A GRAMMAR OF ORKHON TURKIC

03a RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES
(Bloomington)
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Thomas A. Sebeok *Chairman* Andrew Vázsonyi *Associate Chairman, Publications*



A GRAMMAR OF ORKHON TURKIC

by Talât Tekin

Published by
03. INDIANA UNIVERSITY, BLOOMINGTON
Mouton & Co., The Hague, The Netherlands

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY

OF

REŞİD RAHMETİ ARAT

(1900-1964)

FOREWORD

The corpus of the present work includes the five inscriptions left by the ancient Turks (T'u-kŭes of the Chinese annals), i.e., the Kül Tigin, Bilgä Kagan, Tonyukuk, İšbara Tarkan (Ongin) and Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu) inscriptions. The Moyun Čor (Shine-Usu), Kara-Balgasun and Suği inscriptions left by the Uigurs are excluded from the scope of this study. However, I have frequently referred to the Uigur inscriptions for comparison and when suitable examples were not found in the Orkhon inscriptions. Similarly, the Yenisei inscriptions, Ïrq Bitig and other manuscripts in the old Turkic "runic" script have often been referred to, although they, too, have been excluded from the corpus of this work.

The book consists of four parts. Part one contains a grammar written mainly along the lines of the system suggested in Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, I, Wiesbaden 1959, for the Turkic languages. It was submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the University of California at Los Angeles in 1965. This part also contains a chapter dealing with the "runic" script and spelling rules. The basic a priori assumptions which guided my reevaluation of the old Turkic script 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, in most cases, phonetically significant; and (3) vowel signs indicate long vowels as well as short ones. It will be seen, however, that, except for a few cases, I carefully avoided making generalizations with regard to the indication of vowel lengths in

transcription. Throughout the book, long vowels are indicated as such only when it is evident from the orthography that they are long.

The second and third parts contain the texts and their translations. In order to reproduce more accurate and complete texts of the inscriptions, I referred to all the published squeezes, copies, photographs and reproductions. When this work was almost completed, I was informed that the Polish Academy of Sciences has in its possession the new rubbings of the Orkhon inscriptions. None of these copies, however, has so far been published, nor has any work based on them yet appeared.

The texts and translations are followed by an exhaustive glossary, containing the entire lexical material of the five inscriptions. The words occurring in other inscriptions and given as examples in the grammar section are not listed in the glossary.

In conclusion, I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professors János Eckmann and Andreas Tietze of the University of California at Los Angeles who both encouraged me to take up Orkhon Turkic as a topic for my dissertation and made a number of valuable suggestions with regard to the improvement of this work. My thanks are also due to Dr. F. D. Ashnin of the Institute of Linguistics, Moscow, who provided me with some important publications which otherwise would have been unavailable to me.

Berkeley, California
May 29, 1967

Talât Tekin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Grammar 1
Abbreviations 3
0. Introduction 7
1. Script 21
1.1. The Alphabet 21
1.11. The Characters 21
1.12. Origin of the Alphabet 25
1.2. Orthography 30
1.21. System of Writing 30
1.22. Spelling Rules 30
1.221. Indication of Vowels 30
1.2211. Initial Vowels 30
1.2212. Non-Initial Vowels of the First Syllable. 32
1.2213. Word-Final Vowels . 33
1.2214. Vowels of Non-First Syllables 34
1.222. Indication of Consonants . . 38
1.2220. Double Consonant-Characters System . 38
1.2221. Use of the Sign $\underline{s}^2$ . . 39
1.2222. Use of the Sign $\underline{y}^2$ . . 40
1.2223. Use of Syllabic Signs 40
1.2224. Use of Compound Consonant-Characters 45
1.2225. Doubled Consonants . 47
1.3. Punctuation 48
2. Phonology 50
2.1. Vowels 50
2.11. Vowels of the First Syllable . . . 50
2.12. Vowels of the Non-First Syllables 56

2.121. The Vocalic Harmony . . . 56
2.1211. The Palatal Harmony 56
2.1212. The Labial Harmony 63
2.122. Long Vowels of Non-First Syllables 67
2.13. Vowel Alternations 70
2.14. Palatalization 71
2.15. Assimilation 72
2.151. Progressive Assimilation 72
2.152. Regressive Assimilation . 72
2.16. Contraction 73
2.17. Loss 73
2.171. Loss of Vowels 73
2.1711. Syncope 73
2.1712. Apocope 74
2.1713. Crasis 74
2.172. Haplology 74
2.2. Consonants 75
2.21. Labial Consonants 75
2.22. Dentals and Alveolars 77
2.23. Palatal Consonants 86
2.24. Velar Consonants 87
2.25. Consonant Changes 92
2.251. Nasalization 92
2.252. Denasalization 92
2.253. Dentalization of š 93
2.254. Alternation l/š 98
2.255. Assimilation of Consonants 98
2.2551. Progressive Assimilation 98
2.2552. Regressive Assimilation 99
2.256. Dissimilation of Consonants 100
2.257. Contraction 100
2.258. Prothesis 101
2.259. Epenthesis 101
2.3. Stress 102
3. Morphology 103
3.1. Word-Formation 103
3.11. Suffixation 103
3.111. Denominal Nouns 103
3.112. Denominal Verbs 108
3.113. Deverbal Nouns 110
3.114. Deverbal Verbs 115
3.12. Composition 118
3.121. Coordinate Composition. 118
3.122. Subordinate Composition 118
3.2. Inflection 120
3.21. Noun Inflection 120
3.211. Plurality 121
3.212. Possession 122
3.213. Coordination 124
3.214. Case 125
3.2141. Nominative 125
3.2142. Genitive 126
3.2143. Accusative 127
3.2144. Dative-Locative . . 130
3.2145. Locative-Ablative . 133
3.2146. Directive 135
3.2147. Equative 136
3.2148. Instrumental 136
3.2149. Comitative 137
3.22. Pronouns 138
3.221. Personal Pronouns 138
3.222. Demonstrative Pronouns 140
3.223. Intensive Pronouns 141
3.224. Interrogative Pronouns . 143
3.225. Indefinite Pronouns 144
3.23. Numerals 144
3.231. Cardinal Numerals 144
3.2311. Fractions 146
3.2312. Approximative Numerals 146
3.232. Ordinal Numerals 147
3.233. Collective Numerals . . . 148
3.234. Multiplicative Numerals. 148
3.235. Indefinite Numerals . . . 149
3.24. Adverbs 150

3.241. Adverbs of Place 150
3.242. Adverbs of Time 156
3.243. Adverbs of Manner 157
3.244. Adverbs of Degree 158
3.245. Adverbs of Comparison . 161
3.246. Adverbs of Number 161
3.247. Adverbs of Affirmation . 162
3.248. The Interrogative Adverb 162
3.25. Postpositions 162
3.251. Postpositions Governing the Nominative 162
3.252. Postpositions Governing the Dative-Locative ... 166
3.253. Postpositions Governing the Locative-Ablative .. 167
3.254. Postpositional Nouns ... 168
3.26. Conjunctions 168
3.261. Coordinate Conjunctions. 168
3.262. Subordinate Conjunctions 171
3.27. Particles 172
3.28. Verb Inflection 174
3.281. Verbal Nouns 174
3.2811. Verbal Noun in -γu/ -gü 175
3.2812. Verbal Noun in -maq/ -mäk 175
3.2813. Verbal Noun in -s'iq/ -sik 175
3.2814. Participle in -γma/ -gmä 176
3.2815. Participle in -r, -ar/ -är, etc. 177
3.2816. Participle in -maz/ -mäz 178
3.2817. Verbal Noun in -duq/ -dük 178
3.2818. Verbal Noun in -miš ~ -mis 179
3.2819. Verbal Noun in -dači/ -däči 180
3.28110. ärkli 180
3.282. Gerunds 180
3.2821. Gerund in -a/-ä, -ī/ -i, -u/-ü 180
3.2822. Gerund in -p 182
3.2823. Gerund in -pan/-pän 183
3.2824. Gerund in -yïn/-yin 183
3.2825. Gerund in -matī(n)/ -mätī(n) 184
3.2826. Gerund in -γaï/-gäli 184
3.2827. Gerund in -sar/-sär 185
3.2828. Gerund in -ča/-čä. 186
3.2829. ärkli 186
3.283. Finite Forms 186
3.2831. Primary Finite Forms 187
3.28311. The Voluntative-Imperative . 187
3.28312. The Perfect 188
3.2832. Secondary Finite Forms 190
3.28321. Verbal Noun-Possessive Suffix 190
3.28322. Participle-Personal Pronoun .. 191
3.2833. Composite Verb Forms 193
3.28331. Preterit of the Present ... 193
3.28332. Pluperfect . 195
3.28333. Preterit of the Future 196
3.28334. Conditional of the Perfect. 197
4. Syntax 199
4.1. Phrase Structure 199
4.11. Coordinate Phrases 199

4.111. Additive Phrases 199
4.112. Alternative Phrases ... 200
4.113. Appositive Phrases 200
4.12. Attributive Phrases 200
4.121. Nominal Phrases 201
4.1211. Descriptive and Definite Phrases.. 201
4.1212. Possessive Phrases 202
4.1213. The Numeral Phrase 203
4.122. Adjectival Phrases 203
4.13. Postpositional Phrases 204
4.14. Verbal Complement 204
4.141. Equational Complement . 204
4.142. Direct Object Complement 205
4.143. Adverbial Complement . 205
4.2. Clause Structure 206
4.21. The Predicate 206
4.22. The Subject..... 207
4.23. Agreement between the Subject and Predicate 208
4.231. Agreement in Person... 208
4.232. Agreement in Number .. 208
4.24. Word Order 209
4.25. Negation..... 209
4.26. Combination of Clauses..... 210
4.261. Coordination 210
4.2611. Coordination without Conjunction 210
4.2612. Coordination with Conjunction 210
4.262. Subordination..... 211
4.2621. Direct Discourse . 211
4.27. Parenthetical Clause 211
Grammatical Index 215
II. Texts..... 229
The Kül Tigin Inscription 231
The Bilgä Kagan Inscription 243
The Tonyukuk Inscription 249
The Ongin Inscription..... 255
The Küli Cor Inscription..... 257
III. Translations 259
Kül Tigin 261
Bilgä Kagan 275
Tonyukuk 283
Ongin 291
Küli Cor 293
IV. Glossary 297
Bibliography..... 409

I. GRAMMAR

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Inscriptions and manuscripts

BK	= Bilgä Kagan
IB	= Irq Bitig
KČ	= Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu)
KT	= Kül Tigin
MČ	= Moyun Čor (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, 2nd ed., 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
Kâš.	=	Kāšγarī (B. Atalay's edition)
KCsA	=	Korösi Csoma Archivum, Budapest
Liu	=	Mac-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, İstanbul 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, Ankara
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	=	Zeifschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZVO	=	Zapiski Vostočnogo Otdeleniya

C. Languages, dialects

Az.	=	Azerbaijani
Chag.	=	Chagatay Turkic
Chin.	=	Chinese
Chuv.	=	Chuvash
Ind.	=	Indic
Iran.	=	Iranian
Karag.	=	Karagas

Khak.	=	Khakas
Khot.	=	Khotan Dialect
Khwar.	=	Khwarezmian Turkic
Kipch.	=	Kipchak
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.	=	Turkmenian
Tuv.	=	Tuvian (Soyon, Uryankhay)
Uig.	=	Uigur
Volga Bulg.	=	Volga Bulgarian
Yak.	=	Yakut

D. Miscellaneous

E	=	East side (of an inscription)
W	=	West side (of an inscription)
N	=	North side (of an inscription)
S	=	South side (of an inscription)
F	=	Front side (of an inscription)
R	=	Right side (of an inscription)
<	=	developed from
>	=	changes to
~	=	alternates with

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 East 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 whose written records have come down to us. Its peculair 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: añïγ 'bad, evil' qoń 'sheep', etc.;

(d) Alternation of the velar nasal ŋ with γ/g: süŋü-küŋ ~ süŋükǖg 'thy bones', bardïγ (< * bardïŋ) 'thou didst go', etc.;

(e) Formation of the genitive case with -ïŋ/-iŋ;

(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 'Alttürkish' ('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'), 'vieus 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 East Turkic confederation, as is known from the inscriptions. Thus, to designate the official dialect of the second East 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, İšbara 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 on 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 seven 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 East 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 the 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 East 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 šad by Täŋrikän (= İlteriš Kagan?) by virtue of his rendering his service to the kagan. The author was born in the reign of Qapγan İlteriš 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 S13 as the name of the šad of the Tardush in 716 (cf. W. Kotwics and A. Samoĭlovitch, '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 İlteriš 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 Societe 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 up to 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'Iénisséi, notice préliminaire,' Bulletin de l'Académie 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-indes (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 inscriptions 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 (29p.).

Some manuscripts in Turkic runic script, including Irq 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 İl-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 reedited 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 (İl-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 alltürkischen 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), Helsingofrs 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 geschlossenen 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 turkischen Vokalharmonie,' UAJb XXIV, 1-2, pp. 105-111) and by Alessio Bombaci (Probleme der historischen Lautlehre der turkischen 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.

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 some old reading mistakes. The most recent treatise on the subject is an article by Omeljan Pritsak 'Das Alttürkische,' in: Handbuch der Orientalistik, Fünfter Band: Altaistik, Erster Abschnitt: Turkologie, Leiden/Köln 1963, pp. 27-52. In this article of his, the author rather tries to determine the characteristic features of what he calls 'Türküt' (Orkhon Turkic) and compares them with those of the Uigur dialect.

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-characters' (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; ay, äg; aq, äk; al, äl; an, än; ar, är; as, 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, ŋ, 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]

---

[1] The sign for the sound-combination aš occurs ten times in the Kemčik-Girgak inscription where the letter ⋀ is used to represent the consonant š, e.g., ᛚᛏ□ašnuqï (front, 2, 4), □ᛒbaš (back, 2), ᛬□ᛞyaš(ï)m (back, 4), ⋀᛬ᛗaltm(ï)š (back, 4), ⋀᛬ᚺᛚyetm(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, 189.

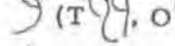
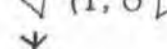
To these characters we may add the ligature ᛦ (= či) which occurs only once in the inscription of Tonyukuk (see 1, 2224, p.)

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

Characters	Transliteration	Transcription
	s^2	ās, s
(T, O, KČ, O)	t^1	at, t
	t^2	āt, t
	y^1	ay, y
 (T, O, KČ)	y^2	äy, y
	q	oq, uq, qo, qu, q
 (T, O, KČ)	k	ök, ük, kö, kü, k
 (T, O)	ı̈q	ïq, qï, q
	ič	ič
	č	ač, ač, č
 (T)	m	am, äm, m
	ń	ań, äń, ń
	ŋ	aŋ, äŋ, ŋ
	p	ap, äp, p
	š	as, äš, š
 (T, O, KČ)	z	az, äz, z
	lt	alt, lt
	nč	anč, anč, nč
 (T, O, KČ)	nt	ant, ant, nt
	aš	aš
	baš	baš[2]

[2] Apart from the letters discussed above and given in the table, the following signs occur in the Uigur and

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 alphabets.[3] 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.[4] Aristov and Mallitskiy suggested that the letters of the Turkic 'runic' script might have been developed from the Turkic tamgas.[5] According to Polivanov,

---

Yenisei inscriptions, and in the manuscripts found in Eastern Turkestan: = s^1 (in back-vocalic words), = e (closed e), , = $ŋ^1$, , = up (in the manuscripts), = ot (in Ïrq Bitig), = š.

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

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

[5] 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, İstanbul 1958, p. 115).

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

the Turkic script was mainly derived from the Turkic tamgas, but was slightly influenced by the Aramaic-Sogdian and Pehlevi alphabets.[6] He also 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.[7]

Of these theories, the one which has found more supporters than any other theory is that of Thomsen.[8] Today it is generally accepted that the old Turkic alphabet

---

[6] E. D. Polivanov, 'Ideografičeskiy motiv v formacii orxonskogo alfavita,' in Byulleten Sredne-Aziatskogo Gosud. Universiteta (Tashkent 1925), p. 9.

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

[8] 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 (Hanover, 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,

is mainly derived from the Aramaic alphabet, through one or more Iranian intermediaries.[9] In fact, there is a fairly close resemblance between certain letters of the Turkic alphabet and those of the Aramaic/Iranian alphabets.[10] 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.

Bloomington 1962, p. 199).

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

[10] 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).

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-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.[11] 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, ïq/qï, ič, aš, baš, up, and ot cannot be regarded as ligatures, because none of them seems to be a combination of two letters.[12] 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.[13]

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

---

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

[12] The only ligature used in the Orkhon inscriptions is = či (see 1.2224). This ligature is obviously a combination of the letters = č and = i.

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

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 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.[14] 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

---

[14] 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.

Empire.[15] 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. Initial Vowels

1°. The vowels a, ä, and e are not designated at the

---

[15] 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).

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^1q artuq 'too many, very many' (KČ E 13), d^2 gü ädgü 'good' (BK S 12), mgk ämgäk 'trouble' (KT E 19), r^2n^2 ärän '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), ačs^1q āčsïq 'the being hungry' (BK N 6), ačs^2 q āčsïq id. (KT S 8, 8), ačs^1ar^1 āčsār 'if you are hungry' (BK N 6), at^1 āt 'name, title' (BK E 41), $at^1\gamma$ ātïγ 'the title' (acc.) (KT W 2, KČ W 1), at^1in^2 ātïn 'the titles of' (acc.) (KT E 7, 7).

3°. The vowels ï and i are always indicated at the beginning of words: id^1q ïduq 'sacred, holy' (TII W 3), $iγr^1$ ïγar 'dear, beloved' (KT SE), it^1i ït(t)i '(they) sent' (KT S 12), ičkd^2 i ičikdi '(they) submitted' (TI W 2), igd^2 igid 'falsehood' (KT S 10), il^2 gr^2 ü ilgärü 'eastwards' (KT E 12), etc.

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

The initial i has not been marked only in the following examples: s^2 b^1r^1a (i)sbara proper name (O F 4), s^2 b^1r^1 $t^1r^1qn^1$ (i)sbar(a) tarqan (O Balbal), s^2 g (i)sig 'the labor' (acc.) (TII E 2; O R 2, 3), s^2 t^2 mi (i)stämi proper name (BK E 3), üzči öz (i)či 'its own interior' (TI S 6), d^2 i (i)di 'completely' (TI E 4), l^2 gr^2 ü (i)lgärü 'eastwards' (KT E 21), ŋl^2 ki aŋ (i)lki 'first' (KT E 32).

4°. The rounded vowels o, u, ö, and ü are always indicated at the beginning of words: u$γl^1$m oγlum 'my son' (BK S 9), ut^1z otuz 'thirty' (KT N 1), učz učuz 'easy' (TI W 13), ur^1š 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: 𐰴un^1 oqun 'with an arrow' (KT E 33, 36), etc. (see 1.22231).

If the following sound is k, the syllabic sign 𐰆, 𐰚 (=ök/ük) is preferably used to designate the initial sound groups ök and ük: 𐰴ün^2 ökün 'regret!' (BK E 19), 𐰴üš üküš 'numerous' (KT S 10), etc. (see 1.22232).

1.2212. Non-Initial Vowels of the First Syllable

1°. The non-initial a, ä and e of the first syllable are usually not expressed: b^{1}l^{1}𐰇 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^{1}iŋ bïŋ 'thousand' (TI E 1), qir^{1}q qïrq 'forty' (KG N 2), y^{1}il^{1}qa yïlqa 'in the year' (O R 4), b^{2}il^{2}ga bilgä 'wise' (KT E 3), kis^{2}i kisī 'man, human being' (BK E 3), etc.

If the preceding sound is q, the syllabic sign ◁, ▷ (=ïq/qï) may be used to indicate the sound group qï: 𐰇l^{1}p qïlïp 'having done' (O R 2), 𐰇s^{2}ms^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^{1}md^{1}i s(ï)madī 'he did not destroy' (KČ E 8), y^{1}γd^{1}m y(ï)γdïm 'I terrified' (O R 1), y^2 γd^{1}m y(i)γdïm id. (O R 1); b^{2}l^{2}t𐰴mn^2 b(i)ltükümün 'with what I know' (KČ S 3), b^{2}l^{2}ga b(i)lgä (TI W 5; O R 2, 3, 4; KČ W 8, 10, 12), (b^{2}l^2)ga b(i)lgä (KČ E 2; O Supp. 4), (b^{2}l^{2}g)a b(i)lgä (KČ E 7), b^{2}l^{2}gas^{2}i b(i)lgäsī 'his councelor' (KČ E 5), b^{2}l^{2}gs^{2}i b(i)lgäsī id. (TI W7), (b^2)l^{2}gas^{2}in^2

b(i)lgäsïn, 'his wiseness' (acc.) (KČ W 7), b^{2}l^{2}gn^2 b(i)ligin 'with intellect' (KČ S 3), b^{2}n^{2}t^{2}r^{2}a b(i)nt(ü)rä 'having ordered (the soldiers) to mount' (TI N 1), b^{2}z b(i)z 'we' (O F 7, 7; TI S 6), b^{2}zn^{2}i b(i)zni 'us' (TI E3), t^{2}l^{2}d^{2}m t(i)lädim 'I looked for' (TI E 6), y^{2}msq y(i)mšaq 'soft' (KT S 5, 6; BK N 4, 4), y^{2}nčga y(i)nčgä 'tender' (TI S 6, 6), y^{2}nčü yinčü 'pearl' (KT S 3, BK N 3, TII S 2, KČ E 4), y^{2}r^2 y(i)r 'north' in y(i)r bayïrqu (KT E 34, BK N 3), y^{2}pr^{1}iγ yiparïγ 'the scent' (BK S 11).

3°. The rounded vowel of the first syllable is, as a rule, marked: b^{1}ud^{1}n^1 bodun 'people' (KT E 9), qur^{1}γn^1 qorγan 'fort, fortress' (KT N 8), b^{1}ul^{1}ŋ buluŋ 'quarter' (KT E 2), y^{1}uy^{1}qa yuyqa 'thin' (TI S 6), b^{2}ür^{2}i böri 'wolf' (KT E 12), kür^{2}g 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}𐰴 toq 'full, satiated' (TI S 1), t^{1}𐰴uz toquz 'nine' (KT N 6), b^{1}𐰴a 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 𐰆, 𐰚: s^{2}𐰴d^{2}m sökdüm 'I made a way' (TI N 1), t^{2}𐰴t^{2}i töküti 'having shed' (TII E 2), y^{2}𐰴n^{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: 𐰴pn^2 qopin 'all together' (TI S 9), 𐰴n^{1}l^{1}d^{1}m qunladïm 'I took my revenge' (O R 1), 𐰴t^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 𐰆, 𐰚: 𐰴l^{2}kn^2 kölikin 'with carts' (TI S 8), 𐰴r^2 kör 'try (to ride fast)!' (TI N 2), 𐰴r^{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}ŋ b(u)luŋ 'quarter' (KT E 2), b^{2}gü b(ö)gü personal name (TII S 6).

1.2213. 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 sonsonant: r^1a ara 'between' (KT E 1), $b^1u\gamma zl^1$nti boγuzlantï 'he was slaughtered' (TI N 2), ul^1y^1u ulayu 'and' (KT N 9), kis^2i kisï 'people, person' (TI S 3), $b^2ŋgü$ bäŋgü '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 groups were considered one word by the inscriber: $nčt^1qi$ anč(a)-taqï 'moreover' (KT S 13), $s^2b^1r^1t^1r^1qn^1$ (i)sbar(a)-tarqan personal name (O Balbal), $qnty^1n^2$ qant(a)-yan 'from Khan' (TI N 9), $y^2ir^1d^1nty^1n^1$ yirïdïnt(a)-yan 'from the north' (TI S 4).

1.2214. Vowels of Non-First Syllables

1°. The vowels a and ä of non-first syllables, as a rule, are not marked: $qz\gamma n^1ms^1r^1$ qazγanmasar 'if (I) had not won' (TII E 5), $y^1l^1b^1či$ yalabačï 'their envoy' (BK E 39), $b^2üks^2i$ bökäsï 'his champion warrior' (KČ E 5), kl^2r^2m äkälärim 'my elder sister' (KT N 9), $s^2ül^2ms^2r^2$ sülämäsär 'if (we) do not wage war' (TI E 3), etc.; but $b^2l^2gas^2i$ bilgäsi 'his counselor' (KČ E 5), $[b^2]l^2gas^2in^2$ bilgäsïn 'his wiseness' (acc.) (KČ W 7).

The vowel ä, however, is sometimes marked. Only in the following examples ä of the non-first syllables is written: pam apām 'my ancestors' (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), pamz apamiz 'our ancestors' (KT E 19; O F 1), $r^1qas^1in^2$ arqāsïn 'its rump' (acc.) (KČ E 9), $s^1i\gamma t^1ams^2$ sïγtāmis 'they lamented' (KT E 4), $s^2i\gamma t^1amš$ siγtāmiš id. (BK E 5), $t^1pl^1amd^1i$ taplamadi 'they did not like' (BK E 35), $un^1amŋ$ unāmaŋ 'do not agree!' (TI N 11), $y^1u\gamma l^1amš$ yoγlāmiš 'they mourned' (BK E 5), $y^1u\gamma l^1ams^2$ yoγlāmis id. (KT E 4); $ačs^1ar^1$ āčsār 'if you are hungry' (BK N 6).

2°. The vowels i/i of non-first syllables are generally left undesignated: $d^1\gamma r^1\gamma$ adγïrïγ 'the stallion' (acc.) (KT E 36), $d^1r^1l^1ml^1m$ adrïlmalïm 'let us not be parted!' (O R 3), $b^1uŋs^2z$ buŋsiz 'in abundance' (TII S 4),

$t^1ut^1s^1qŋn^1$ tutsïqïŋïn 'your ruling' (acc.) (KT S 10), b^2d^2z bädiz 'picture' (KT N 13), y^2gr^2mi yegirmi 'twenty' (KT E 11), $ül^2s^2kŋn^2$ ölsikiŋin 'your being killed' (acc.) (KT S 10), $t^2ür^2gs^2$ türgis ethnic name (KT N 13), etc.

The exceptions are: qit^1mz aqït(t)ïmïz 'we rode fast' (KT N 8), but qt^1d^1mz aqïtdïmïz id. (TI N 1); n^1in^1 anïn 'by means of it' (TI E 7); $r^1i\gamma u$ arïγu 'to become tired' (TII W 2); $b^2ir^2ü$ äbirü 'going around' (TI N 2), but $b^2r^2ü$ äbirü (TI N 4; BK E 25); kin^2l^2g äkinlig 'hemmed?' (BK N 11); r^2ig ärig 'reachable' (KT S 13), but r^2g ärig (KT S 13); s^2id^2 äsid 'hear!' (KT S 2), $s^2id^2gl^2$ äsidgil id. (KT S 1), $s^2id^2ŋ$ äsidiŋ id. (KT S 10; BK N 8), but generally s^2d^2-; in^2is^2i inisï 'their younger brothers' (KT E 5), but generally in^2s^2i inisï; $ɣur^1iyr^1u$ qurïyaru 'westwards' (KT S 2, 3, E 24; BK N 2, 3, E 11), but generally $ɣur^1$+; $ɣur^1iqn^1$ qurïqan ethnic name (KT E 4, 14; BK E 5); uyl^1it^1i oγlïtï 'their sons' (KT E 5; BK E 5); y^2gir^2mi yegirmi 'twenty', but generally y^2gr^2mi; $y^2t^2inč$ yetinč 'seventh' (O R 4), but $y^2it^2nč$ yitinč (KT N 5, NE); $y^2pr^1iγ$ yiparïγ 'the scent' (acc.) (BK S 11); $y^1ul^1id^1mz$ yulïdïmïz 'we plundered' (TII W 4), $r^1mqčis^2in^2$ armaqčisïn (KT E 6), $y^1\gamma učis^2i$ ayγučisï (TI S 3; E 4, N 5), $b^2d^2zčig$ bädizčig (KT S 12, NE; BK N 14), $y^1\gamma icis^2i$ yaγïčisï (TII S 6); $kl^2t^2čimz$ kältäčimiz (TI S 7), $ul^2t^2čiča$ öltäčica (BK E 2); $d^1nčiγ$ adïnč(č)ïγ (KT S 12), but generally $d^1ncγ$; $y^1\gamma s^2iz$ yaγïsiz (KT E 30), but generally $-s^1z/-s^2z$.

3°. The vowels ï/ī of non-first syllables are generally written: γis^2i aγïsï (KT S 5), $b^2it^2id^2m$ bitïdim (KT SE), t^1uqid^1m toqïdïm (BK E 31), $y^1\gamma iγ$ yaγïγ (KT E 15), y^1zid^1a yazïda (TI N 9), ql^1is^2z qalïsiz (KT N 1), qr^1ip qarïp (KČ W 3), kis²ig kisïg (KT S 6), etc.

The exceptions are: $b^2it^2d^2m$ bitidim (KT SW; BK SW), $b^2(t^2)d^2m$ (KČ S 2), but generally bitïdim, bitït-; 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 bitïg (KČ S 3); čm äčim (KT E 17; BK E 15, 20, N 9), but generally čim

äčīm; kn²t²i (KT N 5), knti (BK S 1), but generally ekīnti; s²l²k (BK E 7; KT E 24), but s²il²k esīlik (KT E 7); kis²l²gü kisiligü (BK E 41), but generally kisīg, kisīsīn; s²učg sučig (BK N 4, 4, 5), but s²učig sučīg (KT S 5, 5, 6); t²ül²s² (BK E 12, S 13), but t²ül²is² tölīs (KT E 33); ud¹mad¹m udīmadīm (KT E 27), but ud¹imd¹m udīmadīm (BK E 22); ud¹mt¹i udīmatī (TII E 1); ud¹s²qm udīsīqīm (TI E 5), ud¹s²iqm udīsīqīm (TI S 5); y¹γs²i yaγīsī (BK E 11), y¹γmz yaγīmīz (TI S 1, TII E 2); y¹γs²iz (KT E 30), y¹γs²z (BK E 24) yaγīsiz, but generally yaγīγ, yaγīqa, yaγīsī; y¹ur¹- yorī- (KT E 12, 40, S 9; BK E 37, SE; TI S 4, N 5; O F 5, R 3), but generally y¹ur¹i- yorī- (KT S 4, 6), y¹ur¹t¹- yorit- (KT S 4, 6) but y¹ur¹it¹- yorīt- (TI N 1, 11); t²zkka tāzikkä (KČ E 4), but t²zik tāzīk (TII S 1); in the suffix -ayīn/-äyīn: ńt¹y¹n² ań¹ītayin (BK E 41), igd²y²n² igidäyin (BK E 35), but generally -y¹in²/-y²in²; in the suffix -ī/-sī: b¹t¹s²qra batsīqīŋa (O F 2), b²ŋa äbiŋä (KČ W 3, E 8), r²n² ärin (O F 3), l²ŋa eliŋä (O F 4), il²n² ilin (BK E 28), il²ŋa iliŋä (TI W 1), qut¹ŋa qutīŋa (KT E 31), uγl¹n² oγlin (KT E 7), t¹s¹n¹ tasīn (TI S 6), t²gd²kn² tägdükin (O R 2), t¹uγs²- qŋa toγsīqīŋa (O F 2), . . . γqŋa[tur]γaqīŋa (BK E 40), y¹zŋa yazīŋa (BK E 31), y²r²n² yerin (BK E 35), y²r²ŋr²ü yeriŋärü (BK E 40), y²r²ŋa yeriŋä (BK N 3), y²ir²ŋa yiriŋä (BK E 15), y²üzŋa yüziŋä (KT E 33); in the suffix -īr/-ir: b²il²r² bilir (KT N 10), but b²il²ir² bilīr (KT E 34); kl²r² kälir (OR 2), but kl²ir² kälīr (TI N 8).

4°. The vowels u/ü are generally written after syllables formed with the unrounded vowels: l¹t¹un¹ altun 'gold' (KT N 12), t¹l¹uy¹ taluy 'sea, ocean' (TI E 1), d²güt²i 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: ltzd¹i alt(u)zdī (KT E 38), b²n²t²r²a b(i)nt(ü)rä (TI N 1), r²mzn² ärmäz(ü)n (O F 3), t²ir²gr²ü tirg(ü)rü (KT E 29), y¹ntr¹u yant(u)ru (KT N 11), y²it²mzn² yitmäz(ü)n (O F 3), y²it²rü yit(ü)rü (KT E 7; BK E 7).

5°. Rounded vowels occurring after syllables formed with rounded vowels are not written in general: b¹ud¹n¹ bodun (KT N 3), t¹uqz toquz (BK E 1), ügzg ögüzüg (BK E 30), s²üŋš süŋüš (BK E 34), kümš kümüš (KT S 5), etc.

The exceptions are:

A. The short connective vowels in the following words: b¹ud¹un¹ bodun (KT E 4), but generally b¹ud¹n¹; qr¹l¹quγ qarluquγ (KT N 2); qunčy¹uγ qunčuyuγ (KT E 20), but qu(nč)y¹γ (BK E 17); qun¹ oqun (KT E 33, 36): ul¹ur¹- olur- (TI N 8), but generally ul¹r¹-; s²üŋkür süŋükün (KT E 24), but s²ünkg süŋüküg (BK E 20); küš üküš (KT S 10), but generally ükš; küs² üküs (KT S 6; TII W 4, 5), but üks² (TI W 7) and üks²g üküsüg (O F 7).

B. The stem-final vowels of the following words: b¹ul¹čud¹a bolčuda (BK E 28; KT E 37), b¹ul¹čuqa bolčuqa (TI N 11); ur¹tus²iŋr¹u ortusīŋaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2), but ur¹t¹s²iŋr¹u (BK N 2).

C. The rounded vowels of the following suffixes:

a. -čun: b¹ul¹čun¹ bolčun (KT E 11; BK E 10).

b. -γur-/-gür-: b¹ušγur¹ms² bošγurmis (KT E 13), b¹ušγur¹mš bošγurmiš (BK E 12), b¹ušγur¹ur bošγurūr (KT S 7, 7; BK N 5).

c. -qun (←γun): b¹uzqunča buzqunča (O R 1).

d. -tur-/-tür-: quntur¹- qontur- (KT E 21), but generally quntr¹-; küt²ür²- kötür- (KT E 11), but generally küt²r²-; ügt²ür²- ögtür- (KT W 2); ur¹t¹ur¹- urtur- (KT S 12); y²ügt²ür²- yügtür- (KČ W 2); y²üktür- yüküntür- (KT E 15), but generally y²üktr²-.

e. -ur-/-ür-: ül²ür²- ölür- (KT E 10, N 1; TI S 3, 4), but generally ül²r²-; s²ükür - sökür- (KT E 2, 15), but generally s²ükr²- ; t²üs²ür²- tüsür- (TI N 3); y¹uŋšur¹- yoŋšur- (KT E 6; BK E 7).

D. The rounded vowels of the following words: ükün² ökün- (KT E 23), kün² ökün (BK E 19), but ükn² ökün-; t¹quz toquz (KT N 4 and 8 more occurrences), but generally t¹uqz; t²ügl²t²ün² tögültün (BK N 5), but t²ügl² t²n² (KT S 6); y²küntr²- yüküntür- (KT E 18), but generally y²üktr²-.

E. Long vowels: ur^{1}d^{1}uγ ordūγ (KT N 8, 9); ur^{1}uqi orūqī (TI E 7); s^{2}ün̄ūg sün̄ūg (KT E 35), but generally s^{2}ün̄g; t^{2}ür^{2}üg törūg (KT E 3, 16, 30; BK E 2, 4, 36), t^{2}ür^{2}üd^{2}a törūdä (KT E 16, BK E 14), t^{2}ür^{2}ümz (KT E 22), t^{2}ür^{2}ün^{2} törūn (BK N 9, 10, 10), t^{2}ür^{2}ün̄n törūn̄in (KT E 22), t^{2}ür^{2}üs^{2}in^{2} törūsīn (KT E 1, 8, 13, 31; BK E 3), t^{2}ür^{2}üs^{2}inča törūsīnčä (KT E 13; BK E 12), but t^{2}ür^{2}gn^{2} törügin (BK E 19), t^{2}ür^{2}s^{2}in^{2} törüsīn (BK E 8), (t^{2}ü)r^{2}s^{2} in^{2} tōrūsīn (BK E 11); t^{2}ür^{2}ü- törū- (KT N 10), t^{2}üpüt^{2} tüpūt (KT E 4; BK E 5), t^{2}üpüt^{2}ka tüpūtkä (KT S 3; BK N 3); üt^{2}ükn^{2} ötūkän (KT S 8; BK N 6), but generally üt^{2}qn^{2}, üt^{2}kn^{2}; üt^{2}ül^{2}g ötūlüg (BK E 34); üčün^{2} üčūn (KT N 4 and 17 more occurrences), but generally üčn^{2}; ül^{2}ügm ülügüm (KT E 29), but generally ül^{2}g; in the suffix -ūr/-ūr: kür^{2}ür^{2} körūr (KT N 10; BK N 2), but qür^{2}r^{2} (TI W 1); qur^{1}qur^{1} qorqūr (TII W 4); ul^{1}r^{1}ur^{1} olurūr (KT E 3; BK E 4; TI W 7, S 1; TII N 4), but ul^{1}r^{1}r^{1} (TI S 1); üy^{2}ür^{2} öyūr (KT S 5); ükl^{2}ür^{2} ökülūr (TI N 8); b^{1}ušγur^{1}ur^{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 sonsonant 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:

ql^{1}md^{1}i qalmadï (TI W 4)	kl^{2}md^{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}γ^{1} sabïγ (TI N 9)	s^{2}b^{2}g sābig (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 counter-parts. Some of these spellings are just scribal errors and do not reflect any phonetical development: b^{2}ul^{1}ŋγ buluŋuγ (O F 1), qγn^{1}l^{1}d^{2}q qaγanladuq (O F 2), qzγn^{1}ms^{1}r^{2} qazγanmasar (TII E 4, N 1), etc. Some of them, however, seem phonetically significant: qt^{1}γd^{2}i qatïγdi (KT N 11), s^{2}iy^{1}u siyu (KT E 36), t^{2}iŋl^{1}a tinla (KT S 2), y^{2}imšq 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 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 āčsïq (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}qiŋa batsïqïŋa (KT S 2), b^{1}t^{1}s^{2}qra batsïqïŋa (O F 2), but b^{1}t^{1}s^{1}qiŋa (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 qabïsaliïm (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}qŋa toγsïqïŋa (O F 2); ud^{1}s^{2}iqm (TI S 5) and ud^{1}s^{2}qm udïsïqïm (TI E 5); y^{2}il^{1}s^{2}γ (KT E 26) and (y)il^{1}s^{2}γ [y]ïlsïγ (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);

b¹ ul¹ s² r¹ bolsar (TI S 6), generally -s¹ r¹; b¹ us² t¹ ... busta [dī?] (KT NE); s² b¹ n¹ sabīn (TI N 5), generally s¹ b¹; s² b¹ γ sabïγ (TI S 5); s² d¹ sad (O F 6, 8), generally šd¹, s¹ d¹; s² nčd¹ m sančdīm (O R 2), generally s¹ nč-; s² qntm saqïntīm (TI W 6; O R 2), generally s¹ qntm; s² ub¹ sub (TII W 3), generally s¹ ub¹; t¹ r¹ d¹ us² tardus (TI N 7, TII W 6), generally t¹ r¹ d¹ uš; t¹ s² ul¹ ... tasul [mazun] (O F 8); ul¹ s² ulus (KT N 12); y¹ l¹ ŋus² yalïŋus (KČ E 11), y¹ ur¹ ms² r¹ yorïmasar (TI N 5).

1.2222. Use of the Sign y²

1°. In first syllable with ï initial y is generally represented by the front-vocalic consonant sign y² instead of its back counterpart y¹: y² il¹ yïl (in general), but y¹ il¹ qa yïlqa (O R 4); y² il¹ qi yïlqï (in general), but y¹(l¹) q(..) in¹ yïlq[ïs]ïn (KT SW); y² il¹ pγut¹ i yïlpaγutī (BK E 31); y² il¹ s² γ yïlsïγ (KT E 26); y² is¹ γr¹ u yïsγaru (TI S 8), but generally y¹ is¹.

2°. The sign y² is also used to designate initial y in the following words: y² uγn¹ yoγun (TI S 7), but y¹ uγn¹ (BK S 15); y² uq yoq (TI E 1), y² ϥ (TI E 4), but generally y¹ ϥ, y¹ uϥ; y² ur¹ il¹ m yorïlïm (TI N 5), but generally y¹ur¹i-; y² ur¹ it¹- yorït- (TI N 11), but y¹ ur¹ it¹ - (TI N 1), y¹ ur¹ t¹ - (KT S 4, 6).

1.2223. Use of Syllabic Signs

1.22231. Use of the Syllabic Sign ϥ

The syllabic sign ϥ is used to represent:

1°. The sound group oq: ϥ oq emphasizing particle (TII W 7, E 2, E 3), un¹ ϥ on-oq (in general), ϥun¹ oqun (KT E 33, 36), but uqs¹ z oqsïz (KT E 3; BK E 4), uqγl¹ i oqïγalï (BK E 38); t¹ ϥ toq (TI S 1), t¹ ϥr¹ toqar (TII S 1); t¹ ϥid¹ i toqïdï (KT N 6), but t¹ uqid¹ m toqïdïm (BK E 31, S 8); t¹ ϥit¹ d¹ m toqïtdïm (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15, 15), but t¹ uqit¹ d¹ m (KT S 12); t¹ ϥuz toquz (KT N 4, 6, 9, S 2, S 3, E 14; BK E 12, 35), t¹ ϥ(..) toq[uz] (BK S 9), t¹ ϥz toquz

(BK E 34), but t¹ uqz (BK E 1, S 9; TI S 2; KČ E 4; O F 6), t¹ uqznč toquzunč (KT NE); y¹ ϥ yoq (in general), y²ϥ (TI E 4), but y² uq (TI E 1), y¹ uqd¹ u yoqadu (KT E 10).

The vowel sign u is used before the syllabic sign ϥ in the following example: y¹ uϥ yōq (KT E 11, 39; O F 1).

2°. The sound group uq in medial and final positions: r¹ t¹ ϥ artuq (KT E 33), d¹ r¹ md¹ ϥ adrïlmaduq (O R 3), b¹ r¹-d¹ ϥ barduq (KT E 24), b¹ ul¹ t¹ ϥd¹ a boltuqda (O F 1), b¹ ul¹-t¹ ϥinta boltuqïnta (KT N 3), b¹ ϥa buqa (TI W 6), b¹ uy¹ r¹ ϥ buyruq (KT S 1), etc.

The vowel sign u is used before the syllabic sign ϥ in the following examples: b¹ uϥa būqa (TI W 6), b¹ uϥl¹ i būqalï (TI W 5, 5), ur¹ uϥi orūqī (TI E 7).

The exceptions are: zuqí azuqī (KT E 39), b¹ uqγ buquγ (BK S 10), s¹ uqn¹ suqun (BK E 38).

3°. The sound group qo in the following words: ϥpn² qopin (TI S 9); ϥn¹ l¹ d¹ m qunladïm (O R 4), ϥt¹ qut (O F 8).

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

A. Before o: ϥub¹ s¹ r¹ p qobsarïp (KC S 2). ϥud¹ p qodup (TI W 2, 3), ϥud¹ i qodï (BK E 37; TI N 3), ϥuql¹ q qoqlïq (BK S 11), ϥuntr¹- qontur- (generally), but qu . . . qo[nturtumïz] (KT E 38), ϥun¹- qon- (generally); ϥup qop (generally), but qup (KT E 2, 2, 2); ϥup(n¹) qopïn (TII W 1); ϥur¹ γŋn¹ i qorayïŋnï (O R 4); ϥur¹ γu qorïγu (BK E 41); ϥur¹ γ . . . qorγ[anqa] (BK E 40), but qur¹ γn¹ (KT N 8; BK E 31); ϥur¹ q- qorq- (TII W 4, 6; O F 7); ϥušu qŏsu (KT N 1); ϥut¹ i qot(t)ï (BK S 12); ϥuń qoń (KT E 12, NE; BK E 11), but quń (O R 4).

B. Before u: ϥuγ quγ (BK S 9), ϥun¹ i qunï (TI S 2), but qu (BK S 8); ϥub¹ r¹ n¹- qubran- (TI W 4), ϥub¹ r¹ t¹- qubrat- (KT S 10; BK N 7), but qub¹ r¹ t¹- (KT E 12; BK E 11); ϥul¹ qul (generally), but qul¹ (KT E 7; BK E 17, 36); ϥul¹ l¹ γ qulluγ (KT E 21; BK E 18); ϥul¹ d¹ ms² quladmis (KT E 13); ϥul¹ qqn¹ qulqaqïn (BK N 11), ϥul¹-qqin² qulqaqïn (BK S 12); ϥunčy¹ l¹ r¹ m qunčuylarïm (KT N 9), ϥunčy¹ uγ qunčuyuγ (KT E 20), ϥu(.)y¹ γ qu[nču]yuγ

(BK E 17); ɢur¹d¹n¹ qurïdïn (KT W 1), but qur¹d¹nta qurïdïnta (TI S 7); ɢur¹γr¹u - ɢur¹iγr¹u qurïγaru (generally); ɢur¹y¹qi qurïyaqï (TI S 10), but qur¹y¹a (KT N 12; TI S 7); ɢur¹iqn¹ qurïqan (KT E 4, 14; BK E 5); ɢut¹i qutï (BK E 35), ɢut¹ŋa qutïŋa (KT E 31), ɢut¹m qutum (KT E 29, S 9; BK E 23, N 7); ɢut¹y¹ qutay (KT S 5; BK N 4), ɢut¹y¹in² qutayïn (BK N 11).

The exceptions are: qumγ qumuγ (TI W 7), qu(r¹d¹)m qu[radï]m (O R 4), quš1¹ γqd¹a quš-alγaqda (KT N 5), quzïn² quzïn (TI W 7).

C. Before u, medially: b¹y¹r¹ɢu bayïrqu (KT S 4; BK N 3), b¹y¹r¹ɢ(u) bayïrqu (KT E 34), b¹y¹r¹qun¹(ñ) bayïrqunïŋ (KT E 35), b¹y¹r¹ɢun²ŋ bayïrquniŋ (KT E 36); b¹uzɢunča buzqunča (O R 1), ɢur¹ɢur¹ qorqūr (TII W 4); t¹ut¹ɢ(...) tutqu ... (BK S 10).

The exception is: r¹quy¹ arquy (TII E 3).

1.22232. Use of the Syllabic Sign ɡ

The syllabic sign ɡ is used to represent:

1°. The sound group ök and ük in initial position: ɡök emphasizing particle (generally); ɡün² ökün (BK E 19), but ükün² (KT E 23), ükn²p ökünüp (KT E 40; BK E 38); ɡüš üküš (KT S 10), ɡüs² üküs (KT S 6; TII W 5), but generally ükš, üks².

But: ükl²ür² ökülür (TI N 8).

2°. The sound group ök in medial and final positions: kɡ kök emphasizing particle (TI N 6), kɡ kök id. (TI S 8, E 4); s²ɡd²m sökdüm (TI N 1), but s²ükpn² söküpän (KT E 35; BK E 27), s²ükür²-~-s²ükr² - sökür- (in general); t²ɡt²i töküti (TII E 2).

But: b²üks²i bökäsï (KČ E 5); kük (generally), ɡük (KT E 3) kök 'blue'; t²ükd²i tökdi (KČ E 5).

3°. The sound group ük in medial and final positions: b²d²ɡ bädük (O F 6), b²il²md²ɡ bilmädük (KT E 24), b²l²t²ɡmn² biltükümün (KČ S 3), s²d²md²ɡ äsidmädük (BK N 11), t²ür²ɡ türük (KT S 1), etc.

The exceptions are: üt²ükn² (KT S 8; BK N 6), üt²kn² (TI S 8, 10, 10), but generally üt²ɡn² ötükän; y²ükntr²- yüküntür- (BK E 13, N 10), y²ükntü . . . yüküntür- (KT E 15), . . . kntr- [yü]küntür- (BK E 3), but y²ɡntr²- (KT E 2); b²ükl²i bükli (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5, 8); t²ükt²i tükäti (KT S ; BK N 1).

4°. The sound groups kö/kü in the following examples: kɡ²kn² kölikin (TI S 8), ɡr² kör (TI S 8), ɡr²t²g körtüg (O F 7), y²üɡnti yükünti (TII W 8), generally y²ɡnti.

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

A. Before ö: kögmn² kögmän (TI E 6, N 4), but generally kügmn²; ɡük kök 'blue' (KT E 3), but generally kük kök; kɡ kök emphasizing particle (TI S 8, E 4); ɡüŋl²ŋča köŋlüŋčä (TI N 8), but generally küŋl² köŋül; kür²- kör- (TI W 1), but generally kür²- kör-; ɡür²g körüg (TI N 5, 9), but kür²g (TI S 1, 2).

The exceptions are: küb²r²gs²i köbürgäsï (BK W 4), külta kültä (KT E 34, N 2), küt²ür²- ~küt²r²- kötür- (generally), küzd²a közdä (KT N 11), küzi közï (KT N 11; BK E 2), küzm közüm (KT N 10), küzn² közün (BK N 11).

B. Before ü: kü kü (KČ W 12), but generally kü; ɡükd²i kükädi (KČ W 4); ɡüč küč (KT E 12), ɡüčg küčüg (KT W 1; TII E 2), ɡüčl²g küčlüg (O R 4), but generally küč; ɡül² kül (KT W 1, 1, E 26; BK E 21), but generally kül; ɡül²i küli (KČ W 2 and 11 more occurrences); ɡül²g külüg (O Supp. 6), but kül²g (KT E 4; BK E 5); ɡüms² kümüs (TII S 4), but generally kümš, küms²; ɡün² kün (KT E 4, 8; TI N 3; TII W 4), but generally kün²; ɡüntz küntüz (TII E 2), but kün²t² z (KT E 27; TI S 5), küntz (BK E 22); ɡür² kür (TI N 8), but kür²l²g (KT E 6), kür²l²gin² (BK E 6); ɡüzd²ü küzädü (KT W 1).

The exceptions are: küŋ küŋ (KT E 7 and 7 more occurrences), küŋd²ms² küŋädmis (KT E 13), küŋl²g küŋlüg (BK E 18); kür² güŋn² kürägüŋin (KT E 23; BK E 19).

1.22233. Use of the Syllabic Sign ḳ

The syllabic sign ḳ is used to represent:

1°. The sound group ïq in initial, medial, and final positions: ḳid^{1}mz ïqïdmaz (KT S 6); b^{1}l^{1}ḳ balïq (BK E 28; TI E 2), b^{1}l^{1}ḳd^{1}a balïqda (KT N 4; BK E 30; KČ W 11), b^{1}l^{1}ḳd^{1}qi balïqdaqï (KT E 12), b^{1}l^{1}ḳa balïq(q)a (TI E 1; O R 1), b^{1}(l^{1}ḳa) balïq(q)a (TI E 2); b^{1}t^{1}s^{1}ḳiña (BK N 2), b^{1}t^{1}s^{2}ḳiŋa (KT S 2) batsïqïŋa, but b^{1}t^{1}s^{1}qd^{1}qi batsïqdaqï (KT N 12), b^{1}t^{1}s^{2}qŋa batsïqïna (O F 2); t^{1}γḳ- taγïq- (KT E 12); t^{1}šḳ- tašïq- (BK E 32), t^{1}s^{1}ḳ- tasïq- (TI N 9, 9, 6, 6), but t^{1}šq- tašïq- (KT E 11, N 8); ud^{1}s^{2}ḳm udïsïqïm (TI E 5), but ud^{1}s^{2}iqm udïsïqïm (TI S 5).

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

The exceptions are: ačs^{1}q āčsïq (BK N 6), āčs^{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 čïqanï (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}qiŋa toγsïqïŋa (BK N 2), t^{1}uγs^{2}qŋa toγsïqïŋa (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: zḳńa azqïńa (KT E 34), but zqńa azqïńa (TI S 2); ḳl^{1}p qïlïp (O R 2); ḳs^{2}ms^{2} qïsmis (O F 1).

3°. The initial consonant q before the vowel ï: ḳilti qïltï (BK E 14), but generally qil^{1}-; ḳil^{1}ntm qïlïntïm (O F 4), ḳil^{2}ntm qïlintim (TI W 1), but generally qil^{1}n^{1}-; ḳil^{1}čl^{1}d^{1}i qïlïčladï (KT N 5); ḳir^{1}γγl^{1}γ qïrγaγlïγ (BK N 11); ḳir^{1}q qïrq (KT E 15, NE), but qir^{1}q (KT N 2); ḳirqz qïrqïz (generally), but qir^{1}qz (KT E 20); ḳis^{1}- qïs- (TI E 4, W 5, W 11), but qis^{1}- (TI W 6), qiš- qïš- (KT E 32, 34; BK E 25); ḳis^{1}γa qïsγa (KČ E 11); ḳis^{1}l^{1}t^{1}a qïsïlta (BK E 37); ḳišn^{1} qïšïn (BK S 2), ḳišl^{1}d^{1}ḳd^{1}a qïšladuqda (BK E 31), but qišl^{1}p qïšlap (KT N 8); ḳit^{1}ń qïtań (generally), but qit^{1}ńγr^{1}u qïtańγaru (TI S 2), qit^{1}ńγ qïtańïγ (TI W 7);

ḳiy^{1}n^{2}γ qïyinïγ (TI N 8); ḳiz qïz (generally); ḳizp qïzïp (TII W 5); ḳizl^{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-; ič^{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. Use of the Syllabic Sign baš

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

1.22237. Use of the Ligature ⅄ (= či)

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

1.2224. Use of Compound Consonant-Characters

1.22241. Use of the Sign lt

The compound consonant-character lt is used to represent the sound 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 alt(u)zdï (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}ḳd^{1}a (O F 1, 6), b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}ḳinta (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); 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 ŋltči yaŋïltači (KT S 11); y^1 ŋlti yaŋïltï (KT E 20), (y^1) ŋlti yaŋïltï (BK E 35); y^1 ŋltγ yaŋïltïγ (KT E 23; BK E 19); y^1 ŋltϑin^2 yaŋïltuqïn (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); qis^1 l^1 t^1 a qïsïlta (BK E 37).

1.22242. Use of the Sign 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 ntϑd^1 a qïlïntuqda (KT E 1), etc.

The exceptions are b^2 n^2 t^2 r^2 a b(i)nt(ü)rä (TI N 1); b^2 izn^2 t^2 a bizintä (TII W 5); b^2 ün^2 t^2 gi büntägi (TII E 7); zgn^2 t^2 i äzginti (KT N 7), but zgnti (BK E 31); kin^2 t^2 i ekïnti (KT E 33; TII W 4), kn^2 t^2 i ekinti (BK E 30); l^2 in^2 t^2 a elïntä (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), kün^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 önt(ü)rü (TI N 11); ür^2 pn^2 t^2 a örpäntä (BK E 26); üt^2 n^2 t^2 ϑ 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 yerïntä (TI W 3, S 4; TII N 2); y^2 üϑn^2 t^2 i yükünti (TII W 8), y^2 ϑn^2 t^2 i yükünti (TI N 4, TII S 2), but y^2 ükntr^2- yüküntür- (generally).

1.22243. Use of the Sign 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 arinč (generally), b^2 is^2 nč bisinč (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 y(i)nčgä (TI S 6, 6), y^2 it^2 nč yitinč (KT N 5), etc.

1.2225. 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^1 nčiγ adïnč(č)ïγ (KT S 12), d^1 nčγ adïnč(č)ïγ (BK N 14, 14).

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

3°. γ(γ): γ^1 γl^1 yaγ(γ)ïl (TI W 5).

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

5°. q(q): b^1 l^1 ɋa balïq(q)a (TI E 1; O R 1); b^1 l^1 iɋa balïq(q)a 'into the mud' (KT N 8); id^1 ϑt^1 iduq(q)ut (BK E 25), cf. t^1 ut^1 ϑt^1 qa tutuq(q)utqa (Abakan, front); ul^1 r^1 t^1 ϑa olurtuq(q)a (BK E 14); t^1 uγs^1 qa toγsïq(q)a (KT S 2; BK E 8); t^1 uńϑϑa tońuquq(q)a (TI N 7); y^1 r^1 l^1 q- yarlïq(q)a- (generally); y^1 ϑr^1 u yoq(q)aru (TI N 1).

6°. k(k): b^2 ir^2 t^2 ϑr^2 ü birtük(k)ärü (BK E 9) = b^2ir^{2}t^2 ϑgr^2 ü (KT E 10).

7°. l(l), l(l): y^1 ul^1 γ yol(l)uγ (KT S 13, SE, SE); čül^{2}g čöl(l)üg (KT E 4; BK E 5), il^2 d^2 ϑ il(l) ädük (BK E 7).

8°. n(n): qčn^{2}ŋ qačan(n)äŋ (TI E 3, N 5), qčn^{1}ŋ qačan(n)aŋ (TI E 4).

9°. s(s): < šs: qb^{1}s^{1}r^1 qabïs(s)ar (TI S 5).

10°. t(t): γt^{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)'i (KT E 7, S 12; BK E 7, N 14), it^{1}m ït(t)'im (BK E 40; TI N 9; TII E 2), it^{1}mz ït(t)'imïz (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); ϱut^{1}i qot(tï) (BK S 12); ϱub^{1}r^{1}t^{1}m qubrat(tï)m (BK N 7); ul^{1}r^{1}t^{1}i olurt(tï) (KČ E 12); y^{1}γt^{1}ϱd^{1}a yaγït(t)uqda (KČ W 5, E 6); y^{1}uγl^{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}gg illigig (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), qr^{1}l^{1}ϱqa qarluqqa (KČ E 7), ϱul^{1}l^{1}γ qulluγ (KT E 21; BK E 18), t^{2}zkka täzikkä (KČ E 4), y^{1}ul^{1}l^{1}γ 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}ŋr^{2}id^{2}a:b^{1}ul^{1}mš:t^{2}ür^{2}ϱ:b^{2}il^{2}ga:qγn^1: (KT S 1)
täŋridä bolmiš türük bilgä qaγan
:t^{2}ür^{2}ϱ:b^{2}gl^{2}r^2:b^{1}ud^{1}n^1:b^{1}un^{1}i:s^{2}id^{2}ŋ: (KT S 10)
türük bäglär bodun buni äsidiŋ

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}ϱd^{2}a:b^{1}y^{1}r^{1}ϱun^{2}ŋ:qd^{1}γr^{1}γ: (KT E 36) ol tägdükdä bayirquniŋ aq adγiriγ :kir^{2}g:ud^{1}šr^{1}u:š^{1}nčd^{1}i: (KT E 36, N 2) eki arig ud ašru sančdi :b^{2}izŋs^{2}u:t^{1}i:t^{1}ur^{1}ϱ:zuqi:y^{1}uϱr^{2}t^{2}i: (KT E 39) biziŋ su ati toruq azuqi yoq arti

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 isig küčüg birür män tir 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}uϱup:t^{1}ur^{1}u:ɑl^{2}ɑ: yir sayu qop toru ölɑ (KT S 9) :üzakük:t^{2}ŋr^{2}i: üzä kök täŋri (KT E 1) :b^{1}ul^{1}t^{1}či:r^{2}t^{2}iuza:y^{1}ná:kl^{2}gma: boltači ärti oza yańa käligmä (BK E 30) :üd^{2}t^{2}ŋr^{2}i:y^{1}s^{1}r^1: öd täŋri yasar (KT N 10) (instead of :üd^2:t^{2}ŋr^{2}iy^{1}s^{1}r: or :üd^2:t^{2}ŋr^{2}i:y^{1}s^{1}r^1:)

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. The Vowels

Orkhon Turkic has the following vowels: a, ä, e, ı, 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, ı, o, u), high vowels (ı, i, u, ü) versus low vowels (a, ä, o, ö), and unrounded vowels (a, ä, ı, 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), adyır 'stallion' (BK N 11), balıq 'city, town' (TI E 2), bar- 'to go' (BK E 35), qara 'black' (TII E 2), taluy 'sea, ocean' (TI E 1), yayın 'in the summer' (BK E 39), yazı '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 tayam, Turkm. tām id.).

2.112. The Vowel ı

1°. The existence of ı 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), sïγtä- 'to lament, wail' (KT E 4) (= Yak. ïtā- 'to cry'), tïl 'word, news' (TII W 1) (= Yak. tïl, Tuv. dïl id.), yïlqı 'stud, horses' (KČ E 13) (= Khak., Tuv. čılγï, Yak. sılγï id.), yïs 'wooded mountain' (TI E 3) (= Khak. čıs '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 syllable sign q (= ïq/qï) could have been a criterion to distinguish between ı and ï in at least one group of words, but its use initially and before the sign ï 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. ıt- id.), qïz 'female' (KT E 24) (= Yak. kıs, Turkm. yız id.).

2.113. The Vowel o

1°. Short: bod 'tribe, a group of people' (TI W 4) (= Kāš., Turk. boy id.), čoraq '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: y¹uq yōq (KT E 11, 39; O F 1) (cf. MČ W 4: y¹uq; Abakan, front 4: y¹uq; Kāš. yōq, Yak. suoх id.).

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

2.114. The vowel u

1°. Short: buluŋ 'corner, quarter' (KT E 2) (= Tuv. buluŋ, Khak. puluŋ 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 ū. The existence of a long ū in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the spelling of the word būqa 'bull': b¹uqa būqa (TI W 6), b¹uq¹i būqalï (TI W 5, 5); cf. this spelling with that of buqaraq 'Bukhara' (KT N 2) and that of buquy '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.), uč 'end, edge, wing' (TII W 5) (cf. Kāš. ūč, Turkm. ūč, cf. also Turk. and Az.: voicing of č before a vowel), ur- 'to hit; to place' (KT E 36) (cf. Yak. ūr- 'to place, put, Turk. vur- id.).

2.115. The Vowel ä (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. IB: 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: ber- 'to give' (KT E 12) ~ bir- (KT E 8) (= Yak. biär-, Turk., Az. ber-), bes 'five' (TII S 5) ~ bis (BK S 11) ~ biš (KT N 4, E 18) (= Yak. biäs, Az. beš, Volga Bulg. biäl+ id.), el 'people, tribes, state' (KT E 4) ~ il (BK E 5) (= Turkm. īl), et- 'to do, make, organize' (KT E 11, BK E 10) ~ it- (generally), kiŋsür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) (cf. Kāš. kīŋ 'wide', Turkm. gīŋ, Yak. kiäŋ id.), te- 'to say, tell' (TI W 5) ~ ti- (KT E 9) (= Yak. diä-, Turkm. dī-, Az. de-, Chuv. te- / tey- id.) ter- 'to bring together, gather' in el-teris (O F 4) ~ tir- (BK E 11) (= Khak. tēr-, Turkm. tīr- id.), ye- 'to eat' (TI S 1) ~ yi- (TI S 1) (= Turkm. ī-, Yak. siä-, Chuv. śi- ~ śiy id.), yog 'better' (BK E 24) ~ yig (KT S 4, BK N 3) (= Kāš. yīg id.), yeti 'seven' (KT E 15) ~ yiti (BK SE) (= Az. yeddi, Yak. sättä, Chuv. śiċċe: gemination of t under the influence of the preceding long vowel; Turk. yedi: voicing of t), yetmiš 'seventy' (BK E 11), yetmis (KT E 12) (Yen. y^2 et^2 mš yētmiš; it is very remarkable that in Uyug-Turan b 2 the separation mark is put after the sign for e: y^2 e: t^2 mš = yētmiš).

To these the following words may also be added: kičä 'evening' (MČ E 1) (= Turkm. gīcä 'night', Yak. kiäsä 'evening', Chuv. kaś id.), yel- 'to ride fast, trot' (TI N 3) (= Yak. siäl- id.), yet- '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:

el 'people, state' : il 'front' in ilgärü, ilk
yet- 'to lead' : yit- 'to be lost'
yetmiš '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.), ilgärü 'forward, 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: bin- 'to mount, ride' (KT N 5) (= Yak. mīn- id.), bir 'one' (KT S 8) (= Yak. bīr id.), birik- 'to join, unite' (BK E 22) (= Turkm. bīrik- 'to be accumulated'), is 'work, labor' (KT W 1) (= Turkm. īš id.), kir- 'to go into, plunge' (KČ E 11) (= Yak. kīr-, Turkm. gīr- id.), kis 'sable' (BK S 12) (= Yak. kīs id.), tiz 'knee' (BK N 10) (= Turkm. dīδ id.), etc.

2.118. The Vowel ö

1°. Short: bökä 'strong, brave, champion' (KČ E 5) (= Kirg. bökö, Yak. bögö, Mong. böke id.), ög 'mother' (KT E 25) (= Khak. ök in öksis 'orphan') 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. gōk id.), köl 'lake' (KT E 34) (= Yak. küöl, Turkm. kōl), öd 'gall' (BK E 29) (= Kāš. ōt, Khak. ōt, Turkm. ōd), öz 'own, self' (TI S 6) (cf. Uyug-Turan, back 2: üüz=üöz id., Yak. üös 'heart of a tree, center', Turkm. ōδ id., Khak. ōz 'throat'), tört 'four' (BK E 2) (= Yak. tüörd, Turkm. dört), böri 'wolf' (KT E 12) (= Turkm. bōri, Khak. pūr id.), etc.

2.119. The Vowel ü

1°. Short: küŋ 'female slave' (KT E 24) (= Sar.uig. kuŋ id.), küzäd- 'to guard, protect, take care of' (KT W 1)

(cf. Kirg. küzötčü 'guardian'), sŭŋüš- 'to combat, fight' (BK E 30) (cf. Kirg. sŭŋgü- 'to pierce through, penetrate'), tükäti 'completely' (KT S 1), tüs- 'to go down, fall' (TI N 6), yügür- 'to run, flow' (KT E 24) (= Yak. sŭr- id.), etc.

2°. Long: kü 'fame' (KČ W 12) (cf. Uig. küü id.), küč 'power, strength' (KT E 12) (= Yak. kŭs, Turkm. güyč id.; Turk. güğ-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. tŭn, 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 shall deal with polysyllabic stems which generally observe the vocalic harmony.

Since the vowels o, ŏ 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', yadaγ 'on foot', etc.
a - ï: adγïr '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: buluŋ '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: ekï 'two', yeti 'seven', etc.
e - ü: kerü 'back, backward', etc.
i - ä: ičgär- 'to subdue', ilgärü 'forward', etc.
i - i: ičik- 'to submit', kisï ~ kišï 'man, people', etc.
i - ü: kigür- 'to let in, bring, introduce', etc.
ö - ä: bökä 'hero, champion', etc.
ö - i: böri 'wolf', kölik 'vehicle, cart', etc.
ö - ü: köŋül 'heart', ögüz 'river', etc.
ü - ä: küzäd- 'to look after, protect', kükä- 'to gain fame'
ü - i: küni 'envy', süčïg 'sweat, pleasant', etc.
ü - ü: küntüz 'by day', ükü̆š ~ ükü̆s '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'	illig 'owning a state'
sansïz 'innumerable'	biligsiz 'unwise'
qïsγa 'short'	bilgä 'wise, sage'
toplaγuluq 'the folding'	üzgülük 'the breaking'
tašïq- 'to go out'	ičik- 'to submit'
yantur- 'to turn back'	bintür- 'to cause to mount'
qaγanqa 'to the kagan'	äbkä 'to the camp'
yazïda '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 ethnic name (O F 5,6, R 2), bayïrquniŋ 'Bayïrqu's' (KT E 36) <bayïrqun[iŋ] (KT E 35), bulmayin 'having not found' (TI W 2) (<*bulmayïn), buŋsiz 'abundantly' (TII S 4) <buŋsïz (generally; cf. Ačura, left 2: buŋsiz), qadizdä 'at the rocky cliffs?' (KT N 7) <qadïzda (BK E 31), qaγanïmin 'with my kagan' (TII E 3) (<*qaγanïmïn), qaniŋin 'your kagan' (acc.) (TI W 2) (<*qanïŋïn) (cf. Suǧi 6: oγlumin 'my sons', atïmin 'my grandchildren'), qalïsiz 'completely, entirely' (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9) (<*qalïsïz) (cf. Kežilig-Khobu 2: qaŋsiz 'orphan'), qatïγdi 'well, hard' (KT N 11) <qatïγdï (KT S 2), qïlintim 'I was born' (TI W 1) <qïlïntïm (O F 4) (cf. Altun-Köl, c 1: yïrildim 'I have been separated'), qopin 'all together' (TIS 9) <qopïn (TII W 1), qïyinïγ 'the sentence, punishment' (acc.) (TI N 8) (<*qïyin), layzïn 'pig' (BK S 10) (cf. MČ N 11: layzïn id., Ikhe-Askhete b2: 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), yolsizin 'without any roads' (TI N 11) (<*yolsïzïn).

To these the following may be added:

A. Words having the suffix -ayïn (1st person voluntative): añïtayïn 'I shall frighten' (BK E 41) (<*añïtayïn), ayayïn 'I shall say' (TI N 8), qïsayïn 'I shall make' (TI W 5), qonayïn 'I shall settle down' (KT S 7), [qonay]ïn id. (BK N 5), idmayïn 'I shall not lose' (BK E 33), uruγsïratayïn 'I shall exterminate' (KT E 10), yoγlatayïn 'I shall hold (her) funeral' (TI N 7).

In Uigur, however, this palatalization does not occur: bulγayïn 'I shall disorder' (MČ S 4), tasïqayïn 'I shall march off' (MČ E 10), yazmayïn 'I shall not disregard (the advice of . . .)' (MČ W 5), yorïyïn 'I shall march (with the army)' (MČ E 5).

B. The following word having the suffix -matïn: almatïn '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 -ï/-sï, the past participle suffix -miš ~ -mis, the derivational suffix -či.

A. The third person possessive suffix generally occurs as -ï and -sï in Orkhon Turkic. This is evident from the spelling: the accusative suffix -n is generally designated with the sign n² after the possessive suffix, and the initial s of the allomorph -sï is generally written with the sign s². 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:

afïn 'with horses' (TI N 1) atïn 'his horse' (KT E 40)

ärin 'with men' (KT E 11) ärïn 'his men' (KT N 1)

qulqaqïn 'by ear' (BK N 11) qulqaqïn 'their ears' (BK S 12)

sabïn 'with words' (BK N 4) sabïn '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: adγïrïn (BK N 11), aγïsïŋa (KT S 6; BK N 5), aqïn (KT N 2, 3, 9), [aq]ïn (KT N 2), alpïn (TII S 5; KČ W 7, 12), [altunï]n (BK N 11), armaqčisïn (KČ E 9), atïn (KT E 40; BK S 12, N 11), ätïn (KT E 7, 7; BK E 7), atïsï (KT S 13 , SE; BK SW), ayγučisï (TI S 3, E 4, N 5), ay[γ]uč[isï] (TII S 5), barïmïn (KT N 1; BK E 24), barqïn (KT NE; BK E 34, 37, N 15), bodunïn (BK S 15; TII W 7, 8), bulγaqïn (KT N 4; BK E 29), qaγanïn (KG E 35, 36, 38; BK E 27, 28, 7; TII W 6), qanïn (TI W 2, 2; TI N 4), qaŋïn (KT E 5; BK E 6, 18), qarasin (O R 1) (spelt: $qr^1s^2n^2$), qazγantuqïn (TII E 5), qulqaqïn (BK S 12), qutayïn (BK N 11), quzïn (TI W 7), oγlïn (KT E 7; BK E 7, 7, 24, S 3; KČ W 5, E 1, E 10), [oγ]lïn (BK E 38), oγlin (KT E 7) (spelt: $uγl^1n^2$), ortusïŋaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2), sabïn (KT S 9; BK N 7), sačïn (BK S 12), sadïn (TII W 6), sadïn (TII W 6), šadïn (BK E 28), subïn (BK E 35), tašïn 'its exterior' (KT S 12; BK N 15), tašïn 'his tombstone' (BK W 7), udlïqïn (KT E 36), yabγusïn (TII W 6), yabγu[sï]n (BK E 28), yaγïsï (KT E 12; BK E 11), yaγïčisï (TII S 6), yaγïzïn (KT N 5, 8) yaŋïluqïn (KT E 19), yaŋïltuqïn (BK E 16), yarlïq(q)aduqïn (KT S 9), yazïntuqïn (BK E 16), yïlqïsïn (BK E 24), yoŋšurtuqïn (KT E 6; BK E 7), yotuzïn (BK E 38), yo[tuz]ïn (BK E 24), [yo]tuzïn (BK S 4), yurðïn (KT E 32).

Therefore: bodunï (KT E 3), čabïsï (TI W 7), qaγanï (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), qoduzïn (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 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 (İl-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), ičγïnmis (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), qalmisï (TI W 4) ~ qalmišï (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) ~ sïγtāmiš (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), yaγmisï (TI W 5), yaratmis (KT E 13) ~ yaratmiš (BK E 1, 12; BK S 13), yarlïq(q)amis (O F 6), yaymis (O F 1), yoγlamis (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: qońčilärkä 'to the shepherds' (Miran, c 5), tuyuqčin 'farrier?' (Kemčik-Čirgak, front 2).

Thus: armaqčï 'tricky, deceitful person' in armaqčïsïn (KT E 6), ayγučïsï '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), yaγïčïsï '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), yaŋïltači (KT S 11); in the suffix -mači (< -mayači): yaramači (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. 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: qaŋ-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 -ŋ/-γ: qan-ïŋ 'thy blood' (KT E 24), ölsik-iŋ 'you will die (lit.: 'thy death')' (KT S 6), buŋ-uγ (< *buŋuŋ) 'thy trouble' (KT S 8), süŋük-üŋ 'thy bones' (KT E 24), etc.

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

4°. Before the possessive suffix -ŋiz/-ŋiz: oγlan-ïŋïz-da 'than your children' (KT SE), tayγun-uŋïz-da 'than your sons (lit. 'colts')' (KT SE).

5°. Before the accusative suffix -γ/-g: yipar-ïγ 'the scented candles' (BK S 11), äb-ig 'the tents' (BK E 32) (cf. IB 91: tägmisig), qarluq-uγ 'the Karluks'

(KT N 2), qunčuy-uy (KT E 20), tutuq-uy '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: yalŋusun 'alone'), süŋüg-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 -yma/-gmä: bar-ïyma 'going' (KT E 24), käl-igmä 'coming' (BK E 31), uduz-uyma 'leading' (TI W 5), kötür-ügmä 'raising, lifting up' (BK E 21), etc.

8°. Before the suffixes -p and -pan/-pän: qazyan-ïp 'conquering' (BK S 10), tirïl-ip 'coming together' (BK E 11), olur-up 'staying' (KT S 4) (cf. IB 25: oŋup 'languishing'), ölür-üp 'killing' (BK S 7) (cf. IB 75: önüp 'ascending'), etc.; käl-ipän 'coming' (KT E 23) (cf. IB 26: ičipän 'drinking', baripan '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: kör-üpän; IB 40: ürküpän).

9°. Before the imperative suffix -ŋ: bar-ïŋ 'go!' (TI N 7), äsid-iŋ 'hear!' (KT S 10) (cf. IB 3: biliŋ 'know!'), olur-uŋ 'stay!' (TI N 7), etc.

10°. Before the deverbal suffix -y/-g: qapïy 'gate' (BK E 15), ärig 'reachable' (KT S 13), ölüg 'dead' (KT N 9), yuluy 'plunder, pillage' in yuluyči (BK SE), etc.

11°. Before the deverbal suffix -n: qïyin 'sentence, penalty' in qïyinïy (TI N 8), kälin 'daughter-in-law' in käliŋünüm '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: tägis 'contact, conflict' in tägisïntä (KT N 5), uruš 'fight, battle' (O R 2), üküš 'many, numerous' (KT S 10).

14°. Before the ordinal suffix -nč: bisinč 'fifth' (BK S 10), toquzunč 'ninth' (KT NE), törtünč '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), tirïl- '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), qopïn (qopan?) 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 consonantal 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), yaŋïluq '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 first and second persons is invariably ï/i: sabïmïn 'my words' (KT S 1), sabïmin id. (KT S 2), eliŋin 'your (lit.: 'thy') state' (KT E 22), bodunumïn 'my people' (BK N 11) (cf. Suği 6: oylumin 'my sons': IB 4; taplāduqumin 'what I like'), oyluŋïn 'your children' (BK E 20), törüŋin '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 -yïn/-yun: buzqun 'storm ?' in buzqunča (O R 1), tuyyun personal name (KT NE) (cf. Yak. tuyyun

'excellent, superior').

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

3°. In -dïm/-dum, -dïŋ/-duŋ; (first vowel) -dïmïz/-dumïz, -dïŋïz/-duŋïz: altïm 'I conquered' (BK E 27), bitïdim 'I inscribed' (KT SE), buzdum 'I put to rout' (BK E 24), kälürtüm 'I sent for' (KT S 11), bardïγ (<*bardïŋ) 'you (lit.: 'thou' went' (BK E 20), ičikdiŋ 'you submitted' (TI W 3), kigürtüg (<*kigürtüŋ) 'you brought' (KT E 23), qorqmadïmïz 'we did not fear' (TII W 6), birtimiz 'we gave' (KT E 20), buzdumïz 'we routed' (KT E 31), süŋüš-dümiz '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), öŋdün 'from the front, from the east' (TI S 4) (cf. Uig. öŋdün id., öŋdün 'to the right', soltun 'to the left').

The vowel in the following suffixes resists labial harmony:

1°. In the coordinating suffix -lï /-lï: bäglï bodunlï-γ 'lords and peoples' (acc.) (KT E 6), tünlï künlï 'night and day' (KT SE), etc.

2°. In the genitive suffix -ïŋ/-iŋ, -nïŋ/-niŋ: bayïr-quniŋ 'Bayïrqu's' (KT E 35), bodunïr 'of the people' (BK E 3), etc.

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

4°. In the imperative suffix -γïl /-gil: yaγ(γ)ïl 'join!' (TI W 5), urγil '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), özlükï '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), buŋsïz 'free from trouble' (BK N 14), buŋsiz 'in abundance' (TII S 4) (cf. Ačura, left 2:buŋsiz), yolsizin '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 independence' (KT E 13), elsirä- '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), ölsikiŋ 'you will die' (KT S 6; BK N 5), ölsikig id. (KT S 7; BK N 5), ölsikiŋin '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. arγā 'west'): arqāsïn (KČ E 9); sïγtā- 'to lament, wail' (= Yak. ïtā- 'to cry'): sïγtāmis (KT E 4), sïγtāmiš (BK E 5); taplā- 'to like, agree' (= Yak. taptā- 'to like, love'): taplāmadï (BK E 35); unā- 'to agree, approve': unāmaŋ (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: qara 'black' (KT E 8) (cf. Begre, left: qarā-mïγ; Kežilig-Khobu 7: qarām; Abakan-Čulym: qarā Pritsak Fund. 610; Kyzyl xarā 'black; night').

2°. Long ä: the final vowel of the following word is probably long: älä 'hawk, vulture' (KČ W 9) (cf. Yak. äliä, Mong. eliye id.).

3°. Long ï: aγï ~ ayï 'treasure, material': aγïsï (KT S 5; BK N 4), aγïn (KT S 5; BK N 4); aγïš 'wealth, riches, property': aγïšïn (KT SW); bulït 'cloud' (KT NE); qalï 'remainder, rest': qalïsiz (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9); qarï- 'to grow old' (= Yak. qïrïy-): qarïp (KČ W 5); toqï- '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); udï- 'to sleep' (= Yak. utuy- id.): udïmadïm (BK E 22); yabrït- 'to destroy' (BK E 31, 31); yaγï 'enemy, hostile': yaγïγ (KT E 15; BK E 13; TII E 3, 4), yaγïqa (KC E 11), yaγïsï (KT E 12); yaγïd- 'to start hostilities': yaγït(t)uqda (KC E 6, W 5); yazï 'plain' (= Yak. sïsï 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 i: 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); laγzïn 'pig' (BK S 10) (cf. MC N 11: laγzïn): süčïg 'sweet' (KT S 5, 5, 6); täzïk 'Arab' (TII S 1); tölïs ethnic name (KT E 33); yašïk 'sun' (KT NE) (< * yašïq).

The final vowel of the following words, too, is probably long: küni 'envy, jealosy' (BK E 30) (= Yak. künü id.), täbi 'camel' (TII S 4) (cf. Tele 3: tabem 'my camels'; Kāš. täwäy, däväy id.).

5°. Long u: ordū 'main camp, kagan's residence': ordūγ (KT N 8, 9) (= Yak. ordū 'campsite, camp'); orūq 'road, way': orūqï (TI E 7).

The final vowel of the following word, too, is probably long: qarγu 'watchtower, tower for military observations'; qarγuγ (TII E 3) (cf. Kāš, qarγu, qarγuy id.).

6°. Long ü: süŋük 'bone': süŋüküŋ (KT E 24), süŋüküg (BK E 20) (= Yak. uŋuox id.; Khak. Tuv. sök id.); suŋug 'lance' (KT E 35); törü- 'to be born, created' (KT N 10) (= Yak. törüö- 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); the rounded vowel of the following word, too, is probably long: 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/-ayïn: ayayïn (TI N 8), ïdmayïn (BK E 33), igidäyïn (KT E 28; BK E 25),

ıtāyın (KT E 39), qīsayın (TI W 5), qonayın (KT S 7), [qonay]ın (BK N 5), ölürāyın (KT E 10), tägäyın (TI S 4), tüsāyın (TI N 6), uruγsıratayın (KT E 10), yoγlatayın (TI N 7).

See 1. 2214. 2°Ba.

B. The third person possessive suffix -ī/-ī̄, -sı/-sı̄: adγırın 'his stallions' (acc.) (BK N 11), altunīn '(Prince Kül's) gold' (acc.) (KT SW), äbın 'their tents' (acc.) (BK E 34), süsın 'their army' (acc.) (KT N 7), yalmasınta 'on his caftan' (KT E 33).

See 1. 2214. 2°Bd and 2. 1211. 2°A.

C. The participle suffixes -ır/-ır, -ur/-ur: barır (KT E 10), bilır (KT E 34), kälır (TI N 8), kälürır (TII E 3), yaγutır (KT S 5; BK N 4), körur (KT N 10; BK N 2), qorqur (TII W 4), olurur (KT E 3; BK E 4; TI W 7, S 1; TII N 4), öγür (KT S 5), ökülür (TI N 8), bošγurur (KT S 7; BK N 5).

See 1. 2214. 2°Be and 4°Bf.

D. The coordinating suffix -lı̄/-lı: bäglı bodunlı̄-γ (KT E 6). See 1. 2214. 2°Bf.

E. The gerundial suffix -matın/-mätın: almatın (KT S 9; BK N 7).

F. The conditional suffix -sār/-sār: ačsār (BK N 6).

2. 13. Vowel Alternations

1°. a ~ ı: In the following words, the short vowel a of the first syllable alternates with ı: ıyar 'precious, important, esteemed' (KT E 29, SE; BK E 24) ~ ayar 'heavy; important' (BK S 15, E 2); yılpayut 'champion warriors' (BK E 31) ~ *alpayut pl. of alpayu (KT N 7) (cf. Uig. alpayut 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 ~ ı: In the following words, the vowel ä of the first syllable alternates with ı: 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); ır- 'to reach, arrive' (TII S 1) ~ är- in ärig 'reachable' (KT S 13, 13); ırtür- 'to cause to reach' (KT E 40) ~ *ärtür- (see above); ır- 'to be' (KT S 13) ~ är- (generally).

3°. e ~ ı: See 'The Vowel e' (2. 116).

2. 14. Palatalization

The vowel ı of the first syllable shows a strong tendency toward becoming ı under the palatalizing influence of dento-alveolar and palatal consonants: bıŋ 'thousand' (BK S 1; TI S 7, 9) ~ bïŋ (TI E 1); birı + 'this side, south' in biriyä (KT S 6), birigärü (KT S 3), biridin (TI S 4) <* bïrï (cf. Uig. bïrqaru 'to the south'); id- 'to send, dispatch' (O F 2) ~ ïd- (generally); sima- 'not to destroy' (KT S 11; BK N 14) ~ sïma- (KČ E 8); sıγıt 'wail, lament' (KT N 11), sıγıtči 'lamenter' (KT E 4, N 11; BK E 5) <* sïγït (cf. sıγtā- 'to lament' in KT E 4); sıγun 'deer' (BK W 5) <* sïγun; sıŋar 'half' (BK E 32), sıŋarča (TII W 5) <* sïŋar (= Yak. aŋar ~ aŋār id., Kirg. sïŋar 'one of a pair'); tida 'holding back' (KT N 11) <* tïd- (= Mong. čida-: see Poppe, Verg. 16; Chuv. čar- id.); tilïγ 'the news, tidings' (acc.) (TI N 8) ~ tïlïγ (TII W 1): tiŋla- 'to listen' (KT S 2) <* tïŋla- (= Mong. čiŋla-: see Poppe, Verg. 15); yıγdım 'I terrified' (O R 1) ~ yïγdım (O R 1); yırïdınta 'from the north' (TI S 4) <* yïrïdınta; yırïγaru 'to the north' (KT S 2, 4, E 28; BK N 2, 3, E 23) <* yïrï- γaru; yırïya 'in the north' (KT E 14, S 1; BK E 12), yıriyaqı 'being in the north' (TI S 10) ~ yïrïya (TI W 7, S 7); yïriyä (O F 2, 5) <yïrïya; yıš 'wooded mountain' (KT S 3, 4, 6, 8; BK N 3, 5, E 39), y[ıš] (BK E 19), [y]ıš (BK N 6) <* yıš (cf. yïs id.: TI E 3); yıšda 'at the wooded mountain' (KT E 35, S 4; BK E 27) <* yïšda (cf. yïsda id. in TI N 7, 8) yıšïγ (KT E 21, 35; BK E 27, 27), y[ıšïγ] (BK E 17) <* yïšïγ (cf. yïsïγ id. in TI N 4, 11); yıšqa <* 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: ayïšïn 'his wealth' (KT SW) <*ayïšïn, 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), usïn 'his sleep' (TI E 2) <*usïn, 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, öŋdün-yän 'from the east' (TI S 4) <*öŋdün yan, täŋrikän-yän 'to the side of Täŋrikän' (O F 5) <*täŋrikän yan, qačan-(n)aŋ 'any time, sooner or later' (TI E 4) <qačan-(n)äŋ (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 - a <u - ä: büntägï 'the one like this' (TII E 7) < *buntägï <*bunï tägï.

2.16. Contraction

a <*aγa: yaramači 'it will not be good' (TI E 6) <*yaramaγačï (cf. Khak. present and future participle in -ačï/-äčï and the negative forms in -māčï/-mäčï, -bāčï/-bäčï and -pāčï/-päčï; cf. also Yak. istäčči 'listener, one who hears' <*isitgäčï).

ä <*ägä: tägmäči 'one who will not come into contact, one who will not attack' (O R 2) <*tägmägäčï (see above), älä '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) <* bïril-ä, bu[l]na- 'to capture' (KČ E 10) <* buluna-, buyruq 'government official, minister' (KT S 1) <* buyruq, büntäg 'like this' in büntägï (TII E 7) <* buntäg <* bunï täg, ägri 'bent, curved' (TII S 4) <* ägiri, ärkli 'being' (TI S 6) <* ärikli <* ärigli, qorγan 'fort, enclosure' (BK E 31) <* qorïγan, käčgin- 'to grant a favor, to forgive' (KČ E 8) <* käčigin- (cf. Mong. kešig 'grace, favor, blessing'), kiŋsür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) <* kïŋüšür- (cf. Käš. kiŋü- 'to become wide'), köŋlüŋ 'thy heart' in köŋlüŋčä (TI S 8, N 8) <* köŋülüŋ, oγlan 'children, sons' in oγlanïm (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1) and oγlanïŋizda (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, täŋri 'heaven, sky' (KT E 1) <*täŋiri, 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.), yoŋšur- 'to cause to slander' (KT E 6; BK E 7) <*yoŋašur- (cf. Kāš. yoŋa- '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. 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 personal 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), yir 'north' in yir bayïrqu (KT S 4, E 34; BK N 3) ~ yirï/yïrï/yïri.

2.1713. Crasis

Crasis occurs in the following examples: bödkä 'at this time' (BK N 1, 8, E2; 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, ŋ, 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, ŋ).

All consonants except d, g, γ, ŋ, 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; gerund in -pan/-pän: kälipän, sülāpän, etc.

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.

B. After l: alp 'brave; hero'.

2.212. The consonant b

The voiced bilabial stop b occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: ba-, baya, balbal, balïq 'city; mud', bar-, bar, barïm, barq, bars, bas-, basmïl, baš ~ bas, bašad-, bašγu, bašla-, bat, bat-, batï, batïm, bay, bayïrqū, baz, bädiz, bädiz-, bädizät-, bädük, bāg, bän, bäŋigü, bäŋilig, bärčik, ber ~ bir-, berü, bes ~ bis ~ biš, bïč-, bïŋ ~ biŋ, bičïn, bil-, bin-, bir, biri 'south', biriki, birlä, bisinč, bisük, bitï-, biz, bod, bodun, boγuz, bol-, bor, bošγur-, boyla, boz, bögü, bökä, bölün (< Tib. blon), böri, bu, buq 'evil spirit', būqa, buqaraq, bul-, bulγa-, bulït, bulun, bu[l]na-, buluŋ, buntat-, buŋ, buŋad-, bumïn, busta-, buyruq, buz-, bükli, būŋ- 'to kick' (cf. Kāš. müŋ- id.), etc.

2°. Medially:

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

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

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

3°. Finally: ab, čub, äb, sab, *säb- (in säbin-), sub, *täb (in täblig), *täb- (in il-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: may 'glorified, magnificent' (BK S 15) (cf. Mong. mayta- 'to praise, laud, glorify', Kirg. maqta- id. <*mayta-), maqarač (< Ind. maharaj, 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, qamay, qam[ïl], 'Qomul, Hami' (O R 1), tamaγ geog. name, taman, tämir, tümän, tümät ethnic name, sämiz, yamï personal name, yämä.

B. Before a consonant: amγa geographical name, ämgäk, ämgät-, tamγači, tamγan, qamšay, 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, süŋüšmiš ~ süŋüsmis, yetmiš ~ yetmis, aymaγlïγ, tuyma-, 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-, tal-, taluy, tām, tamaγ geog. n., tamγači, tamγan, taŋ, taŋut, tapa, taplā-, taq 'the very' (KČ E 5), taqï, tarduš, tarman, tarqan, tarqïnč, taš 'stone', taš 'outside, exterior', tašïq-, tasul- 'to be driven' (O F 8), tašra, tat, tatabï, tatar, tay 'great' (BK S 11) (< Chin. ta id.), tayγun 'sons (lit.: 'colts') (KT SE), täbi, täblig, täg, täg-, tägi, tägis, tägrä, tägür-, tälinmä-, tämir, täŋri, täŋrikän, tär, tärmil geog. n., täyäŋ, täz-, täzïk, te-, teyin, teril-, ti 'very,

most' (BK S 15) (cf. Uig. tii 'fest, bestandig', Alttürk.; cf. also Chuv. čі 'very, most'), tigin, tik-, tilä-, tinsi (< Chin.), tiŋla-, tir- 'to gather together', [ti]r- 'to live', tirgür- 'to bring to life', tirig, tiril- 'to come to life', tirkiš, tizlig, to-, tod-, toγ-, toγla, toγu, toq, toqar, toqï-, toqït-, toquz, toquzunč, tolγat-, ton (< Sak. thauna), toŋa, toŋra, toŋta-, topla-, topul-, tor-, toruq, toruγ, tögültün geog. n., tögünlüg, tök-, töküt-, tölïs, töŋkär geog. n., töpü, tört, törtünč, törü, törü-, tu-, tudun, tuγ, toŋuquq, tut-, tutun-, tutuq (< Chin.), tutuz-, tuyγun pers. n., tuyγut pers. n., tuy-, tükäti, tümän, tümät, tün, tüpüt, türgi geog. n., türgis, türük ~ türk, tüs-, tüzül-, tïl, tid-.

2°. Medially:

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

B. Before a consonant: siγïtči, itgüči, atlan-, ötlä-, yetmiš, ötrü, batsïq, tutsïq.

C. After a consonant: aytur-, sïytā-, yügtür-, altï, altuz-, altun, amtï, yamtar pers. n., anta, antaγ, bunta, buntat- 'to make inadequate, insufficient' (TI E 2) (cf. Mong. muŋda- 'to be inadequate, insufficient'), büntäg, bintür-, äzginti geog. n., ekïnti, 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]lt, ït- (< id-), qut, oγlït, *öt in ötlä- 'to give advice', *öt- in ötrü, siγït, tarqat, tat,

tut-, tuyγut, tümät, yaγït- (< yaγïd-), yarat-, yat-, yit-, it-, yut; causative stems in -t: aγït-, aqït-, artat-, basït-, bädizät-, elsirät-, qaγansïrat-, qamšat-, qubrat-, oγurqalat- 'to let someone warm his back' (TI N 1) (cf. Tuv. örγala- 'to warm one's back', örγa 'back' < *oγurqa 'backbone'), ölüt-, sülät-, toqït-, etc.

B. After the consonants l, n, r, and y: elt- ~ ilt-; * 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, qoduz, kädim, ödüš, tadiq pers. n., udï-, uduz-, yadaγ.

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

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

2°. Finally: bašad-, bod, buŋad-, äsid-, ïd- ~ id-, igid-, igid, qod-, *käd- in kädim, qulad-, küŋäd-, öd 'time', ōd 'gall', šad, tid- (< *tïd-), tod-, ud 'thigh, hip', ud-, yoqad-, *ud 'sleep' in udï-.

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. čavuš 'sergeant'), čača (< Chin.) pers. n., čaŋ (< Chin.) pers. n., čärig 'army,

troops' (KČ W 9) (= Sar.uig. čerig, Tuv. šerig, Yak. sārī id.), čiyań, 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.), äčī 'paternal uncle; older brother', äčü 'ancestor', ičik-, qačan, käčä, kičä 'evening', käčin (käčän?) geog. n., käčig 'ford', kičig, süčīg, tamγačı, učuq, učuz, üčägün, üčün, üčünč, yičä; words having the suffixes -γučı/-güčı, -dačı/-däčı, -mačı/-mäčı (< * -maγačı/-mägäčı).

B. Before a consonant: ičγīn-, tabγačγī, ičgär-, käčgin-, küčlüg, ičrä, qīlïčla-, āčsïq.

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

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: ač- 'to open, clear', āč 'hungry', āč- 'to feel hungry', atač, [b]ič-, ïyač, ič, qač-, käč-, küč, sač, tabγač, uč, uč-, üč.

B. After the consonants n and r: *adïnč in adïnč(č)īγ, bisinč, bulγanč 'in disorder' (TI E 5), ärinč, ötünč, sanč-tarqïnč 'displeased, rebellious' (TI E 5), törtünč, unč 'possible' (TI E 7), üčünč, yetinč, toquzunč, onunč; 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' (TI W 7), sab, sač, sanč-, san, saqïn-, sayu (= Yak. āyï id.), sarïγ, säbig, säbin-, säkiz, sälängä 'Selenga', sämiz, sän,

säŋün 'general' (< Chin. tsiang-kun), sï- ~ si-, sïγtā-, siγït, siγun, silig pers. n., siŋar, siŋil, sir ethnog. n., siz, soŋa geog. n., soγdaq, (s)oγ(ɯ)d? (KT W 1), sök-, sökür-, sön 'time?' (KČ E 8), süŋük, sözläš-, sub, suq 'ambition, anger', sü, süčīg, sülä-, süŋüg, süŋüš, süŋüš-, sür-.

2°. Medially:

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

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

C. After a consonant: qobsar- 'to mourn' (KČ S 2) āčsïq, ödsig, toγsïq, ölsik, elsirä-, yïlsïγ, tinsi (< Chin. t'ien-tzu 'the son of Heaven, the Chinese Emperor'), qaγansïra-, bersäg, olursïq, kiŋsür- (< *kïŋšür-), ašsïz.

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

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

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: azu, azïγlïγ 'furious, ferocious' (KČ E 6), azuq, bädizät-, qïzïl, küzäd-, tüzül-, uzun, üzä, yazïn, yazï, yazïn-, yazuq in yazuqla- (BK E 36), yüzüt-.

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

C. After a consonant: layzïn.

2°. Finally: altuz-, az 'few', az ethnic n., az-, baz, bädiz, bädiz-, biz, boyuz, boz, buz-, ädiz, ätiz geog. n., äz-, qadïz, qïrqïz, qïz, qïz-, qoduz, quz, köz, küz (MČ E 8), oyuz, otuz, oz-, ögüz, öz, säkiz, sämiz, siz, söz in sözläš-, täz-, tiz, toquz, tutuz-, tüz, uduz-, uz 'skill, art' (BK SW), üz 'ill-tempered' (TI N 10), üz-, yabïz, yayïz, yaz, yotuz, yüz, yüz- in yüzüt-.

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 ?), šalčï pers. n. ?, šantuŋ 'the Shantung plain' (< Chin.).

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: aša, ašïg 'mountain pass?', ašur- in ašru, bašad-, qïšïn, qošu pers. n., kišï (~kisï), tašïq- (~tasïq-), yaša- (~yasa-), yašïk, yašïl.

B. Before a consonant: išbara (~isbara ~ïsbara); bašyu; bošyur-; bašla-, bašlïy, qïšla-; ašru, tašra; aššïz.

C. After a consonant: qamšay, qamšat- (cf. Uig. qamša- 'to be stirred'), yimšaq; yoŋšur-.

3°. Finally: arqïš, aš, aš- (~as-), baš (~bas), biš (~bis ~ bes), čuš geog. n., qaš, qïš- (~qïs-), quš in quš-alyaq geog. n. (KT N 5), oyuš, ödüš, süŋüš (~süŋüs), süŋüš- (~süŋüs-), 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 nänčä 'so many, so much' (BK N 9), näŋ 'any'.

2°. Medially, n occurs in all positions:

A. Between vowels: anï acc. of ol, anï geog. n., anïn inst. 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; käčindä 'at Käčin' (KČ W 10); qayanyaru, tarqanyaru; bodunqa, qayanqa, tarmanqa, ärsinkä, käčinkä, täŋrikänkä; qayanla-, qanlan-, qunla-, äkinlig, tögünlüg; tälinmä-; qayansïra-, sansïz, tinsi (< Chin.), tonsïz; anta, antay, antïryu geog. n., bintür-, bizintä, bunta, buntat-, büntäg, ekïnti, qontur-, käntü, küntüz, öntür-, örpäntä, yantur-, yükäntür-, etc.

Before word-final č: bisinč, bulyanč, ärinč, onunč, ötünč, sanč-, tarqïnč, toquzunč, törtünč, unč, üčünč, yetinč ~ yitinc, etc.; before word-final t: yunt (MČ), etc.

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

C. After a consonant: bu[l]na-, qorayïŋnï (O R 4), bizni, ect.

3°. Finally: alqïn-, altun, asan- (< *ašan-), basïn-, bän, bičïn, bin-, bodun, bölün (< Tib. blon 'high official'), bulun, bumïn, buzqun, čïqan, äränn, ekïn, ïčyïn-, irkin, qačan, qayan, qalïn, qan 'khan', qan 'blood', qapyan, qazyan-, qïlïn-, qon-, qopïn, qoryan, käčgin-, käčin geog. n., kögmän, kün, layzïn, lisün (< Chin.), oylan, on, ökün-, ön- in öntür-, ötün-, saqïn-, säbin-, sän, sön, tamyan, tarqan, teyin ~ tiyin, tigin, ton, tögültün geog. n., tögün, tutun-, tümän, tün, üčün, ülgän, yan, yan-, yägrän, yägün, yoyun, yükün-, etc.

2.227. The Consonant l

The lateral sonorant l has two variants (allophones): a back velar ɫ and a front palatal l. The back variety of ɫ 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' (< ?), likän (< Chin. Liu-hiang) pers. n., lisün (< Chin. Li-ts'ün) pers. n., lü 'dragon' (O Supp. 4) (< Chin. lung; cf. Uig. luu id.).

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: balïq 'town, city; mud', bilig, bölün, bulït, bulun 'captive', buluŋ, čuluγan a title? (KČ W 5), älä 'hawk, vulture' (KČ W 9), älig 'hand', älig 'fifty', ilig 'ruler' (KT N 3) qalïsiz, qalïŋ, qalïŋ, qïlïč, qïlïn-, qulad-, kälür-, kölik, olur-, ölüg, ölür-, säläŋä 'Selenga', sülä-, taluy, tälin-, tilä-, ulayu, uluγ, ülüg, yalabač, yolï 'time', yulï-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: balbal, ilbilgä (compound); bolču geog. n., bolča 'when (he) became', bolčun 'let it be'; bilgä, bulγa-, bulγaq, bulγanč, čölgi, ilgärü, tolγat-, ulγart-, ülgän 'big, great' (O R 3); alqin-, qulqaq, yïlqï; ellig ~ illig, illä-, qulluγ, yolluγ; bolma-, yalma, yälmä; bu(l)na-; alpaγu ~ yïlpaγut; elsirät-, ölsik, yïlsïγ, yolsizin; 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; udïq; aziγlïγ, aymaγlïγ, bäglär, bäglik, oγlan, oγlït, öglä-, süŋüglüg, yoγlä-; bükli geog. n., yaraqlïγ; čöl(l)üg; kädimlig; qaγanla-, qanlan-, qunla-; opla-, taplā-, topla-; birlä, yarlïq(q)a-; bašla-; basïlγ (< bašlïγ); atlïγ, atlan-, ötlä-; özlük, sözlä-, tizlig, etc.

3°. Finally: al-, adrïl-, arïl-, basmïl, bil-, bol-, bul-, čöl, el ~ il, inäl, izgil, qal-, qïl-, qïsïl, qïzïl, qul, käl-, köl, kŏŋül, kül (~külï), oγïl, ol, opul-, ökül-, öl-, siŋil, tal-, täl- in tälin-, tïl, terïl- ~ tirïl- 'to come together', tirïl- 'to come to life', topul- 'to attack, assault' (cf. Kkpk. tobïl- id.) (KČ E 7), yaŋïl-, yašïl, yäl-, yïl, yol, 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: ara, arïγu, arïl-, barïm, biri 'south', (b)ärüki, biriki, böri, buqaraq 'Bukhara', čärig, čoraq, äräm 'big, large, huge' (KČ W 9) (cf. Khak. iräm id.), ärän 'men', ärig 'reachable', ärinč, elsirä-, īraq, ilgärü, qara, qarï-, qurï 'west', qurïqan, käŋiris geog. n., käräkü, körüg, kürägü, maqarač (< Ind.), sarïγ, *tarïq- in tarqïnč, teril-, tiril-, tirig, toruγ, toruq, törü, törü-, türük (~türk), urï, yara-, yaraq, yarat-, yarïq, yarïs geog. n., yïrï 'north', yorï-, yoq(q)aru, yüg(g)ärü, etc.

B. Before a consonant: tarban (~tarman) geog. n.; bärčik 'Persian', borča, yerči; ärdäm, ordū, tarduš; qaryan geog n., qaryu, qïryaγlïγ, qoryan, kärgäk, köbürgä; arqā, arqïš, arquy, bayïrqū, irkin, qadïrqan, qïrqïz, toqurqaq; birlä, kürlüg; armaqči, ärmäk 'mare' (KC E 9), yegirmi; bersäg, ärsin geog. n.; artat-, 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, art-, olurt-, ört-, ulγart-, tört, yurt, yügürt-; bars.

Before a syllable-final consonant: ärkli 'being; while', ärklig 'mighty', qorqma-, ärt(t)imiz, olurt(t)ï (KČ E 12), olurtdï, olurtdum, yurtda, örtčä, yügürtmä-.

C. After a consonant: qubran-, qubrat-, yabrït-; ičrä; adrïl- (< *adïrïl-), sadra 'toward the sad' (TII W 6); ayrï-, ägri, tägrä; öŋrä, täŋri; asra, kisrä; ašru (< *ašuru), tašra; ötrü; buyruq, etc.

2°. Finally: adγïr, adïr- in adrïl-, ayar~ïyar, aytur-, aŋar dat. of ol, apar, ar-, ašur- in ăsru, bar, bar-, ber- ~bir-, bir, bor, bošyur-, buyur- in buyruq, čor, ägir- 'to follow, besiege', ägir- 'to be pleased',

äbir-, är, är- 'to be', är- ~ir- 'to come, reach, arrive', ärtür-, eltäbär, ičgär-, qar, qontur-, qu[ra]- (O R 4), kälür-, kigür-, kiŋsür-, kir-, kör-, kötür-, kür in kürlüg, olur-, ölür-, ötür- in ötrü, siŋar, sir, sökür-, sür-, tabar geog. n., tägir- in tägrä, tägür-, ter- ~ tir- 'to gather together', tir- 'to live' in tiril-, tirgür-, tor-, tüsür-, ur-, urtur-, uyγur, yaγur-, yaratur-, yältür-, yer ~ yir, yipar, yoγur-, yoŋšur-, yügür-, yügtür-, yüküntür-, etc.

2.23. Palatal Consonants

2.231. The Consonant y

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, yalïŋ, yalïŋus, yalma, yamï, yamtar, yan, yan-, yana, yantur-, yaŋïl-, 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', yaz, yazï, yazïn-, yazuq, yägrän, yägün 'younger brother' (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degü id.), yäk pers. n. (KC E 12, S 1), yäl-, yälmä, yältür-, yämä, yät-, ye- ~ yi-, yeg ~ yig, yegän ~ yigän, yegirmi, yer, yeti ~ yiti, yetinč ~ yitinč, yetmiš, yïy- 'to gather together' (BK N 9; TII W 8), yïy- 'to frighten' (O F 1, R 1), yïl, yïlqï, yïlpayut, yïlsïγ, yïrï, yipar, yimšaq, yinčgä, yinčü, yiš, yit-, yitür-, yoγ, yoγlā-, yoγur-, yōq, yoqad-, yoq(q)aru, yol, yolï, yolluγ pers. n. (= Tuv. čolduγ 'fortunate, lucky'), yoŋšur-, yorï-, yotuz, yubul- 'to roll, turn round' (TI N 2) (= Kāš. yuwul- id.), yurč, 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) bayïrqu, buyur- in buyruq, qïyin 'punishment, sentence' (TI N 8), keyik, sayu, täyäŋ 'squirrel' (= Khak. tiyin id.), yayïn 'in summer'; words having the consonant y as a hiatus-filling sound: bašlayu, bayur, biriyä, etc.; words having the suffix -ayïn/-äyïn: ayayïn, igidäyïn, etc.

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

3°. Finally, y occurs after vowels: ay 'month', ay-, bay, 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: qońčï '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. duruya, Koib. turuńa id.).

2°. Finally: *ań- in ańït- (cf. Mong. ayu- 'to fear, dread', ayul 'fright, fear'), čïyań, 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 ŋ. 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, qayan, qal-, qalïsiz, qalïn, qalïr (BK E 25), qamaɣ, qam[ïl], qamšaɣ, qamšat-, qan 'khan', qan 'blood', qanï, qantïn, qaŋ, qapɣan, qapïɣ, qar, qara, qarɣan geog. n., qarɣu, qarï, qarï-, qarluq, qaš, qatiɣdï, qatun, qazɣan-, qïl-, qïlïčla-, qïrɣaɣlïɣ, 'hemmed' (BK N 11), qïrq, qïrqïz, qïs-, 'to suppress', qïsɣa, qïsïl, qïš- ~ qïs- (< qïl-), qïšïn, qïšla-, qïtan, qïyin, qïz, qïz-, qïzïl, qobsar-, qod-, qodï, qoduz, qoqlïq, qon-, qontur-, qop, qoraɣ, qorïɣu 'protector, guardian, lord' (BK E 41), qorɣan 'fort, fortress, shelter', qorq-, qošu, qoń, qu pers. n., qubran-, qubrat-, qul, qulqaq, qum, quńčuy, qunla- 'to revenge for' (O R 1), qu[ra]- (O R 4), qurï, qurïqan, qušalɣaq geog. n., qut, qutay, quz, etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: aqït-, būqa, buqaraq, qurïqan, saqïn-, taqï, toqar 'Tokharian', toqï-, toqït-, toquz, toquzunč, tońuquq, yoqad-, etc.

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

C. After a consonant: alqïn-, qulqaq, yïlqï; 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. qoq id.), oq particle of intensity, oq 'arrow', orūq, soɣdaq, suq 'anger, ambition' in suqun (BK E 38), tadïq, taq, taq- in taqï, tarïq- in tarqïnč, tašïq-, toq, tońuquq, tutuq (< Chin.), yabłaq, yaɣuq, yaraq, yarïq, yazuq, 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, käŋiris, käŋü geog. n., käräkü 'tent', kärgäk, kärü ~ kirü, keyik, kičä, kičig, kigür-, kiŋsür-, kir-, kis 'sable', kisī ~ kišī, kisrä, köbürgä, kögmän, kök particle of definiteness, kök 'blue', kŏl, kölik 'cart, vehicle' (TI S 8), köŋül, kör-, körüg, kötür-, köz, kü, kükä-, küč, kül - küli pers. n., kümüš ~ kümüs, kün, küni, küntüz, küŋ, küŋäd-, kürägü 'unruliness', kürlüg, küzäd-, küz, etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: biriyäki, bärüki, bökä, äkä, äkinlig 'hemmed?', ekī, ekīnti, ičräki, käräkü, kükä-, likäŋ (< Chin.) pers. n., ökül-, ökün-, öŋräki, ötükän, säkiz, sökür-, täŋrikän, töküt-, tükäti, üküš ~ üküs, yükün-, etc.

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

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

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: bädük, bäglik, bärčik, birik-, bisük 'kin, relative', äk geog. n. (TII W 9), änik pers. n., esīlik (< *ešīlik) 'worthy of becoming a lady' (KT E 7, etc.), ičik-, inigäk, kärgäk, kök 'blue', kök particle, kölik, ök particle, özlik ~ özlük, sōk-, süŋük, täzīk, tik-, tök-, türük (~ türk), yašīk 'sun' (< *yašīq), 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: bar-γu 'is there?' (KT S 10).

1°. Medially, γ occurs in all positions.

A. Between vowels: aγar~ïγar, aγï, aγïš, aγït-, aγu geog. n., arïγu, čïγan, čoγay, čuluγan a title? (KC 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; qatïγdi, soγdaq, yaraqlïγdï; yaγ(γ)ïl 'join!' (TI W 5); aymaγlïγ, azïγlïγ, oγlan, oγlït, toγla geog. n., yoγlā-; aγtïγma; aγrï-; toγsïq; aγtur-, sïγtā-; laγzïn, etc.

C. After a consonant: tabγač, yabγu; ïčγïn-, tabγačγï; adγïr; yaγ(γ)ïl; amγa geog. n., tamγači; bulγa-, bulγanč, tolγat-; qapγan; qaγan geog. n., qaγu, qïrγaγlïγ, qoγan; qïsγa, tabïsγan; bašγu, bošγur-; ayγuči, tuyγun, tuyγut, uyγur; qazγan-, etc.

2°. Finally: adïnč(č)ïγ, aγ- in aγït-, antaγ, anïγ, azïγ in azïγlïγ (KC 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: bäŋigü 'eternal' (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 'braid', üčägün, yägün, yegirmi, yügür-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: äligčä 'about fifty'; yegdi '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; birtükgärü; bilgä, čölgi, ilgärü, ülgän; ämgäk, ämgät-; kärgäk, tirgür-, türgi geog. n., türgis, köbürgä, isgiti; išgärü 'forward' (BK N 11); itgüči; äzginti, izgil, üzgülük; bäŋgü, etc.

2°. Finally: antäg, ašig (?), atig (?), bäg, bersäg in bersägim, bilig, bitïg, büntäg, čärig, älig 'hand', älig 'fifty', ärig, ilig, käčig, kičig, körüg, ög 'mother', ög 'mind, reason' in ögläs- (<*öglāš-), ög-, ölüg, ötüg, ötülüg 'esteemed, respected' (BK E 34), säbig, silig, süŋüg, täg, täg-, tirig, yeg~yig, yüg in yüg(g)ärü, etc.

2.245. The Consonant ŋ

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

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

A. Between vowels: aŋar dat. of ol, aŋaru direct. of ol, bana ~ maŋa dat. of bän ~ män, baŋaru direct. of bän, bäŋigü, bäŋilik, buŋad-, ärtiŋü, käŋü geog. n., käŋiris geog. n., köŋül, küŋäd-, säŋä dat. of sän, siŋil, söŋük, süŋüg, süŋüš, taŋut, toŋa pers. n., yalïŋus, yaŋïl-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: buluŋdaqï, öŋdün; bäŋgü; töŋkär (?) geog. n.; küŋlüg, tiŋla-; täŋrï, toŋra, öŋrä;

buŋsïz, kïŋsür-; yoŋšur-; toŋta-, etc.

2°. Finally: aŋ, bïŋ ~ biŋ, buŋ, buluŋ, büŋ- 'to kick' (TI W 6) (cf. Kas. müŋ- id.), qalïŋ, qaŋ, kïŋ in kïŋsür-, küŋ, likäŋ (< Chin.) pers. n., näŋ, oŋ (< Chin.) pers. n., öŋ geog. n., öŋ 'front' in öŋdün and öŋrä, örüŋ, šantuŋ (< Chin.), taŋ, täyäŋ, yalïŋ, etc.

2.25. Consonant Changes

2.251. 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): birür-män (KT E 9), qazγanur-män (KT E 9), saqïnur-män (BK W 6), tägmäči-män (O R 2), ter-män (TII W 2), maŋa 'to me' (generally) ~ baŋa (TI N 7), mäniŋ 'my' (KT S 11; BK E 29) ~ bäniŋ (TI E 4).

2.252. Denasalization

2.2521. Denasalization of ŋ

The velar nasal ŋ alternates with γ/g in intervocalic and final positions in the following words: alqïntïγ 'you were ruined' (KT S 9; BK N 7) < *alqïntïŋ, arïltïγ 'you were destroyed' (KT S 9) < *arïltïŋ, bardïγ 'you went' (generally), bardïγïz 'you went' (KT SE) ~ bardïŋïz (O R 4), bäglärig(dä) 'from your lord' (BK N 13) < *bäglärïŋdä, bilmädükügin (BK E 20) < *bilmädüküŋin, bodunïγ 'of the people' (KT E 25) < *bodunïŋ, buŋuγ 'your trouble' (KT S 8) < *buŋuŋ, ädgüg 'your benefit' (KT E 24; BK E 20) < * ädgüŋ, ärtig 'you were' (KT S 9; BK N 7) < *ärtiŋ, ärtigiz 'you were' (KT SE; KT N 9, 10) < *ärtiŋiz, qïltïγ 'you made' (BK E 20, 20) < *qïltïŋ, kigürtüg 'you brought' (KT E 23; BK E 19) < *kigürtüŋ, körtüg 'you saw' (O F 7)

< *körtüŋ, oγurqa (in oγurqalat-) 'backbone' (TI N 1) < *oŋurqa (= Turkm. oŋurγa, Turk. omurga < * oŋurγa, Tuv. oryа < *oγurqa id.), öltüg 'you died' (KT S 6, 7; BK N 5, 6) < *öltüŋ, ölsikig 'you will die' (KT S 7; BK N 5) ~ ölsikiŋ (KT S 6; BK N 5), süŋükü̈g 'your bones' (BK E 20) ~ süŋükü̈ŋ (KT E 24), törügin 'your institutions' (BK E 19) ~ törüŋin (KT E 22).

2.25322. Denasalization of ń

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

2.2523. 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'anman mountains? See Thomsen, Inscr., p. 196).

2.253. 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, İšbara 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 'Déchiffrement 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^2is^2, kis^2i and $küms^2$ to biš, kiši and kümüš, although he 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 (Ïrq 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 $\overline{|}$ 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., birmiš (BK E 8) = birmis (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, İšbara 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. ?; santuŋ (TI E 1, 2) ~ šantuŋ (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.), bisinč 'fifth, fifthly' (KT N 7; BK S 10) < *bïšinč, 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)

< * ašim (cf. Kkpk. Ešim male name), esī 'lady' in esīlik (KT E 7, 24; BK E 7) < * eśī (= 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), kiŋšür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) < * kinšür- < * kiŋüšür- (cf. Kāš. kiŋü- 'to become wide'), kisī (in general) ~ kišī (KT S 7; BK E 28, N 6) (= Khak. kizi < * kisi, Yak. kihi < * kisi), tabïsγan 'hare' (TI S 1) < * tabïšγan (= Yak. tabïsχan < * tabïsqan, Sar. uig. tosqan ~ tousqan < * tabïšqan, 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 dismount' (TI N 3) < * tüšür- (= Khak. tüzir- < * tüsir-), yasa- 'to live, to 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: as- 'to climb over' (TI N 2, 11) ~ aš- (BK S 1) (= Khak. as- id., Yak. ās- id.), bas 'head' (TI N 7) ~ baš (in general) (= Yak. bas; Khak., Sar. uig. pas id.), basïlïγ (TII S 2) ~ bašlïγ (KT, BK), bēs 'five' (generally) ~ bis (KT E 31; BK S 11) ~ biš (KT E 18, N 4) (= Yak. biäs, Khak. pis, Sar. uig. peš ~ pes ~ pis), čabïs 'aide-de-camp, adjutant' (TI W 7; KČ E 5) < * čabïš (cf. Uibat II, left, 2: čabïš, Turk. čavuš), elteris (O F 4, R 3; KČ W 3) ~ ilteris (in general) < * ēl tēriš, is '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) < * öglāš-, süŋüs 'battle, fight' (KT E 15; KČ E 4, 5, 8, W 9, W 11) ~ süŋüš (BK E 13, 34; KT E 40, N 2), süŋüš- 'to fight, battle' (generally) ~ süŋüš- (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), tāgis 'encounter' (KT N 5) < * tāgiš, 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) < * čarïš (= Khak. Čarïš), yetmis 'seventy' (KT E 12) ~ yetmiš (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, kis '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), bermis (KT E 14; BK E 12; KČ W 1; O F 5, 6) ~ birmiš (KT E 8, 8, 8, 8; KT E 1, 1; BK E 3, 3) ~ birmiš (BK E 8, 8, 8, 8), bolmis (KT E 4, 5, 5, 9, 12, 13; TI N 7; O R 2; KČ W 2) ~ bolmiš (BK E 5, 9, 11, 11, 18, 40, N 1; KT E 21, 39, S 1), bošγurmis (KT E 13) ~ bošγurmiš (BK E 12), ārmis (KT, T, O and KČ: in general; BK E 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 6) ~ ārmiš (KT S 4, 6; BK: in general), etmis (KT E 11) and in eletmis (O F 4, 4) ~ itmis (KT E 3, 22) ~ etmiš (BK E 10) ~ itmiš (BK E 12, 18), elsirāmis (KT E 13) < * ēlsirāmiš, elsirātmis (KT E 15) ~ ilsirātmiš (BK E 13), ičγïnmis (KT E 13; O F 1) < * ičγïnmiš, ïdmis (KT E 6, 7; TI S 2, 2, N 10) ~ idmis (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) ~ qaγansiratmiš (BK E 13), qalmis (TI W 4) ~ qalmiš (KT S 9), qazγanmis (KT E 22) ~ qazγanmiš (BK E 18, 22), qīlmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ qīlmiš (BK E 13), qīlïnmis (KT E 1) < * qīlïnmiš, 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) < * kälmiš, körmis (KT E 8) < * körmiš, kötürmis (KT E 11) ~

kötürmiš (KT E 25), küŋädmis (KT E 13) <* küŋädmiš, olurmiš (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) ~ sïγtāmiš (BK E 5), sökürmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ sökürmiš (BK E 13), sülämis (KT E 15) ~ sülämiš (BK E 13), süŋüšmis (KT E 15) ~ süŋüšmiš (KT E 40, N 1), sü[ŋüš]miš (BK E 13), taγïqmis (KT E 12) <* taγïqmiš, tasïqmis (TI N 6, 6) ~ tašïqmiš (KT E 11) ~ tašïqmiš (BK E 32), tägmis (TI E 1, TII S 3) ~ tägmiš (KT E 40, 40), täzmis (TII W 8) <* täzmiš, temis (generally) ~ timis (KT E 9) ~ timiš (BK E 8), terilmis (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), ÿidmis (TI N 10) (see ïdmis ~ ïdmiš), ÿïγmis 'he frightened' (O F 1) <* ÿïγmiš, yitmis (O F 1) <* yitmiš, yoγlāmis (KT E 4) ~ yoγlāmiš (BK E 5), ÿügtürmis (KC W 2) <* ÿügtürmiš, ÿüküntürmis (KT E 2) and [ÿü]küntürmis (BK E 3) ~ ÿüküntürmiš (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) <* yarlïγqamiš.

2.254. 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 an error 𐰃𐰇𐰴𐰍𐰃 . Thomsen regards this spelling as an error for 𐰃𐰇𐰴𐰍𐰃: Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, p. 39, n. 1) ~ ilgärü (generally) (cf. Khak. iskär 'in the east' <* iškäri <* išgärü).

2.255. Assimilation of Consonants

2.2551. 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: yegdi '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: birtük(k)ärü 'about (their) having given (service)' (BK E 9) ~ birtükgärü (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 (KC E 12) <*bädizätdi, bädizät(t)im (KT S 11) <*bädizätdim, qubrat(t)ïm (BK N 7) <*qubratdïm, olurt(t)ï (KC E 12) <*olurtdï, yoγlat(t)ï (KC E 12) <*yoγlatdï; zt <zd: bädiztim (BK SW) <*bädizdim, tutuzt[ï] (KT E 38) <*tutuzdï, uduztum (TI S 8) <*uduzdum, uduzt[uqï] (KC E 1) <*uduzduqï (cf. IB 20: äztï (twice); Khoitu Tamyr X 3: küztä).

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

2.2552. Regressive Assimilation

1°. Contact assimilation: tt <dt: äsit(t)im (TI E 7) <*äsidtim (cf. IB 83: äsidti), ït(t)ï (KT E 7, S 12; BK E 7, N 14) <*ïdtï (cf. Toyok, front, 7: ïdtï), 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; KC E 13) <*igidti, igit(t)im (KT E 29; BK E 23, 38) <*igidtim, qot(t)ï (BK S 12) <*qodtï, yaγït(t)uqda (KC 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. MC E 8, 9, 10: yaratïtdïm); dm <tm: ïqïdmaz '(the Chinese) do not give shelter to' (KT S 6) <*iqïtmaz (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 (KC E 9; Ramstedt, 109, transcribes the word as eltäbir, but the photograph is clear) ~ eltäbär (generally).

2.256. 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 <ly: qulqaq 'ear' (BK S 12, N 11) <*qulyaq; lt <ld: Regularly in the locative-ablative forms: iltä (KT S 3), yolta (KT N 9, TI S 9); in the past tense in -di: altïm (BK E 24, etc.), kältï (KT N 12, etc.) the past participle in -duq: biltükümün (KC 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.), qayanta (KT N 12, etc.), örpäntä (BK E 26), etc., but käčindä (KC W 10); the past tense in -dï: alqïntï (TI W 3), yükünti (TI N 4, etc.), etc.; the participle in -duq: qazyantuq (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 -di: ayturtum (TI N 1), berti (TI S 8, TII W 3; O R 3) ~ birti (BK S 11), olurtï (KT E 16, etc.), etc., but bardï (KT E 34, etc.), bardïy (KT E 24, etc.), bardïyïz (KT SE), bardïmïz (TI N 2, etc.), bardïŋïz (O R 4); the past participle in -duq: bertük (TI W 6) ~ birtük (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), kirtäči (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-.

2.257. Contraction

ŋ <ny/ng: ärtiŋü (BK N 10, etc.) <*ärtingü; käliŋün 'daughters-in-law' (KT N 9) <*kälingün; baŋa (TI N 7) ~ maŋa (KT S 2, etc.) <* bängä, säŋä (TI N 8) <* sängä, biziŋä (KT E 19, 40; BK E 16) <* bizingä; ayïsïŋa (KT S 6; BK N 5) <* ayïsïnya, bašïŋa (KT E 33), batsïqïŋa (KT S 2, etc.), äbïŋä (KC W 3), ilïŋä (TII E 8), qutïŋa (KT E 31), oylïŋa (BK N 15), ödïŋä (BK E 29), sabïŋa (KT S 6; BK N 5), tatïŋa (BK N 15), toysïqïŋa (BK N 2), yašïŋa (KT N 1, yazïŋa (KT N 8; BK E 31), yirïŋä (KT S 4; BK E 15); aŋar (KT S 11, etc.) <* anyar; aŋaru (TI E 3) <* anyaru, baŋaru (TI N 10) <* bänyaru, ortusïŋaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2, 2), subïŋaru (BK E 40), yerïŋärü (BK E 40).

2.258. Prothesis

A prothetic y appears in the following word: yïlpayut 'heroes' (BK E 31) <* ïlpayut <* alpayut (cf. Mong. albayud 'government officials, officers').

2.259. 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, bulyayu (KČ W 11) <bulya-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'), sayu 'every' (KT S 9, etc.) <* sā-y-u (lit.: 'counting'), siyu (KT E 36; KČ E 9) <si-y-u <* sï-süläyü (KT E 8, etc.) <sülä-y-ü, ulayu 'and' (KT S 1, etc.) <ula-y-u, yeyü (TI S 1) ~ yiyü (TI S 1) <ye-y-ü; bayür (TI N 3) <ba-y-ür, öyür (KT S 5) <ö-y-ür, yašayür (KT N 2, 2) <yaša-y-ür, yorïyür (KT E 12, S 9; TI S 3) <yorï-y-ür.

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

2.3. 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', ärsär ~ırsár 'if it is' (see 2.13.1° and 2°) (cf. Uig. tawár ~tïwár, Kāš. taš̆íq- ~ tïš̆íq-, 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°): ìnigák 'cow' (TI S 7) (cf. Mong üniyen id.), yàlabáč 'envoy' (BK E 39) (cf. Kas. yalawač id.), yègirmí '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.), bodumumín 'my people' (acc.) (BK N 11), etc.

Certain suffixes, however, did not take the stress: bírmädi 'he did not give' (KT N 9), bílip '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', bädiz 'picture, design, decoration' and bädiz- 'to design, decorate', qarï 'old, aged' and qarï- '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', tamγačï 'seal-keeper' (KT N 13) <*tamγa 'seal', yaγïčï '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 -yuči/-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. Uig. qorqinčïγ 'fearful' <*qorqinčsïγ); 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'), bašγu 'white-headed?' (KT E 37) <baš (cf. Kas. bašγïl 'white-headed (animal)').

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

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: täŋrikän 'God-like' (title of the Turkish kagan) (O F 5, etc.) <täŋri 'God', tarqan a high rank-title (KT W 2, etc.) <*tar (cf. 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', öŋräki 'being in front, being in the east' (TI N 1, S 10) <öŋrä 'in front', bärüki '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) <yïrïya 'in the north', qurïyaqï 'being in the west' (TI S 10) <qurïya 'in the west'; baïqdaqï, buluŋdaqï, köŋültäki, 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/-lug. Function: to form nouns meaning 'possessing or having something': atlïγ 'having a horse, horseman' (TI E 7, etc.) <at 'horse', ätlïγ 'having a title' (BK E 41) <ät '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', bäŋilig 'sacred, blessed' (TII W 9) <* bäŋi 'happiness, bliss' (cf. Uig. mäŋi id.), äkinlig 'hemmed' (?) (BK N 11) <* äkin 'edge on a garment' (?), ärklig 'powerful, free' (BK N 12) <* ärk 'power, might', ellig 'owning a state' (KT E 29; BK E 24) ~illig (KT E 9, etc.) <el, eltäbärlig 'owning an eltäbär' (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), käräkülüg 'nomadic' (BK E 1) <* käräkü 'tent', kürlüg 'deceitful, tricky' (KT E 6; BK E 6) < kür 'fraud, deceit', küŋlüg 'owning a female slave' (BK E 18), ötülüg 'respected, esteemed' (BK E 34) <* ötü, süŋüglüg 'owning a lance' (KT E 33; BK E 19), täblig 'deceitful' (KT E 6; BK E 6) <* täb, tizlig 'powerful (lit.: 'having knees')' (BK N 10, etc.) <tiz 'knee', tonluγ 'owning clothes, dressed' (KT E 29; BK E 23), tögünlüg 'branded' (TII E 4), küčlüg 'powerful, mighty' (O R 4), yaraqlïγ 'having a weapon' (TII E 4), yolluγ 'fortunate, happy' (personal name) (KT SW, etc.) <* yol 'happiness, fortune, prosperity' (cf. Tuv. čolduγ 'fortunate, happy' <* yolluγ).

19°. -lïq/-lik/-luq/-lük: bäglik 'worthy of becoming a lord' (KT E 7, etc.) <bäg, esïlik 'worthy of becoming a lady' (KT E 7, etc.) <* esï 'noblewoman, princess, lady' (cf. Uig. iši, išiy id., Kāš. išilär id.), qoqlïq 'scenting material' (BK S 11) <* qoq 'smell, scent' (cf. Turkm. qoq id.), özlik (BK N 11, S 12) ~ özlük (KC E 3, 3, W 4) 'personal; mount, riding horse' <öz 'self, own', udlïq 'haunch, thigh' (KT E 36) <ud 'thigh' (KT N 2, E 36); see -yuluq/-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. ās ~ āz 'ermine, stoat'), kögmän geog. n. ('bluish')? <* kökmän.

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

22°. -nč. Forms ordinal numerals: bisinč 'fifthly' (KT N 7, etc.) <bis 'five'; see Ordinal Numerals.

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

24°. -sïγ/-sig (= Mong. particle siγ 'similar to, like'): ödsig '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', buŋsïz (BK N 14, etc.) ~ buŋsiz (TII S 4) 'having no trouble; abundantly' <buŋ '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', sansïz 'innumerably' (BK S 12) <san 'number', tonsïz 'having no clothes, destitude' (KT E 26; BK E 21) <ton 'clothes', tüzsiz 'discordant, disagreeing' (KT E 6; BK E 6) <tüz 'accord, harmony, agreement', oqsïz 'having no tribal organization' (KT E 3; BK E 4) <oq 'a unit in the tribal organization', yolsiz in yolsizin 'without any roads' (TI N 11) <yol 'road, way'.

26°. -š: ayïš 'wealth, riches, property' (KT SW) <ayï 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'), ekïnti 'second, secondly' (KT N 5, etc.) <ekï, ekïn 'two' (cf. ekïn ara); 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 <yaš 'age'; see -sïra-/-sirä-.

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

3°. -yar-/-gär-: ičgär- 'to subdue, subjugate' (BK E 25) <ič 'inside, interior', tasγar- 'to remove, lead out' (MČ E 10) <*tašγar- <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), toqī- 'to beat, strike, defeat' (BK S 8, etc.) <*toq onomatopoetic word, udī- 'to sleep' (BK E 22, etc.) <*ud 'sleep' (cf. Kāš. uδ id.), yabrī- 'to become bad, be routed' in yabrït- (BK E 31) <*yabïr (cf. yabïz 'bad'), *yašī- 'to shine' in yašïk (?) 'sun' (KT NE), yorī- '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', tasïq- (~ tašïq-) 'to go out, start a campaign' (KT E 11, etc.) <taš 'outside, exterior', birik- 'to join, unite, gather' (KT E 27, etc.) <bir 'one'.

6°. -qa-/-kä-, -ya-/-gä-: kükä- 'to gain fame, become well-known' (KČ W 4) <kü 'fame, reputation',

yarlïq(q)a- 'to command, order, decree' (KT S 9, etc.) <*yarlïγqa- <*yarlïγ '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) <*ančų 'reward' (cf. Uig. ančų id., Mong. angų 'fine, punishment', angųla- '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', boγuzla- 'to slaughter' in boγuzlan- (TI N 2) <boγuz 'throat', illä- 'to establish a state' (KT E 6; BK E 7) <il 'state, land', qaγanla- 'to make someone kagan' (KT E 7; BK E 7; O F 2) <qaγan '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.), oγurqala- 'to warm one's back' in oγurqalat- (TI N 1) <*oγurqa 'back, backbone' (cf. Tuv. ōrγa id., orγala- 'to warm one's back' <oγurqala-), 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 öglä̈s- (<*öglä̈š-) (TI E 3) <*ög 'intellect, mind, reason' taplā- 'to like, agree' (BK E 35) <*tapïla- <*tapï 'agreement' (cf. Kāš. tapï id.), yoγla- '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', tiŋla- 'to listen' (KT S 2) <*tiŋla- <*tïŋ 'sound' (cf. Uig. tïŋ 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. qubi '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 < * -sïɨ/-siɨ): elsirä- 'to become stateless, lose independence' (KT E 13) < el '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-: toŋta- 'to turn down' (Bk E 2) < * toŋ (cf. Khak. toŋxar- 'to turn, turn upside-down'), bunta- 'not to suffice, be inadequate' in buntat- 'to make less, lessen' (TI E 2) < * buŋta- < buŋ 'need, lack' (cf. Mong. muŋda- 'to become insufficient').

13°. -u-/-ü-: kiŋü- 'to become wide' in kiŋsür- (< * kiŋüšür-) 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) < * kiŋ '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: ara '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.) < * bīril- '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' < * yalabar).

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) < tāg- 'to attack'; see Verbal Nouns.

6°. -γ/-g. Forms nouns designating results of actions, places in which actions take place: azï) 'furor' in azïγlïγ 'ferocious' (KČ E 6) < * az- 'to become furious', bersäg 'the wish for giving' (O R 2) < * bērsä- 'to wish to give', bilig 'wisdom, intellect' (TI W 6, etc.) < bil 'to know', bitïg 'writing, script' (KČ S 3, etc.) < bitï- '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', süčïg 'sweet' (KT S 6, etc.) < * süčï- 'to become sweet' (cf. Kāš. süči- id.), süŋüg 'lance' (KT E 35, etc.) < * süŋü- 'to thrust into, pierce' (cf. süŋüš- '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., yadaγu 'poor, miserable': see Poppe, Verg., p. 32), yuluγ 'plunder' in yuluγči 'plunderer' (BK SE) < yul- ~ yulï- 'to plunder'.

7°. -γa/-ga: bilga 'wise' (KT S 6, etc.) < bil- 'to know', qisγa 'short' (KČ E 11) < * qis- 'to shorten, make

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

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

9°. -γan/-gän: qapγan 'one who attacks' (regal title of Moč'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. qoriyan 'camp, barracks').

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

11°. -γu/-gü. Forms action nouns (infinitives): arïγu 'exhaustion, fatigue' (TII W 2) <* ārī- 'to be tired, exhausted' (cf. Uig. arï- id., Kāš. ār- 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 'watch-tower' (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: it-güči 'doer, maker' (KT N 13) <it- '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-γuluq 'the folding up, bending' (TI S 6) <topla- 'to fold up, bend', üzgülük 'the breaking, cutting' (TI S 7) <üz- 'to break, cut'.

14°. -ī/-i: ägri 'bent, crooked' (TII S 4) <* ägir- 'to turn, bend, twist', qalī 'rest, remainder' in qalīsiz (TI N 9, etc.) <qal- 'to remain, be left over', taqï 'more, further' (O R 2; KT S 13) <* taq- 'to attach, affix', yazī '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' (B[illegible] N 14, etc.) <* barïq <* bar- 'to build, construct' (cf. Mong. bari-id.), bädük 'great, numerous' (O F 6) <* bädü- 'to grow', bulγaq 'riotous, provocative' (KT N 4; BK E 29) <bulγa- '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), yaγuq 'close by, near' (KT S 7) <* yaγu- 'to come close, approach', yašīk (?) 'sun' (KT NE) <* yašīq <* yašī- 'to shine', yazuq 'mischief, wrong, fault' in yazuqla- (BK E 36) <* yāz- 'to go astray', yimšaq 'soft' (KT S 5, etc.) <* yimša- 'to become softer', yōq 'non-existent' (KT E 11, etc.) <* yō- 'not to exist, cease to exist', 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', yaŋïluq 'one who has betrayed, unfaithful (KT E 20) <yaŋïl- '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 käliŋünüm (KT N 9) <käl- 'to come', san 'number' in sansïz (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. tarïx- 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: bilïr 'one who knows, knowing' (KT N 10) <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', süŋüš 'battle' (BK E 34, etc.) <* süŋü- 'to pierce, stab' (cf. süŋüg 'lance', süŋüš- 'to fight, battle'), teris (<* tēriš) 'one who gathers'

in il-teris 'one who gathers the tribes' (regal name of Qutluγ) (TII N 1, etc.), uruš 'fight' (O R 2) <ur- 'to hit, strike', üküš 'many' (BK N 5, etc.) <* ük- 'to gather, heap'.

29°. -z: baz 'subject, dependent' (KT E 15) <ba- '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-, uz 'artistical work, ornament' (KT SW) <u- '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: kigür- 'to let in, introduce' (KČ E 8) <* kī- (cf. kir- '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.), teril- ~ tiril- 'to come together' (TI N 4, etc.) <ter- ~ tir- 'to gather', tiril- 'to come to life' (BK E 31) <* tir- 'to live', tasul- 'to be dragged, be driven' (O F 8) <* tašu- 'to carry'.

5°. -ma-/-mä-. Forms negative stems: bolma- 'not to become' (KT E 25, etc.) <bol- '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-, uma-, udïma-, yälmä-, yitmä-, yorïma-, yältürmä-, 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-, itin- 'to form or organize oneself' (KT E 40; BK E 9) < it- '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 'reguest'), saqïn- 'to think' (BK E 2, etc.) <* säqï- (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', yazïn- 'to separate oneself, go astray' (BK E 16) <* yaz- 'to go astray', tutun- 'to take a hold' (TI N 1) < tut- 'to hold, hold on'.

7°. -r-. Forms middle verbs (Verbia media): kir- 'to go in, enter' (BK E 38, etc.) <* kï- (cf. kigür- 'to let in' <*kï-gur-), olur- 'to sit; to dwell, inhabit' (TI N 8, etc.) <*ol- (cf. Käš. olγut- 'to cause to sit', Kirg. olut 'place, seat, chair'), yaγur- 'to come close, approach' (KT S 5, etc.) <* yaγu- (cf. Käš. yaγu- id.).

8°. -sa-/-sä-. Forms desiderative stems. Only in: bersä- 'to wish to give' in bersägim 'my wish for giving' (O R 2) < ber-.

9°. -š-, -s-. Forms reciprocal stems: ögläs- (<* ögläš-) 'to think together, plan together' (TI E 3) <* öglä- (cf. Uig. öglän- 'to come to one's senses'), sözläš- 'to agree together' (KT E 24, etc.) <* sözlä- 'to speak', süŋüš- 'to fight, battle' (BK E 25, etc.) <* süŋü- 'to thrust into, pierce', * yoŋaš- 'to slander one another' in yoŋšur- (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', añït- 'to threaten, frighten' (BK E 41) <* añ- '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), bitït- (TII E 8) ~ bitïd- (KT S 13; BK N 15), buntat- (see -ta-/-tä-), ämgät-, elsirät-, 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-, toqït-, töküt- (TII E 2), tükät- (KT S 1; BK N 1), ulγart- (TII E 3), uruγsïrat-, yabrït-, yaγut-, yaratid- (<* yaratit- < yaratït-), yoγlat-, yorït-, 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', bintür-, 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'), öntür-, urtur-, yantur-, yältür-, yügtür- 'to promote' (KČ W 2), yüküntür-.

11°. -ur-/-ür-. Forms causative stems: kälür- 'to bring' (TII S 4) < käl- 'to come', kiŋsür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) <* kïŋšür- <* kïŋüš-, ölür-, ötür- in ötrü, sökür-, tägür-, tüsür- (<* tüsür-), yitür- 'to lose', yoŋšur- 'to cause to slander' (BK E 7) <* yoŋašur- <* yoŋaš- (cf. Kaš. yoŋa- 'to slander'), 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: yirsub 'territory, land' (KT E 20): yir 'earth', sub 'water'; see Coordinate Phrases.

3.122. Subordinate composition

3.1221. Compound nouns

1°. Attributive compounds: bäŋgü taš 'memorial' (BK N 15, etc.) (lit.: 'eternal stone'), qara köl 'the Black Lake' (KT N 2), qara qum 'the Black Sand' (TI W 7); see Attributive Phrases.

2°. Objective compounds: ilteris (< * ïltēriš) 'one who gathers the tribes' (regal name of Qutluγ) (TI W 7, etc.): il 'tribes, people' + teris 'one who gathers'; eletmis (< * ēletmiš) 'one who has organized the tribes' (personal name or honorific) (O F 4): el 'tribes' + etmis 'one who has organized'; eltäbär 'one who puts the tribes in order' (a title) (BK E 37, etc.): el '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) < * anï 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 fuctioning as complement or by a gerund.

3.12231. Noun as a complement

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

2°. As the object into which the direct object is transformed: baz qïl- 'to subjugate' (KT E 15): baz 'subject, dependent', qïl- 'to do, make'; bay qïl- 'to make rich' (BK E 14): bay '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'; yoq qïš- (BK E 25) ~ yoq qïs- (TI E 4) 'to annihilate'; etc.

3°. As direct object with the verb qïl-: uruš qïl- 'to fight, battle' (O R 2): uruš '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), učа 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) yoqadu bar- 'to be annihilated, to cease to exist' (KT E 10), yälü bar- 'to ride fast, to ride at a gallop' (TI N 3), äliri bar- 'to become enthusiastic' (O R 3) (cf. Kirg. elir- id.), yoq bolu bar- 'to vanish, to cease to be' (O F 3).

2°. The verb ber- ~ bir- 'to give' with the same gerund denotes actions done in the interest of someone else:

alï bir- 'to take' (BK N 9, 10), basa ber- 'to overcome' (TII W 3), äsidü ber- 'to hear, listen to' (TI S 8), ïti bir- 'to organize, put in order' (KT E 1; BK E 3), qïlu ber- 'to make' (BK S 7), qazγanu bir- 'to win, conquer' (BK S 10), süläyü bir- 'to go on campaigns' (KT E 8), tikä bir- 'to erect, set up' (BK S 9, 11), tuta bir- '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 id- '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: yaña 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): yälü kör 'ride fast!' (TI N 2).

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

9°. The verb yorï- 'to walk, march' with the same gerund denotes the continuation of an action: udu yorï- '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 yätä 'towing the horses' (TI N 1); külüg är 'the well-known man' (O Supp. 6), öŋräki 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, -γun/-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°. -γun/-gün (cf. Uig. kün in the phrase il kün 'people, folks' and Mong. kümün 'man, people'). This suffix forms the following collective nouns: kälinγün-üm 'my daughters-in-law' (KT N 9) <* kälingün <* kälin 'daughter-in-law' (cf. Uyug-Turan, back 3: kälinlärim id.), tayγun-uŋïz 'your children, your sons (lit.: 'your colts')' (KT SE) <* tay 'young horse, colt' (cf. Kemčik-Čirgak, front 2: tańlarïm 'my colts').

3°. -an/-än (cf. Mongolian plural suffix -n). This suffix appears only in the following collective nouns: oγlan-ïm 'my children, my sons' (KT S 1; BK N 1) <oγïl

'child, son', oγlan-ïŋïz '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): oγlït 'children, sons' (KT E 5; BK E 5) <oγïl, tarqat 'Tarkans' (KT S 1) <tarqan (with the final n dropped), yïlpaγut 'champion warriors' (BK E 31) <* yïlpaγu (~alpaγu) 'champion warrior, hero' (cf. Mong. albaγud 'public servants, government officials'); bulït 'clouds' (KT NE) <* buli.

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:	-ŋ - -γ/-g	-ŋïz/-ŋiz
3rd person:	-ï/-sï (seldom -ï̄/-sï̄)	same as 3rd person singular

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), bersäg-im 'my wish to give' (O R 2), bilig-im (KT N 10), bodun-um (KT S 1, etc.), äčï-m 'my uncle' (KT E 16, etc.), äčü-m 'my ancestors' (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), il-im 'my state' (KT E 9), ini-m 'my younger brother' (KT E 26, etc.), qaγan-ïm 'my kagan' (KT E 9, etc.), qan-ïm 'my blood' (TII E 2), qaŋ-ïm 'my father' (KT E 11, etc.), qazγantuq-um (TII E 5), qunčuylar-ïm (KT N 9), qut-um (KT S 9, etc.), köz-üm (KT N 10), oγlan-ïm (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1), oγl-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), öz-üm (KT E 17, etc.), oγuš-um (KT S 1; BK E 25, N 1), sab-ïm (KT S 11, etc.), siŋl-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), udïsïq-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), äčï-miz 'our uncle' (KT E 26; BK E 22), äčü-miz 'our ancestors' (KT E 19; O F 1), el-imiz 'our realm' (KT E 22), il-im[iz] id. (BK E 18), qaŋ-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, E2), sü-m[iz] (TI E 1).

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

A. Singular: buŋ-uγ 'your (lit.: 'thy') trouble' (KT S 8), ädgü-g 'your profit' (KT E 24; BK E 20), qan-ïŋ 'your blood' (KT E 24), oγl-uŋ 'your children' (KT E 24, 24), ölsik-iŋ 'you will die (lit.: 'thy dying in the future')' (KT S 6; BK N 5), ölsik-ig id. (KT S 7; BK N 5), süŋük-üŋ 'your bones' (KT E 24), süŋük-üg id. (BK E 20), yoγ-uŋ 'thy funeral' (O R 4).

B. Plural: oγlan-ïŋïz 'your children, your sons' (KT SE), tayγun-uŋïz 'your sons (lit.: 'your colts')' (KT SE).

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

A. -ï/-sï: aγï-sï (KT S 5; BK N 4), alp-ï 'his hero'

(KČ E 5), alp-ī 'his courage' (KČ W 4), [ar]qīš-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-[si] (TII S 5), balbal-ī (O Balbal), bas-ī (< baš 'head') (TI N 7), baťim-ī (KT E 35; BK E 26), bäglär-ī (KT E 3, etc.), bodun-ī (KT E 3, etc.), boγuz-ī 'the stomach of ...' (TI S 1), buŋ-ī (TII E 7), büntäg-ī (TII E 7), čabïs-ī (TI W 7; (KČ E 5), čïqan-ī (KT N 13), är-ī (TI E 6), ärdäm-ī (KČ W 4), ič-ī (TI S 5), il-ī (KT N 5), ilk-ī (KT E 32; BK E 30), ini-sī (KT E 4, etc.), qaγan-ī (KT E 19, etc.), qalmiš-ī (KT S 9), qalmiš-ī (KT S 9), qalmis-ī (TI W 4), qan-ī 'their khan' (TI N 4), qaš-i (KT N 11), kälmis-i (TII W 4), köbürgä-si 'the bridge of ...' (BK W 4), köz-ī (KT N 11; BK E 2), kü-sī (KT E 25, etc.), oγlït-ī (KT E 5; BK E 5), oγl-ī (KT E 1, etc.), oγuz-ī (TI E 5), ölüg-ī (KT N 9), öz-ī 'himself' (KT E 30, 38; KČ E 9, 11), öz-ī 'themselves' (KT E 3, 20; BK E 17), özlük-ī (KČ E 3, 3, W 4), sab-ī (KT S 5), sub-ī (KT E 11; BK E 10), sü-sī (KT E 12, etc.), tirig-ī (KT N 9), uč-ī (TII W 5), ülüg-ī 'its part' (TI W 4, 4), ülüg-ī 'his fate' (KČ E 11), yaγmis-ī 'his follower' (TI W 5), yaγī-sī (KT E 12; BK E 11), yaγïči--sī 'his warleader' (TII S 6), yalabač-ī (BK E 39), yïlpaγut-ī (BK E 31), yir-ī (KT E 10; BK E 10); artuq-ī (BK SW, etc.), buyruq-ī (KT E 3, etc.), qamaγ-ī (KT E 18; BK E 11), [q]amaγ-ī (KT E 12), orūq-ī (TI E 7), uduzt[uq-ī] (KČ E 1), uluγ-ī (TI W 5), yorīduq-ī (TII N 3), azuq-ī (KT E 39).

B. -ī/-sī: 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 -lī/-lī and form a coordinate construction. The coordinating conjunctive suffix -lī/-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 äčī-lī 'younger and elder brothers' (acc.) (KT E 6), bäg-lī bodun-lī-γ 'the lords and peoples' (acc.) (KT E 6), toruq būqa-lī sämiz būqa-lī '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 yoq bolmis ärti 'the katun had died' (TI N 7), bir a t l ï γ barmis 'a horseman reportedly went' (TI E 7), b ä g l ä r qop[ïn] yanalïm tedi 'the lords all said: 'Let us go back!'' (TII W 2), ol törūdä 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 ī sämiz b ū q a l ī ïraqda büŋsär '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 bolmis 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 oγluŋ q u l boltï 'your sons, worthy of becoming lords, became slaves' (KT E 24), t[oquz oγu]z mäniŋ 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 itdim 'I completely organized

these many tribes' (KT S 2-3), yaγuq ärsär ädgü aγï birür '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 ara '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), yazïŋa 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 qaš-ï 'the eyes and brows of my lords and people' (KT N 11).

3.2142. Genitive

The genitive suffix is -ïŋ/-iŋ on the consonantal stems, and -nïŋ/-niŋ 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: $b^1y^1r^1$ $ɸun^2ŋ$ = bayïrqu-niŋ '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°. -ïŋ/-iŋ: bayïrqu-n[in aq adγï]r 'Bayïrqu's white stallion' (KT E 35), bayïrqu-niŋ aq adγïr id. (KT E 36), yigän silig bäg-iŋ kädimlig toruγ at 'Yigän Silig Bey's dressed bay horse' (KT E 33), türük bodun-ïŋ ilïn törüsïn 'the state and the institutions of the Turkish people' (acc.) (KT E 1; BK E 3), bilgä qaγan-ïŋ bodunï 'Bilgä Kagan's people' (O R 3), tabγač, qaγan-ïŋ ičräki bädizčig 'the private painters of the Chinese emperor' (acc.) (KT S 12), kül tigin-iŋ altunïn kümüsïn 'the gold and silver of Prince Kül' (acc.) (KT SW).

2°. -ïγ (< -ïŋ): türük bodun-ïγ atï küsï 'the name and fame of the Turkish people' (KT E 25) = türük bodun atï küsï (BK E 20).

3°. -ïn (< -ïŋ): qaγanïr-ïn sabïn almatïn 'without taking the advice of your kagan' (KT S 9), qaγanïŋ-ïn . . . ädgü elïŋä 'to the good realm of your kagan' (KT E 23).

In the following example, the genitive suffix -ïŋ is taken by both constituents of the phrase denoting the possessor: tadïq-ïŋ čor-ïŋ 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 at-ïγ bunta biz birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title kagan' (BK E 17) = qaγan at bunta biz birtimiz (KT E 20), siŋlim qunčuy-uγ birtimiz 'we gave (him) my younger sister, the princess' (KT E 20), aγar taš-ïγ yoγun ï-γ 'the heavy stones and thick wood' (BK S 15), [siŋ]ar süsï 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 yïlqï-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.), buluŋ-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.), toŋra äsim-ig (TI S 2), el-ig (KČ W 6) ~ il-ig (KT E 3, etc.), el-täbär-ig (KT N 3), illig-ig (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), is-ig küč-üg (KT W 1, etc.), qaγan-ïγ (KT E 25, etc.), qaγanlïγ-ïγ (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), qar-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), qara 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.), öŋ-üg (TI S 8; BK SE), sab-ïγ (KT S 7, etc.), säŋün-üg (BK S 9; TI S 2), sü-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), taš-ïγ (BK N 13), t[aši]γ (O Supp. 1), til-ïγ (TI N 8), tigin-ig (KT E 40, W 1), tizlig-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 E 12), yaγï-γ (TII E 3, etc.) yamtar-ïγ (BK E 40), yälmä-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^1 pl^1 ad^1u-uqmin^2 = taplāduqumin 'that I like (IB 4), u$γl^1$ mn^2 = oγlumin 'my sons' (Sugi 6).

A. On the possessive stem of the first person: bodunum-'in (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), mäniŋ sabïm-ïn simadï '(the Chinese Emperor) did not reject my request' (KT S 11).

B. On the possessive stem of the second person: bilmädükü̈g-in ü̈čü̈n 'because of your unawareness' (BK E 20), antaγïŋ-ïŋ ü̈čü̈n 'because you were so' (KT S 8; BK N 6), eliŋ-in (KT E 22) ~ iliŋ-in (BK E 19), qanïŋ-in qodup ičikdiŋ 'you abandoned your khan and submitted (again)' (TI W 3), kürägü̈ŋ-in ü̈čü̈n 'because of your unruliness' (KT E 23; BK E 19), bäglik urï oγluŋ-ïn qul qïltïγ 'you caused your noble sons to be slaves' (BK E 20), ölsikiŋ-in (KT S 10; BK N 8), törü̈ŋ-in (KT E 22) ~ törü̈g-in (BK E 19), tutsïqïŋ-ïn (KT S 10; BK N 8), yablaqïŋ-ïn ü̈čü̈n '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; KČ W 7, 12), altunï-n (KT SW) ~ [altunï]n (BK N 11), arqāsï-n (KČ E 9), ātï-n (KT E 7, 7; BK E 7) 'the titles of', barïmï-n (KT N 1; BK E 24) ~ barïmï-n (KT SW), barqï-n (KT NE, etc.) bädizï-n (KT NE; KČ E 12), bäglärï-n (BK S 15; TII W 8), bilmädükï-n (BK E 16), bilgäsï-n (TII S 4), [bi]lgäsï-n (KČ W 7), biligï-n (BK N 4), bodunï-n (BK S 15; TII W 7, 8), bulγaqï-n (KT N 4; BK E 29), äbï-n (KT N 1; BK E 34, 37), ärï-n (KT N 1; BK S 7; O F 3), ärdämï-n (KČ W 12), (ärdäm)ï-n (KČ S 2), äčïsï-n (KT E 5; BK E 18), ekïsï-n (KT E 38), elï-n (BK E 34; KČ E 10) ~ ilï-n (KT N 6, etc.), qaγanï-n (BK E 7, etc.) ~ qaγanï-n (KT E 7), qanï-n (TI W 2, 2, N 4), qarasi-n (O R 1), qutayï-n (BK N 11), quzï-n (TI W 7), kiŋsürtükï-n (KT E 6), kisïsï-n (KČ E 10, W 5), [kisïs]ï-n (KČ E 1), kürlügï-n (BK E 6), oγlï-n (KT E 7, etc.), sabï-n (KT S 9; BK N 7) ~ sabï-n (TI E 5), sačï-n (BK S 12), šadï-n (BK E 28) ~ sadï-n (TII W 6), subï-n (BK E 35), sü̈sï-n (BK E 26), tašï-n (BK N 14) ~ tasï-n (TI S 7) 'its exterior', tašï-n (BK W 7) 'his memorial', taš[ïn] id. (KT NE), täbligï-n (KT E 6; BK E 6), tägdükï-n (KT E 34; O R 2), täyäŋï-n (BK S 12, N 12), kisï-n (BK S 12) 'their (black) sables', törü̈sï-n (KT E 1, etc.), usï-n 'his sleep' (TI E 2), udlïqï-n (KT E 36), yabγusï-n (TII W 6), yabγu-[sï]n (BK E 28), yaγïzï-n (KT N 5, 8, yaŋïltuqï-n (BK E 16), yaŋïluqï-n (KT E 19), yarlïq(q)aduqï-n (KT S 9), yazïntuqï-n (BK E 16), yerï-n (BK E 35), yïlqïsï-n (BK E 24) ~ y[ïl] q[ïs]ï-n (KT SW), yoŋšurtuqï-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°. -nü/-ni: qoraγïŋ-nï 'your (lit.: 'thy') obsequies' (O R 4), qu-nï '(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. täŋrili yirli-dä 'both in the sky and on the earth': TT VI 02), arquy qarγū-y 'the fortifications and watchtowers' (TII E 3), yoγuŋ qoraγïŋ-nï 'your funeral and obsequies' (O R 4). This rule is observed in the following parallel clauses, too: inilī äčīlī kiŋsürtükīn üčün bäglī bodun-lī-γ yoŋšurtuqīn 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 säŋün 'General Qu': qu-γ säŋün-üg balbal tikä birtim 'for (him) I erected (the statue of) General Qu as a balbal' (BK S 9) (cf. tadïq-ïŋ čor-ïŋ 'Prince Tadïq's' in KT E 32), tabγačγaru qu-nï säŋün-üg ïdmis '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 -ŋa/-ŋä. The so-called pronominal n and the suffix-initial velar consonant must have given rise to this form: -ŋa/-ŋä < * -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: at-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), ï-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.), säŋün-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), taš-qa 'on the stone' (KT SE, etc.), täŋrikän-kä (O F 6), täzīk-kä (KČ E 4), toγsïq-(q)a (BK E 8; KT S 2), toṅuquq-(q)a (TI N 7), tün-kä (TI N 2), tüpüt-kä (KT S 3; BK N 3), u-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.), yegirmi-kä (KT NE), yiš-qa (KT E 1; BK E 37).

2°. -ŋa/-ŋä (< * nγa/-ngä): aγïsï-ŋa (KT S 6; BK N 5), bašï-ŋa (KT E 33), batsïqï-ŋa (KT S 2), äbï-ŋä (KC E 8; KČ W 3), elï-ŋä (KT E 23; O F 4) ~ ilï-ŋä (TII E 8, TI W 1), qutï-ŋa (KT E 31), oγlï-ŋa (BK N 15), ödï-ŋä (BK E 29), sabï-ŋa (KT S 6; BK N 5), tatï-ŋa (KT S 12; BK N 15), toγsïqï-ŋa (BK N 2; O F 2), yašï-ŋa (KT E 31, etc.), yazï-ŋa (KT N 8; BK E 31), yerï-ŋä (KT S 4; BK E 15) ~ yirï-ŋä (BK N 3), yüz[iŋä] (KT E 33).

But: ayuqï-qa 'over the dominion of' (KT W 1) (cf. Miran a 6: özïkä '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), yašïm-a (BK E 24, etc.); but: [atačïm]-qa (O Supp. 1), yašïm-qa (BK E 15).

On the possessive stem of the second person singular: äbiŋ-ä 'to your homeland' (BK N 14), eliŋ-ä 'to your state' (BK E 19), qaγanïŋ-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 bodunï 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 kirti '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 isig küčüg birür män 'to what kagan do I render service?' (KT E 9; BK E 9), ülgän at-qa isig küčüg berti 'he rendered service to the great name' (O R 3).

3°. As an adverbial complement with a postposition: ilgärü yašïl ögüz šantuŋ yazï-qa tägi sülädimiz 'we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River and the Shantung Plain' (BK E 15), qurïγaru tämir qapïγ-qa tägi sülädimiz '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 ilï-ŋä qïlintim 'I was born in China' (TI W 1), näŋ yïlsïγ bodun-qa olurmadïm 'I did not become a ruler over a wealthy people' (KT E 26), bu taš-qa bu tām-qa qop yol(1) 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 kün küŋlüg bolmiš ärti 'at that time slaves themselves had slaves and female slaves themselves had maids' (KT E 21), kül tigin qoń yïl-qa yiti yegirmi-kä učdï 'Prince Kül died on the seventeenth day of the Sheep Year' (KT NE) yazï-ŋa oγuz tapa sülädim 'in the spring, I started a campaign against the Oguz' (BK E 31-32), qïrqïzïγ u-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: bir yïl-qa tört yolï süŋüšdüm 'I fought four times in a year' (BK E 30), on 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 yiti 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 -din/-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), buluŋ-da-qï (BK E 2, etc.), äb-dä (BK E 32), ätiz-dä (KČ E 6), ellig-dä (KT E 29; BK E 24), ï-da (TI W 4), ïraq-da (TI W 5), qadïz-da (BK E 31) ~ qadiz-dä (KT N 7), qaγanïm-da (O R 4), qaγanïŋ-da (BK E 13), qaγanlïγ-da (BK E 24), qïlïntuq-da (KT E 1), qïtań-da (BK S 7; TI S 7), qontuq-da (KT S 5), quš-alγaq-da (KT N 5), käčin-dä (sic!) (KČ W 10), oγlanïŋïz-da (KT SE), oγuz-da (TI S 7), olurtuq-da (KT E 17), sabïm-da (KT S 10; BK N 8), süŋüš-dä (KT N 2), süŋüšdük-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), tayγunuŋïz-da (KT SE), tägdük-dä (KT E 36), täŋri-dä (KT S 1; BK N 1), tirig-dä-ki-čä (KT SE), toγ-sïq-da (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5), törü-dä (KT E 16; BK E 14), u-da (KT E 35, 37; BK E 27), učduq-da (KT E 30; BK E 14), yaγï(t)uq-da (KČ E 6), yaš-da (BK E 14), yazï-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, E 24), 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), il-tä (KT S 3), [il]-tä (BK N 2), qaγan-ta (KT S 11, etc.), köl-tä (KT E 34, N 2), köŋül-tä (KT N 1), köŋül-tä-ki (KT S 12), yer-tä (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15; but generally yerdä: see above), yolta (KT N 9; TI S 9); qurïdïn-ta 'from the west' (TI S 7), yirïdïn-ta 'from the north' (TI S 4); elïn-tä (KČ E 6), oγlïn-ta (KT E 1; BK E 3), olurtuqïn-ta (BK S 13), tägisïn-tä (KT N 5), töpüsïn-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 functions:

1°. As an adverbial complement indicating the place in which the action is performed: qara köl-tä süŋüšdümiz 'we fought at the Black Lake' (KT N 2), ekïn sü äb-dä ärti 'the second army was at the camp' (BK E 32), [bi]riyä tabγač-da atï küsï yoq bolti 'to the south, in China, the name and fame of (the Tokuz-Oguz) have disappeared' (BK E 36), azu bu sabïm-da igid bar γu '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: q'irq'iz bodunuγ u-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 yaš kälsär tida köŋül-tä siγït kälsär yanturu saqïntïm 'when tears came down from the eyes, I mourned by holding them back, and then wails came out from the heart, I mourned turning them back' (KT N 11).

4°. As an adverbial complement with a postposition or a postpositional word: yabïz yablaq bodun-ta üzä olurtum 'I became ruler over a poor and destitute people' (BK E 21), bän yiridin-tä yan tägäyïn '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 yig idi yoq ärmis 'a land better than the Ötükän Mountains does not exist at all' (KT S 4), ïγar oγlanïŋïz-da tay-γunuŋïz-da yegdi 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), -ŋaru/-ŋärü (<-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/-ğarü (<-γa-ru/-gä-rü): bän äb-gärü tüsäyïn 'I shall go down to the camp' (TI N 6), amγa qorγan q'išlap yazïŋa oγuz-γaru sü tašïqdïmïz 'after we spent the winter at Amga-Korgan, in spring we started a campaign against the Oguz' (KT N 8), tabγač-γaru qunï säŋünüg ïdmis q'itań-γaru toŋra äsimig ïdmis 'he is said to have sent General Qu to the Chinese, and Toŋra Äsim to the Q'itań' (TI S 2), öŋrä türk qaγan-γaru sülälim 'let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks' (TI E 3), ötükän yïs-γaru uduztum 'I led (the army) in the direction of the Ötükän Mountains' (TI S 8), apa tarqan-γaru ičrä sab ïdmis 'he sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan' (TI N 10); bunča isig küčüg birtük-gärü saqïnmatï' (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°. -ŋaru/-ŋärü (<*-nγaru/-ngärü): birigärü kün ortusï-ŋaru 'southwards to the midday (KT S 2; BK N 2), yirïγaru tün ortusï-ŋaru 'northwards to the midnight' (KT S 2; BK N 2), yeri-ŋärü subï-ŋaru qonti '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 bardï '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 yorïyur tiyin kü äsidip 'having heard the news that (my father) was marching off, . . .' (KT E 11-12), tardus sad-ra udï yańdïmïz 'we put (the enemy) to rout, pursuing them toward the šad of the Tardush (TH 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 süsï bolčudа ot-ča bor-ča kälti 'the army of the Türgis kagan came (upon us) like fire and storm at Bolču' (BK W 37), buzqun-ča kälir ärtimiz 'we were coming like a storm' (O R 1-2), qanïŋ sub-ča yügürti süŋükdŋ 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), ekïnti kün ört-čä qïzïp kälti 'the next day they came rushing hotly like flames' (TII W 4-5); see Verbal Nouns.

2°. Approximation of quantity: älig-čä är 'about fifty men' (TII W 7); see Numerals.

3°. Accordance: bodunuγ äčüm apām törüsïn-čä yaratmiš 'he organized the people in accordance with the rules of my ancestors' (KT E 13; BK E 12), köŋlüŋ-čä uduz 'lead (the army) according to your own will!' (TI S 8), qïyïnïγ köŋlüŋ-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' (TK E 36): oq 'arrow'.

The instrumental indicates:

1°. The tool of an action: bir 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 yol-un yorïsar yaramači 'it will not be good (for us) to go this way' (TI E 6), süčïg sab-ïn yimšaq aγï-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

yolsiz-in asdïmiz 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 sü elt-dimiz 'I, together with my kagan, went on campaigns' (TII E 3), qaŋïm qaγan yiti 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 el[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['in] yanalïm . . . tedi 'the lords all said: 'let us go back!'' (TII W 1), anta ötrü oγuz qopin kälti 'then the Oguz came altogether' (TI S 9), oŋ tutuq yurčïn yaraqlïγ älig-in tutdï '(Prince Kül) took the Governor Oŋ's brother-in-law prisoner while he (i. e., the prisoner) had weapons in his hand' (KT E 32), yir sayu barmiš bodun ölü yitü yadaγ-ïn yalïŋ-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), yaz-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), küz-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), süŋüg-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 baślayu 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 ekï üč kisi-ligü täzip bardï '(their) protector fled together with a few people' (BK E 41).

3.22. Pronouns

3.221. 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' in 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.	bäniŋ, däniŋ		bizïŋ	
Acc.	bini	sini	bizni	
Dat.-Loc.	baŋa, maŋa	säŋä	bizïŋä	
Loc.-Abl.			bizintä	
Directive	baŋaru			

1°. Nom.: bän äbgärü tüsäyïn 'I shall go down to the camp' (TI N 6), bän säŋä nä ayayïn 'what shall I say to thee?' (TI N 8), bän yïrïdinta yan tägäyïn '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 ekï biŋ ärtimiz 'we were two thousand (men)' (TI S 9),

biz yämä süläđimiz 'we, too marched off' (TII W 9), qaγan at bunta biz birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan' (KT E 20), biz az biz 'we are few' (O F 7); yaγmisï bän ärtim 'it was I who followed him (lit.: 'his follower was I')' (TI W 5), bilgäsï čabïsï 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 ter män 'I say as follows (lit.: 'I am the one who says as follows')' (TII W 2), saqïnür 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.: bäniŋ bodunum anta ärür 'my people will be there' (TI E 4), däniŋ sabïmïn simadï 'he did not reject my request' (KT S 11), t[oquz oγu]z däniŋ bodunum ärti 'the Tokuz-Oguz were my (own) people' (BK E 29), biziŋ 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)äŋ 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 tońuquq(q)a baŋa ayđï 'he commanded me, Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TI N 7), qop maŋa körti 'they have all submitted to me' (KT E 30), bu yerdä maŋa qul boltï 'they became slaves to me in this land' (BK E 36), anta ičräki bodun [qop] m[aŋa] k[örür] 'all the peoples within these boundaries are subject to me' (KT S 2), bän säŋä nä ayayïn 'what shall I say to thee?' (TI N 8), biziŋä yaŋïltuqïn yazïntuqïn üčün qaγanï ölti 'because they were unfaithful to us their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), alp är biziŋä tägmiš ärti '(furthermore) those who had attacked us were brave men' (KT E 40).

5°. Loc.-Abl.: bizintä ekī učī siŋarča artuq ärti 'their two wings were about half again as many as we' (TII W 5).

6°. Directive: bög[ü] qaγan baŋaru anča yïdmis 'such was the message Bögü Kagan sent me' (TI N 10).

3.222. 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.		aŋar (< * anγar)
Loc.-Abl.	bunta	anta
Directive		aŋaru (< * 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.: ilteris 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)äŋ ärsär ol bizni . . . ölür-täči kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 3-4), ol amtï añïγ yoq 'these (peoples) are not rebellious now' (KT S 3), bar-duq yirdä

ädgüg ol ärinč 'in the places you went, your (only) profit was 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 [tem]is oγuzï yämä tarqïnč ol temis '(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 äsidiŋ 'O Turkish lords and people, hear this!' (KT S 10), bunï körü biliŋ 'see these and get a lesson (from them)!' (KT S 12; BK N 15), anï körüp anča biliŋ '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 añïtayin tip 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.: aŋar körü biliŋ 'look at it and learn (its contents) (KT S 11), aŋar aytïp 'offering him my opinion . . . (TI E 7), aŋar adïnč(č)ïγ barq yaraturtum 'I got them to build an extraordinary mausoleum' (KT S 12), aŋar adïnč(č)ïγ barq yaratïd(d)im id. (BK N 14).

4°. Loc.-Abl.: See Adverbs of Place.

5°. Directive: aŋaru sülämäsär qačan (n)äŋ 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 süg elt tidi 'lead this army!' he said' (TI N 8), bu sabïmin ädgüti 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.

3.223. Intensive Pronouns

The intensive pronouns are the following: käntü 'self, person, own', özüm 'myself, I', özī 'himself, he'. These are used to emphasize a noun or another pronoun.

1°. käntü 'self': ädgü eliŋä käntü yaŋïltï'ɣ 'you yourselves betrayed youn good state (lit.: 'thou thyself . . .')' (KT E 23; BK E 19).

2°. özüm, özī (no more forms are attested): bän özüm tabɣač iliŋä qïlïntïm 'I myself was born in China' (TI W 1), män özüm qaɣan olurtuqum üčün 'since I myself succeeded to the throne, . . .' (BK E 36), türk bodunuɣ ötükän yerkä bän özüm bilgä toñuquq [kälürtüm?] 'it was I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, (who led the Turkish kagan and) the Turkish people to the Ötükän land' (TI S 10), qaɣanïm [bän] özüm bilgä toñuquq ötüntük ötünčümin äsidü berti 'my kagan deigned to listen to the representations which (I) myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, made (to him)' (TI S 8), bän özüm bilgä toñuquq qazɣanmasar 'if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, had not won, . . .' (TII N 1), ilteris qaɣan qazɣanmasar udu bän özüm qazɣanmasar 'if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won, . . .' (TII E 5); eltäbär özī kälti 'the Governor himself came' (KČ E 9), inim kül tigin özī anča kärgäk boltï 'my younger brother, Prince Kül, himself died (lit.: 'became absent or lacking') in this way' (KT E 30).

A noun or pronoun emphasized by an intensive pronoun is often omitted. In such cases intensive pronouns function as personal pronouns: özüm 'I': äčim qaɣan olurtuqda özüm tarduš bodun üzä šad ärtim 'when my uncle succeeded to the throne, I was šad over the Tardush people' (KT E 17), özüm qarï boltum 'I am grown old' (TII E 6), inim kül tigin kärgäk boltï özüm saqïntïm 'my brother, Prince Kül, died; I mourned' (KT N 10), [qaŋïm] qaɣan učduqda özüm säkiz yašda qaltïm 'when my father, the kagan, died I was eight years old' (BK E 14), qazɣantuqïn üčün udu özüm qazɣantuqum üčün 'since he won, and since I won, . . .' (TII E 5), täŋri bilig bertük üčün özüm ök qaɣan qïsdïm 'since Heaven granted me insight, I myself made him kagan' (TI W 6), etc.; özī 'he': ekïsïn özī altuzdï 'he captured two of them' (KT E 38), özī qïsɣa kärgäk boltï 'he was killed while still young' (KČ E 11), özī yaŋïltï 'he betrayed (us)' (KT E 20); özī 'they': özī anča kärgäk bolmis 'they thus passed away (lit.: 'they thus became lacking')' (KT E 3); inflected forms: özümä 'to me' (BK S 15), özümin ol täŋri qaɣan olurt[dï ärinč] 'that Heaven enthroned me' (BK E 21).

The words käntü and öz are also used attributively: toquz oɣuz bodun käntü bodunum ärti 'the Tokuz-Oguz people were my own people' (KT N 4), käntü bodunum tidim 'O my own people! I said' (MČ E 2), öz 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. 224. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are: käm 'who?' and nä 'what?'. Only the following inflected forms occur in the inscriptions: kämkä 'to whom?', näkä 'for what?', nänčä 'so many, so much'.

1°. käm 'who?' (cf. Mong. kem id.): üzä täŋri basm[asar asra] yer tälinmäsär türük bodun iliŋin törügin käm artatï udači [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 destory your state and your institutions?' (BK E 18-19), kämkä ilig qazɣanur män 'for whose benefit are we conquering these countries?' (KT E 9).

2°. nä: bän säŋä nä ayayïn 'what shall I say to thee?' (TI N 8), üküs teyin 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), [qaŋïm] qaɣan äčim qaɣan olurtuqïnta törť buluŋdaqï bodunuɣ nänčä itm[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 qaɣanqa isig küčüg birür män 'to which kagan are we giving our services?' (KT E 9), näŋ yerdäki qaɣanlïɣ bodunqa büntägï bar ärsär nä buŋï bär 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 teyin nä basïnalïm 'why should we be overwhelmed 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: öŋrä qïtañda biriyä tabɣačda qurïya qurïdïnta yïrïya oɣuzda ekī

üč biŋ sümiz kältäčimiz bar 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: ilim amtï qanï 'where is our (lit.: 'my') own state now?' (KT E 9), yaraqlïγ qantïn kälip yańa eltdi süŋüglüg 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).

3.225. Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns or words used as such are: büntägï 'such a one', qamaγï 'all, all of them'.

1°. büntägï (< * buntäg-ï): näŋ yerdäki qaγanlïγ bodunqa büntägï bar ärsär nä buŋï bar 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°. qamaγï (< qamaγ-ï): qamaγï yeti yüz är bolmiš 'they all numbered seven hundred men' (lit.: 'all of them became seven hundred men') (BK E 11); adverbially: qamaγï biš otuz sülädimiz 'we went on campaigns twenty-five times in all' (KT E 18).

3.23. Numerals

3.231. Cardinal Numerals

The cardinal numerals are: 1 bir, 2 ekï, 3 üč, 4 törт, 5 biš ~ bis ~ bes, 6 altï, 7 yeti ~ yiti, 8 säkiz, 9 toquz, 10 on, 20 yegirmi ~ yigirmi, 30 otuz, 40 qïrq, 50 älig, 60 altmiš (Yenisei), 70 yetmiš ~ yetmis, 80 säkiz on, 90 toquz on, 100 yüz, 1000 biŋ ~ biŋ, 10,000 bir 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 bir yegirmi (MČ S 8), 12 ekï yegir[mi] (KT E 28), 13 üč yegirmi (KT E 18), 14 törт yegirmi (BK E 15), 15 biš yegirmi (MČ E 6), 16 altï yegirmi (KT E 31), 17 yeti yegirmi (TII S 5), 18 säkiz yegirmi (BK E 24), 19 toquz yegirmi (BK S 9), 21 bir otuz (KT E 32), 22 ekï otuz (BK E 25), 23 üč otuz (TI E 2), 25 biš otuz (KT E 18), 26 altï otuz (BK E 26), 27 yiti otuz (KT N 1), 29 toquz otuz (Miran, A 1).

(b) The numerals above 30 are additive constructions. The word artuqï 'plus' (lit.: 'its remainder') serves as the coordinator: 31 otuz artuqï bir (BK S 9), also bir qïrq (KT N 2), 33 otuz artuqï üč (BK E 34), 34 otuz artuqï törт (BK E 38), 38 otuz artuqï säkiz (BK S 2), 47 qïrq artuqï yeti (KT NE).

The hundreds and thousands are attributive constructions: 500 bis yüz (BK S 11), 700 yeti yüz (TI W 4), 2000 ekï biŋ/ biŋ, 7000 yeti biŋ, 10,000 bir tümän (BK S 1), 30,000 üč tümän, 40,000 törт tümän, 50,000 bes tümän, 80,000 säkiz tümän, 100,000 on tümän.

The numerals between hundreds and thousands: 17,000 bir tümän artuqï yeti biŋ (BK S 1).

The cardinal numerals function as follows:

1°. As an attribute of a noun or another numeral: bir ärig sančdï '(Prince Kül) stabbed one man' (KT N 5), bir atlïγ barmis 'a horseman is said to have gone' (TI E 7), ekï ülügï atlïγ ärti bir ülügï yadaγ ärti 'two-thirds (lit.: 'two parts') of them were mounted, a (third) part was on foot' (TI W 4), ekï uluγ süŋüš 'two great battles' (BK E 34), bes balïq 'Bishbalik' ('The Five Cities') (BK E 28), üč otuz balïq 'twenty-three cities' (TI E 2), yeti yüz '700' (TI W 4), ekï biŋ '2000' (TI E 1), üč tümän sü 'thirty thousand soldiers' (BK S 8), etc.

In the following examples the head agrees with its attribute in number: toquz ärän sančdï '(Prince Kül) stabbed nine men' (KT N 9), yeti ärän 'seven men' (O F 3), bis yüz ärän kälti 'five hundred men came' (BK S 11).

2°. As a substantive with the third person possessive suffix: ekīsīn özī altuzdï '(he) himself captured two of them' (KT E 38).

3°. As an adverbial complement indicating the duration or frequency of the action: ilteris qaγan bilgäsīn üčün alpīn üčün tabγačqa yeti yegirmi sünüsdi qïtańqa yeti sünüsdi oγuzqa bes sünüsdi '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 bir qïrq yašayur ärti 'Prince Kül was thirty-one years old (by then)' (KT N 2), uluγ küli čor säkiz on yasap yoq bol[tï] 'Küli Čor the Elder, having lived eighty years, deceased' (KČ W 3), bir todsar äčsïq ömäz sän 'if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again)' (KT S 8), yüz[inä] bašïna bir t[ägürmädi] '(Prince Kül) did not let (the enemy) hit him even once on the face and head' (KT E 33), qamaγï biš otuz sülädimiz üč yegirmi sünüšdümiz '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 ekï bïn ärtimiz 'we were two thousand' (TI E 1), kögmän yolï bir ärmis 'there is (only) one road over Kögmän' (TI E 6), etc.

3.2311. Fractions

The only fraction which occurs in the inscriptions is the word siŋar 'half, one of a pair' (= Kirg. sïŋar id., Yak. aŋar ~ aŋār id.): [siŋ]ar süsï äbig barqïγ yulγalï bardï siŋar süsï sünüšgäli 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: sïŋarï bodun ičikdi sïŋarï b[odun. . .] 'one half of the people submitted (to me), and the other half of it. . . ' (MČ E 6-7).

3.2312. 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 eltäbär yüzčä ärin ilg[är]ü t[äzip bardï] 'the Governor of the Uigurs, together with about one hundred men, fled towards the east' (BK E 37), bizintä ekï učï siŋarča artuq ärti 'their two wings were about half again as many as we' (TII W 5).

2°. Syntactically: qorïγu ekï üč kisiligü täzip bardï 'the protector fled together with a few (lit.: 'two or three') people' (BK E 41), yüz artuq oqun 'with more than one hundred arrows' (KT E 33).

3.232. Ordinal Numerals

The ordinal numerals and numerical words are: ilki (< *il + -ki; cf. Uig. ortunqï, kinki) 'first', aŋ ilk ~ aŋ ilkï 'at first'; ekïnti; üčünč; törtünč; bisinč; yetinč; säkizinč; toquzunč; onunč; bir yegirminč (MČ S 11), etc.

The ordinal numerals function:

1°. as an attribute: ilki sü tašïqmiš ärti ekin (for ekïnti) sü äbdä ärti 'the first army had marched off, the second army was at home' (BK E 32), bir tümän artuqï yeti biŋ süg ilki kün ölürtüm 'I killed a seventeen-thousand-men army on the first day' (BK S 1), yadaγ süsïn ekïnti kün qop [ölür]tüm 'on the second day, I killed their infantry-men in great numbers' (BK S 1), ekïnti kün örtčä qïzïp kälti 'the next day they came rushing hotly like flames' (TII W 4-5), laγzïn yïl bisinč ay yiti 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 yetinč ay küčlüg alp qaγanïmda adrïlu bardïŋïz 'you were separated from my mighty and brave kagan in the seventh month of the Sheep Year' (O R 4), toquzunč ay yeti otuzqa učа bardï 'we held (his) funeral on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month' (KT NE), [ï]t yïl onunč ay alt'ï 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), bir yegirminč ay yegirmikä 'on the twentieth (day) of the eleventh month' (MČ S 11).

2°. as an adverbial complement: aŋ ilk toγu balïqda süŋüšdümiz 'first we fought at Toγu-Balïq' (KT N 4), aŋ ilki toγu balïqda sürüšdüm 'first I fought at Toγu-Balïq' (BK E 30), aŋ ikli tadïqïŋ čorïŋ boz [atïγ binip tägdi] 'first (he mounted) Tadïq Čor's gray (horse and attacked)' (KT E 32), ekïnti išbara yamtar boz atïγ binip tägdi 'secondly, he mounted Išbara Yamtar's gray horse and attacked' (KT E 33), üčünč yigän silig bägiŋ kädimlig toruγ at binip tägdi 'thirdly, he mounted Yigän Silig Bey's dressed (= armored?) bay horse and attacked' (KT E 33), törtünč čuš bašïnta süŋüšdümiz 'fourthly, we fought at the headwaters of Čuš' (KT N 6), etc.

3.233. 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 qïtañ tatabï bučägü qabïs(s)ar qaltači biz 'if the Chinese, Qïtañ and Tatabï, these three, form an alliance, we would be helpless' (TI S 5-6); with a final n: üčägün qabïsïp sülälim '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': äčïm qaγan ilï qamšaγ boltuqïnta bodun ilig ikäg[ü] boltuqïnta izgil bodun birlä süŋüšdümiz '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).

3.234. Multiplicative Numerals

The numerals meaning 'one time', 'two times', etc., are formed syntactically: tört yolï 'four times', biš yolï 'five times', and so on.

1°. Numeral + yolï (< yol 'way' + 3rd p. poss. suf.): bir yïlqa tört yolï süŋüšdüm 'I fought four times in a year' (BK E 30), bir yïlqa biš yolï süŋüšdümiz 'we fought five times in a year' (KT N 4), altï yolï süŋüšdüm 'I fought six times' (BK E 28), ... [y]olï sülädim 'I went on campaigns ... times' (BK S 2), qaŋïm qaγan ... qïrq artuqï yeti yolï sülämis '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°.

3.235. 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 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 excaped' (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 kišï öltüg 'having gone close to (the Chinese), you were (consequently) killed in great numbers (KT S 7) üküš öltä či 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 öŋrä qïtañïγ yïrïya oγuzuγ üküs ök ölürti 'to the south (Ilteriš Kagan) killed the Chinese, to the east the Qïtañ, 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: biŋ yïllïq 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 'this many', anča 'so many': bunča bodun kälipän sïγtāmiš yoγlāmiš (KT: sïγtāmis yoγlāmis) '... this many peoples came, and lamented and mourned' (BK E 5; KT E 4), bunča bodun sačīn qulqaqīn [... b]ïčdï 'this many people cut out their hairs and tore their ears and ...' (BK S 12), bunča bodun qobsarïp yoγladï '(since he was ...) this many peoples grieved and mourned' (KČ S 2), bunča bädizčig tuyγun eltäbär kälü[r]ti 'Governor Tuyγun brought this many painters and sculptors' (KT NE), bunča bitīg bitīgma 'the one who has inscribed this many inscriptions' (KT SE), biltükümün ödükümün bunča bitīg bitidīm 'with what I know and remember, I have inscribed this many inscriptions' (KČ S 3), bunča barqīγ bädizig uzuγ 'this many constructions, pictures and sculptures, and artistical works ...' (BK SW), bunča matï bäglär 'this many faithful lords' (BK S 14), [bunč]a bodun qop itdim 'I have thoroughly organized this many peoples' (KT S 2-3), bunča aγar törüg 'this many important rules and regulations' (BK E 2), anča tümän 'so many thousand (lit.: 'ten thousand')' (BK N 12).

3.24. Adverbs

3.241. 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 < * bīrï 'this side'): biriyä tabγač bodun yaγï ärmiš (KT: ärmis) 'to the south the Chinese people was (our) enemy' (BK E 12; KT E 14), biriyä čoγay yiš tögültün yazï qonayïn tisär 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 atï küsï yoq boltï 'to the south, in China, their name and fame went to ruin' (BK E 36), biriyä tabγačïγ öŋrä qïtańïγ yïrïya oγuzuγ ükü̈s 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), öŋrä qïtańda biriyä tabγačda qurïya qurïdïnta yïrïya oγuzda ekï üč biŋ sümiz kältäčimiz bar 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 öŋrä kün toγsïqïŋa kisrä kün batsïqïŋa 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 baz qaγan toquz oγuz bodun yaγï 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 ara yeti ärän yaγï bolmis '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 batsïqdaqi soγ(u)d bärčik är buqaraq ulus bodunta änik säŋün 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 täŋri asra yaγïz yer qïlïntuqda ekïn ara kisï oγlï 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 täŋrisï türük ïduq yirï subï anča etmis 'but, the Turkish god above and the Turkish holy earth and water (spirits) acted in the following way' (KT E 10), üzä täŋri basm[asar asra] yer tälinmäsär türük bodun iliŋin törügin käm artatï udači [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 täŋri asra yer yarlïq(q)aduq üč[ün] ... 'since Heaven above and earth below were gracious (to me) ...' (BK N 10),

[ü]zä täŋri īduq yer sub [äčim q] aγan qutī taplāmadī 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, W 1, 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 teyin äsidip biriyäki bodun qurïyaqï yirïyaqï öŋräki 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 örti 'from the west the Sogdians rose in revolt' (KT W 1); with the noun yan ~ yän 'side, direction': tabγač biridin yän täg qïtań öŋdün 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: öŋdün qaγanγaru sü yorïlïm temis '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 šantuŋ yazïqa tägi sülädim '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 šantuŋ yazïqa tägi sülädimiz 'we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River (= Yellow River, Hwang Ho) and the Shantung Plain' (KT E 17), ilgärü qurïγaru süläp ti[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[γsïqïŋa . . .] 'eastwards up to the sunrise' (BK N 11) (see The Alternation l ~ š).

B. qurïγaru 'backward, westward' (< * qurï 'back'): [ilgärü kün] toγsïqïŋa birigärü kün ortusïŋaru qurïγaru kün batsïqïŋa yirïγaru tün ortusïŋaru anta ičräki bodun qop maŋa 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 sülädim 'westwards I went on campaigns up to the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River' (BK N 3) qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädimiz 'westwards we went on expeditions up to the Iron Gate' (KT E 17; BK E 15), qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi sülägü birmis '(for the benefit of the Chinese), they went on campaigns as far as the Iron Gate in the west' (KT E 8), qurïγaru käŋü tarmanqa tägi türük bodunuγ ančа qonturtumïz ančа etdimiz 'westwards as far as Käŋü Tarman we thus settled and organized the Turkish people' (KT E 21), [īduq ötükän 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 batsïqïŋa . . .] 'westwards as far as the sunset' (BK N 11).

C. birigärü 'toward the south, southwards' (< * biri): birigärü toquz ärsinkä tägi sülädim tüpütkä kičig [täg]mädim 'southwards I went on campaigns up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet' (KT S 3), bodunuγ igidäyin tiyin 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), birigärü ... 'southwards ...' (BK N 11); see B.

D. yirïγaru < * yïrïγaru 'thitherwards, northwards' (< * yïrï): yirïγaru yir bayïrqu yirïŋä tägi sülädim 'northwards I went on campaigns up to the land of Yir Bayïrqu' (KT S 4); see above.

E. yoq(q)aru 'upwards' (< * yoqγaru; Käš. yoq 'rise, upgrade'): yoq(q)aru at yätä yadaγïn īγač 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 saqïnïγma türük bäglär bodun ägirip säbinip toŋtamiš 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), qaŋïm ilteris qaγanïγ ögüm ilbilgä qatunuγ täŋri töpüsïntä 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 kök täŋri asra yaγïz yer qïlïntuqda 'when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, . . .' (KT E 1), üzä täŋri basmasar asra yir tälinmäsär 'if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, . . .' (KT E 22), üzä täŋri 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 tonsïz 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: apa tarqanγaru 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-Formation): ičräki bädizči 'court painters' (lit.: 'painter being within') (KT S 12; BK N 14), [anta] ičräki nä kišī . . . 'all the people being in it . . .' (BK E 28).

C. tašra 'out, outside, outward' (< taš 'exterior'): tašra yorïyur tiyin kü äsidip balïqdaqï taγïqmis taγdaqï inmis tirilip yetmis är bolmis '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. öŋrä 'forward, eastward' (< * öŋ 'front'): öŋrä kün toγsïqda 'to the east at the sunrise . . .' (KT E 4; BK E 5),

öŋrä tölis bäglär apa tarqan bašlayu ulayu šadpït bäglär 'to the east Tölis lords: Apa Tarkan at the head, following him šadpït lords' (BK S 13), öŋrä qïtañïγ ölürtäči tir män 'to the east they will kill the Qïtañ' I say' (TI S 3); see 3. 2171. 1°A.

The word öŋrä may also be used attributively: öŋrä türk qaγanγaru sülälim 'let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks' (TI E 3); cf. öŋdün 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: öŋräki 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', Käš. 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): 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), kerü barïγma bardï 'those who meant to back went (back)' (O R 3), anta kerü barïp yinčü ögüzüg käčä tämir qapïγqa täzikkä 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 bärüki 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 at bunta biz birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan' (KT E 20), türük [bodun ti]rip

il tutsïqïŋïn bunta urtum yaŋïlïp olsikiŋin yämä bunta urtum O Turkish people, how you should live and dominate (other tribes), this I have recorded here; and how you would (otherwise) perish by being unfaithful (to your kagan), this, too, I have recorded here' (KT S 10-11).

B. anta 'there, in that place' (see Demonstrative Pronouns): anta añïγ kisï anča bošγurur ärmis 'there the ill-willed persons apparently made harmful suggestions as follows' (KT S 7), ol süg anta yoq qïšdïmïz 'there we destroyed that army' (KT E 32), qaγanïn anta ölürtümiz ilïn 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), bäniŋ bodunum anta ärür 'my people will be there' (TI E 4), alpï ärdämï anta kükädi '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 us like peaks' (?) (TI S 1); qanï 'where?', qantïn 'from where?': see Interrogative Pronouns.

3.242. 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 öŋdüri 'in the east' <öŋ 'front, fore'): türük bodun üčün tün udïmadïm küntüz olurmadïm 'for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not relax by day' (BK E 22), ol sabïγ äsidip tün udïsïqïm kälmädi küntüz olursïqïm kälmädi 'after I heard these words, I had no wish to rest by day' (TI S 5), tün udïmatï küntüz olurmatï ... isig küčüg birtim 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): qïšïn 'in winter', yazïn 'in spring', yayïn 'in summer', küzün 'in fall': see Instrumental.

3°. Other adverbs of time are amtï 'now', täŋgü 'forever': ilïm amtï qanï 'where is our (lit.: 'my') state now?' (KT E 9), ol amtï añïγ yoq 'they are not rebellious

now' (KT S 3; BK N 2), ötükän yiš olursar täŋgü il tuta olurtači sän 'if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains, you will live forever dominating the tribes' (KT S 8).

3.243. Adverbs of Manner

The adverbs of manner are formed with the following suffixes:

1°. -tï/-ti, -dï/-di: ädgüti 'well' (<ädgü 'good'), qatïγdï ~ qatïγdi 'hard, firmly' (<* qatïγ 'hard, firm'), yegdi 'better' (<yeg 'better'), yaraqlïγdï 'equipped with weapons' (<yaraqlïγ 'armed, having weapons'): bu sabïmin ädgüti äsid qatïγdï tiŋla 'hear these words of mine well, and listen to them carefully!' (KT S 2), yälmä qarγu ädgüti urγïl 'place the vanguard and patrols properly' (TI N 10), qatïγdi saqïntïm 'I mourned deeply' (KT N 11), [ɨlig] törüg yegdi qazγantïm 'I arranged and organized (the state) and institutions better' (BK E 36), ïγar oγlanïŋïzda tayγunuŋïzda yegdi igidür ärtigiz 'you used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved children and descendants' (KT SE), oŋ tutuq yurčïn yaraqlïγ äligin tutdï yaraqlïγdï qaγanqa ančuladï '(Prince Kül) took Governor Oŋ'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): anča 'in that manner, so, as follows' (see Demonstrative Pronouns): ïraq bodunuγ anča yaγutïr ärmis '(the Chinese) are said to have caused remote peoples to come close in this manner' (KT S 5), özï anča kärgäk bolmis 'they thus passed away (lit.: 'became lacking')' (KT E 3), bän anča ter män 'I say as follows' (TII W 2), etc. See Verbal Nouns.

3°. -n (The instrumental suffix): [yir sayu] barmiš bodun ölü yitü yadaγïn yalïŋïn 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), türükümä bodunuma [y]egin anča qazγanu birtim '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).

3.244. 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', nänčä 'so many, so much', buŋsïz ~ buŋsiz 'abundantly, in abundance', qalïsiz 'completely, wholly', kärgäksiz 'in abundance', sansïz 'innumerably', üküš ~ üküs 'many, exceedingly', antaγ 'that much, so', ärtiŋü 'very, much', taqï 'more', idi 'never, by no means', kičig 'little, less, least', näŋ 'any'.

1°. qop 'all, completely' (<* qo- 'to leave, let remain' + -p; see Deverbal Nouns, 25°): törtbuluŋ qop yaγï ärmis sü süläpän törtbuluŋdaqï bodunuγ qop almis qop bäz 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), qara 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 yoq 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 [qaŋïm qaγan ï]t yïl onunč 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.B.)' (BK S 10), [tab]γačqa bunča sünüsüp alpïn ärdämïn üčün kü bunča tutdï 'having fought this 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 buŋsiz anča birür 'they (i.e., the Chinese) give (us) gold, silver and silk abundantly' (KT S 5), anča ärig yertä bängü taš 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°. buŋsïz ~buŋsiz 'abundantly' (<buŋ 'want, deficiency' + -sïz): sarïγ altun örüŋ kümüs qïz qoduz ägri täbi aγï buŋsiz kälürti 'they brought (home) the yellow gold, and the white silver, girls and maidens, hunchbacked camels and silk clothes in great abundance' (TII S 4); see above.

8°. qalïsiz 'completely, all' (<* qalï 'rest, remainder' + -sïz): on oq bodunï qalïsiz tasïqdï 'the army of the On-Ok has marched off, all to a man' (TI N 9), on 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): bir tümän aγï altun kümüš kärgäksiz kälürti 'he brought an immeasurable 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°. sansïz 'innumerably' (<* sän 'number' + -sïz): ädgü özlik atïn qara kisïn kök täyäŋïn sansïz 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°. ärtiŋü 'very, much' (<* ärtin- 'to exceed, pass the limit' + -gü): tür[gis qaγan] qïzïn ärtirü uluγ törün oγluma alï birtim 'with a very great wedding ceremony, I took the daughter of the Türgis kagan as a wife for my son' (BK N 10), ärtiŋü (uluγ) törün 'with a very great ceremony' (BK N 9), bunča matï bäglär qaŋïm qaγanqa ärtiŋü ärtiŋü ti maγ i[tdi] 'this many faithful lords magnified and glorified my father, the kagan, profoundly' (BK S 14-15), [t]ürük bäglärïn bodunin ärtiŋü ti maγ itdi 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'): täŋri bilgä qaγanqa [t]aqï isig küčüg bersägim bar 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 yig idi yoq ärmis '(I concluded:) a land better than the Ötükän Mountains does not exist at all!' (KT S 4), ekïn ara idi oqsïz kök türük iti anča olurūr ärmis 'between the two (boundaries) they thus ruled organizing the Kök ('Blue') Turks who had not tribal organization at all' (BK E 4), türk sir bodun yerïntä idi yorïmazun 'let the Turkish Sir people not make any progress at all in their land' (TI S 4), usar idi yoq qïsalïm 'let us exterminate (them) completely, if possible' (TI S 4), üčägün qabïsïp sülälim idi yoq qïsalïm 'let us, we three, ally and wage war (against the Turkish kagan), and exterminate him' (TI E 4), türük bodun tämir qapïγqa tinsi oγlï aytïγma taγqa tägmis idi yoq ärmis 'the Turkish people had never reached the Iron Gate and the mountain called Tinsi oγlï ('the Son of Heaven')' (TII S 2-3), ilteris qaγan qazγanmasar yoq ärti ärsär bän özüm bilgä toñuquq qazγanmasar bän yoq ärtim ärsär qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerïntä bod yämä bodun yämä kisï yämä idi yoq ärtäči ärti 'if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Toñyukuk, 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 šantuŋ yazïqa tägi sülädim taluyqa kičig tägmädim 'I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung Plain; I almost reached the ocean' (KT S 3), birigärü toquz ärsinkä tägi sülädim tüpütkä kičig tägmädim 'I went on campaigns southwards up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet' (KT S 3).

17°. näŋ 'any': ötükän yir olurup arqïš tirkiš ïsar näŋ buŋuγ yoq 'if you stay in the land of Ötükän and send caravans (from there), you will have no trouble at all' (KT S 8), näŋ yïlsïγ bodunqa olurmadïm 'I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people at all (KT E 36).

The word näŋ is also used attributively: näŋ yerdäki qaγanlïγ bodunqa . . . 'if a people living anywhere and having a kagan . . .' (TII E 6); with reduplication: näŋ näŋ sabïm ärsär bāŋgü tašqa urtum 'I have recorded all words which I had to tell you on the memorial stone' (KT S 11). See Interrogative Adverb.

3.245. Adverbs of Comparison

The only adverb of comparison used is aŋ 'most': aŋ ilk toγu balïqda süŋüšdümiz 'first we fought at Toγu-Balïq' (KT N 4); the word ilk 'first' may take the possessive suffix of the third person: aŋ ilkï 'first of all, at first'; see Ordinal Numerals.

3.246. Adverbs of Number

The adverbs of number or words which are so used are: bašlayu 'first, at first', ekïnti 'secondly', yičä 'again, anew', yana id., ulayu 'first and foremost', aŋ ilk ~ aŋ ilkï 'first, at first': bašlayu qïrqïz qaγanïγ balbal tikdim 'first I erected (the statue of) the Kirgiz Kagan as a balbal' (KT E 25), qaŋïm qaγanqa bašlayu baz 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 yägünüm oγlanïm bïriki 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), äčïm qaγan olurupan türük bodunuγ yičä itdi igit(t)i 'having succeeded to the throne, my uncle, the kagan, organized and nourished the Turkish people anew' (KT E 16), [äčïm qaγan] olurupan türük bodunuγ yičä itdi 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 itinü yaratunu umaduq 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), qanïn qodup tabγačqa yana ičikdi 'they abandoned their khan

and submitted to China again' (TI W 2), anta yana kirip ... 'there (Prince Kül) again broke into (the enemy's lines) and ...' (KT E 38), qara türgis bodunuγ anta ölürmiš almiš yana yorīp ... 'he killed (i.e., defeated) and subjugated the common Turgis people there. Having marched (forward) again, ...' (KT E 40), etc.

For ekīnti, üčünč 'thirdly', and others see Ordinal Numerals.

3.247. Adverbs of Affirmation

The only adverb of affirmation used is batī 'indeed, certainly, of course': arīγu batī yeg 'to become tired is, of course, better' (TII W 2) (cf. Tuv. badï 'faithful, true, badïla- 'to affirm, assert'; cf. also matī 'faithful, loyal' in KT S 11, BK S 13, BK S 14, BK N 8).

3.248. The Interrogative Adverb

The interrogative adverb qačan 'when' occurs in the compound qačan(n)äŋ 'when, whenever' (TI E 3, N 5) ~ qačan(n)aŋ (TI E 4): qačan(n)äŋ ärsär ol bizni ... ölürtäči kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 3-4), etc.

3.25. Postpositions

The postpositions are: ara, aša, ašru, birlä, ïnγaru, käčä, kisrä, qodï, ötrü, sayu, tapa, täg, üčün, üzä. Most of these are of verbal origin. They govern various cases.

3.251. Postpositions governing the nominative

1°. ara 'between, among' (cf. IB āra id. <*ār- 'to go through, pass through, traverse, cross'; cf. Uig. ar- id., Kāš. arγula- 'to pass through, break through', Uig. arquru 'transversal, widthwise'): üzä kök täŋri asra yaγïz yer qïlïntuqda ekīn ara 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 ara idi oqsïz kök türük iti 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 ara yarïqlïγ yaγïγ yältürmädim 'I have not let any armored enemy ride among this Turkish people' (TII E 4), ekīn ara atig yaγï bolmis 'meanwhile, the Atig started hostilities' (O R 2), atig oγuz ara yeti ärän yaγï bolmis 'among the Atig and Oguz seven men started hostilities (against us)' (O F 5).

2°. aša 'beyond' (<*āš- 'to climb over, pass over'): kögmän aša qïrqïz yiriŋä tägi s[ülädimiz] 'we went on campaigns up to the land of Kirgiz beyond Kögmän' (BK E 15).

3°. ašru 'through' (<* āšur- 'to pass over, go beyond'): ekï ärig ud ašru sančdï '(Prince Kül) stabbed two soldiers through the thighs' (KT E 36, N 2).

4°. birlä 'with, in the company of' (<* bīril- 'to join'): altï otuz yašïma čik bodun qïrqïz birlä yaγï boltï '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 tirilip kälti 'the Oguz people came being gathered together with the Tokuz-Tatar' (BK E 34), bilgä toñuquq boyla baγa tarqan birlä ilteris 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 šantuŋ yazïqa 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: qaγanïn birlä soŋa yišda süŋüšdümiz 'we fought against their kagan at the Soŋa Mountains' (KT E 35), qaγanïn birlä 'against their kagan (BK E 27).

5°. qodï 'down, down along' (<qod- 'to put down'): säläŋä qodï yorīpan '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°. sayu 'every' (< * sā- 'to count'): igidmiś qaγanïŋïn sabïn almatïn yir sayu bardïγ 'you went in (almost) all directions without asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished (you)' (KT S 9), anta qalmiśī yir sayu qop toru ölü yorïyur ärtig '(of you), those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions' (KT S 9), yir sayu barmiš bo[dun yadaγïn yalïŋïn] 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 tiyin yirïγaru oγuz bodun tapa ilgärü qïtań tatabï bodun tapa birigärü tabγač tapa uluγ sü ekī 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), yazïŋa oγuz tapa sülädim 'in the spring, I went on a campaign against the Oguz' (BK E 31-32), ekī otuz yašïma 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': qaŋïm qaγan süsī böri täg ärmis yaγïsī qoń täg ärmis 'the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves, and his enemies were like sheep' (KT E 12), täŋrī täg täŋridä bolmiš türük bilgä qaγan '(I,) the Heaven-like and Heaven-born Bilgä ('Wise') Kagan of Turks' (KT S 1; BK N 1), täŋri täg täŋri yaratmiš 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 qutïŋa 'by the good luck of my Umay-like mother, the katun' (KT E 31), ab ablasar äräm älä täg ärti 'in hunting he resembled a huge hawk' (KČ W 9), öz 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 bilīr biligim bilmäz täg boltī 'my eyes which have always seen 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 qïlïnmaduq ärinč oγlī qaŋïn 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 circumstances' (KT E 40); substantively: antaγïŋïn 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 olurmadïm '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 ilig anča tutmis ärinč 'for that reason they kept the state under control in that way' (KT E 3), bes balïq anï üčün ozdï 'it is why Bishbalik escaped (from being destroyed)' (BK E 28), antaγïŋïn üčün igidmiš qaγanïŋïn sabïn almatïn yir sayu 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), kürägüŋin üčün 'because of your unruliness' (KT E 23; BK E 19), ol bilmädükügin üčün yablaqïŋïn 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 (for kürlügïn) üčün 'since the Chinese people were deceitful and tricky' (KT E 6), täŋri yir bulγaqïn üčün yaγï

boltï 'since Heaven and Earth were in disorder, they revolted against us' (KT N 4), ilteris qaγan bilgäsïn üčün alpïn üčün tabγačqa yeti yegirmi süŋüsdi qïtaṅqa yeti süŋüsdi oγuzqa bes süŋüsdi '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), alpïn ärdämïn üčün kü bunča tutdï 'he gained this much fame virtue of his courage and his manly qualities' (KČ W 12), [bi]lgäsïn üčün alpïn ärdämïn [üčü]n 'by virtue of his wiseness, his courage and manly qualities . . .' (KČ W 7); täŋri yarlïq(q) aduqïn üčün . . . qaγan olurtum 'by the grace of Heaven, . . . I succeeded to the throne' (KT S 9), bilmädükïn üčün biziŋä yaŋïltuqïn yazïntuqïn üčün qaγanï öltï 'on account of their foolishness and their being traitorous to us, their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), inilï äčilï kiŋsürtükïn üčün bäglï bodunlïγ yoŋšurtuqïn 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), qazγantuqïn üčün 'since he won (lit.: 'because of his having won')' (TII E 5), tägdükïn 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): tört yegirmi yašïmqa 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 bintürä qarïγ 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.

3.252. 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 yïšqa 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 šantuŋ 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), täzikkä tägi 'up to the Täziks' (KČ E 4), kisrä kün batsïqïŋa tägi 'westwards as far as the sunset' (O F 2), ilgärü yašïl ögüz šantuŋ 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.

3.253. Postpositions governing the locative-ablative

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 qopïn kälti 'then the Oguz came all together' (TI S 9).

2°. kisrä 'after' (see Adverbs of Place, 4°. E): yaγuru qontuqda kisrä añïγ 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 yoq boltuqda kisrä el 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): kisï oγlïnta üzä äčüm apam bumïn qaγan istämi qaγan olurmiš 'over the human beings, my ancestors Bumïn Kagan and Istämi Kagan became rulers' (KT E 1), [näŋ yï]lsïγ bodunta üzä olurmadïm 'I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people' (BK E 21), ičrä ašsïz tašra tonsïz 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 qaγan 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. iŋaru id.): türük bodun anta ïnγaru yoq boltï 'the Turkish people were extinguished from that (time) on' (MČ N 10).

3.254. 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: qaŋīm ... täŋrikän yän anta yorïmis 'my father ... (then) marched there, in the direction of Täŋrikän' (O F 5).

2°. With the ablative of nouns: tabγač biridin yän täg qïtañ öŋdün yän täg bän yirïdïnta yan tägäyīn '(you), Chinese, attack (them) from the south (lit.: 'from the direction of the south'), and (you), Qïtañ, 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).

3.26. Conjunctions

3.261. Co-ordinate Conjunctions

The co-ordinate conjunctions or words which are so used are: azu, artuqī, biriki, taqï, udu, ulayu, yämä. All of these conjunctions except artuqī are gerunds in -a, -ï and -u in origin.

1°. azu 'or' (= Tuv. azï id. <az 'to go astray', IB, Kāš. āz-id., Yak. ās- id.): azu bu sabïmda igid bar γu '(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 aťïsī yol(l)uγ tigin män ay artuqī törť kün [olu]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 bir 'thirty-one' (lit.: 'thirty plus one') (BK S 9); see Cardinal Numerals (3.2161).

3°. biriki 'and' (lit.: 'joining') (<birik- 'to join, put together'): sabïmïn tükäti äsidgil ulayu ini yägünüm oγlanïm biriki 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] (?) el ärsär anča-taqï ärig yertä irsär anča ärig yertä bäŋgü taš 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'): ilteris qaγan qazγanmasar udu bän özüm qazγanmasar . . . 'if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won, . . .' (TII E 5), qazγantuqīn üčün udu özüm qazγantuqum üčün il yämä il boltï bodun yämä bodun boltï '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 käliŋünüm qunčuylarïm 'my mother, the katun, and my stepmothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses . . .' (KT N 9), ekï šad ulayu ini yägünüm oγlanïm bäglärim bodunum közï qašï yablaq boltači tip saqïntïm '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 törť 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 öŋrä tölis bäglär apa 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), il tutsïqïŋïn bunta urtum yaŋïlïp ölsikiŋin 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), on oq süsïn sülätdim biz yämä sülädimiz 'I ordered the On-Ok ('Ten-Arrows') army to march off. We, too, marched off' (TII W 8-9), ögüzkä tüsdi yaṅduq yolta 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), isig küčüg bertim ök uzun yälmäg 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 tün yämä yälü bardïmïz 'we went on riding at a gallop by day and by night' (TI N 3), anta ayγuči[sī] yämä bän ök ärtim yaγ[ičisī] 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), il yämä bodun yämä yoq 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), qazγantuqïn üčün udu özüm qazγantuqum üčün il yämä il boltï bodun yämä bodun boltï '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 yämä] bulγanč [o]l [tem]is oγuzī yämä tarqïnč ol temis '(both the Turkish people) is in disorder and the Oguz, their subjects, are displeased with (them)' (TI E 5), ol sabïn äsidip tün yämä udïsïqïm kälmäz ärti [kün yämä] 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 yämä may be repeated three times: qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerïntä bod yämä bodun yämä kisï yämä idi yoq 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).

3.262. Subordinate Conjunctions

The subordinate conjunctions or words which function as such are: üčün, teyin ~ tiyin, tip.

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 bar üčün ülügüm bar 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 bar üčün 'since I had fortune and good luck, . . .' (BK E 23), bäglärī bodunī tüzsiz üčün . . . türük bodun illädük ilïn ïčγïnu ïdmiš qaγanladuq qaγanïn yitürü ïdmiš '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), täŋri yarlïq(q)aduq üčün män qazγantuq üčün türük bodun qazγ[anmiš äri]nč 'since Heaven was gracious and since I (myself) got victories, the Turkish people got victories' (BK E 33), etc.

2°. teyin ~ tiyin 'because; in order to, for the purpose of' (lit.: 'saying') connects a clause of cause or prupose to a main clause: arqïš ïdmaz tiyin sülädim 'I went on a campaign (against them) because they did not send caravans (with tribute)' (BK E 25), soγdaq bodun itäyïn tiyin 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 tiyin ... 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°. tip 'in order to, with the intention of' (lit.: 'saying'): anï añïtayïntip sülädim 'in order to frighten them (lit.: 'him') I started a campaign (against them)' (BK E 41).

3.27. Particles

3.271. The Particle oq/ök

This particle emphasizes the meaning of the word which precedes it. This word may be:

1°. a pronoun: anta ayγučï[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 täŋri 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 öŋrä qïtañïγ yïrïya oγuzuγ üküs ök ölürti 'the Qitan to the east he killed in great numbers, the Chinese to the south, and the Oguz to the north' (TI W 7).

3°. a finite verb: tün udïmatī küntüz olurmatī qïzïl qanïm töküti qara tärim yügürti isig 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 qarγuγ ulγartdïm oq 'I have sent the army forth on far campaigns; I have increased the fortifications and watch-towers' (TII E 2-3).

3.272. 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)aŋ ärsär ölürtäči kök '(the kagan of the

Turks), sooner or later, will definitely kill us' (TI E 3-4), qačan (n) äŋ ärsär bizni ölürtäči kök 'he, sooner or later, will definitely kill us' (TI N 5-6), yañduq yolta yämä ölti kök 'those who were routed and dispersed were also killed in flight' (TI S 8), bini oγuzuγ ölürtäči k[ök] tir män 'they will definitely kill us, the Oguz' I say' (TI S 3-4).

3.273. The Particle ärinč

This particle expresses a strong probabilty 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 -dī 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 bolmis ärinč oγlïtī qaγan bolmis 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), täŋri bilgä qaγanqa [t]aqï isig küčüg bersägim bar ärmis ärinč 'apparently I had a wish for giving my services to the sacred Bilgä Kagan' (O R 2), ičikdük üčün täŋri 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 -dī: [özümin ol täŋri] qaγan olurtdī ärinč '(in order that the name and fame of the Turkish people would not perish,) apparently that Heaven enthroned me' (KT E 26), üzä täŋri ïduq yer sub [äčim q]aγan qutī taplāmadī 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), täŋri umay ïduq yer sub basa berti 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 äčīsīn täg qïlïnmaduq ärinč oγlī qaŋīn 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).

3.274. The Particle γu/gü

This is an interrogative particle: azu bu sabïmda igid bar γu 'or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?' (KT S 10), bödkä körügmä bäglär gü yaŋïltači siz 'you lords, you who have so far been obedient to the throne, are you going to betray?' (KT S 11).

3.275. The Particle mu/mü

This is an interrogative particle, too: qaγan mu qïsayïn tedim 'shall I make (him) kagan? said I' (TI W 5).

This particle may be followed by the pronoun nä (see Interrogative Pronouns, 2°).

3.276. The Particle a/ä

The particle a/ä is an interjection of address: bäglärim ä ter ärmis biz az biz teyin qorq[maŋ] 'O my lords.' he said, 'do not fear because of our being few.' (O F 7).

3.28. Verb Inflection

Verb forms fall roughly into three classes: verbal nouns, gerunds, and finite forms.

3.281. 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 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.

3.2811. Verbal Noun in -γu/-gü

The berbal noun in -γu/-gü functions as an action noun: arïγu 'exhaustion, fatigue': arïγu batï yeg 'to become exhausted is, of course, better' (TII W 2); kürägü 'unruliness': kürägüŋin üčün 'on account of your being unruly' (KT E 23).

The verbal noun in -γuluq/-gülük (< -γu + -luq), too, functions as an action noun (cf. Khwar. -maqlïq/-mäklik: Eckmann, Fund., p. 126): yuyqa qalïn bolsar toplaγuluq alp ärmis yinčgä yoγun bolsar 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 -γuči/-güči (< -γu + -či) functions as an agent noun: ayγuči 'counselor, chief executive' (TI S 3, E 4, N 5, TII S 5), barq itgüči 'builder, architect' (KT N 13), bitïg taš itgüči 'tombstone maker' (KT N 13).

3.2812. 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 ... armaqčisïn üčün 'since the Chinese people were deceitful persons, ...' (KT E 6).

3.2813. Verbal Noun in -sïq/-sik

The verbal noun in -sïq/-sik has a future-necessitative meaning. It functions:

1°. as a noun: äčsïq '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 udïsïqïm 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 udïsïqïm kälmäz ärti [kün yämä] olursïqïm kälmäz

ärti id. (TI E 5), il tutsïqïŋïn bunta urtum yaŋilïp ölsikiŋin 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); kün toγsïq (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5, 8; KT S 2) ~ kün toγsïqï (O F 2) 'sunrise' (lit.: 'the rising of the sun'), kün batsïq (KT N 12) ~ kün batsïqï (KT S 2; BK N 2; O F 2) 'sunset' (lit.: 'the going down of the sun').

2°. as a verbal adjective: il 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).

3.2814. The Participle in -γma/-gmä

The participle in -γma/-gmä ('one who does, one who has done') is used as an attribute: qaŋïm qaγanïγ ögüm qatunuγ kötürügmä (KT: kötürmiš) täŋri 'Heaven who has raised my father, the kagan, and my mother, the katun' (KT E 25; BK E 20-21), il birigmä täŋri 'Heaven who has granted the state' (KT E 25), bödkä körügmä bäglär 'the lords who are now obedient to (the throne)' (KT S 11), öltäčičä saqïnïγma türük bäglär bodun 'the Turkish lords and people who were sorrowful as if they were to die' (BK E 2), tinsi oγlï aytïγma taγ 'the mountain called Tinsi oγlï ('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 boltï ölügmä ölti 'those who meant to submit submitted (to me) and became a people, those who meant to die died' (BK E 37), yeti yüz kisïg uduzuγma uluγï sad arti '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 bitig bitigmä atïsï 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.

3.2815. The Participle in -r, -ar/-är, etc.

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffix as -ūr/-ūr: ba-y-ūr, ö-y-ür, yaša-y-ūr, yorï-y-ūr; but ti-r ~ te-r, yasa-r (cf. IB: yi-y-ür, but ti-r). Monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant take the suffix either as -ūr/-ür, or as -ïr/-ïr, or as -ar/-är: bar-ür (KT N 1; BK E 29) ~ bar-ïr (KT E 10), bir-ür, är-ür, kir-ür, kör-ür, qal-ür, qorq-ür; bil-ïr, käl-ïr, täg-ïr (IB); it-är, täz-är, bat-ar (MČ E 1). Polysyllabic stems generally take the suffix as -ūr/-ür: bošγur-ür, igid-ür, qazγan-ür, olur-ür, saqïn-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 boltï '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 yiti otuz yašïŋa qarluq bodun ärür barür ärkli yaγï boltï '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 bir yašïma qarluq bodun bunsiz [är]ür barür ärkli yaγï boltï 'at my age of thirty-one, the Karluk people became an enemy who began to act freely and fearlessly' (BK E 29); üzä t[äŋri] köbürgäsï ätärčä 'as if the bridge of Heaven above thunders' (BK W 3-4), öŋräki är yoγurča (for *yoγururča) ïdïp ï bar baš asdïmïz 'having sent the vanguard forward as if kneading (the snow), we climbed over the wooded hill' (TI N 1-2).

The word bar 'exists, existing, there is/are' is, in origin, a participle in -r: bar < *bā-r (cf. Mong. bayi- 'to be, exist, have'): ï bar baš 'the wooded hill' (lit.: 'forest-existing top') (TI N 2).

The participle in -r mainly occurs in predicative function. See Finite Forms.

3.2816. 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.

3.2817. 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 bitīdim 'with what I know and remember, I have inscribed all these inscriptions' (KČ S 3), bilmädükügin üčün 'on account of your having not know' (BK E 20), qazγantuqīn üčün 'since he won' (lit.: 'because of his having won') (TII E 5), täŋri yarlïq(q)aduqīn üčün ... qaγan olurtum 'by the grace of Heaven, ... I succeeded to the throne' (KT S 9), bilmädükīn üčün biziŋä yaŋïltuqīn yazïntuqīn üčün qaγanī ölti 'on account of their foolishness and their having been traitorous to us, their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), olurtuquma öltäčičä säqïnïγma türük bäglär bodun ägirip säbinip toŋtamiš 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), [qaŋïm] qaγan učduqda 'when my father, the kagan, passed away' (BK E 13-14), bunča isig küčüg birtükgärü saqïnmatī 'without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese)' (KT E 10), yaṅduq yolta 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 ol ärinč 'in the lands you went your (only) benefit was the following'

(KT E 24; BK E 20), türük bodun illädük ilīn ïčγïnu ïdmis qaγanladuq qaγanīn yitürü ïdmis '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 qulqaqïn 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.

3.2818. 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 yoq ärmis 'the Turkish people have 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 olurγalï santuŋ balïq(q)a taluy ögüzkä tägmis yoq 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: elsirämis qaγansïramis bodun 'the people who have become stateless and rulerless' (KT E 13), yir sayu 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), [qaŋïmïz] äčïmiz qazγanmiš bodun 'the peoples who were conquered by our father and uncle' (BK E 22), anta qalmišī yir sayu qop toru ölü yorïyur ärtig '(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions' (KT S 9), ïda tašda qalmisī qubranïp yeti yüz boltï '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.

3.2819. 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), ükü̈š öltäči anta tirilti 'many people who were going to die there came to life (again)' (BK E 31), ekī üč biŋ sümiz kältäčimiz bar 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).

3.28110. 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.

3.282. Gerunds

The gerunds or converbs are those verb forms which function only as adverbs and adverbial complements.

3.2821. 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), bintür-ä (TI N 1), ägir-ä (BK E 31; KT N 6), käč-ä (KČ E 37, etc.), oz-a (KT N 7; BK E 31), sanč-a (KČ E 7), sür-ä (KT E 23; BK E 19), tid-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), yań-a (KT E 23; BK E 19, 31), yät-ä (TI N 1).

With -ï/-i: artat-ï (KT E 22; BK E 19), ïčγïn-ï (O F 2) (~ïčγïn-u), it-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, bol-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, itin-ü, qazγan-u, qïl-u, kör-ü, küzäd-ü, opla-y-u, opul-u, öntür-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, yäl-ü, ye-y-ü ~yi-y-ü (TI S 1), yit-ü, yitür-ü, yoγur-u (BK SE; TI S 8), yoqad-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 aš-a [är]tis ögüzüg käč-ä yorï̄[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 as-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 it-i ay-u olurtï 'Küli Cor reigned organizing and ruling the Tardush people' (KČ E 2), qïzïl qanïm töküt-i qara tärim yügürt-i isig küčüg bertim ök 'shedding my red blood and sweating my black sweat, I have given my services (to my kagan)' (TII E 2), anta qalmišī yir sayu qop tor-u öl-ü yorïyur 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 sads, I worked to death and I won' (KT E 27), közdä yaš kälsär tid-a köŋültä siγït kälsär yantur-u saqïntïm '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 yät-ä yadaγïn ïγač tutun-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), usïn 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. muŋda- '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 bir- 'to conquer for the benefit of someone else', artat-ï u- 'to be albe 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'), azu 'or' (<az-u 'going astray'); see Postpositions, Conjunctions.

Negative stems with the suffixes -a/-ä, -ï/-i and -u/-ü are not attested.

3. 2822. 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 qïšla-p yazīŋa oγuzγaru sü tašīqdïmïz 'having spent the winter at Amga-Korgan, in spring, we marched off against the Oguz' (KT N 8), süčīg sabīn 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), buŋad-ïp qaγan yälü kör temis 'having become utterly bored, the kagan said: 'ride fast!' (TI N 2), uruš qïl-ïp täg-ip inimä oγluma anča ötlädim 'after I had fought and reached (home), I advised my younger brothers and my sons as follows' (O R 2-3), bilig bilmäz kisī ol sabïγ al-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), al-ïp, artur-up 'having been deceived' (KT S 6; BK N 5), aš-ïp (BK S 1), ayt-ïp, bar-ïp, bin-ip, bol-up, ägir-ip 'having surrounded' (KT N 7), ägir-ip

'having been pleased' (BK E 2), äsid-ip 'having heard', it-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, kir-ip, kör-üp, olur-up, ökün-üp, ölür-üp, ötün-üp, sanč-ïp, säbin-ip, sülä-p, süŋüs-üp, (<süŋüš-), täz-ip, ti-p, tiril-ip 'having come together' (KT E 12, etc.), tut-up, yaŋïl-ïp, yarat-ïp, yaṅ-ïp, yïγ-ïp, yorï-p, yasa-p (<yaša-) (KČ W 3).

3. 2823. The Gerund in -pan/-pän

This gerund is an enlarged variety of the gerund in -p: bunča bodun käl-ipän siγtāmiš yoγlāmiš 'this many peoples came and mourned and lamented' (BK E 5), olur-upan 'having succeeded to the throne' (KT E 1; BK E 3), sü sülä-pän törť buluŋdaqï bodunuγ qop almis qop baz 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), yaraqïγ qanïn kälip yaṅa eltdi süŋüglüg qanïn 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), süŋüg baïmï qarïγ söküpän kögmän yišïγ toγa yo[rïp] qïrqïz bodunuγ uda 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), sälāŋä qodï yorï-pan 'having marched down along Selenga' (BK E 37).

3. 2824. 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 toṅuquq boyla baγa tarqan birlä ilteris qaγan bol-uγïn biriyä tabγačïγ öŋrä qïtaṅïγ 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 Qïtaṅ to the east, and the Oguz to the north in great

numbers' (TI W 6-7), türk bodun qanïn bulma-yin tabγačda adrïlti 'having not found their kagan, the Turkish people were parted from the Chinese (and got themselves a kagan)' (TI W 2).

The word teyin ~ tiyin 'saying', which is used to close a direct discourse, is a gerund in -yin: kögmän yolï bir ärmis tumis te-yin äsidip 'when I heard that there is only one road over Kögmän, and that is closed (by snow)' (TI E 6), täŋri bilgä qaγanta adrïlmalïm azmalïm te-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.

3.2825. The Gerund in -matï/-mätï, -matïn/-mätïn

This gerund serves as the negative of the gerunds in -a/-ä, -ï/-i, -u/-ü and -p, -pan/-pän: tün udï-matï küntüz olur-matï ... isig küčüg bertim ök 'without sleeping by night or getting rest by day, ... I have given my services (to my kagan)' (TII E 2), bunča isig küčüg birtükgärü saqïnmatï türük bodun ölüräyïn uruγ-sïratayïn tir 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), antaγïŋïn üčün igidmiš qaγanïŋïn sabïn al-matïn yir sayu 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).

3.2826. The Gerund in -γalï/-gäli

The gerund in -γalï/-gäli expresses:

1°. the aim of the action of the predicate: yadaγ yabïz bolti tip 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) [siŋ]ar süsï äbig barqïγ yul-γalï bardï siŋar süsï süŋüš-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 tüsürtumiz '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[ïïïn-γalï]ï türk qaγan olur-γalï santuŋ balïq(q)a taluy ögüzkä tägmis yoq 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).

3.2827. The Gerund in -sar/-sär

The verb form in -sar/-sär is the conditional gerund: ač-sär tosïq ömäz sän bir 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), ötükän yir olurup arqïš tirkiš ï-sar näŋ buŋuγ yoq '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 yablaq aγï birür yaγuq är-sär ädgü aγï birür 'if (a people) live afar (from them), they (i.e., the Chinese) give them cheap materials, and if (a people) live close to them, (the Chinese) give them valuable materials' (KT S 7), ötükän yiš olur-sar bäŋgü il tuta olurtači sän 'if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains, you will live owning an everlasting state' (KT S 8), üzä täŋri basma-[sar asra] yir tälinmä-sär türük bodun eliŋin törügin käm artatï udači [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), u-sar idi yoq qïsalïm 'if possible, let us destroy (them) completely!' (TI S 4), tabγač oγuz qïtań bučägü qabïs-(s)ar qaltači biz 'if the Chinese, Oguz and Qïtań, these three form an alliance, we would be helpless' (TI S 5-6), etc.

The conditional gerund also expresses the circumstances under which the action of the finite verb takes place: süŋüs bol-sar čärig itär ärti ab abla-sar äräm älä täg ärti 'in fighting he commanded the army; in hunting he resembled a huge hawk' (KČ W 9), yay bol-sar 'in summer' (lit.: 'when it is summer', 'when it becomes summer') (BK W 3), taγda siγun ät-sär 'when a deer bellows at mountains' (BK W 5), közdä yaš käl-sär tída köŋültä siγít kälsär yanturu saqïntïm '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).

3.2828. 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 aγrïp yoq bol-ča quγ säŋünüg balbal tikä birtim 'when my eldest son became sick and died, I erected (the statue of) General Qu as a balbal for him' (BK S 9).

3.2829. 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-ūr ärkli oγuzduntan körüg kälti 'while we were dwelling in this manner, there came a scout from the Oguz' (TI S 1), kičä yarïq bat-ar ärkli süŋüsdüm 'I fought in the evening, when the sun was setting' (MČ E 1), tuγ tasïq-ar ärkli yälmä ärī kälti 'the vanguard came while the flag was being taken out' (MČ E 5).

3.283. Finite Forms

There are two types of finite forms: (1) primary finite forms, (2) secondary finite forms.

3.2831. 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.

3.28311. The Voluntative-Imperative

1st person singular -ayïn/-äyïn (MČ: -ayïn/-äyïn), on vocalic stems -yïn (MČ: -yïn/-yïn): bän säŋä nä ay-ayïn tidi 'what shall I say to thee?' he said' (TI N 8), qaγan mu qïs-ayïn tedim 'shall I make (him) kagan?' I said (to myself)' (TI W 5), bän äbgärü tüsäyïn 'I shall go down to the camp' (TI N 6), anï yoγlat-ayïn tedi 'I shall hold her funeral', he said' (TI N 7), sü yorï-yïn tidim 'I shall march out with the army,' I said (to myself)' (MČ E 5), män tasïq-ayïn timis 'I shall march off (with the army),' he said '(MČ E 10), türük bodun ölür-äyïn uruγsïrat-ayïn tir ärmis '(the Chinese) apparently said, 'let us (lit.: 'let me') kill and exterminate the Turkish people!' (KT E 10), qon-ayïn 'I shall settle down' (KT S 7).

2nd person singular: zero ending or -γïl/-gil: bu süg elt tidi 'lead this army!' he ordered' (TI N 8), tïlïγ sabïγ alï olur 'stay there quietly and collect information and tidings!' (TI N 8), basïtma 'do not let (the enemy) fall upon you!' (TI N 10); yaγ(γ)il tidi 'join me!' he said' (TI W 5), yälmä qarγū ädgüti urγïl '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 barzun 'let the Tardush šad go forth!' (TI N 8), türk sir bodun yerintä idi yorïma-zun 'let the Turkish Sir people not make any progress in their land!' (TI S 4), täŋri 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 tiyin bodun bol-čun tiyin '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 tiyin 'in order that the Kögmän land would not be without owner!') (KT E 20; BK E 17).

1st person plural: -alïm/-älim, on vocalic stems -lïm/-lim: täŋri bilgä qaγanta adrïlma-lïm azma-lïm 'let us not be parted from the sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray!' (O R 3), öŋrä türk qaγanγaru sülä-lim 'let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks!' (TI E 3), altun yis üzä qabïs-alïm 'let us come together at the Altun Mountains!' (TI E 3), yan-alïm 'let us go back!' (TII W 2), usar idi yoq 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: -ŋ, also pure stem: sü bar-ïŋ tedi altun yïsda olur-uŋ tedi 'you, army, go on marching!' he said; 'stay at the Altun Mountains!' he said' (TI N 6), türük oγuz bäglärï äsid-iŋ (BK: äsid) 'you, Turkish and Oguz lords and peoples, hear this!' (KT E 22), bunï körü bil-iŋ 'see these (inscriptions) and get a lesson (from them)!' (KT S 12), anï körüp anča bil-iŋ 'see it (i.e., this memorial) and learn its contents, as it is' (KT S 13), [anč]a saqïn-ïŋ anča bil-iŋ '(O Turkish lords and people), think of it in this way, and know it in this way!' (BK E 33), igid--iŋ 'nourish (the people)!' (BK N 13), ämgätmä-ŋ tolγatma-ŋ 'do not trouble and torment (them)!' (BK N 13), unāma-ŋ 'do not agree (with him)!' (TI N 11), tal aťin tedim 'enter the water on horseback!' I ordered' (TI N 1), toquz oγuz bäglärï bodunï bu sabïmin ädgüti äsid qatïγdï tiŋla '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.

3.28312. 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, -dïŋ(-γ)/-tïŋ(-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 yaš̄ïma bis balïq tapa sülä--dim 'at my age of thirty I went on a campaign against Bishbalik' (BK E 28), süsïn sanč-dïm yabrï̄t-dïm 'there I put their army to the lance, and destroyed' (BK E 31), yerči tilä-dim čölgi as ärï 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), taŋut 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 udï̄ma-dïm küntüz olurma-dïm 'for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not get rest by day' (BK E 22), etc.

2nd person singular: täŋrikänkä isig ber-tig 'thou hast given thy services to Täŋrikän' (O F 6), qanïŋin qodup ičik--diŋ 'you have abandoned your khan and submitted (again)' (lit.: 'thou hast abandoned thy khan and submitted') (TI W 3), käntü yaŋïl-tïγ 'you yourselves (lit.: 'thou thyself') betrayed' (KT E 23; BK E 19), yablaq kigür-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 ti-di 'join me!' he said' (TI W 5), boγuzlan-tï 'he was slaughtered' (TI N 2), bilgä toṅuquq(q)a baŋa 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), sü [tä]gisïntä yitinč ärig qïlïčla-dï 'in hand-to-hand fighting, he cut down a seventh man with a sword' (KT N 5); orduγ birmä-di 'he did not surrender the camp' (KT N 9).

1st person plural: qïrqïz tapa sülä-dimiz 'we started a campaign against the Kirgiz' (KT E 35), qïrqïz bodunuγ uda bas-dïmïz 'we fell upon the Kirgiz while they were asleep' (KT E 35), qïrqïz qaγanïn ölür-tümiz ilïn al-tïmïz 'we killed the Kirgiz kagan and conquered their realm'

(KT E 36), bir yïlqa biš yolï süŋüš-dümiz 'we fought five times in a year' (KT N 4), tizligig 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); qorqmadïmïz '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 -dïŋïz/-dïγïz occurs in the following singular polite forms: učа bar-dïγïz 'you passed away' (lit.: 'you went flying') (KT SE), küčlüg alp qaγanïmda adrïlu bar-dïŋïz '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: on oq bäglärī bodunī qop käl-ti 'the lords and people of the On-Ok all came' (TII W 7-8), bäglär qop[ïn] yanalïm . . . te-di 'all the lords said: 'let us go back!'' (TII W 1), etc.

3.2832. 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.

3.28321. 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): itinü yaratunu uma-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 ačïsïn täg qïlïnma-duq ärinč oγlī qaŋïn täg qïlïnma-duq ärinč 'then the younger brothers apparently did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons apparently did not resemble their fathers' (KT E 5), qaŋ yorïp elteris qaγanqa adrïlma-duq

yaŋïlma-duq '(my) father (always) marched (behind) İlteriš 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-Tatar left in Bükägük (MČ E 1), qarluq isïŋä kälmä-dük 'the Karluks apparently did not come to their allies' (MČ S 1), täŋri 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-iŋ '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.

3.28322. Participle + Personal Pronoun

3.283221. The Present Tense

The participle in -ūr/-ūr, etc. (see 3.2215) with the personal pronouns occurring in a postponed position forms the present. The participle in -maz/-māz (see 3.2216) functions as the negative of the present.

1st person singular: bän anča te-r män 'I say as follows' (TII W 2), saqïn-ūr män 'I mourn' (lit.: 'one who thinks — I', i.e., 'I am the one who thinks') (BK W 6), kämkä ilig qazγan-ūr män 'for whom am I conquering (these) countries?' (KT E 9), nä qaγanqa isig küčüg bir-ūr män 'to which kagan am I giving my services?' (KT E 9; BK E 9), ti-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 täŋri yasa-r 'it is Heaven who determines lifetimes' (KT N 10), bäniŋ 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 bir todsar āč-sïq 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 bar 'exists, existing, there is/are', a participle in -r (see 3.2215), mainly occurs in predicative function: azu bu sabïmda igid bar γu 'or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?' (KT S 10), ekī üč biŋ sümiz kältä-čimiz bar mu nä 'we probably have two or three thousand soldiers to come' (TI S 7).

3.283222. 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') perish!' (KT S 8), ötükän yis olur-sar bäŋgü 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 äbiŋä kirtäči sän buŋsïz 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 yorīlïm te-däči 'let us start a campaign!' he will say' (TI N 11), tabγač qïtań tatabï bučägü qabïs(s)ar qal-tači biz 'if the Chinese, Qïtań and Tatabï — these three — form an alliance, we would be helpless' (TI S 5-6), bödkä körügmä bäglär gü yaŋïl-tači siz 'you lords, you who are now obedient (to the throne), are you going to betray?' (KT S 11), sini tabγačïγ ölür-täči 'they will kill you (lit.: 'thee'), Chinese' (TI S 3).

3.283223. 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: qaŋïm qaγan yiti yegirmi ärin tašïqmiš 'my father, the kagan, marched off with seventeen men' (KT E 11), qara türgis bodunuγ anta ölür-miš al-miš 'there he killed and subjugated the common

the common Türgis people' (KT E 40), äčümiz apāmïz yamï qaγan tört buluŋuγ qïs-mis yïγ-mis yay-mis bas--mis 'Yamï Kagan, our ancestor, suppressed, frightened, routed and overwhelmed the four quarters (of the world)' (O F 1), kisī oγlī qop ölgäli törūmis 'human beings were all created in order to die' (KT N 10), ekīn ara 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 süsī teril-mis 'their khan and their soldiers came together' (TI N 4), bunča bodun kälipän siγtā-miš yoγlā-miš (KT: sïγtāmis yoγlāmis) 'this many peoples came and mourned and lamented' (BK E 5; KT E 4), etc.

3.283224. 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 yolun yorïsar yaramači tedim '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: -mači/-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).

3.2833. Composite Verb Forms

The composite verb forms are made of a form of the auxiliary verb är- preceded by a participle of a finite form.

3.28331. Preterit of the Present

1°. Preterit of the Present I: -r (-ar/-är, -ūr/-ür, -īr/-ïr) + 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 bir qïrq yašayūr ärti 'Prince Kül was thirty-one years old' (KT N 3), anta qalmišī yir sayu qop toru ölü yorīyūr ärtig '(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions' (KT S 9), čoγay quzīn qara qumuγ olurūr ärtimiz 'we were inhabiting then the northern slope of the Čoγay Mountains and Kara-Kum ('Black Sand')' (TI W 7), keyik yiyü tabïsγan yeyü olurūr ärtimiz 'we were dwelling there, nourishing ourselves on big game and hares' (TI S 1), buzquncča 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]mïγma yaγīγ [kälürīr] ärtim 'I used to force withdrawing enemies to come (upon us)' (TII E 3), ïγar oγlanïŋïzda tayγunuŋïzda yegdi igidür ärtigiz 'you used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved sons and descendants' (KT SE), atïγ ïqa bayūr artimiz '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 qaŋīn bilmäz ärti '(at that time) younger brothers did not acknowledge their elder brothers, and sons did not acknowledge their fathers' (BK E 18), tünyämä udïsïqïm kälmäz ärti [kün yämä] 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).

2°. Preterit of the Present II: -r (-ar/-är, -ūr/-ür, -īr/-ïr) + ärmiš (~ärmis). This tense is used to express:

A. unwitnessed progressive actions in the past: türük bodun ölüräyīn uruγsïratayīn tir ärmis '(the Chinese) reportedly said, 'I shall kill and exterminate the Turkish people' (KT E 10), azqïńa türk (bodun) yorīyūr ärmis 'the very few Turkish people seem to have been making progress' (TI S 2-3), ekīn ara idi oqsïz kök türük iti 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 isig küčüg birür män tir 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 öyür 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 yaγutïr 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 kisïg ädgü alp kisïg yorïtmaz ärmis (BK N 4: ärmiš) '(the Chinese) did not promote the wise and brave persons' (KT S 6), bir kisī yaŋïlsar oγušī bodunī bisükïŋä 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 this tribesmen and kinsmen' (KT S 6).

3°. Conditional of the Present: -r (-ar/-är, -ūr/-ür, -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 tilïγ 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).

3.28332. 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 yoq bolmis ärti ań yoγlataγïn tedi 'the katun had died (some time ago); 'I shall hold her funeral', he said' (TI N 7), azča bodun täzmis ärti on oq süsïn sülätdim 'a few of the people had fled; I ordered the army of the On-Ok to march out' (TI W 8), alp är biziŋä tägmis ärti 'those who had attacked us were brave men' (KT E 40), ol ödkä qul quluγ bolmiš ärti [küŋ künlüg bolmiš ärti] 'at that time slaves themselves had slaves and maidservants themselves had maidservants' (KT E 21), türk bodun atī yoq bolu 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 bol-: sad atïγ anta bermis boltuqda toquz oγuz atig yaγï ärmis bädük ärmis 'when (Täŋrikän) gave him (i. e., my father) the title of šad, the Tokuz-Oguz and Atig started hostilities (against us). They were (dangerously) powerful, (too)' (O F 6).

3. 28333. Preterit of the Future (Future Perfect)

Preterit of the future: -dači/-däči (~-tači/-täči) + ärtim, etc. This verb 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 käliŋünüm qunčuylarïm bunča yämä tirigï küŋ boltači ärti ölügï yurtda yolta 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), ... yoq [bolt]ači är[ti]' ... were about to be exterminated' (BK E 28).

2°. an action which would have taken place if ...: kül tigin yoq 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 yoq [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), ilteris qaγan qazγanmasar udu bän özüm qazγanmasar il yämä bodun yämä yoq 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: näŋ yerdäki qaγanlïγ bodunqa büntägï bar ärsär nä buŋï bar 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. 28334. 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 the past time: ilteris qaγan qazγanmasar yoq ärti ärsär udu bän özüm bilgä toñuquq qazγanmasar bän yoq ärtim ärsär qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerïntä bod yämä bodun yämä kisï yämä idi yoq 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 t 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 isar näŋ buŋuγ 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 bäglärī '(O) Turkish and Oguz lords!' (KT E 22), bodunī k ü n q u l boltï '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); bir tümän a γ ī a l t u n k ü m ü š 'a great quantity of treasure, gold and silver' (KT N 12), sarïγ a l t u n örüŋ k ü m ü s q ï z q o d u z ägri t ä b i a γ ī buŋsiz kälürti 'they brought (home) the yellow gold, and the white silver, girls and maidens, hunchbacked camels and treasure in great

abundance' (TII S 4), yabïz yablaq bodunta üzä olurtum 'I became ruler over a wretched and miserable people' (KT E 26), yoq čïγań bodunuγ 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-ïγ yulγalï 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-ïγ bädiz-ig uz-uγ 'all these buildings, paintings and artistical works . . .' (BK SW), etc.

In the following examples, however, only the second or last constituent is inflected: arquy qarγū-γ ulγartdïm oq 'I have increased the fortifications and watchtowers' (TII E 3), yoγuŋ qoraγïŋ-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- az- 'to be parted and go astray' (O R 3), adrïl- yaŋïl- '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), bitï- bädiz- 'to write and draw' (BK SW), ägir- säbin- 'to be pleased and glad' (BK E 2), ämgät- tolγat- 'to trouble and torment' (BK N 13), ičik- yükün- 'to submit and surrender' (TI N 4), it- yarat- 'to form and organize' (BK N 9), it- ay- 'to organize and govern' (KC E 2), it- igid- 'to organize and nourish' (KT E 16), it- yïγ- 'to organize and gather together' (TII W 8), itin- yaratun- 'to form and organize oneself' (KT E 10), küŋäd- 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), ol- yit- 'to die and vanish' (KT E 27), ölür- al- 'to kill and conquer' (KT N 2), tir- qubrat- 'to gather together' (lit.: 'to gather and bring together') (KT E 12), tor- öl- 'to be emaciated and die' (KT S 9), yaŋïl- yazïn- '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 ulayu öglärim äkälärim käliŋ-ünüm quńčuylarïm 'my mother, the katun, and my stepmothers, my elder 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 yämä bodunï yämä 'both the lords and peoples' (KT E 3), bod yämä bodun yämä kisï yämä '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 biŋ '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 tońuquq(q)a baŋa '(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 özï 'my younger brother Prince Kül himself' (KT E 30), eltäbär özï 'the Governor himself' (KČ E 9); bän özüm / bilgä tońuquq 'I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TII N 1), bilgä tońuquq / 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 a noun indicating quality or any other word which functions as an adjective (noun, pronoun, numeral, participle):

A. The attribute is a noun: adïnč(č)ïγ barq 'a wonderful mausoleum' (KT S 12; BK N 14), bäŋgü taš 'memorial' (lit.: 'eternal stone') (BK N 15), süčïg sab 'sweat words' (KT S 5), yimšaq aγï '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), ekïnti kün 'the second day' (BK S 1), toquz oγuz 'the Nine-Oguz' (BK E 1), bisinč ay 'the fifth month' (BK S 10); ekï biŋ 'two thousand' (TI S 8), säkiz on 'eighty' (lit.: 'eight ten') (KČ W 3), altï yolï 'six times' (BK E 28), etc. See Numerals.

C. The attribute is a pronoun: bu taš-qa bu tām-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 now obedient (to the throne)' (KT S 11), tinsi oγlï aytïγma 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: täŋri täg ... türük bilgä qaγan 'the Heaven-like ... Turkish Bilgä Kagan (KT S 1), umay täg ögüm qatun 'my Umay-like mother, the katun' (KT E 31).

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), esïlik qïz oγïl 'female children worthy of becoming ladies' (KT E 7), kädimlig toruγ at 'the dressed bay horse' (KT E 33), qara qamaγ bodun 'the black (i.e., ordinary) common people' (KT E 8).

2°. The attribute is a proper noun: šantuŋ yazï '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 säŋün 'General Qu' (BK S 8), oŋ tutuq 'Governor Oŋ' (KT E 32), bilgä qaγan 'Kagan ('King') Bilgä' (KT S 1), türük bodun 'the Turkish people' (KT E 6), oγuz yaγï 'the hostile Oguz' (lit.: 'the Oguz enemy') (KT N 8), etc.

3°. The attribute is a noun provided with a possessive suffix: qaŋïm qaγan 'my father, the kagan' (KT E 11), ögüm qatun 'my mother, the katun' (KT N 9), siŋlim qunčuy 'my younger sister, the princess' (KT E 20), inim kül tigin 'my younger brother Prince Kül' (KT N 10), kül tigin atisï yol(l)uγ tigin 'Prince Yolluγ, the nephew of Prince Kül' (KT SE), tabγač qaγan čïqanï čan säŋün 'General Chang, the nephew of the Chinese Emperor' (KT N 13), sir irkin oγlï 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 attribute 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 first or second person respectively.

1°. The attribute without any case suffix: kül tigin atïsï 'Prince Kül's nephew' (KT SE), türük bodun atï '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), oŋ tutuq yurčï-n 'Governor Oŋ'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 qaγanïŋ bodunï 'Bilgä Kagan's people' (O R 3), türük bodunïγ atï küsï 'the name and fame of the Turkish people' (KT E 25), kül tiginiŋ 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: bayïrquniŋ aq adγïr 'Bayïrqu's white stallion' (KT E 36), yigän silig bägiŋ kädimlig toruγ at 'Yigän Silig Bäg's dressed bay horse' (KT E 33), tabγač qaγanïŋ ičräki bädizči-g 'the court painters of the Chinese emperor' (KT S 12), tadïqïŋ čorïŋ boz [at] 'Tadïq Čor's gray horse' (KT E 32).

3°. The attribute is a pronoun of the first person: bäniŋ bodunum 'my people' (TI E 4), täniŋ sabïm-ïn 'my words' (KT S 11), mäniŋ bodunum 'my people (BK E 29).

If the head is a possessive phrase of the first type, it remains as such: bizin sü ati '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: ärtiŋü uluγ 'very great' (BK N 10), antaγ külüg 'so famous' (KT E 4), öltäčičä saqïnïγma '(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 tonsïz 'clothless on the outside' (KT E 26).

3°. The word yeg 'better' is preceded by a noun with the locative-ablative suffix -da/-dä: ïγar elligdä / [ï]γar qaγanlïγda yeg '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 aŋ 'most': aŋ ilk 'the first, the foremost'; the adjective may take the possessive suffix of the third person: aŋ ilkï. 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', šantuŋ 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 biŋ ärtiniz 'we were two thousand' (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 kirti 'the Oguz fled and entered (i.e., took refuge) China' (BK E 38), qara költä süŋüšdümiz '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' (BK E 22), kün yämä tün yämä yälü 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 bodunïn sayu ït(t)ïmïz 'that very night we sent messages to their peoples' (TII W 7), kičä yarïq batar ärkli süŋüsdüm 'I fought in the evening, while the sun was setting' (MČ E 1).

4°. a cardinal numeral: oγuzqa bes süŋüsdi 'he fought five times against the Oguz' (TII E 5); see Cardinal Numerals.

5°. an ordinal numeral: törtünč äzginti qadïzda süŋüsdüm '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 yoq bolča '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 saqïntïm 'I (lit.: 'myself') mourned' (KT N 10), türük bäglär türük ätïn ït(t)ï 'the Turkish lords abandoned the Turkish titles' (KT E 7), oγuz yaγï ordūγ basdï 'the hostile Oguz (lit.: 'the Oguz enemy') made a raid on the campsite' (KT N 9), uluγ küli čor säkiz on yasap yoq bolt[ï] 'after having lived eighty years, Küli Čor the Elder died' (KČ W 3), äčim qaγan učа bardï 'my uncle, the kagan, passed away (lit.: 'went flying')' (BK E 20), türük bodun atï yoq bolu barmis ärti 'the name of the Turkish people had almost completely vanished' (O F 3), kül tigin yoq ärsär qop öltäci ärtigiz 'if Prince Kül had not existed, you all would have been 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: yaγmisï bän ärtim 'it was I who joined him' (TI W 5), türük bodun äč ärti 'the Turkish people were hungry' (BK E 38), özüm qarï boltum 'I grew old' (lit.: 'I became old') (TII E 6), bäglik urï oγlur qul boltï 'your sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves' (KT E 24), qaŋïm qaγan süsï böri täg ärmis 'the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves' (KT E 12), qaγanï 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

toñuquq añıγ ol 'Bilgä Tonyukuk is evil' (TI N 10), öz 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).

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 yolun yorïsar unč 'if we go that way, (it will be) possible' (TI E 7), bän bilgä toñuquq 'I (am) Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TII E 8), ol amtï añıγ yoq 'they (are) not rebellious now' (KT S 3), iltä buŋ yoq '(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), üc körüg kisī sabī bir '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 yoq bolmis 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 täŋri 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 yīl šad olurtum toq[uz yegir]mi yīl [qaγan olu]rtum 'nineteen years reigned I as šad, nineteen years as kagan' (BK S 9), biz ekī biŋ ärtimiz 'we were two thousand' (TI S 9), ol bizni ..., ölürtäci kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 4).

Such a subject is often omitted: qan bertim 'I had given (you) a khan' (TI W 2), qanïŋïn qodup ičikdiŋ 'you abandoned your kagan, and submitted (again)' (TI W 3), sü yorïlïm tedäči 'let us march off with the army!' he will say' (TI N 11), qarluquγ ölürtümiz altïmïz 'we killed

(i. e., defeated) the Karluks and subjugated them' (KT N 2), süŋüšdümiz '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 udïsïqïm kälmädi küntüz olursïqïm 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 boγuzī toq ärti 'the people's stomach was full' (TI S 1), türük qara qamaγ bodun anča timis 'the Turkish common people apparently said as follows' (KT E 8-9).

7°. Predicative construction as subject: türük bodun tämir qapïγqa tinsi oγlī aytïγma taγqa tägmis / idi yoq 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).

4.23. Agreement between the Subject and Predicate

4.231. Agreement in Person

Agreement in person is obligatory: bän anča ter 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).

4.232. Agreement in Number

The predicate is a singular third person, although the subject is a plural: bäglär qop[ïn] yanalïm tedi 'the lords all said, 'let us turn back!'' (TII W 1), türük bäglär türük ätīn ït(t)i 'the Turkish lords abandoned the Turkish titles' (KT E 7), oγlïtī qaγan bolmis 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 täŋrisī türük ïduq yirī subī anča etmis '(but) the Turkish god above and the Turkish holy earth and water (spirits below) acted in the following way' (KT E 10).

4.24. Word order

The normal order is: subject + predicate: qatun/ yoq bolmis ärti 'the katun had died' (TI N 7), özī/yaŋïltï '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 yaγï/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 birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan here' (KT E 20), öd täŋri yasar 'it was Heaven who determines lifetimes' (KT N 10).

4.25. Negation

In negative clauses the predicate has a negative.

1°. The predicate is a negative verb-form: mäniŋ sabïmïn simadï 'he did not reject my request' (KT N 11).

2°. The predicate is a noun with the negative yoq: ol amtï ańïγ yoq 'they (lit.: 'that') are not rebellious now' (KT S 3).

3°. The predicate is the negative noun yoq: iltä buŋ yoq '(if the Turkish kagan stays at the Ötükän Mountains,) there will be no trouble in the realm' (KT S 3), näŋ buŋuγ yoq '(if you stay in the land of Ötükän and send caravans from there,) you will have no trouble' (KT S 8).

4.26. Combination of Clauses

4.261. Coordination

There are two types: coordination without conjunction, coordination with conjunction.

4.2611. Coordination without conjunction

This is the favorite coordination-type: čïγań bodunuγ bay qïltïm / az bodunuγ üküš qïltïm '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 bolmis ärinč / oγlïtī qaγan bolmis ärinč 'then the younger brothers came to the throne, the sons came to the throne' (KT E 4-5), özī yaŋïltï / qaγanī ölti / bodunī küŋ qul bolti 'he betrayed (us), their kagan was killed, their people became slaves and servants' (KT E 20), [siŋ]ar süsī äbig barqïγ yulγalï bardï / siŋar süsī süŋüšgäli 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 ärtimiz / yabïz ärtimiz 'we were few and in a bad condition' (BK E 32).

The copula may be omitted in the second clause: yuyqa 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: tabγac bodun sabī süčīg / aγïsī yimšaq ärmis 'the words of the Chinese people were sweet, the materials of the Chinese people were soft' (KT S 5).

4.2612. Coordination with conjunction

The only conjunction used in coordinate clauses is yämä (see Conjunctions, 7°).

4.262. Subordination

Certain predicative constructions are subordinated by means of the following conjunctions (originally gerunds): üčün 'since, as, because', teyin ~ tiyin 'because; in order to, for the purpose of', tip 'in order to, with the intention of' (see Subordinate Conjunctions: 3.2192).

4.2621. Direct Discourse

The direct discourse is juxtaposed to the main clause and connected with the gerund tip or tiyin 'saying': biriyä qarluq bodun tapa sülä tip tudun yamtarïγ ït(t)im 'I sent Tudun Yamtar saying, 'start a campaign against the Karluks in the south!' (BK E 40), täŋri bilgä qaγanta adrïlmalïm azmalïm teyin ança 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: qara bodun qaγanïm kalti tip 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 teyin ~ tiyin: tägmäči män teyin saqïntïm 'I thought 'I shall not attack'' (O R 2), kögmän yolï bir ärmis tumis teyin äsidip 'when I heard that there is only one road over Kögmän, and that is closed (by snow)' (TI E 6), igidäyïn tiyin saqï[nïp] 'having thought 'I shall nourish (them)'' (BK E 35).

4.27. Parenthetical Clause

[anta] kisrä — täŋri yarïq(q)azu — qutum bar üčün ülügüm bar 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 live who were going to perish, and nourished them' (KT E 28-29), yorïmasar bizni -qaγanï alp ärmis ayγučisï bilgä ärmis — qačan (n)äŋ ärsär bizni ölürtäči kök temis '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), aŋaru sülämäsär qačan (n)äŋ ärsär ol bizni — [qaγanï alp ärmis] ayγučisï bilgä ärmis — qačan (n)aŋ ärsär ölürtäči kök id. (TI E 3-4).

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

The figures refer to the pages.

a (vowel) 50
a (vowel) 51
a ~ ï (vowel alternation) 70
a < aγa (contraction) 73
a/ä (interjection of address) 174
-a-/-ä- (denominal verbs) 108
-a/-ä (denominal nouns) 103
-a/-ä (deverbal nouns) 110
-a/-ä (dative-locative) 130
-a/-ä (gerund) 180; see -ï/-i and -u/-ü.
    -a + bar- (compound verb) 119
    -a/-ä + ber-/bir- (compound verb) 119
    -a/-ä + elt- (compound verb) 120
Accusative 127
-ač (denominal noun) 103
-ačï/-äči (Khakas present-future participle) 73; see -māčï/-mäči.
-ad-/-äd-, -d- (denominal verbs) 108
Additive phrases 198
Adjectival phrases 203
Adverbs 150
Adverbial complement 205
Agreement 208
-aγu(n)/-ägü(n) (collective numerals) 148
-aq/-äk (denominal nouns) 104
-alïm/-älim, -lïm/-lim (voluntative-imperative) 188
Alphabet: characters 21; origin 25
Alternative phrases 200

-an/-ăn (denominal nouns) 104
-an/-ăn (plural) 121
an- (stem of the oblique cases of ol 'that, it') 140
anĭŋ, anï, aŋar, anta, aŋaru, anča, anïn (oblique cases of ol) 140, 141
aŋ (adverb of comparison) 161
Apocope 74
Appositive phrases 200
Approximative numerals 146
ara (postposition) 162
artuqī (coordinate conjunction) 168
-aru/-ărü (directive) 135; see -γaru/-gărü.
Assimilation of vowels 72
Assimilation of consonants 98
aš (syllabic sign) 22, 45
ašа (postposition) 163
ašru (postposition) 163
Attributive compounds 118
Attributive phrases 200
-ayĭn/-ăyĭn, -yĭn/-yĭn (voluntative-imperative in MČ) 187
-ayīn/-ăyīn, -yīn (voluntative-imperative) 187
azu (coordinate conjunction) 168
b (consonant) 76
b — b < b — m 99
b — n < m — n 100
b ~ m 92
-bač (deverbal noun) 110
-bāčī/-bāči: see -māčī/-māči.
-bal (< -mal) (deverbal noun) 110
bar: as attribute 177; as predicate 192
baš (syllabic sign) 22, 45
bän, män (pronoun) 138, 139; bäniŋ, mäniŋ 139; bini 139; baŋa, maŋa 139; baŋaru 140
beth (Aramaic letter) 27
biriki (coordinate conjunction) 169
birlă (postposition) 163
biz (pronoun) 138; biziŋ, bizni, biziŋă, bizintă 139
bizin- (stem of the oblique cases of biz) 138
bol- 119
bu (demonstrative pronoun) 140; bunĭ, bunta, bunča 140, 141

bun- (stem of the oblique cases of bu) 140
bŭntăgī (indefinite pronoun) 144
Cardinal numerals 144, 145, 146
Case 125
Causative verbs 115, 116, 117
Clause structure 206
Collective numerals 148
Combination of clauses 210
Comitative 137
Composite verb forms 193
Composition 118
Compound adverbs 118
Compound nouns 118
Compound verbs 118, 119, 120
Conditional of the present 195
Conditional of the perfect 197
Conjunctions 168-172
Connective vowels 63, 64, 65
Consonants 75-101
Consonant changes 92-101
Contact assimilation 98, 99
Contact dissimilation 100
Contraction 73, 100; see a < aγa, ă < ăgă, and ŋ < nγ/ng.
Coordinate composition 118
Coordinate conjunctions 168-171
Coordinate phrases 198-200
Coordination 124
Copula 204, 205, 206, 210
Crasis 74
č (consonant) 79, 80
č — č < š — č 99
-č (diminutives, hypocoristic names) 104
-ča/-čä (equative) 136
-ča/-čä (gerund) 186
čč < čs 98
-čïγ (< -sïγ) (denominal noun) 104; see -sïγ/-sig.
či (ligature) 22 note, 45
-či (denominal nouns) 59, 62, 104; see -γučī/-gŭčī, -dačī/-dăčī, and -māčī/-măčī.

-čun (imperative) 37 , 187; see -zun/-zŭn.
d (consonant) 79
-da/-dä, -ta/-tä (locative-ablative) 133, 134
-dači/-däči, -tači/-täči (participle) 180
-daqï/-däki, -taqï/-täki: see -da/-dä etc. and -qï/-ki.
-dam/-dăm (denominal nouns) 104
Dative-locative 130, 131, 132
Demonstrative adjectives 141
Demonstrative pronouns 140, 141
Denominal nouns 103-107
Denominal verbs 108-110
Denasalization 92
Dentals and alveolars 77-86
Dentalization of s̄ 93
Descriptive and definite phrases 201
Deverbal nouns 110-115
Deverbal verbs 115-117
-dï/-di, -tï/-ti (perfect, 3rd person) 188, 189, 190
-dïm/-dim, -tïm/-tim, -dum/-düm, -tum/-tüm (perfect, 1st person singular) 189
-dïmïz/-dimiz, -tïmïz/-timiz, -dumïz/-dümiz, -tumïz/-tümiz (perfect, 1st person plural) 189, 190
-dïŋ (-γ) / -diŋ (-g), -tïŋ (-γ) / -tiŋ (-g), -duŋ (-γ) / -düŋ (-g), -tuŋ (-γ) / -tüŋ (-g) (perfect, 2nd person singular) 189
-dïŋïz, -dïγïz (perfect, 2nd person plural) 190
-dïn/-din, -dun/-dün (adverbs) 152
Direct discourse 211
Direct object complement 205
Directive 135
Dissimilation of consonants 100
Distance assimilation (progressive) 99
Distance assimilation (regressive) 99
Distance dissimilation 100
Doubled consonants 47, 48
-duq/-dük, -tuq/-tük (verbal nouns) 178
-dur/-dür (Mongolian dative-locative suffix) 150
-düri (Uigur adverbial suffix in öŋdüri) 150
ă (vowel) 52
ă < ägä (contraction) 73

ă ~ i (vowel alternation) 70, 71
ăr- (auxiliary verb) 193, 204
ărinč (particle) 173
ărkli: participle 180; gerund 186
ărtiŋă (adverb of degree) 158, 159
e (vowel) 53, 54
ē (vowel) 54
e ~ i (vowel alternation) 53, 54, 71
-e/-i (Chuvash 3rd person singular possessive suffix) 60
Epenthesis 101
Equational complement 204
Equative 136
External hiatus 101
Final consonant clusters 75
Finite verb forms 186-197
Fractions 146
Future 192, 193
Future perfect 196
γ/g (consonants) 90, 91
-γ/-g (deverbal nouns) 111
-γ/-g (< -ŋ) (2nd person singular possessive suffix) 122, 123
-γ/-g (accusative) 127, 128
-γa/-gä (deverbal nouns) 111, 112
-γa-/-gä- (denominal verbs): see -qa-/-kä-.
-γači/-gäči 193; see -māči/-mā̈či.
-γalï/-gäli (gerund) 184
-γaq/-gäk (deverbal nouns) 112; see -qaq.
-γan/-gän (deverbal nouns) 112
-γar-/-gär- (denominal verbs) 108
-γar (dative-locative suffix in aŋar) 140
-γaru/-gärü (directive) 135, 152, 153, 154
γd < γt, gd < gt 99
Geminated consonants: see Doubled consonants.
Genitive 126, 127
Gerunds 180-186
-γï/-gi (adjectival suffix) 104, 105; see -qï/-ki.
-γïl/-gil (imperative) 187
-γïn/-γun (deverbal nouns): see -qun.
-γlï/-gli (participle): see ärkli.

-ɣma/-gmä (participle) 176
ɣu/gü (interrogative particle) 174
-ɣu/-gü (denominal nouns) 104
-ɣu/-gü (deverbal nouns) 112, 175; see -ɣučі/-güči, -ɣuluq/-gülük.
-ɣučі/-güči (deverbal nouns) 112, 175; see -ɣu/-gü, -čі.
-ɣuluq/-gülük (deverbal nouns) 112, 175; see -ɣu/-gü, -lïq/-lik, etc.
-ɣun/-gün (plural) 121
-ɣur-/-gür- (causative verbs) 115
Haplology 74
ï (vowel) 51
ï/i (connective vowel) 63, 64, 65
-ï-/-i- (denominal verbs) 108
-ï/-i: deverbal nouns 112; gerund 180, 181, 182
-ī/-i + bīr- (compound verb) 120
-ï + u- (compound verb) 120
-ï — a < i — a 72
-ī/-sï (3rd person possessive suffix) 70, 72, 122; see -ī/-sī.
-ïɣ (< -ïŋ) (genitive) 127; see -ïŋ/-iŋ.
ïq/qï (syllabic sign) 44
-ïm/-im, -um/-üm: see -m.
-ïn (genitive): see -ïŋ/-iŋ.
ïnɣaru (postposition)
-ïŋ/-iŋ, -nïŋ/-niŋ (genitive).
-ïr/-īr (participle) 177; see -r, etc.
i (vowel) 55
ī (vowel) 55, 69
i < ï: see Palatalization.
-ī/-sī (3rd person possessive suffix) 59, 60, 61, 70, 72, 122, 123, 124; see -ī/-sï
-ï + bar- (compound verb) 119
ič (syllabic sign) 45
idi (adverb of degree) 160
Indefinite numerals 149
Indefinite pronouns 144
Instrumental 136

Intensive pronouns 141, 142, 143
Intensive verb stems 115
Internal hiatus 101
Interrogative adverb 162
Interrogative particles 174
Interrogative pronouns 143
q (consonant) 88, 89
k (consonant) 89, 90
q̄ (syllabic sign) 40
k̄ (syllabic sign) 42
ᵏ (syllabic sign) 44
-k (denominal noun) 105
-q-/-k- (denominal verbs) 108
-q/-k, -uq/-ük (deverbal nouns) 113
-q-/-k- (intensive verbs) 115
*qa (interrogative pronoun) 144; qanï 144; qantin 144
-qa (denominal noun) 105
-qa-/-kä-, -ɣa-/-gä- (denominal verbs) 108, 109
qačan (interrogative adverb) 162
qan- (stem of the oblique cases of *qa 'what') 144
-qaq (< -ɣaq) 112; see -ɣaq/-gäk.
qamaɣï (indefinite pronoun) 144
-qan/-kän (denominal nouns) 105
kačä (postposition) 163
käm (interrogative pronoun) 143
käntü (intensive pronoun) 141, 142, 143
-qï/-ki (adjectival suffix) 104, 105; see -ɣï/-gi.
-qïńa/-kińä (diminutives) 105
kičig (adverb of degree) 160
kisrä (postposition) 167
qq < qɣ 99
kk < kg 99
qq < ɣq 99
kl < gl 100
qodï (postposition) 163
qop (adverb of degree) 158
qopïn, qopin (adverb of degree) 137, 158
kök (particle) 172, 173
-qun (< -ɣun) (deverbal noun) 113
l (consonant) 83, 84

-l (denominal nouns) 105
-l (deverbal nouns) 113
-l- (denominal verbs) 109
-l- (passive verbs) 115
-la-/-lä- (denominal verbs) 109
Labial harmony 63-67
-lar/-lär (plural) 121
-lī/-lī (coordinating conjunctive suffix) 124, 125
-lïγ/-lig, -luγ/-lüg (denominal nouns) 105, 106
-lïγu/-ligü (comitative) 137, 138
-lïq/-lik, -luq/-lük (denominal nouns) 106, 112, 175; see -γuluq/-gülük.
lq < lγ 100
l — l < r — l 99
l — n < l — l 100
Locative-ablative 133, 134
Long consonants: see Doubled consonants.
Long vowels 50-56, 67-70
Loss 73, 74
Loss of vowels 73
l — š/s (alternation) 98
lt (syllabic sign) 45, 46
lt < ld 100
-luq/-lük (denominal nouns): see -lïq/-lik.
m (consonant) 76, 77
m ~ b 93
-m, -ïm/-im, -um/-üm (deverbal nouns) 113
-m, -ïm/-im, -um/-üm (1st person singular possessive suffix) 122, 123
-ma-/-mä- (negative stems) 115
-ma/-mä (deverbal nouns) 114
-mačī/-mačī, -bačī/-bačī, -pačī/-pačī (Khakas present-future participle) 73
-mači/-mači (future) 193; see -ma-/-mä- (negative stems) and -γači/-gäči.
-maγ/-meg (Mongolian suffix) 175
-maq/-mäk (deverbal nouns) 114, 175
-maqči/-mäkči (verbal noun) 175; see -maq/-mäk and -či.
-man/-män (denominal nouns) 106

-matī/-mätī (negative gerund) 184; see -matīn/-mätīn
-matīn/-mätīn (negative gerund) 70, 184; see -matī/-mätī.
-may/-mäy (Chagatay gerund) 183
-mayïn/-mäyin (Chagatay gerund) 183
-maz/-mäz (participle) 178
män: see bän.
-mïz/-miz, -ïmïz/-imiz (1st person plural possessive suffix)
Middle verbs (verba media) 116
-miš ~ -mis (verbal noun) 61, 62, 97, 98, 114, 179; (past tense) 192, 193
mu/mü (interrogative particle) 174
Multiplicative numerals 148
n (consonant) 82, 83
n² (letter) 59
-n (denominal nouns) 106
-n (deverbal nouns) 114
-n- (passive, reflexive stems) 116
-n (Mongolian plural suffix) 121
-n (accusative) 59, 60, 127, 128, 129, 130
-n, -ïn/-in, -un/-ün (instrumental) 136, 137
-nar/-ner (Mongolian plural suffix) 121
Nasalization 92
nč (syllabic sign) 47
-nč, -ïnč/-inč, -unč/-ünč (ordinal numerals) 147
-nč, -nču/-nčü (deverbal nouns) 114
nä (interrogative pronoun) 143, 144
nänčä (equative of na) 143
näŋ (adverb of degree) 160, 161
Negation 209
Negative verbs 115
-nï/-ni (accusative) 127, 130
-nïŋ/-niŋ (genitive) 126, 127; see -ïŋ/-iŋ.
Nominative 125, 126
Noun inflection 120-138
nt (syllabic sign) 46, 47
nt < nd 100
Numeral phrases 203

Numerals 144-150
ŋ (consonant) 91, 92
ŋ < nγ/ng (contraction) 100, 101
ŋ ~ γ/g (alternation) 92, 93
-ŋ, -ïŋ/-iŋ, -uŋ/-üŋ (2nd person singular possessive suffix) 122, 123; see -γ/-g.
-ŋ, -ïŋ/-iŋ, -uŋ/-üŋ (2nd person plural imperative) 188
-ŋa/-ŋä (dative-locative) 130, 131
-ŋaru/-ŋärü (directive) 135
-ŋïz/-ŋiz, -ïŋiz/-iŋiz, uŋïz/-üŋiz (2nd person plural possessive suffix) 122, 123
o (vowel) 51, 52
ō (vowel) 52
Objective compounds 118
oq/uq (syllabic sign): see $^{o}_{o}$q.
oq/ök (particle) 172
ol (demonstrative pronoun) 140
Ordinal numerals 147
Orthography 30-48
ot (syllabic sign) 25, 28
ö (vowel) 55
ō (vowel) 55
ök/ük (syllabic sign): see $^{k}_{o}$.
ök (particle): see oq/ök.
ötrü (postposition) 167
özī (intensive pronoun) 141, 142
özüm (intensive pronoun) 141, 142
p (consonant) 75
-p (deverbal noun) 114
-p, -ip/-ip, -up/-üp (gerund) 182, 183
-pāčī/-pāči (Khakas participle): see -māčī/-māči.
Palatal consonants 86, 87
Palatal harmony 56-63
Palatalization 71, 72
-pan/-pän, -ïpan/-ipän, -upan/-üpän (gerund) 183
Parenthetical clause 211
Participle + personal pronoun 191, 192, 193
Particles 172-174
Passive verbs 115
Perfect 188, 199, 190

Personal pronouns 138, 139, 140
Plurality 121, 122
Pluperfect 195, 196
Possession 122, 123, 124
Possessive phrases 202, 203
Postpositions 162-168
Postpositional phrases 204
Predicate 206, 207
Present tense 191, 192
Preterit of the present I 193, 194
Preterit of the present II 194, 195
Preterit of the future (future perfect) 196
Primary finite forms 187-190
Progressive assimilation (vowels) 72
Progressive assimilation (consonants) 98, 99
Pronouns 138-144
Prothesis 101
Punctuation 48, 49
r (consonant) 85
-r- (deverbal verbs) 116; see Middle verbs.
-r, -ar/-är, -ïr/-ïr, -ür/-ür (participle) 177
-ra/-rä (denominal nouns) 107
-ra-/-rä- (denominal verbs) 109
-ra/-rä (directive) 135
Regressive assimilation (vowels) 72
Regressive assimilation (consonants) 99, 100
Reflexive verbs 116
-rqa-/-rkä- (denominal verbs) 109
r — r < l — r 100
rt < rd 100
-ru/-rü (directive) 135
s (consonant) 80, 81
s¹ (letter) 24, 25
s² (letter) 39, 40, 59, 61
-s (< š) (deverbal nouns): see -š.
-s (plural) 122
-s- (reciprocal verbs): see -š-.
-sa-/-sä- (desiderative stems) 116
-sar/-sär (conditional gerund) 185, 186
sayu (postposition) 164

sän (pronoun) 71 , 138, 192, 206; sini 139, 200; säŋä 139
Secondary finite forms 190-193
-sïγ/-sig (denominal nouns) 98 , 107; see -čïγ.
-sïq/-sik (verbal nouns) 175, 176
-sïra-/-sirä- (denominal verbs) 67, 110; see -sïz/-siz and -a-/-ä- (denominal verbs).
siz (pronoun) 138, 191, 192
-sïz/-siz (denominal nouns) 107
-sïzïn/-sizin: see -sïz/-siz.
Spelling rules 30-48
ss < šs 99
Stress 102
Subject 207
Subordinate composition 118-120
Subordinate conjunctions 171
Subordination 211
Suffixation 103-117
Syllable types 75
Syncope 73, 74
System of writing 30
š (consonant) 82
-š (denominal nouns) 107
-š (deverbal nouns) 114, 115; see -s.
-š- (reciprocal verbs) 116; see -s-.
š > s 93-98
t (consonant) 77, 78, 79
-t (plural) 122
-t- (causative verbs) 116, 117
-ta-/-tä- (denominal verbs) 110
-ta/-tä (locative-ablative): see -da/-dä.
taqï (coordinate conjunction) 168, 169
-tan (locative-ablative) 134
tapa (postposition) 162, 164
täg (postposition) 162, 164, 165
tägi (postposition) 166, 167
teyin/tiyin (subordinate conjunction) 171, 172
-tï/-ti, -dï/-di (adverbs) 157
-tï/-ti (perfect): see -dï/-di.
-tïm/-tim, etc. (perfect): see -dïm/-dim.
-tïγ/-tig, etc. (perfect): see -dïŋ/-diŋ.

-tïmïz/-timiz, etc. (perfect): see -dïmïz/-dimiz.
-tïn (locative-ablative) 133, 134, 144
-tigiz (perfect): see -dïŋïz/-diŋiz.
tip (subordinate conjunction) 171, 172
tt < dt 99
tt < td 99
-tur-/-tür- (causative verbs) 117
-tuz-/-tüz- (causative verbs) 117
tükäti (adverb of degree) 158
-tüz (adverbial suffix in küntüz) 156
u (vowel) 52
ū (vowel) 52, 69
u/ü (connective vowel) 63, 64, 65
-u-/-ü- (denominal verbs) 110
-u/-ü (gerund) 180, 181, 182; see -a/-ä, -i/-ï.
-u bar- (compound verbs) 119
-u bir- (compound verbs) 120
-u/-ü ïd- (compound verbs) 120
-u qal- (compound verbs) 120
-u käl- (compound verbs) 120
-u/-ü uma- (compound verbs) 120
-u yorï- (compound verbs) 120
udu (coordinate conjunction) 168, 169
-uq/-ük: see -q/-k (deverbal nouns).
ulayu (coordinate conjunction) 168, 169
up (syllabic sign) 25, 28
-ur-/-ür- (causative verbs) 117
-ūr/-ür (participle) 177, 191; see -r, -ar/-är, -ïr/-ïr.
ü (vowel) 55, 56
ǖ (vowel) 56, 69
ü — ä < u — ä 72
-ü (gerund); see -u/-ü.
-ü kör- (compound verb) 120
üčün (postposition) 162, 165 , 166; (subordinate conjunction) 171
üzä (postposition) 162, 166, 167; (adverb of place) 151, 152
Velar consonants 87-92
Verb inflection 174-197
Verbal complement 204
Verbal noun + possessive suffix 190, 191

Verbal nouns 174-180
Vocalic harmony 56-67
Voluntative-imperative 187, 188
Vowel alternations 70, 71
Vowels 50-74
Word-formation 103-120
Word order 209
ń (consonant) 87
ń ~ y 93
y (consonant) 86, 87
y² (letter) 40
y (hiatus filler) 101
-y (Kipchak gerund) 183
yan, yăn (postpositional noun) 168
yămă (coordinate conjunction) 168, 170, 171
-yĭn/-yin (gerund) 183, 184
z (consonant) 81, 82
-z-, -ĭz-/-iz-, -uz-/-ŭz- (causative verbs) 117
-z (deverbal nouns) 115
zt < zd 99
-zu/-zŭ (3rd person singular imperative) 187; see -zun/-zŭn.
-zun/-zŭn (3rd person singular imperative) 187 see -čun.

II. TEXTS

The Kül Tigin Inscription

South

(S1) täŋri täg, täŋridä bolmiš türük bilgä qaγan bu ödkä[1] olurtum. sabïmin tükäti äsidgil,[2] ulayu ini-yägünüm oγlanïm biriki oγušum bodunum, biriyä šadpit bäglär, yirïya tarqat buyruq bäglär, otuz [.....] (S2) toquz oγuz bäglärī bodunī, bu sabïmin ädgüti äsid, qatïγdï tïŋla! ilgärü kün toγsïq(q)a[3] birigärü kün ortusïŋaru, qurïγaru kün batsïqïŋa yirïγaru tün ortusïŋaru, anta ičräki bodun [qop] m[aŋa] k[örür]. [bunč]a bodun (S3) qop itdim. ol amtï ańïγ yoq. türük qaγan ötükän yiš olursar, iltä buŋ yoq. ilgärü šantuŋ yazīqa tägi sülädim, taluyqa kičig tägmädim. birigärü toquz ärskinkä tägi sülädim, tüpütkä kičig [täg]mädim. qurïγaru yinčü ögüz (S4) käčä tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädim, yirïγaru yir bayïrqu yirïŋä tägi sülädim. bunča yirkä tägi yorïtdïm. ötükän yišda yig idi yoq ärmis;[4] il tutsïq yir ötükän yiš ärmiš. bu yirdä olurup tabγač bodun birlä (S5) tüzültüm. altun kümüš[5] isgiti[6] qutay buŋsïz anča birür. tabγač bodun sabī sučīg,[7] aγīsī yimšaq ärmis.[8] sučīg[9] sabïn, yimšaq aγïn arïp ïraq bodunuγ anča yaγutïr ärmis.[10] yaγuru qontuqda kisrä ańïγ bilig[11] anta öyür ärmis.[12] (S6) ädgü bilgä kisīg, ädgü alp kisig yorïtmaz ärmis.[13] bir kisī yaŋïlsar, oγušī bodunī bisükïŋä tägi ïqïdmaz ärmiš. sučig[14] sabïŋa, yimšaq aγīsïŋa arturup üküs[15] türük bodun öltüg. türük bodun, ölsikïŋ! biriyä čoγay yiš, tögültün (S7) yazī qonayïn tisär, türük bodun, ölsikig! anta ańïγ kisī anča bošγurūr ärmis: ïraq ärsär yablaq aγï birür, yaγaq ärsär ädgü aγï birür tip anča bošγurūr ärmis.[16] bilig bilmäz kisī ol sabïγ alïp yaγuru barïp üküš kišī[17] öltüg. (S8) ol yergärü barsar, türük bodun, öltäči sän! ötükän yir olurup

arqïš tirkiš ïsar, näŋ buŋuγ yoq. ötükän yiš olursar, bäŋgü il tuta olurtači sän. türük bodun, toqurqaq sän. āčsïq[1] tosïq ömäz sän, bir todsar āčsïq ömäz sän. antaγ-
ïŋïn (S9) üčün[2] igidmiš qaγanïŋïn sabïn almatïn yir sayu bardïγ; qop anta alqïntïγ arïltïγ. anta qalmišï yir sayu qop toru ölü yorïyur ärtig. täŋri yarlïq(q)aduqïn üčün, [ö]züm qutum bar üčün qaγan olurtum. qaγan olurup (S10) yoq čïγań bodunuγ qop qubratdïm[3]. čïγań bodunuγ bay qïltïm, az bodunuγ üküš qïltïm. azu bu sabïmda igid bar γu? türük bäglär bodun, bunï äsidiŋ! türük [bodun, ti]rip il tutsïqïŋïn bunta urtum, yaŋïlïp ölsikiŋin yämä (S11) bunta urtum. näŋ näŋ sabïm ärsär bäŋgü tašqa urtum. aŋar körü biliŋ. türük matï bodun bäglär, bödkä körügmä bäglär gü yaŋïltači siz? män b[äŋgü taš . . . . . tabγ]ač qaγanta bädizči kälürtüm, bädizät(t)im. mäniŋ sabïmïn simadï. (S12) tabγač qaγanïŋ ičräki bädizčig ït(t)ï. aŋar adïnč(č)ïγ barq yaraturtum; ičïn tašïn adïnč(č)ïγ bädiz urturtum. taš toqïtdïm, köŋültäki sabïmïn u[rturtum. . . . . on oq oγlïŋ]a tatïŋa tägi bunï körü biliŋ. bäŋgü taš (S13) toqïtdïm. [t² u . .] el ärsär, anča taqï ärig yertä irsär, anča ärig yertä bäŋgü taš toqïtdïm, bitïd(d)im. anï körüp anča biliŋ. ol taš [. . . . .]dïm. bu bitig bitigmä atïsï yol(l)uγ t[igin].

East

(E1) üzä kök täŋri asra yaγïz yer qïlïntuqda ekïn ara kisï oγlï qïlïnmis. kisï oγlïnta üzä äčüm apäm bumïn qaγan, istämi qaγan olurmiš. olurupan türük bodunïŋ ilïn törüsïn tuta birmis, iti birmis. (E2) tört buluŋ qop yaγï ärmis. sü süläpän tört buluŋdaqï bodunuγ qop almis, qop baz qïlmis. bašlïγïγ yüküntürmis, tizligig sökürmis. ilgärü qadïrqan yišqa tägi, kirü tämir qapïγqa tägi qonturmis. ekïn ara (E3) idi oqsïz kök türük anča[4] olurur ärmis. bilgä qaγan ärmis. buyruqï yämä bilgä ärmis ärinč, alp ärmis ärinč. bäglärï yämä bodunï yämä tüz ärmis. anï üčün ilig anča tutmis[5] ärinč. ilig tutup törüg itmis. özï anča (E4) kärgäk bolmis. yoγči siγïtči öŋrä kün toγsïqda bükli čöl(l)üg el, tabγač, tüpüt, apar, purum, qïrqïz, üč qurïqan, otuz tatar, qïtań, tatabï, bunča bodun kälipän sïγtämis,[6] yoγlämis.[7] antaγ külüg qaγan ärmis. anta kisrä inisï qaγan (E5) bolmis

ärinč, oγlïtï qaγan bolmis[1] ärinč. anta kisrä inisï äcisïn täg qïlïnmaduq ärinč, oγlï qaŋïn täg qïlïnmaduq ärinč. biligsiz qaγan olurmis ärinč, yablaq qaγan olurmis.[2] buyruqï yämä biligsiz ärinč,[3] yablaq ärmis[4] ärinč. (E6) bäglärï boduni tüzsiz üčün, tabγač bodun täbligin kürlüg[5] üčün, armaqčisïn üčün,[6] inilï äčilï kiŋsürtükïn üčün, bäglï bodunlïγ yoŋšurtuqïn üčün,[7] türük bodun illädük[8] ilïn ïčγïnu ïdmis,[9] (E7) qaγanladuq qaγanïn yitürü ïdmis.[10] tabγač bodunqa bäglik uri oγlin[11] qul boltï,[12] esïlik[13] qïz oγlin[14] küŋ bolti.[15] türük bäglär türük ätïn[16] ït(t)ï. tabγačγï bäglär tabγač ätïn[17] tutupan tabγac qaγanqa (E8) körmis, älig yïl isig küčüg birmis.[18] ilgärü kün toγsïqda[19] bükli qaγanqa tägi süläyü birmis,[20] qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi süläyü birmis;[21] tabγac qaγanqa ilin törüsin[22] ali birmis.[23] türük qara qamaγ (E9) bodun anča timis:[27] illig bodun ärtim; ilim amtï qanï? kämkä ilig qazγanür män? tir ärmis. qaγanlïγ bodun ärtim; qaγanïm qanï? nä qaγanqa isig küčüg birür män? tir ärmis.[25] anča tip tabγač qaγanqa yaγï bolmis.[26] (E10) yaγï bolup itinü yaratunu umaduq, yana ičikmis.[27] bunča isig küčüg birtükgärü[28] saqïnmatï, türük bodun[29] ölüräyïn, uruγsïratayïn tir ärmis. yoqadu barïr ärmis. üzä türük täŋrisï, türük ïduq yirï (E11) subi anča etmis:[30] türük bodun yoq bolmazun tiyin, bodun bolčun tiyin, qaŋïm il-teris qaγanïγ, ögüm il-bilgä qatunuγ täŋri töpüsïntä tutup yüg(g)ärü kötürmis[31] ärinč. qaŋïm qaγan yiti yegirmi ärin tašïqmis. tašra (E12) yorïyur tiyin kü äsidip balïqdaqï taγïqmis, taγdaqï inmis,[32] tirilip yetmis[33] är bolmis.[34] täŋri küč birtük üčün qaŋïm qaγan süsï böri täg ärmis,[35] yaγïsï[36] qoń täg ärmis.[37] ilgärü qurïγaru süläp ti[r]m[iš] qubrat[miš], [q]amaγï (E 13) yeti yüz är bolmis.[38] yeti yüz är bolup elsirämis qaγansïramis bodunuγ, küŋädmis quladmis bodunuγ, türük törüsïn[39] ïčγïnmis bodunuγ äčüm apäm törüsïncä yaratmis[40] bošγurmis.[41] tölïs tarduš [bodunuγ anta itmiš], (E14) yabγuγ šadïγ anta birmis.[42] biriyä tabγač bodun yaγï ärmis,[43] yirïya baz qaγan, toquz oγuz bodun yaγï ärmis;[44] qïrqïz, qurïqan, otuz tatar, qïtań, tatabï qop yaγï ärmis. qaŋïm qaγan bunča . . . . . (E15) qïrq artuqï yeti[45] yolï sülämis,[46] yegirmi süŋüs[47] süŋüsmis.[48] täŋri yarlïq(q)aduq üčün[49] illigig elsirätmis,[50] qaγanlïγïγ qaγansïratmis; yaγïγ baz

qïlmis;[1] tizligig sökürmis,[2] bašlïγïγ yüküntü[rmis[3]. . . . ilig] (E16) törüg qazγanïp uča barmis. qaŋïm qaγanqa bašlayu baz qaγanïγ balbal tikmis.[4] ol törüdä üzä äčïm qaγan olurtï. äčim qaγan[5] olurupan türük bodunuγ yičä itdi, igit(t)i.[6] čïγanïγ bay qïltï, azïγ üküš qïltï. (E17) äčim qaγan olurtuqda[7] özüm[8] tarduš bodun üzä šad ärtim.[9] äčim birlä ilgärü yašïl ögüz šantuŋ yazïqa tägi sülädimiz; qurïγaru tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädimiz. kögmän aša qï[rqïz yirïŋä tägi sülädimiz]. (E18) qamaγï biš otuz sülädimiz, üč yegirmi süŋüšdümiz. illigig ilsirätdimiz, qaγanlïγïγ qaγansïratdïmïz; tizligig sökürtümiz, bašlïγïγ yüküntürtümiz. türgis qaγan türükümiz[10] [bodunumïz[11] ärti. bilmädükïn] (E19) üčün,[12] biziŋä yaŋïluqïn üčün[13] qaγanï ölti, buyruqï bäglärï yämä ölti, on oq bodun ämgäk körti. äčümiz apāmïz tutmis yir sub idisiz bolmazun[14] tiyin az bodunuγ itip yar[atïp. . . . .] (E20) bars bäg ärti. qaγan at[15] bunta biz birtimiz. siŋlim qunčuyuγ birtimiz. özï yaŋïltï,[16] qaγanï ölti, bodunï küŋ qul boltï. kögmän yir sub idisiz qalmazun tiyin az qïrqïz bodunuγ yarat[ïp[17] kältimiz. süŋüšdümiz . . . . .] (E21) yana birtimiz. ilgärü[18] qadïrqan yišïγ aša bodunuγ anča qonturtumïz, anča itdimiz. qurïγaru käŋü tarmanqa[19] tägi türük bodunuγ anča qonturtumïz, anča etdimiz.[20] ol ödkä qul qulluγ bolmiš ärti,[21] [küŋ küŋlüg bolmiš ärti? inisï äčisïn bilmäz arti, oγlï qaŋïn bilmäz ärti] (E22) anča qazγanmis itmis[22] elimiz[23] törümiz ärti. türük oγuz bäglärï, bodun, äsidiŋ![24] üzä täŋri basmasar, asra yir[25] tälinmäsär, türük bodun, eliŋin[26] törüŋin[27] käm artatï [udači ärti]? türük bodun, ärtin[28] (E23) ökün! kürägüŋin üčün[29] igidmis[30] bilgä[31] qaγanïŋïn[32] ärmis[33] barmis ädgü eliŋä käntü yaŋïltïγ, yablaq kigürtüg. yaraqlïγ qantïn kälip yaŋa eltdi?[34] süŋüglüg qantïn kälipän sürä eltdi? ïduq ötükän y[iš bodun, bardïγ! ilgärü barïγma] (E24) bardïγ, qurïγaru barïγma bardïγ. barduq yirdä[35] ädgüg ol ärinč: qaŋïŋ subča[36] yögürti, süŋükün[37] taγča yatdï; bäglik urï oγluŋ[38] qul boltï,[39] esilik qïz oγluŋ kuŋ boltï.[40] bilmädük[41] üčün, [yablaqïŋïn üčün äčim qaγan uča bardï]. (E25) bašlayu qïrqïz qaγanïγ balbal tikdim. türük bodun[ïγ][42] atï küsï yoq bolmazun tiyin, qaŋïm qaγanïγ ögüm qatunuγ kötürmiš[43] täŋri, il birigmä[44] täŋri, türük bodun atï küsï yoq bolmazun [tiyin, özümin ol

täŋri] (E26) qaγan olurtdï ärinč. näŋ yïlsïγ bodunqa[1] olurmadïm; ičrä ašsïz, tašra tonsïz, yabïz yablaq bodunta üzä olurtum. inim kül tigin birlä sözläšdimiz. qaŋïmïz äčimiz qaz[γanmiš bodun atï küsï yoq bolmazun] (E27) tiyin, türük bodun üčün[2] tün udïmadïm,[3] küntüz olurmadïm.[4] inim kül tigin birlä, ekï šad birlä ölü yitü qazγantïm. anča qazγanïp biriki bodunuγ ot sub qïlmadïm. män [özüm qaγan olurtuquma yir sayu] (E28) barmiš bodun ölü yitü, yadaγïn yalïŋïn yana kälti. bodunuγ igidäyin[5] tiyin, yirïγaru oγuz bodun tapa, ilgärü qïtań tatabï bodun tapa, birigärü tabγač tapa uluγ sü[6] ekï yegir[mi sülädim, ... süŋüšdüm. anta] (E29) kisrä, täŋri yarlïq(q)azu,[7] qutum bar üčün, ülügüm bar üčün[8] öltäči bodunuγ tirgürü igit-(t)im. yalïŋ bodunuγ tonluγ,[9] čïγań bodumuγ bay qïltïm. ïγar elligdä [ïγar qaγanlïγda yeg qïltïm. tört buluŋdaqï] (E30) bodunuγ qop baz qïltïm, yaγïsiz qïltïm; qop maŋa körti. isig küčüg birür. bunča törüg qazγanïp inim kül tigin özï anča kärgäk boltï. qaŋïm qaγan učduqda inim kül tigin yi[ti yašda qaltï?. . . . .] (E31) umay täg ögüm qatun qutïŋa inim kül tigin är at bultï. altï yegirmi yašïŋa äčim qaγan ilïn törüsin anča qazγantï. altï čub soγdaq tapa sülädimiz. tabγač oŋ tutuq bis t[ümän sü kälti, süŋüšdümiz?] (E32) kül tigin yadaγïn oplayu tägdi; oŋ tutuq yurčïn yaraqlïγ äligin tutdï, yaraqlïγdï qaγanqa ančuladï. ol süg anta yoq qïšdïmïz. bir otuz yašïŋa čača säŋünkä süŋüšdümiz. aŋ ilkï tadïqïŋ čorïŋ boz [atïγ binip tägdi. ol at anta] (E33) ölti. ekïnti išbara yamtar boz atïγ binip tägdi. ol at anta ölti. üčünč yegän silig bägiŋ kädimlig toruγ at binip tägdi. ol at anta ölti. yarïqïnta yalmasïnta yüz artuq oqun urtï; yüziŋä bašïŋa bir t[ägürmädi. . . . .] (E34) tägdükïn, türük bäglär, qop bilir siz. ol süg anta yoq qïšdïmïz. anta kisrä y(i)r bayïrqu uluγ irkin yaγï boltï. anï yaŋïp türgi yarγun költä buzdumïz. uluγ irkin azqïŋa ärin täzip bardï. kül tigin [altï otuz] (E35) yašïŋa qïrqïz tapa sülädimiz. süŋüg batïmï qarïγ sökürpän kögmän yišïγ toγa yorïp qïrqïz bodunuγ uda basdïmïz. qaγanïn birlä soŋa yišda süŋüsdümiz. kül tigin bayïrqun[ïŋ aq adγï]r[ïγ] (E36) binip oplayu tägdi. bir ärig oqun urtï; ekï ärig ud ašru sančdï. ol tägdükdä bayïrquniŋ aq adγïrïγ udlïqïn siyu urtï. qïrqïz qaγanïn ölürtümiz, ilïn altïmïz. ol yïlqa tü[rgis tapa altun yišïγ]

(E37) toγa ärtis ögüzüg käčä yorïdïmïz. türgis bodunuγ uda basdïmïz. türgis qaγan süsï bolčuda otča borča kälti. süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin bašγu boz at binip tägdi. bašγu boz k[.....] (E38) tutuzt[ï] ekısın özı altuzdï. anta yana kirip türgis qaγan buyruqï az tutuquγ äligin tutdï. qaγanïn anta ölürtümiz, ilïn altïmïz. qara türgis bodun qop ičikdi. ol bodunuγ tabarda qo[nturtumïz?.....] (E39) soγdaq bodun itäyïn tiyin yinčü ögüzüg käčä tämir qapïγqa tägi sülädimiz. anta kisrä qara türgis bodun yaγï bolmiš, käŋäris tapa bardï. biziŋ sü atï toruq, azuqï yoq ärti. yablaq kisï är[.....] (E40) alp är biziŋä tägmiš ärti. antaγ ödkä öküp kül tiginig az ärin irtürü ït(t)ïmïz. uluγ süŋüš süŋüšmiš. alp šalči aq atïn binip tägmiš. qara türgis bodunuγ anta ölürmiš almiš. yana yorïp [.....]

North

(N1) [.....] birlä qošu tutuq birlä süŋüšmiš, ärïn qop ölürmiš. äbïn barïmïn qalïsiz qop kälürti. kül tigin yiti otuz yašïŋa qarluq bodun ärür barür ärkli yaγï boltï. tamaγ ïduq bašda süŋüšdümiz. (N2) [kül] tigin ol süŋüšdä otuz yašayur ärti. alp šalči [aq]ïn binip oplayu tägdi. ekï ärig ud ašru sančdï. qarluquγ ölürtümiz altïmïz. az bodun yaγï boltï. qara költä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin bir qïrq yašayur ärti. alp šalči aqïn (N3) binip oplayu tägdi. az el-täbärig tutdï. az bodun anta yoq boltï. äčim qaγan ilï qamšaγ boltuqïnta, bodun ilig ikägü boltuqïnta izgil bodun birlä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin alp šalči aqïn binip (N4) o[playu tägd]i. ol at anta tüs[di]. izgil [bodun] ölti. toquz oγuz bodun käntü bodunum ärti. täŋri yir bulγaqïn üčün yaγï boltï. bir yïlqa biš yolï süŋüšdümiz. aŋ ilk toγu balïqda süŋüšdümiz. (N5) kül tigin azman aqïγ binip oplayu tägdi. altï ärig sančdï. sü [t]ägisıntä yitinč ärig qïlïčladï. ekinti quš-alγaqda ädiz birlä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin az yaγïzïn binip oplayu tägip bir ärig sančdï, (N6) toquz ärig ägirä toqïdï. ädiz bodun anta ölti. üčünč bo[lču]da oγuz birlä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin azman aqïγ binip tägdï, sančdï; süsïn sančdïmïz, ılın altïmïz. törtünč čuš bašïnta süŋüšdümiz. türük (N7) bodun adaq qamšatdï.

yablaq bo[ltač]i ärti. oza [k]älmis süsïn kül tigin aγïtïp toŋra bir oγuš alpaγu on ärig toŋa tigin yoγïnta ägirip ölürtumiz. bisinč äzginti qadizdä oγuz birlä süŋüšdümiz. kül tigin (N8) az yaγïzïn binip tägdi. ekï ärig sančdï, b[alïq(q)]a b[as]ïqdï. ol sü anta ö[lti]. amγa qorγan qïšlap yazıŋa oγuzγaru sü tašïqdïmïz. kül tigin äbig bašlayu aqït(t)ïmïz. oγuz yaγï ordüγ basdï. kül tigin (N9) ögsiz aqın binip toquz ärän sančdï, ordüγ birmädi. ögüm qatun ulayu öglärim äkälärim käliŋünüm qunčuylarïm bunča yämä tirigï küŋ boltači ärti, ölügï yurtda yolta yatu qaltači ärtigiz. (N10) kül tigin yoq ärsär, qop öltäči ärtigiz. inim kül tigin kärgäk boltï. özüm saqïntïm. körür közüm körmäz täg, bilir biligim bilmäz täg boltï. özüm saqïntïm. öd täŋri yasar. kisï oγlï qop ölgäli törümis. (N11) anča saqïntïm. közdä yaš kälsär tïda, köŋültä siγït kälsär yanturu saqïntïm; qatïγdi saqïntïm. ekï šad ulayu ini-yägünüm oγlanïm bäglärim bodunum közï qašï yablaq boltači tip saqintim. yoγči siγïtči qïtań tatabï bodun bašlayu (N12) udar säŋün kälti. tabγač qaγanta isiyi likäŋ kälti; bir tümän aγï altun kümüš kärgäksiz kälürti. tüpüt qaγanta bölün kälti. qurïya kün batsïqdaqï soγud, bärčik är, buqaraq ulus bodunta änik säŋün, oγul tarqan kälti. (N13) on oq oγlum türgis qaγanta maqarač tamγači, oγuz bilgä tamγači kälti. qïrqïz qaγanta tarduš inanču čor kälti. barq itgüči bädiz yaratïγma bitig taš itgüči tabγač qaγan čïqanï čaŋ säŋün kälti.

North-East

kül tigin qoń yïlqa yiti yegirmikä učdï. toquzunč ay yeti otuzqa yoγ ärtürtümiz. barqïn bädizïn bitig taš[ïn] bičïn yïlqa yitinč ay yiti otuzqa qop alqd[ïmï]z. kül tigin ö[zï?] qïrq artuq[ï y]iti yašïk bulït bust[adï?] [.....] bunča bädizčig tuyγut el-täbär kälürti[1].

South-East

bunča bitig bitigmä kül tigin atïsï yol(l)uγ tigin bitïdim. yigirmi kün olurup bu tašqa bu tämqa qop yol(l)uγ tigin bitıdim. ïγar oγlanïŋïzda tayγunuŋïzda yegdi igidür ärtigiz. uča bardïγïz. täŋr[idä?] tirigdäkičä [.....?].

South-West

[—] kül tiginiŋ altunïn kümüsïn aγïšïn barïmïn tör[t biŋ?] yïlq[ïs]ïn ayïγma tuyγut bu[. . . . .] bägim tigin yüg(g)ärü täŋ[ri. . . . .] taš bitidim. yolluγ tigin.

West

qurïdïn [s]oγud örti. inim kül tigin [. . . .] üčün öl[ü yitu?] isig küčüg birtük üčün türük bilgä qaγan ayuqïqa inim kül tiginig küzädü olurt[um]. inänču apā yarγan tarqan ätïγ [b]ertim. [an]ï ögtürt[üm].

Notes

Page	Note
231	1. /bu ödkä/ BK N1: bödka
"	2. /äsidgil/ BK N1: äsid
"	3. /toγsïq(q)a/ BK N2: toγsïqïŋa
"	4. /ärmis/ BK N3: ärmiš
"	5. /kümüš/ BK N3: kümüs
"	6. /isgiti/ BK N3: äsg...
"	7. /süčïg/ BK N4: süčig
"	8. /ärmis/ BK N4: ärmiš
"	9. /süčïg/ BK N4: süčig
"	10. /ärmis/ BK N4: ärmiš
"	11. /bilig/ BK N4: biligin
"	12. /ärmis/ BK N4: [ärmi]š
"	13. /ärmis/ BK N4: ärmiš
"	14. /süčïg/ BK N5: süčig
"	15. /ükü̈s/ BK N5: ükü̈š
"	16. /ärmis/ BK N5: ärmiš
"	17. /kišï/ BK N6: kisï
232	1. /äčsïq/ BK N6: äčsär
"	2. /üčün/ BK N6: üčün
"	3. /qubratdïm/ BK N7: qubrat(t)ïm
"	4. /kök türük anča/ BK E4: kök türük iti anča
"	5. /tutmis/ BK E4: tutmiš
"	6. /sïγtämis/ BK E5: siγtämiš
"	7. /yoγlämis/ BK E5: yoγlämiš
233	1. /bolmis/ BK E5: bolmiš
"	2. /olurmis/ BK E6: olurmiš
"	3. /biligsiz ärinč/ BK E6: biligsiz ärmis ärinč
"	4. /ärmis/ BK E6: ärmiš
"	5. /kürlüg/ BK E6: kürlügin
"	6. /üčün/ BK E7: üčün

Page	Note	
233	7.	/üčün̄/ BK E7: üčün
"	8.	/illädük/ BK E7: il(l)ädük
"	9.	/ïdmis/ BK E7: ïdmiš
"	10.	/ïdmis/ BK E7: ïdmiš
"	11.	/oγlin/ Scribal error for oγlī!
"	12.	/boltï/ BK E7: qïltï
"	13.	/esīlik/ BK E7: esilik
"	14.	/oγlin/ Scribal error for oγlī!
"	15.	/boltï/ BK E7: qïltï
"	16.	/ātīn/ BK E7: atīn
"	17.	/ātīn/ BK E7: at.
"	18.	/birmis/ BK E8: birmiš
"	19.	/toγsīqda/ BK E8: toγsïq(q)a
"	20.	/birmis/ BK E8: birmiš
"	21.	/birmis/ BK E8: birmiš
"	22.	/törüsīn/ BK E8: törüsīn
"	23.	/birmis/ BK E8: birmiš
"	24.	/timis/ BK E8: timiš
"	25.	/ärmis/ BK E9: ärmiš
"	26.	/bolmis/ BK E9: bolmiš
"	27.	/ičikmis/ BK E9: ičikmiš
"	28.	/birtükgärü/ BK E9: birtük(k)ärü
"	29.	/bodun/ BK E9: bodunuγ
"	30.	/etmis/ BK E10: etmiš
"	31.	/kötürmis/ BK E10: kötürti
"	32.	/inmis/ BK E11: inmiš
"	33.	/yetmis/ BK E11: yetmiš
"	34.	/bolmis/ BK E11: bolmiš
"	35.	/ärmis/ BK E11: ärmiš
"	36.	/yaγïsī/ BK E11: yaγïsī
"	37.	/ärmis/ BK E11: ärmiš
"	38.	/bolmis/ BK E11: bolmiš
"	39.	/törüsīn/ Spelt: törüsün; BK E11: ..rüsīn
"	40.	/yaratmis/ BK E12: yaratmiš
"	41.	/bošγurmis/ BK E12: bošγurmiš
"	42.	/birmis/ BK E12: birmiš
"	43.	/ärmis/ BK E12: ärmiš

Page	Note	
233	44.	/ärmis/ BK E12: ärmiš
"	45.	/yeti/ BK E13: yiti
"	46.	/sülämis/ BK E13: sülämiš
"	47.	/süŋüs/ BK E13: süŋüš
"	48.	/süŋüsmis/ BK E13: sü[ŋüš]miš
"	49.	/üčün̄/ BK E13: üčün
"	50.	/elsirätmis/ BK E13: elsirätmiš
"	51.	/qaγansīratmis/ BK E13: qaγansïratmiš
234	1.	/qïlmis/ BK E13: qïlmis
"	2.	/sökürmis/ BK E13: sökürmiš
"	3.	/yüküntü[rmis]/ BK E13: yüküntürmiš
"	4.	In BK E13-14 this sentence is followed by [qaŋïm]/qaγan učduqda özüm säkiz yašda qaltïm
"	5.	/äčim qaγan/ is absent in BK
"	6.	/igit(t)i/ BK E14: yičä igit(t)i
"	7.	/olurtuqda/ BK E14: olurtuq(q)a
"	8.	In BK E14-15 after the word özüm and before the word tarduš the following passage occurs: tigin ärk [. . . . .]iy [. . . . .] täŋri [yarlïq(q)aduq üčün]/tört yegirmi yašimqa
"	9.	/ärtim/ BK E15: olurtum
"	10.	/türükümiz/ BK E16: türük[üm]
"	11.	/[bodunumïz]/ BK E16: bodunum
"	12.	/üčün̄/ BK E16: üčün
"	13.	/yaŋïluqīn üčün/ BK E16: yaŋïltuqīn yazïntuqīn üčün
"	14.	/bolmazun/ BK E16: qalmazun
"	15.	/at/ BK E17: atïγ
"	16.	/yaŋïltï/ BK E17: yazïntï
"	17.	/yarat[ïp]/ BK E17: i[tip] yaratïp
"	18.	Spelt: l^2gr^2u
"	19.	/tarmanqa/ BK E18: tarbanqa
"	20.	/etdimiz/ BK E18: itdimiz
"	21.	/qul qulluγ bolmiš arti/ BK E18: qul qulluγ küŋ küŋlüg bolmiš ärti

Page	Note	
234	22.	/qazγanmis itmis/ BK E18: qazγanmiš anča itmiš
"	23.	/elimiz/ BK E18: ilim.
"	24.	/äsidiŋ/ BK E18: äsid
"	25.	/yir/ BK E18: yer
"	26.	/eliŋin/ BK E19: iliŋin
"	27.	/törüŋin/ BK E19: törügin
"	28.	/ärtin/ Spelt: r^2t^2z
"	29.	/üčün/ BK E19: üčün
"	30.	/igidmis/ BK E19: igidmiš
"	31.	/bilgä/ is absent in BK E19
"	32.	/qaγanïŋïn/ BK E19: qaγanïŋa
"	33.	/ärmis/ BK E19: ärmiš. . .
"	34.	/eltdi/ BK E19: iltdi
"	35.	/yirdä/ BK E20: yerdä
"	36.	/subča/ BK E20: ögüzčä
"	37.	/süŋüküŋ/ BK E20: süŋüküg
"	38.	/oγluŋ/ BK E20: oγluŋïn
"	39.	/boltï/ BK E20: qïltïγ
"	40.	/boltï/ BK E20: qïltïγ
"	41.	/bilmädük/ BK E20: ol bilmädükügin
"	42.	/bodunïγ/ BK E20: bodun
"	43.	/kötürmiš/ BK E21: kötürügmä
"	44.	/birigmä/ BK E21: berig.
235	1.	/bodunqa/ BK E21: bodunta üzä
"	2.	/üčün/ BK E22: üčün
"	3.	/udïmadïm/ BK E22: udïmadïm
"	4.	/olurmadïm/ Spelt: olurmad
"	5.	/igidäyïn/ BK E23: igidäyin
"	6.	/uluγ sü/ is absent in BK E23
"	7.	/yarlïq(q)azu/ BK E23: yarlïq(q)aduq
"	8.	/qutum bar üčün ülügüm bar üčün/ BK E23: qutum ülügüm bar üčün
"	9.	/tonluγ/ BK E23: tonluγ qïltïm
237	1.	/kälürti/ Written: kälüti

The Bilgä Kagan Inscription

East

(E1) täŋri täg, täŋri yaratmiš türük bilgä qaγan sabïm: qaŋïm türük bilgä [qaγan. . . . .]tï sir, toquz oγuz, ekï ädiz käräkülüg bäglärï bodunï! [. . . . . tü]rük täŋ[ri . . . . .] (E2) üzä qaγan olurtum. olurtuquma öltäčičä saqïnïγma türük bäglär bodun ägirip säbinip toŋtamiš közï yüg(g)ärü körti. bödkä özüm olurup bunča aγar törüg tört buluŋdaqï [. . . . .]dim.[1] (E24) az bodunuγ üküš qïltïm. ïγar elligdä [ï]γar qaγanliγda yeg qïltïm. tört buluŋdaqï bodunuγ qop baz qïltïm, yaγïsiz qï[ltï]m; qop maŋa körti. yeti yegirmi yašïma taŋut tapa sülädim. taŋut bodunuγ buzdum, oγlïn yo[tuz]ïn yïlqïsïn barïmïn anta altïm. säkiz yegirmi yašïma altï č[ub soγdaq] (E25) tapa sülädim. bodunuγ anta buzdum. tab[γač o]ŋ tutuq bes tümän sü kälti. ïduq bašda süŋüšdüm. ol süg anta yoq qïšdïm. yegirmi yašïma, basmïl ïduq (qu)t oγušum bodun ärti, arqïš ïdmaz tiyin sülädim. q[. . . .]m, ičgärtim, qalïŋ[ïn?] äbirü kälürtüm. ekï otuz yašïma tabγač (E26) tapa sülädim. čača säŋün säkiz tümän [sü] birlä süŋüšdüm. süsïn anta ölürtüm. altï otuz yašïma čik bodun qïrqïz birlä yaγï boltï. käm käčä čik tapa sülädim. örpäntä süŋüšdüm. süsïn sančdïm. az [b]o[dunuγ altï]m [. . . . . ič]-gärtim. yeti otuz yašïma qïrqïz tapa sülädim. süŋüg baïmï (E27) qarïγ söküpän kögmän yišïγ toγa yo[rïp] qïrqïz bodunuγ uda basdïm. qaγanïn birlä soŋa yišda süŋüšdüm. qaγanïn ölürtüm, ilin anta altïm. ol yïlqa türgis tapa altun yišïγ aša [är]tis ögüzüg käčä yorï[dïm, türgis bodunuγ uda] basdïm. türgis qaγan süsï otča borča kälti. (E28) bolčuda süŋüšdümiz. qaγanïn yabγu[sï]n šadïn anta ölürtüm, ilin anta altïm.

1. For the continuation of the text see KT E 1-30.

otuz yašïma bes balïq tapa sülädim. altï yolï süŋüšdüm, [..... sü]sïn qop ö[lü]rtim. anta ičräki nä kišï tin [.....]i yoq [bolta]či är[ti.....]a oqïγalï kälti. bes balïq anï üčün ozdï. otuz artuqï (E29) bir yašïma qarluq bodun buŋsïz [är]ür barür ärkli yaγï boltï. tamaγ ïduq bašda süŋüšdüm. qarluq bodunuγ ölürtüm, anta altïm. [.....bas]mïl qara [.....] qarluq bodun tir[ilip kälti.....]m ö[lürtüm]. t[oquz oγu]z mäniŋ bodunum ärti. täŋri yer bulγaqïn üčün, ödïŋ[ä] (E30) küni tägdük üčün yaγï boltï. bir yïlqa tört yolï süŋüšdüm. aŋ ilkï toγu balïqda süŋüšdüm. toγla ögüzüg yüzüti käčip süsï [.....] ekïnti antïrγuda süŋüšdüm, süsïn sančdïm [..... üčünč čuš bašïnta sü]ŋüšdüm. türük bodun adaq qamšat(t)ï, yablaq (E31) boltači ärti. oza yaγa käligmä süsïn aγït(t)'im. üküš öltäči anta tirilti. anta tonra yïlpaγutï bir oγušuγ toŋa tigin yoγ[ïnta] ägirä toqïdïm. törtünč äzginti qadïzda süŋüšdüm. süsïn anta sančdïm, yabrïtdïm. [.....] yabrït [..... yašï]ma amγï qorγan qïšladuqda yut boltï. yazïŋa (E32) oγuz tapa sülädim. ilki sü tašïqmiš ärti, ekïn sü äbdä ärti. üč oγuz süsï basa kälti. yadaγ yabïz boltï tip alγalï kälti. [siŋ]ar süsï äbig barqïγ yulγalï bardï, siŋar süsï süŋüšgäli kälti. biz az ärtimiz, yabïz ärtimiz. oγ[uz.....]t[1] yaγ[ï?..... täŋri] küč birtük üčün anta sančdïm, (E33) yaγdïm. täŋri yarliq(q)-aduq üčün, män qazγantuq üčün türük bodun qazγ[anmiš? äri]nč. män iniligü bunča bašlayu qazγanma [sar] türük bodun öltäči ärti, yoq [bolta]či ärti. [türük] bäglär [bodun anč]a saqïnïŋ, anča biliŋ. oγuz bo[dun..... .....]d[1] ïdmayın tiyin sülä[dim], (E34) äbïn barqïn buzdum. o[γuz] bodun toquz tatar birlä tirilip kälti. aγuda ekï uluγ süŋüš süŋüšdüm. süsïn [buz]dum, elïn anta altïm. anča qazγan[ïp .....täŋri] yarlïq(q)-aduq üčün ö[züm] otuz artuqï ü[č yašïma..... .....]uq ärti. ödsig ötülüg ki[šï?] (E35) igidmiš al[p qaγanïŋa ya]ŋïltï. üzä täŋri, ïduq yer sub, [äčim qa]-γan qutı taplāmadï ärinč. toquz oγuz bodun yerin subïn ïdïp tabγačγaru bardï. tabγač [.....] bu yerdä kälti. igidäyin tiyin saq[ïnïp?.....] bodun [....] (E36) yazuqla [.....bi]riyä tabγačda

atï küsï yoq boltï; bu yerdä maŋa qul boltï. män özüm qaγan olurtuqum üčün türük bodunuγ [.....]ï qïlmadïm. [ilig] törüg yegdi qazγantïm. ïd[.....] tirilip[y[2] .....] (E37) [anta süŋü]šdüm, süsïn sančdïm. ičikigmä ičikdi, bodun boltï; ölügmä ölti. säläŋä qodï yorïpan qarγan qïsïlta äbïn barqïn anta buzdum. [.....] yišqa aγdï. uyγur el[t]äbär yüzčä ärin ilg[är]ü t[äzip bardï?.....] (E38) [.....]ti. türük bodun āč ärti. ol yïlqïγ alïp igit(t)im. otuz artuqï tört yašïma oγuz täzip tabγačqa kirti. ökünüp sülädim. suqun [.....o]γlïn yotuzïn anta altïm. ekı el-täbärlig bodun [.....] (E39) [.....] t[atab]ï bodun tabγač qaγanqa körti. yalabačï, ädgü sabï, ötügï kälmäz tiyin yayïn sülädim. bodunuγ anta buzdum, yïlqï[sın.....] süsï tirilip kälti. qadïrqan yiš qon[.....] (E40) [.....]γaqïŋa yeriŋärü subïŋaru qontï. biriyä qarluq bodun tapa sülä tip tudun yamtarïγ ït(t)ïm; bardï. [..... qarluq il]täbär yoq bolmiš, inisï bir qorγ[anqa?.....] (E41) [.....ar]qiši yälmädi. anï anïtayin tip sülädim. qorïγu ekï üč kisiligü täzip bardï. qara bodun qaγanïm kälti tip ög[di?..... .....]qa āt birtim. kičig atlïγ[ïγ?.....]

South-East

(SE) [.....kök] öŋüg yoγuru sü yorïp tünlï künlï yiti ödüškä subsïz käčdim. čoraqqa yägip yuluγči [äri]g q[.....]s[2] käčinkä tägi [.....]

South

(S1) [.....tab]γač atlïγ süsï bir tümän artuqï yeti biŋ süg ilki kün ölürtüm. yadaγ süsïn ekinti kün qop [ölür]tüm. bi[.....]ašïp bard[.....] (S2) [.....y]olï sülädim. otuz artuqï säkiz yašïma qïšïn qïtań tapa sü[lädim.....otuz artuqï toquz yašï]ma yazïn tatabï tapa sü[lädim.....] (S3) [...] män [.....] ölürtüm, oγlïn yotuz[ïn yï]lqïsïn barïmïn [.....]rä qo[.....] (S4)

bod[un.....yo]tuzīn yoq qï[lтïm.....] (S5) yor[.....] (S6) süŋ[üšdüm?.....] (S7) [ber]tim. alp ärīn ölürüp [bal]bal qïlu bertim. älig yašïma tatabï bodun qïtaŕda ad[rïltï?.....]lkär taγqa [.....] (S8) qu säŋün bašadu tört tümän sü kälti. töŋkäs taγda tägip toqïdïm. üč tümän süg [ölürtü]m, b[ir tümän?.....]rsär [.....ökt² m] tatabï [.....] (S9) ö[lü]rti. uluγ oγlum aγrïp yoq bolča quγ säŋünüg balbal tikä birtim. män toquz yegirmi yïl šad olurtum, toq[uz yegir]mi yïl [qaγan olu]rtum, il tutdum. otuz artuqï bir [.....] (S10) türükümä bodunuma [y]egin anča qazγanu birtim.

bunča qazγanïp [qaŋïm qaγan ï]t yïl onunč ay altï otuzqa uča bardï. laγzïn yïl bisinč ay yiti otuzqa yoγ ärtürtüm. buquγ tutqu [.....] (S11) qaŋï lisün tay säŋün bašad[u] bis yüz äräп kälti. qoqïlïq ö[.....] altun kümüs kärgäksiz kälürti. yoγ yiparïγ kälürüp tikä birti. čïntan ïγač kälürüp öz yar[.....] (S12) bunča bodun sačïn qulqaqïn [.....b]ïčdï; ädgü özlik atïn, qara kisïn, kök täyäŋïn sansïz kälürüp qop qot(t)ï. (S13) täŋri täg, täŋri yaratmiš türük bilgä [qaγan s]abïm: qaŋïm türük bilgä qaγan olurtuqınta türük matï bäglär, kisrä tarduš bäglär kül čor bašlayu ulayu šadpït bäglär, öŋrä tölis bäglär apā tarqa[n] (S14) bašlayu ulayu šad[pït] bäglär, bu [.....] taman tarqan, tonyuquq boyla baγa tarqan ulayu buyruq [.....] ič buyruq säbig kül irkin bašlayu ulayu buyruq, bunča matï bäglär qaŋïm qaγanqa ärtiŋü (S15) ärtiŋü ti maγ i[tdi?.....t]ürük bäglärïn bodunïn ärtiŋü ti maγ itdi ögd[i?..qaŋïm] qaγan [.....]ča aγar tašïγ yoγun ïγ türük bäglär bodun i[.....]irti. özümä bunča [.....]

North

(Continuation of BK N1-N8 = KT S1-S11)

[qaŋïm] (N9) qaγan, äčim qaγan olurtuqïnta tört buluŋdaqï bodunuγ nänčä itm[iš.....] täŋri yarlïq(q)aduq [üčün ö]züm olurtuquma [tört buluŋdaqï] bodunuγ itdim yaratdïm. [.....] qïltïm. [...t]ürgis qaγanqa qïzïm[ïn.....] ärtiŋü uluγ törün alï birtim. tür[gis qaγan] (N10) qïzïn ärtiŋü uluγ törün oγluma alï birtim. [..... ärtiŋü u]luγ [törün alï] birtim. [.....] ärtü[rtü]m [.....bašlïγ]ïγ yüküntürtüm, tizligig sökürtüm. üzä täŋri asra yer yarlïq(q)aduq üč[ün..] (N11) közün körmädük, qulqaqïn äsidmädük bodunumïn išgärü kün to[γsïqïŋa?] birigärü [.....]qa, qurïγaru [.....] sarïγ altunï]n, ürüŋ kümüšin, qïrγaγlïγ qutayïn, äkinlig äsg[itis]ïn, özlik atïn, adγïrïn, qara k[isïn], (N12) kök täyäŋïn türükümä bodunuma qazγanu birtim, iti birtim. [.....]n² buŋsïz qïltïm. üz[ä täŋ]ri ärklig [.....] (N13) [.....] igidiŋ. ämgätmäŋ, tolγatmaŋ. [...]m türük bäglär, türük bodunum [..... .....] qazγanïp yaŋ[.....]a bu qaγanïŋda, bu bäglärig[dä, ... su]buŋd[a adrïlmasar?] tü[rük bodun] (N14) özüŋ ädgü körtäči sän, äbiŋä [ki]rtäči sän, buŋsïz boltači s[än..... anta] kisrä [tabγač qaγant]a bädizči qop k[älürtüm. mäniŋ s]abïmïn simadï, ičräki bädizčig ït(t)ï. aŋar adïnč(č)ïγ barq yaratid(d)im; ičïn tašïn adïnč(č)ïγ bädiz [urturtum. taš toqïtdïm; köŋülтäki sabïmïn urturtum .....] (N15) on oq oγlïŋa tatïŋa tägi bunï körü biliŋ. bäŋgü taš [toqïtdïm .....] toqïtdïm, bitïd(d)im. [.....] ol taš barqın [.....]

West

(W1) [...] üzä [- - -]
(W2) bilgä qaγan u[čdï?]
(W3) yay bolsar, üzä t[äŋri]
(W4) köbürgäsï ätärčä anč[a taqï?]
(W5) taγda siγun ätsär, [anča?]
(W6) saqïnür män. qaŋïm q[aγan]
(W7) tašïn özüm qaγan [-?]
[----------]
[----------]

South-West

(SW) [- bilgä] qaγan b[itigïn?] yol(l)uγ tigin bitidim. bunča barqïγ bädizig uzuγ [..... q]aγan atïsï

yol(l)uγ tigin män ay artuqī törт kün [olu]rup bitīdim, bädiz-tim. yaγ[--].

The Tonyukuk Inscription

I. West

(W1) bilgä toṅuquq bän özüm tabγač iliŋä qīlintim. türk bodun tabγačqa körür ärti. (W2) türk bodun qanīn bulmayin tabγačda adrīltī, qanlantī. qanīn qodup tabγačqa yana ičikdi. täŋri anča temis ärinč: qan bertim; (W3) qanīŋin qodup ičikdiŋ. ičikdük üčün täŋri ölütmis ärinč. türk bodun ölti, alqīntī, yoq boltī. türk sir bodun yerıntä (W4) bod qalmadī. īda tašda qalmisī qubranīp yeti yüz boltī. ekī ülügī atlīγ ärti, bir ülügi yadaγ ärti. yeti yüz kisīg (W5) uduzuγma uluγī šad ärti. yaγ(γ)īl tidi. yaγmisī bän ärtim. bilgä toṅuquq. qaγan mu qīsayīn tedim. saqīn-tīm: toruq būqalī sämiz būqalī īraqda (W6) büŋsär, sämiz būqa toruq buqa teyin bilmäz ärmis teyin anča saqīntīm. anta kisrä täŋri bilig bertük üčün özüm özüm ök qaγan qīsdīm. bilgä toṅuquq boyla baγa tarqan (W7) birlä il-teris qaγan boluyīn biriyä tabγačīγ, öŋrä qītaṅīγ, yīrīya oγuzuγ üküs ök ölürti. bilgäsī čabīsī bän ök ärtim. čoγay quzīn, qara qumuγ olurur ärtimiz.

II. South

(S1) keyik yiyü, tabīsγan yeyü olurūr ärtimiz. bodun boγuzī toq ärti. yaγīmīz tägrä učuq täg ärti; biz ašig (?) ärtimiz. anča olurur ärkli oγuzduntan körüg kälti. (S2) körüg sabī antaγ: toquz oγuz bodun üzä qaγan olurtī tir. tabγačγaru qunī säŋünüg īdmis, qītaṅγaru toŋra äsimig īdmis; sab anča īdmis: azqīṅa türk [bodun?] (S3) yorīyūr ärmis. qaγanī alp ärmis, ayγučisī bilgä ärmis. ol ekī kisī bar ärsär sini tabγačīγ ölürtäči tir män, öŋrä qītaṅīγ ölürtäči tir män, bini oγuzuγ (S4) ölürtäčik tir män.

tabγač biridin yän täg, qïtań öŋdün yän täg, bän yirïdïnta yan tägäyïn. türk sir bodun yerïntä idi yorïmazun. usar idi yoq qïsalïm (S5) tir män. ol sabïγ äsidip tün udïsïqïm kälmädi, küntüz olursïqïm kälmädi. anta ötrü qaγanïma ötüntüm. anča ötüntüm: tabγač, oγuz, qïtań bučägü qabïs(s)ar (S6) qaltači biz. öz (i)čï tasïn tutmis täg biz. yuyqa ärkli toplaγalï učuz ärmis, yinčgä ärklig üzgäli učuz; yuyqa qalïn bolsar toplaγuluq alp ärmis, yinčgä (S7) yoγun bolsar üzgülük alp ärmis. öŋrä qïtańda, biriyä tabγačda, qurïya qurïdïnta, yïrïya oγuzda ekï üč biŋ sümiz kältäčimiz bar mu nä? anča ötüntüm. (S8) qaγanïm [bän] özüm bilgä toṅuquq ötüntük ötünčümin äsidü berti. köŋlüŋčä uduz tedi. kök öŋüg yoγuru ötükän yïsγaru uduztum. in(i)gäk kölikin toγlada oγuz kälti. (S9) [süsï üč biŋ] ärmis. biz ekï biŋ ärtimiz. süŋüsdümiz. täŋri yarlïq(q)adï, yańdïmïz. ögüzkä tüsdi. yańduq yolta yämä ölti kök. anta ötrü oγuz qopin kälti. (S10) tü[rk qaγanïγ] türk bodunuγ ötükän yerkä bän özüm bilgä toṅuquq ötükän yerig qonmis teyin äsidip biriyäki bodun, qurïyaqï öŋräki bodun kälti.

East

(E1) ekï biŋ ärtimiz. [ekï] süm[iz b]oltï. türk bodun q[ïlïnγal]ï, türk qaγan olurγalï santuŋ balïq(q)a, taluy ögüzkä tägmis yoq ärmis. qaγanima ötünüp sü eltdim, (E2) santuŋ b[alïq(q)a] taluy [ögüzk]ä tägürtüm. üč otuz balïq sidï. usïn buntatu yurtda yatu qalur ärti. tabγač qaγan yaγïmïz ärti, on oq qaγanï yaγïmïz ärti; (E3) art[uq? qïrqïz] küčl[üg qaγan yaγïmïz] boltï. ol üč qaγan ögläsip altun yïs üzä qabïsalïm temis. anča öglämis: öŋrä türk qaγanγaru sülälim temis. aŋaru sülämäsär qačan (n)äŋ ärsär ol bizni (E4) [qaγanï alp ärmis], ayγučisï bilgä ärmis, qačan (n)aŋ ärsär ölürtäči kök. üčägün qabïsïp sülälim, idi yoq qïsalïm temis. türgis qaγan anča temis: bäniŋ bodunum anta ärür temis. (E5) [türük bodunï yämä] bulγanč [o]l [temi]s, oγuzï yämä tarqïnč ol temis. ol sabïn äsidip tün yämä udïsïqïm kälmäz ärti, kün yämä olursïqïm kälmäz ärti. anta saqïntïma. (E6) [ilk qïrqïzq]a sü[läs]är [yeg? är]mis tedim. kögmän yolï bir ärmis; tumis teyin äsidip bu yolun yorïsar yaramači tedim. yerči tiläđim.

čölgi az ärï bultum, (E7) äsit(t)im: az yir y[olï?] anï b[irlä? ... är]mis, bir at oruqï ärmis, aṅn barmis. aŋar aytïp bir atlïγ barmis teyin ol yolun yorïsar unč tedim, saqïntïm. qaγanïma

North

(N1) ötüntüm, sü yorïtdïm. tal atïn tedim. aq tärmil käčä oγurqalatdïm. at üzä bintürä qarïγ sökdüm; yoq(q)aru at yätä, yadaγïn, ïγač tutunu aγturtum. öŋräki är (N2) yoγurča [ïdïp] ï bar baš asdïmïz. yubulu intimiz. on tünkä yantaqï tuγ äbirü bardïmïz. yerči yer yaŋïlïp boγuzlantï. buŋadïp qaγan yälü kör temis. (N3) anï sub[qa] bard[imïz]. ol sub qodï bardïmïz. asanγalï tüsürtümiz. ačïγïqa bayur ärtimiz. kün yämä tün yämä yälü bardïmïz. qïrqïziγ uqa basdïmïz. (N4) [usïn?] süŋügün ačdïmïz. qanï süsï terilmis. süŋüsdümiz, sančdïmïz; qanın ölürtümiz. qaγanqa qïrqïz bodunï ičikdi yükünti. yantïmïz; kögmän yïsïγ äbirü kältimiz, (N5) qïrqïzda yantïmïz. türgis qaγanta körüg kälti, sabï antäg: öŋdün qaγanγaru sü yorïlïm temis; yorïmasar bizni, qaγanï alp ärmis, ayγučisï bilgä ärmis, qačan (n)äŋ ärsär (N6) bizni ölürtäči kök temis. türgis qaγanï tasïqmis tidi, on oq bodunï qalïsiz tasïqmis tir. tabγač süsï bar ärmis. ol sabïγ äsidip qaγanïm bän äbgärü tüsäyïn tidi. (N7) qatun yoq bolmis ärti; anï yoγlatayïn tedi. sü barïŋ tedi, altun yïsda oluruŋ tedi. sü basï inäl qaγan; tardus sad barzun tedi. bilgä toṅuquq(q)a baŋa aydï: (N8) bu süg elt tidi, qïyinïγ köŋlüŋčä ay; bän säŋä nä ayayın tidi. kälïr ärsär kör ökülür, kälmäz ärsär tilïγ sabïγ alï olur tidi. altun yïsda olurtumïz. (N9) üč körüg kisï kälti, sabï bir: qaγan sü tasïqdï, on oq süsï qalïsiz tasïqdï tir. yarïs yazïda tirilälim temis. ol sabïγ äsidip qaγanγaru ol sabïγ ït(t)im. qanta yan sabïγ yana (N10) kälti. oluruŋ tiyin temis; yälmä qarγu ädüti uyγïl, basïtma temis. bög(ü) qaγan baŋaru anča yïdmis; apä tarqanγaru ičrä sab ïdmis: bilgä toṅuquq aṅïγ ol, üz ol; (N11) sü yorïlïm tedäči; unämaŋ. ol sabïγ äsidip sü yorïtdim. altun yïsïγ yolsizin asdïmïz, ärtis ögüzüg käčigsizin käčdimiz. tün aqïtdïmïz; bolčuqa taŋ öntürü tägdimiz.

II. West

(W1) tïlïγ kälürti. sabï antaγ: yarïs yazïda on tümän sü terilti tir. ol sabïγ äsidip bäglär qop[ïn] (W2) yanalïm, arïγu batï yeg tedi. bän anča ter män, bän bilgä toñuquq: altun yïsïγ asa kältimiz, ärtis ögüzüg (W3) käčä kältimiz. kälmisï alp tidi, tuymadï. täŋri umay, ïduq yer sub basa berti ärinč. näkä täzär biz? (W4) ükü̈s teyin näkä qorqūr biz? az teyin nä basïnalïm? tägälim tidim. tägdimiz, yulïdïmïz. ekïnti kün (W5) örtčä qïzïp kälti. sü̈ŋü̈sdü̈miz. bizintä ekï učı siŋarča artuq ärti. täŋri yarlïq(q)aduq üčün ükü̈s teyin (W6) qorqmadïmïz, sü̈ŋü̈sdü̈miz. tardus sadra udï yañdïmïz. qaγanïn tutdumïz. yabγusïn sadïn (W7) anta ölürti. äligčä är tutdumïz. ol oq tün bodunïn sayu ït(t)ïmïz. ol sabïγ äsidip on oq bäglärï bodunï qop (W8) kälti, yükünti. käligmä bäglärïn bodunïn itip yïγïp azča bodun täzmis ärti. on oq süsïn sülätdim; (W9) biz yämä sülädimiz. anï ärt(t)imiz. yinčü ögüzüg käčä tinsi oγlï aytïγma bäŋlig äk taγïγ ärtü

South

(S1) tämir qapïγqa tägi irtimiz. anta yanturtumïz. inäl qaγanqa [añïp ... t¹ saqa?] täzïk toqar[s¹ in ...] (S2) anta bärüki asuq baslïγ soγdaq bodun qop kälti, yükünti [....] türük bodun tämir qapïγqa, tinsi oγlï (S3) tinsi oγlï aytïγma taγqa tägmis idi yoq ärmis. ol yertä bän bilgä toñuquq tägürtük üčün (S4) sarïγ altun, ürüŋ kümüs, qïz qoduz, ägri täbi aγï buŋsiz kälürti. il-teris qaγan bilgäsïn üčün, (S5) alpïn üčün tabγačqa yeti yegirmi sü̈ŋü̈sdi, qïtañqa yeti sürüsdi, oγuzqa bes sünüsdi. anta ayγuči[sï?] (S6) yämä bän ök ärtim, yaγïči[sï] yämä bän ök ärtim. il-teris qaγanqa, türük b(ö)gü qaγanqa, türük bilgä qaγanqa

East

(E1) qapγan qaγan [yeti] otuz [..... anta ..... ärti] qapγan qaγan olurtdum. tün udïmatï (E2) küntüz olurmatï, qïzïl qanïm tökü̈ti qara tärim yögürti (i)sig küčüg bertim ök. uzun yälmäg yämä ït(t)ïm oq, (E3) arquy qarγuγ

ulγartdïm oq. yanïγma yaγïγ kälürïr ärtim. qaγanïmin sü eltdimiz. täŋri yarlïq(q)azu (E4) bu türük bodun ara yarïqlïγ yaγïγ yältürmädim, tögünlüg atïγ yögürtmädim. il-teris qaγan qazγanmasar (E5) udu bän özüm qazγanmasar il yämä bodun yämä yoq ärtäči ärti. qazγantuqïn üčün udu özüm qazγantuqum üčün (E6) il yämä il boltï, bodun yämä bodun boltï. özüm qarï boltum, uluγ boltum. näŋ yerdäki qaγanlïγ bodunqa (E7) büntägï bar ärsär nä buŋï bar ärtäči ärmis? (E8) türük bilgä qaγan ilïŋä bitïtdim. bän bilgä toñuquq.

North

(N1) il-teris qaγan qazγanmasar, yoq ärti ärsär, bän özüm bilgä toñuquq qazγanmasar, bän yoq ärtim ärsär, (N2) qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerïntä bod yämä bodun yämä kisï yämä idi yoq ärtäči ärti. (N3) il-teris qaγan bilgä toñuquq qazγantuq üčün qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yorïduqï bu. türük bilgä qaγan türük sir bodunuγ, oγuz bodunuγ igidü olurūr.

The Ongin Inscription

Main Inscription

Front

(F1) äčümiz apāmïz yamï qaγan törtbuluŋuγ qïsmis, yïγmis, yaymis, basmis. ol qan yōq boltuqda kisrä el yitmis ïčγïnmis, [q ... r[2] .....]
(F2) qaγanladuq qaγanin ïčγïnï idmis. türk bodun öŋrä kün toγsïqïŋa kisrä kün batsïqïŋa tägi, biriyä tabγačqa yïriyä yis[qa tägi .....]
(F3) alp ärin balbal qïsdï. türk bodun atï yoq bolu barmis ärti. türk bodun yitmäzün teyin, yuluq ärmäzün teyin üzä täŋri ter ärmis: [.....]
(F4) qapγan el-teris qaγan eliŋä qïlïntïm. el-etmis yabγu oγlï, (i)sbara tamγan čor yabγu inisï bilgä isbara tamγan tarqan. aymaγlïγ [... el]etmis atam [.....]
(F5) ba[sa] tabγačda yïriyä atig oγuz ara yeti ärän yaγï bolmis. qaŋïm [...] täŋrikän yän anta yorïmis, isig küčin bermis [ärti.....]
(F6) täŋrikänkä isig bertiŋ teyin yarlïq(q)amis, sad atïγ anta bermis boltuqda toquz oγuz atig yaγï ärmis, bädük ärmis. täŋrikän yorï[mis .....]
(F7) yabïz bat biz. azïγ üküsüg körtüg; är [s[2] g ti?]. sül[äli]m ter ärmis. matï bäglärim ä ter ärmis, biz az biz teyin qorq [malïm? .....]
(F8) qaŋïm sad anča ötünmis: tärrikän al[qïnmazun, bodu]n anta [qut?] ärmäzkä tas[ulmazun? .....]

Right

(R1) qam[ïl] balïq(q)a tägdim, qunladïm, altïm. süsï kälti; qarasin yiγdïm, bägï qačdï. [....]γ ärti. tabγač

bodun [.....] toqïdïm, yïγdïm, basdïm, yaydïm. [.....] buzqunča (R2) kälir ärtimiz. ekïn ara atig yaγï bolmis. tägmäči män teyin saqïntïm. täŋri bilgä qaγanqa [t]aqï (i)sig küčüg bersägim bar ärmis ärinč. tägdükïn üčün [.....] sančdïm. äbkä tägdüküm. uruš qïlïp (R3) tägip inimä oγluma anča ötlädim: qaŋ yorïp el-teris qaγanqa adrïlmaduq, yaŋïlmaduq. täŋri bilgä qaγanta adrïlmalïm, azmalïm teyin anča ötlädim. kerü barïγma bardï; bilgä qaγanïŋ bodunï [....äliri] bardï, ülgän atqa (i)sig küčüg berti. (R4) üzä täŋri qoń yïlqa yetinč ay küčlüg alp qaγanïmda adrïlu bardïŋïz. bilgä atačïm, yoγuŋ qoraγïrnï qu[rad]ïm. [su]b yer täŋri öd[.....] kirür ärti.

Supplementary Inscription

(Supp. 1) [atačïm]qa bitig t[aš ï]γ
(Supp. 2) [toqït]dïm. bäŋigü
(Supp. 3) [taš ïγ? urtu?]m. atačïm
(Supp. 4) [bil]gä at[ačï]m, [lü?]
(Supp. 5) [yïlqa] bit[idim?]
(Supp. 6) [külü]g är, ädgü q[an?]
(Supp. 7) [.....]

The Balbal

(i)sbara tarqan balbalï

The Küli Čor Inscription

West

(W1) [.....]n[2] üčün [.....] čïqan tonyuquq ätïγ bermis [...]
(W2) [.....]tduqda yügtürmis, išbara čïqan küli čor bolmis [...]i čor [.....]
(W3) [.....elteris] qaγan elïntä qarïp ädgü äbïŋä körti. uluγ küli čor säkiz on yasap yoq bolt[ï.....]
(W4) [.....] özlükï boz at ärti. kädim b[äŋizï?] alpï ärdämï anta kükädi. türk bodunqa u[.....]
(W5) [.....]γr[1] čuluγan yaγït(t)uqda [küli] čor [.....]γ sančïp ölürüp oγlïn kisïsïn bulun qï[ltï?.....]
(W6) [.....bu.] az elig tutdï. yer az [.....]rti. küli čor türk bodun bäglär [.....]
(W7) [.....bi]lgäsïn üčün, alpïn ärdämïn [üčü]n q[azγ]anti.
(W8) [.....]lir. ïsbara bilgä küli čor kisï [.....]
(W9) [.....] ärti. süŋüs bolsar čärig itär ärti. ab ablasar äräm älä täg ärti [.....]
(W10) [.....] sančdï. käčändä tümät sükä süŋüsdi. küli čor oplayu tägip süsïn [.....]
(W11) [.....] altï [.....] bes balïqda tört sü[ŋüs] süŋüsdükdä küli čor oplayu tägip bulγayu [...]
(W12) [.....tab]γačqa bunča süŋüsüp alpïn ärdämïn üčün kü bunča tutdï [....]

East

(E1) [..... ïsbara bilgä küli čor] oγlïn [kisïs]ïn uduztuq[ï al?]duqï [.]dükï yer alduqï.

(E2) [..... ïsbara bil]gä küli čor tarduš bodunuγ iti ayu olurtï [.....]
(E3) [....]γ özlükï binip o[playu tägi]p üč ärig sančdï. t[ümätkä?] süŋüsdükdä küli čor özlükï yägrän at binip [...]
(E4) [...] anta kerü barïp yinčü ögüzüg käčä tämir qapïγqa, täzikkä tägi sü[.....]ä qazγantï. toquz oγuzqa yeti süŋüs süŋüsdükdä
(E5) [.....]a tökdi. qïtań tat[abi ...]dä bes süŋüs süŋüsdükdä [küli č]or taq bilgäsï čabïsï ärti, alpï bökäsï ärti.
(E6) [.....kü]li čor yeti yašïŋa yeg är[.....]rti. [.....]yaš[iŋa] [.] azïγlïγ toq[uz är ö]lürti. [qar]luq yaγït(t)uqda ätizdä süŋüsdükdä
(E7) [....bilg]ä küli č[or] anta kisrä qarluqqa yäm[ä.... idil? aqï]n binip oplayu tägip sanča ïdïp topulu önti. yama aγïtïp [.....]
(E8) [.....] sü sürti. qarluquγ käčgint[i], sïmad[ï]. qarluq tapa [....]γalï barïp azu är[än] yana äbïŋä süŋüs kigürti. qarluq atlantï. anča sön
(E9) [...q]arluq yägrän ärmäkig arqāsïn siyu urtï. qarluq [n^1 .. n^2 turu. ...]γ ärtäbär özï kälti. sir irkin oγlï yigän čor kälti.
(E10) [.....]γalï sülädi. süŋüsüp süsın sancdï, elïn altï, oγlïn kisïsïn bu[ln] ad[ï ant]aγ [b]asa ïsbara bilgä küli čor [....]
(E11) [.....rükä tat[ar bul.....] ülügï anča ärmis ärinč. yaγïqa yalïŋus oplayu tägip opulu kirip özï qïsγa kärgäk boltï.
(E12) [.....]n^2 qaγ[an] inisï [yäk] čor tigin [kälip] ulayu [tör]t tigin kälip ïsbara bilgä küli čoruγ yoγlat(t)ï; bädizïn bädizät(t)i, olurt(t)ï.
(E13) [.....üčü]n bu[.....] qazγantï, artuq yïlqïγ igit(t)i.

South

(S1) [.....y]äk t[igï]n kälti, tad[ïqïŋ?...] čorïŋ oγlï yigän čor kälti [...]
(S2) [.....]ïn üčün bunča bodun qobsarïp yoγladï. bän äzip b[itï]dim.
(S3) [....] bilmäz biligin, biltükümün ödükümün bunča bitïg bitïdim.
(S4) [.....]m buŋ[.....t^1 .....]

III. TRANSLATIONS

The Kül Tigin Inscription

South

(S1) I, the Heaven-like and Heaven-born Turkish Bilgä Kagan, succeeded to the throne at this time. Hear my words from the beginning to the end, first of all you, my younger brothers and my sons, and my folks and relatives, you, šadpït lords to the south, tarkans and buyruq lords to the north, you, Otuz (Tatar? .....), (S2) and you, Tokuz-Oguz lords and people! Hear these words of mine well, and listen hard! 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). This many peoples (S3) I have organized thoroughly. These peoples are not rebellious now. If the Turkish kagan rules from the Ötükän mountains there will be no trouble in the realm. I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung plain; I almost reached the ocean. I went on campaigns southwards up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet. Westwards (S4) I went on campaigns up to the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River, and northwards I went on campaigns up to the soil of Yir Bayïrqu. I have led (the armies) up to all these places. A land better than the Ötükän mountains does not exist at all! The place from which the tribes can be (best) controlled is the Ötükän mountains. Having stayed in this place, I came to an amicable agreement with the Chinese people. (S5) They (i. e., the Chinese people) give (us) gold, silver and silk in abundance. The words of the Chinese people have always been sweet and the materials of the Chinese people have always been soft.

Deceiving by means of (their) sweet words and soft materials, the Chinese are said to cause the remote peoples to come close in this manner. After such a people have settled close to them, (the Chinese) are said to plan their ill will there. (S6) (The Chinese) do not let the real wise men and real brave men make progress. If a man commits an error, (the Chinese) do not give shelter to anybody (from his immediate family) to the families of his clan and tribe. Having been taken in by their sweet words and soft materials, you Turkish people, were killed in great numbers. O Turkish people, you will die! If you intend to settle at the Čoγay mountains and on the Tögültün (S7) plain in the south, O Turkish people, you will die! There the ill-willed persons made harmful suggestions as follows: 'If a people live afar (from them), they (i. e., the Chinese) give cheap materials (to them); but, if a people live close to them, then (the Chinese) give them valuable materials'. Apparently such harmful suggestions made the ill-willed persons. Having heard these words, you unwise people went close to (the Chinese) and were (consequently) killed in great numbers. (S8) If you go toward those places, O Turkish people, you will die! If you stay in the land of Ötükän, and send caravans from there, you will have no trouble. If you stay at the Ötükän mountains, you will live forever dominating the tribes! O Turkish people, you always regard yourselves as satiated! You do not think of being hungry or satiated; if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again). On account of your being so, (S9) you went in (almost) all directions without a asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished (you). You were completely ruined and destroyed in those places. (Of you), those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions. Since Heaven was gracious, and since I was granted with fortune, I succeeded to the throne. Having succeeded to the throne, (S10) I gathered all the poor and destitute people together. I made the poor people wealthy and the few people numerous; or, is there any falsehood in these words of mind? O Turkish lords and people, hear this! How you should live and dominate (other) tribes, I have recorded here;

and how you would (otherwise) perish by being unfaithful (to your kagan), this, too, I have recorded here. (S11) All words which I had to tell (you) I have recorded on this memorial stone (lit.: eternal stone). See these writings and get a lesson (from them)! You, faithful Turkish peoples and lords, you lords, you who have always been obedient to the throne, are you going to betray? I (had) the memorial (stone inscribed?) I sent for painters from (the Chinese) emperor, and ordered them to decorate (the mausoleum). (The Chinese emperor) did not reject my request (S12) and (they) sent the court painters of the Chinese emperor. I got them to build an extraordinary mausoleum. I had the inside and outside (of the mausoleum) decorated with wonderful paintings and sculptures. I had the (memorial) stone inscribed. I had (all) the words in my mind (recorded.....). See these writings and get a lesson (from them), all of you up to (the descendants) and subjects of (the On-Ok). I had the memorial stone (S13) inscribed. Since this is a (central?) place, and since it is in a much frequented place, I had the memorial stone inscribed and written in such a frequented place. See this memorial and learn its contents, as it is. I (inscribed?) that stone ..... The one who inscribed these inscriptions is his (that is, Prince Kül's) nephew (Prince) Yolluγ.

East

(E1) When the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two human beings were created. Over the human beings, my ancestors Bumïn Kagan and İstämi Kagan became rulers. After they had become rulers, they organized and ruled the state and institutions of the Turkish people. (E2) (All the peoples living in) the four quarters of the world were hostile (to them). Having marched with the armies, they conquered all the peoples in the four quarters of the world and subjugated them. They made the proud enemies bow and the powerful ones kneel. They settled the Turkish people eastwards up to the Khingan mountains and westwards as far as the Iron Gate. They ruled (E3) (organizing) the

Kök ('Blue') Turks between the two (boundaries). Wise kagans were they, brave kagans were they. Their buyruqs (that is, high officials), too, were wise and brave, indeed. Both the lords and peoples were peacable. For this reason, they were able to keep the state under control. Having kept the state under control, they arranged the state rules and regulations. They (E4) thus passed away (lit.: 'became lacking'). As mourners and lamenters there came from the east, from where the sun rises, the representatives of the people of the Bükli plain, the Chinese, the Tibetan, the Avar, the Byzantium, the Kirghiz, the Üč-Qurïqan, the Otuz-Tatar, the Qïtań and the Tatabï..... This many peoples came and mourned and lamented. So famous kagans were they. Then the younger brothers succeeded (E5) to the throne and the sons succeeded to the throne. But, apparently the younger brothers did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons did not resemble their fathers. (Consequently) unwise kagans succeeded to the throne, bad kagans succeeded to the throne. Their buyruqs, too, were unwise and bad. (E6) Since the lords and peoples were not in accord, and the Chinese people were wily and deceitful, since they were tricky and created a rift between younger and elder brothers, and caused the lords and peoples to slander one another, the Turkish people caused their state which they had established to go to ruin, (E7) and their kagan whom they had crowned collapse. Their sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves, and their daughters worthy of becoming ladies became servants to the Chinese people. The Turkish lords abandoned their Turkish titles. Those lords who were in China held the Chinese titles and obeyed the Chinese emperor (E8) and gave their services to him for fifty years. For the benefit of the Chinese, they went on campaigns up to (the land of) the Bükli kagan in the east, where the sun rises, and as far as the Iron Gate in the west. For the benefit of the Chinese emperor they conquered countires. Then, the Turkish common people (E9) apparently said as follows: 'We used to be a people who had an (independent) state. Where is our own state now? For whose benefit are we conquering these lands?'

they said. 'We used to be a people who had its own kagan. Where is our own kagan now? To which kagan are we giving our services?' they said. By talking in this way (among themselves), they again became hostile to the Chinese emperor. (E10) But, after they had become hostile to him, they could not form and organize themselves (i. e., the state) well, and therefore they again submitted (to the Chinese). (The Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese), said: 'We shall kill and exterminate the Turkish people'. (The Turkish people) were about to be annihilated. But, the Turkish god above and the Turkish holy earth (E11) and water (spirits below) acted in the following way: in order that the Turkish people would not go to ruin and in order that it would be an (independent) nation again, they (i. e., the Turkish god and the holy spirits) held my father, İlteriš Kagan, and my mother, İlbilgä Katun, at the top of heaven and raised them upwards. My father, the kagan, went off with seventeen men. (E12) Having heard the news that (İlteriš) was marching off, those who were in towns went up mountains and those who were on mountains came down (from there); thus they gathered and numbered to seventy men. Due to the fact that Heaven granted strength, the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves, and his enemies were like sheep. Having gone on campaigns forward and backward, he gathered together and collected men; they all numbered seven hundred men. (E13) After they had numbered seven hundred men, (my father, the kagan,) organized and ordered the people who had lost their state and their kagan, the people who had turned slaves and servants, the people who had lost the Turkish institutions, in accordance with the rules of my ancestors. He (also organized there) the Tölis and Tarduš (peoples), (E14) and gave them a yabgu and a šad. To the south the Chinese people was (our) enemy, to the north Baz Kagan and the Tokuz-Oguz people were (our) enemies; the Ḳirghiz, Qurïqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qïtań and Tatabï ..... they all were hostile (to us). My father, the kagan, (fought against?) all these (peoples?). (E15) He went

on campaigns forty-seven times and engaged in twenty battles. By the grace of Heaven, he took the realm of those who had had a realm, and captured the kagan of those who had had a kagan; he subjugated the enemies. He made the powerful enemies kneel and the proud ones bow. (My father, the kagan,) (E16) after he had founded (such a great) empire and gained power, passed away (lit.: 'went flying'). (My uncle, the kagan,) first erected Baz Kagan as a balbal for my father, the kagan. In accordance with the state rules, my uncle succeeded to the throne. After my uncle, the kagan, succeeded to the throne, he organized and nourished the Turkish people anew. He made the poor rich and the few numerous. (E17) When my uncle, the kagan, succeeded to the throne, I was šad over the Tarduš people. Together with my uncle, the kagan, we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River (= Yellow River) and the Shantung plain, and we went on campaigns westwards as far as the Iron Gate. (We went on campaigns up to the land of the Kirgiz) beyond the Kögmän (mountains). (E18) In all we went on campaigns twenty-five times and we fought thirteen times. We took the realm of those who had had a realm, and we captured the kagan of those who had had a kagan; we made the powerful enemies kneel and the proud ones bow. The Türgis kagan (and his people) were our Turks and (our people. On account of their foolishness) (E19) and their being traitorous to us, their kagan was killed; his buyruqs and lords, too, were killed. The On-Ok people suffered (a great deal). In order that the land (lit.: 'earth and water'), which was ruled by our ancestors, would not be without ruler, we organized the Az people and put them in order .... (E20) was Bars Beg. It was we who had given him the title of kagan. We had also given him my younger sister, the princess, in marriage. But, he betrayed (us). (As a result) the kagan was killed and the people became slaves and servants. In order that the Kögmän land would not remain without ruler, we organized the Az and Kirgiz peoples, and then we came (back) and fought. (E21) We gave (them) back.... Eastwards as far as beyond the Khingan mountains we thus settled and organized the people;

westwards as far as Käŋü Tarman we thus settled and organized the Turkish people. At that time slaves themselves had slaves (and servants themselves had servants. Younger brothers did not acknowledge their elder brothers, and sons did not acknowledge their fathers). (E22) We had such a well-acquired and well-organized state and institutions. You, Turkish and Oguz lords and peoples, hear this! 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? O Turkish people, regret and repent! (E23) Because of your unruliness, you yourselves betrayed your wise kagan who had (always) nourished you, and you yourselves betrayed your good realm which was free and independent, and you (yourselves) caused discord. From where did the armed come and put you to flight? From where did the lancer come and drive you away? You, people of the sacred Ötükän mountains, it was you who went away. (Of you) those who meant to go to the east went away, and those who meant to go to the west went away. In the places you went, your (only) profit was the following: your blood ran like a river, and your bones were heaped up like a mountain; your sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves, and your daughters worthy of becoming ladies became servants. Because of your unawareness (E25) and because of your mischievousness, my uncle, the kagan, met his death. First I erected the Kirgiz kagan as a balbal (for him). In order that the name and fame of the Turkish people would not perish, Heaven, which had raised my father, the kagan, and my mother, the katun, and which had granted them the state, in order that the name and fame of the Turkish people would not perish, (that Heaven) (E26) enthroned (me). I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people at all; (on the contrary,) I became ruler over a poor and miserable people who were foodless in the inside and clothless on the outside. I and Prince Kül, my younger brother, consulted together. In order that the name and fame of the people, which our father and uncle had won, would not perish, and (E27) for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep

by night and I did not relax by day. Together with my younger brother, Prince Kül, and together with the two šads, I worked to death and I won. Having won and gathered in that way, I did not let the people split into two (opposite) parts like fire and water. (When) I (succeeded to the throne) the people who had gone (in almost all directions,) (E28) came back utterly exhausted, without horses and without clothes. 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, southwards against the Chinese, (and I fought ... times). (E29) 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. I furnished the naked people with clothes and I made the poor people rich and the few people numerous. I made them superior to the peoples who have great states and (esteemed rulers). (E30) I subjugated all the peoples who live (in the four quarters of the world), and I made them harmless. They all submitted to me. They have been giving their services to me. After he had succeeded so much in making the state powerful, my younger brother, Prince Kül, passed away. When my father, the kagan, passed away, my younger brother Prince Kül (was at the age of seven). (At the age of ...) (E31) my younger brother Prince Kül got (his) adult name (= he was lifted up among grown-ups), by the good luck of my Umay-like mother, the katun. At the age of sixteen, for the sake of the realm of my uncle, the kagan, he accomplished the following: We went on a campaign in the direction of the territory of the Six-Sogdian colonies. The Chinese governor Oŋ (came with an army) of fifty (thousand men and we fought). (E32) Prince Kül rushed and attacked on foot. He took the governor's brother-in-law prisoner while he (i.e., the prisoner) had weapons in his hands, and presented him (i.e., the prisoner) to the kagan in this armed manner. There we destroyed that army. When he was twenty-one years old, we fought against (the army of) General Čača. First he (mounted) Tadïq Čor's gray horse (and attacked. There that horse)

(E33) was killed. Secondly, he mounted İšbara Yamtar's gray horse and attacked. That horse, (too), was killed there. Thirdly, he mounted Yigän Silig Beg's dressed bay horse and attacked. That horse, (too), was killed there. They hit (him) with more than one hundred arrows on his armor and caftan; (but, he did not let the enemy hit him) even once on his face or head. (E34) Turkish lords, you all know that they hit him on the ... There we destroyed that army. Then, Great İrkin of Yir Bayïrqu started hostilities. We dispersed them and put them to rout at the Lake Türgi-Yarγun. The Great İrkin ran away together with a few men. When Prince Kül was (twenty-six) (E35) year old, we went on a campaign against the Kirgiz. Having opened our way through the lance-deep snow, we marched up over the Kögmän mountains and fell upon the Kirgiz people while they were asleep. We fought with their kagan at the Soŋa mountains. Prince Kül mounted Bayïrqu's (white stallion) (E36) and attacked; he hit one man with an arrow and stabbed two men through the thighs. In that attack, (the enemy) hit and broke the thigh of Bayïrqu's white stallion. We killed the kagan of the Kirgiz and conquered their realm. In that year we marched (against the Türgis) climbing over (the Altai mountains) (E37) and crossing over the Irtish river. We fell upon the Türgis people, while they were asleep. The army of the Türgis kagan came (upon us) like fire and storm at Bolču. We fought. Prince Kül mounted the white-headed horse and attacked. The white-headed gray (horse)... (E38) ... and he (i.e., Prince Kül) himself captured two of them. There (Prince Kül) again broke into (the enemy's lines) and captured by (his own) hands the Governor of the Az (people) who was the buyruq of the Türgis kagan. There we killed their kagan and took their realm. The common Türgis people all submitted to us. We (settled) those people in Tabar. (E39) In order to organize the Sogdian people, we marched with the army as far as the Iron Gate, crossing over the Pearl river. After that the common Türgis people rose in revolt, and went toward Käŋäris. Our army horses were lean (and exhausted), and our army had no provisions. (Our men were) in bad

condition ..... (E40) (Furthermore), those who had attacked us were brave men. Having been discouraged under such circumstances, we sent Prince Kül forward together with a few men. He fought a great battle, we were told. He mounted the white horse of Alp Šalči and attacked. There he killed and subjugated the common Türgis people. Having marched again .....

North

(N1) He fought with ..... and with Qošu Tutuq; he killed all of their men. He brought their properties and belongings without leaving anything behind. When Prince Kül was twenty-seven years old, the Karluk people became an enemy who began to behave freely and fearlessly. We fought at the Tamaγ Ïduq-Baš. (N2) Prince Kül was thirty years old when this battle took place. He mounted the (white horse) of Alp Šalči and attacked suddenly. He stabbed two men through the thighs. We killed the Karluk and subjugated them. (Meanwhile) the Az people started hostilities (against us). We fought at the Black Lake. Prince Kül was thirty-one years old then. He mounted the white (horse) of Alp Šalči (N3) and attacked suddenly. He took the governor of the Az (people) prisoner. The Az people were annihilated there. When the empire of my uncle, the kagan, became shaky and when the people and ruler were split into two parts, we fought against the İzgil people. Prince Kül mounted the white (horse) of Alp Šalči (N4) and (attacked suddenly). That horse fell down there. The İzgil (people) were killed (that is, defeated). The Tokuz-Oguz people were my own people. Since Heaven and earth were in disorder, they revolted (against us). We fought five times in a year. First we fought at Toγu-Balïq. (N5) Prince Kül mounted the yellowish white (horse) and attacked suddenly. He stabbed six men with a lance. In hand-to-hand fighting he cut down a seventh man with a sword. Secondly, we fought against the Ädiz at Quš-Alγaq. Prince Kül mounted his yellow(ish) black (horse) and attacked suddenly. He stabbed one man with a lance (N6) and stroke nine men

turning them around and around. The Ädiz people were killed (= defeated) there. Thirdly, we fought against the Oguz at ..... Prince Kül mounted his yellowish white (horse), attacked and stabbed (the enemy) with a lance. We killed (that is, defeated) their army and conquered their realm. Fourthly, we fought at the headwaters of Čuš. The Turkish (N7) people tottered and were about to be put to rout. Prince Kül put their army, which had come assaulting, to flight. We surrounded and killed a Toŋra squad consisting of ten champion warriors at the funeral of Prince Toŋa. Fifthly, we fought against the Oguz at Äzginti-Qadïz. Prince Kül (N8) mounted his yellow(ish) black (horse) and attacked. He stabbed two men and thrust them into mud (?). That army was killed (= defeated) there. After we spent the winter at Amγa-Qorγan, in spring we marched off with an army against the Oguz. We ordered (the army) to make a raid, while we left Prince Kül at home to command the camp. (N9) The hostile Oguz suddenly attacked the camp. Having mounted his white orphan (horse), Prince Kül stabbed nine men and did not surrender the camp. My mother, the katun, and my (step-) mothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses this many people who were going to survive would have become slaves, and those of you who were going to be killed would have been left lying at the camp and on roads. (N10) If Prince Kül had never existed, you all would have been killed. My younger brother Prince Kül passed away. I mourned. My eyes which have always seen became as if they were blind, and my mind which has always been conscious became as if it were unconscious. I mourned. Human beings have all been created in order to die. (N11) I mourned in the following way: When tears came (down) from the eyes, I mourned holding them back, and when wails came (out) from the heart, I mourned turning them back; I mourned deeply. I worried that the eyes and eyebrows of the two šads and of my younger brothers, my sons, my lords and of my people could have been ruined (by weeping). As mourners and lamenters, representing the Qïtań and Tatabï peoples, (N12) General Udar came. From the

Chinese emperor, İsiyi Likäŋ came. He brought an immeasurable quantity of treasures, gold and silver in abundance. From the Tibet kagan a minister came. General Änik and Oγul Tarkan came from the Sogdians, Persians, and the people of the city of Bukhara who are at the sunset in the west. (N13) From my On-Ok descendants, from the Türgis kagan, seal-keepers Maqarač and Oγuz Bilgä came. From the Kirgiz kagan, Tarduš İnanču Čor came. General Čan, the nephew of the Chinese Emperor, came in order to build the mausoleum, to make sculptures, to paint and to prepare the inscription stones.

North-East

Prince Kül passed away (lit.: 'flew') on the seventeenth day of the Sheep Year. We held (his) funeral on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month. We finished his mausoleum, the statues and paintings, and his inscription stone on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, in the Monkey Year. Prince Kül's age (?) (was?) forty-seven. The sun (?) and clouds (?) ..... The Governor Tuyγut brought all of these sculptors and painters

South-East

The one who has inscribed all inscriptions — I, Prince Yolluγ, the nephew of Prince Kül, have inscribed (all these inscriptions). Having sat down twenty days, I, Prince Yolluγ, inscribed (all these inscriptions) on this stone and this wall. You used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved children and descendants. You passed away (lit.: 'went flying'). In Heaven (may you be?) just as you were in this life.

South-West

In order to take care of Prince Kül's gold and silver, his treasures and possessions, his four (thousand?) horses, Tuyγut .... My lord, the prince, ... upwards (to Heaven?) ..... I inscribed the stone. Prince Yolluγ.

West

From the west the Sogdians rose in revolt. Since my younger brother, Prince Kül, ..., and since he (willingly?) gave his services (to me), I, looking after my brother Prince Kül, mounted the throne over the dominions (?) of the Turkish Bilgä kagan. I gave him the title İnanču Apa Yarγan Tarqan and I made (my lords and my subjects) praise and esteem him.

The Bilgä Kagan Inscription

East

(E1) I, the Heaven-like and Heaven-created Turkish Bilgä Kagan, (here are) my words: My father Turkish Bilgä Kagan . . . . . O nomadic lords and peoples of the . . . Sir, Tokuz-Oguz and Eki-Ädiz! . . . . the Turkish Heaven . . . . . (E2) I became kagan over the. . . . . When I came 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. After I had mounted the throne, I put and. . . . . this many important rules (for the peoples) in the four quarters of the world.

For the continuation of the text see KT E1-30.

(E24) I made the few people numerous. I made them superior to the peoples who have great states and esteemed rulers. I subjugated all the peoples who live in the four quarters of the world, and I made them harmless. They all submitted to me. When I was seventeen years old, I went on a campaign against the Taŋut. I put the Taŋut people to rout; there I took their wives and children, their horses and possessions. When I was eighteen years old, (E25) I went on a campaign against the Six(-Sogdian colonies). There I put the people to flight. The Chinese Oŋ Tutuk came (upon us) with an army of fifty thousand men. I fought at Ïduq-Baš and annihilated that army in that place. At the age of twenty I went on a campaign against the Basmïl Ïduq-qut, who were a people related to me, because they did not send caravans (with tribute)

. . . . . I subjugated them and caused their tribute to be brought again. At the age of twenty-two I went on a campaign (E26) against China. I fought against General Čača and (his) army of eighty thousand men. There I destroyed his army. At the age of twenty-six the Čik people, together with the Kirgiz, started hostilities (against us). I went on a campaign against the Čik crossing over the Käm. I fought at Örpän and put their army to the lance. I (conquered, ... and subjugated the Az (people). At the age of twenty-seven I went on a campaign against the Kirgiz. Having opened our way through (E27) the lance-deep snow, we marched up over the Kögmän mountains and fell upon the Kirgiz people while they were asleep. We fought with their kagan at the Soŋa mountain. I killed their kagan and took their realm. In that year, I marched against the Türgis, climbing over the Altai mountains and crossing over the Irtish river, and fell upon(the Türgis people while they were asleep). The army of the Türgis kagan came (upon us) like fire and storm. (E28) We fought at Bolču. There I killed their kagan, their yabγu and their šad; there I took their realm. At the age of thirty I went on a campaign against Bish-Balik. I fought six times and . . . . . I destroyed their army completely. All the people who live in it. . . . . would have been annihilated. . . . . came in order to invite. It is why Bish-Balik escaped (from being destroyed). At the age of thirty-one (E29) the Karluk, who were out of trouble and free, started hostilities (against us). I fought at Tamaγ Ïduq-Baš. I destroyed the Karluk people and took their realm . . . . The Karluk people gathered together (and came upon us. I overcame their army and destroyed it). (The Tokuz-Oguz) were my own people. Since Heaven and Earth were in disorder, (E30) and since they were green with envy (lit.: 'since envy touched his gall'), they started hostilities (against us). I fought four times in a year. First I fought at Toγu-Balïq. After I had crossed the Toγla river ordering (our men) to swim . . . . their army. Secondly, I fought at Antïrγu (?) and put their army to the lance. . . . (Thirdly), I fought (at the headwaters of Čuš). The Turkish people tottered (E31) and

was about to be routed. I put their army, which had come assaulting and spreading, to flight. Many people who were about to be killed there came to life again (in this manner). There I surrounded and killed a Toŋra squad consisting of champion warriors at the funeral of Prince Toŋa. Fourthly, I fought at Äzginti-Qadïz. There I put their army to the lance and destoryed it. At the age of forty (?) famine prevailed while we were spending the winter at Amγï (Amγa?) Qorγan. In the spring (E32) I went on a campaign against the Oguz. The first army had marched off; the second army was at home. The army of the Üč-Oguz came falling upon us. Thinking that we must have been out of horses and in a bad condition, they came in order to conquer us. One half of their army marched off in order to plunder our residences, the other half of their army came in order to fight. We were few and in a bad condition. The Oguz . . . Since Heaven gave us strength, there I put them to the lance, (E33) and put them to flight. Since Heaven was gracious and since I (myself) got victories, the Turkish people got victories. 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. O (Turkish) lords (and people)! Think of (it) in this way, know (it) in this way! The Oguz people . . . In order not to send . . . . I went on a campaign (against the Oguz?) (E34) I destroyed their residences. The Oguz people gathered and came (upon us) together with the Tokuz-Tatar. I made two great battles at Aγu. I put their army to rout and subjugated their tribes there. After having got so many victories . . . . . By the grace of Heaven, (at the age of) thirty-three, I . . . . They betrayed (their) distinguished (?), esteemed (?) and (people?) — (E35) nourishing brave (kagan). Heaven above, the Holy Earth and Water (Spirits below) and the soul of (my uncle, the kagan), certainly did not like it. The Tokuz-Oguz left their lands and waters, and went towards China . . . . . from China they came (back) to this land. I thought: 'I shall nourish (this people)' . . . . the people. (E36) . . . . . To the south, in China, their name and fame went to ruin; (here), in this land, they became slaves to me. Since I myself became kagan I did not

make the Turkish people . . . . . I arranged and organized (the state) and the institutions better . . . . . having come together . . . . . (E37) (there) I fought and put their army to the lance. Those who meant to submit submitted to me and became subjects; and those who meant to die died. Having marched down along the Selenga, I destroyed their residences there, at the Qarγan glen . . . . . they went up mountains. The Governor of the Uigurs, together with about one hundred men, fled towards east . . . . . (E38) . . . . . The Turkish people were hungry. I took that herd and nourished (them). At the age of thirty-four the Oguz fled away and surrendered to the Chinese. With regret, I went on a campaign (against the Oguz). With anger . . . . . I captured their wives and children. The people owning two governors . . . . . (E39) . . . . . The Tatabï people submitted to the Chinese emperor. Since their envoys, their good news and their blessings stopped coming to us, I went on a campaign in the summer. There I put the people to rout (and I captured) their horses (and possessions). Their army gathered together and came (upon us). The Khingan mountains ..... (E40) ..... They settled themselves in (their old habitat) and native-land. I ordered Tudun Yamtar to start a campaign against the Karluk people in the south. He went (with an army). ..... The Governor (of the Karluks) was said to have been killed, and his younger brother (was said to have fled to) a fort. ..... (E41) ..... their caravans (with tribute) did not arrive. In order to frighten them I started a campaign (against them). (Their) protector (?) fled together with a few people; the common people (praised? me) saying that 'Our kagan has arrived!' ..... I gave titles to ..... (and I promoted) those who were low in rank .....

South-East

(SE) I marched with the army, kneading the (bed of) Kök ('Blue') Öŋ, and passed through a waterless land for seven days, day and night ..... Having arrived at an

arid land, ... the plunderers ..... as far as Käčin .....

South

(S1) ..... I killed the Chinese cavalry, seventeen thousand cavalrymen, on the first day. On the second day, I (killed) their infantrymen in great numbers. ..... having climbed over ..... (S2) I went on campaigns ..... times. At the age of thirty-eight, in winter, I went on a campaign against the Qïtań. ..... At (the age of thirty-nine), in summer, I went on a campaign against the Tatabï. ..... (S3) ... I killed ... and I captured) their wives and children, and their horses and possessions ..... (S4) I extinguished their wives (and children ..... (S5) I marched ..... (S6) I fought ..... (S7) ..... I killed their heroes and I readily made them balbals. At the age of fifty the Tatabï people (were separated) from the Qïtań. ..... to the Töŋkär mountain ..... (S8) Under the command of General Qu, an army of forty thousand soldiers came (toward us). I attacked them on the Töŋkär mountain and beat them. I (killed) thirty thousand soldiers, and ..... the Tatabï .....(S9) killed. When my oldest son died of a disease, I readily erected Qu, the general, as a balbal (for him). Nineteen years reigned I as šad, nineteen years as kagan, governing the state. (At the age of) thirty-one ..... (S10) For the beneift of my Turks and my people, I have thus gotten victories in the best way.

After he had gotten so many victories, (my father, the kagan,) passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of the Year of Dog (= 734 A.D.). In the Year of Pig, on the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month, I held (his) funeral. (In order) to hold (?) the evil spirits (?) ... (S11) under the presidency of Lisün (= Li ts'üan) Tay-Säŋün, the father of . . . . , five hundred men came. They brought ..... to produce scent (?), and gold and silver in abundance. They (also) brought scented candles (?) for the funeral and set them up for us. (Moreover) they brought

sandalwood and ..... (S12) This many peoples cut out their hairs and tore their ears .... They brought their good saddle-horses, their black sables and blue squirrels in an uncountable number and left them all. (S13) I, the Heaven-like and Heaven-created Turkish Bilgä (Kagan), here are my words: When my father, Turkish Bilgä Kagan, succeeded to the throne, the faithful Turkish lords, westwards the Tarduš lords — Kül Čor at the head and the šadpït lords — eastwards the Tölis lords — Apa Tarkan (S14) at the head and the šadpït lords — ..... Taman Tarkan, Tonyukuk Boyla Baγa Tarkan and (other) high officials, ... court officials — Säbig Kül Irkin at the head and (other) officials — this many faithful lords (S15) magnified and glorified my father, the kagan, profoundly ..... (My father, the kagan?), profoundly glorified and praised the Turkish lords and people. When my father, the kagan, (passed away,) the Turkish lords and people (brought?) all these heavy stones and thick wood, and set them up (?). To me all these .....

North

(My father,) (N9) the kagan, and my uncle, the kagan, during their reigns, completely organized and ..... the peoples in the four quarters of the world. By the grace of Heaven, after I had mounted the throne, I, too, ordered and organized the peoples (in the four quarters of the world) and I made ..... With a very great wedding ceremony, I gave (lit.: 'took and gave') my daughter ... to the Türgis kagan as a wife. With a very great wedding ceremony (N10) I took the daughter of the Türgis kagan as a wife for my son. ..... With a very great wedding ceremony, I gave (my sister, the princess?, to the Kirgiz kagan? as a wife). ..... I made the proud (enemies) bow and the powerful ones kneel. Since Heaven above and Earth below were gracious (to me ...) (N11) (I settled) my people who have not been seen by eye and have not been heard by ear before (i. e., numberless, very numerous) eastwards up to the sunrise, southwards

(as far as China?), westwards ..... For the benefit of my Turks and my people I won and acquired their yellow gold and white silver, their hemmed (?) silk cloth and hem-stitched (?) silk fabric, their saddle-horses and stallions, their black sables (N12) and blue squirrels, and I made their ..... free from troubles. The heavens above ..... (N13) nourish (the people); do not trouble and torment (them)! .... O my Turkish lords and Turkish people! ..... having conquered ..... (O Turkish people!) (If) you do not allow yourselves to be parted from this kagan of yours and from these lords of yours, from (your lands and) your waters, (N14) you will become better and you will be subject (only) to your (own) homeland; you will be out of troubles. ..... Thereafter (I sent for) many painters and sculptors from the Chinese Emperor. (The Chinese Emperor) did not reject my request and sent the court painters. I got them to build an extraordinary mausoleum. I had the inside and outside of it decorated with extraordinary pictures. I had a memorial stone inscribed; I had the words in my mind put. .... (N15) See these (inscriptions) and get a lesson (from them), all of you up to the descendants and subjects of the On-Ok! (I had) the memorial stone (inscribed ..... inscribed and written. ..... that stone mausoleum of .....

West

(W1) ... above - - - (W2) Bilgä Kagan (passed away?) (W3) I mourn and lament (?) as if the bridge of heavens speaks (that is, it thunders) in summers, as if a deer bellows at mountains. I myself, the kagan, (had) the (memorial) stone of my father, the kagan, (inscribed and erected (?). .....

South-West

(SW) I, Prince Yolluγ, inscribed the inscription of Bilgä Kagan. All these constructions, statues and pictures and (other) artistical works ..... I, Prince Yolluγ, Bilgä Kagan's nephew, inscribed and decorated .... sitting down thirty-four days.

The Tonyukuk Inscription

I. West

(W1) I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, was born in China. The Turkish people were subject to China (at that time). (W2) Without having found their khan, the Turkish people were parted from the Chinese, and got themselves a khan. They (soon, however,) abandoned their khan and submitted to China again. Heaven, then, must have spoken as follows: 'I had given you a khan; (W3) but you abandoned your khan and submitted again'. As a punishment for this submission, Heaven caused the Turkish people to be killed. The Turkish people were killed, ruined and extinguished. In the land of the Turkish Sir people (W4) there was no longer any ordered group of people left. Those who had remained in woods and wilderness came together and amounted to seven hundred. Two-thirds (lit.: 'two parts') of them were mounted, a (third) part was on foot. He who led the seven hundred men (W5) as their chief was a šad. 'Join me!' he said. It was I, Bilgä Tonyukuk, who joined him (without hesitation). 'Shall I make him a kagan?' I said (to myself) and I thought: If lean bulls and fat bulls (W6) kick one another at a distance, one cannot distinguish between fat bulls and lean bulls, they say. Thus did I think. Then, since Heaven granted me insight, I myself made him kagan. Having become a kagan in the company of Bilgä Tonyukuk Boyla Baγa Tarkan, (W7) İlteriš killed in great number the Chinese to the south, the Qïtań to the east, and the Oguz to the north. It was I who was his counselor and his aide-de-camp. We were inhabiting then the northern slope of the Čoγay (mountains) and Kara-Kum.

II. South

(S1) We were dwelling there, nourishing ourselves on big games and hares. The people's stomach was full. Our enemies were like peaks (?) around us, and we were like a mountain pass (?). While we were dwelling in this manner, there came a scout from the Oguz. (S2) These were the words of the scout: 'Over the Tokuz-Oguz people a kagan has set himself as ruler.' said he. (The kagan of the Tokuz-Oguz) is said to have sent General Qu to the Chinese, and Toŋra Äsim to the Qïtań. He is said to have sent such a message (to them): 'The very few Turkish (people) (S3) seem to have been making a progress. Their kagan is said to be brave, and his counselor is said to be wise. If these two men are left alive, they will definitely kill you, Chinese, I say. To the east they will kill the Qïtań, I say, and they will (also) kill us, the Oguz, I say. (Therefore) you, Chinese, attack them (from) the south, and you, Qïtań, attack (them) from the east, and I shall attack (them) from the north. Let the Turkish Sir people not make any progress at all in their land. Let us extinguish (them) completely, if possible, (S5) I say.' After I had heard these words, I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to relax by day. Then I made my representations to my kagan. I made my representations (to him) as follows: 'If the Chinese, Oguz and Qïtań, these three (once) form an alliance, (S6) we would be helpless. It seems as if we are holding the exterior with our own interior (i. e., with our own forces). That which is thin is easy to bend, they say; that which is tender is easy to break. If thin becomes thick, it is hard to bend it, they say; and if tender (S7) becomes tough, it is hard to break it, they say. I wonder whether

we in all have two or three thousand troops 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? Thus made I my representation (to him). (S8) My kagan deigned to listen to the representation which (I myself), Bilgä Tonyukuk, made (to him). 'Lead (the army) according to your own will!' he said. Having waded Kök Öŋ, I led (them) toward the Ötükän mountains. With carts drawn by oxen the Oguz came from the Toγla. (S9) (Their army) probably consisted of (three thousand men?); we were two thousand. We fought. Heaven favored us: we put them to rout. They were poured into the river. Those who were put to rout were also killed on the way (while they trying to escape). Then the Oguz came altogether (= submitted?). (S10) It was I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, who (had led) the Turkish kagan and the Turkish people to the Ötükän land. Having heard the news that (the Turks) settled themselves in the Ötükän land, there came all the peoples who were living in the south, in the west, in the north and in the east (and submitted to us).

I. East

(E1) We were two thousand and we had (two) armies. The Turkish people and the Turkish kagan had never reached the cities of Shantung and the ocean since they (were created) and since he (i. e., the first Turkish kagan) was enthroned. I requested my kagan (to go on campaigns), and went on campaigns. (E2) I caused the kagan and the army to reach the Shantung plain and the Ocean. He (i. e., the kagan) defeated twenty-two cities. Having not been able to sleep enough, he (i. e., the kagan) was stuck at the camp. The Chinese emperor was our enemy; the On-Ok kagan was our enemy; (E3) (Furthermore) the populous (Kirgiz and their) mighty (kagan) became (our enemy). These three kagans apparently consulted together and said: 'Let us come together at the Alaı mountains.' They apparently consulted together as

follows: 'Let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks. If we do not wage war against him, he will sooner or later (E4) — since (the kagan is said to be brave) and his counselor is said to be wise — he will sooner or later kill us. Let us, we three, ally and wage war against(the Turkish kagan), and extinguish him' they said. The Türgis kagan reportedly said as follows: 'My people will be there' he said, (E5) '(the Turkish people) is in disorder; the Oguz, their subjects, are also displeased (with them)' he said. After I had heard these words, I had no wish to sleep by night and I had no wish to relax (by day). Then I thought: (E6) 'If we (first) march (against the Kirgiz) ...' I said. When I heard that there is only one road over Kögmän, and it is (now) closed (by snow), I said: 'If we go that way, it will not be good (for us)'. Then I looked for a guide and found a man from the Az people who lived in the plain. (E7) I heard from him: '(The way) which goes to the land of the Az is (beside) the Anï (river). It is a road wide enough only for one horse'. The man said to me that he (once) had gone by that (way). When I heard this, I said: 'A horseman is said to have gone (by this way). If we go this way, it will be possible' I said and thought. I requested

I. North

(N1) my kagan, and ordered the army to march. 'Enter the water on horseback!' I ordered. After having crossed over Ak-Tärmil (in this manner), I let (the soldiers) heat their backs. (Then) I ordered them to mount their horses and I broke through the snow. (Then) I ordered them to ascend upwards on foot, pulling the horses after them, and holding on to the trees. Having sent the vanguard (N2) forward as if kneading (the snow), we climbed over the wooded hill. We descended rolling. We went on going around the barriers (of snow) on the side (of the mountain) for ten nights. Since the guide had misled (us), he was slaughtered. Having become utterly bored, the kagan said: 'Ride fast!' (N3) (We) arrived at the

river Anï. We rode down along that river. In order to be fed we ordered (the soldiers) to dismount. We used to tie the horses to trees. We went on riding at a gallop by day and by night. We fell upon the Kirgiz while they were asleep. (N4) (We awakened them?) with the lances. Meanwhile their khan and army gathered together. We fought and defeated them. We killed their khan. The Kirgiz people submitted and yielded to the kagan. We came back (from the Kirgiz). Having gone around the Kögmän mountains, we came. (N5) We came back from the Kirgiz. Meanwhile a scout came from the Türgis kagan. His words were as follows: 'Let us wage war against the Eastern kagan. 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 — (N6) he will definitely kill us anytime he wants. (The scout) said: 'The Türgis kagan has reportedly marched off,' he says, 'the On-Ok people all have marched off.' A Chinese army is also reported to have been with them. Having heard these words, my kagan said: 'I shall go down to the camp.' (N7) The katun had formerly died. 'I shall hold her funeral' he said. 'You, army, keep going and stay at the Altai mountains. The commander in-chief is Inäl Kagan. Let the šad of the Tarduš go!' he said. He ordered me, Bilgä Tonyukuk, (as follows): (N8) 'Lead this army!' he said, 'Give the judgments according to your own conscience. What (else) shall I say to you?' he said, 'If the enemy comes, a trick can be planned. If they do not come, then stay there (quietly) getting messages and information about the enemy. Thus we stayed at the Altai mountains. (N9) There came three scouts. Their messages were all alike: 'The kagan has marched off with the army. The army of the On-Ok has marched off, all to a man,' they say. They apparently said: 'Let us gather together on the Yarïš plain.' Having heard these words, I sent the news to the kagan. From the khan a (N10) came back: 'Stay there!' he said, 'Place the vanguard and patrols properly, and do not let the enemy make a surprise attack on you!' Such was the message

Bögü Kagan sent me. But he sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan, I was told. (This message was as follows:) 'Bilgä Tonyukuk is malicious and evil-minded. (N11) 'Let us march off with the army!' he will say. Do not agree with him!' Having heard this message, I ordered the army to march. We climbed over the Altai mountains without any roads, and we crossed over the Irtish river without any fords. We made (the army) to march (even) by night, and arrived in Bolču while the dawn was breaking.

II. West

(W1) They brought a man (from the enemy). His words (were) as follows: 'An army of 100,000 men has assembled on the Yarïš plain' he says. When they heard these words all the lords (W2) said: 'Let us go back! To become tired is, of course, better'. (Then I said as follows:) 'I, Bilgä Tonyukuk, say as follows: 'We have come (this far) by climbing over the Altai mountains and we have come (this far) (W3) by crossing over the Irtish river. Those who have come (with us) said: 'It is difficult (to go forward).' But they did not suffer (these difficulties so much). Heaven and Umay and the Holy Spirits of the Earth and Water obviously favored us in succeeding (to overcome the difficulties). Why should we flee? (W4) Why should we be afraid of their being many? Why should we be overwhelmed because of our being few? Let us attack!' I said. (Thus) we attacked and plundered (their camp). The next day (W5) they came rushing hotly like flames. We fought. Their two wings were about half again as many as we. By the favor of Heaven we had no fear (W6) of their being many. We fought, and put (the enemy) to rout, pursuing them toward the šad of the Tarduš. We took their kagan prisoner. There (our soldiers) killed (W7) their yabγu and šad. We took about fifty men prisoners. That very night we sent messages to their tribes. After having heard these tidings the lords and the people of the On-Ok all (W8) came and submitted. Having organized and gathered together the lords and the

people who had come (and join us), since a few of the people had fled, I ordered the On-Ok troops to march off. (W9) We, too, marched off, and followed them up. Having crossed over the Pearl River and passed by the sacred Äk-Taγ, which is (also) called 'Son of Heaven'.

II. South

(S1) we came as far as the Iron Gate. There we ordered the armies to turn back. (Having feared, ...) Täzik, Tokharian, ... (S2) and the Sogdian people under Asuq, who are on this side of the others mentioned, all came and submitted to İnäl Kagan. The Turkish people had never before reached the Iron Gate (S3) and the mountain which is called 'Son of Heaven'. Now, since I caused (the Turkish armies) to reach as far as these lands, (S4) they brought home the yellow gold and the white silver, girls and women, and crooked camels in great abundance. By virtue of his being wise (S5) and brave, İlteriš Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese, seven times against the Qïtań and five times against the Oguz. It was I (S6) who was (his) counselor, and it was I who was his wartime leader during these expeditions. To İlteriš Kagan, to the Turkish Bögü Kagan and the Turkish Bilgä Kagan...

II. East

(E1) Qapγan Kagan, at (the age of) twenty-seven, ... I enthroned Qapγan Kagan. Without sleeping by night (E2) or getting rest by day, and letting my red blood pour and making my black sweat flow, I gave my services (to my kagans and people). I have sent (them) forward on far campaigns, (E3) I have made the fortifications and watchtowers great. I used to force withdrawing enemies to come (on us). I, together with my kagan, went on campaigns. By Heaven's favor (E4) I did not let any armed enemy ride among this Turkish people, or any branded(?)

horse run around. If İlteriš Kagan had not won, (E5) and if I myself had not won, there would have been neither the state nor the people. Since he won, and since I myself won, (E6) both the state has become a state, and the people a people. (Now) I myself am grown old; I am far advanced in years. If a people living anywhere (in the world) under a kagan (E7) had such a man (i. e., a man like me as their chief executive), what kind of trouble would it have? ! (E8) I had (these inscriptions) inscribed in the reign of Turkish Bilgä Kagan. I (am) Bilgä Tonyukuk.

II. North

(N1) If İlteriš 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, (N2) in the land of Qapγan Kagan and of Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings at all. (N3) Since İlteriš Kagan and Bilgä Tonyukuk have won, the Turkish Sir people of Qapγan Kagan have flourished this much. (N4) Turkish Bilgä Kagan is (now) ruling, taking care of the Turkish Sir people and the Oguz people.

The Ongin Inscription

Main Inscription

Front

(F1) Our ancestor Yamï Kagan suppressed, frightened, routed and subdued (the peoples in) the four quarters of the world. After that khan had died, the empire apparently went to ruin, collapsed and ... (The Turkish people) (F2) let their kagan whom they had made kagan collapse. 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 ... (The Turkish people) (F3) let their brave men become balbals. The name of the Turkish people had almost completely vanished. Then, Heaven on high apparently said: 'Let not the Turkish people go to ruin; let them not be overcome.' ... (F4) I was born in the reign of Qapγan İlteriš Kagan. (I am) Bilgä İšbara Tamγan Tarqan, the son of El-etmiš Yabγu and the younger brother of İšbara Tamγan Čor Yabγu. My noble ... father El-etmiš ... (F5) Then to the north of China among the Atig and Oguz seven men started hostilities (against us). My father ... then marched in the direction of Täŋrikän (that is, to take position on the side of Täŋrikän) and gave him his services ... (F6) When Täŋrikän became gracious, saying that 'You have given your services to me', and granted him (that is, my father) the title of šad, the Tokuz-Oguz and Atig started hostilities (against us). They were (dangerously) powerful, (too). Täŋrikän marched (against them ...) (F7) 'We are no doubt bad. You have seen (that we were) few (and our enemies were)

many. (Inspite of this) our men (did it better?). Let us go to war!' said (my father). 'O my faithful lords!' he said, 'Let us not fear because of our being few.' ... (F8) So entreated my father, the šad. (In order that) Täŋrikän (would not be destroyed and the people would not be driven) into mis(fortune) there ...

Right

(R1) I attacked the city of Qamïl (= Qomul, Hami), I took my revenge on it and conquered it. Their army came (upon us). I terrified their common people (and subjugated them); their lords fled... The Chinese people ... I beat, frightened, suppressed and routed (them) ... Like a storm (?) (R2) we came (back?). Meanwhile, the Atig started hostilities, we were told. (At first) I thought 'I shall not go to war.' But, apparently I had a wish for giving my further services to the Sacred Bilgä Kagan. Since they attacked (us on our way home?) I put them to the lance. I arrived at the camp. After I had fought (R3) and reached home, I advised my younger brothers and my sons as follows: 'My father (always) marched (behind) İlteriš Kagan and did not become separated from the Sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray.' So advised I. Those who meant to go back, went (back). The people of Bilgä Kagan went (forward?) with great enthusiasm (?) and gave their services to the great name. (R4) Above is Heaven (?). You parted from my mighty and brave kagan in the seventh month of the Sheep Year and went away (that is, passed away, died). My beloved wise father! I held your funeral and celebrated your obsequies. (Water), Earth, Heaven ... had entered.

The Supplementary Inscription

(1) For (my beloved father), I had (this) monument (2) (inscribed and had this) memorial (3) (stone erected). O my beloved father! My beloved and (4) (wise) father! (5) (I inscribed this stone in the Dragon Year). (6) (The well-known) man, good (khan?) ...

The Balbal

(This is) Isbara Tarqan's balbal.

The Küli Čor Inscription

West

(W1) ... Since (he was ...) he gave (him) the title of Čïqan Tonyukuk ... (W2) When ... (started hostilities), he raised (him) in rank; he (thus) became İšbara Čïqan Küli Čor. (Küli Čor) ... (W3) (Küli Čor) grew old in the reign of (İlteriš) Kagan and he remained faithful to his good realm. Having lived eighty years, Küli Čor the Elder died ... (W4) ... His saddlehorse was the gray horse. His dress and (appearance), his heroism and manly qualitites gained much fame then. To the Turkish people ... (W5) When ... started hostilities, (Küli) Čor stabbed and killed ... and captured their wives and children ... (W6) He conquered (or, took the possession of) this Az people. The land was ... Küli Čor, the Turkish people and the lords ... (W7) ... Since he was wise, (since) he was brave and had manly qualities, (he won) ... (W8) ... İšbara Bilgä Küli Čor ... people ... (W9) ... was ... In fighting he commanded the army; in hunting he resembled a huge hawk (or, eagle?) ... (W10) ... he stabbed. He fought against the army of the Tümät at Käčin. Küli Čor suddenly attacked and (put) their army (to the sword?) ... (W11) ... six ... At his four fights at Bish-Balyk, Küli Čor made sudden attacks (on the enemy) and disordered ... (W12) ... (Küli Čor) fought so many times against the Chinese and he gained so much fame by virtue of his courage and his manly qualities ...

East

(E1) (İšbara Bilgä Küli Čor's) capturing and taking the (wives) and children (of the enemy) away and ... his conquests (lit.: 'his conquering lands'). (E2) ... İšbara Bilgä Küli Čor reigned ruling and governing the Tarduš people ... (E3) He mounted his saddle-horse and (suddenly attacked) and killed three men. At war against the (Tümät?), Küli Čor mounted his private reddish-brown horse and ... (E4) ... Afterwards he went (forward), crossed over the Pearl River and (led) the army as far as the Iron Gate and the (land of the) Täzik and conquered (all these lands). When he fought seven times against the Tokuz-Oguz, (E5) he drove (the enemy?) (to the river?). When he fought five times against the Q'itań and Tatabï (?) at ... (Küli) Čor was his (i. e., the kagan's) very best counselor and aide-de-camp, and his very best hero and champion. (E6) ... (Küli) Čor, when he was seven years old, ... (When) he was ... years old, he killed nine ferocious (men). When the Karluk started hostilities and when he fought (against them) at Ätiz (E7) ... Afterwards (Bilgä) Küli (Čor fought) against the Karluk again. He mounted his ... (white horse) and attacked suddenly; he stabbed and thrusted (the enemy). Again he pursued and ... (E8) ... he led the army. He granted a favor to the Karluk and did not destroy them. He went toward the Karluk with the intention of ... But the people again introduced war to their native-land. The Karluk got mounted. At that time (E9) ... the Karluk hit and broke the rump of his reddish-brown barren mare. The Karluk ... the Governor himself came; Yigän Čor, the son of Sir Irkin, (also) came. (E10) ... In order to ... he started a campaign. He fought and defeated their army. He conquered their land and (took) their wives and children (away). After having overcome in this manner, İšbara Bilgä Küli Čor ... (E11) ... Such was his fate apparently. He suddenly attacked the enemy and rushed himself to them. (As a result) he was killed

while still young (lit.: 'He became lacking while his lifetime was short'). (E12) ... Prince (Yäk) Čor, the younger brother of the kagan, ... came; also (four) princes came. They held Išbara Bilgä Küli Čor's funeral. They (also) had sculptures sculptured and had them erected. (E13) ... he won this (much ... because of ...). He kept too many horse herds.

South

(S1) ... Prince Yäk came; Yigän Čor, the son of Tadïq (?) Čor, (also) came ... (S2) ... Since he was ... so many peoples grieved and mourned. I scratched and inscribed (these inscriptions). (S3) ... with ignorance, with what I know and remember, I inscribed this many inscriptions. (E4) ... Alas! (?) ...

IV. GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

The order of the characters is as follows: a, b, č, ä, e, ï, i, q, k, l, m, n, o, ö, p, s, š, t, u, ü, y.

ab chase, hunt

a. abla- KČ W9

abla- to chase, hunt

a. -sar KČ W9

ač- to open, clear up

a. -dïmïz TI N4

āč hungry BK E38

āč- to feel hungry

ā. -sār BK N6

āčsïq the state of being hungry

ā. tosïq KT S8

ā. ömäz sän KT S8, BK N6

adaq foot

a. qamšat KT N7, BK E30

adγïr stallion

a. -ïγ KT E36

a. -īn BK N11

adïnč(č)ïγ extraordinary, wonderful

a. barq KT S12, BK N14

a. bädiz BK N14

adrïl- to be separated

a. -tï TI W2

a. -u bar- O R4

adrïlma- neg. of adrïl

a. -lïm O R3

a. -duq O R3

(a. -azma-) O R3

(a. -yarγilma-) O R3

aγ- to ascend, go up

a. -dï BK E37

aγar heavy, important (cf. ïγar)

a. tašïγ BK S15

a. törūg BK E2

aγī material, treasure (cf. aγi) KT N12, TII S4

ädgü a. KT S7, BK N5

yablaq a. KT S7, BK N5

a. -sī KT S5, BK N4

a. -sīŋa KT S6, BK N5

aγīš wealth, property, possessions

a. -īn KT SW

(a. barīm) KT SW

aγīt- to put to flight

a. -(t)ïm BK E31

a. -ïp KT N7, KC E7

aγī cf. aγī

a. -n ar- KT S5, BK N4

aγrï- to become sick

a. -p BK S9

aγtur- to cause to ascend

a. -tum TI N1

aγu geog. n.

a. -da BK E34

aq white KT E36, E40

a. -ïγ KT N5, N6

a. -īn KT N2, N3, N9

[aq]īn KT N2 (9th word)

? [aqī]n KČ E7

aq tärmil (? ä) geog. n. TI N1

aqīt- to order to march, let raid

a. -dīmïz TI N11

a. -(t)ïmïz KT N8

al- to take, capture, conquer

a. -tïm BK E24, E27, E28, E29, E34, E38; O R1

[altï]m BK E26

a. -tïmïz KT N2, E36, E38

a. -tï KČ E10, W11

a. -miš KT E40

a. -mis KT E2

? [al]duqī KČ E1

a. -γalï BK E32

a. -ïp KT S7; BK N6, E38

a. -matīn KT S9, BK N7

a. -ī KT E8; BK E8, N9 N10; TI N8

(ölür- a.) KT E40, N2

(a. -ī bir-) KT E8; BK E8, N9, N

alp hard, difficult; brave; hero; heroism KT N2, N2, N3, E3, E3, E40, E40; BK E4, E4, S7, N4; TI S3, S6, S7, E4, N5; TII W3; O F3, R4

a. -ī KČ W4, E5

a. -ın TII S5; KČ W7, W12

(a. bökä) KČ E5
(a. ärdäm) TII S5; KČ W7, W12

alpaγu hero, champion warrior, officer (cf. yilpaγut)

bir oγuš a. KT N7

alq- to finish, complete

a. -d[ïmï]z KT NE

alqïn- to be destroyed, be ruined, be annihilated

a. -tï TI W3

a. -tïγ KT S9, BK N7

(öl- a. yoq bol-) TI W3

(a. arïl-) KT S9, BK N7

alqïnma- neg. of alqïn-

al[qïnma-zu]n teyin O F8

altï six

a. čub soγdaq KT E31

a. č[ub soγdaq] BK E24

? [al]tï sir BK E1

a. yolï BK E28

a. otuz BK E26, S10

a. yegirmi KT E31

altun gold KT S5, BK S11, KT N12

[al]tun BK N3

sarïγ a. TII S4

a. -īn KT SW

[altunī]n BK N11

(a. kümüš/kümüs) KT S5, SW; BK S11, N3

(aγī a. kümüš) KT N12

altun yïs, altun yiš geog. n. (the Great Altai Mountain)

a. yïs üzä TI E3

a. yïsda TI N7, N8

a. yïsïγ TI N11, TII W2

a. yišïγ BK E27

alt(u)z- to cause to capture

a. -dï KT E38

amγa geog. n. (cf. amγī)

a. qorγan KT N8

amγï cf. amγa

a. qorγan BK E31

amtï now, at present KT S3, E9; BK N2

anča like that, so, in that way, as follows; that much KT S5, S5, S7, S7, S13, S13, E3, E3, E3, E9, E9, E11, E21, E21, E21, E21, E27, E30, E31, N11; BK N4, N5, N5, N12, E4, E4, E8, E9, E10, E17, E18, E18, E18, E18, E22, E33, E33, E34, S10; TI W2, W6, S1, S2, S5, S7, E3, E4, N10; TII W2; O F8, R3, R3; KČ E11

a. sön KČ E8

a. taqï KT S13

ančula- to present, submit

a. -dï KT E32

anï acc. of ol KT S13, E34; BK E41; TI N7, TII W9

?[anŋ]ï KT W

a. üčün KT E3, BK E28

anï geog. n.

a. sub[qa] TI N3

anïn instr. of ol

a. barmis TI E7

anta loc.-abl. of ol KT S5, S7, S9, S9, E14, E32, E33, E33, E34, E38, E38, E40, N3, N4, N6, N8; BK N4, N5, N7, N7, E12, E12, E24, E25, E25, E26, E27, E28, E28, E29, E31, E31, E31, E32, E34, E37, E38, E39; TI E4, E5; TII W7, S1, S5; TII E1; O F6, F8; KČ W4, E4

a. bärüki TII S2

a. ičräki KT S2, BK N2

a. kisrä KT E4, E5, E34, E39; BK E5, E23; TI W6; KČ E7

a. ötrü TI S5, S9

antaγ like that, so, as follows; so much, that much (cf. antäg)

sabï a. TI S2, TII W1

a. ödkä KT E40

a. külüg KT E4, BK E5

[ant]aγ [b]asa KČ E10

a. -ïŋïn üčün KT S8, BK N6

antäg cf. antaγ

sabï a. TI N5

antïrγu (?antarγu) geog. n.

a. -da BK E30

aŋ most

a. ilk KT N4

a. ilkï KT E32, BK E30

aŋar dat. of ol KT S11, S12; BK N8, N14; TI E7

aŋaru dir. of ol ('toward him') TI E3

apā grandfather, ancestor; great, high (in titles)

inanču a. yarγan tarqan KT W2

a. -m KT E1, E13; BK E3, E12

a. -mïz KT E19; O F1

(äčü a.) KT E1, E13, E19; BK E3, E12; O F1

apā tarqan great Tarkan, supreme commander, commander-in-chief (title of A-schi-tê Yüan-tschen; see Hirth 16, Liu 158, 213) BK S13

a. tarqanγaru TI N10

apar ethnic n. ('Avar')

a. purum KT E4, BK E5

ar- to cheat, deceive

a. -ïp KT S5, BK N4

ara between, among

atig oγuz a. O F5

türük bodun a. TII E4

ekïn a. KT E1, E2; BK E4; O R2

arï- to be exhausted, be fatigued

a. -γu TII W2

arïl- to vanish, be destroyed

a. -tïγ KT S9

a. -[tïγ] BK N7

(alqïn- a. -) KT S9, BK N7

armaqčï tricky, deceitful

a. -sïn üčün KT E6

[armaqčïs]ïn üčün BK E6

arqa back, rump

a. -sïn KČ E9

arqïš caravan BK E25

a. tirkiš KT S8

[ar]qïš-ï BK E41

arquy fort, fortification

a. qarγuγ TII E3

artat- to destroy, ruin

a. -ï KT E22, BK E19

(a. -ï u-) BK E19

artuq excess, excessive, more, populous, superior, higher in quantity

a. [qïrqïz] TI E3

a. yïlqïγ KČ E13

siŋarča a. TII W5

yüz a. oqun KT E33

ay a. -ī tört kün BK SW

otuz a. -ī bir BK E28, S9

otuz a. -ī üč BK E34

otuz a. -ī tört BK E38

otuz a. -ī yeti KT E5

otuz a. -ī säkiz BK S2

qïrq a. -ī yeti KT E5

qïrq a. -ī [y]iti KT NE

bir tuman a. -i yeti biŋ BK S1

artur- to be deceived, be taken in

a. -up (-qa a. -) KT S6, BK N5

as- to climb over (cf. aš-)

a. -dïm TI N11

a. -dïmïz TI N2

a. -a käl- TII W2

asan- to be fed, be nourished

a. γalï TI N3

asra below, in a lower place KT E1, E22; BK N10

as[ra] BK E2

asuq (? asoq) pers. n.

a. basïlïγ soγdaq bodun TII S2

aš- to climb over (cf. as-)

? a. -ïp BK S1

a. -a BK E27

aša beyond

qadïrqan yišïγ a. KT E21

kögmän a. KT E17, BK E15

ašig (?) mountain pass (?)

biz a. ärtimiz TI S1

ašru through, beyond

ud a. sanč- KT E36, N2

ašsïz without food, hungry

ičrä a. KT E26, BK E21

at horse

a. oruqī TI E7

boz a. KT E37, KČ W3

ol a. KT E33, E33, N4

toruγ a. KT E33

yägrän a. KČ E3

a. bin- KT E33, E37; KČ E3

a. üzä bintür- TI N1

a. yät- TI N1

a. -ïγ KT E33, TI N3, TII E4

a. -ïn (instr.) TI N1

a. -ī (sü a.) KT E39

a. -īn (aq a.) KT E40

(özlik a.) BK N11, S12

āt name, reputation (cf. at)

ā. bir- BK E41

ā. -ïγ KT W2, KČ W1

ā. -īn (tabγac ā.) KT E7

(türük ā.) KT E7

at cf. āt

a. [bi]r- BK N13

är a. bul- KT E31

qaγan a. KT E20

a. -ïγ BK E17, O F6

a. -qa O R3

a. -ī (türük bodun a.) O F3

(a. küsī) KT E25, E25; BK E20, E21, E22, E36

a. -īn (türük a.) BK E7

(tabγač at[īn]) BK E7

(a. -ī küsī yoq bol-) KT E25, E25; BK E20, E21, E22, E36

ata father

a. -m ([el]etmis a.) O F4

atač beloved father

a. -ïm O Supp. 3, Supp. 4, R4

[atačïm]qa O Supp. 1

atï nephew, son of one's brother

a. -sī KT S13, SE; BK SW

([q]aγan a.) BK SW

(kül tigin a.) KT SE

atig ethnic n. (? = A-tie of the Chinese sources) O R2

toquz oγuz a. O F6

a. oγuz ara O F5

atlan- to become mounted

a. -tï KČ E8

atlïγ mounted, horseman, cavalry

bir a. TI E7

[tab]γač a. süsī BK S1

atlïγ owning a rank or a title

kičig atl[ïγ] BK E41

ań- to fear, dread (cf. Mo. ayu- id.)

[aṅ-ïp] (-qa aṅ-) TII S1

aṅïγ bad, evil KT S3; BK N2; TI N10

a. bilig KT S5, BK N4

a. kisī KT S7, BK N5

aṅït- to frighten, threaten (cf. aṅ-)

a. -ayin BK E41

ay month

bisinč a. BK S10

onunč a. BK S10

toquzunč a. KT NE

yetinč a. O R4

yitinč a. KT NE

a. artuqī tört kün BK SW

ay- to tell, judge, rule, direct TI N8

a. -ayīn TI N8

a. -dï TI N7

a. -ïγma KT SW

a. -u KČ E2

(it- a. -) KČ E2

aymaγlïγ noble, of high lineage (?)

a. (.. el) etmis atam O F4

ayγučı counselor

a. -sī TI S3, E4, N5

ay[γ]uč[isī] TII S5

ayt- to say (to a superior)

a. -ïγma (tinsi oγlī a.) TII W9, S3

a. -ïp TI E7

ayuq dominion, realm

a. -īqa (türük bilgä qaγan a.)

az few, a few, less

biz a. biz O F7

biz a. ärtimiz BK E32

a. bodunuγ KT S10, E29; BK N7, E24

a. ärin KT E40

a. teyin TII W4

a. -ïγ BK E14, O F7

az yellow (of horse hair) ?

a. yaγïzīn KT N5, N8

az ethnic n. KČ W6

a. bodun KT N2, N3

a. bodunuγ KT E19, BK E16

a. [b]o[dunuγ] BK E26

a. ëlig KČ W6

a. eltäbärig KT N3

a. ärī TI E6

a. tutuquγ KT E38

a. yir TI E7

a. qïrqïz bodunuγ KT E20, BK E17

az- to go astray, be separated

a. -u KČ E8

azča a few

a. bodun TII W8

azïγlïγ ferocious, furious KČ E6

azqïṅa few, very few

a. ärin KT E34

a. türk bodun TIS2

azma- neg. of az-

a. -lïm (-ta ... a.) O R3

(adrïlma- a. -) O R3

azman yellowish (?) (cf. az)

a. aqïγ KT N5, N6

azu or KT S10

azuq food, provisions

a. -ī (biziŋ sü ... a.) KT E39

ba- to tie, fasten

b. -yur ärtimiz TI N3

baγa small, lower in rank

b. tarqan BK S14, TI W6

balbal statue of the killed enemy KT E16, E25; BK S7, S9, E13; O R3

b. -ī (isbara tarqan b.) O Bal.

(b. qïl-) BK S7

(b. qïs-) O R3

(b. tik-) KT E16, E25; BK S9, E13

balïq city, town BK E28, E28

üč otuz b. TI E2

b. -(q)a TI E1, O R1

b[alïq(q)a] TI E2

b. -da KT N4, BK E30, KČ W11

b. -daqī KT E12

(bes b.) BK E28, E28; KČ W11

(qam[ïl] b.) O R1

(santuŋ b.) TI E1, E2

(toγu b.) KT N4, BK E30

balïq mud

b. -(q)a KT N8

baŋa dat. of bän TI N7

baŋaru dir. of bän TI N10

bar exists, existent, there is/are

ï b. baš TI N2

qutum b. üčün KT E29, S9

qutum ülügüm b. üčün BK E23

ülügüm b. üčün KT E29

b. ärsär TI S3, TII E7

b. ärmis TI N6

b. ärmis ärinč O R2

b. ärtäči ärmis TII E7

b. ɣu KT S10, BK N8

b. mu nä TI S7

bar- to go away

b. -ïŋ (sü b.) TI N7

b. -zun TI N7

b. -dïɣ KT E24, E24, S9; BK E19, E19, E20, N6

b. -dï KT E34, E39; BK E20, E35, E40, E41, S10; O R3, R3

b.-dïmïz TI N2, N3, N3

bard[ïmïz?] TI N3

b. -dïŋïz O R4

b. -dïɣïz KT SE

b. -ïɣma KT E24, BK E20, O R3

b. -duq KT E24, BK E20

b. -miš KT E28, BK E22

b. -mis KT E16, E23; TI E7, E7; O F3

b. -ur KT N1, BK E29

b. -ïr KT E10

b. -ïp KT S7; BK N6; KČ E4, E8 (?)

b. -sar KT S8, BK N6

barïm property, possessions, wealth

b. -ïn KT N1, BK E24

b. -ïn KT SW

barq house, building, residence; tomb, mausoleum

adïnč(č)ïɣ b. KT S12, BK N14

b. itgüči KT N13

b. -ïɣ BK E32, SW

b. -ïn KT NE; BK E34, E37, N15

(äb b.) BK E32, E34, E37

(b. bädiz) BK SW, KT NE

bars pers. n.

b. bäg KT E20

bas cf. baš

b. -ï (sü b.) TI N7

bas- to raid, attack suddenly, fall upon, suppress, defeat

b. -dïm BK E27, E27; O R1

b. -dï KT N8

b. -dïmïz KT E35, E37; TI N3

b. -mis O F1

b. -a BK E32, TII W3

(b. -a ber-) TII W3

(b. -a käl-) BK E32

basa then, again

b[asa] O F5

basïq- to thrust

b[asï]q-dï KT N8

basïn- to be overwhelmed

b. -alïm TII W4

basït- to let the enemy make a surprise attack

b.! TII E3

baslïɣ owning a leader (cf. bašlïɣ)

asuq b.soɣdaq bodun TII S2

basma- neg. of bas-

b. -sar KT E22

b. -[sar] BK E18

basmïl ethnic n.

b. ïduq(qu)t BK E25

baš head; top of a mountain; leader (cf. bas)

ï bar b. TI N2

b. -da KT N1; BK E25, E29

b. -ïŋa (yüziŋä b.) KT E33

b. -ïnta (čuš b.) KT N6

bašad- to lead, conduct, command

b. -u (qu säŋün b.) BK S8

b. -[u] (lisün tay säŋün b.) BK S11

bašɣu white headed (?)

b. boz KT E37

b. boz at KT E37

bašla- to lead, be at the head

b. -yu KT N8, N11; BK E33

b. -yu ulayu BK S13, S14, S14

bašlayu first, at first KT E16, E25; BK E20

baš[lay]u BK E13

bašlïγ proud (lit.: 'having a head')

b. -ïγ KT E2, E15, E18; BK E13, E16

b. -[ïγ] BK E3

[bašlïγ]ïγ BK N10

bat no doubt, certainly

yabïz b. biz O F7

bat- to go down, set (of the sun)

b. -ar (kün b. ärkli) MČ

batï certainly (?) TII W2

batïm the going down, sinking

b. -ī (süŋüg b. qarïγ) KT E35, BK E26

batsïq the setting (of the sun), sunset

b. -daqï (kün b.) KT N12

b. -īŋa (kün b.) KT S2, BK N2, O R2

bay rich, prosperous

b. qïl- KT E29, S10; BK E14, N7

bayïrqu ethnic n.

yir b. uluγ irkin KT E34

yir b. yirīŋä KT S4, BK N3

b. -niŋ KT E36

b. -n[ïŋ] KT E35

baz subject, vassal

b. qaγan KT E14, E16; BK E12, E13

b. qïl- KT E2, E15; BK E13, E24

bädiz picture, design

b. urtur- KT S12, BK N14

b. yarat- KT N13

b. -ig (barqïγ b. uzuγ) BK SW

b. -īn (barqīn b.) KT NE

b. -[ī]n bädizät- KČ E12

bädiz- to design, decorate

b. -tim (bitīdim b.) BK SW

bädizči painter, artist KT S11, BK N14

b. -g KT S12, NE; BK N14

bädizät- to get someone to design

b. -(t)im KT S11

b. -(t)i (bädizīn b.) KČ E12

bädük great, powerful

b. ärmis O F6

bäg lord, chief, ruler (a title)

bars b. KT E20

b. -lī bodunlī KT E6

b. -iŋ (yigän silig b.) KT E33

b. -ī O R1

bäglär the Turkish aristocracy, the upper class, lords, knights (coll. of bäg)

matï b. BK S13, S14

šadpït b. KT S1, BK S13

šad[pït] b. BK S14

tabγačγi b. KT E7, BK E7

tarduš b. BK S13

tarqat buyruq b. KT S1

tölis b. BK S13

türük b. KT E7, E34; BK E7, N13

türük b. bodun KT S10; BK E2, N8, S15

[türük] b. b[odun] BK E33

türük bodun b. KČ W6

türük matï bodun b. KT S11, BK N8

b. gü KT S11

b. -im KT N11

b. -im â O R7

b. -ig[dä] BK N13

b. -ī (b. bodunī) KT E6, BK E6

(b. yämä bodunī yämä) KT E3, BK E4

(on oq b. bodunī) TII W7

(türük oγuz b. bodun) KT E22

(türük oγuz b. bodunī) KT S2

(toquz oγuz ekī ädiz kärä külüg b. bodunī) BK E1

b. -īn bodunīn BK S15, TII W8

bäglik worthy of becoming a lord

b. urï oγluŋ KT E24, BK E20

b. urï oγlīn BK E7

b. urï oγlin KT E7

bän I (cf. män) TI W5, S4, N6, N8; TII W2, S3, E8, N1; KČ S2

[bän] TII W2

b. ök TI W1, S8, S10; TII E5, N1

bäniŋ gen. of bän (cf. mäniŋ)

b. bodunum TI E4

bäŋgü eternal, everlasting; forever (cf. bärigü)

b. taš KT S11, S12, S13; BK N8, N15

b. ... olurtači sän KT S8, BK N6

bäŋigü cf. bäŋgü

b. [tašïγ ?] O Supp. 2

bäŋilig sacred, holy, blessed (?)

b. äk taγïγ TII W9

bärčik Persian

soγ(u)d b. är KT N12

bärü this side, hither

b.-ki (anta b.) TII S2

ber- to give (cf. bir-)

b.-tim BK S7, TI W2

[b]ertim KT W2

[ber]tim BK S7

b.-tim ök TII E2

b.-tiŋ O F6

b.-ti TI S8; TII W3; O R3

b.-ig[mä] BK E21

b.-mis KT E14; BK E12; KČ W1; O F5, F6

b.-tük TI W6

(āt b.-) KČ W1, KT W2

(basa b.-) TII W3

(äsidü b.-) TI S8

(isig küčüg b.-) TII E2, O R3, F6

(qïlu b.-) BK S7, S7

bersä- to wish to give (see bersäg)

bersäg a wish for giving

b.-im bar ärmis ärinč O R2

bes five (cf. biš, bis)

b. süŋüs KČ E5

b. tümän BK E25

b. süŋüsdi TII S5

b. balïq BK E28, E28; KČ W11

bes balïq geog. n. (Bish-Balyk) BK E28, E28

b. b.-da KČ W11

bïč- to cut off

[b]ič-dï (sačīn qulqaqīn b.) BK S12

bïŋ thousand (cf. biŋ)

ekī b. TI E1

bičīn monkey

b. yïlqa KT NE

bil- to know

b.-iŋ KT S11, S12, S13; BK N8, N15, E33

b.-ir biligim KT N10

b.-īr siz KT E34

b.-mäz biligin KČ S3

b.-mäz (bilig b. kisī) KT S7, BK N6

b.-mäz ärti BK E18, E18

b.-mäz ärmis TI W6

b.-mäz täg KT N10

b.-tükümün (b. ödükümün) KČ S3

bilgä wise; counselor KT E3, E3, E23, S6; BK E4, E4; TI S3, E4, N5; O R4, Supp. 4, Supp. 5

b.-sï čabïsï TI W7, KČ E5

b.-sïn üčün TII S4

[bi]lgäsïn üčün KČ W7

bilgä pers. n.

b. isbara tamγan tarqan O F4

b. qaγan KT S1, W1; BK E1, N1, S13, W2; TII E8, N4, S6; O R3

b. küli čor KČ W8, E10, E12

[bil]gä küli čor KČ E2

[bilg]ä küli čor KČ E7

b. tamγači KT N13

b. toñuquq TI W1, W5, W6, W17, N7, N10; TII W2, E8, N1, N3

b. to[ñ]uquq TII S3

bilig wisdom, intelligence; knowledge; mind

b. bilmäz kisī KT S7

añïγ b. KT S5

b. ber- TI W6

b.-in (acc.) (añïγ b.) BK N4

b.-in (instr.) (bilmäz b.) KČ S3

b. -im (bilïr b.) KT N10

biligsiz unwise, incapable

b. qaγan KT E5, BK E6

b. ärmis ärinč BK E6

b. ärinč KT E5

bilmä- neg. of bil-

b. -dük üčün KT E24

b. -düküginüčün BK E20

b. -dükïn üčün BK E16

bin- to mount, ride

b. -ip KT E33, E33, E36, E37, E40, N2, N3, N3, N5, N5, N6, N8, N9; KČ E3, E3, E7

(at b. -) KT E33, E37; KČ E3

(atïγ b. -) KT E33

(aqïγ b. -) KT N5, N6

(adγïrïγ b. -) KT E36

(atïn b. -) KT N3, N3, N9, E40, KT N2

(az yaγïzïn b. -) KT N5, N8

bini acc. of bän

b. oγuzuγ TI S3

bint(ü)r- to cause to mount

b. -ä (at üzä b.) TI N1

biŋ thousand (cf. bïŋ)

ekï b. TI S9

yeti b. BK S1

ekï üč b. TI S7

bir one, a; the same; once

b. at oruqï TI E7

b. atlïγ TI E7

b. ärig KT E36, N5

b. kisï KT S6, BK N4

b. qorγ[anqa] BK E40

b. oγuš KT N7

b. oγušuγ BK E31

b. ülügï TI W4

b. yïlqa KT N4, BK E30

b. ärmis TI E6

sabï b. TI N9

b. t[ägürmädi] KT E33

b. todsar KT S8, BK N6

b. otuz KT E32

b. qïrq KT N2

otuz artuqï b. BK E28-29, S9

bir- to give (cf. ber-)

b. -tim BK N9, N10, N10, N12, N12, S9, S10, E41

[bi]rtim BK N13

b. -ti BK S11

b. -timiz KT E20, E20, E21; BK E17, E17

b. -igmä KT E25

b. -miš BK E8, E8, E8, E8

b. -mis KT E1, E1, E8, E8, E8; BK E3, E3

b. -tük KT E12, W1; BK E11, E32

b. -tükgärü KT E10

b. -tük(k)ärü BK E9

b. -ür KT E9, E30, S5, S7, S7; BK N4, N5, N5

(isig kücüg b. -) KT E8, E9, E10, E30, W1; BK E8, E9

(alï b. -) KT E8; BK N9, N10, E8

(iti b. -) BK N12, N12, E3, E3; KT E1, E1

(qazγanu b. -) BK S10, N12, N12

(süläyü b. -) KT E8, E8; BK E8, E8

(tikä b. -) BK S9, S11

(tuta b. -) KT E1, E1; BK E3, E3

biridin in the south, from the south

b. yän TI S4

birigärü southward KT E28, S2, S3; BK E23, N2, N11

biriyä to the south, in the south KT E14, S1, S6; BK E12, E40, N5; TI W7, S7; O F2

[bi]riyä BK E36

biriyäki that which is in the south

b. bodun TI S10

birik- to gather, join

b. -i KT E27, BK E22

biriki and

oγlanïm b. oγušum bodunum KT S1, BK N1

birlä with, together with, in the company of

äčim qaγan b. KT E17, BK E15

ädiz b. KT N5

ekï šad b. KT E27, BK E22

inim kül tigin b. KT E26, E27

izgil bodun b. KT N3

qïrqïz b. BK E26

qošu tutuq b. KT N1

oγuz b. KT N6, N7

säkiz tümän [sü] b. BK E20

tabγač bodun b. KT S4, BK N3

toquz tatar b. BK E34

toñuquq boyla baγa tarqan b. TI W7

qaγanïn b. KT E35, BK E27

birmä- neg. of bir-

b. -di (ordūγ b.) KT N9

bis five (cf. bes, biš)

b. t[ümän sü] KT E31

b. yüz ärän BK S11

bisinč fifth, fifthly

b. ay BK S10

b. ... oγuz birlä süŋüšdümiz KT N7

bisük relative, kin

b. -ïŋä tägi KT S6

biš five (cf. bis, bes)

b. yolï KT N4

b. otuz KT E18

bitī- to write, inscribe (cf. biti-)

b. -dim KT SE, SE; BK SW; KČ S3

biti- cf. bitī-

b. -dim KT SW, BK SW

b[itī]dim KČ S2

b. -gmä KT S13, SE

(bitīg b. -) KT S13, SE, KČ S3

bitīd- cf. bitīt-

b. -(d)im KT S13, BK N15

bitīg writing, inscription

bunča b. KČ S3

bitig (cf. bitīg)

bu b. KT S13

bunča b. KT SE

b. taš KT N13

b. taš[ïn] KT NE

b. t[aš]ïγ O Supp. 1

bitīt- to have inscribed

b. -dim TII E8

biz we; we are KT E20; BK E17, E32; TI S1, S9; TII W9; O F7

b. az b. O F7

qaltači b. TI S6

-mis täg b. TI S6

yabïz bat b. O F7

bizintä abl. of biz

b. ... artuq TII W5

bizin gen. of biz

b. sü atī KT E39

bizinä dat.-loc. of biz KT E19, E40; BK E16

bizni acc. of biz TI E3, N5, N6

bod clan, tribe, people TI W4

b. yämä TII N2

bodun tribes, people, nation KT E4, E9, E9, E9, E11, E22, E28, S2, S2, S10, S11; BK E2, E5, E8, E8, E9, E10, E19, E22, E25, E35, E37, E38, E41, S12, S15, N2, N3, N8; TI S1, S10, S10; TII W8, E6; bo[dun] BK S12

b. yämä TII E5, E6, N2

az b. KT N2, N3

čik b. BK E26

ädiz b. KT N6

izgil b. KT N3

qarluq b. KT N1; BK E29, E29, E40

qïtań tatabï b. KT E28, N11; BK E23

oγuz b. KT E28; o[γuz] b. BK E34, oγuz bo[dun] BK E33

on oq b. KT E19, BK E16

soγdaq b. KT E39, TII S2

tabγač b. KT E6, E14, S4, S5; BK E6, E12, N4; O R1

tarduš b. KT E17, BK E15

tatabï b. BK S7; t[atab]ï b. BK E39

toquz oγuz b. KT E14, N4; BK E12, E35; TI S2

türgis b. KT E38, E39

türk b. TI W1, W3; O F2, F3, F3; KČ W6; [tür]k b. TI W2

türk sir b. TI W3, S4

türük b. KT E6, E10, E11, E22, E25, E27, S6, S6, S7, S8, S8, N6-7; BK E7, E10, E19, E19, E21, E22, E30, E33, E33, E38, N5, N5, N6, N8; TII S2, E4

b. -ïŋ (gen.) KT E1, BK E3

b. -ïγ (gen.) KT E25

b. -uγ (acc.) KT E2, E13, E13, E13, E16, E19, E20, E21, E27, E28, E29, E29, E29, E29, E30, E35, E37, E38, E40, S5, S10, S10, S10; BK E9, E12, E24, E25, E27, E29, E36, E39, N9, N9; TI S10; TII N4, N4; KČ E2; bodun[uγ] BK N12, [b]o[dunuγ] BK E26

b. -qa KT E7, E26; BK E7; TII E6; KČ W4

b. -ta KT E26, N12; BK E21, E21

b. -lïγ (bäglï b.) KT E6

b. -um KT S1, N4, N11; BK E16, E29; TI E4

b. -uma (türüküma b.) BK N12, S10

b. -umïn (acc.) BK N11

b. -ï KT E3, E6, E20, S2, S6; BK E1, E4, E6, E17; TI N4, N6; TII W7; O R3

b. -ïn BK S15; TII W7, W8

boγuz throat, stomach

b. -ï (bodun b.) TI S1

boγuzlan- to be slaughtered

b. -tï TI N2

bol- to be, become

b. -čun KT E11, BK E10

b. -tum TII E6, E6

b. -tï KT E7, E7, E20, E24, E24, E30, E34, N1, N2, N3, N4, N10, N10, N10; BK E17, E26, E29, E30, E30, E32, E36, E36, E37; TI W3, W4, E3; TII E6, E6; KČ E11; [b]oltï TI E1, bol[tï] KČ W3

b. -miš KT E21, E39, S1; BK E5, E9, E11, E11, E18, E40, N1

(b. ärti) KT E21, BK E18

b. -mis KT E4, E5, E5, E9, E12, E13, TI N7; O F5, R2; KČ W2

(b. ärti) TI N7

b. -tuqda O F1, F6

(b. kisrä) O F1

(-mis b.) O F6

b. -tuqïnta KT N3, N3

b. -tači KT N9, N11; BK E31, N14

bo[ltač]i KT N7, [bolt]ači BK E28, E33

(b. ärti) KT N7, N9; BK E28, E33

b. -sar BK W3; TI S6, S7; KB W9

b. -ča BK S9

b. -up KT E10, E13; BK E9, E11

b. -u O F3

b. -uγïn TI W7

(bodun b. -) BK E37, TII E6

(buŋsïz b. -) BK N14

(ikägü b. -) KT N3

(il b. -) TII E6

(qaγan b. -) KT E5, E5; BK E5; TI W7

(qamšaγ b. -) KT N3

(qarï b. -) TII E6

(qul b. -) KT E7, E24; BK E7, E36

(kärgäk b. -) KT E30, N10; KČ E11

(küŋ b. -) KT E7, E24, N9; BK E7

(küŋ qul b. -) KT E20, BK E17

(-mäz täg b. -) KT N10

(täŋridä b. -) KT S1, BK N1

(uluγ b. -) TII E6

(yablaq b. -) KT N7, N11; BK E31

(yadaγ yabïz b. -) BK E32

(yaγï b. -) KT E9, E10, E34, E39, N1, N2, N4; BK E9, E9, E26, E29, E30; O F5, R2

(yoq b. -) KT N3; BK E28, E33, E36, E40, S9; TI W3, N7; O F1, F3; KČ W3

(yut b. -) BK E31

bolču geog. n.

b. -qa TI N11

b. -da KT E37, BK E28

bolma- neg. of bol-

b. -zun KT E11, E19, E25, E25; BK E10, E20, E21; bo[lmaz]un BK E22

bor rainstorm, snowstorm

b. -čča KT E37, BK E27

bošγur- to organize, form

b. -miš BK E12

b. -mis KT E13

(yarat- b. -) KT E13, BK E12

bošγur- to teach, give advice, make suggestions

b. -ūr KT S7, S7; BK N5; boš[γurūr] BK N5

boyla a title

b. baγa tarqan BK S14, TI W6

boz gray KT E32, E33

b. at KČ W4

bašγu b. KT E37

bašγu b. at KT E37

bödkä <bu ödkä (cf. öd) KT S11; BK E2, N1, N8

bögü pers. n.

bög(ü) qaγan TI N10

b(ö)gü q(aγan) qa TII S6

bökä champion warrior

b. -sī (alpī b.) KČ E5

böl(ü)n (<Tib. blon) minister, high official KT N12

böri wolf

b. täg KT E12, BK E11

bu this TII N3

b. bäglärig[dä] BK N13

b. bitig KT S13

b. qaγanïŋda BK N13

b. ödkä KT S1

b. sabïmda KT S10, BK N8

b. sabïmin KT S2

b. süg TI N8

b. tāmqa KT SE

b. tašqa KT SE

b. türük bodun ara TII E4

b. yerdä BK E35, E36

b. yirdä KT S4

b. yolun TI E6

bučägü <bu üčägü

tabγač oγuz qïtań b. TI S5

buq evil spirit

b. -uγ BK S10

būqa bull (cf. buqa)

sämiz b. TI W6

b. -lī (toruq b. sämiz b.) TI W5

buqa cf. būqa

toruq b. TI W6

buqaraq geog. n. (Bukhara)

b. ulus bodun KT N12

bul- to find

b. -tum TI E6

b. -tï KT E31

(är at b. -) KT E31

bulγa- to disturb order

b. -yu KČ W11

bulγaq provocative, riotous

b. -īn üčün KT N4, BK E29

bulγanč disordered, in disorder

b. [ol] TI E5

bulït cloud KT NE

bulma- neg. of bul-

b. -yin (qanīn b.) TI W2

bulna- to capture, seize

bu[l]na-d[ï] KČ E10

bulun captive, prisoner of war

b. qï[lïr] KČ W5

bulun corner, quarter

tört b. KT E2, BK E3

b. -uγ (tört b.) O F1

b. -daqï (tört b.) KT E2; BK E2, E3, E24, N9

bum('i)n pers. n.

b. qaγan KT E1, BK E3

bunča this much, this many, so many

b. aγar törüg BK E2

b. barqïγ bädizig uzuγ BK SW

b. bädizčig KT NE

b. bitīg KT SE, KČ S3

b. bodun KT E4; BK E5, S12; KČ S2

(bunč) a bodun KT S2

b. isig küčüg KT E10, BK E9

b. matï bäglär BK S14

b. törüg KT E30

b. yirkä tägi KT S4

b. bašlayu BK E33

b. qazγanïp BK S10

bu[nča] qazγantï KČ E13

b. sünüsüp KČ W12

b. tutdï (kü b. tutdï) KČ W12

bunï acc. of bu KT S10, S12; BK N8, N15

bu[nï] BK N15

bunta here (dat.-loc. of bu) KT E20, S10, S11; BK N8, E17

buntat- to make less (?)

b. -u (usïn b.) TI E2

buŋ need, want; trouble, sorrow

b. yoq KT S3

b.-uγ (poss.) KT S8

b. -ï TII E7

bunad- to be troubled, be bored

b. -ïp TI N2

buŋsïz without trouble; fearless; excessively, in abundance BK E29, N4, N12, N14; KT S5

(b. bol-) BK N14

(b. qïl-) BK N12

(b. ... bir-) KT S5, BK N4

buŋsiz cf. buŋsïz

b. kälürti TII S4

busta- to bellow, roar (?) (cf. Khak. pusta- id.)

b. -[dï] (?) KT NE

buyruq minister, high official BK S14, S14

ič b. BK S14

tarqat b. bäglär KT S1

b. -ï KT E3,E5, E19, E38; BK E4, E6, E16

buz- to destroy, rout, defeat

b. -dum BK E24, E25, E34, E37, E39

[buz]dum BK E34

b. -dumïz KT E31, E34

buzqun storm (?)

b. -ča O R1

bükli geog. n.

b. čöl(l)üg el KT E4, BK E5

b. qaγanqa tägi KT E8, BK E8

büntäg (<bunï täg) like this, such

b. -ï TII E7

büŋ- to kick

b. -sär TI W6

čabïs aide-de-camp

č. -ï (bilgäsï č.) TI W7, KČ E5

čača pers. n. (<Chin. Shacha)

č. säŋün BK E26

č. säŋünkä KT E32

čaŋ pers. n. (= Chin. Chang Kü-i)

č. särün KT N13

čärig army KČ W9

čïγań poor, needy, destitude KT E29, S10; BK E23, N7

yoq č. KT S10, BK N7

č. -ïγ (acc.) KT E16, BK E14

čïqan nephew, son of one's aunt

č. -ï (tabγač qaγan č.) KT N13

čïqan a title (?)

č. toṅuquq KČ W1

išbara č. küli čor KČ W2

čintan sandalwood (<Skr. candana)

č. ïγač BK S11

čik ethnic. n.

č. bodun BK E26

č. tapa BK E26

čoγay geog. n.

č. yiš KT S6

č. quzïn TI W7

čor a title KČ W5

kül č. BK S13

küli č. KČ W6, W10, W11, E3; [kü]li č. KČ E6

küli č. toṅuquq KČ W2

[bil]gä küli č. KČ E2

[bilg]ä küli č[or] KČ E7

'isbara bilgä küli č. KČ W8, E10

išbara čïqan küli č. KČ W2

isbara tamγan č. yabγu O F4

uluγ küli č. KČ W3

tarduš inančU č. KT N13

... č. tigin KČ E12

yigän č. KČ E9, S1

č. -iŋ (tadïqïŋ č.) KT E32, E26

č. -uγ ('isbara bilgä küli č.) KČ E12

čoraq dry land

č. -qa BK SE

čöl steppe, plain, desert

č. -gi TI E6

č. -(l)üg KT E4, BK E5

(bükli č.) KT E4, BK E5

čub stick, twig (fig. 'tribe colony'?)

alti č. soγdaq tapa KT E31

alti č[ub soγdaq] tapa BK E24

čuluγan (?) a title (?)

[?uy]γ(u)r č. KČ W5

čuš geog. n.

č. bašīnta KT N6

ä interjection of address

bäglärim ä! O F7

äb tent, house, camp, campsite, home

ä. -ig KT N8, BK E32

ä. -kä O R2

ä. -dä BK E32

ä. -gärü TI N6

ä. -iŋä BK N14

ä. -īn KT N1; BK E34, E37

(ä. barq) BK E32, E34, E37

(ä. bar'im) KT N1

äbir- to go around

ä. -ü TI N2, N4; BK E25

äči paternal uncle; elder brother (cf. äči)

ä. -m qaγan KT E16, E16, E17, E31, N3; BK E14, E14

ä. -miz (qaŋīmīz ä.) KT E26, BK E22

ä. -lī (inilī ä.) KT E6

ä. -sīn KT E5, BK E18

äči cf. äčī

ä. -m qaγan KT E17; BK E15, E20, N9

äčü forefather, ancestor

ä. -m apām KT E1, E13; BK E3, E12

ä. -miz apāmīz KT E19, O F1

ädgü good; benefit O Supp. 6

ä. aγī KT S7, BK N5

ä. alp kisīg KT S6, BK N14

ä. bilgä kisīg KT S6, BK N4

ä. äbīŋä KČ W3

ä. eliŋä KT E23

ä. özlik atīn BK S12

ä. sabī ötügī BK E39

ä. körtäči sän BK N14

ä. -g (poss.) KT E24, BK E20

ädgüti well

ä. äsid! KT S2

ä. urγīl! TI N10

ädiz ethnog. n.

ä. birlä KT N15

ä. bodun KT N6

ekī ä. BK E1

ägir- to follow, besiege

ä. -ä toqī- KT N6, BK N6

ä-ip KT N7

ägir- to be pleased

ä. -ip säbinip BK E2

ägri crooked, hunch-backed

ä. täbi TII S4

äk geog. n.

ä. taγīγ TII W9

äkä elder sister

ä. -lärim (öglärim ä.) KT N9

äkin hem (?)

ä. -lig BK N11

älä hawk, vulture

äräm ä. täg KČ W9

älig hand

ä. -in tut- KT E32, E38

älig fifty

ä. yašīma BK S7

ä. yïl KT E8

ä. -čä är TII W7

älir- (?) to recover (?), gain strength (?)

ä. -i bardï O R3

ämgäk trouble, suffering, torment

ä. kör- KT E19, BK E16

ämgätmä- not to torment

ä-ŋ tolγatmaŋ BK N13

änik pers. n.

ä. säŋün KT N12

är man, men, people O F7

alp ä. KT E40

bärčik ä. KT N12

äligčä ä. TII W7

külüg ä. O Supp. 6

öŋräki ä. TI N1

yeti yüz ä. KT E13, E13; BK E11, E11

yetmis ä. KT E12, BK E11

ä. at KT E31

ä. -ig (acc.) KT E36, E36, N2, N5, N5, N5, N6, N7, N8; KČ E3; [är]ig BK SE

ä-in (instr.) KT E11, E34, E40; BK E10, E37

ä. -ī (az ä.) TI E6

ä. -īn KT N1, BK S7, O F3

är- to be (cf. ir-)

ä. -tim KT E9, E9, E17; TI W5, W7; TII S6, S6, E3, N1

kälürīr ä. TII E3

yoq ä. ärsär TII N1

ä. -timiz BK E32, E32; TI S1, S9, E1

bayūr ä. TI N3

kälir ä. O R2

olurūr ä. TI W7, S1

ä. -tig KT S9, BK N7

ä. -tigiz

igidūr ä. KT SE

qaltači ä. KT N9

öltäči ä. KT N10

ä. -ti KT E20, E22, E39; BK E16, E17, E25, E29, E32, E38, E38; TI W4, W4, W5, S1, S1, E2; TII W5, E1, N1, O R1; är[ti] BK E28, [art]i BK E19

-miš ä. KT E21, E40; BK E18, E32

-mis ä. TI N7, TII W8; O F3, F5

itär ä. KČ W9, W9

kirür ä. O R4

körür ä. TI W1

yašayūr ä. KT N2, N3

yatu qalūr ä. TI E2

-maz/-mäz ä. BK E18, E18; TI E5, E5

-tači/-täči ä. KT N7, N9; BK E31, E33; TII E5, N2

ä. -ti ärsär TII N1

ä. -miš BK E11, E11, E12, E12, N3, N3, N5, N5; KT S4

[ärmi]š BK N4

bošγurūr ä. BK N5, N5

öyür ä. BK N4

tir ä. BK E9

yaγutīr ä. BK N4

-maz ä. BK N4, KT S6

ä. -miš ärinč BK E6

ä. -mis KT E2, E3, E4, E5, E9, E9, E10, E10, E12, E12, E14, E14, E14, KT S4, KT S5, S6, S7, S7; BK E3, E4, E4, E4, E4, E4, E6; TI S3, S3, S6, S6, S6, S7, E4, E6, E7, E7, N5, N5; O F6, F6; [är]mis TI E6

bar ä. TI N6

bošγurūr ä. KT S7, S7

olurūr ä. KT E3, BK E4

öyür ä. KT S5

ter ä. O F7, F7, F7

tir ä. KT E9, E9, E10

yaγutīr ä. KT S5

yoqadu barïr ä. KT E10

yorïyūr ä. TI S3

yoq ä. TI E1, TII S3

bar ärtäči ä. TII E7

bilmäz ä. TI S6

yorïtmaz ä. KT S6

ä. -mis ärinč KT E3, E3, E5; BK E4, E4, E6; KČ E11

ä. -ür TI E4

ä. -mäzkä ([qut] ä.) O F8

ä. -täči

bar ä. ärmis TII E7

yoq ä. ärti TII E5, N2

ä. -sär KT S13

bar ä. TI S3, TII E7

ïraq ä. KT S7, BK N5

qačan (n)äŋ ä. TI E3, N5

qačan (n)äŋ ä. TI E4

näŋ näŋ sabïm ä. KT S11

yaγuq ä. KT S7, BK N5

yoq ä. KT N10

yoq ärtim ä. TII N1

yoq ärti ä. TII N1

kälīr ä. TI N8

kälmäz ä. TI N8

är- to reach, come to, arrive

ä. -miš [barmiš] BK E19

ä. -mis barmis KT E23

ä. -ūr barūr ärkli KT N1, TI E4

[är]ūr barūr ärkli BK E29

ärdäm courage, manly qualities; brave, courageous

ä. -ī (alpī ä.) KČ W4

ä. -īn (alpīn ä. üčün) KČ W7, W12

äräm big, large, huge (?)

ä. älä täg KČ W9

ärän men (pl. of är)

bis yüz ä. BK S11

toquz ä. KT N9

yeti ä. O F5

ärig reachable

ä. yertä KT S13, S13

ärinč likely, probably, indeed, apparently

ol ä. KT E24, BK E20

-ti ä.

basa berti ä. TII W3

qaγan olurtdï ä. KT E26

kötürti ä. BK E10

taplāmadï ä. BK E35

-miš/-mis ä.

alp ärmis ä. KT E3, BK E4

bilgä ärmis ä. KT E3, BK E4

bar ärmis ä. O R2

ančа ärmis ä. KČ E11

biligsiz ärmis ä. BK E6

biligsiz <ärmis> ä. KT E5

yablaq ärmis ä. KT E5, BK E6

ančа etmiš ä. BK E10

qaγan bolmis ä. KT E5, E5; BK E5, E5

qazγ[anmiš äri]nč BK E33

kötürmis ä. KT E11

olurmis ä. KT E5; BK E6, E6

ölütmis ä. TI W3

temis ä. TI W2

tutmis ä. KT E3, BK E4

-duq ä. (qïlïnmaduq ä.) KT E5, E5; BK E6, E6

ärkli being, that which is; while, when

yuyqa ä. TI S6

ärūr barūr ä. KT N1, BK E29

ančа olurūr ä. TI S1

ä. -g (yinčgä ä.) TI S6

ärklig powerful, mighty, free BK N12

ärmä- not to be

ä. -z(ü)n (yuluq ä. teyin) O F3

ärmäk mare

ä. -ig (yägrän ä.) KČ E9

ärsin geog. n.

ä. -kä (toquz ä. tägi) KT S3, BK N3

ärt- to pass, lead

ä. -(t)imiz (anï ä.) TII W9

ä. -ü (taγïγ ä.) TII W9

ärtäbär cf. eltäbär

ä. özī KČ E9

ärtin- (?) to regret, repent (?)

ä.! ökün! BK E19

ärtiŋü very

ä. uluγ BK N10

ä. [uluγ] BK N9

ä. ti maγ it- BK S15

ä. ä. ti maγ i[t-] BK S14-15

ärtis geog. n. (Irtish river)

ä. ögüzüg KT E37, TI N11, TII W2

[är]tis ögüzüg BK E27

ärtür- to have done

ä. -tüm BK S10

ä. -tümiz KT NE

(yoγ ä. -) KT NE, BK S10

äsgiti silk (cf. isgiti)

äsg[itis]īn (äkinlig ä.) BK N11

ɑsid- to hear (cf. ɑsit-)

ɑ. ! KT S2; BK E18; N1

ɑ̈. -gil KT S1

ɑ̈. -iŋ KT S10; BK E18, E18

ɑ̈. -ip KT E12; TI S5, S6, S10, E5, E6, N6, N9, N11; TII W1, W7

ɑ̈. -ü̈ ber- TI S8

ɑ̈sidmɑ- neg. of ɑsid-

ɑ. -dɯk (qulqaqïn ɑ. bodunumïn) BK N11

ɑ̈sim pers. n.

ɑ̈. -ig (toŋra ɑ̈.) TI S2

ɑ̈sit- cf. ɑsid-

ɑ̈. -(t)im TI E7

ɑ̈t- to bellow, low, thunder

ɑ̈. -ɑ̈rčɑ̈ BK W14

ɑ̈. -sär BK W5

ɑ̈tiz geog. n.

ɑ̈. -dɑ̈ KČ E6

ɑ̈z- to engrave, scratch

a ɑ̈. -ip KČ S2

ɑ̈zginti geog. n.

ɑ. qadïzda BK E31

ɑ̈. qadizdɑ̈ KT N7

ekī two KT E27, E36, N2, N8, N11; BK E21, E34; TI W4, S3; TII W5

e. bïŋ TI E1

e. biŋ TI S8

e. ük BK E41

e. ük biŋ TI S8

e. yegir[mi] KT E28, BK E23

e. otuz BK E25

e. ädiz BK E1

e. -sïn KT E38

ekīn oblique stem of ekī?

e. ara KT E1, E2; BK E4; O R2

ekīnti second(ly) cf. ekinti KT E33, BK E30

e. kün TII W4

ekīn (for ekīnti) sü BK E32

ekinti KT N5 cf. ekīnti

e. kün BK S1

el people, state (cf. il) O F1

bükli čöl(l)ɑg e. KT E4

e. -ig (az e.) KČ W6

e. -iŋä KT E23, BK E19

e. -iŋin KT E22

e. -imiz KT E22

e. -īn BK E34, KČ E10

e. -iŋä O F4

e. -īntä KČ W3

el-etmis pers. n.

e. yabγu O F4

[el]etmis atam O F4

ellig having a state (cf. illig)

e. -dä (ïγar e.) KT E29

elsirä- to become stateless, lose independence

e. -mis qaγansïramis KT E13

elsirät- causative of elsirä-

e. -mis KT E15

elt- to take, carry away; lead, conduct (cf. ilt-)

e. ! TI N8

e. -dim TI E1

e. -dimiz TII E3

e. -di KT E23, E23

(sü e. -) TI E1, N8, TII E3

(sürä e. -) KT E23

(yaŕa e. -) KT E23

el-täbär governor-general (cf. il- täbär, ärtäbär)

tuyγun e. KT NE

uyγur e. BK E37

e. -ig (az e.) KT N3

el-täbärlig having a governor-general

ekī e. bodun BK E38

el-teris pers. n. (cf. il-teris)

e. qaγanqa O R3

qapγan e. qaγan O F4

[el-teris] qaγan KČ W3

esī lady (cf. esi)

e. -lik qïz oγlin KT E7

esi cf. esī

e. -lik qïz oγluŋ KT E24

e. -lik qïz oγlīn BK E7

et- to form, organize (cf. it-)

e. -dimiz KT E21

e. -miš BK E10

e. -mis KT E11

(qontur e. -) KT E21

γu interrogative particle (cf. gü)

bar γ. KT S10, BK N8

gü interrogative particle (cf. γu)

bäglär g. yaŋiltači siz KT S11

ï trees, forest; wood

ï bar baš TI N2

ïγ (acc.) BK S15

ïqa TI N3

ïda tašda TI W4

ï- to send, dispatch

ïsar KT S8, BK N6

ïčγïn- to lose, become lost

ï. -mis KT E13, O F1

ï. -u ïd- KT E6, BK E7

ï. -ï id- O F2

(yit- ï. -) O F1

ïd- to send, dispatch (cf. ït-, id-)

ï. -miš BK E7

ï. -mis KT E6, E7; TI S2, S2, N10

ï. -maz BK E25

ï. -ip BK E35, TI N2, KČ E7

(ïčγïnu ï. -) KT E6, BK E7

(sančaï. -) KČ E7

(yitürü ï. -) KT E7, BK E7

ïdma- neg. of ïd-

ï. -yïn tiyin BK E33

ïduq sacred, holy

ï. bašda BK E25

tamaγï. bašda KT N1, BK E29

ï. ötükän y[iš bodun] KT E23

ï. yer sub BK E35, TII W3

türük ï. yirï subï KT E10, BK E10

ïduq(qu)t a title

basmïl ï. BK E25

ïγač tree; wood TI N1

čintan ï. BK S11

ïγar important, precious, dear, beloved (cf. aγar)

ï. elligdä KT E29, BK E24

[ï]γar qaγanïγda yeg BK E24

ï. oγlanïŋïzda tayγunuŋizda yegdi KT SE

ïqïd- (?) to give shelter

ï. -maz ärmiš KT S6

ïq[ïdmaz] ärmiš BK N4-N5

ïraq far, remote, distant

ï. bodunuγ KT S5, BK N4

ï. ärsär KT S7, BK N5

ï. -da TI W5

ïsbara pers. n. (cf. išbara, isbara)

ï. bilgä küli čor KČ E10, W8

ï. bilgä küli čoruγ KČ E12

ït dog

[ï]t yïl BK S10

ït- to send (cf. ïd-, id-)

ï. -(t)ïm BK E40, TI N9, TII E2

ï. -(t)ïmïz KT E40, TII W7

ï. -(t)ï KT E7, S12; BK E7, N14

ï. -(t)ïm oq TII E2

(irtürü ï. -) KT E40

ič inside, interior

i. buyruq BK S14

i. -ï (öz i.) TI S5

i. -ïn tašïn KT S12, BK N14

ičgär- to subdue, subjugate

i. -tim BK E25

[ič]gärtim BK E26

ičik- to submit

i. -diŋ TI W3

i. -di KT E38, BK E37; TI W2, N4

i. -miš BK E9

i. -mis KT E10

i. -igmä BK E37

i. -dük üčün TI W3

(-qa/-kä i. -) TI W2, N4

ičrä in , inside; secret

i. ašsïz KT E26, BK E21

i. sab TI N10

ičräki that which is in; private, belonging to the court

anta i. bodun KT S2, BK N2

[anta] i. BK E28

i. bädizčig KT S12, BK N14

id- to send (cf. ïd-, ït-)

i. -mis (ič γïnï i.) O F2

idi master, lord, owner

i. -siz KT E19, E20; BK E17

[idi]siz BK E16

idi never, by no means, at all

i. oqsïz KT E3, BK E4

i. yoq ärmis KT S4, TII S3

i. yoq ärtäči ärti TII N2

i. yoq qïsalïm TI S4, E4

i. yorïmazun TI S4

igid false, lie

i. bar γu KT S10, BK N8

igid- to feed, nourish (cf. igit-)

i. -äyïn KT E28; BK E23; i. -ayin BK E35

i. -iŋ BK N13

i. -miš KT S9; BK E19, E35, N6

i. -mis KT E23

i. -ür ärtigiz KT SE

i. -ü olurür TII N4

igit- cf. igid-

i. -(t)im KT E29; BK E23, E38

i. -(t)i KT E16, BK E14, KČ E13

ikägü two, two parts

i. bol- KT N3

il people, state (cf. el) KT E25, S4, S8, S10; BK E5, E21, S9, N3; TII E5, E6, E6; [i]l BK N8

i. -ig KT E3, E3, E9; BK E4, E4

i. -tä KT S3; [il]tä BK N2

i. -im KT E9

i. -iŋin BK E19

i. -ī (äčim qaγan i.) KT N3

i. -īn KT E1, E6, E8, E8, E31, E36, E38, N6; BK E3, E7, E8, E27, E28

i. -īŋä TII E8; i. -iŋa TI W1

i. -im[iz] BK E18

(i. törü) KT E1, E8, E31; BK E3, E8, E18

(i. tut-) KT S4, S8, S10; BK S9, N8

il-bilgä pers. n.

i. qatunuγ KT E11, BK E10

ilgärü forwards, eastwards KT E2, E8, E12, E17, E28, S2, S3; BK E11, E15, E19, E23, E37; ilg[ärü] BK N2; älgärü (for ilgärü) KT E21

i. qurïγaru KT E12, BK E11

ilig ruler

bodun i. KT N3

ilk first, at first

aŋ i. KT N4

aŋ i. -ī KT E32, BK E30

ilki first

i. kün BK S1

i. sü BK E32

illä- to found a state

i. -dük ilīn KT E6, BK E7

illig having a state, independent

i. bodun KT E9, BK E8

i. -ig KT E15, E18; BK E13

ilsirät- to make stateless

i. -dimiz (illigig i.) KT E18

i-miš (illigig i.) BK E13

ilt- cf. elt-

i. -di (yaṅa i.) BK E19

il-täbär governor-general (cf. el-täbär, ärtäbär)

[il]täbär (qarluq i.) BK E40

il-teris pers. n. (cf. el-teris)

i. qaγan TII S4, E4, N1, N3

i. qaγanïγ KT E11, BK E10

i. qaγanqa TII S6

in- to go down, descend

i. -timiz TI N2

i. -miš BK E11

i. -mis KT E12

inanču a title (cf. inänču)

tarduš i. čor KT N13

inänču cf. inanču

i. apā yarγan tarqan KT W2

inäl pers. n.

i. qaγan TI N7

i. qaγanqa TII S1

ini younger brother

i. yägünüm KT S1, N11; BK N1

i. -lī äčilī KT E6, BK E6

i. -ligü BK E33

i. -m KT E26, E27, E30, E30, E31, W1, W1, N10; BK E21, E22

i. -mä O R3

i. -sī KT E4, E5; BK E18, E40; KČ E12; O F4

in(i)gäk cow, cattle

i. kölikin TI S7

ir- to be (cf. är-)

i. -sär KT S13

ir- to reach, come to, arrive (cf. är-)

i. -timiz TII S1

irkin a title

säbig kül i. BK S14

sir i. KČ E9

uluγ i. KT E34, E34

irtür- to cause to reach, cause to arrive (cf. är-)

i. -ü 'it(t)'im'iz KT E40

is labor, work

i. -ig KT E8, E9, E10, E30, W1; BK E8, E9, E9; TII E2; O F5, F6, R2, R3

(i. -ig ber-) O F6

(i. -ig küčüg bir-/ ber-) KT E8, E9, E10, E30, W1; BK E8, E9, E9; TII E2; O R2, R3

isbara pers. n. (cf. išbara, 'isbara)

i. tarqan O Bal.

bilgä i. tamγan tarqan O F4

i. tamγan čor yabγu inisī O F4

isgiti silk, silk cloth (cf. äsgiti)

i. qutay KT S5

isiyi (< Chin.) pers. n.

i. likäŋ KT N2

istämi pers. n.

i. qaγan KT E1, BK E3

išbara pers. n. (cf. isbara, 'isbara)

i. čïqan küli čor KČ W2

i. yamtar KT E33

išgärü forwards, eastwards (cf. ilgärü)

i. kün to[γs'iqīŋa] BK N11

it- to form, organize (cf. et-)

i. -äyīn KT E39

i. -dim KT S3, BK N9

i. -dimiz KT E21, BK E18

i. -di KT E16; BK E14, S15

i. -miš BK E12, E18

i. -m[iš] BK N9

i. -mis KT E3, E22

i. -är ärti KČ W9

i. -ip KT E19, TII W8

i[tip] BK E17

i. -i. KT E1; BK E3, E4, N12; KČ E2

(i. - yarat-) KT E19, BK E17

(i. - yï'γ-) BK N9, TII W8

itgüči one who makes, maker, doer

barq i. KT N13

bitig taš i. KT N13

itin- to form or organize oneself

i. -ü yaratunu umaduq KT E10, BK E9

izgil ethnic n.

i. bodun KT N3

i. [bodun] KT N4

qabïs- to come together, meet, join

q. -alïm TI E3

q. -(s)ar TI S5

q. -'ip TI E4

qač- to run away, flee

q. -ďi O R1

qačan when

q. (n)äŋ ärsär TI E3, N5

q. (n)aŋ ärsär TI E4

qadïrqan geog. n. (Khingan mountains)

q. yiš BK E39

q. yišïγ aša KT E21, BK E17

q. yisqa tägi KT E2

qaďïz (?) rocky cliffs (?)(cf. qadiz)

q. -da (äzgänti q.) BK E31

qadiz cf. qadïz

q. -dä (äzgänti q.) KT N7

qaγan kagan, emperor TI N2

alp q. KT E3, BK E4

bilgä q. KT E3, BK E4

külüg q. KT E4, BK E5

ol üč q. TI E3

baz q. KT E14, BK E12

bilgä q. BK W2; [bilgä] q. KB SW

bög(ü) q. TI N10

bum(ï)n q. KT E1, BK E3

el-teris q. KČ W3

il-teris q. TI W7; TII S4, E4, N1, N3

inäl q. TI N7

istämi q. KT N1, BK E3

qapγan q. TII E1, N2 N3

qapγan el-teris q. O F4

yamï q. O F1

tabγač q. KT N13, TI E2

türgis q. KT E18, E37, E38; BK E16, E27; TI E4

türk q. TI E1

türük q. KT S3, BK N2

türük bilgä q. KT S1, W1; BK N1, E1, S13; TII S6, E8, N4

äčim q. KT E16, E16, E17, E17, E31, N3; BK E14, E14, E15, E20, N9, N9; [äčim q]-aγan BK E35

qaŋïm q. KT E11, E12, E14, E30; BK E10, E11, E13; qaŋïm [q.] BK W7, [qaŋïm] q. BK E14, S15

q. bol- KT E4, E5; BK E5

q. qïs- TI W6

q. olur- KT E5, E5, S9, S9; BK E2, E6, E6, E36, N7; TI S2

q. olurt- KT E26, BK E21

q. at KT E20, BK E17

[q]aγan atïsï BK SW

qaγ[an] inisï KČ E12

q. mu TI W5

q. -ïŋ

bilgä q. O R3

tabγač q. KT S12

q. -ïγ (acc.)

baz q. KT E16, BK E13

qaŋïm q. KT E25, BK E20

qaŋïm il-teris q. KT E11, BK E10

qïrqïz q. KT E25

qïrqïz qaγan[ïγ] BK E20

q. -qa KT E32, TI N4

b(ö)gü q. TII S6

bükli q. KT E8, BK E8

el-teris q. O R3

il-teris q. TII S6

inäl q. TII S1

tabγač q. KT E7, E8, E9; BK E8, E9, E39

[t]ürgis q. BK N9

türük bilgä q. TII S6

täŋri bilgä q. O R2

qaŋïm q. KT E16, BK S14

nä q. KT E9, BK E9

q. -ta

bilgä q. O R3

qïrqïz q. KT N13

tabγač q. KT N12

[tabγ]ač q. KT S11

[tabγač qaγant]a BK N14

tüpüt q. KT N12

türgis q. KT N13, TI N5

q. -γaru TI N9

öŋdün q. TI N5

öŋrä türk q. TI E3

q. -ïm KT E9; BK E9, E41; TI S8, N6

q. -ïma TI S5, E1, E7

q. -ïmda O R4

q. -ïmin (instr.) TII E3

q. -ïŋa KT E23, BK E19

q. -ïŋda BK N13

q. -ïŋïn KT E23, S9

q. -ī KT E19, E20; TI S3, N5, N9. E4

on oq q. TI E2

türgis q. TI N6

q. -īn KT E35, E36, E38; BK E7, E27, E28; TII W6

q. -in (for qaγanīn) O F2

q. -īn KT E7

qaγanla- to make someone kagan

q. -duq KT E7, BK E7, O F2

qaγanlïγ having a kaghan, independent

q. bodun KT E9, BK E9, TII E6

q. -ïγ KT E15, E18, BK E13

q. -da yeg BK E24

qaγansïra- to become kingless, lose independence

q. -mis (elsirämis q.) KT E13

qaγansïrat- causative of qaγansïra-

q. -dïmïz KT E18

q. -miš BK E13

q. -mis KT E15

qal- to remain, stay; be in a helpless situation

q. -tïm BK E14

q. -ūr TI E2

q. -tači biz TI S6

q. -tači ärtigiz KT N9

(yatu q. -) KT N9, TI E2

qalïn thick

q. bol- TI S6

qalïŋ property, possessions

q. -[īn?] BK E25

qalīsiz completely, altogether

q. qop kälür- KT N1

q. tasïq- TI N6, N9

qalma- neg. of qal-

q. -dï (bod q.) TI W4

q. -zun tiyin KT E20; BK E16, E17

qalmiš the rest, remainder (cf. qalmis)

q. -i (anta q.) KT S9

qalmis cf. qalmiš

q. -ī (ïda tašda q.) TI W4

qamaγ all, entire; the whole, total

türük qara q.bodun KT E8, BK E8

q. -ī KT E18; BK E11; [q]amaγī KT E12

qamïl geog. n. (Qomul, Hami)

qam[ïl] balïq(q)a O R1

qamšaγ shaky, shaken, in disorder

q. bol- KT N3

qamšat- to shake

q. -dï (adaq q.) KT N7

q. -(t)ï (adaq q.) BK E30

qan blood

q. -im (qïzïl q.) TII E2

q. -iŋ (poss.) KT E24, [qanï]ŋ BK E20

qan khan, king TI W2

ol q. O F1

q. -ta yan TI N9

q. -inin (acc.) TI W3

q. -ī. TI N4

q. -īn TI W2, W2, N4

qanï where? where is it

qaγanïm q. KT E9, BK E9

ilim amtï q. KT E9

qanlan- to possess a khan

q. -tï TI W2

qantïn from where? KT E23, E23; BK E19, E19

qaŋ father O R3

q. -im

q. il-teris qaγanïγ KT E11, BK E10

q. qaγan KT E11, E14, E16, E25, E30; BK E10, E13, E13, E20, S14; [q]aŋïm (qaγan) BK E12

q. qaγan süsī KT E12, BK E11

q. [qaγan] tašīn BK W6

q. sad O F8

q. türük bilgä qaγan BK S13

q. türük bilgä [qaγan] BK E1

q. -ïmïz äčīmiz KT E26

q. -ī (... q. lisün tay säŋün) BK S11

q. -īn KT E5; BK E6, E18

qapγan regal name of Bögü Kagan

q. qaγan TII E1, E1, N2, N3

q. el-teris qaγan O F4

qapïγ gate

q. -qa (tämir q.) KT E2, E8, E17, E39, S4; BK E4, E8, E15, N3; TII S1, S2; KC E4

qar snow

q. -ïγ KT E35, BK E27, TI N1

qara black; ordinary, common; common people BK E29

q. kisīn BK S12; q. k[isīn] BK N11

q. tärim TII E2

q. bodun BK E41

q. türgis bodun KT E38, E39

q. türgis bodunuγ KT E40

türük q. qamaγ bodun KT E8, BK E8

q. -sin O R1

qara qūm geog. n.

qara q. -uγ TI W7

qara köl geog. n.

qara k. -tā KT N2

qarγan (? qaraγan) geog. n.

q. q'isïlta BK E37

qarγu watch, patrol, guard; watchtower TI N10

q. -γ TII E3

(arquy q.) TII E3

(yälmä q. ur-) TI N10

qarï old, aged

q. bol- TII E6

qarï- to grow old

q. -p KČ W3

qarluq ethnic n. KČ E6, E8, E9; [q]arluq KČ E9

q. bodun KT N1, BK E29, E29

q. bodun tapa BK E40

q. bodunuγ BK E29

[qarl]uq [il]täbär BK E40

q. -uγ KT N2, KC E8

q. -qa KČ E7

qaš eyebrow

q. -ī (közī q.) KT N11

qat'iγd'i hard, firmly, well (cf. qat'iγdi)

q. tiŋla! KT S2

qat'iγdi cf. qat'iγd'i

q. saq'in- KT N11

qatun katun, empress TI N7

ögüm q. KT E31, N9

q. -uγ ögüm q. KT E11, BK E10

ögüm il-bilgä q. KT E25, BK E21

qazγan- to gather, get, own, conquer

q. -t'im KT E27; BK E22, 36

q. -t'i KT E31; KC E4, E13

q. -miš BK E18, E22; qazγ[anmiš] BK E33

q. -mis KT E22, qaz[γanmis] KT E26

q. -tuq üčün BK E33, TII N3

q. -tuqum üčün TII E5

q. -tuqīn üčün TII E5

q. -ūr män KT E9

q. -ïp KT E16, E27, E30; BK E22, S10, N13, qazγan[ïp] BK E34

q. -u bir- BK S10, N12

(ilig q. -) KT E9

(ilīn törüsīn q. -) KT E31

(törūg q. -) KT E16, E30; BK E36

qazγanma- neg. of qazγan-

q. -sar TII E4, E5; TII N1, N1; qazγanm-[asar] BK E33

q'il- to make (cf. q'iš-, q'is-)

q. -t'im KT E29, E29, E30, E30, S10, S10; BK N7, N7, N9, N12, E23, E24, E24, E24; q'i[lt'i]m BK E24

q'i[lt'im] BK E23, q[ïlt'im] BK S4

q. -t'i BK E7, E7, E14, E14, E14, q'i[lt'i] KČ W5

q. -t'iγ BK E20, E20

q. -miš BK E13

q. -mis KT E2, E15

q. -ïp O R2

q. -u BK S7

([bal]bal q. -) BK S7

(bay q. -) KT E29; BK E14, E23, N7

(baz q. -) KT E2, E15, E30, E30; BK E13, E24, E24

(bulun q. -) KC W5

(buŋsïz q. -) BK N12

(qul q. -) BK E7, E20

(küŋ q. -) BK E7, E20

(tonluγ q. -) BK E23

(uruš q. -) O R2

(üküš q. -) KT E29; BK E14, E24, N7

(-da yeg q. -) BK E24

(yoq q. -) BK S4

q'il'ičla- to put to the sword

q. -d'i KT N5

q'il'in- to be created, be born (cf. q'ilin-)

q. -t'im O F4

q. -mis KT E1

q. -tuqda KT E1

q[il'inγal]'i (?) TI E1

q'il'inma- neg. of q'il'in-

q. -duq ärinč KT E5, E5; BK E6, E6

q'ilin- cf. q'il'in-

q. -tim TI W1

q'ilma- neg. of q'il-

q. -d'im KT E27; BK E22, E36

(ot sub q. -) KT E27, BK E22

q'irγaγl'iγ hemmed

q. qutayīn BK N11

q'irq forty

q. artuqī yeti KT E15

q. artuq[ī y]iti KT NE

bir q. KT N2

q'irq'iz ethnic n. (Kirghiz) KT E4, E14; BK E15; q'i[rq'iz] KT E17, [q']irq'iz BK E5

q. birlä BK E26

q. tapa KT E35, BK E26

q. bodunī TI N4

q. bodunuγ KT E20, E35; BK E17, E27

q. qaγanīn KT E36

q. qaγanïγ KT E25, BK E20

q. qaγanta KT N13

q. yirīŋä tägi BK E15

q. -'iγ TI N3

q. -da TI N5

q'is- to suppress, subdue

q. -mis O F1

q'is- to make (cf. q'il-, q'iš-)

q. -ayīn TI W5

q. -al'im TI S4, E4

q. -d'im TI W6

(qaγan q. -) TI W5, W6

(yoq q. -) TI S4, E4

q'isγa short KČ E11

q'is'il glen, mountain-cleft

q. -ta (qarγan q.) BK E37

q'iš- to make (cf. q'il-, q'is-)

q. -d'im BK E25

q. -d'im'iz KT E32, E34

(yoq q. -) KT E32, E34; BK E25

q'iš winter

q. -'in BK S2

q'išla- to spend the winter

q. -duqda BK E31

q. -p KT N8

q'itań ethnic n. KT E4, E14, E28, N11; BK E5, E23; TI S5, S6; KC E5

q. tapa BK S2

q. tatab'i bodun tapa KT E28, BK E23

q. -'iγ TI W7, S3

q. -qa TII S5

q. -da BK S7, TI S7

q. -γaru TI S2

q'iyin penalty, punishment

q. -'iγ ay- TI N8

q'iz female; girl; daughter

q. oγluŋ KT E24

q. oγlīn BK E7, E7

q. oγlin KT E7, E7

q. qoduz TII S4

q. -'im['in] BK N9

q. -'in (tür[gis qaγan] q.) BK N10

q'iz- to get red-hot, get angry

q. -'ip (örtčä q.) TII W5

q'iz'il red

q. qań'im TII E2

qobsar- (?) to mourn (?)

q. -'ip KČ S2

(q. -yoγla-) KC S2

qod- to leave, abandon

q. -up TI W2, W3

qod'i down, downward

ol sub q. TI N3

säläŋä q. BK E37

qoduz woman, female slave

q. qïz TII S4

qoqlïq scent, scenting material BK S11

qon- to settle

q. -ayïn KT S7, [qonay]ïn BK N5

q. -tï BK E40

q. -tuqda KT S5, qont[uqda] BK N4

q. -mis TI S10

qontur- causative of qon-

q. -tumïz KT E21, E21; BK E18; qo[nturtumïz] KT E38

q. -mis KT E2, BK E4

qop all, completely

q. almis KT E2

q. alqd['imï]z KT NE

q. anta alqïntïγ arïltïγ KT S9, BK N7

q. baz qïltïm KT E30, BK E24

q. baz qïlmis KT E2

q. bilïr siz KT E34

q. . . . bitïdim KT SE

q. ičikdi KT E38

q. itdim KT S3

q. qot(t)ï BK S12

q. qubratdïm KT S10

q. qubrat(t)ïm BK N7

q. kälti TII W7, S2

q. kälürti KT N1

q. k[älürtüm] BK N14

q. maŋa körti KT E30, BK E24

q. maŋa körür BK N2

q. öltäči ärtigiz KT N10

q. ö[lü]rtüm BK E28, qo[p] [ölür]tüm BK S1

q. ölürmis KT N1

q. yaγï ärmis KT E2, E14; BK E3

q. . . . yorïyūr ärtig KT S9

qopïn all, all together (cf. qopin)

bäglär q.tedi TII W1

qopin cf. qopïn

oγuz q. kälti TI S9

qoraγ funeral, obsequies

q. -ïŋnï (yoγuŋ q.) O R4

qorγan fort, fortress, shelter, enclosure

amγa q. KT N8

amγï q. BK E31

qorγ[anqa]? BK E40

qorq- to fear

q. -ūr biz TII W4

qorqma- neg. of qorq-

q. -dïmïz TII W6

qorq[malïm]? O F7

qošu pers. n.

q. tutuq KT N1

qot- cf. qod-

q. -(t)ï BK S12

qoń sheep

q. täg KT E12, BK E11

q. yïlqa KT NE, O R4

qu pers. n.

q. säŋün BK S8

q. -γ säŋünüg BK S9

q. -ni säŋünüg TI S2

qubran- to come together

q. -ïp TI W4

qubrat- to gather

q. -dïm KT S10

q. -(t)ïm BK N7

q. -miš BK E11

q. -[mis] KT E12

qul male slave KT E21, BK E18

q. bol- KT E7, E20, E24; BK E17, E36

q. qïl- BK E7, E20

(küŋ q.) KT E7, E20, E24, N9; BK E17

qulad- to become slave

q. -mis KT E13

(küŋäd- q. -) KT E13

qulluγ having a slave

q. bol- KT E21, BK E18

qulqaq ear

q. -ïn (instr.) BK N11

q. -ïn BK S12

(sačïn q. -ïn bïč-) BK S12

qum sand (in: qara qum)

qara q. -uγ olur- TI W7

qunčuy princess

q. -uγ (siŋlim q.) KT E20

qu[nču]yuγ BK E17

qunla- to revenge for, take one's revenge

q. -dïm O R1

qura- to gather, organize, perform

qu[radï]m (yoγuŋ qoraγïŋnï q.) O R4

qurïdïn in the west, west

q. soγ(u)d örti KT W1

q. -ta TI S7

qurïγaru backwards, westwards KT E8, E12, E17, E21, E24, S2, S3; BK E8, E11, E15, E19, N2, N3, N11

ilgärü q. KT E12, BK E11

qurïya in the west, to the west KT N12, TI S7

q. -qï bodun TI S10

qurïqan ethnic n. (cf. üč qurïqan)

qïrqïz q. otuz tatar KT E4

üč q. otuz tatar KT E4, BK E5

quš-alγaq (?) geog. n.

q. -da KT N5

qut good luck, fortune; soul

q. -um KT E29, S9; BK E23, N7

q. -ī ([ačim q] q.) BK E35

q. -ïŋa (ögüm qatun q.) KT E31

(q. ülüg) BK E23

qut ärmäz misfortune (?)

[qut] ä. -kä O F8

qutay silk KT S5, BK N4

q. -īn (qïrγaγïγ q.) BK N11

quz northern slope of a mountain

q. -īn (čoγay q.) TI W7

käč- to pass, cross over

k. -dim BK SE

k. -dimiz TI N11

k. -ip BK E30

k. -ä KT E37, E39; BK E27, E30; TII W3, W9; KČ E4

käčä beyond

aq tärmil k. TI N1

käm k. BK E26

yinčü ög[üz] k. KT S4, BK N3

käčin (käčän?) geog. n.

k. -kä tägi BK SE

k. -dä KČ W10

käčgin- to grant a favor, pardon

k. -ti (qarluquγ k.) KC E8

käčig ford, pass

k. -sizin käč-TI N11

kädim dress, general appearance

k. b[äŋizī?] KČ W4

kädimlig dressed

k. toruγ at KT E33

käl- to come

k. -timiz BK E17; TI N4; TII W2, W3

k. -ti KT E28, E37, N12, N12, N12, N12, N13, N13, N13; BK E23, E25, E27, E28, E32, E32, E32, E34, E34, E35, E39, E41, S8, S11; TI S1, S8, S9, S10, N5, N9, N10; TII W5, W8, S2; O R1; KC E9, E9, S1, S1

k. -mis KT N7

k. -ir ärtimiz O R2

k. -īr ärsär TI N8

k. -mäz BK E39

k. -mäz ärti TI E5, E5

k. -mäz ärsär TI N8

k. -igmä BK E31, TII W8

k. -sär KT N11, N11

k. -ip KT E23, BK E19, KČ E12, [käli]p KČ E12

k. -ipän KT E4, E23; BK E5

kältäči those who will come

k. -miz (sümiz k.) TI S7

käliŋün daugthers-in-law

k. -üm KT N9

kälmä- neg. of käl-

k. -di TI S5, S5

(olursïqïm k. -) TI S5

(udïsïqïm k. -) TI S5

kälmis those who came

k. -ī TII W3

kälür- to bring

k. -tüm KT S11, BK E25; k[älürtüm] BK N14

k. -ti KT N1, N12; BK S11; TII W1, S4; kälüti (for kälürti) KT NE

k. -īr ärtim TII E3

k. -üp BK S11, S11, S12

käm who KT E22, BK E19

k. -kä KT E9

käm geog. n. (Yenisei river)

k. käčä BK E26

käntü one's own; one's self

k. bodunum KT N4

k. yaŋiltïγ KT E23, BK E19

käŋiris (käŋäräs?) geog. n.

k. tapa KT E39

käŋü tarban geog. n. (cf. käŋü tarman)

k. tarbanqa tägi BK E18

käŋü tarman cf. käŋü tarban

k. tarmanqa tägi KT E21

käräkü tent (cf. käräkülüg)

käräkülüg nomad, nomadic

toquz oγuz ekī ädiz k. bäglärī boduni BK E1

kärgäk lacking, absent, want

k. bol- KT E4, E30, N10; KC E11

kärgäksiz abundantly, in abundance

k. kälürti KT N12, BK S11

kerü back, backward (cf. kirü)

k. bar- KČ E4; O R3

keyik wild animal, game

k. yi- TI S1

kičig little, less, least

k. atl[ïγ] BK E41

k. tägmä- KT S3, S3; BK N3

kigür- to let in, bring in

k. -tüg (yablaq k.) KT E23, BK E19

k. -ti (süŋüs k.) KČ E8

kiŋsür- to create a rift between

k. -tükīn üčün KT E6

kir- to go in, enter; throw oneself, plunge

k. -ti BK E38

k. -ür ärti O R4

k. -täči sän BK N14

k. -ip KT E38, KC E11; k[irip]? KT E37

kirü backwards, westwards (cf. kerü)

k. tämir qapïγqa tägi KT E2

kis sable

k. -īn (qara k.) BK S12, k[isīn] BK N11

kisī man, people KČ W8 (cf. kišī)

aḿïγ k. KT S7, BK N5

bilig bilmäz k. KT S7, BK N6

bir k. KT S6, BK N4

ol ekī k. TI S3

üč körüg k. TI N9

üküš k. BK N6

yablaq k. KT E39

k. yämä TII N2

k. oγlī KT E1, N10

k. oγlīnta üzä KT E1, BK E3

k. -g KT S6, S6; BK N4, N4

k. -sīn (oγlīn k.) KČ W5, E10; [kisīs]īn KČ E1

kisi cf. kisī, kišī

k. -ligü (ekī üč k.) BK E41

kisrä backward, westward; after BK S13, O F2

qontuqda k. KT S5, BK N4

yoq boltuqda k. O F1

anta k. KT E4, E5, E34, E39; BK E23; TI W6; KČ E7; [anta] k. KT E29, BK N14

kišī man, people (cf. kisī)

nä k. BK E28

üküš k. KT S7

ki[šī] igidmiš BK E34

köbürgä bridge

k. -sī (t[äŋri] k.) BK W4

kögmän geog. n.

k. aša KT E17, BK E15

k. yir sub KT E20, BK E17

k. yïsïγ TI N4

k. yišïγ KT E35, BK E27

k. yolī TI E6

kök blue

k. öŋüg TI S9

k. täŋri KT E1, BK E2

k. täyäŋīn BK S12, N12

k. türük KT E3, BK E4

kök öŋ geog. n.

kök ö. -üg TI S9

kök türük polit. n. KT E3, BK E4

kök particle of definiteness

ölti k. TI S8

ölürtäči k. TI N6

ölürtäčik (for ölürtäči kök) TI S4

köl lake

k. -tä (qara k.) KT N2, (türgi yarγun k.) KT E34

kölik cart, vehicle

k. -in (instr.) (inigäk k.) TI S8

köŋül heart, mind

k. -tä KT N11

k. -täki sabïmin KT S12

k. -üŋčä TI N8, S8

kör- to see; to submit, be subject to

k.! TI N2

k. -tüg ärti O F7

k. -ti KT E19, E30; BK 2, E16, E24, E39; KČ W3

k. -mis KT E8

k. -ügmä KT S11, BK N8

k. -ür KT N10, BK N2; k[örür] KT S2

k. -ür ärti TI W1

k. -täči sän BK N14

k. -üp KT S13

k. -ü KT S11, S12; BK N8, N15

(ämgäk k. -) KT E19, BK E16

(toŋtamis közī yüg(g)ärü k. -) BK E2

(yälü k. -) TI N2

körmä- neg. of kör-

k. -dük (közün k. ... bodunumïn) BK N11

körüg scout, spy TI S1, N5

üč k. kisī TI N9

k. sabī TI S2

kötür- to cause to rise, elevate

k. -ti ärinč BK E10

k. -mis KT E 11, E 25

k. -ügmä BK E 21

(yüg(g)ärü k. -) KT E11, BK E 10

köz eye

k. -dä KT N11

k. -ün BK N11

k. -üm (körür k.) KT N10

k. -ī KT N11, BK E2

(k. qaš) KT N11

kü news; fame

k. äsid- KT E12

k. tut- KČ W12

k. -sī (atī k. yoq bol-) KT E25, E25; BK E20, E21, E22, E36

küč strength, power

k. bir- KT E12; BK E 11, E32

k. -üg (isig k. bir-/ber-) KT E8, E9, E10, E30, W1; BK E8, E9, E9; TII E2, O R2, R3; isig küč(ü)n (for küč-üg?) O F5

küčlüg powerful, mighty

k. alp qaγanïmda O R4

küč[lüg qaγan] TI E3

kükä- to gain fame

k. -di KČ W4

(alpī ärdämī k. -) KČ W4

kül pers. n.

k. čor BK S13

k. irkin BK S14

k. tigin KT E32, E34, E35, E37, N1, N2, N3, N5, N5, N6, N7, N8, N10, NE, NE

k. tigin atïsī KT SE

k. tiginiŋ KT SW

k. tiginig KT E40

inim k. tigin KT E26, E27, E30, E30, E31, N10, W1; BK E21

inim k. tiginig KT W1

k. tegin KT N8

küli pers. n. (cf. kül)

k. čor KČ W6, W10, W11, E3

[kü]li čor KČ E6

[küli] čor KČ W5

k. čor toṅuquq KČ W2

[bil]gä k. čor KČ E2

[bilg]ä k. čor KČ E7

ïsbara bilgä k. čor KČ W8, E10

ïsbara bilgä k. čoruγ KČ E12

išbara čïqan k. čor KČ W2

uluγ k. čor KC W3

külüg well-known, famous

antaγ k. qaγan KT E4, BK E5

[kül]üg är O Supp. 6

kümüs silver (cf. kümüš)

altun k. BK S11

[al]tun k. äsg[iti] qutay BK N3

örüŋ k. TII S4

k. -īn (altunīn k.) KT SW

kümüš silver (cf. kümüs)

altun k. isgiti qutay KT S5

aγī altun k. KT N12

k. -īn (örüŋ k.) BK N11

kün day; sun

ekīnti k. BK S1, TII W4

ilki k. BK S1

tört k. BK SW

yigirmi k. KT SE

k. yämä tün yämä TI N3

k. batsïqdaqï KT N12

k. batsïqïŋa KT S2, BK N2

k. batsïqïŋa tägi O F2

k. ortusïŋaru KT S2, BK N2

k. toγsïq(q)a KT S2

k. toγsïqda KT E8, BK E8

k. toγsïqïŋa O F2

k. to[γsïqïŋa] BK N11

k. -lī (tünlī k.) BK SE

küni envy, jealousy

ödīŋ[ä] k. täg- BK E30

küntüz by day, during the day

k. olurma- KT E27, BK E22, TII E2

k. olursïqïm kälmädi TI S5

(tün udïma- k. olurma-) KT E27, BK E22, TII E2

küŋ female slave, concubine BK E18

k. bol- KT E7, E24, N9

k. qul bol- KT E20, BK E17

k. qïl- BK E7, E20

(k. qul) KT E7, E20, E24, N9; BK E17

küŋäd- to become slave (for women)

k. -mis KT E13

(k. - qulad-) KT E13

küŋlüg having a female slave

k. bol- BK E18

kür fraud, deceit

k. ökül- TI N8

kürägü unruliness

k. -ŋin üčün KT E23, BK E19

kürlüg deceitful, tricky

k. -īn üčün BK E6

k. (for kürlügīn) üčün KT E6

küzäd- to protect

k. -ü KT W1

laγzīn pig

l. yïl BK S10

likäŋ pers. n. (= Chin. Liü-hiang)

isiyi l. KT N12

lisün pers. n. (= Chin. Li-ts'ün)

l. tay säŋün BK S11

lü (< Chin. lung) dragon

l. yïlqa O Supp. 4

maγ glory, honor (?), praise (?)

m. it- BK S15, m. i[t-] BK S15

(-īn ärtiŋü ti m. it.-) BK S15

(-qa ärtiŋü ärtiŋü ti m. i.-) BK S14-15

maqarač (< Ind. mahārāj) pers. n.

m. tamγači KT N13

maŋa dat. of bän/män (cf. baŋa) KT E30; BK E24, E36; m[aŋa] KT S2

matï loyal, faithful (?)

m. bäglärim ä! O F7

bunča m. bäglär BK S14

türük m. bäglär BK S13

türük m. bodun bäglär KT S11, BK N8

män I; I am (cf. bän) KT E27, S11; BK E33, E33, E36, S3, S9

birür m. KT E9

qazγanür m. KT E9

saqïnür m. BK W6

ter män TII W2

tägmäči m O R2

mäniŋ gen. of bän/män (cf. däniŋ)

m. bodunum BK E29

m. sabïmïn KT S11

mu interrogative particle

bar m. nä TI S7

qaγan m. qïsayïn TI W5

nä what; why; particle of probablity (after mu)

n. buŋï TII E7

n. qaγanqa KT E9, BK E9

n. kišï BK E2, E28

n. ayayïn TI N8

n. basïnalïm TII W4

bar mu n. TI S7

näkä for what, why (dat.-loc. of nä)

n. qorqur biz TII W4

n. täzär biz TII W3

nänčä so much (equat. of nä)

bodunuγ n. itm(iš) BK N9

näŋ any, whatever, whatsoever

n. buŋuγ yoq KT S8, BK N6

n. yerdaki TII E6

n. yïlsïγ bodunqa KT E26

n. n. sabïm ärsär KT SW

n. n[äŋ] sab[ïm ärsä]r BK N8

qačan (n)äŋ ärsär TI E3, N5

qačan (n)aŋ ärsär TI E4

oγlan children, sons

o. -ïm KT S1, N11; BK N1

o. -iŋïzda ... yegdi KT SE

(o. tayγun) KT SE

oγïit children, sons

o. -ï KT E5, BK E5

oγul child, son

o. -um

on oq o. KT N13

uluγ o. BK S9

o. -uma BK N10

inimä o. O R3

o. -uŋ

qïz o. KT E24

urï o. KT E24

o.-uŋïn (urï o.) BK E20

o. -ï KT E5; BK E6, E18

... čorïŋ o. yigän čor KČ S1

el-etmis yabγu o. O F4

kisï o. KT E1, N10

sir irkin o. yigän čor KČ E9

tinsi o. aytïγma TII W9, S2, S3

o. -ïn

qïz o. BK E7

urï o. BK E7, KT E7 (for oγlï)

o. kisïsïn KČ W5, E10

o. [kisïs]ïn KČ E1

o. yotuz[ïn] BK S3

o. yo[tuz]ïn BK E24

[o]γlïn yotuzin BK E38

o. -ïŋa

on oq o. tatïŋa tägi BK N15

[on oq oγlïŋ] tatïŋa tägi KT S12

o. -ïnta (kisï o. üzä) KT E1, BK E3

o. -(i)n (for oγlï) KT E7

oγul pers. n.

o. tarqan KT N12

oγurqalat- to let someone to warm his back

o. -dïm TI N1

oγuš clan, tribe

bir o. alpaγu KT N7

o. -uγ (bir o.) BK E 31

o. -um

o. bodun BK E25

o. bodunum BK E25

o. -ï bodunï KT S6

oγuz ethnic n. BK E38, TI S5, S8, S9

o. ara (atig o. ara) O F5

o. birlä KT N6, N7

o. tapa BK E32

o. bo[dun] BK E33

o[γuz] bodun BK E34

o, bodun tapa KT E28, BK E23

o. bodunuγ TII N4

o. yaγï KT N8

o. bäglärï KT E22

toquz o. O F6; t[oquz oγu]z BK E29

toquz o. bäglärï bodunï KT S2

toquz o. ... bäglärī bodunī BK E1

toquz o. bodun KT E14, N4; BK E12, E35; TI S2

üč o. süsī BK E32

o. -uγ TI W7, S3

o. -qa TII S5, toquz o. -qa KČ E4

o. -da TI S7

o. -duntan TI S1

o. -γaru KT N8

o. -ī yämä TI E5

oγuz pers. n.

o. bilgä tamγači KT N13

oq arrow

o. -un ur- KT E33, E36

oq tribe, tribal organization

on o. (q. v.)

oq particle of intensification (cf. ök)

ol o. tün TII W7

ït(t)ïm o. TII E2

ulγartdïm o. TII E3

oqï- to call, invite

o. -γalï käl- BK E28

oqsïz having no tribal organization

idi o. kök türük KT E3, BK E4

ol that; he, they; is, are KT E24, S3; BK E20, N2; TI E3

o. at KT E33, E33, N4

o. bilmädükügin üčün BK E20

o. bodunuγ KT E38

o. ekī kisī TI S3

o. qan O F1

o. ödkä KT E21, BK E18

o. sabïγ KT S7; BK N6; TI S4, N6, N9, N9, N11; TII W1, W7

o. sabīn TI E5

o. sub TI N3

o. sü KT N8

o. süg KT E32, E34; BK E25

o. süŋüšdä KT N2

o. taš KT S13

o. taš barqīn BK N15

o. tägdükdä KT E36

o. täŋri BK E21

o. törüdä üzä KT E16, BK E14

o. üč qaγan TI E3

o. yerkä TII S3

o. yergärü KT S8, BK N6

o. yïlqa KT E36, BK E27

o. yïlqīγ BK E38

o. yolun TI E7

o. oq tün TII W7

añïγ o. TI N10

bulγanč [o]l TI E5

tarqïnč o. TI E5

üz o. TI N10

olur- to sit; stay, dwell; succeed to the throne

o.! TI N8

o. -uŋ! TI N7, N10

o. -tum KT E26, S1, S9; BK E2, E15, N1, S9; [olurtu]m BK N7, olurt[um] KT W1, [olur-tum BK S9

o. -tumïz TI N8

o. -ti KT E16, BK E14, TI S2, KC E2

o. -ür TII N4

o. -ür ärtimiz TI W7, S1

o. -ür ärmis KT E3, BK E4

o. -ür ärkli TI S1

o. -miš KT E1, BK E3

o. -miš ärinč BK E6

o. -mis ärinč KT E5, E5; BK E6

o. -tuq(q)a BK E14

o. -tuqda KT E17

o. -tuqum üčün BK E36

o. -tuquma BK E2, N9

o. -tuqīnta BK S13

o. -tači sän KT S8

[olurtač]i sän BK N6

o. -sïqïm TI S5, E5

o. -sar KT S3, S8; BK N6

o. -γalï TI E1

o. -matï TII E2

o. -up KT S4, S8, S9, SE; BK E2; [olu]rup BK SW

o. -upan KT E1, E16; BK E3, E14

(qaγan o. -) KT E16, S9; BK E2, E14, N7; TI S2

(šad o. -) BK E15, S9

(o. -sïqïm kälmä-) TI S5, E5

(tün udïmatï kün-tüz o. -matï) TII E1-2

olurma- neg. of olur-

o. -dïm KT E26; BK E21, E22

olurmad (for olur-madïm) KT E27

(tün udïm - kün-tüz o. -) KT E27, BK E22

olurt- causative of olur-

o. -dum TII E1

o. -dï KT E26; o. -[dï] BK E21

o. -(t)ï KČ E12

(qaγan o. -) KT E26, BK E21, TII E1

(bädizïn ... o. -) KČ E12

on ten

o. ärig KT N7

o. tünkä TI N2

säkiz o. KČ W3

o. oq (q. v.)

on-oq ethnic n.

o. bodun KT E19, BK E16

o. bäglärï bodunï TII W7

o. bodunï TI N6

o. qaγanï TII E2

o. oγlum KT N13

o. oγlïŋa tatïŋa tägi BK N15

o. süsï TI N9

o. süsïn TII W8

onunč tenth

o. ay BK S10

oŋ pers. n. (? = Chin. Wang)

o. tutuq KT E31, E32

[o]ŋ tutuq BK E25

opla- to rush, attack with much speed

o. -yu täg- KT E32, E35, N2, N3, N5, N5; KČ W10, W11, E7, E11

o[playu täg-] KT N4, KČ E3

opul- to rush oneself to, rush recklessly

o. -u kir- KČ E11

ordū kaghan's residence, capital

o. -γ KT N8, N9

ortu middle, central part

o. -sïŋaru KT S2, S2; BK N2, N2

(kün o.) KT S2, BK N2

(tün o.) KT S2, BK N2

orūq road, path

o. -ï (bir at o.) TI E7

ot fire

o. sub qïlma- KT E27, BK E22

o. -ča borča käl- KT E37, BK E27

otuz thirty

o. yašïma BK E28

o. yaša- KT N2

o. artuqï bir BK E28-29, S9

o. artuqï üč BK E34

o. artuqï tört BK E38

o. artuqï säkiz BK S2

bir o. KT E32

ekï o. BK E25

biš o. KT E18, BK E15

üč o. TI E2

altï o. BK E26

yiti o. KT N1

yeti o[tuz] BK E26

[yeti] o. TII E1

o. tatar KT E4, E14; BK E5

o. [tatar] KT S1

o. -qa

altï o. BK S10

yeti o. KT NE

yiti o. KT NE, BK S10

otuz tatar ethnic n. KT E4, E14; BK E5

o. [tatar] KT S1

oz- to assault, transgress, attack

o. -a KT N7, BK E31

(o. -a käl-) KT N7

(o. - yań-) BK E31

oz- to be saved

o. -dï BK E28

ö- to think, remember

ö-yür ärmis KT S5

ö[yür ärmi]š BK N4

ö-mäz sän KT S8, S8; BK N6, N6

ö-dükümün (biltükümün ö.) KČ S3

öd time, age KT N10, O R4

ö. -kä

antaγ ö. KT E40

bu ö. KT S1

ol ö. KT E21, BK E18

öd gall

ö. -ïŋ[ä] küni täg- BK E29

ödsig (?) dear, beloved (?)

ö. ötülüg BK E34

ödüš time, unit of time (24 hours?)

ö. -kä (yiti ö.) BK SE

ög mother, step-mother

ö. -üm KT E11, E25, E31; BK E10, E21

(ö. qatun) KT E25, N9; BK E 10, (umay täg ö. qatun) KT E31

(ö. il-bilgä qatun) KT E11, BK E21

ö. -lärim äkälärim KT N9

ög- to praise

ö. -[di] BK E41, S15

(maγ it- ö. -) BK S15

ögläs- to think together, plan together, decide together

ö. -mis (anča ö.) TI E3

ö. -ip TI E3

ögsiz motherless (name of a horse?)

ö. aqïn KT N9

ögtür- to have praised

ö. -t[üm] (anï ö.) KT W2

ögüz river

yašil ö. KT E17, BK E15

yinčü ö. BK N13

yinčü ög[üz] KT S3

ö. -üg

ärtis ö. KT E37; TI N11; TII W2

[är]tis ö. BK E27

toγla ö. BK E30

yinčü ö. KT E39, TII W9, KC E4

ö. -kä TI S9, E1

[ögüzk]ä TI E2

ö. -čä yügür- BK E 20

ök particle of intensification (cf. oq)

bän ö. TI W7; TII S6, S6

özüm ö. TI W6

ükü̈s ö. ölür- TI W7

bertim ö. TII E2

ökül- to be planned, be thought

ö. -ür (kür ö.) TI N8

ökün- to regret, repent

ö.! KT E23, BK E19

ö. -üp KT E40, BK E38

öl- to die, be killed, perish

ö. -tüg KT S6, S7; BK N5, N6

ö. -ti KT E19, E19, E20, E33, E33, E33, N4, N6, N8; BK E37; O Supp. TI W3

ö. -ti kök TI S9

ö. -ügmä BK E37

ö. -täči

ö. bodunuγ KT E29, BK E23

ükü̈š ö. BK E31

ö. sän KT S8, BK N6

ö. ärti BK E33

ö. ärtigiz KT N10

ö. -täčičä saqïnïγma BK E2

ö. -sikiŋ KT S6, BK N5

ö. -sikiŋin KT S10, BK N8

ö.-sikig KT S7, BK N5

ö. -gäli KT N10

ö. -ü KT E27, E28; BK E22, E22

ö[lü] BK N7

(ö. - alqïn- yoq bol-) TI W3

(ö. - yit-) KT E28, BK E22

(tor- ö. -) KT S9

ölüg dead

ö. -ï KT N9

ölür- to kill

ö-äyïn KT E10; ölür-[ayïn] BK E9

ö. -tüm BKE26, E27, E28, E29; BK S1, S3; ö[lü]rtüm BK E28; [ölürtü]m BK S8

ö. -tümiz KT E36, E38, N2, N7; TI N4

ö. -ti TI W7, TII W7; ö[lü]rti BK S9, [ö]lürti KČ E6

ö. -miš KT E40

ö. -mis KT E40

ö. -täči TI S3, S3

ö. -täči kök TI E4, N6

ölürtäčik (for ölürtäči kök) TI S4

ö. -üp BK S7, KČ W5

(ö. - al-) KT E40, N2

ölüt- to cause to be killed

ö. -mis ärinč TI W2

ön- to go up, rise; come out

ö. -ti (topulu ö.) KČ E7

öntür- (for dawn) to break

ö. -ü (taŋ ö.) TI N11

öŋ geog. n.

ö. -üg (kök ö.) TI S8

[kök] ö. BK SE

öŋdün east

ö. qaγanγaru TI N5

ö. yän TI S4

öŋrä ahead, in the front, in the east, eastwards KT E4; BK E5, S13; TI W7, S3, S7; O F2

ö. türk qaγanγaru TI E3

ö. -ki TI S10, N1

ör- to rise, rebel

ö. -ti (quridin soγ(u)d ö.) KT W1

örpän geog. n.

ö. -tä BK E26

ört fire, flame

ö. -čä qiz- TII W5

ötlä- to advice

ö. -dim O R3, R3

ötüg request, prayer

ö. -i (ädgü sabi ö.) BK E39

ötükän geog. n. cf. ötükän

ö. yir KT S8, BK N6

ötükän cf. ötükän

ö. yerig TI S10

ö. yerkä TI S10

ö. yiš KT S3, S4, S8; BK N2

ö. yišda yig KT S4

[öt]ükän [yiš]da yig BK N3

ö. y[iš bodun] KT E23

ö. yïsγaru TI S8

ötülüg esteemed, respected

ödsig ö. BK E34

ötün- to tell, say (to superior), make representations, ask for

ö. -tüm TI S5, S5, S7, N1

ö. -mis O F8

ö. -tük ötünčümin TI S8

ö. -üp TI E1

ötünč representations

ö. -ümin (ötüntük ö.) TI S8

ötrü after

anta ö. TI S5, S9

öz own, self; pith, essence (of a tree)

ö. yar[at-?] BK S11

ö. (i)čī TI S6

özī himself, themselves; he, they KT E3, E20, E38; BK E17; KC E9, E11

kül tigin ö. KT E30

kül tigin ö[zī] KT NE

özüm myself, I KT E17, N10, N10; BK E2, E14, E14, W7, N9; TII E5, E6; [ö]züm KT S9; ö[züm] BK E34

ö. ök TI W6

bän ö. TI W1, S10; TII E5, N1

[bän] ö. TI S8

män ö. BK E36

ö. -in BK E21

ö. -ä BK S15

özlik personal, private (cf. özlük)

ö. atïn BK S12, N11

özlük mount, riding horse, saddle horse (cf. özlik)

ö. -ï KČ W4, E3, E3

purum East Rome, Syria

apar p. qïrqïz ... KT E4, BK E5

sa- to inform, send a message

s. -yu (bodunïn s. ït-(t)ïmïz) TII W7

sab message, word TI S2

ičrä s. TI N10

s. -ïγ TI N9

ol s. KT S7; BK N6, N6; TI S5, N9, N9, N11; TII W1, W7

tilïγ s. TI N8

s. -ïn (instr.) (süč-īg s.) KT S5

s. -ïm KT S11; BK E1, S13
sab[ïm] BK N8

s. -ïmïn (acc.) KT S1, S11, S12; BK N1; [s]abïmïn BK N14

s. -ïmin (acc.) KT S2

s. -ïmda KT S10, BK N8

s. -ī KT S5; BK E39, N4; TI S2

s. -īn KT S9, BK N7

s. -ïn TI E5

s. -īŋa KT S6, BK N5

(s. al-) KT S7, BK N6, TI N8

(s. äsid-) TI S5, N6, N9, N11; TII W1, W7

(s. id-) TI S2, N9, N10

(s. si-) KT S11, BK N14

sač hair

s. -īn qulqaqīn [bïč BK S12

sad a high title (cf. šad)

qaŋïm s. O F8

tardus s. TI N7

s. atïγ O F6

s. -ra (tardus s.) TII W6

s. -īn (yabγusīn s.) TII W6

saqïn- to think

s. -ïŋ! BK E33

s. -tïm KT N10, N10, N11, N11, N11, N11; TI W5, W6, E7; O R2

saqïntïma (for saqïntïm) TI E5

s. -ūr män BK W6

s. -īγma (öltäčičä s.) BK E2

s. -matï KT E10, BK E9

saq[ïnïp?] BK E35

(-gärü s. -) KT E10

(... tiyin s. -) TI W6, O R2

(... tip s. -) KT N11

(s. - bil-) BK E33

sanč- to stab, thrust

s. -dïm BK E26, E30, E31, E32, E37; O R2

s. -dïmïz KT N6, TI N4

s. -dï KT E36, N2, N5, N5, N6, N8, N9; KČ W10, E3, E10

s. -ïp KČ W5

s. -a ïd- KČ E7

(süsīn s. -) KT N6; BK E30, E31, E37; KČ E10

(ud ašru s. -) KT E36, N2

sansïz innumerable, countless

s. kälür- BK S12

santuŋ geog. n. (= Chin. Shan-tung) cf. šantuŋ

s. balïq(q)a TI E1

s. ba[lïqqa] TI E2

sayu every

yir s. KT S9; BK E22, yir

yir [s]ayu BK N7

säbig pers. n.

s. kül irkin BK S14

säbin- to be pleased, be happy

s. -ip BK E2

(ägir- s. -) BK E2

säkiz eight

s. yašda BK E14

s. on KČ W3

s. tümän BK E26

s. yegirmi BK E24

otuz artuqī s. BK S2

(s. on yasa-) KČ W3

säläŋä geog. n. (Selenga river)

s. qodï yorï- BK E37

sämiz fat, fleshy

s. būqa TI W6

s. būqalï TI W5

sän art, are (copulatively)

toqurqaq s. KT S8, BK N6

ömäz s. KT S8, S8; BK N6, N6

boltači s[än] BK N14

kirtäči s. BK N14

körtäči s. BK N14

olurtači s. KT S8, BK N6

öltäči s. KT S8, BK N6

säŋä dat. of sän

s. nä ayayïn TI N8

säŋün general (< Chin. tsiang-kün)

čača s. BK E26

čaŋ s. KT N13

änik s. KT N2

qu s. BK S8

lisün tay s. BK S11

udar s. KT N12

s. -üg

quγ s. BK S9

qunï s. TI S2

s. -kä (čača s.) KT E32

sïγtā- to wail (cf. siγtā-)

s. -mis KT E4

(s. - yoγlā-) KT E4

sïma- not to destroy (neg. of sï-); cf. sima-, si-

s. -dï (qarluquγ s.) KČ E8

si- to destroy, break

s. -dï (balïq s.) TI E2

s. -yu ur- KT E36, KČ E9

siγït wail, cry of grief

s. (köŋültä s. käl-) KT N11

siγïtči lamenter

yoγči s. KT E4, N11; BK E5

siγtā- cf. sïγtā-

s. -miš BK E5

(s. - yoγlā-) BK E5

siγun deer

s. ätsär BK W5

silig pers. n.

yegän s. bägiŋ KT E33

sima- neg. of si- (cf. sïma-)

s. -dï (sabïmïn s.) KT S11, BK N14

sini acc. of sän

s. tabγačïγ TI S3

siŋar half, one of a pair

s. süsī BK E32

[siŋ]ar süsī BK E32

s. -ča artuq TII W5

siŋil younger sister

s. -im qunčuyuγ KT E20

s. -im qu[nču]yuγ BK E17

sir pers. n.

s. irkin KČ E9

sir ethnic n.

türk s. bodun TI W3, S4

türük s. bodun TII N2, N3

türük s. bodunuγ TII N4

[? al]tï s. toquz oγuz ekī ädiz BK E1

siz you (copulatively)

yaŋiltači s. KT S11

soγdaq Sogdian, Sogdiana (cf. soγ(u)d)

s. bodun KT E39, TII S2

s. tapa KT E31

soγ(u)d Sogdian (cf. soγdaq)

s. bärčik är KT N2

[s]oγ(u)d KT W1

soŋa geog. n.

s. yišda KT E35, BK E27

sök- to break through

s. -düm (qarïγ s.) TI N1

s. -üpän (qarïγ s.) KT E35, BK E27

sökür- to make someone kneel, (fig.) to subjugate

s. -tüm BK N10

s. -tümiz KT E18, BK E16

s. -miš KT E15

s. -mis BK E13

(tizligig s. -) KT E15, E18; BK E13, E16, N10

sön time

anča s. KČ E8

sözläš- to consult together, agree together

s. -dimiz KT E26, BK E21

sub water; river

ol s. TI N3

ot s. KT E27, BK E22

yir s. KT E19, E20; BK E17

yer s. BK E35, TII W3

s. -(qa) (anï s.) TI N3

s. -ča yügür- KT E24

[su]buŋd[a] BK N13

s. -ī (yirī s.) KT E11, BK E10

s. -īn (yerin s.) BK E35

s. -īŋaru (yeriŋärü s.)

(ot s. qïlma-) KT E27, BK E22

subsïz having no water, desert

s. käčdim BK SE

suq anger, rage

s. -un ... altïm BK E38

sü army, troops KT E2, N8; BK E3, SE; TI E1, N1, N5, N7, N9, N11, N11; KČ E8

ilki s. BK E32

ekīn (for ekīnti) s. BK E32

ol s. KT N8

uluγ s. KT E28

bes tümän s. BK E25

on tümän s. TII W1

tört tümän s. BK S8

s. atī KT E39

s. basī TI N5

s. [t]ägisīntä KT N5

s. -g

bu s. TI N8

ol s. KT E32, E34; BK E25

bir tümän artuqī yeti biŋ s. BK S1

üč tümän s. BK S8

s. -kä (tümät s.) KČ W10

s. -miz

[ekī] süm[iz] TI E1

ekī üč biŋ s. TI S7

s. -sī BK E39, O R1

qanī s. TI N4

qaŋim qaγan s. KT E12, BK E11

on oq s. TI N9

siŋar s. BK E32, [siŋ]ar s. BK E32

tabγač s. TI N6

[tab]γač atlïγ s. BK S1

türgis qaγan s. KT E37, BK E27

üč oγuz s. BK E32

s. -sīn KT N6, N7; BK E26, E26, E30, E31, E31, E34, S1; TII W8; KČ E10

süsī[n] BK E30, [süs]īn BK E28

yadaγ s. BK S1

on oq s. TII W8

(s. sülä-) KT E2, BK E3

(s. tašïq-/tasïq-) KT N8, TI N9

(s. yorï-) BK SE; TI N5, N11

süčīg sweet, pleasnat (cf. süčig)KT S5

s. sabïn ... ar- KT S5

s. sabīŋa ... artur- KT S6

süčig cf. süčīg BK N4, N4, N5

sülä- to go on a campaign, go to war, wage war

s.! BK E40

s. -lim TI E3, E4

sül[älim O F7

s. -dim KT S3, S3, S4, S4; BK E24, E25, E25, E26, E26, E28, E32, E38, E39, E41, S2, S2, N3, N3; sül[ädim] BK E33, sü[lädim] BK S2, N3

s. -dimiz KT E17, E17, E18, E31, E35, E39; BK E15, E15; TII W9

sü[lädimiz] BK E15, s[ülädimiz] BK E15

s. -miš BK E13

s. -mis KT E15

s. -sär (sü[läs]är) TI E6

s. -p KT E12, BK E11

s. -pän KT E2, BK E3

s. -yü bir- KT E8, E8; BK E8, E8

(-qa tägi s.) KT E17, E17, E39, S3, S3, S4, S4; BK E15, E15, N3, N3

(-γaru s. -) TI E3, KT E12, BK E11

(... tapa s. -) KT E31, E35; BK E24, E25, E26, E26, E26, E28, E32, S2, S2

(sü s. -) KT E2, BK E3

sülämä- neg. of sülä-

s. -sär (aŋaru s.) TI E3

sülät- causative of sülä-

s. -(t)im TII W8

sünüg lance (cf. sünüg)

s. batimi qariγ KT E35

süŋüg cf. süŋüg

s. batïmī qarïγ BK E26

s. -ün ač- TI N4

süŋüglüg lander, cavalryman armed with a lance KT E23, BK E19

süŋük bone

s. -üŋ (poss.) KT E24

s. -üg (poss.) BK E20

süŋüs fight, battle (cf. süŋüš) KT E15; KČ W9, W11, E4, E5, E8

(s. kigür-) KČ E8

(s. süŋüs-) KT E15; KČ W11, E4, E5

süŋüs- to fight (cf. süŋüš-)

s. -dümiz KT N1; TI S9, N4; TII N4, W5, W6

s. -di TII S5, S5, S5; KČ W10

s. -mis KT E15

s. -dükdä KČ W1, E4, E6

süŋüsdükd[ä] KČ E5

[sü]ŋüsdüdkä KČ E3

s. -üp KČ W12, E10

(süŋüs s. -) KT E15; KČ W11, E4, E5

(-qa s. -) TII S5, S5, S5; KČ W10, W12, E4

süŋüš fight, battle (cf. süŋüs) KT E40; BK E13, E34

uluγ s. KT E40

ekī uluγ s. BK E34

s. -dä (ol s.) KT N2

(s. süŋüš-) KT E40, BK E34

süŋüš- to fight (cf. süŋüs-)

s. -düm BK E23, E25, E26, E26, E27, E28, E29, E30, E30, E31, E34

[sü]ŋüšdüm BK E30, [süŋü]šdüm BK E37, süŋ[üš-düm] BK S6

s. -dümiz KT E18, E32, E35, E37, N3, N4, N4, N5, N6, N6, N7; BK BK E17, E28

s. -miš KT E40, N1

sü[ŋüš]miš BK E13

s. -gäli BK E32

(süŋüš s. -) KT E40; BK E13, E34

(-qa s. -) KT E32

(... birlä s. -) KT N1, N3, N5, N6, N7; BK E27

sür- to drive, drive away

s. -ti KČ E8

s. -ä KT E23, BK E19

(sü s. -) KČ E8

(s. -ä elt-) KT E23

šad a high title (cf. sad) KT E17, E27, N11; BK E15, E21, S9; TI W5

š. -ïγ (yabγuγ š.) KT E14, BK E12

š. -īn (qaγanīn yabγu-[sī]n š.) BK E28

(š. olur-) BK S9

šadpït a title (šadapït?)

š. bäglär KT S1, BK S13

šad[pït] bäglär BK S14

šalči pers. n. (?)

alp š. aq atīn KT E40

alp š. aqīn KT N2, N3

alp š.[aq]īn KT N2

šantuŋ geog. n. (= Chin. Shan-tung) (cf. santuŋ)

š. yazïqa tägi KT E17, S13; BK E15

[š]antuŋ BK N2

tabar geog. n.

t. -da KT E38

tabγač China, Chinese KT E4; BK E5, E35; TI S4, S5

t. tapa KT E28, BK E23

t. bodun KT E6, E14; BK E6, E12, N4; O R1

t. bodunqa KT E7, BK E7

t. qaγan KT N13, TI E2

t. qaγanïŋ KT S12

t. qaγanqa KT E7, E8, E9; BK E8, E9, E39

t. qaγanta KT N12

[tabγ]ač qaγanta KT S11

t. oŋ tutuq KT E31

tab[γač] oŋ tutuq BK E25

t. ātīn KT E7

t. at[īn] BK E7

t. iliŋä TI W1

t. süsī TI N6

[tab]γač atlïγ süsī BK S1

t. -ïγ TI W7, S3

t. -qa BK E38; TI W1, W2; O F2

[tab]γačqa KČ W12

t. -da BK E36; TI W2, S7; O F 5

t. -γaru BK E35, TI S2

tabγačγï being in China, belonging to China

t. bäglär KT E7

[tab]γačγï bäglär BK E7

tabïsγan hare

t. ye- TI S1

tadïq pers. n.

t. -ïŋ čorïŋ boz [at] KT E32

tad[ïq] KČ S1

taγ mountain BK S7

t. -ïγ (bäŋlig äk t.)TII W9

t. -qa (tinsi oγlī aytïγma t.) TII S3

t. -da BK S8

t. -daqï KT E12

t. -ča KT E24, BK E20

taγïq- to go up mountains

t. -mis KT E12

(balïqdaqï t. -taγdaqï in-) KT E12

taq the very

t. bilgäsī čabïsī KČ E5

taqï more

[t]aqï isig küčüg O R2

anča t. (spelt taqa) KT S13

tal- to plunge, dive

t. atïn! TI N1

taluy sea, ocean

t. ögüzdä TI E1

t. [ögüzk]ä TI E2

t. -qa KT S3

tām wall

t. -qa (bu t.) KT SE

tamaγ geog. n.

t. ïduq bašda KT N1, BK E29

taman pers. n.

t. tarqan BK S14

tamγači seal-keeper, secretary

maqarač t. KT N13

oγuz bilgä t. KT N13

tamγan a title

bilgä isbara t. tarqan O F4

isbara t. čor yabγu O F4

taŋ dawn

t. öntürü TI N11

taŋut ethnic n. (Tangut)

t. tapa BK E24

t. bodunuγ BK E24

tapa in the direction of, toward, against

altï čub soγdaq t. KT E31

altï č[ub soγdaq] t. BK E25

bes baïq t. BK E28

čik t. BK E26

qarluq t. KČ E8

qïrqïz t. KT E35

qïtań t. BK S2

qïtań tatabï bodun t. KT E28, BK E23

käŋiris t. KT E39

oγuz t. BK E32

oγuz bodun t. KT E28, BK E23

tabγač t. KT E28; BK E23, E26

taŋut t. BK E24

tatabï t. BK S3

türgis t. BK E27

taplāma- not to like, not to approve

t. -dï BK E35

tarban geog. n. (cf. tarman)

käŋü t. -qa tägi BK E18

tardus ethnic n. (cf. tarduš)

t. sad TI N7

t. sadra TII W6

tarduš ethnic n. (cf. tardus)

t. bäglär BK S13

t. bodun üzä KT E17, BK E15

t. bodunuγ KČ E2

tölis t. [bodunuγ] KT E13, BK E12

t. inanču čor KT N13

tarqan a high title

apā tarq[an] BK S13

bilgä isbara tamγan t. O F4

bilgä toṅuquq boyla baγa t. TI W6

inänču apā yarγan t. KT W2

isbara t. O Bal.

oγul t. KT N12

taman t. BK S14

tonyuquq boyla baγa t. BK S14

t. -γaru (apā t.) TI N10

tarqat pl. of tarqan

t. buyruq bäglär KT S1

tarqïnč offended, displeased

t. ol TI E5

tarman geog. n. (cf. tarban)

käŋü t. -qa tägi KT E21

tas exterior, outside (cf. taš)

t. -'in (öz ičī t. tut-) TI S7

tasïq- to go out, start a campaign (cf. tašïq-)

t. -dï TI N9, N9

t. -mis TI N6, N6

(sü t. -) TI N6

tasul- (?) to be driven

tas[ulmazun?] ([qut] ärmäzkä t.) O F8

taš exterior, outside (cf. tas)

t. -īn (ičīn t.) KT S12, BK N14

taš stone; rocky place, wilderness KT S12, SW

bäŋgü t. KT S12, S13; BK N15

bitig t. KT N13

ol t. KT S13

ol t. barqīn BK N15

t. -ïγ BK N13

aγar t. BK S15

bitig t[ašï]γ O Supp. 1

t. -qa

bäŋgü t. KT S11, BK N8

bu t. KT SE

t. -da ('ida t.) TI W4

t. -īn

qaŋïm [qaγan] t. BK W7

bitig taš[īn] KT NE

(t. bitī-) KT SW

(t. toqït-) KT S12

(t.-qa bitī-) KT SE

(t. -qa ur-) KT S11, BK N8

(ï t.) TI W4

tašïq- to go out, start a campaign (cf. tasïq-)

t. -dïmïz KT N8

t. -miš BK E32

t. -mis KT E11

(sü t. -) KT N8

tašra outwards, on the outside

t. tonsïz KT E26, BK E21

t. yorï- KT E11

tat Persian

t. -īŋa tägi KT S12, BK N15

tatabï ethnic n. BK S8

t. tapa BK S2

t. bodun BK E39, S7

qïtań t. KT E4, E14; BK E5

qïtań tat[abï] KC E5

qïtań t. bodun KT E28, N11; BK E23

tatar ethnic n.

otuz t. KT E4, E14; BK E5

otuz [tatar] KT S1

toquz t. birlä BK E34

tay great (< Chin.)

t. saŋun BK S11

tayγun (pl. of tay) colts, young horses; (fig.) sons

t. -uŋïzda (oγlanïŋïzda t. yegdi) KT SE

täbi camel

ägri t. TII S4

täblig deceitful

t. -īn kürlügīn [üčün] BK E6

t. -īn kürlüg (for kürlügīn) üčün KT E6

täg like

böri t. KT E12, BK E11

äräm älä t. KC W9

qoń t. KT E12, BK E11

täŋri t. KT S1; BK E1, N1, S13

učuq t. TI S1

umay t. KT E31

bilmäz t. bol- KT N10

körmäz t. bol- KT N10

tutmis t. TI S6

äčisīn t. KT E5

qaŋin t. KT E5, BK E6

täg- to come into contact, touch, reach; attack

t.! TI S4, S4

t. -äyīn TI S4

t. -älim TII W4

t. -dim O R1

t. -dimiz TI N11, TII W4

t. -di KT E32, E33, E3, E36, E37, N2, N5, N6, N8; [tägd]i KT N4

t. -miš KT E40

t. -miš ärti KT E40

t. -mis TI E1, TII S3

t. -dük üčün BK E30

t. -dükün (äbkä t.) O R2

t. -dükīn ... bilīr siz KT E34

t. -dükin üčün O R2

t. -ip KT N5; BK S8, SE; O R3; KČ W10, W11, E7, E11; [tägi]p KČ E3

(ödīŋ[ä] küni t. -) BK E29-30

tägdük conflict, battle

t. -dä (ol t.) KT E36

tägi up to, as far as

bisükīŋä t. KT S6, BK N4

bunča yirkä t. KT S4

bükli qaγanqa t. KT E8, BK E8

qadïrqan yišqa t. KT E2

qïrqïz yiriŋä t. BK E15

kačinkä t. BK SE

käŋü tarbanqa t. BK E18

käŋü tarmanqa t. KT E21

kün batsïqïŋa t. O F2

on oq oγlīŋa tatīŋa t. BK N15

[on oq oγlīŋ]a tatīŋa t. KT S12

šantuŋ yazīqa t. KT S3

tämir qapïγqa t. KT E2, E8, E17, E39, S4; BK E4, E15, N3; TII S1

täzikkä t. KČ E4

toquz ärsinkä t. KT S3, BK N3

yašil ögüz šantuŋ yazīqa t. KT E17, BK E15

yer bayïrqu yirīŋä t. KT S4

yir bayïrqu yeriŋä t. BK N3

tägis contact, conflict

t. -īnta (sü t.) KT N5

tägmä- neg. of täg-

t. -dim KT S3, BK N3

[täg]mädim KT S3

t. -či män O R2

tämir iron (in geog. n.)

t. qapïγqa KT E2, E8, E17, E39, S4; BK E4, E8, E15, N3; TII S1, S2; KČ E4

tämir qapïγ geog. n. (Iron Gate) cf. tämir

täŋri sky, Heaven, God; Heaven-like KT E12, E15, E22, E25, S9, N10; BK E11, E13, E14, E18, E21, E33, E35, N7, N9, N10; TI W2, W3, W6, S9; TII W5; O F3, R4, R4

täŋ[ri] KT SW, t[äŋri] BK W3, [t]äŋri BK E21

t. umay TII W3

t. yer BK E29

t. yir KT N4

t. täg KT S1; BK N1, E1, E1, S13, S13

kök t. KT E1, BK E2

ol t. BK E21

t. bilgä qaγan O R2, R3

t. töpüsīntä KT E11, BK E10

t. yarlïq(q)azu KT E29, BK E23, TII E3

t. -dä bolmiš KT S1, BK N1

täŋr[idä] KT SE

t. -sī (türük t.) KT E10, BK E10

täŋrikän Heaven-like O F6, F8

t. yän O F5

t. -kä O F6

tär sweat

t. -im (qara t.) TII E2

tärmil geog. n.

aq t. TI N1

täyäŋ squirrel

t. -īn (kök t.) BK S12, N12

täz- to run away, flee

t. -är biz TII W3

t. -mis ärti TII W8

t. -ip KT E34; BK E38, E41; t[äzip] BK E37

(t. -ip bar-) KT E34, BK E41

täzīk ethnic n. (Arab)

t. toqar TII S1

täzik cf. täzīk

t. -kä tägi KC E4

te- to say (cf. ti-)

t. -dim TI W5, E6, E6, E7, N1

t. -di TI S8, N7, N7, N7, N7; TII W2

t. -r män TII W2

t. -r ärmis O F3, F7, F7

t. -mis TI E3, E3, E4, E4, E4, E5, N2, N5, N6, N9, N10, N10; [temi]s TI E5

t. -mis ärinc TI W2

t. -däči TI N11

t. -yin TI W6, W6, S10, E6, E7; O F6, F7, R2, R3

tegin prince (cf. tigin)

kül t. KT N8

yäk t. KČ S1

teril- to come together, assemble (cf. tiril-)

t. -ti (on tümän sü t.) TII W1

t. -mis (qani süsi t.) TI N4

teyin because, in order to, for the purpose of (lit.: 'saying'); cf. tiyin

az t. TII W4

üküs t. TII W4, W5

tärrikän al[qïnmazun] t. O F8

türk bodun yitmäz(ü)n t. O F3

yuluq ärmäz(ü)n t. O F3

tïl words, tidings, information; informant (cf. til)

t. -ïγ TII W1

ti firm, hard, strong

ärtiŋü t. maγ it- BK S15

ärtiŋü ärtiŋü t. maγ i[t-] BK S15

ti- to say (cf. te-)

t. -dim TII W4

t. -di TI W5, N6, N6, N8, N8, N8; TII W3

t. -r TI S2, N6, N9; TII W1

t. -r män TI S3, S3, S4, S5

t. -r ärmis KT E9, E9, E10

t. -miš BK E8

t. -mis KT E9

t. -sär (... qonayīn t.) KT S7

t. -p KT E9, S7, N11; BK E9, E32, E40, E41, N5

t. -yin KT E12, BK E35, TI N10

tid- to hold back

t. -a (közdä yaš käl-sär t. ... saqïntïm) KT N11

tigin prince (cf. tegin)

bägim t. KT SW

özüm t. BK E14

t[ö]rt t. KČ E12

čor t. KČ E12

kül t. KT E32, E34, E35, E37, N1, N2, N2, N4, N5, N5, N5, N6, N7, N8, N10, NE, NE, SE, SE

inim kül t. KT E26, E27, E30, N10, W1; BK E21; [inim kül ti]-gin BK E21

toŋa t. KT N7, BK E31

yolluγ t. KT SW

yol(l)uγ t. KT SE; BK SW, SW

yol(l)uγ t(igin) KT S13

t. -ig (kül t.) KT E40, W1

t. -iŋ (kül t.) KT SW

tik- to erect

t. -dim KT E25

t. -mis KT E16

t. -ä bir- BK S9, S11

(balbal t. -) KT E16, E25; BK S9

til cf. tïl

t. -ïγ sabïγ al- TI N8

tilä- to wish, want

t. -dim TI E6

tinsi (< Chin. T'ien-tsê 'Son of Heaven') (in geog. n.)

t. oγlī TII S2

t. oγlī aytïγma TII S3, W9

tinsi oγlī geog. n. (cf. tinsi)

tiŋla- to listen

qaŕïγdï t.! KT S2

tip in order to, with the intention of (lit.: 'saying')

aṅï aṅïtayin t. BK E41

tir- to gather together (cf. teril-)

t. -miš BK E11

ti[r]m[is] KT E12

(t. - qubrat-) KT E12, BK E11

tir- to live

[ti]rip KT S10

tirgür- to bring to life

t. -ü (öltäči bodunuγ t.) KT E29

[tirgür]ü BK E23

tirig alive; life

t. -ī KT N9

t. -däkičä bol- KT N9

tiril- pass. of tir- 'to gather together'

t. -älim TI N9

t. -ip KT E12; BK E11, E34, E36, E39, tir[ilip] BK E29

tiril- to come to life

t. -ti (üküš öltäči anta t.) BK E31

tirkiš caravan KT S8, BK N6

arqïš t. KT S8

tiyin because, in order to, for the purpose of (lit.: 'saying'); cf. teyin

-ayïn/-äyïn t. KT E28, E39; BK E23, E33

-maz/-mäz t. BK E25, E39

-zun t. KT E11, E19, E20, E25; BK E10, E16, E17, E20, E21; [-zun] t. KT E27; [-z]un t. BK E22

-čun t. KT E11, BK E10

tizlig having knees, (fig.) powerful

t. -ig sökür- KT E2, E15, E18; BK E13, N10; tizlig[ig] BK E3

to- to become full

t. -sïq KT S8, BK N6

(äčsïq t.) KT S8

tod- to become full

t. -sar (bir t.) KT S8, BK N6

toγ- to pass over

t. -a (kögmän yïšïγ t.) KT E35, BK E27

t. -a ([altun yïšïγ] t. KT E37

toγsïq the rising (of sun)

t. -(q)a (kün t.) KT S2, BK E8

t. -da (kün t.) KT E4, E8; BK E5

t. -ïŋa (kün t.) BK N2

to[γsïqïŋa] BK N11

t. -ïŋa O F2

toγla geog. n.

t. ögüzüg BK E30

t. -da TI S8

toγu geog. n.

t. baŕïqda KT N4, BK E30

toq full, satiated

t. ärti TI S1

toqar ethnic n. (Tokharian)

täzik t. TII S1

toqï- to hit, strike, beat

t. -dïm BK E31, S8

t. -dï KT N6

toqït- to have inscribed, have engraved (causative of toqï-)

t. -dïm KT S12, S13, S13; BK N15 [toqït]dïm KT S13, O Supp. 2

(taš t. -) KT S12, S13; BK N15 O Supp. 2

toqurqaq one who regards himself as full

t. sän KT S8, BK N6

toquz nine

t. ärän KT N9

t. ärig KT N6

t. ärsinkä tägi KT S3

t. oγuz BK E1, O F6

t[oquz oγu]z BK E29

t. oγuzqa KČ E4

t. oγuz bodun KT E14; BK E12, E35; TI S2

t. oγuz bäglärī bodunī KT S2

t. tatar birlä BK E34

toquz ärsin geog. n. (see toquz)

toquz oγuz ethnic n. (see toquz)

toquz tatar ethnic n. (see toquz)

toquzunč ninth

t. ay yeti otuzqa KT NE

tolγatma- not to torment

t. -ŋ! (ämgätmäŋ t.) BK N13

tonluγ having clothes, dressed

t. ... qïl- KT E29, BK E23

tonsïz having no clothes, naked

t. (tašra t.) KT E26, BK E21

toŋa pers. n.

t. tigin KT N7, BK E31

toŋra ethnic n.

t. bir oγuš alpaγu KT N7

t. yïlpaγutī BK E31

t. äsimig TI S2

topla- to fold up, bend

t. -γuluq alp ärmis TI S6

t. -γaï učuz ärmis TI S6

topul- to attack, assault, throw oneself upon

t. -u önti KČ E7

tor- to become lean, be emaciated

t. -u ölü yorï- KT S9, BK N7

toruγ bay, reddish-brown

t. at KT E33

toruq lean, emaciated

t. buqa TI W6

t. buqaï sämiz buqaï TI W5

sü atī t. ... ärti KT E39

tonyuquq a high title (cf. toṅuquq)

t. boyla baγa tarqan BK S14

čïqan t. KČ W1

toṅuquq a high title (cf. tonyuquq)

bilgä t. TI W1, W5, S8, S10, N10; TII W2, S3, E8, N1, N3

bilgä t. boyla baγa tarqan TI W6

küli čor t. KČ W2

t. -(q)a (bilgä t.) TI N7

tögültün geog. n.

t. yazī KT S6, BK N5

tögünlüg branded

t. atïγ TII E4

tök- to pour

t. -di KČ E5

töküt- to cause to shed

t. -i (qïzïl qanïm t.) TII E2

tölīs ethnic n. (cf. tölis)

t. tarduš KT E13

tölis cf. tölīs

t. tarduš BK E12

t. bäglär BK S13

törkär (?) geog. n.

t. (spelt t^2 üŋks^2) taγda BK S8

[tö]ŋkär (Thom. [..]-lkr) taγqa BK S7

töpü peak, summit, top

t. -sīntä (täŋri t.) KT E11, BK E10

tört four

t. buluŋ KT E2, BK E3

t. buluŋuγ O F1

t. buluŋdaqï KT E2; BK E2, E3, E24, N9

t. süŋüs KČ W11

t. tümän BK S8

t. tigin KČ E12

t. yoï BK E36

ay artuqī t. BK SW

otuz artuqī t. BK E38

t. yegirmi BK E15

tör[t biŋ?] KT SW

törtünč fourth KT N6, BK E31

törū state law, rules, regulations; ceremony (cf. törü)

t. -g KT E3, E16, E30; BK E2, E36, törü[g] BK E4

t. -dä (ol t. üzä) KT E16, BK E14

t. -n (instr.) BK N9, N10

t. -ŋin (eliŋin t.) KT E22

t. -miz (elimiz t.) KT E22

t. -sīn KT E1, E8, E31; BK E3; törüsün (for törūsīn) KT E13,

t. -sīnčä (äčüm apām t.) KT E13, BK E12

(il t.) KT E1, E8, E31; BK E3

(el t.) KT E22, E22

(t. -g it-) KT E3

(t. -g qazγan-) KT E16, E30, E31

törü cf. törū

t. -gin BK E19

t. -sīn BK E8, [tō]-rüsīn BK E11

tōrū- to be created, be born

t. -mis KT N10

tu- to bar, block up, obstruct

t. -mis TI E6

tudun a title

t. yamtarḯγ BK E40

tuγ barrier, obstacle

yantaqï t. TI N2

tut- to seize, capture; hold, keep, maintain

t. -dum BK S9

t. -dumïz TII W6, W7

t. -dï KT E38, E39; KC W6, W12

t. -miš ärinč BK E4

t. -mis KT E19

t. -mis ärinč KT E3

t. -sïq KT S4

t. -sïqïŋïn KT S10, BK N8

t. -qu[luq?] (buquγ t.) BK S10

t. -up KT E3, E7; BK E4, E10

t. -upan KT E7

t. -a KT E1, S8; BK E3

(āt t. -) KT E7

(el/il t. -) KT E1, E3, S8, S10; BK E3, E4, N8, S9

(kü t. -) KČ W12

tutuq military governor (< Chin. *tuotuok)

qošu t. KT N1

oŋ t. KT E31, E32

[o]ŋ t. BK E25

t. -uγ (az t.) KT E38

tutun- to hold on, cling

t. -u (ïγač t. aγturtum) TI N1

tutuz- to cause to seize

t. -t[ï] KT E38

tuyγun pers. n.

t. el-täbär KT NE

tuyγut pers. n. KT SW

tuyma- not to feel, not to become aware

t. -dï TII W3

tükäti completely

t. äsid BK N1

t. äsidgil KT S1

tümän ten thousand, immense quantity BK N12

bir t. KT N1

bir t. artuqī yeti biŋ BK S1

bes t. BK E25

bis t[ümän] KT E31

on t. TII W1

säkiz t. BK E26

törт t. BK S8

üč t. BK S8

tümät ethnic n.

t. sükä KČ W10

tün night, at night KT E27; BK E22; TI S5, N11; TII E1

ol oq t. TII W7

t. yämä TI E5, N3

t. ortusīŋaru KT S2, BK N2

t. -kä (on t.) TI N2

t. -lī künlī BK SE

(t. udïma- kün-tüz olurma-) KT E27, BK E22

(t. udïmatï kün-tüz olurmatï) TII E1-2

tüpüt geog. n. (Tibet) KT E4, BK E5

t. qaγanta KT N12

t. -kä KT S3, BK N3

türgi geog. n.

t. yarγun költä KT E34

türgis ethnic n.

t. tapa BK E27

t. bodunuγ KT E37

qara t. bodun KT E38, E39

qara t. bodunuγ KT E40

t. qaγan KT E18, E37, E38; BK E16, E27; TI E4; tür[gis qaγan] BK N9

[t]ürgis qaγanqa BK N9

t. qaγanta KT N13, TI N5

t. qaγanī TI N6

türk ethnic n. (Turk, Turkish); cf. türük

t. bodun TI W1, W2, W3, E1; O F2, F3

azqïńa t. [bodun] TI S2

t. bodun bäglär KČ W6

t. bodunuγ TI S10

t. bodunqa KČ W4

t. bodun atī O F3

t. qaγan TI E1

öŋrä t. qaγanγaru TI E3

t. sir bodun TI W3, S4

türük ethnic n. (cf. türk)

kök t. KT E3, BK E4

t. bäglär KT E7, E34; BK E7, N13

t. matï bäglär BK S13

t. bäglär bodun KT S10; BK E2, S15, N8

[t]ürük bäglärïn bodunïn BK S15

t. bilgä qaγan KT S1, W1; BK N1, E1, S13; TII E8, N4

t. bilgä [qaγan] BK E1, S13

t. bilgä qaγanq[a] TII S6

t. b(ö)gü q[aγan]qa TII S6

t. bodun KT E6, E10, E11, E22, E25, E27, S6, S7, S8, S8, S10, N6; BK E7, E9, E10, E19, E19, E21, E22, E30, E33, E33, E38, N5, N5, N6, N6, N8; TI E4; TII S2

t. qara qamaγ bodun KT E8, BK E8

t. matï bodun bäglär KT S11, BK N8

t. bodunïŋ KT E1, BK E3

t. bodunïγ (gen.) KT E25, BK E20

t. bodunuγ (acc.) KT E16, E21; BK E14, E18, E36

t. bodunum BK N13

t. qaγan KT S3, BK N2

t. sir bodun TII N2, N3

t. sir bodunuγ TII N4

t. ätïn KT E7

t. atïn BK E7

t. ïduq yirï subï KT E40

t. täŋrisï KT E10, BK E10

t. törüsün (for törüsïn) KT E13; tü[rük tö]rüsin BK E11

t. oγuz bäglärï bodun KT E22

t. -[üm] bodunum BK E16

t. -ümä bodunuma BK S10, N12

t. -ümiz [bodunumïz] KT E18

tüs- to go down, descend, fall down

t. -äyïn (äbgärü t.) TI N6

t. -di (ögüzkä t.) TI S9

tüs[di] (ol at anta t.) KT N4

tüsür- to cause to dismount

t. -tümiz (asanγalï t.) TI N3

tüz peaceful, agreeable

t. ärmis KT E3

tüzsiz discordant, disagreeable

t. üčün KT E6, BK E6

tüzül- to come to an amicable agreement, make peace

t. -tüm (tabγač bodun birlä t.) KT S5

tü[zültüm] BK N3

u sleep

uqa bas- TI N3

uda bas- KT E35, E37; BK E27

usïn buntat- TI E2

u- to be able

udači [ärt]i BK E19

usar idi yoq qïsalïm TI S4

(artatï u-) BK E19

uč end, wing (of an army)

u. -ï (ekï u.) TII W5

uč- to fly, pass away

u. -dï KT NE

u. -duqda KT E30, BK E14

u. -a bar- KT E16, SE; BK E20, S10

učuq summit, peak (?)

u. täg TI S1

učuz easy TI S6

u. ärmis TI S6

ud thigh (cf. udlïq)

u. ašru sanč- KT E36, N2

ud- to follow, pursue

u. -ï yaŕ- TII W6

udar pers. n.

u. säŋün KT N12

udï- to sleep

u. -sïqïm TI S5, E5

u. -matï (tün u. küntüz olurmatï) TII E1

(u. -sïqï kälmä-) TI S5, E5

udïma- neg. of udï- (cf. udïma-)

u. -dïm BK E22

(tün u. - küntüz olurma-) BK E22

udïma- cf. udïma-

u. -dïm KT E27

(tün u. - küntüz olurma-) KT E27

udïq haunch, thigh (cf. ud)

u. -ïn siyu ur- KT E36

udu and (lit.: 'following') TII E5, E5

uduz- to lead, drive in front

u.! (köŋlüŋčä u.) TI S8

u. -tum (ötükän yïsγaru u.) TI S8

u. -tuq[ï] KČ E1

u. -uγma (yeti yüz kisïg u.) TI W5

ulayu first, first and foremost KT S1, BK N1

ulayu and (lit.: 'connecting')

ekï šad u. ini-yägünüm KT N11

čor tigin kälip u. tört tigin kälip KČ E12

ögüm qatun u. öglärim äkälärim ... KT N9

tonyuquq boyla baγa tarqan u. buyruq BK S14

apa tarqan bašlayu u. šad(pït) bäglär BK S14

kül čor bašlayu u. šadpït bäglär BK S13

säbig kül ir in bašlayu u. buyruq BK S14

ulγart- to make great

u. -dïm oq (arquy qarγuγ u.) TII E3

uluγ big, great; old, elder leader

u. irkin KT E34, E34

u. küli čor KČ W3

u. oγlum BK S9

u. sü KT E28

u. süŋüš KT E40

ekï u. süŋüš BK E34

ärtiŋü u. törün BK N9, N10, [ärtiŋü u]luγ [törün] BK N10

u. bol- TII E6

u. -i TI W5

ulus city

buqaraq u. KT N12

uma- neg. of u-

u. -duq KT E10, BK E9

(itinü yaratunu u. -) KT E10, BK E9

umay name of a Goddess

t. umay TII W3

u. täg ögüm qatun KT E31

unāma- not to approve

u. -n! TI N11

unč possible

-sar u. TI E7

ur- to hit, strike; inscribe; place, put

u. -γïl! TI N10

u. -tum KT S10, S11, S11, BK N8, N8

[urtu]m BK N8

u. -tï KT E33, E36

(oqun u. -) KT E33, E36

(tašqa u. -) KT S11, BK N8

(yälmä qarγu u. -) TI N10

urï male

u. oγluŋ KT E24

u. oγluŋïn BK E20

u. oγlin (for oγlï) KT E7

u. oγlïn BK E7, KT E7 (for oγlï)

urtur- to have inscribed, have engraved

u. -tum (bädiz u.) KT S12

ur[turtum] (bädiz u.) BK N14

u[rturtum] (sabïmïn u.) KT S12

uruγsïrat- to exterminate, to deprive someone of his descendants

u. -ayïn (ölüräyïn u.) KT E10

uruš fight, battle, combat

u. qïl- O R2

uyγur ethnic n. (Uigur)

u. el-täbär BK E37

uz artistic work, design

u. -uγ (bunča barqïγ bädizig u.) BK SW

uzun far

u. yälmäg id- TII E2

üč three

ü. ärig KČ E3

ü. körüg kisï TI N9

ü. qaγan TI E3

ü. qurïqan KT E4, BK E5

ü. oγuz süsï BK E32

ü. tümän süg BK S8

ekï üč BK E41, TI S7

otuz artuqï ü. BK E34

ü. yegirmi KT E18

ü. otuz TI E2

üč qurïqan ethnic n. (cf. üč)

üč oγuz ethnic n. (cf. üč)

üčägü three together (cf. bučägü)

ü. -n qabïsïp sülälim TI E4

bučägü (< bu üčägü) TI S6

üčün 1. (post.) for, because of, on account of, for the sake of (cf. üčün)

türük bodun ü. KT E27

alpïn ärdämïn ü. KČ W12

antaγïŋïn ü. KT S9

armaqčisïn ü. KT E6

[bi]lgäsïn ü. KC W7

[bilmädükïn] ü. KT E19

täŋri yir bulγaqïn ü. KT N4

kiŋsürtükïn ü. KT E6

kürägüŋin ü. KT E23

täbligin kürlügïn ü. BK E6

täbligin kürlüg (for kürlügïn) ü. KT E6

yaŋïluqïn ü. KT E19

yarliq(q)aduqin ü. KT S9

yonšurtuqïn ü. KT E6

. . . ïn ü. KČ E2

ani ü. KT E3, BK E4

2. (conj.) since, as, because

qutum bar ü. KT S9

ülügüm bar ü. KT E29

yarlïq(q)aduq ü. KT E15

üčün (cf. üčün)

1. (post.)

türük bodun ü. BK E22

alpïn ü. TII S5

alpïn ärdämïn [üčü]n KČ W7

[armaqčis]ïn ü. BK E6

bilgäsïn ü. TII S4

bilmädükügin ü. BK E20

bilmädükïn ü. BK E16

bulγaqïn ü. BK E29

qazγantuqïn ü. TII E5

kürägüŋin ü. BK E19

tägdükïn ü. O R2

yablaqïŋïn ü. BK E20

yaŋïltuqïn yazïntuqïn ü. BK E16

yoŋšurtuqïn ü. BK E7

anï ü. BK E28

2. (conj.)

qutum bar ü. KT E29, BK N7

qutum ülügüm bar ü. BK E23

bilmädük ü. KT E24

bertük/birtük ü. TI W6; KT E12, W1; BK E11, E32

ičikdük ü. TI W3

qazγantuq ü. TII N3, BK E33

qazγantuqum ü. TII E5

qaγan olurtuqum ü. BK E36

tägdük ü. BK E30

tägürdük ü. TII S3

tüzsiz ü. KT E6, BK E6

yarlïq(q)aduq ü. BK E13, E33, E34; TII W5; y. üč[ün] BK N10

üčünč third KT E33, N6

üküs many, numerous, in great number (cf. üküš) TII W4, W5

ü. türük bodun KT S6

ü. ök ölürti TI W7

ü. -üg (azïγ ü.) O F7

üküš (cf. üküs)

ü. kišï KT S7

ü. kisï BK N6

ü. öltäči BK E31

ü. türük bodun BK N5

ü. qïl- KT E29, S10; BK E14, E24, N7

ülgän great, sublime

ü. atqa O R3

ülüg fortune, good luck (cf. ülüg)

ü. -üm bar üčün KT E29

ülüg part, portion; fortune, fate, (cf. ülüg)

qutum ü. -üm bar üčün BK E23

ü. -ï TI W4, W4; KC E11

ürüŋ white

ü. kümüs TII S4

ü. kümüšïn BK N11

üz evil-minded

ü. ol (añïγ ol ü. ol) TI N10

üz- to cut, break

ü. -gülük alp ärmis TI W7

ü. -gäli učuz TI S6

üzä 1. (adv.) above, on high KT E1, E10, E22; BK E2, E18, N10, N12, W1, W3; O F3, R4; [ü]zä BK E35

2. (post.) on, over; in accordance with, according to BK E2

altun yïs ü. TI E3

at ü. TI N1

tarduš bodun ü. KT E17, BK E15

toquz oγuz bodun ü. TI S2

bodunta ü. KT E21, BK E26

kisī oγlinta ü. KT E1, BK E3

ol törüdä ü. KT E16, BK E14

yabγu a high title

el-etmis y. O F4

isbara tamγan čor y. O F4

y. -γ šadïγ KT E14, BK E12

y. -sīn sadīn TII W6

yabγu[sī]n BK E28

yabïz bad

y. bat biz O F7

y. ärtimiz BK E32

y. bol- BK E32

y. yablaq KT E26, BK E21

yablaq bad; badness, harm

y. aγī KT S7, BK N5

y. qaγan KT E5, BK E6

y. kisī KT E39

y. ärmis KT E5, BK E6

y. bol- KT N11, BK E30-31

y. bo[l-] KT N7

y. kigür- KT E23, BK E19

yabïz y. KT E26, BK E21

y. -ïŋïn üčün BK E20

yabrīt- to ruin, put to rout

y. -dim (süsīn ... y.) BK E31

yabrīt ... BK E31

yadaγ on foot; foot-soldier, infantry

y. süsīn BK S1

y. ärti TI W4

y. yabïz bol- BK E32

y. -ïn (instr.) KT E28, E32; TI N1

(y. -ïn yalïŋïn) KT E28

yaγ- to join

y. -(γ)il! TI W5

y. -misī TI W5

yaγī enemy (cf. yaγï)

y. är- KT E2, E14, E14, E14; BK E3, E12, E12; O F6

y. bol- KT E9, E10, E34, E39, N1, N2, N4; BK E9, E9, E26, E29, E30; O F5, R2

oγuz y. KT N8

y. -γ KT E15; BK E13; TII E3, E4

y. -qa KČ E11

y. -sī KT E12

yaγï cf. yaγī

y. -mïz TI S1, E2, E2

y. -sī BK E11

yaγïči war-leader

y. -[s]īTII S6

yaγïsiz unhostile, harmless

y. qïl- KT E30, BK E24

yaγīt- to start hostilities

y. -(t)uqda KC W5, E6

yaγïz brown, reddish-brown, dark

y. yer KT E1

y. -īn (az y.) KT N5, N8

yaγuq close, near

y. ärsär KT S7, BK N5

yaγur- to come close, approach

y. -u KT S5, S7; BK N6

(y. -u bar-) KT S7, BK N6

(y. -u qon-) KT S5

yaγut- to cause to come close

y. -īr ärmis KT S5, BK N4

yalabač messenger, envoy

y. -ī ädgü sabī ötügī BK E39

yalïŋ naked, undressed

y. bodunuγ KT E29, BK E23

y. -ïn (instr.) KT E28

(yadaγïn y. -ïn) KT E28

yaïŋus alone, by oneself

yaγïqa y. ... täg- KČ E11

yalma caftan

y. -sïnta KT E33

(yarïq y.) KT E33

yamï pers. n.

y. qaγan O F1

yamtar pers. n., a title (?)

išbara y. KT E33

y. -ïγ (tudun y.) BK E40

yan side

y. -taqï TI N2

yan toward, in the direction of (cf. yän)

qanta y. TI N9

yirïdïnta y. TI S4

yan- to turn, turn back

y. -alïm TII W2

y. -tïmïz TI N4, N5

y. -ïγma TII E3

y. -a käl- KT E28, TI N9

(-da y. -) TI N5

yana again KT E10, E21, E38, E40; BK E9, N10; TI W2; KČ E7, E8

yantur- causative of yan-

y. -tumïz (anta y.) TII S1

y. -u (köŋültä siγït käl-sär y. saqïntïm) KT N11

yaŋïl- to go astray, betray; make a mistake, be mistaken

y. -tïγ (käntü y.) KT E23, BK E19

y. -tï KT E20; [y]aŋïltï BK E35

y. -tuqïn BK E16

y. -tači siz KT S11

y. -sar KT S6; yaŋïls[ar] BK N4

y. -ïp KT S10, BK N8, TI N2

(y. - yazïn-) BK E16

yaŋïlma- neg. of yaŋïl-

y. -duq O R3

(adrïlma- y. -) O R3

yaŋïluq who has gone astray, unfaithful (for yaŋïltuq ?)

y. -ïn üčün KT E19

yaraqlïγ having a weapon, armed KT E23, BK E19

y. äligin KT E32

y. yaγïγ

yarama- not to be suitable

y. -či (bu yolun yorï-sar y.) TI E6

yarat- to make, create, form, organize

y. -dim BK N9

y. -miš BK E1, E12, S13

y. -mis KT E13

y. -ïγma KT N13

y. -ïp BK E17; yarat[ïp] KT E20, yar[atïp] KT E19

(it- y. -) KT E19, BK E17

(bädiz y. -) KT N13

yaratid- (<yaratït-) causative of yarat-

y. -(d)im BK N14

(barq y. -) BK N14

yaratun- to organize oneself

y. -u uma- KT E10, BK E9

(itin- y. -) KT E10, BK E9

yaratur- causative of yarat-

y. -tum (barq y.) KT S12

yarγan a title

inänču apā y. tarqan KT W2

yarγun geog. n.

türgi y. kölčä KT E34

yarïq armor

y. -ïnta KT E33

(y. yalma) KT E33

yarïs geog. n.

y. yazïda TI N9, TII W1

yarïq(q)a- to mercy, be graceful

y. -zu (täŋri y.) TII E3

y. -dï (täŋri y.) TI S9

y. -mis O F6

y. -duq (täŋri y. üčün) KT E15; BK E13, E23, E23; TII W5

täŋri y. [üčün] BK N9

[täŋri] y. üčün BK E34

üzä täŋri asra yer y. üč[ün] BK N10

y. -duqīn (täŋri y. üčün) KT S9

täŋri yar[lïq(q)-aduqīn üčün] BK N7

yasa- to determine, rule, order

y. -r (öd täŋri y.) KT N10

yasa- to live (cf. yaša-)

y. -p (säkiz on y. yoq bolti) KČ W3

yaš age, age of life

y. -da (säkiz y. qal-) BK E14

y. -ïma

yeti yegirmi y. BK E24

säkiz yegirmi y. BK E24

[toquz] yegirmi y. BK E25

ekī otuz y. BK E25

altï otuz y. BK E26

yeti o[tuz yašïm]a BK E26

otuz y. BK E28

otuz artuqī bir y. BK E29

otuz artuqī törtt y. BK E38

otuz artuqī säkiz y. BK S2

[otuz artuqī toquz y]ašïma BK S2

älig y. BK S7

[yašï]ma BK E31

y. -ïmqa (törtt yegirmi y.) BK E15

y. -ïŋa

yeti y. KČ E6

altï yegirmi y. KT E31

bir otuz y. KT E32

[altï otuz] y. KT E35

yiti otuz y. KT N1

yaša- to live (cf. yasa-)

y. -yūr ärti KT N2, N2

(otuz y. -) KT N2

(bir qïrq y. -) KT N2

yašïl green (in geog. n.)

y. ögüz KT E17, BK E15

yašïl ögüz geog. n. (Yellow River) (cf. yašïl)

yašīk (?) sun

y. bulït KT NE

yat- to lie down

y. -dï KT E24, BK E20

y. -u qal- KT N9, TI E2

yań- to scatter, disperse, put to rout (cf. yay-)

y. -dïm BK E33

y. -dïmïz TI S9, TII W6

y. -duq TI S9

y. -ïp KT E34

y. -a KT E23; BK E19, E31

(y. -a elt-) KT E23, BK E19

(y. -ïp buz-) KT E34

(oz- y. -) BK E31

(sanč- y. -) BK E33

yay summer

y. bolsar BK W3

y. -ïn BK E39

yay- to scatter, disperse (cf. yań-)

y. -dïm O R1

y. -mis O F1

yaz spring

y. -ïn BK S2

y. -ïŋa KT N8

y. -iŋa BK E31

yazï plain

y. (tögültün y.) KT S7, BK N5

y. -qa (šantuŋ y. tägi) KT E17, S3; BK E15

y. -da (yarïs y.) TI N9, TII W1

yazïn- to go astray, betray

y. -tï BK E17

y. -tuqïn üčün BK E16

(yaŋïl- y. -) BK E16

yazuqla- to go astray (?)

y. - ... BK E36

yägrän red, red-haired (of horses)

y. at KČ E3

y. ärmäkig KČ E9

yägün younger brother

ini-y. -üm KT S1, N11; BK N1

yäk pers. n.

y. tegin KČ S1

y. čor tigin KČ E12

yäl- to ride fast

y. -ü TI N2, N3

(y. -ü bar-) TI N3

(y. -ü kör-) TI N2

yälmä advanced columns, vanguard; campaign, expedition

y. qarγu TI N10

y. -g (uzun y.) TII E2

(y. id-) TII E2

yälmä- neg. of yäl-

y. -di ([ar]qïšï y.) BK E41

yältürmä- not to let someone ride fast

y. -dim TII E4

yämä and, also, too

buyruqï y. KT E3, E5; BK E6

buyruqï bäglärï y. KT E19, BK E16

biz y. TII W9

uzun yälmäg y. TII E2

yaŋïlïp ölsikiŋin y. KT S10

yolta y. TI S9

ayγučï[sï] y. ... yaγïčï[sï] y. TII S6

bäglärï y. bodunï y. KT E3

bäglärï y. bodunï (y.) BK E4

il y. bodun y. TII E5

il y. ... bodun y. TII E6

kün y. tün y. TI N3

tün y. ... (<kün yämä>) TI E5

[türk bodun yämä] ... oγuzï y. TI E5

bod y. bodun y. kisï y. TII N2

bunča y. KT N9

yän in the direction of (cf. yan)

täŋrikän y. O F5

biridin y. TI S4

öŋdün y. TI S4

yät- to lead, tow with a rope

y. -ä TI N1

(at y. -) TI N1

ye- to eat (cf. yi-)

y. -yü (tabïsγan y.) TI S1

yeg better TII W2, KC E6

-da y. qïl- BK E24

yegän pers. n.

y. silig bägiŋ KT E33

yegdi better, in a better way

y. qazγan- BK E36

-da y. igid- KT SE

yegirmi twenty (cf. yigirmi) BK E15, BK E13

eki yegir[mi] KT E28, BK E23

üč y. KT E18

törт y. BK E15

altï y. KT E31

yeti y. BK E24, TII S5

yiti y. KT E11, BK E10

säkiz y. BK E24

toquz y. BK S9

toq[uz yegir]mi BK S9

<toquz>y. BK E25

yer earth; place, land, soil (cf. yir) KT E1; BK E18, N10; TI N2; KC W6, E1

täŋri y. BK E29

y. sub BK E35, TII W3

y. -ig (ötükän y.) TI S10

y. -kä

ol y. TII S3

ötükän y. TI S10

y. -tä KT S13, S13; BK N15

y. -dä BK E20, E35, E36

y. -däki (näŋ y.) TII E6

y. -gärü KT S8

yer[gär]ü BK N6

y. -in (for yerïn) subin BK E35

y. -ïntä TI W3, S4; TII N2

y. -iŋä (for yerïŋä) BK N3

y. -iŋärü (for yerïŋärü) subïŋaru BK E40

yerči guide TI E6, N2

yeti seven (cf. yiti)

y. äräṅ O F5

y. süŋüs KČ E4

y. yašīŋa KČ E6

y. yolī KT E15

y. yüz KT E13, BK E11; TI W4, W4

y. biŋ BK S1

y. süŋüs- TII S5

y. yegirmi BK E10, E24; TII S5

y. otuzqa KT NE

y. o[tuz] BK E26

[yeti] otuz TII E1

yetinč seventh (cf. yitinč)

y. ay O R4

yetmis seventy (cf. yetmiš)

y. är KT E12

yetmiš seventy (cf. yetmis)

y. är BK E11

yïd- to send (cf. ïd-)

y. -mis (anča y.) TI N10

yïγ- to gather together, bring together

y. -ïp TII W8

(it- y. -) BK N9, TII W8

yïγ- terrify (cf. yıγ-)

y. -dïm O R1

y. -mis O F1

yïl year

[ï]t y. BK S10

laγzīn y. BK S10

älig y. KT E8

toquz yegirmi y. BK S9

toq[uz yegir]mi y. BK S9

y. -qa

bičīn y. KT NE

bir y. KT N4, BK E30

qoń y. KT NE, O R4

lü y. O Supp. 5

ol y. KT E36, BK E27

yïlqï horses, horseherd, cattle

y. -γ BK E38, KČ E13

y. -sīn barïmīn BK E24

y. -[sīn] BK E39

yïlq[ï]s[ï]n KT SW

(y. barïm) BK E24

(y. ay-) KT SW

(y. igid-) BK E38, KČ E13

yïlpaγut champion warriors, officers (cf. alpaγu)

y. -ī (toŋra y.) BK E31

yïlsïγ wealthy, prosperous

y. bodunqa KT E26

[y]ïlsïγ bodunta üzä BK E21

yïrï north (cf. yïri, yirï)

y. -ya KT S1; TI W7, S7

yïri north (cf. yïrï, yirï)

y. -yä O F2, F5

yïs forest, wooded mountain (cf. yiš, yis)

altun y. üzä TI E3

y. -ïγ

altun y. TII N11, TII W2

kögmän y. TI N4

y. -da (altun y.) TI N7, N8

y. -γaru (ötükän y.) TI S8

yi- to eat (cf. ye-)

y. -yü (kayik y.) TI S1

yičä again, anew

y. itdi igit(t)di KT E16

y. itdi y. igit(t)i BK E14

yiγ- to terrify (cf. yïγ-)

y. -dïm O R1

yig better (cf. yeg)

-da y. KT S4, BK N3

yigirmi twenty (cf. yegirmi)

y. kün KT SE

yimšaq soft KT S5, S5, S6; BK N4, N4, N5

yinčgä thin, tender TI S6

y. ärklig TI S6

yinčü pearl (in yinčü öguz 'The Pearl River', i.e. Jaxartes or Syr Darya)

y. öguz BK N3

y. ög[üz] KT S3

y. ögüzüg KT E39, TII S2, KČ E4

yinčü öguz geog. n. (cf. yinčü)

yipar musk, scent

y. -ïγ (yoγ y.) BK S11

yir earth; place, land (cf. yer) KT E22

täŋri y. KT N4

az y. TI E7

ötükän y. KT S8

il tutsïq y. KT S4

y. sub KT E19, E20; BK E17

y. sayu KT S9, S9; BK E22, N7, N7

y. -kä (bunča y. tägi) KT S4

y. -dä

bu y. KT S4

barduq y. KT E24

y. -ī subī KT E10-11, BK E10

y. -ŋä (yir bayïrqu y. tägi) BK E15

yir bayïrqu ethnic n. (cf. bayïrqu)

yirï north (cf. yïrï, yïri)

y. -ya KT E14, BK E12

y. -yaqï (qurïyaqï y. öŋräki bodun) TI S10

y. -γaru KT E28, S2, S4; BK E23, N2, N3

yirïdïn north

y. -ta yan TI S4

yis wooded mountain (cf. yïs, yiš)

y. -[qa tägi] O F2

yiš forest, wooded mountain (cf. yïs, yis)

čoγay y. KT S6, BK N5

qadïrqan y. BK E39

ötükän y. KT S3, S4, S8; BK N3

ötükän y[iš] KT E23

ötükän [yi]š BK E19

ötükän [y]iš BK N6

y. -ïγ

altun y. BK E27

qadïrqan y. KT E21

kögmän y. KT E35, BK E27

y. -qa

y. aγ- BK E37

qadïrqan y. tägi KT E1

y. -da

ötükän y. yig KT S4

soŋa y. KT E35, BK E27

yit- to become lost

y. -mis O F1

y. -ü KT E27, E28; BK E22, E22

(y. - ïčγïn-) O F1

(öl- y. -) KT E27, E28; BK E22, E22

(ölü y. -ü qazγan-) KT E27, BK E22

yiti seven (cf. yeti)

y. ödüškä BK SE

yi[ti yašda] KT E30

y. yegirmi KT E11

y. yegirmikä KT NE

y. otuz KT N1

y. otuzqa KT NE, BK S10

qïrq artuqī y. BK E13

qïrq artuq[ī y]iti KT NE

yitinč seventh (cf. yetinč)

y. ay KT NE

y. ärig KT N5

yitmä- neg. of yit-

y. -z(ü)n teyin O F3

yitür- to lose

y. -ü ïd- KT E7, BK E7

yoγ funeral KT NE, BK S10

y. yiparïγ BK S11

y. -uŋ (poss.) O R4

y. -ïnta (toŋa tigin y.) KT N7

yoγ[ïnta] BK E31

(y. qoraγ) O R4

(y. ärtür-) KT NE, BK S10

yoγči mourner

y. siγïtči KT E4, N11; BK E5

yoγlā- to mourn (cf. yoγla-)

y. -miš BK E5

y. -mis KT E4

(y. - sïγtā-/siγtā-) KT E4, BK E5

yoγla- cf. yoγlā-

y. -dï (qobsarïp y.) KČ S2

yoγlat- to hold someone's funeral

y. -ayīn TI N7

y. -(t)ï KČ E12

yoγun thick, heavy

y. ïγ BK S15

y. bol- TI S7

yoγur- to knead

y. -ča (<* yoγururča) TI N2

y. -u TI S8, BK SE

yōq non-existent, does not exist (cf. yoq)

y. ärti KT E39

y. bol- KT E11, O F1

yoq needy, poor; non-existent, does not exist, there is not; not (cf. yoq)

y. čiγań KT S10, BK N7

buŋ y. KT S3

buŋuγ (poss.) y. KT S8

añüγ y. KT S3, BK N2

y. är- KT E39, S4, N10; TI E1; TII S3, E5, N1, N1, N2

y. bol- KT E11, E25, E25, N3; BK E36, E40, S9; TI W3, N7; O F1, F3; KČ W3

y. bo[l]- BK E22

y. [bol-] BK E28, E33

y. q[ïl-] BK S4

y. qïš- KT E32, E34; BK E25

y. qïs- TI S4, E4

yoqad- to be annihilated

y. -u bar- KT E10

yoq(q)aru up, upwards

y. ... aγturtum TI N1

yol road, way, path

y. -ta KT N9, TI S9

y. -un (instr.) TI E6, E7

y. -sizin TI N11

y. -ī (kögmän y.) TI E6

(yurt y.) KT N9

yolï time, occurrence

tört y. BK E30

biš y. KT N4

altï y. BK E28

qïrq artuqī yeti y. KT E15, BK E13

... yolï BK S2

yolluγ fortunate, happy, lucky (pers. n.)

y. tigin KT SW

yol(l)uγ tigin KT SE, SE; BK SW, SW

yol(l)uγ t[igin] KT S13

yoŋšur- to cause to slander one another

y. -tuqīn üčün KT E6, BK E7

yorī- to march; make progress (cf. yorï-)

y. -ïm TI N5, N11

y. -[dïm] BK E27

y. -dïmïz KT E37

y. -duqī (türük sir bodun y. bu) TII N3

y. -yūr ärmis TI S3

[yorïy]ur ärtig BK N7

y. -sar TI E6, E7

y. -p KT E35

yo rïp BK E27

(sü y. -) TI N5, N11

(toru ölü y. -) BK N7

yorï cf. yorī-

y. -mis O F5

yor[imis?] O F6

y. -yūr KT E12

y. -yūr ärtig KT S9

y. -p BK SE, O R3

y. -pan BK E37

(sü y. -) BK SE

(tašra y. -) KT E11, 12

(toru ölü y. -) KT S9

yorïma- neg. of yorï-

y. -zun TI S4

y. -sar TI N5

yorït- to cause to march (cf. yorit-)

y. -dïm (sü y.) TI N1, N11

yorït- cf. yorït-

y. -dïm KT S4

yor[ïtdïm?] BK S5

y. -maz ärmis KT S6

yo[rïtmaz] ärmiš BK N4

yotuz wife, woman

y. -īn BK E38

yotuz[īn] BK S3

yo[tuz]īn BK E24

[yo]tuzīn BK S4

(oγul y.) BK E24, E38, S3

yubul- to roll

y. -u intimiz TI N2

yulï- to pillage, plunder

y. -dïmïz TII W4

y. -γaïï BK E32

yuïïγči plunderer

y. [?äri]g BK SE

yuluq extinguished, extinct

y. ärmäz(ü)n teyin O F3

yurč brother-in-law, brother of the wife

y. -ïn (oŋ tutuq y.) KT E32

yurt camp, campsite

y. -da KT N9, TI E2

(y. yol) KT N9

yut starvation, famine

y. bol- BK E31

yuyqa thin TI S6

y. ärkli TI S6

yüg(g)ärü up, upwards, to a high place

y. kör- BK E2

y. kötür- KT E11, BK E10

yügtür- to cause to rise, to promote

y. -mis KČ W2

yügür- to run, flow

y. -ti KT E24, BK E20

yügürt- to let flow

y. -i TII E2

(qara tärim y.) TII E2

yügürtmä- not to let run

y. -dim TII E4

yükün- to prostrate oneself, submit, yield

y. -ti TI N4; TII W8, TII S2

(ičik- y. -) TI N4

yüküntür- causative of yükün-

y. -tüm BK N10

y. -tümiz KT E18, BK E16

y. -miš BK E13

y. -miš KT E2; [yü]küntürmis BK E3, yüküntü[rmis] KT E15

(bašlïγï γ y.) KT E2, E15, E18; BK E13, E16, N10

yüz hundred

y. artuq oqun KT E33

bis y. ärän BK S11

yeti y. KT E13, E13; BK E11, E11; TI W4, W4

y. -čä ärin BK E37

yüz face

y. -iŋä KT E33

(y. bašïŋa) KT E33

yüzüt- to cause to swim

y. -i BK E30

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pentti Aalto, G.J. Ramstedt and J.G. Granö, 'Materialien zu den alttürksichen Inschriften der Mongolei', JSFOu, LX: 7 (1958).

R. Rabmeti Arat, 'Über die Orientations-Bezeichnungen im Türkischen,' in Aspects of Altaic Civilization (Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference), ed. Denis Sinor (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 23, 1963), 177-195.

W. Bang, Über die köktürkische Inschrift auf der Südseite des Kültägin-Denkmals, Leipzig 1896.

_____, 'Zu den Kök-Türk-Inschriften der Mongolei,' TP, VII (1896), 325-355.

_____, 'Zu den köktürkischen Inschriften,' TP, IX (1898), 117-141.

_____, 'Turcica,' in Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Ges. (1917), 270-294.

W. Barthold, 'Die historische Bedeutung der alttürkischen Inschriften,' in W. Radloff, Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Neue Folge (St. Petersburg 1897), 36p.

_____, 'Die alttürkischen Inschriften und die arabischen Quellen,' in W. Radloff, Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Zweite Folge (St. Petersburg 1899), 29 p.

I. A. Batmanov, Z. B. Aragači and G. F. Babuškin, Sovremennaya i drevnyaya Yeniseika, Frunze 1962.

A. Caferoğlu, 'Tukyu ve Uygurlarda han unvanları,' Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuasi, Istanbul 1931, 105-119.

_____, Uygur Sözlüğü, Istanbul 1934-1938.

_____, Türk Dili Tarihi I, Istanbul 1958.

Gerard Clauson, 'The Ongin Inscription', JRAS (1957), 177-192.

_____, Turkish and Mongolian Studies, London 1962.

K. Czeglédy, 'Čoγay-Quzï, Qara-Qum, Kök-Öng', AO, XV, 1-3 (1962), 55-69.

Otto Donner, 'Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du nord de l'Asie', JSFOu, XIV: 1(1896), 71p.

János Eckmann, 'Zur Charakteristik der islamischen mittelasiatisch-türkischen Literatursprache', Studia Altaica (Wiesbaden 1957) 51-59.

_____, 'Das Chwarezmtürkische', Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Tomus Primus (Wiesbaden 1959), 113-137.

_____, 'Das Tschaghataische', Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Tomus Primus (Wiesbaden 1959), 138-160.

A. Cevat Emre, Türk Lehçelerinin Mukayeseli Grameri, Fonetik, Istanbul 1949.

Karl Foy, 'Türkische Vocalstudien', MSOS (1900), 180-215.

A. von Gabain, Alttürkische Grammatik, Leipzig 1941; second edition: Leipzig 1950 (Alttürk.).

_____, 'Über Ortsbezeichnungen im Alttürkischen', SO, XIV: 5(1950), 14p.

_____, 'Zur Geschichte der türkischen Vokalharmonie', UAJb, XXIV (1952), 105-111.

_____, 'Alttürkische Datierungsformen', UAJb XXVII (1955), 191-203.

_____, 'Das Alttürkische' in Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Tomus Primus (Wiesbaden 1959), 21-45.

René Giraud, L'empire des Turcs Célestes, Paris 1960.

_____, L'inscription de Ba'in Tsokto, Paris 1961.

Kaare Grönbech, Türkische Sprachbau, Kopenhagen 1936.

V. Grønbech, Forstudier til tyrkisk lydhistorie, Copenhague 1902.

Abdülkadir İnan, Tarihte vs bugün Samanizm, Ankara 1954.

Inscriptions de l'Iénissei, recueillies et publiées par la Société finlandaise d'Archéologie, Helsingfors 1889.

Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890 et publiées par la Société finno-ougriene, Helsingfors 1892.

F. G. Iszakov, 'Dolgie glasnïe v tyurkskix yazïkax', Issledovaniya po sravnitel'noy grammatike tyurkskix yazïkov, čast' I: Fonetika, Moskva 1955, 160-174.

_____, 'Garmoniya glasnïx v tyurkskix yazïkax', ibid., 122-159.

Zeynep Korkmaz, 'Türkiye Türkçesinde 'İktidar' ve 'İmkân' gösteren yardımcı fiiller ve gelişmeleri', TDAY 1959 (Ankara 1960) 107-124.

_____, 'Zur Ableitung der türkischen Postposition učun ~ üčün ~ ičin usw.', UAJb, XXXIII, 1-2 (1961), 98-100.

W. Kotwicz and A.N. Samoïlovitch, 'Le monument turc d'Ikhekhuchetu en Mongolie centrale', RO 1926 (1928), 60-107.

A.N. Kurat, 'Gök Türk kağanlığı', DTCFD, X, 1-2 (1952), 57-77.

L. Ligeti, 'A török hosszú magánhangzók', Magyar Nyelv, XXXIV (1938), 65-76; in French: 'Les voyelles longues en turc', JA (April-June, 1938), 177-204; in Turkish: 'Türkçede uzun vokaller', TM, VII-VIII, 1 (1942), 82-94.

Mao-Tsai Liu, Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe), Wiesbaden 1958.

S.E. Malov, Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti, Moskva 1951.

_____, Yeniseyskaya pis'mennost' tyurkov, Moskva 1952 (Malov 1952).

_____, Yazïk zoltïx uygurov, Alma-Ata 1957.

P.M. Melioranskiy, Pamyatnik v čest Kyul-Tegina (= ZVO, XII, 2-3), Sanktpeterburg 1899.

D.M. Nasilov, 'K voprosu o modalnïx slovax ärinč, ärki i ärkän v drevnetyurkskix yazïkax', Trudï samarkandskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. A. Navoi, No. 102 (Samarkand 1960), pp. 127-132.

_____, 'O nekotorïx složnïx glagolnïx formax v drevnetyurkskix yazïkax', ibid., pp. 133-143.

_____, 'Yenisey vä Orxun yadgarlikläridägi rävišdaš kategoriyasi', Ozbek Tili vä Ädäbiyati Mäsälälări, 1 (Tashkent 1961), pp. 48-53.

V.M. Nasilov, Yazïk orxono-yeniseyskix pamyatnikov, Moskva 1960.

_____, Drevne-uygurskiy yazïk, Moskva 1963.

J. Németh, 'Zur Kenntnis des geschlossenen e im Türkischen', KCsA I, Supplement (Budapest and Leipzig 1939), 515-531.

_____, 'Zur Erklärung der Orchon-inschriften', in Festscrift Friedrich Giese (= Die Welt des Islams, Sonderband, 1941), 35-45.

H.N. Orkun, Eski Türk Yazıtları, Istanbul, I: 1936, II: 1938, III: 1940, IV: 1941.

B. Ögel, 'Göktürk yazıtlarının 'Apurım' ları ve 'Fu-lin' problemi', Belleten, 33 (1945), 63-87.

P. Pelliot, 'L'origine de T'ou kiue, nom chinois des Turcs', TP, XVI (1915), 687-690.

N. Poppe, 'Türkisch-tchuwassische vergleichende Studien', in Islamica, I, 1 (Leipzig 1924), 409-427.

_____, 'Altaisch und Urtürkisch', UJb, VI, 1-2 (1926), 94-121.

_____, 'Plural Suffixes in the Altaic Languages', UAJb, XXIV, 3-4 (1957), 65-83.

_____, 'Das Jakutische', Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Tomus primus (Wiesbaden 1959), 671-684.

_____, Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, Teil 1, Vergleichende Lautlehre, Wiesbaden 1960.

O. Pritsak, 'Die Herkunft der Allophone und Allomorphe im Türkischen', UAJb, XXXIII, 1-2 (1961), 142-145.

_____, 'Das Alttürkische', in Handbuch der Orientalistik, Fünfter Band: Altaistik, Erster Abschnitt: Turkologie (Leiden/Köln 1963), 27-52.

W. Radloff, Atlas der Altertümer der Mongolei, Petersburg 1892-1899.

_____, Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Erste Lieferung, St. Petersburg 1894-1895.

_____, Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Neue Folge, St. Petersburg 1897 (Neue Folge).

_____, Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Zweite Folge, St. Petersburg 1899 (Zweite Folge).

_____, 'Alttürkische Studien', Bull. Acad. imp. Sc., I: 1909, 1213-1222; II: 1910, 217-228; III: ibid., 1025-1036; IV: 1911, 305-326; V: ibid., 427-452; VI: 1912, 747-778.

G.J. Ramstedt, 'Zwei uigurische Runeninschriften in der Nord-Mongolei', JSFOu, XXX (1913).

_____, 'Zur Frage nach der Stellung des Tschuwassischen', JSFOu, XXXVIII: 1 (1922).

_____, 'Das deverbale Nomen auf -i in den altaischen Sprachen', SO, XI: 6 (1945).

_____, 'Alte türkische und mongolische Titel', JSFOu, 55 (1951), 59-82.

M. Räsänen, 'Beiträge zur Frage der türkischen Vokalharmonie', JSFOu, 45 (1932), 1-10.

_____, 'Regenbogen — Himmelsbrücke', SO, XIV: 1 (1947), 3-11.

_____, Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen (= SO, XV), Helsinki 1949.

_____, 'Türkische Miszellen', SO, XXV: 1 (1960).

E. Denison Ross, 'The Tonyukuk Inscription, being a translation of Professor Vilhem Thomsen's final Danish rendering', BSOS, VI, Part 1 (1930), 37-43.

D. Sinor, 'Qapqan', JRAS, 3-4 (1954), 174-184.

M. Sprengling, 'Tonyukuk's Epitaph: An Old Turkish Masterpiece', AJSLL, LVI, No. 1 (January 1939), 1-19, No. 4 (October 1939), 365-383.

A.M. Ščerbak, 'Tyurkskie glasnïe v količestvennom otnošenii', in Tyurkologičeskiy sbornik (Moskva 1966), 146-162.

T. Tekin, 'Köktürk yazıtlarındaki deyimler üzerine', Türk Dili, Vol. 6 (Ankara 1957), 372-374 and 423-426.

_____, 'On Kök Turkic büntägi', CAJ, VIII, No. 3 (September 1963), 196-198.

_____, 'On a Misinterpreted Word in the Old Turkic Inscriptions', UAJb, Vol. 35, Fasc. B(1964), 134-144.

A. Temir, 'Die Konjunktionen und Satzeinleitungen im Alt-Türkischen', Oriens, IX (1956), 41-85 and 233-80.

K. Thomsen, 'The closed e in Turkish', Acta Orientalia, XXII, 3-4 (Havniae 1957), 150-153.

V. Thomsen, 'Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénisséi, notice préliminaire', in Bulletin de l'Académie Royal des Sciencas et des Lattres de Danemark, Copengahue 1893, 285-299.

_____, Inscriptions de L'Orkohn déchiffrées (= MSFOu, V.), Helsingfors 1896.

_____, 'Gammel-tyrkiske indskrifter fra Mongoliet, i oversaettelse og med indlening', in Samlede Afhandlinger III (Kφbenhaven 1922), 465-516; in German: 'Alttürische Inschriften aus der Mongolei, in Übersetzung und mit Einleitung', trans. H. H. Schaeder, in ZDMG (1924), 121-175.

_____, 'Ein Blatt in türkischer 'Runen' Schrift', SBAW (1910), 296-306 (= Afh., 201-216).

_____, 'Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish 'Runic' Script from Miran and Tun-huang', JRAS (1912), 181-227 (= Afh., 217-267).

_____, 'Une lettre méconnue des inscriptions de l'Iénisséi', JSFOu XXX: 4 (1913), 1-9 (= Afh., 83-91).

_____, Turcica, études concernant l'interprétation des inscriptions turques de la Mongolie et de la Sibérie (= MSFOu XXXVII), Helsingfors 1916 (= Afh., 92-198).

O. N. Tuna, 'Bazı imlâ gelenekleri', TDAY 1957, 41-81.

_____, 'Köktürk yazıtlarında 'ölüm' kavramı ile ilgili kelimeler ve 'kergek bol-' deyiminin izahı,' in Bilimsel Bildiriler, Ankara 1960 (TDK yayınlarından, Sayi: 179), 131-148.

_____, 'Köktürk yazılı belgelerinde ve Uygurcada uzun vokaller,' TDAY 1960, 213-282.

A. Vámbéry, Noten zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei und Sibiriens (= MSFOuVIII), Helsingfors 1899.

B. Vladimircov, 'A propos d'Ötüken yïš,' in Comptes rendus Acad. Sc. URSS, 1929, 133-136.