ädgü kör-täči sän äbiñä kir-täči sän buñsiz bol-tači sän "you will be better, you will be subject to your (own) homeland, and you will be without troubles" (BK N 14), sü yorilim te-däči "'let us start a campaign!' he will say" (TI N 11), tabγač qitań tatabi bučägü qabis(s)ar qal-tači biz "if the Chinese, Qitań and Tatabi - these three - form an alliance, we will be helpless" (TI S 5-6), bödkä körügmä bäglär gü yañil-tači siz "you lords, you who are obedient to this throne, are you going to betray?" (KT S 11), sini tabγačiγ ölür-täči "they will kill you (lit.: "thee"), Chinese" (TI S 3).

3.223223. The Past Tense in -miš (~ -mis)

The past participle in -miš ~ -mis (see 3.2218) also occurs in predicative function. It functions as a past tense expressing past actions known from hearsay. Only the third person form is attested in the inscriptions: qañim qaγan yiti yegirmi ärin tašiq-miš "my father, the kagan, marched off with seventeen men" (KT E 11), qarā türgis bodunuγ anta ölür-miš al-miš "there he killed and subjugated the common Türgis people" (KT E 40), äčümiz apāmiz yami qaγan tört buluñuγ qis-mis yiγ-mis yay-mis bas-mis "Yami Kagan, our ancestor, suppressed, frightened, routed and overwhelmed the four quarters (of the world)" (O F 1), kisi oγli qop ölgäli törü-mis "human beings were all created in order to die" (KT N 10),

ekīn āra kisī oγlī qïlïn-mis "(when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created,) between the two human beings were created" (KT E 1), qanī sūsī tēril-mis "their khan and their soldiers came together" (TI N 4), bunča bodun kälipän sïγtā-miš yoγlā-miš (KT: sïγtāmis yoγlāmis) "these many peoples came and mourned and lamented" (BK E 5; KT E 4), etc.

3.223224. The Future Tense in -či (<*-γači/-gäči)

A finite form in -či occurs in the inscriptions. This is a very rare form. In the following examples, which are the only occurrences of this form, the suffix -či has been added to the negative verb stems: tägmäči män "I shall not attack" (O R 2), bu yōlun yorïsar yaramači tēdim "if we go that way, it will not be good (for us)' I said" (TI E 6).

The suffix -či is probably identical with that in -γuči/-güči (see 3.2211). The negative form -mači/-mäči seems to have come into being as a result of contraction: -māči/-mäči <*-maγači/-mägäči (cf. Uig. bitigäči "writer, clerk": TT IX, p. 40; cf. also Mong. compound suffix -γači/-geči in bičigeči "writer, clerk", alaγači "murderer, killer", etc.; see Contraction, 2.16).

3.2233. Composite Verb Forms

The composite verb forms are made of a form of the auxiliary verb är- preceded by a participle or a finite form.

3.22331. Preterit of the Present

1°. Preterit of the Present I: -r (-ar/-är, -ūr/-ür, -ïr/-īr) + ärtim, etc.; negative: -maz/-mäz + ärti. This form is used to

express:

A. actions which were in progress at a point of time in the past: kül tigin bīr qïrq yašayūr ärti "Prince Kül was thirty-one years old" (KT N 3), anta qalmišī yir sāyu qop toru ölü yorïyūr ärtig "(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions" (KT S 9), čoγay quzīn qarā qumuγ oḷurūr ärtimiz "we were inhabiting then the northern slope of the Čoγay Mountains and Kara-Kum ("Black Sand")" (TI W 7), keyik yīyü tabïsγan yēyü oḷurūr ärtimiz "we were dwelling there, nourishing ourselves on big game and hares" (TI S 1), buzqunča kälīr ärtimiz "we were coming like a storm (?)" (O R 2).

B. a state or condition which existed over a period of time in the past (past habitual): (ya)nïγma yaγïγ (kälürīr) ärtim "I used to force withdrawing enemies to come (upon us)" (TII E 3), ïγar oγlanïñïzda tayγunuñïzda yēgdi igidür ärtigiz "you used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved sons and descendants" (KT SE), atïγ ïqa bāyūr ärtimiz "we used to tie the horses to trees" (TI N 3), türk bodun tabγačqa körür ärti "the Turkish people were subject to China (at that time)" (TI W 1).

Negative: -maz/-mäz + ärtim, etc.: inisī äčisīn bilmäz ärti oγlī qañīn bilmäz ärti "(at that time) younger brothers did not acknowledge their elder brothers, and sons did not acknowledge their fathers" (BK E 18), tün yämä udïsïqïm kälmäz ärti (kün yämä) oḷursïqïm kälmäz ärti "(after I had heard these words,) I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest (by day)" (TI E 5).

2°. Preterit of the Present II: -r (-ar/-är, -ūr/-ӱr, -ӱr/-īr) + ärmiš (~ ärmis). This tense is used to express:

A. unwitnessed progressive actions in the past: türük bodun ölüräyīn uruγsïratayīn tīr ärmis "(the Chinese) reportedly said, 'I shall kill and exterminate the Turkish people'" (KT E 10), az-qïńa türk (bodun) yorïyūr ärmis "the very few Turkish people seem to have been making progress" (TI S 2-3), ekīn āra idi oqsïz kök türük īti anča olurūr ärmis "between the two (boundaries) they thus ruled organizing the Kök ("Blue") Turks who had no tribal organization at all" (BK E 14), nä qaγanqa īsig kūčüg bīrūr män tīr ärmis (BK E 9: ärmiš) "to what kagan am I giving my services? said (the Turkish people)" (KT E 9).

B. unwitnessed habitual actions in the past: ańïγ bilig anta öyūr ärmis "(after such a people settled close to them, the Chinese) are said to plan (their) ill will there" (KT S 5), anta ańïγ kisī anča bošγurūr ärmis (BK N 5: ärmiš) "there ill-willed persons apparently made harmful suggestions as follows" (KT S 7), ïraq bodunuγ anča yaγutīr ärmis "(the Chinese) are said to cause remote peoples to come close (to them) in this manner" (KT S 5).

Negative: -maz/-mäz + ärmiš (~ ärmis): ädgü bilgä kisīg ädgü alp kisīg yorïtmaz ärmis (BK N 4: ärmiš) "(the Chinese) did not promote the wise and brave persons" (KT S 6), bīr kisī yañïlsar oγušī bodunī bisükīñä tägi ïqïdmaz ärmis (BK N 5: ärmiš) "if a man commits an error, (the Chinese) did not give shelter to anybody (from his immediate family), to his tribesmen and kinsmen" (KT S 6).

3°. Conditional of the Present: -r (-ar/-är, -ūr/-ǖr, -īr/-ïr) + ärsär, negative: -maz/-mäz + ärsär. This form is used to express real conditions in present and future time: kälir ärsär kür ökülür kälmäz ärsär tiliγ sabïγ alï olur "if they come, a trick is planned; if they do not come, then stay there quietly and collect information and tidings" (TI N 8).

3.22332. Pluperfect

Pluperfect: -miš (~ -mis) + ärtim, etc.; this tense expresses an action previous to another action in past time or an action occurred before a point of time in the past: qatun yōq bōlmis ärti anï yoγlataγmntēdi "the katun had died (some time ago); 'I shall hold her funeral,' he said" (TI N 7), azča bodun täzmis ärti ōn oq sūsīn sūlätdim "a few of the people had fled; I ordered the army of the On-Ok to march out" (TII W 8), alp är biziñä tägmis ärti "those who had attacked us were brave men" (KT E 40), ol ödkä qul qulluγ bōlmiš ärti (küñ künlüg bōlmiš ärti) "at that time slaves themselves had slaves and maidservants themselves had maidservants" (KT E 21), türk bodun ātī yōq bōlu barmis ärti "the name of the Turkish people had almost completely vanished" (O F 3).

When this finite verb form is transformed into a participial phrase, the verb är- is replaced by bōl-: sad ātïγ anta bērmis bōltuqda toquz oγuz atig yaγï ärmis bädük ärmis "when (Täñrikän) gave him (i.e., my father) the title of šad, the Tokuz-Oguz and Atig started hostilities (against us). They were (dangerously) powerful" (O F 6).

3.22333. Preterit of the Future (Future Perfect)

Preterit of the future: -dači/-däči (~ -tači/-täči) + ärtim, etc. This verb form is used to express:

1°. an action which was about to take place in the past: türük bodun adaq qamšat(t)ï yablaq boltači ärti "the Turkish people tottered and were about to be routed" (BK E 30-31), ögüm qatun ulayu öglärim äkälärim käliñünüm qunčuylarïm bunča yämä tirigī küñ bōltači ärti ölügī yurtda yōlta yatu qaltači ärtigiz "my mother, the katun, and my step-mothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law and my princesses ... those of you who would survive were about to become slaves, and those of you who would be killed were about to be left lying at the camp or on the roads" (KT N 9), ... yōq (bōlt)ači är(ti) "... were about to be exterminated" (BK E 28).

2°. an action which would have taken place if ...: kül tigin yōq ärsär qop öltäči ärtigiz "if Prince Kül had never existed, you all would have been killed" (KT N 10), män iniligü bunča bašlayu qazγanm(asar) türük bodun öltäči ärti yōq (bolt)ači ärti "if I, together with (my) younger brother, had not led (the people) and had not got victories, the Turkish people would have been killed and annihilated" (BK E 33), ïltēris qaγan qazγanmasar udu bän ōzüm qazγanmasar īl yämä bodun yämä yōq ärtäči ärti "if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won, there would have been neither the state or the people" (TII E 4-5); see 3.2227.

With ärmis: näñ yerdäki qaγanlïγ bodunqa büntägī bār ärsär nä buñī bār ärtäči ärmis "if a people living anywhere and having a kagan had such a one (i.e., such a man like me), what kind of

trouble would it have?" (TII E 6-7).

3.22335. Conditional of the Perfect

Conditional of the perfect: -dïm/-dim + ärsär. This form is used to express unreal, contrary-to-fact, or hypothetical conditions in past time: īltēris qaγan qazγanmasar yōq ärti ärsär udu bän ōzüm bilgä toñuquq qazγanmasar bän yōq ärtim ärsär qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerīntä bod yämä bodun yämä kisī yämä idi yōq ärtäči ärti "if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, had not won, or if I had never existed, in the land of Kapgan Kagan's Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings at all" (TII N 1-2).

4. SYNTAX

4.1. Phrase Structure

4.11. Coordinate Phrases

There are the following subtypes: additive, alternative, and appositive.

4.111. Additive Phrases

There are two types of additive phrases: phrases without conjunction, phrases with conjunction.

4.1111. Additive phrases without conjunction

1°. Nominal phrases: a l ṭ u n k ü m ü s kärgäksiz kälürti "they brought gold and silver in abundance" (BK S 11), ötükän yir olurup a r q ï š t i r k i š ïsar näñ buñuγ yoq "if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains and send caravans and messengers (from there), you will have no trouble at all" (KT S 8), türük b ä g l ä r b o d u n "(O) Turkish lords and people!" (KT S 10; BK N 8), t ü r ü k o γ u z bäglärï "(O) Turkish and Oguz lords!" (KT E 22), bodunï k ü ñ q u l bolti "their people became slaves" (lit.: "female slave and slave") (KT E 20), a z q ï r q ï z bodunuγ "the Az and Kirgiz peoples" (KT E 20; BK E 17); bïr tümän a γ ï a l ṭ u n k ü m ü š "a great quantity of treasure, gold and silver" (KT N 12), sarïγ a l ṭ u n örüñ k ü m ü s q ï z q u d u z ägri t ä b ï a γ ï buñsiz kälürti "they brought (home) the yellow gold, and the white silver, girls and maidens, hunchbacked camels and treasure in great abundance" (TII S 4), y a b ï z

y a b ḷ a q bodunta üzä olurtum "I became ruler over a wretched and miserable people" (KT E 26), y ō q č ï ɣ a ń bodunuɣ qop qubratdïm "I gathered together all the poor and destitute tribes" (KT S 10), etc.

Suffixes are generally added to each constituent of the phrase separately: bilgä-sī čabïs-ī bän ök ärtim "it was I who was his counselor and aide-de-camp" (TI W 7), äb-ig barq-ïɣ yulɣalï bardï "(one half of their army) went in order to plunder our dwellings and residences" (BK E 32), ot-ča bor-ča kälti "(the army of Türgis kagan) came like fire and storm" (KT E 37), bunča barq-ïɣ bädiz-ig ūz-uɣ "all these buildings, paintings and artistical works ..." (BK SW), etc.

In the following examples, however, only the second or last constituent is inflected: arquy qaryū-ɣ ulɣartdïm oq "I have increased the fortifications and watchtowers" (TII E 3), yoɣuñ qorayïñ-nï "thy funeral and obsequies" (acc.) (O R 4), ini yägün-üm "my younger brothers" (KT S 1, N 11; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degüü "younger brother"); see Accusative 3.2143.3°.

2°. Verbal phrases: adrïl- āz- "to be parted and go astray" (O R 3), adrïl- yañïl- "to be parted and betray" (O R 3), alqïn-arïl- "to be destroyed and exterminated" (KT S 9), bil- ö- "to know and think" (KČ S 3), bitī- bädiz- "to write and draw" (BK SW), ägir- säbin- "to be pleased and glad" (BK E 2), ämgät- tolɣat- "to trouble and torment" (BK N 13), ičik- yūkün- "to submit and surrender" (TI N 4), īt- yarat- "to form and organize" (BK N 9), īt- ay- "to organize and govern" (KC E 2), īt- igid- "to organize

and nourish" (KT E 16), ït- yïγ- "to organize and gather together" (TII W 8), ïtin- yaratun- "to form and organize oneself" (KT E 10) küñäd- qulad- "to become slave" (lit.: "to become concubine and slave") (KT E 13), oz- yań- "to assault and scatter" (BK E 31), öl- alqïn- "to die and be exterminated" (TI W 3), öl- yit- "to die and vanish" (KT E 27), ölür- al- "to kill and conquer" (KT N 2), tïr- qubrat- "to gather together" (lit.: "to gather and bring together") (KT E 12), tor- öl- "to be emaciated and die" (KT S 9), yañïl- yäzïn- "to betray and go astray" (BK E 16), yit- ïčγïn- "to go to ruin and collapse" (O F 1).

4.1112. Additive phrases with conjunction

1°. With one conjunction which follows the first constituent: ögüm qatun u l a y u öglärim äkälärim käliñünüm qunčuylarïm "my mother, the katun, and my stepmothers, my eledr sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses ..." (KT N 9); see Conjunctions (3.219). For numeral compounds see Numerals (3.216).

2°. With more than one conjunction: bäglärï y ä m ä bodunï y ä m ä "both the lords and peoples" (KT E 3), bod y ä m ä bodun y ä m ä kisï y ä m ä "neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings" (TII N 2); see Conjunctions (3.219).

4.112. Alternative Phrases

ekï üč "two or three" (BK E 41), ekï üč biñ "two or three thousand" (TI S 8).

See Approximative Numerals (3.21612).

4.113. Appositive Phrases

In an appositive phrase both constituents are heads, and both are also attributes: bini oγuzuγ "us (lit.: "me"), the Oguz" (TI S 3), sini tabγačïγ "you (lit.: "thee"), Chinese" (TI S 3), yol(l)uγ tigin män "I, Prince Yolluγ" (BK SW), bilgä toñuquq(q)a baña "(the kagan commanded) me, Bilgä Tonyukuk" (TI N 7), sümiz kältäčimiz "our soldiers, our ones who will come" (TI S 7), bän özüm "I myself" (TI W 1), inim kül tigin özī "my younger brother Prince Kül himself" (KT E 30), ēltäbär özī "the Governor himself" (KČ E 9); bän özüm / bilgä toñuquq "I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk" (TII N 1), bilgä toñuquq / bän özüm id. (TI W 1); see Intensive Pronouns (3.2153).

4.12. Attributive Phrases

Attributive phrases consist of a head and one or more modifiers. There are two types of attributive phrases: nominal phrases, adjectival phrases.

4.121. Nominal Phrases

Nominal phrases have as their head a noun or any word which functions as a noun. There two types of nominal phrases: descriptive and definite phrases, possessive phrases.

4.1211. Descriptive and definite phrases

1°. The attribute is an adjective or any other word which functions as an adjective (noun, pronoun, numeral, participle):

A. The attribute is an adjective: adïnč(č)ïγ barq "a wonderful mausoleum" (KT S 12; BK N 14), bäñgü täš "memorial" (lit.: "eternal stone") (BK N 15), süčīg sab "sweat words" (KT S 5),

yimšaq ayï "soft materials" (KT S 5), yašïl ögüz "the Green River" (KT E 17), etc.

B. The attribute is a numeral: ekï šad "the two šads" (BK E 21), ekïn sü "the second army" (BK E 32), toquz oγuz "the Nine-Oguz" (BK E 1), bïsinč ay "the fifth month" (BK S 10); ekï biñ "two thousand" (TI S 8), säkiz ön "eighty" (lit.: "eight ten") (KČ W 3), altï yolï "six times" (BK E 28), etc. See Numerals.

C. The attribute is a pronoun: bu täš-qa bu täm-qa "on this stone and this wall" (KT SE), ol tägdük-dä "in that attack" (KT E 36), ol oq tün "that very night" (TII W 7), etc.

D. The attribute is an adverb: ičrä sab "a secret message" (TI N 10); see Adverbs of Place (3.2171).

E. The attribute is a participle: körür közüm "my seeing eyes" (KT N 10), ï bar baš "the wooded hill" (TI N 2), käligmä bäglär "the lords who had come" (TII W 8), bödkä körügmä bäglär "lords who are obedient to this throne" (KT S 11), tinsi oγlï ay-tïγma taγ-qa "to the mountain called 'the Son of Heaven'" (TII S 5), igidmiš qaγan "the kagan who had nourished (his people)" (KT S 9), öltäči bodun "the people who were going to perish" (KT E 29), etc.

F. The attribute is a postpositional phrase: täñrï täg ... türük bilgä qaγan "the Heaven-like ... Turkish Bilgä Kagan" (KT S 1), umay täg ögüm qatun "my Umay-like mother, the katun" (KT E31).

Phrases with two or more attributes: ol ekï kisï "those two people" (TI S 3), bu türük bodun "this Turkish people" (TII E 4), bäglik urï oγïl "male children worthy of becoming lords" (KT E 7),

esīlik qīz oγïl "female children worthy of becoming ladies" (KT E 7), kädimlig toruγ at "the dressed bay horse" (KT E 33), qarā qamaγ bodun "the black (i.e., ordinary) common people" (KT E 8).

2°. The attribute is a proper noun: šantuñ yazī "the Shantung Plain" (BK E 15), yinčü ögüz "the Yinčü ("Pearl") River" (KT S 3), ärtis ögüz "the Irtish River" (TI N 11), kögmän yir sub "the Kögmän territory" (KT E 20), buqaraq ulus "the city of Bukhara" (KT N 12), kül tigin "Prince Kül" (KT N 1), qu säñün "General Qu" (BK S 8), oñ tutuq "Governor Oñ" (KT E 32), bilgä qaγan "Kagan ("King") Bilgä" (KT S 1), türük bodun "the Turkish people" (KT E 6), oγuz yaγī "the hostile Oguz" (lit.: "the Oguz enemy") (KT N 8), etc.

3°. The attribute is a noun provided with a possessive suffix: qañïm qaγan "my father, the kagan" (KT E 11), ögüm qatun "my mother, the katun" (KT N 9), siñlim qunčuy "my younger sister, the princess" (KT E 20), inim kül tigin "my younger brother Prince Kül" (KT N 10), kül tigin atïsī yol(l)uγ tigin "Prince Yolluγ, the nephew of Prince Kül" (KT SE), tabγač qaγan čïqanī čañ säñün "General Chang, the nephew of the Chinese Emperor" (KT N 13), sir irkin oγlī yigän čor "Yigän Čor, the son of Sir Irkin" (KČ E 9), etc.

4.1212. Possessive Phrases

There are three types of possessive phrases: (1) the attribute is a noun without any case suffix and the head is a noun provided with the possessive suffix of the third person; (2) the attribute is a noun with the genitive suffix and the head is a noun with or without the possessive suffix of the third person; (3) the attrib-

is a pronoun of the first or second person provided with the genitive suffix and the head is a noun with the possessive suffix of the the first or second person respectively.

1°. The attribute without any case suffix: kül tigin atïsï "Prince Kül's nephew" (KT SE), türük bodun ätï "the name of the Turkish people" (O F 3), türgis qaγanï "the kagan of the Türgis" (TI N 6), qïrqïz bodunï "the Kirgiz people" (TI N 4), oñ tutuq yurčï-n "Governor Oñ's brother-in-law" (acc.) (KT E 32), sir irkin oγlï "the son of Sir Irkin" (KČ E 9), etc.

2°. The attribute with the genitive suffix:

A. Head with the possessive suffix of the third person: bilgä qaγanïïñ bodunï "Bilgä Kagan's people" (O R 3), türük bodunïγ ätï küsï "the name and fame of the Turkish people" (KT E 25), kül tiginiñ altunï-n kümüsï-n aγïšï-n barïmï-n "Prince Kül's gold and silver, his property and possessions" (acc.) (KT SW).

B. Head without the possessive suffix of the third person: bayïrqūniñ aq adγïr "Bayïrqu's white stallion" (KT E 36), yigän silig bägiñ kädimlig toruγ at "Yigän Silig Bäg's dressed bay horse" (KT E 33), tabγač qaγanïïñ ičräki bädizči-g "the court painters of the Chinese emperor" (KT S 12), tadïqïïñ čorïïñ boz (at) "Tadïq Čor's gray horse" (KT E 32).

3°. The attribute is a pronoun of the first person: bäniñ bodunum "my people" (TI E 4), mäniñ sabïm-ïn "my words" (KT S 11), mäniñ bodunum "my people" (BK E 29).

If the head is a possessive phrase of the first type, it remains as such: biziñ sü atï "our army horses" (KT E 39).

4.1213. The Numeral Phrase

A particular nominal construction is that of the numerals from 11 to 19 and from 21 to 29. These numerals are considered steps to the next higher decade: üč yegirmi "thirteen" (lit.: "three - twenty" (KT E 18), üč otuz "twenty-three" (TI E 2); see Numerals (3.216).

4.122. Adjectival Phrases

Adjectival phrases have as their head an adjective or any word which functions as an adjective.

1°. The attribute is an adverb or equivalent: ärtiñü uluγ "very great" (BK N 10), antaγ kūlüg "so famous" (KT E 4), öltäčičä sāqïnïγma "(the Turkish lords and people who were) sorrowful as if they were going to die" (BK E 2).

2°. The attribute is an adverb of place: ičrä ašsïz "foodless in the inside" (KT E 26), tašra tōnsïz "clothless on the outside" (KT E 26).

3°. The word yēg "better" is preceded by a noun with the locative-ablative suffix -da/-dä: ïγar ēlligdä / (ï)γar qaγanlïγ-da yēg "better than those who have great (lit.: "heavy, grave, important") states and great rulers" (BK E 24); see Locative-Ablative (3.2145).

4°. The superlative is formed by the adverb añ "most": añ ilk "the first, the foremost"; the adjective may take the possessive suffix of the third person: añ ilkī. See Ordinal Numerals.

4.13. Postpositional Phrases

In postpositional phrases the director is a postposition. The axis may be a noun or pronoun or a nominal phrase. Postpositional phrases mostly function as adverbial complements: tabγač tapa "toward China", türük bodun üčün "for the sake of the Turkish people", inim kül tigin birlä "together with my younger brother Prince Kül", šantuñ yazïqa tägi "as far as the Shantung Plain", etc.; see Postpositions.

4.14. Verbal Complement

4.141. Equational complement

Equational complement consists of a noun, pronoun, numeral or equivalent phrase in the subject form with or without a predicative element (i.e., copula). The copula agrees, in person, with the subject.

1°. Copula is an auxiliary verb: özüm/ ... šad ärtim "I was šad (over the Tardush people)" (KT E 17), biz/ekï biñ ärtimiz "we were two thousan" (TI S 9), türük bodun/āč ärti "the Turkish people were hungry" (BK E 38), uluγï/šad ärti "their chief was a šad" (TI W 5), etc.

2°. Copula is a postponed pronoun: biz/az biz "we are few" (O F 7), bilgä toñuquq/añïγ ol "Bilgä Tonyukuk is evil" (TI N 10), oγuzï yämä/tarqïnč ol "the Oguz, their subjects, are also displeased (with them)" (TI E 5).

4.142. Direct Object Complement

See Nominative (3.2141) and Accusative (3.2143).

4.143. Adverbial Complement

An adverbial complement may be:

1°. an adverb: bu sabïmin ädgüti äsid "hear these words of mine well!" (KT S 2); see Adverbs.

2°. a noun with a case suffix: oγuz täzip tabγačqa kīrti "the Oguz fled and entered (i.e., took refuge) China" (BK E 38), qarā kȫltä süñüšdümiz "we fought at the Black Lake" (KT N 2); see Dative-Locative, Locative-Ablative, Directive, Equative, Instrumental and Comitative.

3°. a noun which already has a temporal meaning: tün udïmadïm "I did not sleep by night", kün yämä tün yämä yālü bardïmïz "we rode at a gallop by day and by night" (TI N 3), tün aqïtdïmïz "we ordered (the army) to march (even) by night" (TI N 11), ilki kün "on the first day" (BK S 1), ol oq tün bodunīn sayu ït(t)ïmïz "that very night we sent messages to their peoples" (TII W 7), kīčä yarïq batar ärkli süñüsdüm "I fought in the evening, while the sun was setting" (MČ E 1).

4°. a cardinal numeral: oγuzqa bēs süñüsdi "he fought five times against the Oguz" (TII E 5); see Cardinal Numerals.

5°. an ordinal numeral: tȫrtünč äzginti qadïzda süñüšdüm "fourthly, I fought at Äzginti Qadïz" (BK E 31); see Numerals.

6°. an attributive phrase indicating a period of time: yigirmi kün olurup "sitting down twenty days" (KT SE).

7°. a postpositional phrase: see Postpositions.

8°. a gerund or a gerundial phrase: uluγ oγlum aγrïp yȫq bȫlča "when my eldest son became sick and died ..." (BK S 9); see Gerunds (3.222).

4.2. Clause Structure

A clause consists of one or more words or phrases. Clauses have as their basic constituent the predicate.

4.21. The Predicate

The predicate has as its center:

1°. A verb: özüm sāgïntïm "I (lit.: "myself") mourned" (KT N 10), türük bäglär türük ātīn ït(t)ï "the Turkish lords abandoned the Turkish titles" (KT E 7), oγuz yaγī ordūγ basdï "the hostile Oguz (lit.: "the Oguz enemy") made a raid on the campsite" (KT N 9) uluγ küli čor säkiz ōn yasap yōq bōlt(ï) "after having lived eighty years, Küli Čor the Elder died" (KČ W 3), äčim qaγan uča bardï "my uncle, the kagan, passed away (lit.: "went flying")" (BK E 20), türük bodun ātī yōq bōlu barmis ärti "the name of the Turkish people had almost completely vanished" (O F 3), kül tigin yōq ärsär qop öltäči ärtigiz "if Prince Kül had not existed, you all would havebeen killed" (KT N 10).

2°. A noun (substantive and adjective), pronoun, verbal noun, participle or equivalent in the nominative form. The copula is a verb or a postponed pronoun. The latter may be omitted.

A. Copula is a verb: yaγmisī bän ärtim "it was I who joined him" (TI W 5), türük bodun āč ärti "the Turkish people were hungry" (BK E 38), özüm qarï bōltum "I grew old"(lit.: "I became old") (TII E 6), bäglik urï oγluñ qul bōltï "your sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves" (KT E 24), qañïm qaγan sūsī böri täg ärmis "the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves" (KT E12), qaγanī alp ärmis "their kagan is said to be brave" (TI S 3).

B. Copula is a postponed pronoun: biz az biz "we are few" (O F 7), türük bodun toqurqaq sän "(O) Turkish people, you consider yourselves satiated" (KT S 8), bilgä tońuquq aṅïγ ol "Bilgä Tonyukuk is evil" (TI N 10), öz ičī tasīn tutmis täg biz "it seems as if we are holding the exterior with (our own) interior (i.e., with our own forces)" (TI S 6).

C. Without copula: körüg sabī antaγ "the words of the scout (were) as follows" (TI S 2), sü basī inäl qaγan "the commander-in-chief (is) Inäl Kagan" (TI N 7), ol yōlun yorïsar ünč "if we go that way, (it will be) possible" (TI E 7), bän bilgä tońuquq "I (am) Bilgä Tonyukuk" (TII E 8), ol amtï aṅïγ yōq "they (are) not rebellious now" (KT S 3), īltä buñ yōq "(if the Turkish kagan stays at the Ötükän Mountains), (there will be) no trouble in the realm" (KT S 3), barduq yirdä ädgüg ol ärinč "in the lands where you went, this (was) your only benefit:" (KT E 24), üč körüg kisī sabī bīr "there came three scouts; their messages (were) all alike" (TI N 9).

4.22. The Subject

The subject of a clause may be a noun, pronoun, numeral, verbal noun, participle, a phrase or even a predicative construction.

1°. Noun as subject: qatun yōq bōlmis ärti "the katun had died" (TI N 7), ol törüdä üzä äčim qaγan olurtï "in accordance with that rule, my uncle succeeded to the throne" (KT E 16), öd täñrī yasar "it is Heaven who determines lifetimes" (KT N 10).

2°. Pronoun as subject: bän äbgärü tüsäyīn "I shall go down

to the camp" (TI S 4), bän yirïdïnta yan tägäyīn "I shall attack from the north" (TI S 4), män toquz yegirmi yïl̤ šad ol̤urtum toq(uz yegir)mi yïl̤ (qaγan ol̤u)rtum "nineteen years reigned I as šad, nineteen years as kagan" (BK S 9), biz ekī biñ ärtimiz "we were two thousand" (TI S 9), ol̤ bizni ... ölürtäči kök "he will sooner or later kill us" (TI E 4).

Such a subject is often omitted: qan bēr̄tim "I had given (you) a khan" (TI W 2), qanïñin qodup ičikdiñ "you abandoned your kagan, and submitted (again)" (TI W 3), sǖ yorī̄l̤ïm tēdäči "let us march off with the army!' he will say" (TI N 11), qarluquγ ölürtümiz al-tïmī̄z "we killed (i.e., defeated) the Karluks and subjugated them" (KT N 2), süñüšdümiz "we fought" (KT E 37), učа bardïγïz "you passed away (lit.: "you went flying")" (KT SE), bilgä qaγan ärmis alp qaγan ärmis "wise kagans were (they), brave kagans were (they)" (KT E 3).

3°. Numeral as subject: ekīsī "two of them" in ekīsīn (KT E 38); see Cardinal Numerals (3.2161.2°).

4°. Participle as subject: ičikigmä ičikdi "those who meant to submit submitted" (BK E 37).

5°. Verbal noun as subject: tün udī̄sïqïm kälmädi küntüz ol̤ur-sïqïm kälmädi "I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest by day" (lit.: "my wish for sleeping did not come") (TI S 5).

6°. Nominal phrase as subject: bodun boγzī toq ärti "the people's stomach was full" (TI S 1), türük qarā qamaγ bodun anča tī-mis "the Turkish common people apparently said as follows" (KT E

8-9).

7°. Predicative construction as subject: türük bodun tämir qapïγqa tinsi oγlï aytïγma taγqa tägmis / idi yōq ärmis "the Turkish people had never (before) reached the Iron Gate and the mountain called 'the Son of Heaven'" (TII S 2-3); see The Verbal Noun in -miš (3.2218).

4.221. Agreement between the subject and predicate

4.2211. Agreement in person

Agreement in person is obligatory: bän anča tēr män "I say as follows" (TII W 2), biz az biz "we are few" (O F 7), ol at anta ölti "that horse was killed there" (KT E 33).

4.2212. Agreement in number

The predicate is a singular third person, although the subject is a plural: bäglär qop(ïn) yanalïm tēdi "the lords all said, 'let us turn back!'" (TII W 1), türük bäglär türük ātïn ït(t)ï "the Turkish lords abandoned the Turkish titles" (KT E 7), oγlïtï qaγan bōlmis ärinč "their sons succeeded to the throne" (KT E 5).

The predicate is a singular, although the subject is a compound subject of the third person: qïrqïz qurïqan otuz tatar qïtań qop yaγï ärmis "the Kirgiz, Qurïqan, Otuz-Tatar and Qïtań ... they all were hostile to (us)" (KT E 14), üzä türük täñrïsï türük ïduq yirï subï anča ētmis "(but) the Turkish god above and the Turkish holy earth and water (spirits below) acted in the following way" (KT E 10).

4.222. Word order

The normal order is: subject + predicate: qatun/yōq bōlmis ärti "the katun had died" (TI N 7), ōzī/yañïltï "he betrayed (us)" (KT E 20), qaγanī/ölti "their kagan was killed" (KT E 20).

The complement normally precedes the predicate and follows the subject: oγuz yaγī/ordūγ/basdï "the hostile Oguz suddenly attacked the campsite" (KT N 9).

Sometimes declarative clauses have the inverted order of the complement before the subject. This change is made to emphasize the subject: qaγan at bunta biz bīrtimiz "it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan here" (KT E 20), öd täñrī yasar "it is Heaven who determines lifetimes" (KT N 10).

4.223. Negation

In negative clauses the predicate has a negative.

1°. The predicate is a negative verb-form: mäniñ sabïmïn simadï "he did not reject my request" (KT N 11).

2°. The predicate is a noun with the negative yōq: ol amtï aṅïγ yōq "they (lit.: "that") are not rebellious now" (KT S 3).

3°. The predicate is the negative noun yōq: ïltä buñ yōq "(if the Turkish kagan stays at the Ötükän Mountains,) there will be no trouble in the realm" (KT S 3), näñ buñuγ yōq "(if you stay in the land of Ötükän and send caravans from there,) you will have no trouble" (KT S 8).

4.23. Combination of Clauses

4.231. Coordination

There are two types: coordination without conjunction, coordi-

nation with conjunction.

4.2311. Coordination without conjunction

This is the favorite coordination-type: čïγań bodunuγ bāy qïl-ṭïm / az bodunuγ üküš qïlṭïm "I made the poor people wealthy, I made the few people numerous" (KT S 9), bilgä qaγan ärmis / alp qaγan ärmis "wise kagans were (they), brave kagans were (they)" (KT E 3), anta kisrä inisī qaγan bōlṃis ärinč / oγlïtī qaγan bōl-mis ärinč "then the younger brothers came to the throne, the sons came to the throne" (KT E 4-5), ōzī yañïltï / qaγanī ölti / bodunī küñ qul bōltï "he betrayed (us), their kagan was killed, their people became slaves and servants" (KT E 20), (siñ)ar sūsī äbig barqïγ yulγalï bardï / siñar sūsī sünüšgäli kälti "one half of their army went in order to plunder our tents and dwellings, the other half of their army came in order to fight" (BK E 32).

The subject is not repeated in the second clause: biz az ärti-miz / yabïz ärtimiz "we were few and destroyed" (BK E 32).

The copula may be omitted in the second clause: yuγqa ärkli toplaγalï učuz ärmis / yinčgä ärkli üzgäli učuz "that which is thin is easy to bend, they say; that which is tender is easy to break, (they say)" (TI S 6).

The copula may be omitted in the first clause: tabγač bodun sabī sučīg / aγ̄sī yimšaq ärmis "the words of the Chinese people were sweet, the materials of the Chinese people were soft" (KT S5).

4.2312. Coordination with conjunction

The only conjunction used in coordinate clauses is yämä (see

Conjunctions, 7°).

4.232. Subordination

Certain predicative constructions are subordinated by means of the following conjunctions (originally gerunds): üčün "since, as, because", tēyin ~ tīyin "because; in order to, for the purpose of", tīp "in order to, with the intention of" (see Subordinate Conjunctions: 3.2192).

4.2321. Direct Discourse

The direct discourse is juxtaposed to the main clause and connected with the gerund tīp or tīyin "saying": biriyä qarluq bodun tapa sülä tīp tudun yamtarïγ ït(t)ïm "I sent Tudun Yamtar saying, 'start a campaign against the Karluks in the south!'" (BK E 40), tänrī bilgä qaγanta adrïlmalïm āzmalïm tēyin anča ötlädim "'let us not be parted from the sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray!'. So advised I" (O R 3).

Sometimes the direct discourse is inserted into a clause: qarā bodun qaγanïm kälti tīp ög(di) "the common people praised (him) saying, 'our (lit.: "my") kagan has arrived!'" (BK E 41).

The verbs of thinking, hearing, etc., are connected with the clause expressing the result of any of these actions by the use of tēyin ~ tīyin: tägmāči män tēyin sāqïntïm "I thought 'I shall not attack'" (O R 2), kögmän yōlī bīr ärmis tumis tēyin äsidip "when I heard that there is only one road over Kögmän, and that is closed (by snow)" (TI E 6), igidäyīn tīyin sāqï(nïp) "having thought 'I shall nourish (them)'" (BK E 35).

4.24. Parenthetical Clause

(anta) kisrä - täñrī yarlïq(q)azu - qutum bār üčün ülügüm bār üčün öltäči bodunuγ tirg(ü)rü igit(t)im "after that, since I had fortune and since I had good luck - may Heaven be gracious! - I brought the people to life who were going to perish, and nourished them" (KT E 28-29), yorïmasar bizni -qaγanī alp ärmis ayγučisī bilgä ärmis - qačan (n)äñ ärsär bizni ölürtäči kök tēmis "if we do not wage war against him, he will - (since) the kagan is said to be brave and (since) his counselor is said to be wise - he will sooner or later kill us' he said" (TI N 5-6), añaru sülämäsär qačan (n)äñ ärsär ol bizni - (qaγanī alp ärmis) ayγučisī bilgä ärmis - qačan (n)añ ärsär ölürtäči kök id. (TI E 3-4).

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

The figures refer to the pages

a (vowel) 52, 53

ā (vowel) 52, 53, 73

a ~ ï (vowel alternation) 77

ā < aγa (contraction) 80

a/ä (interjection of address) 210

-a-/-ä- (denominal verbs) 121, 122

-a/-ä (denominal nouns) 116

-a/-ä (deverbal nouns) 125

-a/-ä (dative-locative) 151, 152, 153, 177, 179

-a/-ä (gerund) 217-219, 221; see -ï/-i and -u/-ü

-a + bar- (compound verb) 136

-a/-ä + bēr-/bīr- (compound verb) 137

-a/-ä + elt- (compound verb) 137

Accusative 147-151

-ač (denominal noun) 116

-ačï/-äči (Khakas present-future participle) 80; see -māčï/-mäči

-ad-/-äd-, -d- (denominal verbs) 122

Additive phrases 240-242

Adjectival phrases 247

Adverbs 177-193

Adverbial complement 248, 249

Agreement 171, 253

-aγu(n)/-ägü(n) (collective numerals) 174

-aq/-äk (denominal nouns) 116

-alïm/-älim, -lïm/-lim (voluntative-imperative) 227

Alphabet: characters 18-21; origin 22-27

Alternative phrases 242

-an/-än (denominal nouns) 117

-an/-än (plural) 140)

an- (stem of the oblique cases of ol "that, it") 164

anïñ, anï, añar, anta, añaru, anča, anïn (oblique cases of ol) 164-166

añ (adverb of comparison) 192, 247

Apocope 81

Appositive phrases 242, 243

Approximative numerals 172, 173

ārа (postposition) 194

artuqī (coordinate conjunction) 202

-aru/-ärü (directive) 158; see -ɣaru/-gärü

Assimilation of vowels 79, 80

Assimilation of consonants 111, 112

aš (syllabic sign) 19 n. 1, 46

āša (postposition) 194

ašru (postposition) 194, 195

Attributive compounds 135

Attributive phrases 243

-ayïn/-äyīn, -yïn/-yīn (voluntative-imperative in MČ) 63

-ayīn/-äyīn, -yīn (voluntative-imperative) 63, 76, 226

āzu (coordinate conjunction) 202

b (consonant) 83, 84

b - b < b - m 111

b - n < m - n 113

b - m 103

-bač (deverbal noun) 125

-bāčï/-bāči: see -māčï/-māči

-bal (< -mal) (deverbal noun) 125

bār: as attribute 214; as predicate 232

baš (syllabic sign) 19, 25

bän, män (pronoun) 162, 163; bäniñ, däniñ 163; bini 163; baña, maña 163; bañaru 163

beth (Aramaic letter) 25

bïriki (coordinate conjunction) 202

birlä (postposition) 194, 195

biz (pronoun) 162; biziñ, bizni, biziñä, bizintä 162, 163

bizin- (stem of the oblique cases of biz) 162

bōl- 136, 237

bu (demonstrative pronoun) 164-166; bunï, bunta, bunča 164-166

bun- (stem of the oblique cases of bu) 164

büntägï (indefinite pronoun) 169

Cardinal numerals 170-172

Case 144

Causative verbs 131, 133, 134

Clause structure 250-257

Collective numerals 174, 175

Combination of clauses 254-256

Comitative 161

Composite verb forms 234-239

Composition 135-138

Compound adverbs 135

Compound nouns 135

Compound verbs 135-138

Conditional of the present 237

Conditional of the perfect 239

Conjunctions 201-206

Connective vowels 68-71

Consonants 82-115

Consonant changes 103-111

Contact assimilation 111

Contact dissimilation 112, 113

Contraction 80, 113, 114; see a < aγa, ä < ägä, and ñ < nγ/ng

Coordinate composition 135

Coordinate conjunctions 202-205

Coordinate phrases, 240-243

Coordination 143, 144, 254-256

Copula 248, 250, 251

Crasis 82

č (consonant) 88, 89

č - č < š - č 112

-č (diminutives, hypocoristic names) 117

-ča/-čä (equative) 172, 173, 187

-ča/-čä (gerund) 225

čč < čs 111

-čïγ (< -sïγ) (denominal noun) 117; see -sïγ/-sig

či (ligature) 19 n.1, 25 n.2, 46

-či (denominal nouns) 63, 67, 117; see -γuči/-güči, -dači/-däči, and -mači/-mäči

-čun (imperative) 226, 227; see -zun/-zün

d (consonant) 87, 88

-da/-dä, -ta/-tä (locative-ablative) 154-156, 185, 247

-dači/-däči, -tači/-täči (participle) 2, 67, 125, 216, 217, 232, 233, 238

-dagï/-däki, -tagï/-täki: see -da/-dä, etc. and -gï/-ki

-dam/-däm (denominal nouns) 117

Dative-locative 151-154

Demonstrative pronouns 164-166

Denominal nouns 116-121

Denominal verbs 121-124

Denasalization 103, 104

Dentals and alveolars 85-95

Dentalization of š 104-110

Descriptive and definite phrases 243-245

Deverbal nouns 125-131

Deverbal verbs 131-134

-dï/-di, -tï/-ti (perfect, 3rd person) 72, 208, 209

-dïm/-dim, -tïm/-tim, -dum/-düm, -tum/-tüm (perfect, 1st person singular) 71, 72, 228, 229, 239

-dïmïz/-dimiz, -tïmïz/-timiz, -dumïz/-dümiz, -tumïz/-tümiz (per-

fect, 1st person plural) 71, 72, 229, 230

-dïñ(~ɣ)/-diñ(~g), -tïñ(~ɣ)/-tiñ(~g), -duñ(~ɣ)/-düñ(~g), -tuñ(~ɣ)/-tüñ(~g) (perfect, 2nd person singular) 71, 228, 229

-dïñïz, -dïɣïz (perfect, 2nd person plural) 230

-dïn/-din, -dun/-dün (adverbs) 72, 179

Direct discourse 256

Direct object complement 248

Directive 157, 158

Dissimilation of consonants 112, 113

Distance assimilation (progressive) 111

Distance assimilation (regressive) 112

Distance dissimilation 113

Doubled consonants 49, 50

Dropping of consonants 114

-duq/-dük, -tuq/-tük (verbal nouns) 125, 208, 209, 214, 215, 230, 231

-dur/-dür (Mongolian dative-locative suffix) 186

-düri (Uigur adverbial suffix in öñdüri) 186

ä (vowel) 55

ā (vowel) 32, 33, 74

ā < ägä (contraction) 80

ä ~ i (vowel alternation) 77

är- (auxiliary verb) 237, 248, 250

ärinč (particle) 208, 209

ärkli: participle 217; gerund 225

ärtiñü (adverb of degree) 190

e (vowel) 55, 56

ē (vowel) 56, 57

e ~ i (vowel alternation) 56

ē ~ ī (vowel alternation) 56, 57

-e/-i (Chuvash 3rd person singular possessive suffix) 64

Epenthesis 114, 115

Equational complement 248

Equative 158, 159

External hiatus 115

Final consonant clusters 82

Finite verb forms 225-234

Fractions 172

Future 232-234

Future perfect 238

ɣ/g (consonants) 100-102

-ɣ/-g (deverbal nouns) 125, 126

-ɣ/-g (< -ñ) (2nd person singular possessive suffix) 141, 142

-ɣ/-g (accusative) 147-149

-ɣa/-gä (deverbal nouns) 126, 127

-ɣa-/-gä- (denominal verbs) 123; see -ga-/-kä-

-ɣači/-gäči 234; see -māči/-mäči

-ɣalï/-gäli (gerund) 223

-ɣaq/-gäk (deverbal nouns) 127; see -gaq

-ɣan/-gän (deverbal nouns) 127

-ɣar-/-gär- (denominal verbs) 122

-ɣar (dative-locative suffix in añar) 164

-ɣaru/-gärü (directive) 117, 157, 158, 180

ɣd < ɣt, gd < gt 111

Geminated consonants: see Doubled consonants

Genitive 146, 147

Gerunds 217-225

-ɣï/-gi (adjectival suffix) 72, 117; see -qï/-ki

-ɣïl/-gil (imperative) 72, 226

-ɣïn/-ɣun (deverbal nouns): see -qun

-ɣlï/-gli (participle) 217: see ärkli

-ɣma/-gmä (participle) 2, 127, 212, 213

ɣu/gü (interrogative particle) 209

-ɣu/-gü (denominal nouns) 117, 118

-ɣu/-gü (deverbal nouns) 127, 210; see -ɣuči/-güči, -ɣuluq/-gülük

-ɣuči/-güči (deverbal nouns) 127, 211, 234; see -ɣu/-gü, -či

-ɣuluq/-gülük (deverbal nouns) 73, 127, 128, 210; see -ɣu/-gü,
-lïq/-lik, etc.

-ɣun/-gün (plural) 140

-ɣur-/-gür- (causative verbs) 131

Haplology 82

ï (vowel) 53

ī (vowel) 53, 74

ï/i (connective vowel) 71

-ī-/-i- (denominal verbs) 122

-ï/-i: deverbal nouns 128; gerund 137, 138, 217, 218, 219

-ï/-i + bīr- (compound verb) 137

-ï + u- (compound verb) 138

ï - a < i - a 79

-ï̄/-sï̄ (3rd person possessive suffix) 65, 141, 143; see -ī/-sī

-ïɣ (< -ïñ) (genitive) 147; see -ïñ/-iñ

ïq/qï (syllabic sign) 19, 25, 44, 45, 46

-ïm/-im, -um/-üm: see -m

-ïn (genitive): see -ïñ/-iñ

ïnɣaru (postposition) 194, 201

-ïñ/-iñ, -nïñ/-niñ (genitive) 1, 72, 146, 147

-ï̄r/-īr (participle) 76; see -r, etc.

i (vowel) 57, 58

ī (vowel) 58, 75

i < ï : see Palatalization

-ī/-sī (3rd person possessive suffix) 15, 63, 64, 65, 76, 141-143; see -ï̄/-sï̄

-i + bar- (compound verb) 136

ič (syllabic sign) 19, 25, 46

idi (adverb of degree) 190, 191

Indefinite numerals 175-177

Indefinite pronouns 169, 170

Instrumental 159-161, 186, 187

Intensive pronouns 166, 167

Intensive verb stems 131

Internal hiatus 114

Interrogative adverb 193, 194

Interrogative particles 209

Interrogative pronouns 168, 169

g (consonant) 98, 99

k (consonant) 99, 100

$\overset{o}{q}$ (syllabic sign) 19, 25, 40, 42, 54

$\underset{o}{k}$ (syllabic sign) 19, 25, 43, 44

$\overset{1}{q}$ (syllabic sign) 44, 45, 46, 53

-k (denominal noun) 118

-g-/-k- (denominal verbs) 122, 123

-g/-k, -ug/-ük (deverbal nouns) 128, 129

-g-/-k- (intensive verbs) 131

*ga (interrogative pronoun) 169; ganï 169, 185; gantïn 169, 185

-ga (denominal noun) 118

-ga-/-kä-, -ɣa-/-gä- (denominal verbs) 123

gačan (interrogative adverb) 193, 194

gan- (stem of the oblique cases of *ga "what") 169

-gag (< -ɣag) 127; see -ɣag/-gäk

gamaɣī (indefinite pronoun) 169, 170

-gan/-kän (denominal nouns) 118

käčä (postposition) 194-196

käm (interrogative pronoun) 168

käntü (intensive pronoun) 166, 167

-gï/-ki (adjectival suffix) 118, 179; see -ɣï/-gi

-gïńa/-kińä (diminutives) 118, 119

kičig (adverb of degree) 191

kisrä (postposition) 184, 194, 200

gg < gɣ 111

kk < kg 111

qq < γq 112

kl < gl 112

qodï (postposition) 194, 195

qop (adverb of degree) 188

qopïn, qopin (adverb of degree) 188

kök (particle) 207, 208

-qun (< -γun) (deverbal noun) 129

l (consonant) 92-94

-l (denominal nouns) 119

-l (deverbal nouns) 129

-l- (denominal verbs) 123

-l- (passive verbs) 131, 132

-la-/-lä- (denominal verbs) 123

Labial harmony 67-73

-lar/-lär (plural) 139, 140

-lï̄/-lī (coordinating conjunctive suffix) 72, 77, 143, 144

-lïγ/-lig, -luγ/-lüg (denominal nouns) 71, 119, 120

-lïγu/-ligü (comitative) 161

-lïq/-lik, -luq/-lük (denominal nouns) 72, 73, 120; see -γuluq/-gülük

lq < lγ 112

l - l < r - l 112

l - n < l - l 113

Locative-ablative 154-157

Long consonants: see Doubled consonants

Long vowels 52-59, 73-77

Loss 80-82

Loss of vowels 80-82

l ~ š/s (alternation) 110, 111

lt (syllabic sign) 19, 25, 46, 47

lt < ld 112

-luq/-lük (denominal nouns): see -lïq/-lik

m (consonant) 84, 85

m ~ b 104

-m, -ïm/-im, -um/-üm (deverbal nouns) 129

-m, -ïm/-im, -um/-üm (1st person singular possessive suffix) 141, 142

-ma-/-mä- (negative stems) 132

-ma/-mä (deverbal nouns) 129

-māčï/-māči, -bāčï/-bāči, -pāčï/-pāči (Khakas present-future participle) 80

-māči/-māči (future) 67, 80, 234; see -ma-/-mä- (negative stems) and -γači/-gäči

-maγ/-meg (Mongolian suffix) 129, 211

-maq/-mäk (deverbal nouns) 129, 211

-maqči/-mäkči (deverbal nouns) 211; see -maq/-mäk and -či

-man/-män (denominal nouns) 120

-matī/-mätī (negative gerund) 222; see -matīn/-mätīn

-matīn/-mätīn (negative gerund) 63, 77, 222; see -matī/-mätī

-may/-mäy (Chagatay gerund) 221

-mayïn/-mäyin (Chagatay gerund) 221

-maz/-mäz (participle) 129, 214, 231, 232, 235

män: see bän

-mïs/-mis (verbal nouns) 66, 215; see -miš ~ -mis

-mïz/-miz, -ïmïz/-imiz (1st person plural possessive suffix) 141, 142

Middle verbs (verba media) 133

-miš ~ -mis (verbal nouns) 63, 66, 67, 129, 130, 208, 215, 216; (past tense) 233, 234

mu/mü (interrogative particle) 209

Multiplicative numerals 175

n (consonant) 91, 92

n^2 (letter) 15

-n (denominal nouns) 120

-n (deverbal nouns) 130

-n- (passive, reflexive stems) 132

-n (Mongolian plural suffix) 140

-n (accusative) 71, 149, 150

-n, -ïn/-in, -un/-ün (instrumental) 159, 160, 161, 186, 187

-nar/-ner (Mongolian plural suffix) 139

Nasalization 103

nč (syllabic sign) 19, 25, 48

-nč, -ïnč/-inč, -unč/-ünč (ordinal numerals) 120, 173

-nč, -nču/-nčü (deverbal nouns) 130

nä (interrogative pronoun) 168

näncä (equative of nä) 168, 189

näñ (adverb of degree) 191, 192

Negation 254

Negative verbs 132

-nï/-ni (accusative) 72, 150, 151

-nïñ/-niñ (genitive) 146; see -ïñ/-iñ

Nominative 144-146

Noun inflection 139-161

nt (syllabic sign) 19, 25, 47, 48

nt < nd 112, 113

Numeral phrases 247

Numerals 170-177

ñ (consonant) 102

ñ < nɣ/ng (contraction) 113, 114

ñ ~ ɣ/g (alternation) 1, 103

-ñ, -ïñ/-iñ, -uñ/-üñ (2nd person singular possessive suffix) 141, 142; see -ɣ/-g

-ñ, -ïñ/-iñ, -uñ/-üñ (2nd person plural imperative) 227, 228

-ña/-ñä (dative-locative) 151, 152

-ñaru/-ñärü (directive) 158

-ñïz/-ñiz, -ïñïz/-iñiz, -uñïz/-üñiz (2nd person plural possessive suffix) 141, 142

o (vowel) 54

ō (vowel) 54

Objective compounds 135

oq/uq (syllabic sign): see o̤q

oq/ök (particle) 206, 207

ol (demonstrative pronoun) 161, 164-166; see anïñ, etc.

Ordinal numerals 173, 174

Orthography 27-51

ot (syllabic sign) 21, 25

ö (vowel) 58

ō (vowel) 58

ök/ük (syllabic sign): see ķ

ök (particle): see oq/ök

ötrü (postposition) 194, 200

özi (intensive pronoun) 166, 167

özüm (intensive pronoun) 166, 167

p (consonant) 82, 83

-p (deverbal noun) 130

-p, -ip/-ip, -up/-üp (gerund) 219, 220

-pači/-päči (Khakas participle): see -mači/-mäči

Palatal consonants 95-97

Palatal harmony 59-67

Palatalization 77-79

-pan/-pän, -ipan/-ipän, -upan/-üpän (gerund) 221

Parenthetical clause 257

Participle + personal pronoun 231-234

Particles 206-210

Passive verbs 131, 132

Perfect 228, 230

Personal pronouns 161-164

Plurality 139

Pluperfect 237

Possession 140-143

Possessive phrases 245, 246

Postpositions 194-201

Postpositional phrases 247, 248

Predicate 250, 251

Present tense 231, 232

Preterit of the present I 234, 235

Preterit of the present II 236

Preterit of the future (future perfect) 238

Primary finite forms 225-230

Progressive assimilation (vowels) 79

Progressive assimilation (consonants) 111

Pronouns 161-170

Prothesis 114

Punctuation 50, 51

r (consonant) 94, 95

-r- (deverbal verbs) 133; see Middle verbs

-r, -ar/-är, -ïr/-ir, -ür/-ür (participle) 130, 213, 214, 234-237

-ra/-rä (denominal nouns) 120

-ra-/-rä- (denominal verbs) 124

-ra/-rä (directive) 158, 182

Regressive assimilation (vowels) 79

Regressive assimilation (consonants) 111, 112

Reflexive verbs 132

-rqa-/-rkä- (denominal verbs) 124

r - r < l - r 112

rt < rd 113

-ru/-rü (directive) 184

s (consonant) 89, 90

s[1] (letter) 66, 105, 106

s[2] (letter) 39, 40, 66, 105, 106, 107

-s (< š) (deverbal nouns): see -š

-s (plural) 140

-s- (reciprocal verbs): see -š-

-sa-/-sä- (desiderative stems) 133

-sar/-sär (conditional gerund) 223-225

sāyu (postposition) 194, 196

sän (pronoun) 162, 232, 233; sini 162, 163; säñä 162, 163

Secondary finite forms 230-235

-sïγ/-sig (denominal nouns) 120, 121; see -čïγ

-sïq/-sik (verbal nouns) 2, 73, 130, 211, 212, 231

-sïra-/-sirä- (denominal verbs) 73, 124; see -sïz/-siz and -a-/-ä- (denominal verbs)

siz (pronoun) 162, 232, 233

-sïz/-siz (denominal nouns) 73, 121

-sïzïn/-sizin: see -sïz/-siz

Spelling rules 27-50

ss < šs 112

Stress 115

Subject 251-253

Subordinate composition 135-138

Subordinate conjunctions 205, 206

Subordination 256

Suffixation 116-134

Syllable types 82

Syncope 80

System of writing 27

š (consonant) 91

-š (denominal nouns) 121

-š (deverbal nouns) 130, 131; see -s

-š- (reciprocal verbs) 133; see -s-

š s 107-110

t (consonant) 85-87

-t (plural) 140

-t- (causative verbs) 133

-ta-/-tä- (denominal verbs) 124

-ta/-tä (locative-ablative): see -da/-dä

taqï (coordinate conjunction) 202

-tan (locative-ablative) 156

tapa (postposition) 194, 196, 197

täg (postposition) 194, 196, 197

tägi (postposition) 194, 199, 200

tēyin/tīyin (subordinate conjunction) 205, 206

-tï/-ti, -dï/-di (adverbs) 72, 121, 186, 187

-tï/-ti (perfect): see -dï/-di

-tïm/-tim, etc. (perfect): see -dïm/-dim

-tïγ/-tig, etc. (perfect): see -dïñ/-diñ

-tïmïz/-timiz, etc. (perfect): see -dïmïz/-dimiz

-tïn (locative-ablative) 156, 169

-tigiz (perfect): see -dïñïz/-diñiz

tīp (subordinate conjunction) 205, 206

tt < dt 111, 112

tt < td 111

-tur-/-tür- (causative verbs) 134

-tuz-/-tüz- (causative verbs) 134

tükäti (adverb of degree) 188

-tüz (adverbial suffix in küntüz) 185, 186

u (vowel) 54, 55

ū (vowel) 54, 55, 75

u/ü (connective vowel) 70, 71

-u-/-ü- (denominal verbs) 124

-u/-ü (gerund) 217-219; see -a/-ä, -ï/-i

-u bar- (compound verbs) 136

-u bīr- (compound verbs) 137

-u/-ü ïd- (compound verbs) 137

-u qal- (compound verbs) 137

-u käl- (compound verbs) 138

-u/-ü uma- (compound verbs) 138

-u yorï- (compound verbs) 138

udu (coordinate conjunction) 203

-uq/-ük: see -q/-k (deverbal nouns)

ulayu (coordinate conjunction) 203

up (syllabic sign) 21, 25

-ur-/-ür- (causative verbs) 134

-ūr/-ǖr (participle) 231, 232; see -r, -ar/-är, -ïr/-ïr

ü (vowel) 59

ǖ (vowel) 59, 76

ü - ä < u - ä 79

-ü (gerund); see -u/-ü

-ü kör- (compound verb) 138

üčün (postposition) 194, 198, 199; (subordinate conjunction) 205, 206

üzä (postposition) 194, 199-201; (adverb of place) 179

Velar consonants 97-103

Verb inflection 210-239

Verbal complement 248, 249

Verbal noun + possessive suffix 230, 231

Verbal nouns 210-217

Vocalic harmony 59-73

Voluntative-imperative 226-228

Vowel alternations 77

Vowels 52-82

Word-formation 116-138

Word order 253, 254

ń (consonant) 97

ń ~ y 104

y (consonant) 95-97

y^2 (letter) 40)

y (hiatus filler) 114, 115

-y (Kipchak gerund) 221

yan, yän (postpositional noun) 201

yämä (coordinate conjunction) 204, 205

-yïn/-yin (gerund) 221, 222

z (consonant) 90

-z-, -ïz-/-iz-, -uz-/-üz- (causative verbs) 134

-z (deverbal nouns) 131

zt < zd 111

-zu/-zü (3rd person singular imperative) 226; see -zun/-zün

-zun/-zün (3rd person singular imperative) 226, 227; see -čun

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. Inscriptions and manuscripts

BK = Bilgä Kagan
IB = Irk Bitig
KČ = Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu)
KT = Kül Tigin
MČ = Moyun Čor (El-etmiš, Shine-Usu)
O = Ongin (Išbara Tarkan)
T = Tonyukuk
Yen. = Yenisei

B. Periodicals, books and scientific institutes

ABAW = Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften
Afh. = Samlede Afhandlungen III, København 1922
AJSLL = The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
Alttürk. = Alttürkische Grammatik, Leipzig 1950
AO = Acta Orientalia Hungarica, Budapest
BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
DTCFD = Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara
FAtlas = Inscriptions de l'Iénisséi
Fund. = Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Wiesbaden 1959
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSFOu = Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki
Käš. = Käšγarī
KCsA = Korösi Csoma Archivum, Budapest
Liu = Mao-Tsai Liu, Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe), Wiesbaden 1958
MSFOu = Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki
MSOS = Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen

OK = Oğuz Kağan Destanı, Istanbul 1936
RO = Rocznik Orientalistyczny
SBAW = Sitzungberiche der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften
SO = Studia Orientalia, Helsinki
TDAY = Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Ankara
TDK = Türk Dil Kurumu
TM = Türkiyat Mecmuası, Istanbul
TP = T'oung Pao
UJb = Ungarische Jahrbücher
UAJb = Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher
US = Uygur Sözlüğü
Verg. = Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZVO = Zapiski Vostočnogo Otdeleniya

C. Languages, dialects

Az. = Azarbaijani
Baš. = Bashkir
Chag. = Chagatay Turkic
Chin. = Chinese
Chuv. = Chuvash
Ind. = Indic
Iran. = Iranian
Karag. = Karagas
Khak. = Khakas
Khot. = Khotan Dialect
Khwar. = Khwarezmian Turkic
Kirg. = Kirgiz
Kkpk = Karakalpak
Koib. = Koibal
Mong. = Mongolian (Classical)
Parth. = Parthian
Sak. = Sakian (Khotanese)

Sar.uig. = Sarïγ-Uigur
Skr. = Sanskrit
Sogd. = Sogdian
Tib. = Tibetan
Turf. = Turfan Dialect
Turk. = Turkish
Turkm. = Turkmen
Tuv. = Tuva (Soyon, Uryankhay)
Uig. = Uigur
Yak. = Yakut