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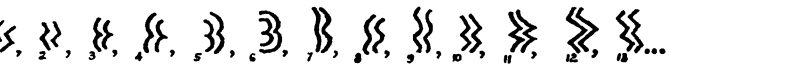
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ON THE PHONETIC VALUES OF THE SYMBOLS 𐰴, 𐰺, 𐰼 USED IN SOME OF THE TEXTS IN KÖK-TURKISH SCRIPT*

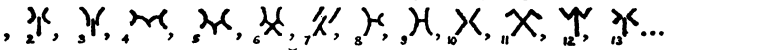
by
OSMAN NEDIM TUNA
Seattle

It is well known that in the monuments in Kök-Turkish script a rather large number and variety of symbols were in use. Among them the great majority are, however, only variants of the same few symbols[1]. Although they may vary in form, they often express the same sound.[2] In other

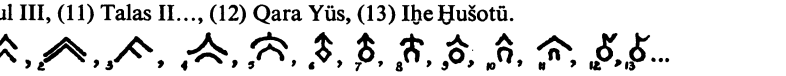
* This article was written originally in Turkish in the spring of 1962. I wish to thank my dear friends Prof. Dr. James E. Bosson and Phyllis Bosson (now in Berkeley, California) for their help in preserving the original style and content of this article in its English translation. I am also indebted to the valuable critisisms and suggestions of the eminent scholars Prof. Dr. Nicholas N. Poppe and Prof. Dr. Omeljan Pritsak, with whom I have had the pleasure to work at the University of Washington.

1 (a) 

= d (besides back vowels). From the left to the right: (1) Begre, (2) Uyuγ Tarlïq, (3) Begre, (4) Tuva III, (5) Označennaya, (6) Označennaya, (7) Barlïq II, (8) Talas II, (9) Talas II, (10) Kültigin..., (11) Kültigin..., (12) Begre, (13) Begre.

(b) 

= γ. From the left to the right: (1) Čaqul II..., (2) Kültigin..., (3) Tuva III, (4) Kemčik-Žirγaq..., (5) Minusinsk, (6) Talas V..., (7) Tuva I, (8) Čaqul III, (9) Tuva I, (10) Čaqul III, (11) Talas II..., (12) Qara Yüs, (13) Iḫe Ḫušotü.

2 (a) 

= t (besides back vowels). From the left to the right: (1) Altun Köl I..., (2) Abaqan, (3) Ḫoytï Tamïr VI, (4) Elegest II..., (5) Kemčik-Žirγaq, (6) Kültigin..., (7) Kültigin..., (8) Bilge Tonyuquq, (9) Ḫoytï Tamïr X, (10) Qara Balγasun, (11) Uyuγ Turan, (12) Ongin, (13) Ongin.

(b) 

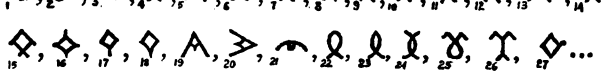
= m. From the left to the right: (1) Kültigin..., (2) Ongin, (3) Ongin, (4) Bilge Tonyuquq, (5) Elegest, (6) Talas I, (7) Ačura..., (8) Bilge Tonyuquq, (9) Altun Köl II, (10) Uybat III, (11) Barlïq II, (12) Čaqul VI, (13) Ḫoytï Tamïr X, (14) Tuva II, (15) Tuva III, (16) Kemčik-Žirγaq, (17) Iḫe Ašete, (18) Ḫoytï Tamïr V, (19) Ḫoytï Tamïr X,

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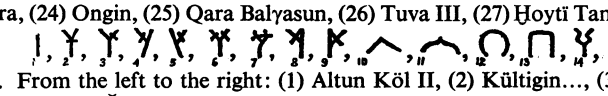
cases, one symbol can express two or more separate sounds.[3] If we should make a classification of symbols from the point of view of statistics, we can see them gathered in two distinct groups: (a) the general and customary symbols,[4] (b) the rare and uncustomary symbols.[5] The signs in the second group are very small in number and found only a few of the known inscriptions. The sound values of such symbols, because they almost never occur more than once in the same text, either have proved impossible to determine or else remain hypothetical. The number of such rare signs has been increased by discovery of new inscriptions with hitherto unknown signs. Even a superficial examination of all of these, suggests that the sound values for some of these symbols — about which there was no doubt until now — have been assigned by coincidence and mere chance.

The main reasons for this are: (1) Unavoidably the inscriptions have been published successively and in groups, thus limiting the opportunities for comparison. (2) Hand drawn copies have often been used instead of photocopies that would give one a better opportunity to check a reading, and sometimes these have been carelessly executed as in Čaqul III. (3) Deceptive phonetic and morphologic concordances forced the scholars,

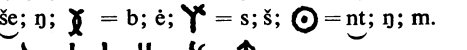
(20) Ḫoytï Tamïr V, (21) Ḫoytï Tamïr IX, (22) Ḫoytï Tamïr II, (23) Čaqul III, (24), Baγa Sansar..., (25) Kemčik-Žirγaq, (26) Talas I..., (27) Talas III, (28) Talas II, (29) Talas II, (30) Talas V, (31) Talas I, (32) Talas III, (33) Talas IV...

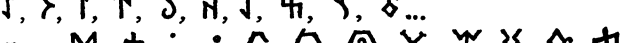
(c) 

= b (besides front vowels). From the left to the right; (1) Qara Balγasun, (2) Ḫoytï Tamïr II, (3) Manuscript IV, (4) Manuscript IV, (5) Manuscript I, (6) Ḫoytï Tamïr IX, (7) Uybat III, (8) Ḫoytï Tamïr I, (9) Ḫoytï Tamïr VII, (10) Elegest, (11) Abaqan, (12) Čaqul III, (13) Barlïq I, (14) Ḫoytï Tamïr II, (15) Altun Köl I, (16) Uybat I, (17) Begre, (18) Begre, (19) Qïzïl Čïr, (20) Silver Mug, (21) Kemčik-Žirγaq, (22) Iḫe Ašete, (23) Ačura, (24) Ongin, (25) Qara Balγasun, (26) Tuva III, (27) Ḫoytï Tamïr III.

(d) 

= š. From the left to the right: (1) Altun Köl II, (2) Kültigin..., (3) Čaqul IV..., (4) Barlïq III, (5) Čaqul II, (6) Ḫoytï Tamïr VI, (7) Bilge Tonyuquq, (8) Talas I..., (9) Talas III..., (10) Minusinsk, (11) Kemčik-Žirγaq, (12) Uybat III, (13) Qara Yüs, (14) Iḫe Ḫanin Nor, (15) Ḫoytï Tamïr X, (16) Uybat III, (17) Minusinsk, (18) Minusinsk.

[3]  = aš-ša, eš-še; ŋ; = b; ė; = s; š; = nt; ŋ; m.

[4] 

[5] 

From the left to the right: (1) *Epigrafika Vostoka*, XII, p. 67, (2) Qara Yüs..., (3) Kemčik-Qaya Baši, (4) Altun Köl I, (5) Qïzïl Čïr I, (6) Ḫoytï Tamïr VI, (7) Qïzil Čïr, (8) Uyuγ Arḫan, (9) Abaqan, (10) Qara Yüs, (11) Talas III, (12) Ḫoytï Tamïr I, (13) Tuva I, (14) Ḫoytï Tamïr V...

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in their publications, to consider this or that sign as a variant of another sign, the sound value of which was already known. (4) The inscriptions have become worn throughout the centuries and incorrect interpretations of the shape of some symbols have been caused by certain lines being effaced and other lines having accidentally been scratched on the surface of the stone. (5) In interpreting the worn lines, scholars, have been psychologically influenced by the general meaning of other lines, more easily read and clearly understood. (6) Finally, the general opinion that a rounded or an unrounded vowel (especially an unrounded one) may be freely put between two consonant signs or in front of an initial consonant sign, can be included with the reasons mentioned above.

In this brief study, which has occupied me for some time, I want to propose sound values, that I think are worthy of acceptance, for three of these symbols. As I have noted above, these three symbols also occur in a limited number and are found only in a few lesser inscriptions.

1. 𐰴 =*e͡g*, *g͡e*. This symbol, which has until now been generally accepted as having the sound value *e*, occurs twelve times in five inscriptions: (a) Čaqul III, lines 1 (once), 2 (twice), and 3 (once); (b) Kemčik-Žirγaq, A, line 2 (once), Kemčik-Žirγaq, B, line 1 (once); (c) Tuve I, A, lines 1 (once) and 2 (once), Tuva I, B (once); (d) Tuva II, B, line 3 (8) (once); (e) Tele, line 2 (twice in a variant form).

2. 𐰺 = *d̲e̲m̲*. This symbol, which until now has been read as "*d* or *m*" (with a question mark), or simply "*m*", is only found in the Tuva I inscription: Tuva I, A, line 3 (once) and Tuva I, B (once).

3. 𐰽 =*u͡š*. This symbol, which occurs only three times in two inscriptions — (a) Tuva I, A, line 3 (once), Tuva I, B (once); (b) Kemčik-Žirγaq, A, line 5 (once) — was accepted as *q* by Malov. In all the transcriptions that have been made of the Kemčik-Žirγaq inscription it has been left out. However, it can be seen very clearly, particularly in the photocopy published by Malov.[6]

Before showing how I have arrived at the new sound values I propose, I will try to confirm one by one the wrongness — or rather the fortuitous nature — of the readings of these symbols as they have been generally accepted until now. The texts published by Malov and Orkun, together with the transcriptions based on these texts and the copies I have drawn myself to facilitate the development of these ideas, will serve as the basis of my reasoning. I will also present the photocopies of these texts, their transcriptions, translations and interpretations in a separate section.

[6] S. E. Malov, *Eniseiskaya Pis'mennost' Tyurkov* [*EP*] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952), p. 75, photo 15.

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I

As a starting point for the first symbol I wish to take the Čaqul III inscription. One sees that in the lines of the two copies made by Orkun and Malov there is a discrepancy in the writing of only one word — the first. In the transcription, however, Malov read Orkun's symbol group *ki.mük*[7] as *kit(t)im*[8], for Orkun's *bile toγma*[9], Malov found a personal name, *Bele Tuγma*[10], and instead of *bükmedim*[11] he preferred *bökmedim.*[12] In my opinion Malov's reading *kit(t)im* is impossible. One need only look at the photocopy. There one can clearly see, despite the fact that the left part has been worn, that the third symbol is an ᛉ = *r*. Neither of the two different transcriptions, *bile toγma* or *Bele Tuγma*, are possible. *bile* with the meaning "with" is not found in one single Runic-Turkic text and, with the exception of a single example in a late text, nor is it thus found in Old Uighur.[13] Even if it is accepted as meaning "with", it is not easy to arrive at a meaning for the phrase *bile toγma.* This must also have been Malov's opinion since he proposed *Bele Tuγma,* but without giving any explanation for the name. This proposal cannot be accepted either. In any case, the second symbol in the word read *toγma* or *Tuγma* is neither *o* nor *u,* but rather *z*. One need only scrutinize the words *otuz*[14] in the first line and *azmadim*[15] in the second where it occurs in a group of signs to convince oneself of this. Thus the symbol ᚣ in this line occurs in a group of signs whose reading is doubtful. The readings *sizime*[16] at the end of the first line and *size*[17] at the end of the second are acceptable and make sense. Consequently, here one can accept the sound value the symbol represents. But the illegibility of the last four symbols in the third line also draws one's attention. Thus the sound value of the symbol ᚣ once again falls in doubt.

The same symbol is also found in the Kemčik-Žiryaq inscription (A, line 1) in the word which Orkun reads *egičime*[18] and Malov *egečime*[19]. From the fact that there is no other word ending in *e* in the Čaqul III

[7] H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazıtları,* III [*ETY*] (Istanbul, 1940), p. 117.
[8] *EP*, p. 38.
[9] *ETY*, III, p. 117.
[10] *EP*, p. 38.
[11] *ETY*, III, p. 117.
[12] *EP*, p. 38.
[13] *USp.* 268.
[14] *ETY*, III, p. 117.
[15] *ETY*, III, p. 117.
[16] *ETY*, III, p. 117; *EP*, p. 38.
[17] *ETY*, III, p. 117; *EP*, p. 38
[18] *ETY*, III, pp. 79-85.
[19] *EP*, pp. 73-75.

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inscription, the correspondence of the 𐰀 of the *a* and the 𐰴 of the *e* could be proposed, although it is a very slim probability. But in Kemčik-Žirγaq we can not see any possibility of this, because in this inscription the general and customary symbol 𐰀 is used for both *a* and *e*. While there was a simpler symbol to write — and on stone too — what was the reason for using a different symbol in this word? Since, as in Čaqul III, the same symbol could be used in *sizime*[20] in the fourth line, why was it not used here as well?

Malov reads the first five symbols of Tuva I, A, line 1 as *sizime*[21] and he reads the word in front of the first separation symbol (:) *Öge*[22]. We are not in a position to be able to refute these two words just now. On the other hand, the reading of the last four symbols of Tuva I, B as *tekti*[23] is unacceptable, because, as one can clearly see from the photocopy, the second symbol is 𐰴. This means that, while according to his interpretation of this symbol, he had to read the word as *teti*, Malov could not find a suitable meaning for it, and therefore he suspected that he was dealing with a mistaken form of another symbol. Although there is no *k* symbol of this type in any of the inscriptions, Malov was compelled to read it *k*, considering that the upper right line was accidentally added at a later date. The difficulty demonstrated in this first example where the 𐰴 is written within the word is worthy of attention. On account of the same difficulty the last word of the second line in the Kemčik-Žirγaq, B inscription is read as *teleti*[24] by Orkun and *itilti* [25] by Malov. Nevertheless, a strange listing in the symbol read as *l* in both transcriptions, the indistinct juncture of the lower worn stroke on the right side, and an unsatisfactory meaning in each of the readings must have escaped their attention. In my opinion there is no difference at all between this word and the word read as *tekti* in Tuva I, B. The second symbol is not *l* but rather the same as the one on the reverse side of the stone and the one in Tuva I, B, namely 𐰴. There is also good reason for our not having confidence in the reading *size*[26] in Tuva II, since the first symbol here is not *s*. Finally, I note with great importance the peculiarity, that, despite the fact that it is clearly visible in the photocopy, Malov does not show the third symbol in the second line of the Tele inscription.

[20] *EP*, pp. 73-75; *ETY*, III, pp. 79-85.
[21] *EP*, pp. 97-98.
[22] *EP*, pp. 97-98.
[23] *EP*, pp. 97-98.
[24] *ETY*, III, pp. 79-85.
[25] *EP*, pp. 73-75.
[26] *EP*, pp. 98-99.

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As a result, it is evident that we are faced with a strange dual value for 𐰚 according to its final or medial position in a word — if final, it can be read as *e*; if medial, it cannot possibly be read *e*, as all the available examples show. If this is so, the fitness of the sound value in the first case, and its unsuitability in the second case must stem from a *systematic error*. We may explain this by saying that basically the symbol 𐰚 contains more than one phoneme. By the analogy with other symbols of this kind used in Runic-Turkic inscriptions, we can suppose that there are two corresponding phonemes of 𐰚. One of these phonemes is *e*. It is therefore in those cases where a word really ends in *e* that a proportional agreement comes about. If this is so, why is it that one does not sense an important discrepancy in form and meaning here, when the second phoneme in the transcription is not shown? One can get the answer to this question by taking a look at the list of words ending in 𐰚. There are eight of these: (1) *bile* (*Bele*) (Čaqul III, line 2), (2) *egičime* (*egečime*) (Kemčik-Žirγaq, A, line 1), (3) *elime* (Tele, line 2), (4) *Öge* (Tuva I, A, line 2), (5) *size* (Čaqul III, line 2; Tuva II), (6) *sizime* (Čaqul III, line 1; Tuva I, A, line 2). With the exception of numbers 1 and 4, the words seem to have a vocative suffix. Their agreement is based on the demonstrable ease with which the majority of these words may thus be fitted into the meaning of the sentences. Thus the *e* value depends on the shared suffix of these words, namely the vocative suffix. We may say in other words that, according to this interpretation, the sign 𐰚 was used only for this suffix. As we intend to have the sign 𐰚 correspond to a two-phoneme group, we may ask the question: Is there a two-phoneme suffix one may put in place of the vocative suffix without producing an unacceptable defect in the sense of the sentences in which these words occur? If we can find such a suffix, the phonemes contained in it would right away give us the true sound value of 𐰚. There is such a suffix, the dative suffix. If we put the dative suffix in the place of the vocative suffix, the sentences do not falter. Thus the sound value *e* instead of *ge*[27] is easily accommodated without any doubt being sensed.

[27] The dative suffix is generally *-qa*, *-ke* in Kök Turkish. For this reason, one may think that it would be necessary to use *-ke*, instead of *-ge*, for the symbol 𐰚. However, the problem is not so simple. Though my preference for this reading may seem erroneous, there exist strong evidences for its acceptance:

1. The forms of *-γa*, *-ge* existed along with the forms *-qa*, *-ke* in Kök Turkish. They were not orthographical errors but were the result of *consonant-consonant* and *vowel-consonant harmonies* (voiced-voiced) which will be proven in examples below.

CONSONANT-CONSONANT VOICED HARMONY

(a) After *n*: *-nq-*, *-nk-* > (*-nγ-*, *-ng-* >) *-ŋ-*: (aa) In the oblique cases some personal pronouns: *meŋe* (or *maŋa*) (< *benge*) < *benke*, *seŋe* (< *senge*) < *senke*, *biziŋe* (< *bizinge*)

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For the same reason, on one hand the appropriateness and on the other hand the inappropriateness appear systematic, and, therefore, this apparent agreement has come about. In other words, the sound value *e* for 𐰴 is definitely fortuitous.

< *bizinke*; (ab) After all third person singular possessive suffixes: *bašiŋa* (< *bašinγa*) < *bašinqa*, *batsiqiŋa* (< *batsiqinγa*) < *batsiqinqa*, *iliŋe* (< *ilinge*) < *ilinke*, *yiriŋe* (< *yiringe*) < *yirinke*, *ayisiŋa* (< *ayisinγa*) < *ayisinqa*, *törüsiŋe* (< *törüsinge*) < *törüsinke*. One may think about the sign 𐰽 that it was used for *nq*, *nk*; *nγ*, *ng*; *ŋ*. This is not possible because we have many words in which the final sound is an *n*. When these words appear in the dative case their orthography contains either 𐰾 = *nq*, or *nk* = 𐰾𐰽 but never 𐰽 = *ŋ* (𐰖𐰾𐰃𐰞𐰃 *budunqa*, 𐰖𐰾𐰽𐰇𐰇 *Ersinke*). From this point we can understand that this sign must indicate only *nγ*, *ng*, *ŋ*; *ŋγ*, *ŋg*. Therefore, all of these examples belong to a voiced harmony and the dative suffix which occurs in these examples has to be *-γa* or *-ge*.

(b) After *ŋ*: *-ŋq-*, *-ŋk-* > (*-ŋγ-*, *-ŋg-* >) *-ŋ-*: (ba) After all second person possessive suffixes, except *qaγaniŋqa* B 59, IIN XIII, 17: *qaγaniŋa* (< *qaγaniŋγa*) < *qaγaniŋqa*, *qutuŋa* (< *qutuŋγa*) < *qutunqa*, *iliŋe* (< *iliŋge*) < *ilinke*; (bb) In this example: *buŋa* (< *buŋγa*) < *buŋqa* Begre, Front A, 2 (III, 71).

(c) After *m*: *-mq-*, *-mk-* > *-mγ-*, *-mg-*: *aγimγa aγimqa* Kemčik-Žiryaq B (III, 80), *qončuyumγa* < *qončuyumqa* Barlïq.

(d) In these examples: *özge* < *özke* Talas II, 5 (II, 134) (comp. *özde* Barlïq III, line 4 (III, 63); Elegest, line 12 (III, 180)). Given meaning in its explanation is wrong. It is not possible in this period for it to have the meaning "other, foreign country". This simply is *öz*. And here it is used in the dative case. In Kök Turkish the verb *aδïrïl-* "to separate" was used both the dative and ablative. These examples occur before *aδïrïl-*. *aγïšγa* < *aγïšqa* Kemčik-Žiryaq B, 6 (III, 80) (assimilation of distance among *γ* and *q*, and assimilation of continuity among *š* and *q*).

VOWEL-CONSONANT HARMONY (VOICED-VOICED): *yegirmige* < *yegirmike* Tun. IV I (III 96).

The examples of the consonant-consonant and vowel-consonant harmonies are not only found in the dative suffix. Examples are in fact abundant. Furthermore for the consonants can be observed the two extremes; voiced-voiced and voiceless-voiceless harmony.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF VOICED HARMONY

a. consonant-consonant: *tamγa* < *tamqa* Tun. III a. 2 (II 94) /*tamqa* Ačura b. 3 (III 134), *barduq* < *bartuq*, *bardïmïz* < *bartïmïz*, *bardiγïz* < *bartïγïz*, *bardï* < *bartï*, *bardïγ* < *bartïγ*, *yirde* / *yirte*, *Tabarda* < *Tabarta*, *beŋü* / *beŋgü* I, S8, IIN 6 (I, 26) /< *beŋigü* Ongin upper 2 (I, 130) (< *benikü* >) *beŋkü* K. y. I. (III, 193), Čaqul VIII I (III, 122); Oya b. 4 (III, 158) / *meŋkü* K.y. 5 (III, 193) cf. mo. *möŋke*, *közüŋü* < *köz-ü-n-kü* Ačura c 4 (III, 135), Ir. 33 (II, 78), *tabdim* / *tapdim* Barlïq I, line 2 (III, 61), *teg(i)zindim* / *teg(i)zintim* Altun Köl II, b, line II (III, 105)..., *adïrïldïm* / *adiriltim* Barlïq I, II, III, IV, Begre..., *yerildim* / *yeriltim* Altun Köl I, C, line I (III, 101).

b. vowel-consonant: *yaγuq* < *yaquq* cf. *yaqïn*, *yaqlaš-*, *yaγut-* < *yaqut-*, *buγa* / *buqa*, *ögüš* / *öküš* cf. *ökül*, *öklit-*, *ökün-*, *egeči* < *ekeči*, *ana+ege* < *ana+eke*.

CONSONANT-CONSONANT VOICELESS HARMONY: *sančtïm* // (< *sančdïm*) B 63, II D 30, 26, *qamaštï* < *qamašdï* B63, IID30, 36, *tüšti* // (< *tüšdi*) K49, Is4, 6, *tiktim* // (< *tikdim*) Begre, S 3 (III, 72), *öktüm* // (< *ökdüm*) B71, IIS8, 17, *tikti* // (< *tikdi*) Čaqul VIII, I (III, 122), *bitkeči* // (< *bitgeči* Tun. IV, 10 (II, 96) < *bitigeči* Tun. III a, 10 (II, 95)) Tun. III b2 (II, 95), *ešidmište* < *ešidmišde* Tun. III a, 3 (II, 94).

The following examples can be explained as half-voiced consonants, appearing in

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When the reading *ge* is placed at the end of all the words in the above list, all the examples are comprehensible. However, this reading still does not explain the case of the sign  in a medial position in a word. This means that, like the symbols , , ,  ... the symbol corresponds to a syllable with two separate forms, one *vowel-consonant*, the other *consonant-vowel*. If so, since the sign  $= e$, is not added separately after — for the sound value *ge* — to the end of a word, the real and complete value of the symbol must correspond to syllables *eg* and *ge*. This pattern also fits words which no one has been able to explain satisfactorily until now.

Thus Malov, with the word he was obliged to read as *tekti* in Tuva I, came, from the point of view of phonetics rather close to the truth. In this connection, however, I want to point out again that he thought was a variant of , and — without giving any sort of explanation for it — he supposed that the upper righthand stroke appeared at a later date.

I think we may make a judgement right away concerning the symbol  which appears in Tuva I inscription. This symbol must have been composed from the symbols and . In other words, it is basically a ligature formed from these two symbols. Malov erred in accepting it as "*d* or *m*?" on one face of the Tuva I inscription and as "*m*" on the second. According to the variants ,,,,...[28] which exist for *m*, this sign, , must at the same time contain *d* and *m*. The two examples we have corroborate the reading *dem* for .

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speech and at the end of a syllable, which are rendered in the orthography by means of voiced consonants, according to its origin: *közte* (= *köZte* < *köZde* // *közde*) Or. III (II, 39), *bediztim* (= *bediZtim* < *bediZdim* // *bedizdim*) K43, ID29, 13, *tegti* (= *teGti* < *teGdi* // *tegdi*) T. 46 (I, 116) (This word has been read in the publication of Pentti Aalto as *s(?)ögti*. However the problem is still the same.), *aztï* (= *aZtï* < *aZdï* // *azdï*) *Irq Bitig* 20 (II, 76), *Irq Bitig* 21 (II, 76). We can give also as the examples of this tendency in the following words which are different from the others: *tekdük* (< *teGdük* // *tegdük*) Elegest, line 12 (III, 180), *laqzïn* (< *laGzin* // *layzin*).

2. The following examples show that both the dative and vocative cases can be used for the same kind of expressions within the same text: *...üč ečime:atačïmqa:adïrïndïma:...* (Uybat III, C, line 3, 4); *ilimke qanïmqa bökmedim* [oγl] *anïma inime ičime men emkim köre bökmedim* (Uybat III, d, back, line 2); *öz yigen alp turan altï oγuz budunda üč yigirmi yašïmqa adïrïldïm. / beg erkime sizime adïrïldïm* (Barliq I, line 2, 3); *quyda qadašïma qončuyuma adïrïlu bardïm men / oγlumqa budunumqa bökmedim* (Altun Köl II, a, line 1, 2); *alp uruŋu tutuq ben quyda qončuyum eki oγlanïma sizime yalïŋus qïzïma / yiš eči ešim qadašlarïma adïrïlu bardïma qïzïn erime bökmedim / teŋri elimke bašda begimke bökmedim sizime qïrq yašïmda qač* [*dim*] (Čaqul IV, line 1, 2, 3); *quydaqï qončuyumγa adirildim apama* (Barlïq II); *siz:élime:qončuyuma:oγlanïm:a budunuma:siz:ime altmis:yaš:da / atïm:él toγan tutuq:ben:teŋri :elimke*; *élčisi*; *ertim alti*; *:bay: budun: qa:beg:ertim* (Uyuγ Tarliq, line 1, 2).

[28] See note 2, b.

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Fig. 1. Tuva I (S. E. Malov, *Eniseiskaỳa Pis'mennost'*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1952, p. 100).

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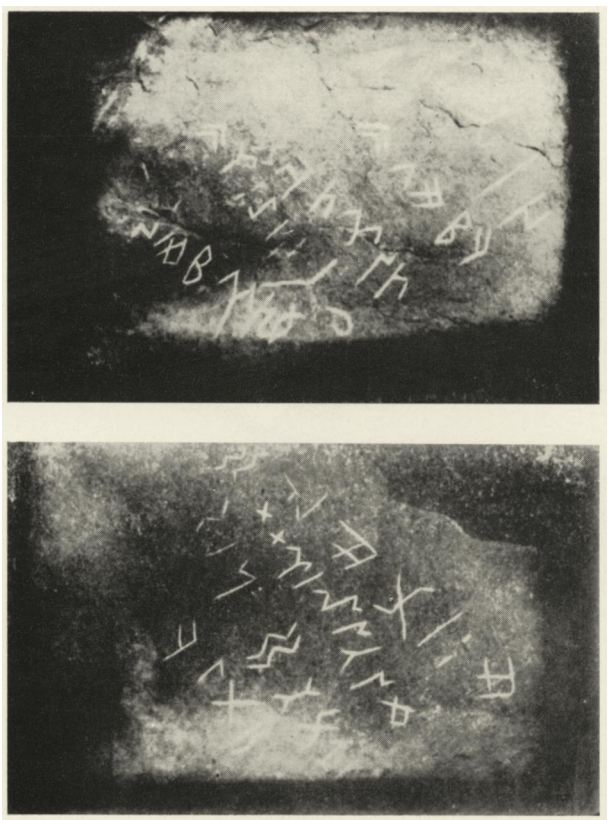


Fig. 3. Tuva II.



Fig. 2. Tuva I, line 4 (S. E. Malov, *Eniseiskaya Pis'mennost'*, p. 100).

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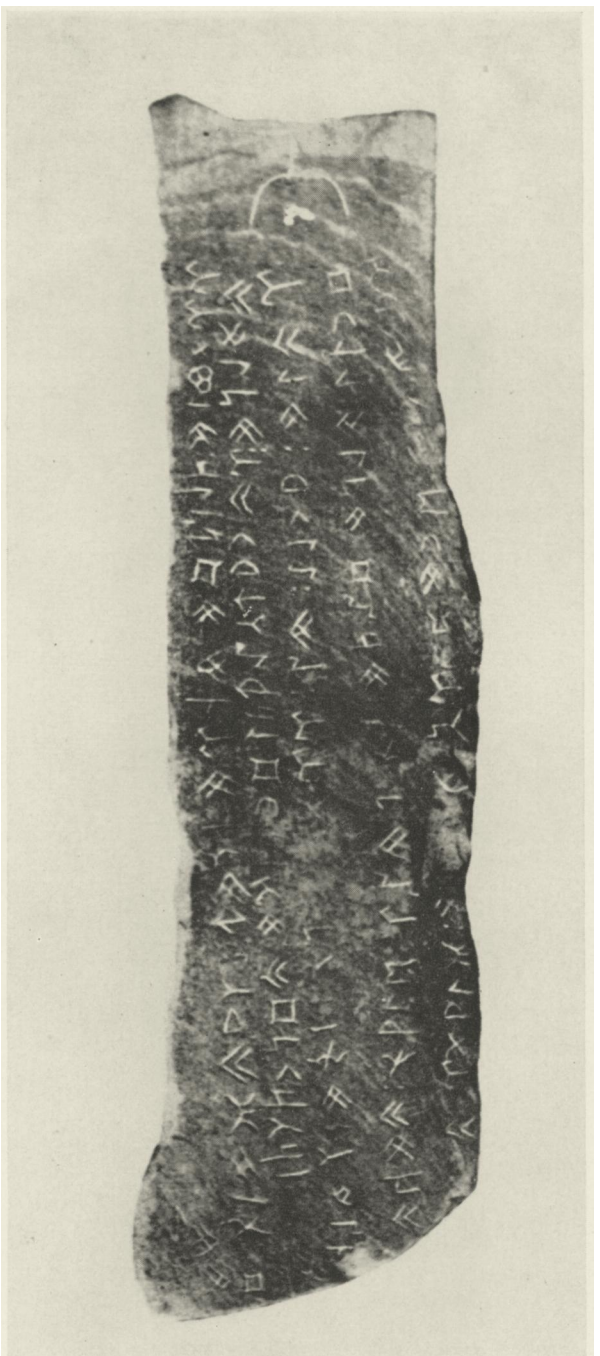


Fig. 4. Kemčik-Žiryaq A (*Eniseiskaya Pis'mennost'*, 75).

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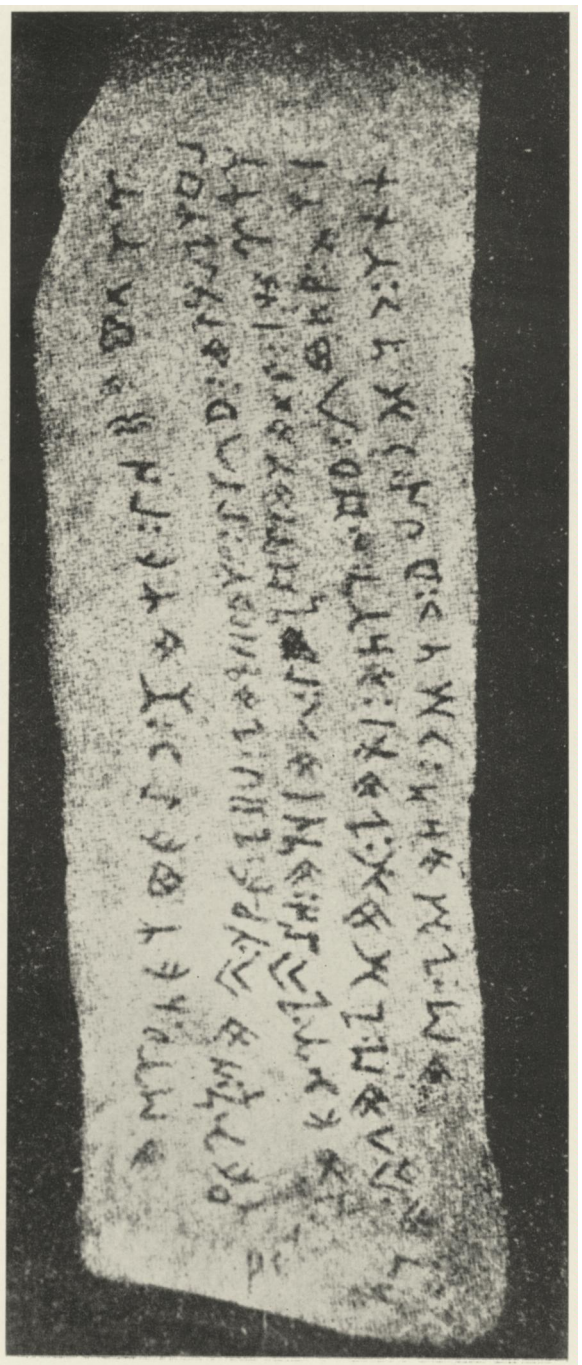


Fig. 5. Kemčik-Žiryaq B (H. N. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazitlari*, Vol, III, Istanbul, 1940, p. 85).

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I am of the opinion that the sound value until now ascribed to 𐰀, like that of 𐰴, is definitely fortuitous. This sign appears in only three places, and is read in two words, in both of which there are discrepancies that draw one's attention. These words are: 𐰀𐰇𐰋 *arqaq*[29], 𐰢𐰀𐰆𐰢 *toqum*[30]. It is strange that the same phoneme should be expressed by two different symbols in the same word. It is true that we know of differing symbols used for the same sound in Kök-Turkish inscriptions. For example the *t* used back vocalic words appears in the following forms: 𐰚 𐰛 𐰜 𐰝 𐰞 𐰟[31]... But one group of these variants is preferred to another in this or that inscription, according to the geographic region, namely, where the inscriptions were made. However, we have not come across any case in which the same sound is represented with two divergent symbols in the same word within one inscription. From this point of view I found it difficult to believe that the symbol 𐰀 represents *q* in the word 𐰀𐰇𐰋. The other word 𐰢𐰀𐰆𐰢 *toqum*, in which this symbol is used — as far as being a word of known meaning and thus supporting the sound value *q* is concerned — is, one must confess, not at all suitable in its context.

Malov has been rather free in his reading of the fourth line of Tuva I. For example, the reading *bunta*[32] in this line is impossible. He threw out two symbols and read the symbol preceding them freely as *b*. However, this symbol is not *b* 𐰉 but *y* 𐰃. The first three symbols must belong to another word and the two others should be read separately. We can read the second symbol group as *anta* or *aŋa*. However, I prefer *aŋa* for 𐰋𐰍. This form fits the meaning of the sentence nicely.

If we correct the last word of the line with the sound value we have established for 𐰴, instead of *tekti* "set up, stock in, arranged perpendicularly?", we get the form *tegti* "reached, arrived, came; received". Thus the sentence will take the form of: *altï bayγ budunum küčlügin üčün ... aŋa tegti.* This means that, because of their mightiness "something" had arrived (or been received by) six allied tribes. This such a "thing" that it would not have come if the "six allied tribes" were not mighty. This "thing" is expressed with the symbols 𐰀𐰇𐰋. In that period, whenever a nation founded a powerful central administration, the dependent peoples would send *sab*, *ötüg*, *yalabač*, *arqïš*, *tirkiš* to it in peacetime. Consequently we must look for one of the words listed above in this three-

[29] *EP*, pp. 97-98, Tuva I, line 4.
[30] *EP*, pp. 97-98, Tuva I, line 3.
[31] See note 2, a.
[32] *EP*, pp. 97-98.

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symbol group. Because the first two symbols are  *rq*, we may read  *arqïš*. This means that the value of the symbol , according to this first conjecture, is *š*. This value fits the other word also. But having supposed this, we come up against a difficulty in that for *š* the symbol  is used in another word in the same line. If what we have said is true, it will be necessary to find a distinction between the sound values of these symbols. This distinction should separate  and in value, and at the same time it should not destroy the fundamental readings we have now established for the two words. With the help of the second word,  in which the symbol  occurs, we are able to settle the problem easily, because the vowel *u* in this word, shows us the correct and necessary direction for adding the vowel to *š*. Accordingly, instead of *š* alone, *uš* can be used. If this is so, the words in our first reading become *arquš* and *tuuš* = *tūš*[33] respectively. Therefore, both of the two words are phonetically acceptable, and their meanings fit comfortably in their context.

The existence in the same text of another word with a long vowel forms a separate evidence of the correctness of the reading "uš". We do not find this word in Malov's study. The first three symbols after the sign (:), in the fourth line can be read together as  *ayaas* = *ayās*[34]. The meaning is "a male slave" and is attested in Kāšγarī with a long vowel, just as it is in *tūš*. In other words, the long vowel in the word *tūš* does not constitute and exception in this text.

Finally, I want to point out that the symbol , which has been ignored in all the editions of the Kemčik-Žirγaq inscription, fits in nicely if given the sound value *uš*. Various attempts have been made at explaining the line in which the symbol occurs. The parts which preceed and follow it are legible. Furthermore, one can see that it was possible to organize a reading of the sections independently and get a complete meaning. Therefore each interpreter has preferred to pass over this symbol, which is between two of the intelligible parts, in silence, not being able to assign a meaning to it. From this we understand that the symbol must not be a consonant but rather a syllable. From the point of view of semantics it must have an independent character, namely it must be a word; and from the point of view of syntax it must belong to a category which can be placed either at the beginning or the end of a sentence. The word *uš* in the sense of "now, thus, now then" fills all the requirements.[35]

[33] *tūš*. Mahmūd al-Kāšγarī, *Divāni Luγāt al-Türk* [Kšγ, *DLT*], trs. Besim Atalay (Ankara, T. D. K.), III, 125-9,10.

[34] *ayās*. Kšγ, *DLT*, I, 123-2.

[35] (a) *sizün ičin sīdīm ahdi* uš (XIVth cent.) (TTS II, 957), *hayālin šem'ine pervāneyem* uš-*sačīn zincirine divāneyem* uš (XIVth cent.) (TTS III, 735), *tevbe qilip tapuŋa yüz*

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Thus Malov must have arrived at the sound value *q* by trial and error, and not by linguistic methods. It is possible that when working through the alphabet he came to the letter *q* and found that the two words in question could thus be read as words in Old Turkish, the meaning (only for one of these) of which were known, and he at once appropriated the sound value *q* for the symbol 𐰽. His not giving any explanation on how he arrived at this result may be considered as evidence in the correctness of my thought. I pointed out previously that there is a third symbol in the Kemčik-Žirγaq inscription for checking this sound-value. Malov's ignoring of this inscription is an important deficiency on his account. If he had made this check he would have found out that he was mistaken in his evaluation and he could have abandoned the sound-value *q*. This shows that the sound-value assigned to 𐰽 as *q* definitely came about by chance.

II. CORRECTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE SOUND-VALUE OF THE SYMBOLS 𐰴,𐰺,𐰽

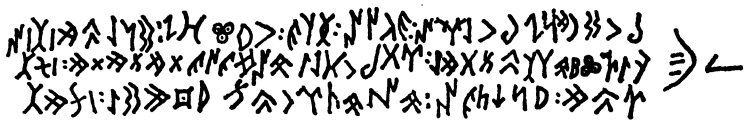
In this section I want to make corrections in the text of inscriptions, taking into account the new values of the symbols whose sound-values I explained above. I have decided to do this, in a separate section, since two of three symbols sometimes occur in the same inscription. Thus, it seemed to me that, if one is dealing with the unknown quantities, it is more practical to try to explain them one by one and then examine the application of the results arrived at all together in a separate section. I shall take up some of the inscriptions in their entirety. As for others, since there are still further problems to be found in them, I shall consider only those sentences containing the symbols I have investigated. The original copy of each inscription is followed by first its transcription and then its translation.

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tuttuq uš (XVth cent.) (TTS I, 750), *danuq bu haq hadīsi* uš (XIVth cent.) (TTS II, 957), *eger binit istersen* uš (XVth cent.) (TTS IV, 175), *tamām eyledīm taŋrī fazlında* uš (XIVth cent.) (TTS II, 957); (b) *il ičre halimüz* uš *šuŋa yetti* (XVIth cent.) (TTS II, 957), *ataŋ sučuŋī baγīšladī* uš *seni görmege gelīr* (XIVth cent.) (TTS IV, 807), *qayseride ešek nerdübana čīqmīš* uš *ešek* uš *nerdübān* (XVth cent.) (TTS I, 750), *toγmīs küni* uš *batar* (XIth.) (Kšγ, *DLT*, II, 128), *aqar közüm* uš *teŋiz* (XIth.) (Kšγ, *DLT*, II, 45); (c) uš *mundaγ qīl* (XIth.) (Kšγ, *DLT*, I, 36), uš *keldügüm bu* (XIth.) (Kšγ, *DLT*, I, 36), uš *saŋa bir aγulu hančer* (XIVth.) (TTS III, 735), uš *yazīlu mendedür duāsī* (XVIth.) (TTS II, 957), uš *niče niče teǯribe olundī* (XIV) (TTS III, 735), uš *yine sayar oldī bu bizüm ǯānumuza* (XIII-XIV) (TTS I, 749), uš *ben qaršu darmušvan saŋa* (XIVth. cent.) (TTS I, 750), uš *šimdi kendü sahrāda kerpič keseyorur* (XVI) (TTS IV, 808).

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1. *Čaqul III*[36]



1. *^{e}r ^{a}t^{i}m: y^{a}ruq t^{i}g^{i}n: b^{e}n bir ot^{u}z y^{a}aš^{i}mda:*[37] *s^{i}z^{i}mge*
2. *^{e}ki ^{e}r^{e}mük*[38] *b^{i}lge ^{a}t^{ı}z ^{a}γma: ^{e}r ^{a}γa* (?) (or ^{a}γ^{ı}š, ^{a}γ^{u}š)[39] *oγ(u)lï b^{e}n ^{e}m^{i}g ögd^{ü}m ^{a}zm^{a}d^{ı}m:*[40] *s^{i}zge*
3. *bud^{u}n^{u}m ^{a}ra bul^{u}š^{ı}n üčün ė^{e}l^{i}g: uy^{a}mγa: ^{a}d^{i}r^{ı}lt^{ı}m ^{e}sge ^{e}s^{ı}n*[41]

[36] *EP*, pp. 37-38; *ETY*, pp. 117-118, photo p. 129.

[37] For the long vowel in the word *yāš* see my article "Köktürk yazïlï belgelerinde ve Uygurcada uzun vokaller", *Türk Dili Araştïrmalarï Yïllïgï* (Ankara), 1960, p. 221, 261.

[38] For the word *eremük*:

a. *eremik* (1) "barren (which has not born until now), underdeveloped, something which has remained immature" (*Anadolu Ağïzlarïndan Söz Derleme Dergisi* [*SDD*], Vol. II, p. 542); (2) "a girl or woman whose breasts have not developed" (*Anadilden Derlemeler* [*ADD*], Vol. I, p. 126); (3) "a woman who resembles a man" (*Ibni Mühennâ Lugati* [*Müh.*], p. 30). Compare in Mongolian: *eremuk* "a mare that bears no foal, sterile" (Haenish, *Wörterbuch zum Manghol-un Ni'uča Tobča'an*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 45); *ərəməg* "barren, sterile (mare)" (Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire Mongole-Russe-Français*, Kazan', 1844-49, p. 248); *ermeg* (1) "manly, brave, fearless"; (2) "childless, barren, resembling a male" (*Mongol'sko-Russkiy Slovar'*, Moscow-Leningrad, p. 677); *ermәGgün* "a mare that has no foal, sterile" (Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki, p. 126). From these examples we can see that the word *eremük* must have been used with either of these two meanings: (1) a young mare, that has not yet foaled, or a barren mare. (2) a young woman, who has not yet really matured, or a barren woman. The second meaning would perhaps be preferable. In a nomadic culture it is not surprising to find a term for a horse applied to a human being as an honorific or an emative. One may compare the expression that still occurs in modern Turkish: *qïz-qïsraq* "young girls (Lit. "girl-mare")" and in the other Turkic dialects: *tay* "young man, boy, son", *qulun* "young man, boy, son" and the Mongolian word *külüg* which has both the meaning "steed" and "hero". (I am indebted to my friend Dr. James E. Bosson for the last word. However I am not quite sure as to its Mongolian origin. This word can be explained as Old Turkish *kü+lüg* "famous", *kü* "sound voice; reputation" like *ün* "sound, voice; reputation", *ün+lü* "famous", *čav* < *čab* "sound, voice; reputation".) (b) *-mük* or *+mük* are possible. In the first case the stem of the word must be a verb. This verb can be *er-e-* (from the word *er*) or simply *ere-* (comp. *qaz-*, *qazi-*), namely a variant of *er-* "to grow up; to be; to reach...". But in the second case the stem must be Mongolian word *ere* which is the same Turkic *er*. (c) In connection with the suffix *-muq*, *-mük*; *+muq*, *+mük* in Jean Deny, *Grammaire de la Langue Turque Dialecte Osmanli*, p. 871 (*tïr-mïq*, *yas-mïq*, *qara+mïq* (*-muq*), *qïza-mïq* (*-muq*), *soy-muq*, *qus-muq*) and M. Räsänen, *Materialen zur Morphologie der türkischen Sprachen*, p. 107 (*qara+muq*, *ogul+muq*, *at-muq*, *ton-muq*), p. 137 (*bulamuq*, *kiy-mük*, *yas-muq*, *qïzla-muq*, *bula-mïq*) one may add the following examples: *čʳtla-muq* "terebinth berry" (*SDD*, Vol. I, p. 345), *ekši-mük* "skim milk cheese" (*Bolu-Düzce*), *er-mik* (from *eri-mük*) "overcooked food" (*ADD*, Vol. I, p. 127), *giži-mük*, *gïži-mik* "itch, exzema, mange, heat rash" (*SDD*, Vol. II, p. 635), *qazï-muq* "the part of fruit pulp that burns and sticks to the cauldron when fruit is boiled to make jam (*pestil*, *pekmez* or *sužuq*) this part which is scraped out and eaten is called *qazïmïq*" (*ADD*, Vol. I, p. 215), *kes-mük*, *kes-*

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My heroic name is Yaruq Tigin. I am the son of Bilge Atiz Aγma Er Aγa (*or* Aγïš, Aγuš).[42] I have given praise to the dynasty (ruling family)[43] and not

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mik "the lower of straw that is hard and coarse" (*DD*, Vol. II, p. 888), *qïžï-muq* "erotic passion (usually on the part of a woman) (this word comes from the same stem as *gižimük*)" (*SDD*, Vol. II, p. 894), *qïy-muk* (*Bolu-Düzce*), *qïy-mïq* (Mod. Turkish) "splinter", *sïč-muq* "droppings from small creatures (e.g. birds, little children etc.)" *yala-muq*, *yala-mïq* "the sweet inner bark of certain types of pines that shepherds and children lick as a kind of sweet" (*SDD*, Vol. III, p. 1461). (d) For the shape of *r* see the first sign in the first line of the same inscription.

[39] There are three possible readings of the words: (a) The last sign may be *l*. If so, the word can be read *ayïl* or *aγul*. I don't know of any instance where this word has been used as a personal name, basically it is a toponym. But toponyms can be used as personal names and in return personal names sometimes can be used as toponyms. Prof. Dr. Nicholas N. Poppe kindly pointed out to me that the Mongolian word *aγulači* can fit in this sentence. Even in this case we need further evidence as to its use. (b) The same sign may be read as *a*; in this case, the upper right stroke of the *a* must have been defaced. This will give the reading *aγa*. This name occurs in Turkic onomastics. (c) If the curve at the bottom of the sign was scratched by accident somehow after the writing, it can be read as *aγïš* or *aγuš*. This word also has been used from early times in Turkic onomastycs as: *Aqïš*, *Aquš*; *Aγïš*, *Aγuš*. Nevertheless, I cannot say for certain which of these readings is the correct one.

[40] The word *azmadim* can be read clearly. In order to read the word *bükmedim*, *bökmedim* there would have to be at least two more signs. Although a back vocalic sign should be used in this word for *d*, one finds its front vocalic counter part. Concerning this fact cf. 79-81 of my same article. One may also add the following examples to the ones that occur in this article: *alqadïmïz* (Kültigin, NE), *ašdim* (Bilge Qaγan, E 37), *yaratdim* (Bilge Qaγan, N 9, N 14). In addition M. Räsänen (*JSFOu*, XLV, 3) touches on this subject.

[41] S. E. Malov reads this group of signs as *esni* and refers to the index, where the reader is referred back to the original reference, thus his reading remains unexplained.

[42] With reference to the name *Bilge Atïz Aγma Er Aγa* (or *Aγïš*, *Aγuš*), cf. *atïz* (1) "a dyke on which water flows" (Kšγ., *DLT*, Dizin, p. 49), (2) "a land area covered with hillocks" (W. Radloff, *Wb.* Kirghis), *ėtiz* id. (komandi, Taranchi). Compare Mong. *atar* id., Ord. *atar*, Khalkha *atɒr*, *aγ-* "to pass over, to climb; to ascend, to lean over, to turn over, to ascend or descend in a glide" (Kšγ., *DLT*, Dizin, p. 9). *atïz aγma er* therefore means: "a man who surmounts obstacles (hills)". Concerning the morphology cf. *oyma er* "gambler, player" (*Irq Bitig*, § 93), *-ma* is a deverbal noun suffix. These three words must be an epithet. They fit common pattern of Turkic personal epithets (cf. the epithets of heroes in the *Dede Qorqut* legends and in the epic *Er Manas*; additionally, one may compare these with some others personal epithets of Osmanly history: *Toz-qoparan*, *Qalqan-delen*, *Quyužu*, *Düzmeže*, *Boynu-yaralï*, *Tabanï-yarïq*, *Daγlar-delisi*, *Yaγï-basan*), ...). On the other hand these two words can be read together as *atïzïyma* "the man who play a kind of musical instrument", *atïz-* "to play a kind of musical instrument" (A. Caferoğlu, *Uygur Sözlüğü* [*US*], p. 17), *-γma* is a participle suffix which well known in Old Uighur and Kök-Turkish. But this is a weak possibility.

[43] (a) *em*+(*i*)*g* "house, family (acc.)". With regard to this word confer the second line of the Uybat III, c inscription: *ilimke qanïmqa bükmedim* [*oγl*]*anïma inime ičime men e m k i m köre bükmedim*. Radloff interprets the word *emkim* (*emik*, Kšγ, *DLT*), which occurs in this line as "trouble, exetion, distress". Orkun also accepts this interpretation. Malov (*EP*, p. 64; cf. *ETY*, I, 272) objects to this meaning, proposing that it is identical with the word *emik* "moderately hot (day)" which occurs in Kāšγarī.

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forsaken it. I have separated from you in my twenty first year, my two young ladies and from you my fifty relatives. Because of disorder[44] among my people. Remember[45] (me).

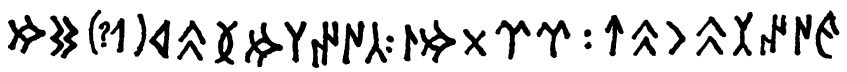
This word has been used by Malov as the twisted meaning "good day, happy day". I would, however propose that the *em* (Radloff, *Wb.* Šor *äm* "house") of *em*+*ki*+*m* and *em*+(*i*)*g* carries the meaning "house, family, dynasty". The word which Radloff, Orkun and Malov read *bükmedim* or *bökmedim* I read *azmadim* and its meaning "I did not forsake" fits the meaning of the word *em* "house, dynasty". Although this inscription is early for the interchanging of *eb* > *em*, it is nevertheless, possible, for there are some examples of *b* > *m* in Kök-Turkish: *biŋ* > *miŋ*, *beŋkü*> *meŋkü*, *kelteči*+*biz* > *keltečimiz*, *Keŋü Tarban* > *Keŋü Tarman* and *Tabγač* > *Tamγač* (this next one belongs to Old Uighur) (*biŋ* Šine Usu, E. 9; Šine Usu, W. 9..., *miŋ* Irq Bitig 48 (*ETY*, II, 81)..., *biŋ*-Kültigin, E. 32 (*ETY*, I), *beŋkü* Čaqul VIII (*ETY*, TII, 122), *meŋkü* K.y. 5 (*ETY*, III, 193), *keltečibiz* Kültigin, S 13, *keltečimiz* Bilge Qaγan S. 14, *keŋü tarman* Kültigin E. 21, (*ETY*, I, 39), *keŋü tarban* Bilge Qaγan, E. 18 (*ETY*, I, 38)). (b) For the various meanings of *eb* in Kök-Turkish cf. my article "Bazî imla gelenekleri, bunlarîn metin incelemel erindeki önemi ve Orhon yazîtlarînda birkaç açîklama", *Türk Dili Araştîrmalarî Yîllîğî* (Ankara, 1957).

[44] *buluš*+*i*+*n* "disorder, confusion, tumult" (Possessiv suffix, 3rd p. sg. + acc.). — (a) From the point of view of semantics, compare: *bulun* "disorder, confusion, tumult" (Man. III, 24 N 9, II; 25, 9), *bulγa-*, *bulγan-* "to confuse, mix up; to be confused, disordered" (*US*, p. 38), *bululγa* "to be continuously confused" (*US*, p. 38), *bulula-* "to become confused, disordered" (*US*, p. 38), *bulγaq* "confusion" (*US*, p. 38), *bulγaan* id. (*US*, p. 38), *bulaan* "tumult, loot, booty" (*Kîrgîz Sözlüğü*, Vol. I, p. 142), *bulqanyuq* (*US*, p. 38; *TTT*, Index) "mentally confused, troubled", *bulγanč* "cowardice, baseness" (*Kîrgîz Sözlüğü*, Vol. I, p. 142), [*alas*]-*bulas* "multi-coloured, unclear, fused (of an object seen from a great distance)" (*Kîrgîz Sözlüğü*, Vol. I, p. 143), [*alaža*]-*bulaža* id. (Mod. Turkish), [*alaq*] -*bulaq* > [*allaq*] -*bullaq* "extremely confused, disordered" (Mod. Turkish), *buloo* "steam" (*Kîrgîz Sözlüğü*, Vol. I, p. 144), *bulγanuq* "riled, unclear" (Pd. C.), *bulanîq* id. (Mod. Turkish), *bulγaγ* "confusion, rebellion" (Pd. C.), *bulγawuč* "confusion, rebellion" (Pd. C.), *bülük* "tumult, confusion, inner struggle" (*Kîrgîz Sözlüğü*, Vol. I, p. 155), *bülün-* "To become confused, tumultuous" (*Kîrgîz Sözlüğü*, Vol. I. p. 155) and for the forms in the other Altaic languages N. Poppe gives these examples in his *Vergleichende Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen*, Teil I: *Vergleichende Lautlehre* (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 75: *bulaŋgir* "dirt, riled up dirt or mud unclear" (mo.), *bulga* "uprising, rebellion" (mo.), *bulga* "sweeping, garbage" (mmo.), *bolγon* "uprising, confusion" (ew.), *bolgî-* "to cause confusion" (ew.), *bolgo-* "to become confused" (ew.), *bulγanč* "uprising, rebellion", *bulγaq* id. (Old T.), *bulut* "cloud" (Old T.), stem *bul-*. (b) From the point of view of morphology, compare the word *buluš* with these words: *boluš* "help", *barîš* "peace", *savaš* "battle, war", *toquš* "combat", *tögüš* > *döğüš* "combat, struggle", *süŋüš* "bayonet", *kiŋeš* "negotiation; consultation" ...

[45] *esge esin* (imperative) "remember", *esge esin-* "to remember". Compare: Čuv. *aẓən-* < *es-i-n-* "to remember" (*Çuvaş Dili Sözlüğü*, p. 6), Čuv. *as* "memory" (*Çuvaş Dili Sözlüğü*, p. 6), Karatch., Balk. *es* id., Kaz., Misch., Tipt. *is* id., Kas. *esge kil-*, Mish. *esge tüš-*, Čag. *ḫātirγa kil-*, Mod. Turk. *aqlîna gel-*, *aqlîna es-*, Anatolian Dialects *aqlîna düš-*, *göŋlüne düš-* "to remember". Compare this compound word, from the point of construction, with following words: Mod. Turk. *düšüne gir-* "to appear in (his, her, their) dream", *sîrtîna vur-* "to load on, to be loaded", *göze gir-* "to gain anyone's sympathy" and from the point of view of stem iteration cf. *sü süle-* "to dispatch troops", *tip ti-* "to say", *ötüg ötün-* "to request", *il ille-* "to rule, to govern", *qaγan qaγanla-* "to appoint as king", *yaqa yaqala-* "to seize", *boy boyla-* "to read, to sing, to play a dependent part of a legend", *soy soyla-* "to read, to sing, to play a part of

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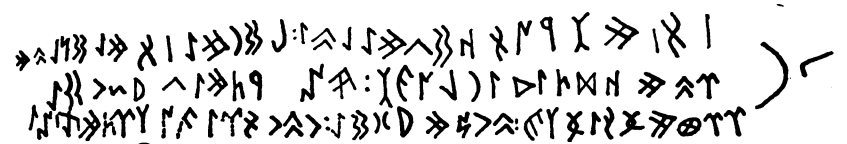
2. *Tele II, second line*[46]



könge[47] *tutuq*[48]*: ᵉr ᵉrdᵉmi: ᵘčün ᵗlᵗmge tᵃpdᵗm* (or *ᵃt qïd(t)ᵗm*)

Könge Tutuq, have served my lord (*or* nation) for my heroic merit (*or, instead of* "served", sacrificed horse(s), cut horse(s) for my heroic merit)

3. *Tuva I*[49]



1. *sᵗz ᵉšᵗmge yüz qᵃdᵃšᵗma ᵃltï: bᵃγ bᵘdᵘnᵘma sᵗzᵗme ᵃdᵗrᵗlᵗm.*
2. *ᵉr ᵃtᵗm ᵃq baš ᵃtïq inᵃl ögge:*[50] *bᵉn yᵉtmiš yᵃašda* (or *yᵃšᵗmda*)
3. *ᵉr ᵉrdᵉmᵗm ėᵉki ėᵉlᵗg: tuušᵘm yᵃγïda: otᵘz ᵉrᵗg ölᵘrtᵘm …ni.*

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a legend which contain some advises as like as proverb", *bek bekle-* "to guard", *diŋi diŋle-* "to listen secretly", *yemek ye-* "to eat", *ički ič-* "to drink", *söz söyle-* "to say", …

[46] *EP*, pp. 83-84.

[47] S. E. Malov's reading of this line is not correct. The first sign in the photocopy which is not readily legible, must be identical with the *k*, resembles a *g* at the first glance; it is nevertheless different. In a normal *g* there is a single curve to the right, but in this case there are two. Therefore there is no necessity to supply a vowel at the beginning of the word. The word can be read as *könge*. In Old Turkish *kön-* "to be right, to be believable" and *kön-i* "right, truth" are same stem with this word. *kön-ge* might be a title as *ina-l, ina-γ, ina-nču* which their stem *ina-*, means "to believe, to trust". *-ge* is a deverbal noun suffix as like as the words *ö-ge, bil-ge, yon-γa, yori-γa* > *yorγa*. There may be a connection between this word and the name *Qara Göne Oylï*, which occurs in *Dede Qorqut* epic.

[48] From the point of view of phonetics and chronology it is not possible that the second group of signs could be read as *at otaq*. This must be the title *tutuq* that is very frequently found in Kök-Turkish and Old Uighur documents. In many Kök-Turkish texts this word has the same orthografic peculiarity as it has in this inscription, namely that the *oq* sign, usually written with the arrow head downwards, here is written with the head pointing upwards. Therefore, we must read the words as *Könge Tutuq*. For the title *Tutuq* cf. Orkun, *Eski Türk Yazïtlarï* [*ETY*]; Vols. I, II, III contain several examples: *Yabaš Tutuq* (*ETY*, II, p. 96), *Yaγïmïš Tutuq* (*ETY*, II, 65), *Öre Bört Tutuq* (*ETY*, II, 96), *Öz Apa Tutuq* (*ETY*, II, 96), *Qošu Tutuq* (*ETY*, I, 48), *Oŋ Tutuq* (*ETY*, I, 60), *Külüg Tutuq* (*ETY*, III, 62), *Künč Tutuq* (*ETY*, III, 69), *Kü Čekül Tutuq* (*ETY*, III, 163), *El Toγan Tutuq* (*ETY*, III, 31), *Čigil Tutuq* (*ETY*, I, 178), *Buqa Tutuq* (*ETY*, I, 70) *Buzač Tutuq* (*ETY*, II, 96), *Alp Uruŋu Tutuq* (*ETY*, III, 119).

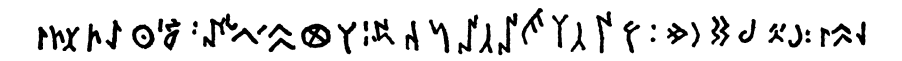
[49] *EP*, pp. 97-98, photo p. 100.

[50] The writing of the word *öge* with both *g* and *ge* cannot be considered an exception. This must be an orthographical problem and not a phonetic problem. Before or after a sign that represents more than one sound the writer may sometimes by mistake use a simple sign, which is the superfluous. Such as *ezinččüme* (Altun Köl, front a, line 3) (instead of *ezinčüme*).

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(I have separated) from you oh my lady and my hundred relatives (and from you) oh my six allied tribes (nations) of from you (who are) mine, I have separated in my seventeenth year. My heroic name is Aq-Baš Atīq Inal Öge. My heroic merit: I killed thirty of the forty enemies I met with.

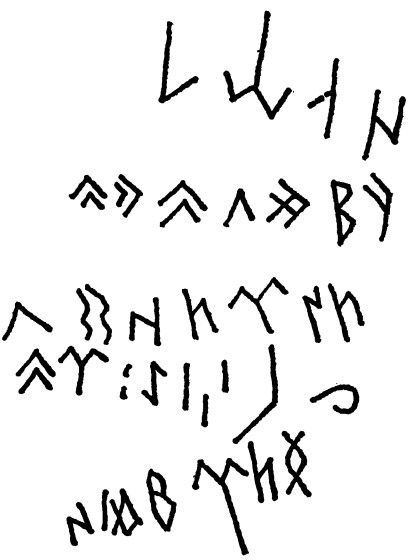
4. *Tuva I, line* 4[51]



ᵃltï: bᵃγ bᵘdᵘnᵘm: küčlᵘ̈gⁱn üčᵘ̈n ᵃrquš:[52] *ᵉldᵉm ᵃt ᵉšin: ᵃyaᵃs ᵃŋa tegti*[53].

Because my six allied tribes (nations) had become mighty, gift (bearing) caravan(s), tamed[54] horse(s), noble lady (ladies)[55] and male slave(s) came to them.

5. *Tuva II, a*[56]



[51] *EP*, p. 96, photo p. 100.

[52] The reading *arquš* is possible, because we have some examples of an evolution of the type *arqïš* > *arquš* even in Kök-Turkish: *yaratïnu* > *yaratunu* (K.,E. 10; B.,E. 20) *arqïn* > *arqun* (Kšγ.), *qaδï-l-* > *qaδu-*, *adïγ* > *aduγ* (Old Uigh.), *saqïz* > *saquz*, *alïš-* > *aluš-*, *alïč* > *aluč*, *balïq* > *baluq*...

[53] After *g* may appear *t*. For this see note 27.

[54] *eldem* "tamed, domesticated; gentle" (*SDD*, Vol. II, p. 521), Mongolian *ildam* "friendly, kind, obliging, sympathetic, courteous", Khal. Mong. *yaldam* id. (F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1960, p. 403). From *el* "people, foreign" +*dem* (denominal noun suffix) (cf. *kün*+*dem*, *bir*+*dem*, *yön*+*tem*...).

[55] *eši*+*n* < *eši*, *iši* "noble lady" + instrumental suffix).

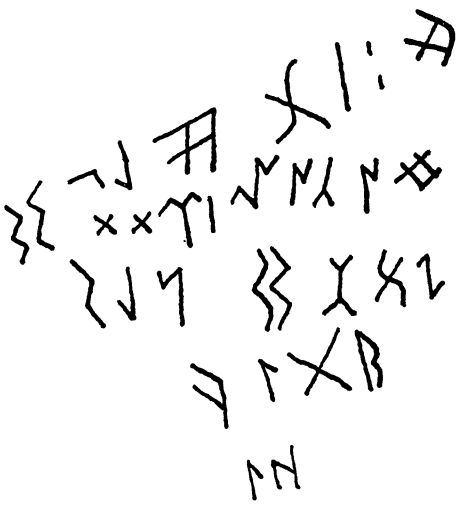
[56] *EP*, p. 98, photo p. 100.

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1. $t^{e}ŋri$
2. ... $kök^{e}m^{i}š$[57] $tut[uq]$
3. ... $tört\ q^{a}d^{a}š$
4. ... $buγa\ ^{e}r\ ^{a}t$
5. ... $^{e}b\ ^{i}t^{e}r$[58] $k\breve{u}m^{ü}š\ \ ^{a}q$ (or $^{e}b\ ^{i}t^{e}r\ k\breve{u}m^{ü}š^{ü}n$)

1. "Teŋri"
2. "Kökemiš Tutuq"
3. "four relatives"
4. "his heroic name Buγa"
5. "The silver which organises home (family) is white (as the meaning 'good')" (*or* "He organises home by silver")

6. *Tuva II, b*[59]



6. .....*m: s*^{i}*z*^{i}*me*
7. ..[*erdem*]^{i}*m üčün s*^{i}*r*^{e}*d*^{i}*m*
8. .....*özge* $^{a}d^{ı}r^{ı}ld^{ı}m$
9. .....*küdik*(?)
10. .....*qï*

[57] Malov's reading *Kök Amaš* can not be correct. Such a name has not been confirmed in Turkic onomastics. On the other hand the reading *Kökemiš* "exalted, praised, raised" is possible: *kök-e-miš* (from the verb *köke-*, *köke-δ-*, *kök-eδ-*). From the point of the view of morphology compare these following names and titles: *Odγurmïš*, *Otamïš*, *Yaγïmïš*, *Qutulmïš*, *Ögdülmiš*, *Turmïš*, *Satïlmïš*, *Yigdemiš*, *Ötemiš*, *Sülemiš*...

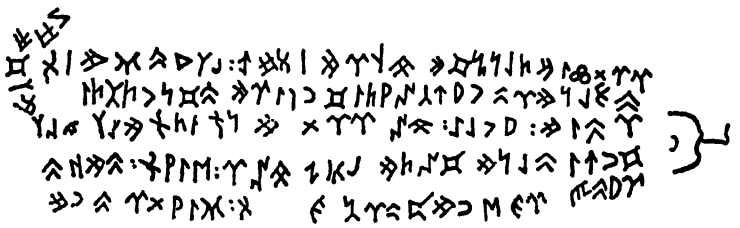
[58] The name *Etrük* in the last line is also unacceptable. This name does not occur in Turkic onomastics. But the new transcription makes sense. It reminds us of a proverb.

[59] *EP*, p. 99, photo p. 100.

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6. "from you (who are) mine"
7. "because of my merit I unified"[60]
8. "I have separated from my life (spirit)[61]
9. "Küdik(?)"
10. .....

7. *Kemčik-Žiryaq, A, lines 2 and 5*[62]



2. *t^{a}ñl^{a}r^{ı}m ^{e}r ^{a}t^{ı}n yo͡q ^{ü}čün y^{e}ti a͡šnu͡qi ^{e}r^{ı}m t^{a}ša͡^{a}ru te͡gti.*[63]
5. *^{e}r ^{a}y ^{a}t ^{e}g s^{a}r^{ı}g*[64] *^{a}lt^{u}n^{u}m uš...*

2. "Because my sons[65] have no (not yet) heroic name, (they) went abroad[66] with my seven old retainers".
5. "Call men (soldiers). Gather horses.[67] Here is my yellow gold

[60] *sir-e-* "to make a confederation, to unify; to arrange" from the word *sir* "confederated".

[61] For this meaning of the word *öz* see my article "Köktürk yazıtlarında 'ölüm' kavramı ile ilgili kelimeler ve 'kergek bol-' deyiminin izahı", *VIII. Türk Dil Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler* (Ankara. 1960), pp. 141-143.

[62] *EP*, pp. 79-85, photo p. 85; *ETY*, III, p. 73-75.

[63] For the situation *-gt-* consonant group in the word *tegti* see note 27.

[64] With reference to the fact that the last sign in the word *sarig* is written with a front *g* cf. my article "Bazi imlâ gelenekleri...", pp. 80-81.

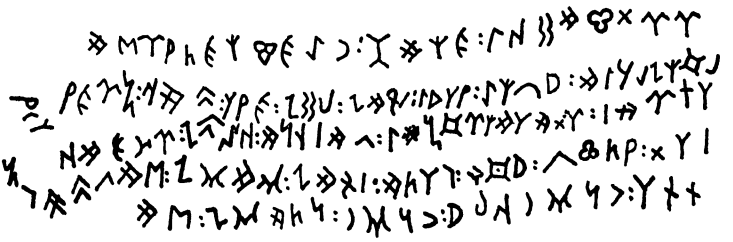
[65] *tay*(< *tañ*) "boy, son" (*SDD*, III, 1324, 1325).

[66] We can understand from some of the Kök-Turkish inscriptions that a journey beyond his own country was one of the feats required of a young man, before he could earn his heroic name. The pertinent examples are: *ilimke erdem üčün men yerildim* (Altun Köl, I, c, line 1); *ilimde tört teg(i)zindim erdemim üčün* (Altun Köl, II, b, line 2); *er erdem bolsar anda ermiš ešin men altun qïrqa kirtim-er erdem üčün tüpüt qanqa yalabač bardïm kelürtüm* (Altun Köl, II, c, lines 1, 2); *erdemin üčün il arada qara qanqa barïpan-yalabač barïpan kelmediŋiz begimiz.* (Uybat, right side, III); *...in üčün alpïn üčün erdemin üčün- ...-...pdi üč qata teg(i)zinti* (Uybat II, lines 2, 4); *...toquz...teg(i)zinip* (Uybat III, c, line 1).

[67] For the meaning of the word *eg-* compare *egir-* < *eg-i-r-* "to collect the animals, cattle" (*SDD*, p. 511). From same stem: *egrat* (*SDD*, p. 513), *egrek* (*SDD*, p. 513), *egrik, eglik, egren, eglek, egbez egbez* (*SDD*, p. 512, 514), ... These words express the same idea, namely "to collect the animals, cattle...".

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8. *Kemčik-Žiryaq, B, line 6*[68]



6. *ᵉr ᵉrdᵉmⁱm ᵃdᵃqï ᵉgᵉčimgẽ: ᵃna ᵉgᵉm*[69] *ičgⁱt yᵉrⁱltⁱm.*

I have separated (*or* parted) from my younger sister,[70] (from) my dear mother[71] and (from) my retainers,[72] who are the fame of my heroic (*or* manly) merit.

ADDENDA

This article had been sent in more than three years ago. For technical reasons (i.e. special printing material, cliches etc.) it was delayed. Within this period I had the chance to re-examine both parts of it. Further studies did not affect the first part. However I reshaped the notes — especially present note 17 which is fundamental to the phonetic value of the first symbol in question and it concerns the reasons for my preference of *+gä* to *+kä* — since I was able to isolate an Old Turkic dialect on the basis of both external (i.e. tamghas "tribal marks") and internal (i.e. linguistic) characteristics; and, this dialect had, among other distinctive features, +GA for dative-locative suffix as opposed to +KA of the remainder of the dialects. Thus it constitutes direct evidence for my choice.

As for the second part, there are some changes resulting from the new observations which led me to prefer one of the possible multiple readings to the others, occasionally affecting the one which is presented here. There are also some additions consequent to new publications that have brought more data in confirmation of the phonetic values that I had established.

At the time when I sent the new version to the publisher I received the first proofs of the original article. Thus a second article on the subject of the above mentioned Old Turkic dialect, containing more points about these three symbols and further remarks on the related texts will follow this one.

[68] *EP*, p. 79-85; *ETY*, III, pp. 73-75. photo p. 85.

[69] *ana+ege* < *ana+eke*, comp. *ateke* < *ata+eke* (W. Radloff, *Wb.*).

[70] *adaqï* "the next child; fame" (W. Radloff, *Wb.*).

[71] *egeči*. For the meaning see W. Radloff, *Wb.* (*ägäsi*, *äkäsi*, *âgäs*, *agäče*, *ägäči*, *egeči*, *igeči*).

[72] *ičgit* < *ičgi+t*, *ičgi* "retainer" (see *Baburnāma*), *+t* plural suffix which was used also in Kök Turkish: *yilpaγut*, *tarqat*.

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