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Marcel Erdal

Old Turkic Word Formation

A Functional Approach to the Lexicon

Vol. II

1991

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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PART V

The Formation of Denominal Verbs

Old Turkic distinguished clearly between formatives deriving verbs from nouns and formatives deriving verbs from verbs. The few instances which seem to point in the opposite direction, in which, that is, verbal endings seem to be added to nouns and vice versa, are mostly fictitious. Amanžolov, 1969: 64 is also of this opinion, and refutes the view of Severtjan, who thought that the 'oldest' use was to add voice affixes to nouns as well.

Deverbal derivation exists and is justified by virtue of the significance which the derivational morpheme adds to the content and use of the base, since no passage from one part of speech to another occurs. Not so denominal derivation: The transference from one syntactic class to another is reason enough for the addition of a morpheme. But then why are there so many denominal verb formatives? The appearance of different formatives here cannot have been caused by the shape of the base, since *+lA-*, e.g., is added to bases of all shapes.

Nor is it generally possible to find clear cut semantic differences between the base groups of different formatives. A case where the bases of a formation are characterised semantically are the sonatives, e.g. *+kIr-*. There are many more cases in which it does seem feasible to classify the derivatives of formations, both in various semantic ways and syntactically. The syntactical behaviour of such denominal derivatives will occupy us no less than that of deverbal verbs. If a correlation can be found between the structure of a verbal stem and its relationships of government, this correlation is of importance to us no matter whether the verb in question is denominal or deverbal. The verbs formed with *+A-*, *+lA-*, *+tA-* (all listed under 5.1) and *+(X)rkA-* do not fit into any major syntactic behaviour group. The sonatives ending in *+kIr-* and the *CVηrA-* verbs, on the other and, are natural intransitives. All the formations discussed in sections 5.4-5.6 also form intransitives, whereas *+gAr-* verbs (section 7.531) are transitive. Denominal formations can thus be transitive, intransitive or neutral with respect to this distinction.

Entities denoted by particular nominals can take part in various typical activities. Therefore, language can use various denominal verbs from one and the same base. The DLT has *ot+lA-* 'to graze', e.g., and, on the other hand, *ot+a-* 'to trim the crop so that it should not spoil' and 'to treat with medicine'. Three distinct activities, then, in which *ot* 'grass, herbs' is involved. It seems a coincidence that the latter two, and no others, are formed with the formative *+A-*. A particularly versatile base is *tāη* 'equivalence, value': *tāη+lā-* is 'to equate, compare', *tāη+ä-* 'to equal, to be like', *tāη+ik-* 'to become equal' and *tāηkär-* 'to compare'. On the other hand, a language need not have a ready-made verb for each type of activity which, in addition, is to be transparent in denoting a particular entity taking part in that activity: It can, obviously, also use whole phrases, as I have done in English when twice translating *ota-*. Generally, denominal verbs like *ota-*

or *otla-* can't be fully transparent as to what activity is being expressed. For this to take place, one would *at least* have had to be able to express the contents of all the case suffixes and postpositions in deverbal formatives; that, of course, would have been wholly redundant. The transparency of a verb is designed to give indications as to its meaning *in context* and not in isolation. Therefore, at least some of the denominal verb formations are ambiguous or vague. The result is that language occasionally tolerates synonyms from different formations, like *yalin+a-* and *yalin+la-* both 'to flame'. On the other hand there are homonyms, as *ota-* having the two quite distinct meanings mentioned above.

We have already stated that some denominal verb formations correlate with particular clause structures while others don't, and deal with the two sets in different parts of this work. But there are other relevant differences between formations. Among the formatives *+A-*, *+lA-* and *+tA-*, *+lA-* differs from the other two in being freely appendable to foreign bases as well as to Turkic ones, and to bases of any shape and form. *+A-* and *+tA-* are added only to Turkic nominals which, in addition, have to end in consonants. The bases of *+tA-* are all monosyllables. *+A-* is added to bisyllabic bases as well, and then the second vowel of these bases is generally syncopated. *+lA-* derivatives are more transparent than *+A-* verbs. Consonant clusters do not appear at the ends of bases for *+A-* verbs, but are not uncommon with *+lA-*. Such phonotactic limitations on the possible bases for *+A-* and *+tA-* in themselves speak against the possibility of a semantic division of labour between them and *+lA-*. Bisyllables ending in the velars /k g ŋ/ generally get *+lA-* and not *+A-* derivatives, since their base does not get syncopated and has no consonant assimilations. They probably tend to be used when the semantic retrievability of the base is desired.

There is one domain in which denominal verb formatives are complementary to a certain extent. They differ in their application to classes of derived nominals. *+tA-* is practically never added to derived nominals,¹ *+Ad-* is added only to one *+gXl* adjective, to *körk* and to *yogun*. We find *+A-* with *-Xn* (quite often), *-Xs* and *-Xz* bases. *+lA-* is attested with most classes of derived nominals. We find it with the denominal formatives *+dXŋ*, *+gU²* and *+çI* and with the deverbal formatives *-(O)k*, *-(U)t*, *-(X)g*, *-(X)nçU*, *-(X)nç*, *-gOk*, *-gA*, *-mA*, *-gAk* and perhaps even *-dUk*, the morpheme for oblique participles. We do not, e.g., find *+lA-* after *-Xs*, however; that is verbalised with *+A-*. *+lAn-*, on the other hand, is found not only with *-Ok*, *-Ut*, *-Xg*, *-Xnç*, *-gAk*, *-XnçAŋ* and *-gAysOk* but also with *-Xs* and

1 This is probably because there aren't many *+tA-* verbs and bases have to be monosyllables; but cf. *ba-g+da-*.

2 In the converb *äsüngüläyü*, common in letters. *+Ar-*, of course, only forms intr. verbs from *+gU* bases.

-Xz nominals as bases. -Xg is found expanded with +LA-, +A- and +sIrA-, but the third is, of course, quite distinct in meaning. Verbs are much more often derived from deverbal nominals than from denominal ones. Not only that the latter cases are much fewer than the former: Beside *äsän+gü+lä-yü*, *yer+çi+lä-* and *ül+aṇu+r-mak*, there are a few hapax legomena with problems; more are attested once each in the QB. Uigur *öz+i+rkä(-n)-* is remarkable in being, apparently, derived from a noun with possessive suffix.

Dealing with simple bases, the case of *ota-* and *otla-* mentioned above is not isolated. Cf. *bädizä-* and the hap. *bädizlä-*, the hap. *maṇa-* and *maṇla-*. In some cases the contrast is grammatical, as with *täṇ+ä-* (intr.) vs. *täṇ+lä-* (tr.).

In what follows, the lists of the verbs formed with the various denominal and deverbal suffixes take up quite a number of pages. The lists are alphabetical, *b* and *m* being treated as interchangeable phones at the beginning of verbs though not internally. I have tried to mention all verbs formed in each particular manner and attested in Old Turkic with a modicum of certainty, but by no means all the exs. for all the verbs. The lists are intended to be used together with the three dictionaries, *EDPT*, *UW* and *DTS*. If no reference to any dictionary appears, it should be understood that there is an adequate entry in the *EDPT*. 'EDPT and DTS' or 'EDPT and UW' signifies that the latter dictionary contains something in addition to what appears in the *EDPT*; the *DTS* is quoted only in this case. If not stated otherwise, it is the *EDPT*'s form, derivation etc. that is accepted. To a certain extent, these lists are also an appendix to the two dictionaries; I have often corrected the *EDPT* even on points not directly related to my subject. Material has been added to the dictionaries from recently published texts and from some minor sources published earlier but not used by them.

The entries of verbs mentioned even though their bases cannot be found are put in brackets. Verbs attested only in Qarakhanid Turkic and some late hapax legomena are not usually quoted, unless the formation in question is weakly attested. Thus we have an entry *soṇ+da-* although this verb is not found before Qarakhanid, because +tA- (+dA-) is a rare formative. About half the +KIr- verbs mentioned appear first in the DLT.

Actual instances of the verbs may or may not be quoted, depending on their interest. Additional exs. for the base lexemes are also sometimes given, in case their attestation in the dictionaries does not seem adequate. It will be found that the *EDPT* and the *DTS* have only a small portion of the verbs treated, let alone the exs. of these verbs. It seemed necessary to incorporate all this additional material, so as to give the reader the possibility to weigh our results and use them for further research.

No exhaustive listing of attested shades of meaning has been attempted; trans-

lations are mainly intended to be an instrument for identifying the lexemes in question.

5.11 +A-

aş+a- 'to eat'. In this sense practically a synonym with *ye-*; except that *ye-* is sometimes used to signify 'to devour', or in some other negative senses, whereas *aşa-* is positive. This fits well with Kāšgari's statement that the Xākānī Turks use *aşa-* only of the nobility, and accords with the fact that *aşa-* is derived, i.e. secondary: It may have arisen as a euphemism. Nevertheless, cf. the biverb *aşa- ye-* in TT V B53 and elsewhere. Also signifies 'to enjoy (something, not just food)', 'to enjoy, sc. life', rarely even 'to suffer something'. See the *UW* entry for exs. A further instance from Schwitz 32 should be added to par. 2 of that entry; cf. the runic ex. in the *EDPT*.

at+a- 'to call out by name; to nominate somebody; to invoke; to give something a name'. *UW*; DLT and QB exs. can be found in the *EDPT*. Runic exs. now appear in Tariat S5 (*anta yabgu atadı* 'There he nominated (him) a *yabgu*') and 6 (thrice). Additional exs. in Bhaiš 2, 4, 6 and 8, BT XIII 2,70 and 20,57 and TuoLuoNi 119 and 152.

maŋ+a- 'to tread', hapax in Ernte 73. Not mentioned in *DTS* or *EDPT*; see both of these for *maŋ-* 'to stride, to walk'. *maŋ+la-* is discussed below.

mayak+a- 'to set up a road sign' is a hap. in TT VII 42,5, reedited in the n. to BT XIII 60,8. See the hap. *mayaka-n-* below. *mayak* 'a road sign' survives to this day in Tatar, Bashkir and Chuvash.

bädiz+ä- 'to adorn'. The word quoted in the *EDPT* from Asxete A2 should be read as *bädizim* ('my ornament') according to Thomsen and Wulff's unpublished collations. Attested also in ETŞ 12,63, Maitr 51 r2, 144 v7 and 153 v26, BuddhUig I 197 and ms. Mz 724 v29-35, quoted in the n. to Hochzeit 23-4. This is the original form of *bäzä-*, found earliest in Maitr 21 r6 and 54 r3 and then in DLT and QB. MaitrH XVI 14 a13 has the intermediate *bädzä-*. Cf. *bädizä-n-* and *bädizä-t-* below.

mānz+ä- 'to resemble' is found only from DLT and QB on, but *mānzä-t-* is well attested also in Uigur. *EDPT* 352b, q.v., for some reason thinks there is little semantic connection between *bāñiz* 'the complexion' and this verb.

bul(u)n+a- 'to take someone as prisoner'. In the *EDPT* only from DLT and QB on. According to Thomsen and Wulff, B¹W L¹N¹D¹I can be read quite clearly in KÇ 22, and this can only be *bul(u)nadı* in the existing context. The conjecture of Clauson and Tryjarski on l.5. therefore loses its base. Attested also as *bulunap* in BT V6,98 (Manichæan).

mün+ä-: See the *EDPT* under *büne-*. 'to chastise or find fault with a person or

with oneself'. The base is now also attested as MYUN GĀDAG in BuddhKat 42, in a binomial found elsewhere as well. In Ht VII 17 a 16, Arlotto writes *münüyür* where Gabain in l. 1798 has *münäyür*; the latter is no doubt right in view of all the other exs. of the verb. The biverb (y)er-*münä*-, found in this Ht ex. (quoted in the *EDPT*), is additionally attested in BT III 542 and 605, BodhiAvaKomm 4, MaitrH III 3a 29 (*UW* 276b), Maitr 61 v 10 and 79 v 13 = T 118 β v 9; the BT IX index wrongly translates this as "schlecht machen". In his review of the QB Indeks, Tezcan has discovered *münä*- also in QB 5276. *münägüsüz* and *münägülüg*, ETŞ 15,2 and 15,30 respectively, may be forms of this verb or possibly come from a collective **mün*+*ägü*.

çiK(i)n+*ä*- 'to embroider', perhaps gold thread on brocade or silk. The *EDPT*, which quotes the verb from DLT and QB, suggests a Chin. etymology for the base; this would make *çiKnä*- the only +A- derivate from a foreign lexeme. *çiKin* itself is, however, attested also in Turkic. The verb appears, in addition, in Ht X 522 as *çiKnämiş* and HtPek 4 a 14 (quoted in the n. to the latter) as *çiKinämiş*. *çine*- "mit Seide sticken" in the Codex Comanicus probably indicates that we should read the verb with /g/ and not /k/; the *EDPT* writes *k* because of the suggested Chin. etymon (but that could have had /g/ as well).

äsn+*ä*- 'to blow', of a breeze. Attested as *äsnämäkin äsnäyü* in ShōAgon 1,130, as *äsin äsnä*- 'a breeze blows' in Maitr 153 v 30, MaitrGeng 2 a 16 and DLT fol. 146; also in DLT fols. 378 and 508 quoting one and the same phrase. Similar figurae etymologicae are *yaşın yaşna*-, *yel yeltri*-, *yagmur yag*-. The same phrase appears also in Ernte 89-90, but is there spelled with initial I, as *esin esinä*- (no syncope). *es-in* turns up again in this passage, in Ernte 92. Zieme (personal communication) now says that this latter *may* have been 'ä°; but he is sure about Ernte 89-90. The same aberration occurs in Ernte 28 with *ärmägür*- spelled as if it started with /e/ or /i/. Since all other exs. of *äs-in* 'a breeze' (discussed among the -Xn lexemes above) have an /ä/ (as has the verb *äs*-), the variant of Ernte must be secondary: This is a late text with a lot of aberrations. *esnä*- 'to yawn', on the other hand, appears to be a different verb: The DLT distinguishes between *äsnä*- 'to blow (breeze)' and *esnä*- 'to yawn', thrice written with *yä* in the first syllable. A latter hand thrice added a *fatha* to this letter, and Dankoff and Kelly (following the *EDPT*) alter *esnä*- to read *äsnä*-. The *EDPT* lists the two verbs under one lemma (although Clauson did not know the Ernte instances); they do, however, have rather distinct meanings, and there would be no explanation for the fronting of /ä/ under the given phonetic circumstances. Therefore, S²N²G²N² bars 'a yawning tiger' in IrqB X can and must be read as *esnä-gän*.

ät(i)n+*ä*- 'to roar, shout, sing etc.'. Not in the *EDPT* but the instance of Suv 363,23 is mentioned in the *DTS*. Appearing in SuvBew, this ex. consists of the phrase *arslanlar ätinin ätinäyü*, attested also in MaitrGeng 13 a 6. Further exs. are found

in PañcFrag 53, 60, 62 and 98 (also of a lion), Ht IV 539 (wrongly written as 'ätändi'), BuddhUig II 105 and Hochzeit 30. See *ät-in* above.

igid+ä- 'to lie'. Attested thrice, all three exs. in the Chuast; one of them reads *igiddäyü* in ms. J in ChuastBeitr. The base is attested several times in Manichaean texts but rare in Buddhist ones.³ It appears as *yigid* thrice in BT V 27, which means that it probably started with **h*. Cf. the n. to BT V 294.

kan+a- 'to bleed a person or an animal (tr.)'. *EDPT* and *DTS* quote this from DLT, TT VII 21 (several times) and Heilk II C; it appears also in Heilk II E5, as]Q *altın⁴ kanazun; öñädür*. Then there is the hapax *kanaK* 'blood letting' from TT VII 42, mentioned among the *-(X)g* forms above, and *kanagu* 'lancet' in the DLT. Cf. intr. *kan+ı-*, discussed below.

(*kävşä-*, the base of *kävşäk* (discussed above) and *kävşän-* (discussed below) is attested in DLT fol. 570: *kurç nän kävşädi* "The hard thing became soft".

**kävış* is not attested, but lives on to this day as *geviş* 'rumination' in Republican Turkish. It should come from *käv-* 'to weaken (tr.)'; cf. *käv-il-* below. The DLT has lexemes of the form *käv-* and *kävşä-* which signify 'to chew' and 'to ruminate (camel)' respectively. They are listed in the *EDPT* together with the lexemes mentioned above as if they only were special uses of those. *käv-* 'to chew' was borrowed into Qarakhanid and Western Turkic from some Indo-European language and is a cognate of Engl. 'to chew'; only the meaning 'to stutter' may have existed in Old Turkic. *kävş+ä-*, on the other hand, comes from '*to soften (tr.)' also when it came to mean 'to ruminate'.)

keñ+ä- is rare, but cf. *keñä-ş-* and *keñä-t-* below. The *EDPT* quotes *keñä-* "to arrange one's affairs with somebody" from DLT and QB; the latter instance is better translated with Dankoff as "to seek somebody's counsel". Cf. also Man-BuchFrag I,1,2,7: *ı(ä)ñrikän Uyğur Bokuk xan Koçoğaru k(ä)lipän koyın yılkı üç m(a)xistak olormak üçün mojakka keñädi* "... wegen der im (cyclischen) Jahre 'Schaf' [zu bewirkenden] Niederlassung von drei Maxistak mit dem Možak Beratung hielt er", better 'sought the mojak's counsel'. The semantic connection with *keñ* 'wide' is not too transparent but may have been calqued on some foreign model. The meaning of *keñiş* 'advice' (an *-Xş* lexeme) shows that it comes from *keñä-*.⁵ *keñäs* "shallow (water), easy (matter)" in DLT fol. 604 no doubt comes from an *-(X)z* derivate of this verb.

kın+a- 'to punish, torture'. The vowel of this verb is long in Tkm., and there is no doubt that it is derived from the noun *kıy(ı)n* transcribed as *kıyn* or *kun*, mentioned among the *-Xn* lexemes above. Some exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT*

³ The DLT lists it as Oguz.

⁴ To be completed e.g. as *koltıñk altın kanazun* 'one should bleed his arm-pit'.

⁵ Republican Turkish *geniş* 'wide', on the other hand, comes from *keñ+ü-*, q.v. below.

occur in Warnke 47, 165 and 352 and BT XIII 21,76 and perhaps also in BT II 1350: See the footn. thereto.

(*kırça-* is attested in DLT fol. 565 as *ol ok amaçka kırçadı* 'That arrow struck the side of the target and kept going'. The *EDPT* rightly postulated the existence of **kırş*+*a-* without knowing of *kırşa-l-*, q.v. below. Cf. *yapçur-* etc. for the post-consonantal development of /s/ > /ç/ especially in the DLT. Concerning *kırça-t-* the DLT has an ex. about an eyebrow, which is more like the context of *kırşal-*. The hypothetical base **kırış* is not attested either, but should come from *kır-* 'to scrape'.)

**kız*+*a-* 'to deflower (a virgin)' in DLT fol. 560 is noteworthy because of the meaning of 'undoing the base lexeme' which +*A-* here has. Compare this with +*sIrA-*, which signifies 'to create a lack of the base lexeme'.

kor+*a-* 'to suffer loss, to get destroyed'. Cf. the ns. to TT I 54 and 148. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Biverb with *es-il-* in Suv 56,4 and 245,16, BuyKäl 35 and MaitrGeng 13 a10. Appears also in Wettkampf 80 and Suv 366,17.

kovuş+*a-* is attested in U IV B 50 with the meaning 'to straighten out, to smooth', and five times as *kurt kovşa-* 'of worms, to eat through, to hollow out' in the Maitr. DLT fol. 570 has *kovşa-* 'to straighten (an arrow)' and adds that there is a variant with *ğayn*. The base appears in DLT fol. 185 only as *koguş*, translated 'water course, drain, millrace' and 'arrow straightener'. What all these things have in common is their being hollowed out lengthwise, and we find, in the Codex Comanicus, *kouš* "hol", i.e. 'hollow'. Rabğüzī has *kovuş* 'gutter; hollow'. *EDPT* 613b takes the °*g*° variants of base and +*A-* derivate to be the main ones, but they evidently constitute hypercorrections on the part of Kāšgārī: In his dialect, /*g*/ between rounded back vowels must already have been pronounced as a voiced bilabial glide. *kovuş* is a cognate of *kovok* 'hollow', attested since the DLT.⁶

könl+ä- 'to think seriously about something'. The *EDPT* quotes this only from TT I and from modern Turkic.⁷ For the semantic connection with *köñül* cf. 'etw. zu Herzen nehmen' in German. Cf. *köñlä-n-* below.

kur(u)g+*a-* appears in DLT fol. 571, translated "to dry up from lack of rain (of the ground)". The -(*X*)*g* derivate from this verb is much better attested: see that in section 3.101, where the base *kurug* can also be found. Cf. also *kurga-k*.

6 See the *EDPT*. For some reason, the Coman lexeme *kovuş* mentioned above is listed in the *EDPT* under *kovuk* and not under '2 *koğuş*'. *kuvi* 'unlucky, unfortunate' is not related to these lexemes. Oguz *kova* 'bucket, pail' probably is related, if we take it to come from **kov-ga* and to be a cognate of Mo. *koboga*. However, in spite of *EDPT* 583b, **kovga* is not actually attested: The lexeme there quoted from M I should be read as *kuyka* and signifies 'skin of an animal'.

7 *sav* in the TT I instance signifies 'matter', and not "Wort" as written there or "statement" as in the *EDPT*.

(*kurşa-* ‘to gird, surround, etc.’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; found also in BT II 966 and 976 and Maitr 83 v10. Cf. *kurşa-n-* and *kurşa-tıl-* below. Listed here because the similarity with *kur* ‘belt’ is striking although there is no suffix ‘+*şA-*’. However, a collective suffix +*Xş* may be attested in *bağış* ‘joints’, attested in IrqB, DLT etc., if that is directly derived from *ba-g*; see above for the former and section 3.101 for the latter.⁸ *kurşa-* might then be an +*A-* derivate from such a ‘**kur+uş*’.)

küç+ä- ‘to use violence against somebody, force someone to do something, achieve something by force’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; also in Maitr 83 v24 and 110 r6, HamTouen 29,17-18⁹ and BuddhUig I 107.

kür+ä- ‘to desert, make oneself independent’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. *kür* appears in Hochzeit 29, DLT and QB; judging from what it signifies in the various modern languages, its basic meaning must have been something like ‘self-willed, uncontrollable’. There is only one Uigur ex. of *kürä-*, in a Manichaean text. Cf. *kürä-g* above and *kürä-ş-* below; both are better attested than *kürä-*.

küz+ä- ‘to spend the autumn (in a particular place, a particular way etc.)’. According to the *EDPT* a *hapax* in the DLT; found also in CYK 110: *mıñ küz üdtä küz(ä)mäki bolzun* ‘may he live through a thousand autumns’. The DLT’s *küzük-*, *küzär-* and *küzKär-* have the season itself as subject.

orn+a- ‘to settle down’, from *orun* ‘place’. *EDPT* from DLT and QB on; attested also in QB 4073 and 5738. Another ex. seems to appear in a fragmentary text, M III 43,5₂ (text 29). *orna-n-* is quite common, however, and so is *orna-g*, q.v. above. Cf. also *orna-ş-* and *orna-t-* below.

ot+a- ‘to treat with medicinal herbs’. *EDPT* (second lemma s.v.) and *DTS*; a further ex. appears in Maitr 51 r7. This is the meaning the verb has also in the QB. For Kāšgarī, however, ‘to treat with medicine’ is Oguz; he knows of *ota-* primarily with the meaning ‘to trim the crop, cut the ears in tilling’ (fol. 555).¹⁰

oyn+a- ‘to play’. *EDPT*; further exs. in Yosıpas 126 (*oyun oynamış*), Maitr 32 v1, 140 r5, 134 r23 and 89 r16, SuvZieme 693,13, BuddhUig I 104 and 105 and UigTot 905 (*bödimäk oynamak*).

8 Other possible (though less convincing) candidates for such a formation would be *yemiş* ‘fruit’ from *ye-m* (discussed above); *bir ikinti+ş+kü* ‘one another’, if the °*ş*° here is not a ‘contraction’ of +*si* (the possessive suffix). This +*Xş* would, furthermore, have to be distinct from the equally rare colour formative +*Xş* discussed in section 2.63.

9 *küçüp mä* (< *ymä*; not ‘*m(ä)n*’, as Hamilton reads) *tarıyur m(ä)n . . . takı küçüp tarısar . . . mä* is a focussing particle, demanded by the context; the repetition of the agent with the present form, on the other hand, would not be normal Old Turkic (although common in colloquial French or Hebrew).

10 *ota-* “to warm oneself by the fire and kindle the firewood”, *ibid.*, need not have been a homophone, as *ot* ‘fire’ had a long vowel.

öç+ä- 'to desire revenge'. *EDPT* only from QB on, but add *öçäyü kākänü* (q.v. in the section on the +*LAN-* verbs) from ETŞ 13,138. *öçä-ş-*, q.v. below, has a wider semantic field.

ört+ä- 'to light or burn something'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Appears also in ETŞ 10,59, Maitr (nine times), Rāma 15, BT VII A333, UigTot 177 and 207 and QB 2656, 2769 and 5486. *ört* may come from *ör-* and is discussed in section 3.108. Cf. *örtä-n-* below.

san+a- 'to count'. The *EDPT*'s suggestion concerning S¹N¹G¹L¹I in Toñ 27, that it should be read as *aşangalt*, is likely but not necessary. Beside what is mentioned there, found also in Maitr 9 r6, 38 r28 and 103 r9 = MaitrH X 1 b10, BuddhUig I 398-401 (where it rather signifies 'to mention one by one, recount'), MoriContract 6 (twice) and elsewhere.

särm+ä- 'to strain a liquid', from *särim* 'a strainer', is by the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT. Found also in BuddhUig II 90: *süçig çıvş(a)gun içgülärig süzüp särmäp kudturup...*, rendered by Ş. Tekin as "wird destilliert". The difference between *süz-* and *särmä-* appears to be the specificity of the latter about the instrument. Cf. *särmä-l-* below. The base *särim* is difficult to connect with *sär-* 'to endure'.

sig(i)t+a- 'to lament'. *EDPT*; further exs. in Ht X 1166 (with *ul-*), Maitr 7 times with *ıgla-*, thrice with *ul-* and once with *ul-*, *münrä-* and *yıgla-*, BuddhUig II 53 and 195 (both with *yıgla-*), TuoLuoNi 85, 316 and 330 (with *yıgla-*) and 280 (with *ul-*) and perhaps BT XIII 3,76.

✓ *sin+a-* 'to acquire experience of, to test'. *sin* 'the human body or stature' is well attested in Uigur. The semantic connection between it and *sina-* is not too obvious, but it should be noticed that both lexemes have a long *ı*° in Tkm. In Heilk I found four times in *sinamuş 'ām ol* 'This is a tested medicine'. Further Uigur exs. appear in Ht X 77, Ernte II 8 (against the eds.; cf. facs.) Maitr 60 v5, UigTot 213, Suv 600,2, Shō VI b9, BuddhUig II 197 and 263. The *EDPT* quotes DLT and several QB instances. Cf. *sinag* in section 3.101.

sig+ä- appears in BT VIII A146 in a biverb with *tut+a-* (q.v. below). Probably 'to urinate on', here used metaphorically; mo. *şıge-* has this meaning. *sig* 'urine' is discussed in section 3.101; see *sid-* for other cognates. Cf. *kaşan-* (section 7.2) and, for the BT VIII A use, *kaşan* as noted in the DLT (section 3.116 above).

✓ *suv+a-* 'to irrigate land'. *EDPT* and both entries in *DTS* s.v. Further exs. in Ernte 25 and 40, Maitr 51 r1 ('nässen', not "glätten") and 120 r9 and in a ms. quoted in Sandel p. 379. Some of these and some additional instances are discussed in a long note to Murtuk 3, where the text has *suva-glig*; I discuss *suva-glig* in section 3.119 above.

taig+a- 'to have a certain taste'. *Hap.* in BT XIII 8,13: *yapırgak tąg tatgayu* 'tast-

ing like leaves'. The base of the common *tatga-n-*, which has the taster as subject; with *tatga-*, on the other hand, the subject is the substance tasted.

tāṇ+ä- appears in Warnke 158: *bodis(a)tvlar birlä birikdäçi kqñülüg, kertüdin kälmişlär birlä tñädäçi kqñülüg öritip*... "eine mit den Tathāgatas gleich seiende Gesinnung hervorrufen". Intr., whereas *tāṇ+lä-* is tr. This context is very similar to Warnke 275: *kqñülümüz alko burxanların kqñülü birlä tñikip, kamag burxanların kūsüşi birlä birikip*...; U II 48, 12-13: *bodisatvlarnıñ köñülü birlä tñ köñülüg bulmak*... Another instance, *tñägülük* [in Laut 42, probably signified something like '[difficult] to equal'. *tñä-şi* and *tñä-ş-*, qq.v. above and below respectively, come from this *tñä-*; the *tāṇ+ä-* which the *EDPT* quotes from the Atabatu 'l-Ḥaqā'iq, on the other hand, signifies 'to value, to judge as equal (to)'.

tāpz+ä- 'to be envious'. DLT and QB. The *EDPT* does not mention QB 4252 and 4276; couplet 974, which it does mention, on the other hand, contains a form of the verb *tāp-*. *tāpiz* 'an envious person' and *tāpizlik* are both attested in the QB and the DLT.

(**terkā-* is not attested, but I know of *tirken-* in Anatolian Turkish (used of cranes flying in a row). DLT fol. 231 has the derivate *terkā-ş-* 'to walk in a line (used of camels and warriors)'. Unlike Dankoff and Kelly, we read the verb with /k/ and not /g/ in the second syllable, because of *terkiş* of the Orkhon inscriptions (q.v. among the *-Xş* formations) and because of the Anatolian verb. This does not preclude derivation from *ter-ig* (q.v. above among the *-(X)g* lexemes): The second vowel of *terig* getting syncopated, the sequence /rg/ would be regularly changed to /rk/: After /r/, the replacement of /g/ by /k/ is demanded by rules.)

tiş+ä- is attested in DLT fol. 561: *tägirmän tişädi* "he sharpened the cogs of the millstone"... *ol orgak tişädi* "He sharpened the teeth of the scythe". The DLT also has *tişä-t-* and *tişä-l-*, while *tişä-n-* has been wrongly written '*tişlän-*' and mixed up with the entry for *tışlan-* 'to grow teeth'. The base, probably attested in QB 2959 according to Tezcan's review of the QB İndeks, may be distinct from *tış* 'tooth'; the latter is consistently back-vocalic in Old Turkic and the DLT.

ton+a- appears in Maitr 9 r 14 (*kädi*]m ton ätük yevig tizig kädmiş tonamış körü kanıncs(ı)z ... bir t(ä)ṇri [t(ä)ṇ]risi) and Maitr 170 r 27 (*bo tonug* ... *kädär tonayur ärdi*). The phrase *kädgü tonagu* is found in Maitr 31 r 1 and TT VI 392 (five mss. among six); the two lexemes in it are clearly morphologically parallel: *tonagu* is, then, unlikely to be a collective +AgU form signifying 'clothing'. *tona-* has been borrowed into the Mo. (XIIIth cent.) Secret History as (*hubcan*) *tono-* and served as base for *tona-t-* (q.v. in the *EDPT*; DLT ff.), *tona-n-* (q.v. below) and *tona-m* (q.v. above). *tona-* is not mentioned in the *DTS* nor, as lemma, in the *EDPT*; the latter mentions Middle and modern Turkic instances of it under *tonat-*.

tögn+ä- 'to cauterise'. Earliest in TT VII 21 and the DLT.

töl+ä- The *EDPT* has two lemmata of this form. The first quotes the DLT *hapax* signifying 'to lamb'. The second concerns *tölä-* 'to pay (a debt), repay (a loan)', according to Clauson "almost certainly a Mong. l.-w. fr. *tölö-*": It appears in late economic documents. But *töl* 'progeny, descendants' could easily have made the semantic transfer to 'interest'. A good discussion of this verb is found in Clark, 1975: 155-157. Clark says that *tölä-* is indeed from Turkic *töl*, as Doerfer holds, but that the meaning 'to pay' evolved in Mo.; with this other meaning, the lexeme would then have been reborrowed into Turkic. See *TMEN* II 630-31. A simplex **tölä-* is reconstructed under *töläk* (section 3.102).

tölt+ä- 'to provide with cushions, lay out cushions'. The *EDPT* has one Uigur ex.; additional exs. are found in Abhi 2499 and BuddhUig II 122: *kaşınçığ körklä ol orun üzäsindä . . . orun töşäk SWQ sunçuklarıg yaraşturu töltäp töşäp . . . toorlarıg asarlar. töltä-glig*, q.v. above, comes from this verb. The base signifies 'cushion'. It appears in the *EDPT* as '*tölet*' i.e. '*tölä-*', but is in fact always spelled as *tölt*: *tölt oron* in TT VIII D 12 (Brāhmī!)¹¹ and similarly in Uigur script. The semantic, phonological and collocational affinity of *tölt* and *töşä-* can be explained lambdacistically.

tuş+a- 'to hobble' is quoted in the *EDPT* from QB 712. A further ex., the plural imperative *tuşa-η*, is found in QB 2302.¹² *tuşa-g* 'a hobble' appears in the DLT, *tuşaglıg* in QB. '*tuşaglıg yinçü*' in FamArch 16 makes no sense and should be an error. *tuş* 'buckle' is attested in DLT and QB.

tut+a- 'to disparage'. See '*tota-*' in the *EDPT* and especially *utrun-* '*toda-*' in the *DTS*. We now know that the base is *tut* because of TU-DAH-YAG ZAB DIN-LA-YUR = *tut ayıg sav tıñlayur* in BuddhKat 28, translated "Er hört herabsetzende, schlechte Worte . . .". The vowel is clearly *u*; while this text occasionally writes *o* for /u/ of the first syllable, it never has *u* for usual /o/. We know that the final dental is /t/ and not /d/ as the only word-final /d/ is written with *l* in this text.¹³ Found also in BT VIII A 146, M II 11,6 (4th text), Suv 556,9-11, HamTouen 1,27, 40 and 42. Mo. *duta-*, Yak. *tutā-* and Teleut *tuda-*, mentioned in the n. to the last mentioned ex., show the expected form of this verb. The last two come from Mo., though, as they all three signify 'to be insufficient, wanting, lacking'.

11 The instance reads as *töl[ɬ]o*rom: On the same page, l.15, the well-known *alp* is written as *alp*, as we read also in *UW* s.v. *alp*. The same phrase appears in Maitr 12 r5, *tölt* [in Maitr 30 v4, *tölt töşäk* in Maitr 65 r7, 73 r32, 76 r1 and 165 r16 and Suv 80,19 and 156,2, *[tölt]lin töşäkin* in Kuan 87, *tölt oron töşäk* in Maitr 58 r19 and *oron tölt töşäk* in Suv 513,13.

12 Arat had changed this to the unattested '*boşaη*'. Mss. B and C write *tuşaη*, A '*tasāη*'. Restored by Dankoff.

13 In the lexeme *egid*, written 'YE-GIL. This is probably intended to represent the sound [δ]. *yutuz* is spelled as YUL-TU-ZI and YULD-TUS in that text, perhaps standing for **yuδtuz*.

Whether the Mo. verb, with this meaning, really is related to the Old Turkic lexeme is a difficult question. *tut* appears, in addition to the exs. of the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, in BT I D (108) and F6; cf. *tut tulvı*, mentioned among the *-vI* forms.

(*tuvr+a-* ‘to grow big’ is a hap. in DLT fol. 566. Kāšgarī says that this is derived from the lexeme found in *tuvr yinçü* ‘large pearls’. Dankoff and Kelly spell the base as TUVUZ in the text but add the footn.: “Apparently corrected from TUVUR...”. In case *tuvez* should nevertheless be the shape of the base, this would be a parallel to the derivation of *+s(I)rA-* verbs from *+sXz* nominals.)

✓ *tükä-* ‘to be completed, fulfilled’. Has been suggested by R. Dankoff at the P.I.A.C. meeting of 1983 to come from **türk+ä-*. This seems quite plausible: /rK/ clusters are often (though sporadically) simplified by deletion of /r/, e.g. in *irklä-* > *iklä-*, the two *bärk*, **kir-Kür-* etc.¹⁴ The meaning of *tükä-* appears to have slipped towards ‘coming to an end’, but the earliest instances (e.g. in the IrqB), *tükä-I* ‘perfect’ and the adverb *tükäti* show that ‘completion’ was nearer to what the original meant.

✓ *tün+ä-* ‘to spend the night’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Beside the DLT and the QB attested once in Suv, and, additionally, in HtPar 162,25 (quoted in UW 252b), V 16 a5 and VII 5 b20. Cf. *tünä-t-* below.

✓ *tüş+ä-* ‘to dream’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also s.v. *tül* ‘dream’, together with which it is practically always used before the DLT. *tüş* ‘dream’ appears first in the DLT and the QB, and must have become obsolete in the dialect(s) represented by Old Turkic proper. *tül түşä-* appears also in Suv 16,15 (found in SuvLeg as well), UigTot 691, 789 and 791, Ht VII 14 b21 and X 491, *tüşämiş tül* in BT XIII 2,45 and Ht X 320-21. In Suv 627,7 and Ht X 181, 527, 553 and 700, *tüşä-* has the dream’s content as explicit or implied object. Bang, 1925b: 400 connects all this with *tün* ‘night’.

tüşn+ä- is attested only in DLT fol. 124, where it is used to describe mist as being stationary. Cf. *tüşnä-k* in IrqB LXI, Ht VII 7 a12 and QB. The verb comes from *tüş-ün* ‘lodgings, inn’, of which there are a dozen exs. in the QB.

tüt+n+ä- from *tüt-ün* ‘smoke’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Hap. in *içdin sıñar tütün tütñäyür tög irü bälğülär bolur* (UigTot 262) “Im Inneren gibt es Zeichen₂ als ob Rauch raucht”.

ug(u)r+a- ‘to intend or plan (to do) something’. Instances not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear in ETŞ 10,289 (with the beneficiary of the action in the accusative), TuoLuoNi 187 and UigBlock 35.

yag+a- ‘to present a sacrifice’ is attested in BT II 640, Maitr 117 v12 and 95 r6 and MaitrH I 16 b28 (quoted in Laut, 1986: 21), in all four cases with *yagiş* as

14 The simplification of *tärtrü* to *tätrü* is related. Further exs. under *körk+äd-* below.

object. In MaitrH XI 3 b16 (*yagap* on the facs.; misread) the object is *yagış saçıg. yagış* (q.v. among the -Xş derivatives) comes from *yag+a-*. The connection with 'fat' is present also in Jewish and pagan Greek terminology on sacrifice to the deity.

yalın+a- 'to flame'. Cf. *yalın+la-* and *yal-in-* below. Derived from *yal-in* (section 3.107). Exs. of *yalına-* not mentioned in the *EDPT* can be found in BT V 435, BT VII A 110 and 324-25, UigTot 670, 674, 799, 800 etc., Maitr 24 r3 and so forth. The phrase *yalınayu tur-* appears also in CYK 88, Warnke 26, BT VII A 23 and 256 and BT VIII B 10, 136, 137 etc.; it signifies 'to stand ablaze'.¹⁵

✓ *yaş+a-* 'to live'. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear in UigKol 33,¹⁶ Ht X 347-8, CYK 65, ShōAgon 1,109, sixteen times in Maitr (often with *yaş* or *yıl* as internal object), Shō III a 1 and BT XIII 49,47 and 52,1.

yaş(i)n+a- 'to flash'. Usually in the phrase *yaşın yaşna-*, of lightning. Beside the DLT etc. attested in Suv, TT VIII A 8,¹⁷ and BT XIII 27,6:] *kökin yaşınayur köl suvları* 'the lake's waters are flashing with the blue of...'. *yaşın* (an -Xn lexeme) can itself also signify 'gleam etc.'; cf. BT VIII B 90 and footnote.

yol+a- 'to pass through; to advance in a certain direction'. The *EDPT* misquotes Ht V 281-2: The text has *yolap*. KPLX 7-8 should not be read as '*yolayu*' but as *yol ay-u*. Further exs. of *yola-* appear in Warnke 585, ShōAgon 1,288 and Maitr 12 v7. The instance in BT XIII 28,25, *tagtın sınar yolu* ... *tañ adınçıg bağ-dinikā tapıg udug kulayın* "nach Norden mich wendend..." is dubious: The aberrant form *yolyu* appears only in one among two mss. extant in this passage.

✓ *yumş+a-* 'to send somebody' appears in *ärklig x[an bir yäk] ol [bayagur]ka yumşap...* (TuoLuoNi 245) "...sandte Ärklig X[an einen Yakşa] zu dem [Reichen]" and *'ärin atın kızın kırkının işkä küçkä irtkä bertkä ıdımız yumşadımız* (Maitr 62 v12). Middle Turkic exs. are quoted in the *EDPT* under the lemma *yumşa-* 'to be soft' and in the *DTS*. See *yumuş* and *yumuşçı* in the *EDPT*.

Three petrified converbs are related to this formation: *ugrayu* comes from *ug(u)r+a-*, while no related +A- verbs are attested for the other two.

äñäyü '(in) particular, special' is always written as if it were to be read as '*añayu*', '*näñäyü*' or '*nañayu*'. However, the form '*äñänyük*' discussed under

15 What appears in M III 24,5₄ (text 9) and U I 37,8 (Töten) are instances of *yalvar-*, as now confirmed by Zieme (personal communication).

16 *mıñ tūmān yaşayu y(a)rıkazun* "möge geruhen, 1000 × 10,000 [Jahre] zu leben". Should this be bracketed as (*mıñ tūmān yaş*)*ayu*??

17 Misunderstood by the editor: She translates the instance as "leben" and would like to emend it to '*yaşan-*'.

āñān- in section 7.21 shows that it had front vowels: It is written with front K in all instances. *āñäyü* no doubt comes from *āñ* ‘most’, which is also written in Uigur script as if it were ‘*añ*’ or ‘*nāñ*’ or ‘*nañ*’. *āñäyü* appears in the *DTS* under ‘*añaju*’; Clauson did not believe in the existence of such a lexeme, and the *EDPT* mentions a few Uigur exs. under *añar*. Some of the passages in which *āñäyü* can be found are U II 38,69, KudJunshō Cr 5-6, Māngi 2, Abhi B 48 a 5, Ht IV 1336 and Ht VII 1859. In a n. to her edition of the last mentioned instance, A. v. Gabain quotes a number of additional exs. from mss. of the Ht, and discusses the lexeme. *āñäyü üzä* in Genzan D v 9-10 may possibly be a mistake for *āñäyü ök* on the part of the copyist. The words are damaged but the facs. shows that Röhrborn’s reading is highly likely.

katnayu is not mentioned in the *EDPT* but quoted in the *DTS* from Suv (with *ekiläyü*). Further exs. appear in ETS 20,123, ShōAgon 1,82 and 83 and HtPek 101 r 5-10. It is used adverbially to qualify the verb phrases *okitu nomlayu yarlıka-*, *kolola-*, *okı-*, *sözlä-* and *yori-* and signifies ‘over and again, repeatedly’. A verb ‘*katna-*’ is not known,¹⁸ but the source is to be found in the expression *katın katın* ‘repeatedly’, quoted in Gabain, 1974: 141 from two passages in HtPar and attested also in TuoLuoNi 285.

ugrayu ‘especially, particularly, exactly, precisely, just, just then’ is discussed in the *DTS* s.v. ‘*oyraju*’ and in *EDPT* 91, in the n. to TTV B 86 and in Kudara’s n. to his reedition of that text. It comes from *ug(u)r+a-*, q.v. above. Additional exs. appear in BT I D (148) and (181), Suv 593,1, ShōAgon 1,195, 283 etc., Ht IV 1100, Abhi B 52 a 6 and BuddhUig I 3 b 6-4 b 4. See *swk-(g)a* in section 3.323 for the binome *ugrayu swka*. HtPar 132,24 (quoted in UW 249 a) and perhaps other passages show *ugrayu* in adnominal use, meaning ‘particular’.

+A- is the second most common denominal formative, and quite a number of additional instances could have been quoted from Qarakhanid sources. It is added only to mono- or bisyllabic stems which have to end in consonants. There is no limitation on the shape of monosyllabic bases. None of the more than thirty bisyllabic bases ends in a cluster; all of them, with the exception of the hapax *mayak+a-* (+ hapax *mayaka-n-*), have the narrow vowel of fourfold harmony in the second syllable. These two constraints must be connected with the fact that this second vowel is often syncopated away. The runic inscriptions are equivocal in this respect, but elsewhere there is good evidence from all types of texts both for syncopation and for its absence. This syncopation leads to contraction in Qarakhanid *bäzä-* (mentioned above).

18 DLT fol. 576 has a verb thrice written as *kayna-* and translated as ‘to refuse to obey an order, to be insolent to the one ordering and contradict his words’. This is *not* the meaning one would expect from the finite counterpart of *katnayu*, *kayna-* should not be altered to read ‘*kaina-*’, therefore, as both the *EDPT* and Dankoff and Kelly do.

Most bases of +A- verbs appear to be simple nominals, but deverbal ones are quite common. Most of the latter are derived from -Xn or -Xş forms and are listed at the end of the sections dealing with these formatives. Cf. also the hap. *tat(i)g+a-*.

+A- verbs are expanded with all major deverbal formatives, the causative affix being -(X)t-.

Discussion of late and modern forms can be found in Schakir, 1933: 18-22.

5.12 +IA-

Most Old Turkic +IA- verbs starting with *ad*^o to *av*^o are discussed in UW 1-4, but a few are not. These latter ones will here be listed first.

adok+la- 'to be astonished at something' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT.

Attested also in Ht V 9 a25, clear in the facs.: *körtäçi kişi tañırkap toyın körkin adoklap Odon kanka ötünti* 'Persons who saw him were amazed, astonished at his monk's appearance, and related (the matter) to the king of Khotan'. The DLT also has *adok nän* 'an unknown thing', and derives it from *agduk* 'imperfect etc.'. This suggestion, which the *EDPT* follows, cannot be correct as the /g/ would not have been elided as early as the Ht text. Nor is it likely that the Khotanese who came across Vairocana in the wilderness should have thought him to be deficient or imperfect. *adok* should probably be connected with *ad-*, *adin* etc.

adut+la- 'to scoop up with the palm (*adut*) of one's hand' is applied to coins and water in DLT fol. 151 (q.v. in the *EDPT*) and to sand in BT XIII 4,40: *adutlap kumug s[aç- (?)]*.

agduk+la- from *agduk* (q.v. in the *UW*) appears as a hap. in HamTouen 1,52': *baxşılar okısar agduklamazunlar* 'que les maitres [qui] les lisent ne les jugent pas (partrop) repréhensibles". For the semantics of +IA- in this passage cf. *ayığ+la-*.

añla- 'to understand' is not an Old Turkic verb at all. The *EDPT* shows that some runic instances are in fact figments. The only ex. adduced for Uigur (quoted in the *EDPT*) is most likely to be a misreading: See the facs. *añla-* is limited to Western Turkic ('Ali, the Codex Comanicus, Ottoman etc.) and the DLT says that it is Oguz. Although *añlig* and *añsız* can be found in Uigur as well (and are quoted in the *UW* s.vv. *añlag* and *añsız*), *añ* itself is mentioned only by Middle Turkic lexiographers. *añ+gar-* (q.v. in section 7.43) may have been an error. *añla-* was therefore created in the west, albeit prehistorically. Khal. *añla-* may be a borrowing from Azeri.

The next thirteen verbs are all listed in the *UW*; there is some evidence to be added, however, both Uigur and other.

adırt+la- 'to distinguish between things; to analyse'. Further Uigur evidence: *ĀṭSū* 1 v5 (Brāhmī script), Genzan C v4, ShōAgon 1,20 and 2, p. 192,2, Abhi 2037,

UigFalt 115-6 and 121, ÄgFrag (1) B 9, BT VIII A 7, Buddhāv H 82, BuddhUig I 202 and 210 and II 44 and 476, SuvLeg T I D 129 v 13 (≈ Suv 15,4) and ms. T III 86-94 (U 1000) v 9 quoted in the introduction to Rāma, and so forth. Among these additional instances we find the biverbs *talula-* *adirtla-* and *kolola-* *adirtla-* which do not appear at all among the *UW*'s exs., and nine instances of *böl-* *adirtla-*, which is there quoted only once.

agır+la- 'to honour, respect'. Exs. of the common biverb *aya-* *agırla-* not listed in the *UW* entry for it can be found there under *aya-*; TuoLuoNi 255 = 259 is not listed there either. A further instance of *agırla-* appears in BuddhUig II 287. The *EDPT* adds a number of instances from the DLT and the QB.

agruk+la- is attested in fragmentary context in U III; a bit damaged, but well visible in the facs. Another ex. appears in MaitrH X 4 b 22, is written *agruk-lamatın* and signifies 'without feeling it as a burden'. The subject of this verb is the future mother of Buddha Maitreya; the body described in ls. 16-22 (the object of the verb) is not her body, however (not 'āt' özin' but 'āt' özüg) but the body of her son. Both the translation and footn. 36 thereto are therefore misguided. Cf. *agru-k* above and *agrukla-n-* below.

ak+la- 'to abhor something'. See the *UW* also for the base. Exs. not mentioned there occur in ShōAgon 2, p. 190,2₁, BT XIII 19,25, Weih 6 and 7 (not certain as neither fits the context in meaning) and MaitrGeng 13 a 9.

amrak+la- is not a *UW* lemma. The expression *amraklagu kuvrag* appears in MaitrGeng 4 a 27, 7 a 15 and 7 b 23. In Maitr 101 r 1 there is a word appearing between lacunae, hesitatingly read as *amraklaşu* in the *UW* and as] *amraklagu* [by Ş. Tekin. Since all four instances appear in the same text and since a *+la-* derivate from *amra-k* has appeared nowhere else, they are likely to represent *amrakla-gu*: Vowel converbs are not used in such constructions. *amrak+la-* must have been tr.

anço+la- 'to present something to a superior, an offering to a god etc.'. Uigur exs. not mentioned in the *UW* occur in BuddhUig II 535, 546 and 551. See the *EDPT* for Orkhon evidence and the *UW* for the base.

ara+la- 'to interrupt, to stop' is adequately discussed in the *UW*; it appears only in Uigur.

arıla- 'to intercede'; in Uigur 'in somebody's favour', in the DLT 'between parties, with a view to reconcile them'. The Uigur verb goes with the person, the soul or the life one intercedes for in the accusative, and with suffering in the ablative case. DLT fol. 156 gives *ara+la-* as canonical form but adds: "You may say *arıladi*; this is the colloquial pronunciation but the first is more correct". The DLT's view of the verb thus accords with the *UW*'s etymology. The n. to Samanta 6 suggests deriving *arıla-* from *arig+la-* and accordingly translates the instances also quoted in the *UW* as "rein sein/werden", but this meaning does

not quite fit the contexts. Note that *arig+la-* exists in Uigur in the unshortened form; that the same development occurred also in *övkilä- < övkä+lä-* and in *arıçı* ‘intercessor’ < *ara+çı*. For the semantics, cf. *ara kir-* and *(ara kir-)iş-*, exs. of which are listed in *UW* 171 a. (par. A,c).¹⁹

arig+la- ‘to pick out the best, sift out’. The *EDPT* has the DLT instance, the *UW* two Uigur ones. Cf. also *arigla-t-* below.²⁰ A third Uigur instance is quoted in the n. to Samanta 6 from an unpublished text. This instance, which refers to the purification of a religious offering, would lend support to Zieme and Kara’s interpretation of *arugl(a)p* in *UigTot* 1307 against the *UW* suggestion to emend this to *anukl(a)-* ‘vorbereiten’. A verb ‘*anuk+la-*’ is not otherwise attested, but the rounding in *arugla-* would demand explanation. The *UW* entry for ‘*anukl(a)-*’ should probably be cancelled.

arKula- ‘to mediate’ is written with *ghain* in DLT fol. 159 (thrice), but DLT fol. 82 we find *arkuči* ‘mediator’ written with *qāf*. The *UW* lemma for the verb is *arkula-* and not *argula-* although the single instance can be interpreted both ways, as Röhrborn considers connecting the verb with *arku* ‘valley’. The matter remains open, as the context of the only Uigur ex. is quite obscure. The real problem are the conditions under which the opposition between /g/ and /k/ gets neutralised after /r/; these have not yet been studied. We only know that the DLT’s *argula-* and *arkuči* must have a common origin; the Uigur and the Qarakhanid verb may or may not be related.

arok+la- ‘to take a rest’. See the *UW* for the Uigur, the *EDPT* for Qarakhanid and Middle Turkic instances. Intransitive.

arvı+la- ‘to doubt’. Hap. In *BuddhUig* II. The base is attested once in *Ht*; see the *UW* for both.

asKançu+la- ‘to jeer at, deride, make fun of, wheedle’ is fully documented in the *UW*. *asKançula-* and *tagonla-* sometimes appear together, as do their bases *asKançu* (q.v. in the *UW*) and *tagon*. ‘A-SKAN-CU-LA-MA-SA of *BuddhKat* 13 fixes the voicelessness of the sibilant, though not necessarily of the velar: The suffix *-gAll* is written as *-kAll* after voiceless vowels in this text, which shows that there was a voicelessness assimilation at least with velars. This assimilation definitely did not take place in runic Turkic and was probably not general in Uigur either.

at+la- ‘to ride a horse’. Hap. in a passage published in *Profan* p. 282, not in the

19 One argument I use against deriving *arila-* from *arigla-*, namely that *arigla-* exists in Uigur, could have been used against *ara+la-* as well. All exs. we have of *arala-* have the form *aralap*, however, and this *may* be a lexicalised gerund. The split of *ayıg* ‘bad’ into *ayıg* and *ayı* ‘very’ is not a good counterargument either: *ayı* is an expressive particle, and such elements often escape the normal sound laws.

20 See also the discussion of the *UW* entry in section 1.1 of my introduction.

UW: at *arkasınta atlamak, yaña boyunta* (thus?!) *yatlamak* “auf dem Pferderücken reiten, auf dem Elefantennacken Fremde attackieren”. *atla-n-* and *atlantur-* are better attested.

av+la- ‘to hunt wild game’. The instance ‘quoted’ in the *DTS* is a conjecture. The *EDPT*’s two lemmata of this form should be one, as the phrase *tāgirmiläyü avlap* . . . quoted from U IV A 20 and 192 in the second does not justify the assumption of a different verb: The surrounding action is expressed in the first verb and not in the second, and there is no doubt from the *context* that this surrounding is hostile. Therefore, there hardly is any semantic affinity with *av-* ‘to crowd around’. For the reason just mentioned, the gloss “umzingeln” of the *UW* entry (where all the Uigur evidence is collected) is also misguided.

ayığ+la- ‘to slight, scorn’. *EDPT* and *DTS*;²¹ a further ex. appears in the *DTS* s.v. *ajıy-la-*. Not “peculiar to Uyğur”, as the *EDPT* writes: Found also in QB 685. Another instance in Maitr 66 r9.

bag+la- ‘to tie (down)’. The runic instance quoted in the *EDPT* has the rather specific meaning ‘to attach one’s daughter to a (different) clan’. Otherwise, the *EDPT* only has Qarakhanid and Middle Turkic exs. Attested also in Uigur, as *bag baglaguçı kişi* (Ernte 58), *bars baglamak* (UigTot 783 and 787) and *bamak baglamak* (UigTot 788). Cf. *bagla-l-* below.

baktokla- Hap. in Suv quoted in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*: *törtin sınar baktoklap barın idi tapmatı* ‘He searched in all four directions but could in no way find his possessions’. Either derived from the *-dUk* form of *bak-*, or from the *-Ok* derivate of *bak-ıt-*, q.v. below: *+lA-* is frequently added to *-Ok* forms, but *-dUk* does not serve as base for derivations (except the fully petrified *agduk* in the hap. *agdukla-*).

mañ+la- ‘to stride’. To the ex. quoted in the *EDPT* add *akru akru mañlayu* (Maitr 90 v5), *yeti mañ mañlayu* (Maitr 145 r30) *mañlamış mañınızlar* (Tiš 45 b6) and *bir mañın bardağı mañladağı* (BT VIII B221). Cf. *mañ mañmuşça* (Suv 418 fin.): Why the language should have needed both *mañ-* and *mañla-* is a question I must leave unanswered.

basut+la- Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Hap. in Abhi 14: *kadyot kurtunñ yarokı kün t(ä)ñriniñ yarokıña basutlayurıñça* should be translated as ‘just as (little) as the light of the fire-fly aids the light of the sun’.

baş+la- ‘to start something; to be the leader, to manage (intr.)’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; the latter also s.v. *başlamaq*. Additional exs. appear in Pfahl II 4, HamTouen 20,14 and 23,13, Ht V 6 a25, etc.; there are many in the Maitr. See below for *başlayu*, a petrified converb.

bädiz+lä- is a hapax in IrqB XXVIII, used together with *mäñi+lä-* ‘to rejoice’.

21 The instance from TT VI quoted in the *DTS* appears in l.46 and not 44.

- bädiz* 'drawing, ornamentation' is attested with *mäñi* in BT V 674 (Manichaeen):]*ñIn mäñin bädizin* [. For the meaning cf. the binomial *oyun bädiz* in BT VII A 174, 179, 184 and 189, not very satisfactorily translated as "Verzierungen". *bädiz* may have denoted anything with 'anmutigem Schwung', both moving and stationary.
- bäk+lä-* 'to fasten, secure, lock into'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Found also in Suv 208,22-23, BT XIII 5,67, Neujahr 44, Maitr 83 r 31 and 84 r 11-12, ShōKenkyū III 28, Ht X 1125, BT VII A 661 and so forth.
- bälgü+lä-* 'to follow up, search into'. The *EDPT* only quotes an instance from QB 792, which is misunderstood; 'to impart an explanation', as Dankoff translates the verb, is much more appropriate. It appears also in QB 5469, but there Dankoff leaves it untranslated. Uigur instances of *bälgülä-* can be found in ShōAv 99, Ht V 15 a 3 and VII 8 a 27.
- bäliñ+lä-* 'to start up, to feel very anxious and panic'. *DTS* s.v. '*ürk- belinlä-*' and *EDPT*. Appears also in BT I D (61), BuddhUig II 306, Ht IV 712 and X 182, 313, 465 and 827, UigTot 77 and 1277, Maitr 196 v 15 and 165 r 23. See the *EDPT* for the base.
- mäñ+lä-* 'to look for grain'. Hapax in the IrqB, biverb with *äñ+lä-*; similarly, *äñ* and *mäñ* are used together in this text.
- mäñilä-* 'to rejoice, be happy, have a good time'. *EDPT* and *DTS*; the latter also s.v. *mäñi mäñilä-*, a phrase which can be found in BT XIII 1,34, thrice in Maitr 140 r 15-24 and CYK 105 as well. The biverb *ilinçülä- mäñilä-* is used, among other places, in ÄgFrag (1) G 5. Further exs. appear in ShōAv 12, twice in BuddhUig II, CYK 86, Hochzeit 26, BT XIII 49,80, Suv 209,18 (quoted s.v. *sogı-n-* below), Schwitz 32 and more than fifty times in the Maitr. *mönilä-* in verse in DLT fol. 620 may not be an error, as the *EDPT* assumes, although the main lemma is *mäñilä-*: The W is written by the first hand, and the vowel may have been rounded, in the dialect of the quatrain quoted, by the /m/.
- boguz+la-* 'to cut somebody's (or an animal's) throat' is quoted in the *EDPT* only from Middle Turkic on. It is, however, attested also in Ht IV 581: *yü kılıç üzä boguzladı, karnın täşdi* 'with a sharp sword he cut his throat and pierced his belly'. There is an instance of *boguzla-n-* (q.v.) in Orkhon Turkic.
- boşı+la-* 'to beg for alms' is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* but appears in Maitr 131 v 11 and 183 r 19 (tr.).
- boto+la-* A hapax in IrqB. *boto* is a 'camel colt', and *botola-* denotes the giving birth to one.
- bozla-* 'of a camel, to bellow' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, Middle Turkic and modern languages. It is found also in Brāhmī script, in two parallel mss. in ÄtSü 3 r 4 and 4 r c: *tävā tög bozladaçılar* 'those who bellow like camels'.
- bukagu+la-* 'to fetter'. Found in Suv in a biverb with *bäklä-* (quoted by the *DTS*

s.v. 'bo°') and in two mss. in TT VI 110 (one quoted there, the other in OdaUigh A 11) together with *ba-*.

(*butarla-* 'to tear to pieces, to destroy' is probably formed with *+IA-*, but the *EDPT*'s etymology is unlikely.²² Cf., on the other hand, BWTR "cotton of rushes" in DLT fol. 181. Exs. of the verb not mentioned in the *EDPT* are found in Maitr 173 r 24, 67 r 9, 78 r 22, 183 v 24 and 85 r 4 (all of them in the biverb *buza butarlayu* except one, in which *buza* is in a lacuna) and BT XIII 12,222. Attested both in Uigur and Manichaean script.)

buyan+la- 'to do a meritorious deed towards somebody'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Both their exs. are *buyanlayu yarlıka-* and refer to begging. In addition, we find *buyanlap kutgar-* with acc. in MaitrGeng 2 a 1.

buzagu+la- 'to calve'. The form in the IrqB is not "grammatically impossible", as Clauson thinks: *ingäk buzagulaçı bolmuş* 'the cow was about to calve' has a semantic and formal parallel in DLT fol. 246 in *kulnaçı kısırak* 'a mare which is about to foal (*kulun+a-*)'. Add *buzagulaçı kotuz ingäk* (UigPañc 115). This must be the positive counterpart of the negative *-mAçI* participle.

bügü+lä- 'to make one's mystical wisdom bear on a matter'. The *EDPT* quotes this verb only from the XIVth century on and the *DTS* has two exs. from the QB. It appears also in Uigur: *bügüläyü y(a)rlıka-* (NesTex T III B99 c10) "möge geruhen weise zu sein" and *bügülämäk ädrämkä . . . täg-* (BuddhUig II 175). *bügülä-n-* is much more common in Uigur.

çagı+la- 'to babble, to gurgle', only of a flowing liquid. Thus *çagılar ögüz* "ein rauschender Fluß" in Hochzeit 31 and the verse instance referring to blood in DLT fol. 586. The *EDPT* has one entry for *çagıla-* (attested to this day in Republican Turkish with reference to water running or falling in nature) and *çogıla-*, although the latter is translated in the DLT as 'to shout', and has human subjects. While *çogı* is attested with the appropriate (human) meaning in Uigur, in the DLT and the QB, the base of *çagıla-* is known to me only from Ottoman *çagu*, *çag* etc. If Argu had *çagı* for *çogı* 'clamor', as DLT fol. 544 says, this does not mean that other dialects did not make the difference.

çam+la- 'to raise an objection'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Appears also in ActeOug 14, twice in Ramstedt II 13 and MoriContract 15-16. This is a legal term. Base and cognates are mentioned in the beginning of section 2.94 above.

çöklä- 'to sacrifice by fire' is attested thrice in the phrase *otka çöklämişig yetäçilär* in one text published in U II, as mentioned in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. Explained by Ligeti in *AOH* 27 (1973): 149, it corresponds to Chin. "démons mangeant des offrandes brûlées". *çök* is not attested in Uigur, but exists in

22 Aorist forms are not likely to have served as bases for derivation, and *buta-* turns up only in Middle Turkic.

Tat., Kaz. and Chuv. as “Opfer, Opferung, Opferfest”. Cf. also *çöksig* in section 2.32 above.

çug+la- ‘to tie up, wrap up’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, the QB, Middle Turkic etc. and is attested also in BT VII A256.²³ See the entry *1 çu:ğ* in the *EDPT* for the base.

äd+lä- ‘to make good use of a thing, to cultivate a garden, etc.’. There are a number of exs. in economical documents in USp and AmongUighDoc 9; it appears also in DLT and QB. The ex. in Mängi 3 should be translated as ‘to esteem’, a meaning attested in the DLT and the QB; cf. *san+la-* below.

ädgü+lä- is not mentioned in the dictionaries, and apparently attested only in Ht IV 1532. We there find the biverb *yegläyürlär . . . ädgüläyürlär* signifying ‘they think well of it’; it clearly comes from the binome *yeg ädgü*. Cf. *ädgüläş-* below and, for the meaning, *ayıgla-* and *agdukla-*.

äm+lä- ‘to treat and cure with medicine’. In fr. T III 84-75 r32 (in the n. to U IV D76-77) there is a *figura etymologica* with medicine as object: *anı tąg tapınup udunup äm ämläp ymä ol tınl(ı)glarnıñ iglärin ketärgäli umadı* “Obwohl er ihnen also Pflege angedeihen ließ und ihnen Medizin verabreichte, war er doch nicht imstande, jener Lebewesen Krankheiten zu vertreiben”. Other exs. have this verb with the patient or the illness as object. Other instances not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* (qq.v.) appear in BT II 1001, Maitr 51 r7, BT XIII 12,127, Suv 587,10, 588,16-17, 589,5, 593,18, 598,16 and 603,3 and Tuo-LuoNi 75 and 124.

ämğäk+lä- ‘to crawl’, of human beings. Attested in this form in Ht X 354 in fragmentary context (although the word itself seems to be clear enough), and then in several sources from the XVth century on. In U IV C (quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. ‘*emgekle-*’) we find *jişin böksägin²⁴ ömgäklädilär*. The last word appears to be a bit damaged, though, and may possibly be *emg°*; variants of this verb and of *ämğäk* with initial /e/ are found in Middle Turkic. Otherwise, *ömgäklä-* may have come about through sporadic rounding due to the contiguity with /m/. The DLT’s *ämğäk+län-* ‘to consider some matter to be a hardship’ is not derived from this.

änük+lä- ‘to give birth to young’, in Suv of a tigress and in the DLT of a bitch and a lioness. The *EDPT* and the *DTS* have the same ex. from Suv; add the following (*ibid.* 610,2-3): *änüklägäli yeti kün bolmuş* ‘It was seven days since she (the tigress) had given birth’.

än+lä- ‘to search for wild game’. Hapax in Irq B. This text is our evidence for both

23 The Indeks to the QB mixes up this verb with *çogla-*, a variant of *çogı+la-* which has a well-documented entry in the *EDPT*. *çogı+la-* is mentioned also under *çagı+la-* above.

24 Thus, as expected, in the facs., against the text of the edition.

añ (q.v. in the *EDPT*) and its derivates, showing that they were pronounced with front vowels. In Uigur, *añci* and *añän-* (q.v. among the *-(X)n-* verbs) are spelt with two *alifs*,²⁵ presumably (as in other cases) to make sure that the second phoneme was read as *n*. This was no doubt also the spelling of *añ* in Uigur, for Mo. *añ* and *añči* are evident cases of spelling pronunciation. The Mo. lexemes were subsequently borrowed into North-East Turkic languages (quoted in the *EDPT*).²⁶

är+lä- There are two distinct verbs of this form, neither of them mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. 1 *ärlä-* 'to enjoy male company' is attested in KPZieme 10 and 11, 2 *ärlä-* 'to be manly' in Neujahr 52 and 62. Neujahr 62, e.g., reads *ärk üzä ärlämäk* "an Kraft männlich sein". *ärlä-n-* in DLT fol. 133 is derived from the first and signifies 'to marry a man', *ärlä-s-* 'to vie in manliness' in DLT fol. 126 from the second. Since 1 *ärlä-* and 2 *ärlä-* have no semantic traits in common except what is denoted by their mutual base, they must be treated as homophones.

ärig+lä- Attested only in a biverb with *ütlä-*, just as *ärig* (q.v. above under *är-ig*) usually appears together with *üt*. 'to give advice'. The instance in the *EDPT* is a conjecture; *DTS* s.v. '*ötlä- eriglä-*'. The same biverb is found also in BT II 435 and 1205, Maitr 47 r5, BuddhUig II 432, ShōKenkyū III 24, Ht V5 b6 and ShōAgon 1,10 and 18.

äv+lä- Hapax in Suci. 'to furnish (one's relatives) with dwellings' or perhaps 'to marry them off'.

äzüK+lä- 'to deceive'. Attested only in Suv, at least twice. See the *EDPT*, also for the base, and the *UW* s.v. *ar-* (II).

edi+lä- 'to own, to control'. Attested in BT III 1104 and, in fragmentary context, in BT XIII 5,192; cf. *edilä-t-* below. The base is attested already in Orkhon Turkic, and found in Khal. as *eydi*; Mo. *ejen* is a cognate and synonym. According to Doerfer (personal communication), *ejen* got its second syllable by analogy from many other titles ending in °*An* like *noyan*, *dar-qan* etc.; its original shape must have been **eji*, as **d* becomes *j* only before /i/. Scholars now realise that *edi* and *igä* are distinct lexemes: The two often appear in the same text and sometimes as a binomial; /d/ and /g/ are not mutually reducible phonemes within Old Turkic. Nor is *igälä-*, q.v. below, synonymous with *edilä-*.

25 Cf. however, *ölürdäçi añ'çi* in BT VIII A 101.

26 The *EDPT* is wrong in taking the resemblance between the Turkic and Mo. lexemes to be fortuitous. Spelling pronunciations are valuable proof concerning the direction and manner of borrowing.

el+lä- 'to create an empire, rule a realm'. *EDPT*. According to Thomsen and Wulff's unpublished collations, the phrase found in KT and BQ can also be read in Ongin 1. Written as $IL^2L^2D^{2w}K$ in KT E6. See n. 47 below for another ex. of *ellä-*.

erpäK+lä- is a hapax in Maitr 86 v3, not mentioned in the dictionaries: *erpäKlärin erpäKläyü* 'sawing with saws...'. The base is discussed in the introductory pages of the section dealing with the formative *-(X)g*.

ınçık+la- 'to groan' is discussed in the *EDPT*. Its base appears in the QB and in the Uigur fr. U 316a r2 quoted in Zieme, 1969: 202. Another derivate, *ınçk+a-*, appears with the same meaning in the Codex Comanicus.

ırk+la- 'to consult the omens' appears six times in TT VII 28 (a late text) and in the DLT.

ıç+lä- 'to line a garment'. Finite forms are found only in the DLT, quoted in the *EDPT*. Cf. *ıçlägölär* 'linings' (TT VIII 120).

ig+lä- 'to fall ill, to be ill'. *EDPT* and *DTS* (first entry). Also in UjgRuk I 17 and 20, Baguettes 1, Suv 17,20, UigTot 570, Maitr 41 r2, Ht V 7 b18 and ManMon 105.

igdü+lä- 'to feed'. The exs. in Ht IV 508, U II 86,47 (Kutlug) and DLT have a *t* instead of *d*, but in the TT IV B ex. (mentioned in the *EDPT*) and in *igdülä-n-*, q.v. below, we find *d*. Cf. *igtü* above, in section 3.114, from *igid-* 'to nourish'. The spelling with *°kr°* of the *EDPT* and the *DTS* is wrong.

igä+lä- 'to keep, to guard, to look after'. Not in the dictionaries. Attested in ShōAv 310 and 313 (correct in the first and the third ed.), UigSteu B5 and 13 (wrong translation: the monastery is not 'owned' by the monks) and, in a biverb with *asira-*, in CYK 94 (misunderstood), GengContr II 10 and BT XIII 55,14. *asira-* is a borrowing from Mo. (discussed in the *UW*). *igä+lä-* (spelled as '*egilä-*' in *UW* 233a) is *not* a synonym of *edi+lä-*, q.v. above; nor are the bases of the two verbs identical. *igä* and *iyä* appear to be variants and *iyä* appears to have been older; the lexeme is often spelled as *iä*. For the first vowel cf. Brāhmī *āv iyäsi* (TT VIII 08).

ilinçü+lä- 'to amuse oneself, to play'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. '*meñilä- ilinçülä-*'. Further exs. of this biverb are quoted under *mäñi+lä-* above; additional ones of *ilinçülä-* alone appear in BT I B(112), Maitr 35 r2-3 (damaged) and v9 and 224 r16 and Ht VII 6 b5. *arslan ilinçüsin ilinçülädäçi* (BT II 353) is similar to *arslan ätinin ätinäyü* mentioned s.v. *ätin+ä-* above. See *il-inçü* in section 3.105.

im+lä- is quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* from the DLT and QB, where it signifies 'to wink or gesture to somebody'. In addition, it is attested in BT XIII 5,115 in fragmentary context, and in Warnke 551: *antag bir yıkı bolup til irüp sözläyü umaz agın kävgäk, köküzdä sav tutup qonñulin imläp sözlägüçi ... bol-*

sar biz, ... '... If we should become dumb and stammer, and keep thought in our heart and struggle to express ourselves ...'.²⁷

iş+lä- 'to work, to do or carry out something'. In addition to the *EDPT*'s exs. found in *ETŞ* 13,24 and 16,36, 14 times in the *Maitr*, in *BuddhUig* I 286, 304, 305, 312, 320 and 349, four times in *BuddhUig* II. In *BuddhKat* 9, 18, 37, 38 and 40-41 it is written as 'IS-SLA- or 'IS-SLYA-. *işlägü* in *Maitr* 26 v12 and 164 r25, *işlämäsig* in *Chuast* 296-7 and *işlägüçi* in *TT* IV A 63 show that the verb had front vowels.

kagan+la- 'to make somebody a *kagan*'. Attested only in *Orkhon* *Turkic* in the phrase *kaganladuk kaganın* ... , q.v. in the *EDPT*.

kalımla- 'to float on the water' is attested in *DLT* fol. 621-2 and *BuddhUig* II 88: *ol balıktaki tın(ı)glar tün kün tı tuıçı ol kemitü* ... *OLORUP kalımlayuy* ... *māñiläyürlär* 'The living beings in that city very often, by day and by night, sit in that ship and ... , float [in it] on the water and ... and have a good time'. The base appears in *DLT* fol. 610, translated 'floating on the surface of the water'; this entry has another ex. of *kalımla-*.²⁸ A further ex., in *Maitr* 187 r22, in quite fragmentary context, does not refer to 'floating on water': *idiz kök [kalıkta] kalımlayuy* *TW* [would appear to denote 'jumping up into' or at least 'floating in the air', like *kal(a)nu+r-*.

(*kaşıla-* or *kaşıla-* and *kakıla-* are onomatopoeics in *BuddhUig* II 105: *kakılayuy ätinäyü kaşılayuy çıkırayuy (?) oynayurlar*. *kakıla-* is attested also in *QB* 72, and both the *BuddhUig* II and the *QB* passage describe the cackling of all sorts of birds. The base of neither verb is attested, but *DLT* fol. 601 mentions *kañ* as the onomatopoeic for the honking of geese. See the *EDPT* entry for the possible base and for modern cognates of *kakıla-*.)

karı+la- 'to measure by cubits' is mentioned in the *EDPT* only from the *DLT*. According to *UW* 191 b s.v. *arıla-*, 'arılap' twice in *DvaUigDok* is a mistake for *k(a)rıl(a)p* and *k(a)rılap* respectively. See the *EDPT* for the base.

karma+la- 'to plunder, pillage' appears in *yalñoklarınñ 'ädin tavarın kunup kar-malap* ... (*Maitr* 203 r18) and in *DLT* fols. 218 and 599. The base *karma* 'plun-

27 Warnke wrongly takes the first part of this to be a sentence in itself; she also assigns the verb discussed here to *ämlä-* and translates "den Sinn Heilendes sprechen".

28 In the entry for the base, the second vowel is written out and crossed out both in the base and in the derivate verb. This is understandable, as the section containing this entry deals with the word pattern *fa'lä*. Therefore, both the *EDPT* and Dankoff and Kelly write the base as *kalınu* and the verb as *kalımla-*. They do this also for the entry in fol. 621-2, where the *I* is not crossed out in any of the three instances. *kalınu* appears to have been the original variant, however, taking this lexeme to come from *kalı-n-gu*. Its listing by Kāşgari in the *fa'lä* section shows that, for him, this must at least have been the main variant of the base. This need not, however, affect our reading of the derivate, which may have been more archaic in this respect; certainly not as far as *Uigur* is concerned.

der' (DLT fol. 218) is a variant of *kır-ma* (section 3.109 above). Similar to the biverb mentioned, *kırma* is used in a binome with *kun-uş*.

kavla- 'to join, to couple, to make to meet' is a hap. in fr. T III M56-11 (Mainz 786) r2-9 quoted in the n. to BT XIII 5,73: ... *iki yası ban [i]kin ara âr' özkä b(ä)k kavlayu sika tutup* ..., translated "er ließ den Körper zwischen zwei flache Holzbretter fest einbinden und zwängen". This is the base of *kavla-n-* (UigTot) alternating with *kayvıla-n-*. We also find *kavlanışdur-*, equally in UigTot. *kayvılanışdur-*, which appears in BuddhUig I, turns out to have the same meaning as *kavlanışdur-*. Therefore, it seems possible that *kavla-* comes from **kayvı+la-*. **kay-vı* is not attested, but the meaning of *kayvısız*, q.v. above in section 3.115, makes this etymology likely.

kälin+lä- 'to provide (a young man) with a bride, i.e. to marry him off' is a hapax in USP, quoted in the EDPT. Cf. *äv+lä-* above.

kärgäk+lä- 'to need; to necessitate'. Exs. in the EDPT; also in BT I D (171) and (225), UigTot 1116, Maitr 161 r16, Suv 516,23 and 544,23-545,1, BuddhUig II 252, 292 and 325 etc. Replaced the obsolete *kärgä-*, discussed together with *kärgä-k*.

käsgöklä-: There is only one – double – instance of this verb. It appears, first, of all, in BT XIII 12,21: *käntün tuymak biligin käzgökläyin barçanı* translated: "von selbst möchte ich durch das Erleuchtungs-Wissen alles durchdringen". Zieme takes the base to be a -gOk derivate (see section 3.22) of *käz-* 'to walk or travel about'. A different version of the same text appears in ShōKenkyū, and the verb in question can be found in II 3. It is in the first person plural and has an s and not a z. I take the variant with s to be the correct one: -gOk forms instrument nouns and no appropriate -gOk derivate from *käz-* seems thinkable for this context. *barçanı* must refer back to the 'bad deeds' of the previous sentence, which appear to have been conceived of as some monster. The *käs-gök* ("iron dog-collar" in the DLT) would then serve for their subdual.

kılıç+la- 'to strike and/or kill somebody with a sword'. EDPT. Attested in Orkhon Turkic and the DLT, not in Uigur.

kış+la- 'to spend the winter somewhere, to go into winter quarters'. Similar distribution as *kılıçla-*.

kiz+lä- 'to hide (tr.)'. The base is attested in DLT fol. 164, translated as 'scent-box, wardrobe, clothing-bag or any other sort of case or cupboard' and in Maitr 80+59 v6 (Laut, 1986: 205, translated "Behälter"). Exs. of *kizlā-* additional to those quoted in the EDPT can be found in the DTS s.v. *jaşur-* (i.e. *yaşur-*); others in UigTot 964, 985, 986, 988 etc., Maitr 63 r10, BT VIII A29, Ht X 120, 1125 and A5, Suv 443,5 (quoted in the UW s.v. *artur-*), fr. T III TV 59 (U 4313) 1-8 quoted in the n. to Hochzeit 13, HazaiAval 9 and Ht VII 7 b20.

koldam+la-yu is attested in Suv 75,12 and Ernte II 52 and probably denotes the

action of repeated heaving. It is also discussed in connection with the formatives *+tA-* and *-(X)m* (which are taken to have been used in it). By meaning, *+lA-* should here be similar to *adut+la-* or *koligu+la-*.

kolo+la- 'to meditate on, to investigate'. The second vowel is documented in GRO.LO.LA.MAG in TibStud. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Appears also in BT II 263, UigSün 13, a number of times in ETŞ, ShōAgon 2, p. 192,2, UigKan 215, 217 and 296, Wettkampf 41, AmitIst 4, 5, 42, 46, 48 and 68 (some of them together with *sakin-*), twice in BuddhUig I, Buddhāv H 82, HamTouen 1,9 and 2,26 and elsewhere. HamTouen 1,9 is accompanied by a note of more than two pages explaining why *kolola-* comes from *kolo*, usually the name of a short period of time. *kolosuz* signifies 'incommensurable' in Suv 21,17, 117,17 and 546,5 and as a variant reading in TT VI 440 instead of *ülgüsüz*, with which it otherwise appears as a binomial. Cf. *ülgülüğ kololug* in Suv 156,15.

koligu+la- 'to beg' does not appear in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. We find this verb in Shō XII b4 and 15, in both cases in a biverb as *kolup koltgulap*. The former instance reads *boşıçı koltguçılarka tägi kolup koltgulap*, showing us a *+çI* derivative from the same base. All three forms write *d* instead of *t*. There is no doubt that U III 25,16₂ should be read as *ko|lup koltgulamakın* instead of 'qolunqolamaqın'; WN and T look identical, as the facs. also shows, and the D of Shō corroborates this. *boşıçı koltguçı* is attested also in U III 10,5 (also misread as 'kolunyuçı'), *koltguçı* 'beggar' in KP 10,3-5, Maitr 12 v19 and 136 v4 and HamTouen 1,20. In Arabic writing we have *koltguçı* in QB 2093 (mss. BC) and 2613 (ms. C). *koltgu*, the base (mentioned neither by *EDPT* nor *DTS*), is found in QB 4275, *koltgusuz* *ibid.* 2721. The /t/ is probably not the causative morpheme (the causative of *kol-* being *koltur-*) but the parasitic stop met also in *külgü ~ kültgü* 'apoplexy' (DLT fol. 216).²⁹ *kolguçı* is also attested, e.g. in KP 7,2-3.³⁰

kök+lä- 'to tighten or fasten with a thong' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT and a modern language. It is attested also in Ernte 106.

körüm+lä- in ShōAgon 1,127 and *körümlä-n-ibid.* 125 and 126 appear in similar contexts, with *ät'öz* as object. The exact meaning is not clear to me. *körümlä-* may also stand for *körüml(ä)n-*, A and N being identical.

körünç+lä- 'to display things' is discussed in the *EDPT*. Further exs. appear in Ht VII 6 b23 and V 15 b26-27 and in Maitr 205 r2 and 144 (both in fragmentary context).

köz+lä- Found in IrqB and then in the DLT and later texts. in IrqB it must mean

29 /rg/ > /rtg/ may also have taken place; see *körtKür-* in section 7.54.

30 *kolguçı* in QB 2093 A and 2613 AB should be a secondary correction.

'to sit on the lookout', which fits well with later uses; the DLT has it in a different sense. I know of no certain Uigur instances.³¹

kulun+la- 'Of a mare, 'to foal'. Attested in the IrqB and the Codex Comanicus. The DLT says that the synonymous *kuln+a-* comes from *kulunla-*, and may possibly be right. *kulnaçı kısırak* 'a mare in foal' is also attested, in the DLT and in two Kipchak sources. *kulnaçı* may perhaps also have stood in Windgott 13: *k(a)ltı yunt sürügi* [... *k*] *ulnaçı bo[l]maz* [... *t*] *wgurmaz* 'as without him [mares in] the horse herd do not foal, [...] do not bring forth (without the wind god)'. When the second /u/ got syncopated, the sequence /lnl/ would certainly be prone to simplification.

kuş+la- 'to hunt birds'. Quoted in the *EDPT* from the IrqB, the DLT and a Kipchack source. Attested also in Maitr 5 r25.

kü+lä- 'to praise'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also under *ög- külä-*. *ög- külä-* is found also in BT III 848 and BT VIII B 216. Further exs. of *külä-* appear in ETŞ 20,70, Maitr 13 v9, BT VIII B 23 and 48, HtPek 84 b11, ms. Ötani 2695 a5 (*külämäklär* parallel to *ögdilär*) and so forth.

küni+lä- 'to be envious' is quoted in the *EDPT* twice from Suv and then only from Middle Turkic on. It is, however, also attested in the Manichaean BT V 618, and in UigTot 362, 363 and 1276, Maitr 227 r4, BT III 158, BT XIII 13,90 and in the ms. M 126 + M 520 m + M 201 r6, quoted in the n. to BT V 217. In at least two of these, *künilä-* forms a biverb with *azlan-*.

kür+lä- 'to be deceitful' is a hapax in Chuast, found in the *EDPT*. Used in a biverb with *tävlä-* as *täv* usually appears together with *kür* (not connected with the base of *kür+ä-*).

lala- 'to cut something up' has a foreign base not attested in Turkic. In addition to the exs. mentioned in the *EDPT*, *lala-* is found also in Heilk II A 42, 44 and 75 and twice in SuvDrog 476,16 (in two mss.). *ala-* is a variant of *lala-* attested in LautHöllen 79. In a n. to the passage, Röhrborn is quoted as having informed the editor that a further ex. of *ala-* is attested in the unpubl. Old Turkic version of the Padmacintāmañidhārañisūtra. The phoneme /l/ being excluded from initial position in Old Turkic words, one way of getting rid of such an *l* in a borrowed lexeme was simply to elide it.

nom+la- 'to preach'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also under *nom nomla-*. Found also in ETŞ 22,6, Suv 388,20, BT VIII B 30, ZweiFrag 5, Ht V 13 b10, UigTot 36, 736-7, 790, 922 and 937 and frequently in Maitr and in other texts.

ogurla- 'to steal' must be derived from *ogrl*.³² 'OG-RLA-MA-SA in BuddhKat 11

31 In BuddhUig II 115, the Chinese ideogram for 'seeing' with the phonetic complement L'P may be an instance of this verb.

32 I cannot agree with Bang, 1917-21 IV: 21 paragr. 60, who believes the final vowel of *ogrl* to have

gives us two possibilities for the verb's pronunciation: Either there was a syllabic /r/ (found as a syllable-peak phone e.g. in Skt.), or the back-vowel allophone of /g/ was already pronounced as a fricative or glide, giving /ogr/ as one syllable. *arila-* (discussed above) shows that a phoneme sequence similar to that of **ogřila-* was not excluded. **yığı+la- > yigla-* 'to cry' and *ori+la- > orla-* 'to shout' prove, on the other hand, that /l/ did tend to get absorbed under similar circumstances. Note that BuddhKat 11 also has 'OG-RĬ = *ogri* 'thief', which makes the opposition even clearer.³³ Both exs. in Uigur script mentioned in the *EDPT* are transcribed as *ogurla-* (and not '*ogřila-*') by their editors, and this is what we find also in Maitr 70 v31, 172 r6, 183 r16 and v2, 83 v23 and 72 r20, Suv 135,22 and BT XIII 13,81 (both mss.). In 'standard' Uigur, the verb appears, secondarily, to have acquired a more Turkic-like shape by sprouting an /X/ before the /r/.

ori+la- 'to shout' is attested in this form only in the DLT, which is also our source for the base. The *EDPT* s.v. *orla-* and the *DTS* s.v. '*urla-*' quote two Uigur instances, which both show the syncopated variant. We also find it in *ULUG ünin manrayu orlasar...* (BuddhUig II 203) and in *orlayu kikiru* (TuoLuoNi 86). The first vowel is documented in two modern forms mentioned in the *EDPT*.

ot+la- 'to graze' is attested only in the DLT (quoted in the *EDPT*). *otla-t-* and *otla-msin-*, however, are found also in Uigur.

(*otuñ+la-* is a hapax in M III 28,2₃ (text 11) as *otuñlayu*]. A derivate from *otuñ* 'firewood' is likely because of the context as well, but the context does not give any hints at an activity. More probably, this is a *+lAyU* form as described in part IV.)

ögrünçü+lä- 'to have a good time' does not appear in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is

been the possessive suffix. Tel. *ūr* "Diebstahl", which he quotes from Radloff, 1893-1911, need not have been old. The incorporation of the 3rd person sg. possessive suffix applies to nouns denoting inalienables, not to nominals in general.

33 I cannot agree with Maue and Röhrborn's n. to BuddhKat 11, which maintains that the syncope is only graphic; consequently, the lexeme is transcribed as '*ogřila-*' in their glossary. Moriyasu, like them, transliterates it into romanised Uigur orthography as 'WXRYL'. Kāšgarī, an analogist like them, discusses the verb in fols. 159 and 152. Under *ogřiladi*: "The common people say it with no vowel on the *ra'*, but this is an error." The aorist and infinitive are then spelled as 'UFRLA'R and 'UFRLA'MA'Q, normalised by Dankoff and Kelly to *oyrilār oyřilāmāq*. Under *ogurladi*, there is another suggestion: "*ār iavar ogurladi* "The man stole the goods" – because he waited for the opportunity and the right time [= *ogur*]. There is another explanation for this verb, namely that it is based on the noun *ogri*, the word for 'thief', and the *yā* dropped through lightening. I prefer the latter explanation, but both are plausible." A connection with *ogur* does indeed seem too far-fetched semantically. There is no doubt that the DLT's *ogřiladi* is just as much a figment as the creation of the modern authorities.

attested four times in the Maitr, two of the exs. mentioned in the *UW* 116b s.v. *aman* A,a. A third one is attested in MaitrH XI 4 a20 and a fourth appears in MaitrGeng 7 a16: *nācā ūr kāç amraklagu kuvrag birlā māñilāsār ögrünçülāsār*, . . . Cf. *ögrünçülā-n-* and *ögrünçülā-ş-*.

(*ömā+lā-* Hapax in the IrqB, quoted in the *EDPT*: *är ömäläyü barmış*, translated “a man went visiting”. In this context, this could also be a +*IAyU* form, as if one said ‘A man went as a visitor’. We slightly prefer the verbal interpretation of the form, because of its similarity to *kuşlayu bar-* *ibid.* XLIII and *āñläyü mññläyü bar-* *ibid.* XLIX.)

öñ+lā- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *öñlämiş altun* (BT XIII 1,59) is translated as “gefärbtes Gold”. Cf. *öñlän-* ‘to take on colour’ in DLT fol. 147. *örlä-* ‘to rise, of the sun, the moon, stars or clouds’. Found in U IV A281, Hochzeit 32, Shō I b14 (very similar to the U IV ex.), U III 13,3₁ (fragmentary context; mentioned in the *DTS*) and frequently in the QB (q.v. in the *EDPT*). Probably comes from *örü*; for the syncope, cf. *kerlä-* < *kerü+lā-* in the interlinear glosses to the Rylands Coran translation, and *ogurla-* and *orila-* earlier in this section. No ‘*ör*’ homophonous with *ör-* need be assumed to have existed to account for this verb, as the *EDPT* does.³⁴ *örülä-* in the DLT (q.v. in the *EDPT*) is a different verb, and the semantic connection with *örlä-t-* (q.v. below) is hard to find. *örlä-n-* in the DLT and in HamTouen 15,3 and 4-5, however, has the meaning which we find *örlä-* to have in BT III 159, i.e. the rising of clouds: See the verse in fol. 133.

ötiK+lā- signifies ‘to record, mention, remember one by one’. It appears in a biverb with *ö-* in ETS 10,5 (spelled ‘*ödiklä-*’ by the ed.) and with *sakin-* in AbitAnk 14 (spelled ‘*üdiklä-*’) and in BT XIII 28,7. In this last ex., the L-hook is completely lost in a lacuna, but cf. initial L elsewhere in the ms. The object of this is a certain *nom bitig* in the first case; in the second, the ms. is destroyed at that point, while it is one’s sins in the third ex. It is unclear whether the verb read as *ötäg+lā-* in Suv 6,17 (*ötäg berim ötäglägülük yıl ay üd kolo sakış tolsar tükäsär*. . .) possibly also belongs here. The *EDPT* under *ötekle-* only has this instance, and translates it as “to repay debts”. Then there is *m(ä)n Karaçwk ağır iğlämiştä oglum[.]a kalmış tavarnı*³⁵ *ötägläp kođtum* (Baguettes 2), translated “Alors que j’étais grièvement souffrant, . . . j’ai cédé à mon fils, en passant un contrat avec lui, . . .”. In this case, ‘to repay debts’ does not fit at all; “passer un contrat” cannot be justified either: By meaning, at least, *ötiKlä-* here fits best. The base of *ötiKlä-* was first identified in the n. to Ht X 579,

34 See also the *EDPT* 193 a.s.v. 1 *ör-*. The Sanglax’s evidence has no value, of course, as it may just as well be the result of back-formation.

35 Thus instead of the impossible ‘*tavar-t*’ of the editor; the two look identical.

referring to a personal letter from Zieme. The n. to HamTouen 34,1 also showed *ödig* (spelled thus) to differ from *ötüg* (q.v. among the $-(X)g$ lexemes above) and to correspond to Chin. *ki. ötiK* 'register, memorandum, memoir' is attested in Ht IV 641 and 891, VII 2151 and X 579 and 589, in an economical document quoted in the letter mentioned above and in HamTouen 15,19, 34,1 and 19 and 35,8. *ötiK* has no attested base in Old Turkic.³⁶

övkä+lä- 'to be angry (with someone)'; see the *DTS*, and the *EDPT* s.v. *öpkele:-*. *övkälä-* is found in IrqB LVIII, Ht IV 538, Maitr 216 v12 as quoted in *UW* 118b s.v. *amurtgur-* par. 3, Maitr Y 5 b22 (quoted in Laut, 1986: 199), Suv 226,9, 228,15 and 595,10 and in QB 6310. *öpkälä-* of UigTot 361 and 363 is not a surprise, as *övkä* and *öpkä* (discussed above in the chapter on $-gA$) also alternate. Unexplained are the variants *övkilä-* (Maitr 166 v13 and 15, KPZieme 10 and TT VI 18) and *öpkilä-* (Maitr 217 r9 and Suv 563,13³⁷); cf. *övkilä-n-* below.³⁸ To these we can add *öpkilä-* with ablative in DLT fol. 159, translated 'to avoid someone because one is angry': For Kāšgarī (*ibid.*), *öpkälä-* is 'to strike someone in the lungs', a meaning not attested elsewhere. Otherwise, however, the forms with $^{\circ}ilä-$ (or $^{\circ}elä-$) and $^{\circ}älä-$ have the same content. The only parallels I can think of are *tilik* < *tilä-* and *arula* < *ara+la-* but *tamgala-* or *yinçgälä-* have no such variants. *oğlu ögintä kañınta övkäläpän* in the IrqB is similar to the DLT construction with ablative. In all our Uigur instances, however, the verb always governs the dative (when it has any government at all).

san+la- Hap. in Mängi 3, in] *kutlarıña ädläyü sanlayu boşgut* [. Zieme reads this as '*qdlayu sanlayu*' and translates "für die [Majestät]en der rühmend (Hend.) Lehren [erteilenden(?)]". For *äd+lä-* (by Zieme misinterpreted as '*at+la-*') cf. above. *san* 'fame' is adduced only from Ottoman, but cf. the related binome *ädlig* (front $g!$) *sanlıg* in TT I 84, to be translated as 'famous'. The base of *sanla-* is not *sa-n* 'number'. To judge by Republ. Turkish *şanlı* and by *şanlıg bālgülüg* in ETŞ 10,11, it got contaminated with Arabic *ša'n*. *Ş* is marked as such explicitly in the ETŞ text and has initial rhyme with seven other $ş^{\circ}$ words; the ETŞ passage is best interpreted in Kara, 1983: 49-50. Cf. the n. to TT I 84 in ETŞ pp. 428-9.

sap+la- 'to fit the point of an arrow unto the shaft, fasten a sword in its hilt etc.'. See the *EDPT*.

36 Hamilton's suggestion to derive *ödig* (thus) from *ö-* 'to remember' over $*\ddot{o}-d-$ is tempting but unlikely, as $-(X)g$ follows fourfold harmony.

37 Thus according to the Mainz fr. of this passage quoted by Ehlers; the contents of the Leningrad ms. at this point do not make sense.

38 *öpkilä-* in HamTouen 19,2 and 30,10 and *övk[.]lämsin-* mentioned among the $-(X)msIn-$ verbs can be interpreted either way.

sapan+la- 'to plough the land' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. Attested twice in the Maitr, one ex. in 182 v14, the other quoted in *UW* 160 s.v. *anuk* A,b,2.

sav+la- 'to talk or tell'. *EDPT* and *DTS* only have the DLT entry. Add *çın savıg savlasar äzüK bolmaz* (BT I D(73)) and *bursañ kuvragıg ötünüp s(a)vlap kälürüp* . . . (ShōAv 322 'to bring over by gracious invitation', not with the meal as object of *kälür-*).

simäk+lä- is discussed in the *EDPT* with two exs. from Suv, but mistranslated. It appears also in BuddhUig I 264, Ht IV 1120 and ShōAv 51, 281 and 284-5 (these three with *anut-*). It signifies 'to exert oneself towards a certain end, to work purposefully on something', together with *anu-t-* 'to prepare carefully'. The base *simäk* is attested in ETŞ 12,12 in a binomial with *iş*, in BuddhUig I 264, in Ht X 154 in a binomial with *etig*, in Suv 602,7, Ht IV 1120 (as internal object of *simäklä-*) and is also misunderstood in the *EDPT*. Cf. particularly the ns. to ETŞ 9,15 and the Ht X instance. It should not be confused with *semäk*, which often appears in a binomial with *arig*: Many exs. of that appear in *UW* 188-9, translated "Wald, Dickicht". Cf. also *simäksizin* 'effortlessly' in ETŞ 9,15; *simäk* itself denotes the action.

(*siñilä-* 'to whirr or whine or make some similar sound'. *DTS* s.v. *siñila-* and *EDPT*, from Suv and DLT. Related to the onomatopoeic *siñ* and to *siñäk* 'fly, mosquito', qq.v. in the *EDPT*, but immediate base not attested.)

so+la- 'to chain, fasten with chains'. *DTS* s.v. *solamamaq* and *EDPT*. Found only in Uigur. See the *EDPT* for *so* 'chain'.

söz+lä- 'to speak, say, talk with somebody'. In BuddhKat 12 written as ZUS-LA-MA-SA, with apparent /ü/ in the first syllable. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also s.v. *sözlämäk*. Frequent also in Maitr and BuddhUig I, and attested, in addition, in Ht V 3 a 11 and 12 and VII 6 a 3, Suv 598,22-3, ATSS and Shō I a 3 twice and elsewhere.

sü+lä- 'to campaign' is documented in the *EDPT* from Orkhon Turkic, Uigur and Qarakhanid.

tagon+la- Perhaps 'to deceive by flattering'. This and *tagonçı* are hapax legomena, the verb in TT IV. The n. to TT IV A 72 and the *UW* entry *askançu* (233-4) have all the evidence for *tagon*, the base. In footn. 131 to BuddhKat, a Chin. etymology is suggested for this nominal.

talkok+la- Not in the dictionaries. Hapax in BT II 552: *ät' özüg talkokladaçı tamu* is translated as "Hölle, wo man die Körper annagelt". Considering the meaning of *talkok* (discussed in section 3.22), however, the torture may have involved twisting the body or stretching it, not necessarily nailing.

talū+la- 'to choose, select'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, and also TT VI 228, 229 and 235, ShōAgon 1,20 (biverb with *adırtla-*), ETŞ 11,65, Ht IV 10 b 12 (quoted in *UW*

269 b s.v. *atlan-*), Ht VII 5 a 24, 8 a 14 and 15 and 10 b 14, Mängi 5, ETŞ 19,13, Warnke 102 and Ht X 75. See the n. to the latter for the etymology of *talı* ‘choice, select, chosen’, attested from DLT and QB on. *talın-* (q.v. among the *-(X)n-* verbs) is a derivate.

tamga+la- ‘to seal or stamp’. See the *EDPT* for the evidence and add *ü]ç türlüğ tamğan tamgalam[ış* (HazaiAval 4). The *EDPT* wrongly adds the meaning “to brand”; it does not apply to any of the exs. *tam-ga* is discussed in section 3.323 above.

(*tañçgala-* ‘to bite to pieces’ is attested in U I 45,18 = U IV A 72 and LautHöllen 55, both very clear in the facss.³⁹ Although **tañçga* is not attested, such an action nominal and *tañçu* can easily both come from a tr. verb **tañç-*. We should not follow the *EDPT*, which wanted to read *tañçula-* instead of these instances. It is not clear why A. v. Gabain reads *tañçkıla-* in her edition of the LautHöllen passage in the n. to TT III 5: The second vowel is quite clear on the facs. In a footn. thereto she calls “das Verbum *tañçqıla-* oder *tañçqala-*” a “Frequentativum”, but there is no reason to posit such a category in Old Turkic. *tamga+la-*, the only other verb of this shape known to me from the language, certainly bears no such content. In DLT fol. 156, *avala-* “to surround somebody (especially in regard to civil strife)” may have had some sort of ‘intensive meaning’; it may come from **avga+la-*.)

tañçu+la- ‘to bite something to pieces’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, and *tañçulagul[uk* in U III 53,10₁. *tañçu* is attested also in Maitr 70 r 7, beside the places quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. It may have come from **tañç-mçu* under haplological simplification, the formative *-(X)nçU* deriving objects from tr. bases. *tarmakın tarmayū tañç[gulay]ur* in Maitr 85 r 5 (BT IX 212,5₁) can in fact be read either as *tañçgala-*, as *tañçula-*, or as the synonymous *tañçKa-* (attested in TuoLuoNi 288 = 307 and in the ms. quoted in footn. 39).

tanuk+la- ‘to give evidence, to attest’. The exs. in BT I D (172), BT II 1182, Maitr 249 r 8, ETŞ 15,20, BuddhUig I 27, 150, 275, 302-3, 358 and 401, BT XIII 22,18, BuddhUig II 132 and 286, UigKol 9 and 18-19, Suv 133,4-5 and 701,18, Ht V 10 a 3 and VII 14 b 13, TuoLuoNi 49 (with *ta[n]kar-*) and many in UigTot can be added to the ones of the *EDPT*. Not attested outside Uigur. In some of these instances *tanukla-* signifies ‘to serve as evidence for, i.e. exemplify, realise or embody a certain idea’, the idea being in the accusative. Thus e.g. some of the exs. in BuddhUig I and II. CYK 52 and 57 even have *arxant kutın tanuk-ladı* translated “erlangte die Arhat-Würde”. All this is a calque on Chin., as shown in the n. thereto.

³⁹ An unpubl. ms. parallel to this last (quoted by Zieme, personal communication) reads *tilin tañçK[al]yur*. The same object should be postulated also for the lacuna in the Laut ms.

1 *taṇ+la-* Hap. in KP in the phrase *taṇ taṇlayur ārkān* 'while it was dawning', clear in the facs. See the *EDPT*.

2 *taṇ+la-* 'to wonder, be surprised (at something), find (something) wonderful etc.'. Exs. in the *EDPT* under 2 *taṇla:-* and the *DTS* under *taṇla-* I and *muṇad-* II. Also in Maitr 132 v18 (with *muṇad-*), BuddhUig II 395 and 589 (the first with *taṇirka-*, the second with *muṇad-*), Shō VIII a14 (with *muṇad-*) and XII b2.

tap+la- 'to consent to, or be pleased with, something'. *EDPT*⁴⁰ and *DTS*. Further exs. in HtPek 104 r10, four times in BuddhUig II, often in Maitr, BuddhUig I 314, BT XIII 9,17 (fragmentary), Ht X 144, Shō VIII a11, Zieme Sklav I 14. Reading *tapla-* in Genzan D r13, as Röhrborn does in his reedition, is untenable by the facs.

(*tāginçülä-* is a hapax in a short fr. in the n. to BT V 266. *tāginç* is discussed in section 3.104, but we have no '*tāginçü*'. *tāginç* 'moment' needn't be connected with this verb in meaning, as *-(X)nç* and *-(X)nçU* forms can differ sharply in this. The fr. reads: *māñigü ādgükä tāginçülāmāk*; 'to reach'?)

(*tāgriglä-* 'to assemble a group of things or living beings around something'. *EDPT*; there are many additional exs. in the Maitr, among them in Maitr 80+59 r9-10, Maitr Geng 1 a7 and 11 a22-3 and fr. T III 118 β r5. The last is a ms. parallel to 79 r12, reedited in Laut, 1986: 202 as '*tāgrikl(ä)nmiş*'. I think we should read this as well as *tāgriglāmiş*, taking the sinner and not the sins as agent. In Ht X 202 the editor reads '*tāgrik[läyü] kavzayü*'. Not likely to come from *tāgrāk* 'rim', attested in the DLT, Middle Turkic and modern languages (q.v. in the *EDPT*), as the second vowel differs. The base must be an unattested *-(X)g* derivate from **tāgir-*, which also gave *tāgrä*, *tāgirmän* and *tāgirmi*.)

tāñ+lä- 'to equate, compare, estimate'. *EDPT*; the verb in Heilk II A 8 and 23, *bo otlarnı tñlöp katıp iç* 'mix these herbs in equal measures and drink them' appears, misquoted, in the *DTS*. Further exs. can be found in ETS 11,131, BT I B (117), BT II 263 (ending unclear) and BT VII O 9. See *ülgü+lä-* below for exs. of the biverb *ülgülä- tñlälä-*.

tärk+lä- 'to hurry in doing something'. *EDPT* and *DTS* quote the finite verb only from the DLT, but we also have *kataglansar t(ä)rkläsär* in M III 13,17₂ (text 6). *tärkläyü*, which has an entry for itself in the *DTS*, is found in IrqB VII, M I 13,17 (TeilBuch), M III 23,6₂ (text 8) and ManBuchFrag I 1,1,2. Note that none of these instances are Buddhist.

täv+lä- 'to act trickily'. Hapax in Chuast, biverb with *kür+lä-* (also a hapax), q.v. above.

40 In the *EDPT*'s quotation from KP, '*teg*' should be changed to '*tek*', i.e. *tāk*, q.v. on p. 475 there.

- ter+lā-* ‘to sweat’. In the *EDPT* only from the DLT on; attested also in Ernte 31: *tarıgçı bağlärniñ alınları terläyü* . . . Cf. the derivationally irregular *terit-*.
- tetig+lā-* ‘to be bright enough to succeed in a certain action’. This meaning would fit the context of the only ex., in BT XIII 18,2: *tutyakıg tıtsär t[u]ygalı tetiglär* “Wenn man das Festhalten aufgibt, zu erkennen ist man befähigt.”⁴¹
- tıñ+la-* ‘to listen’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially under *ešit- tıñla-*. Found also in BuddhKat 28 (DİÑ-LA-YUR), BT I B (37), BT II 1006, Warnke 227 (also with *äşid-*), Maitr 23 v3, Shō I a4 and VI a4 (with *äşid-*), HamTouen 1,1 and 1,49, Genzan C v3 and elsewhere. The base is attested in *nom tıñka yığılgaylar* ‘They will assemble to listen to the doctrine’, quoted in the *DTS* from Suv. *tıñçı*, used together with *savçı* or *paxuayçı*, means ‘spy, informer’; see the *+çI* formation above.
- tış+la-* ‘to bite’. *EDPT*; attested from Heilk I, DLT and QB on. Back-vocalic like *tış* ‘tooth’ and *tışla-t-* (DLT). In the DLT entry for *tışla-*, the infinitive suffix has been altered from *-mak* to *-māk* in accordance with the late front-vowel form of *tış*.
- tigi+lā-* ‘to make a certain sound, perhaps a droning one’. *DTS* and *EDPT*. TT I 74 is likely to be read as *çaşut yonag tigiläsär äd tavar saçılur*, and not ‘*tikiläşir*’ as printed: This ms. does not distinguish /s/ from /ş/, a verb ‘*tikiläş-*’ is not attested and *-Ir* is not an aorist ending that ever appears with *-Xş-* verbs.⁴² Cf. *tigilä-n-* and see *tigrät-* among the *-(X)t-* verbs for cognates.
- tilik+lä-sär* in BT V 18,409 and 413, translated “wünschen”. In both cases in fragmentary context. Not in the *EDPT* or *DTS*.
- (*tWñla-* Used together with *tokı-* in five Maitr instances: One is quoted in the *EDPT*; another, 194 r19, is quoted in Schulz, 1978 par. 205. ‘to beat’. See the *EDPT* for possible etymologies.)
- tor+la-* Hapax in Maitr 139 r11, quoted in UW 224a, where it is translated as “überspannen”. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*.
- toy+la-* ‘to form a large gathering of people’ does not appear in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. There are two Maitr instances: *Matyadeş uluştakı tınlıglar kara bulıt tąg toylap* . . . (MaitrGeng 9 b24) and *Maytrı bodıs(a)vt* . . . *beş y(i)g(i)rmi urılar birlä takı ymä adan kırk tümän tınlıglar birlä toylap* . . . (MaitrGeng 10 a11). Cf. *toyla-ş-*.
- tüp+lā-* appears in Ht V 6 a21, in *[ba]lık tüpläzün* ‘let him found a city’. *tüplä-* ‘to investigate’ of the DLT is an independent derivate from the same base; cf.,

41 The n. to the passage quotes an Uzbek verb; that, however, signifies ‘to make somebody bright’, and must be an independent derivation.

42 ‘*tigiläyü*’ in Suv 9,10 is emended to *ikiläyü* in SuvÇag. Written correctly in the SuvLeg ms., justifying Çağatay’s idea.

however, 'to lay a foundation', found in Kirgh. (Judaxin) and quoted by Radloff from the Baraba dialect.

uçuz+la- 'to treat someone or something with disrespect'. Beside the *EDPT*'s exs. found in BT VIII A 9, BuddhUig II 321, BT II 252 (together with *satga-* 'to trample on', which is here evidently used in a metaphorical sense). *uçuzladı* in HtKZ II 3 corresponds to *yenig kördi* in HtPar 129,26. A further ex. of *uçuzla-* is discussed under *yenig+lä-*. *tutap uçuzlap* appears in Suv 136,10, *uçuzla-asKañçula-* in Suv 136,14.

udık+la- 'to doze off, slumber'. The *EDPT* quotes this from TT VIII I and DLT on. The obscure *savıkla-* (q.v. in the *EDPT*) also comes from TT VIII I. Another ex. is found in BT III 717. Both are late texts. See above for *udi-k*, the base.

ugut+la- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, but appears several times in Maitr; it should have been read also in Maitr 152 v2. 'to yeast'.

ulug+la- 'to give glory; to respect' is quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* only from the DLT; attested also in QB 4151 and 4176.

üjik+lä- 'to spell'. *EDPT* s.v. *üjükle:-*, the form of the DLT. Attested also in ETŞ 11,17, a late text.

ülgü+lä- 'to measure, estimate, weigh'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially under '*ülgülä- tenlä-*'. The same biverb appears also in BT II 877, TuoLuoNi 170 and 256 = 260, ShōAgon 1,14, 20 and 28 and Halén A1. In ETŞ 15,4 we find *kolola- ülgülä-*, in BuddhUig I 225 *sakın- ülgülä-*. Cf. *ülgülänçsiz* above.

ülüg+lä- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, but appears in Maitr 52 r5 and 84 v22. The first, *tana yip tuta ülügläyürlär*, refers to construction workers, who *divide* a line or an area by using a plumb rule; the second refers to the division of some iron objects.

üt+lä- 'to give advice' is usually spelled with initial *ö* by the authorities, including the *EDPT* and the *DTS*; see these, the latter particularly under '*ötlämäk*'. *üt* 'advice' is, however, written with *ü* in two Brāhmī instances mentioned above under *är-ig*. Furthermore, we find a Brāhmī ex. of the verb *ütlä-*, spelled this way, in fr. Mz 648 ([T II] S19/I M8 II) text I, to be published by D. Maue: He read there *şamnançig üllütä[çi]*. Further instances not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* appear in BT II 435 and 1204-5, EhlersNotab 15, AbitAnk 15, BT VIII A 484, Maitr 47 r5 and 67 v6, BT XIII 12,141 and fr. M 865 r7, quoted in the n. to BT V 375. *ütlä-* is very common in a biverb with *ärig+lä-*, q.v. for the exs. This biverb is no doubt to be read also in U III 78,18 (Macht d. Liebe).⁴³

43 Müller writes '*oyunlayu ärikläyü*', but in Uigur writing *üt*^o and *oyun*^o look practically identical; /g/ and /k/ are, of course, written with the same letter. See Zieme in JA 269 (1981): 390-1 for the ex. of *ütlä- äriglä-* appearing in TT VII 14,3 (Yetikān Sudur).

ütü⟨g⟩+*lä-* ‘to iron’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It appears in Maitr 84 v24 = BT IX 209,24₁ in *örtlüg yalınlg ütüg üzä tolp ät'özlärin ütöläyürlär*. Derived from *üt-üg* ‘flat iron (for ironing clothes)’. Reading confirmed by Zieme (personal communication). /g/ may have first undergone spirantisation after /ü/: Cf. *tütsülüg* in TT V B 130 and 135.

(*üzmälä-* ‘to tear out or away’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Base not attested but there is no doubt about its being the -*mA* noun of *üz-* ‘to tear’. *UW* 95 a has an additional ex. from Suv 689,21, a biverb with *alk-*. Further ones appear in Maitr 153 v18 and 13 r16 (biverbs with *tarkar-*), 162 r7, 164 v32, 48 v5 and 54 v12 and ms. Mz 777 v7, quoted in *UW* 194 a top. Cf. *üzmälätdür-* in the same ms.)

yagı+la- ‘to engage in hostilities with someone’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Add *yagılamazlar* (ShōAgon 2, p. 192,11₂).

yaka+la- Appears only in the sentence *yaka anta yakaladım* twice in the ŞU inscr. The *EDPT*’s translation s.v. 1 *yaka*: should be more or less correct.

yalın+la- The conjecture *ya]lnlayu turur ... tuluKlar* in Höllen 35 (passage quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. *tuluk*) is now supported by LautHöllen 113, with very clear facts.: *yalınlayu turur kızart[muş tã]mirlig uzun yıp*. The two passages belong to different hell descriptions in the same source. ‘to flame’ is usually not *yalınla-* but *yalın+a-*. That verb is several times attested in the same collocation, *yalınayu tur-*; in TT III 135 (= ClarkPothi 175) even as *ya[!]lnayu turur tamu*.⁴⁴ *yalınla-* appears also in Maitr 29 v10: *Ketumati kãnt uluş altun önlüg kümüş önlüg yürün önlüg [. . .] tägriglöp turkaru yalınlayur*. Tekin read this as ‘*yartlayur*’, but neither such a verb nor its base would be attested. The hook of the letter L in Uigur script is often omitted, making it an R, and WN or even YN may look like a T. Zieme (personal communication) now confirms this suggestion.

1 *yat+la-* Attested in Profan p. 282: *yaņa boyunta* (thus as in Qarakhanid, and without possessive suffix!) *yatlamak* “auf dem Elefantennacken Fremde attackieren”. This is parallel to *at arkasınta atlamak*. ‘to hunt strangers’. The *EDPT* has an instance from USp 77,16-17 translated ‘to repudiate’, one from the DLT translated ‘to consider someone a stranger’, and another one from the Sanglax.

2 *yat+la-* is attested only in the DLT, but cf. *yatla-n-*. ‘to perform magic ceremonies with a rainstone’. *EDPT*.

yavız+la- ‘to think badly of something’. Found in BT III 1092. The *EDPT* only has the DLT verb of this meaning, which has the shape *yavuzla-*.

yay+la- ‘to spend the summer somewhere’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the ŞU

44 In the *EDPT* entry for *yalına-* for some reason changed to ‘*yalınayu turgan tamu*’, unlikely in the language of that text.

inscr., the IrqB and from various Middle Turkic sources. It appears also twice in Tariat W2 and in Tes 19, two other inscs. of the Uigur kaghanate beside ŞU. Cf. *kış+la-* above and *yay+lag* and *kış+lag* in section 2.73. The distribution of *yay+la-* may not be a matter of dialect but of the connection of this verb with nomadic life.

yazok+la- appears to have had two meanings or, in fact, to have constituted two verbs: In the DLT and one Kipchak source it signifies 'to accuse someone of an offence'. In Suv 556,9-11, the Codex Comanicus and another Kipchak source it signifies 'to be guilty of an offence'. Suv: *yavız yavlak yalañukug ayamışka sävmişkä, tüzün yavaş kişilärig tutamışka yazoklap* . . . , by Schulz translated as "er sündigt".⁴⁵

yeg+lä- 'to consider something or somebody to be good or superior'. Ht IV 1532 has *yegläyürlär* . . . *ädgöläyürlär*, similar to the binomial *yeg ädgü*. *yeglä-* appears also in QB 1918 and 2753, mentioned in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*.⁴⁶ *yelvi+lä-* 'to practise witchcraft'. Hap. in Chuast with *yelvi* as object. Cf. *yelvi+k-* 'to be affected by sorcery'.

yenig+lä- appears in Suv 88,2: *ötrü olar burxan ärdinig yeniglämädin, bursañ kuvrag ärdinig uçuzlamadin, tınl(ı)g oğlanlarınñ* . . . *yıltızların tarıtdurgaylar* 'to consider something to be a light matter'. *DTS*; not in the *EDPT*. Cf. *yenig kör-*, which alternates with *uçuzla-* in HtKZ II 3.

yer+lä- 'to settle at a place' is, before the XVth century, attested only in YE 24 (reproduced in Malov, 1952 no. 24). The other instance mentioned in the *EDPT*, YE 8,1, receives a different reading when using unpublished material of Thomsen and Wulff.⁴⁷

yerçi+lä- 'to guide' is discussed above, near the end of the section describing the +çI formation.

yıd+la- 'to smell (tr.)'. See the *EDPT*. Found also in Maitr 139 v22 and ms. TI Kš 15a (U 939) r13 quoted in Sandel.

yıgla- 'to weep' is an 'onomatopoeic' verb like *tigi+lä-*, *çağı+la-*, *kakıla-*, synco-pated like *orla-* from *ori+la-* and so forth. See above for these verbs. The base is attested in *antag bir yığı bolup* . . . 'dann wird ein Jammern sein' (Warnke 549),

45 In the *EDPT*, BQ E36 is said to have [yazuklat]. Thomsen, however, only writes f"zuql", and that may just as well be *yazokl[uğ]* or some other sequence.

46 *bütün çın kişiler özin yeglämüz* (QB 2753) is by Dankoff translated as "A sound and honest man will not prefer himself to others". If I understand the meaning of *yeglä-* correctly, this should better be understood as '... will not think of himself too highly'.

47 This is nr. 28 in Malov, 1952, not 29 as written in the *EDPT*. It should be read as *ärdüm üçün aglak yer ellädim*, the word preceding *yer* being uncertain. See *agla-k* above, in the section on -(O)k, for the expression *aglak yer*. Vasil'ev was unable to see this, and the stone may, since the Finnish moulds, have deteriorated further.

yıgın yıgla in BT V 16,339 (instrumental case) and *busuş k(a)dgu y(ı)gıh [sıgı]t* in M III 43,4₃ (text 30).⁴⁸ Cf. the *EDPT* s.v. “*ığ”, where modern cognates of *yıgı* are mentioned. See the *EDPT* s.v. *ıgla*:- and the *DTS* s.v. *jiriñü*- for exs.; one of the many additional ones appears in Maitr 115 r3. Forms of the verb with and without initial /y/ are attested both in Uigur and in Qarakhanid Turkic. The alternation may be evidence for an original initial /h/. *yıl+la*- is quoted in *EDPT* 919a from QB 347, from Ottoman and from some modern languages. In QB 347 and also 6344, we find the phrase *nāçä yillasa* signifying ‘however many years he/it lives through, or continues’. In Tariat S2, we have: *takıgu yılka yorıdım, yilladım* ‘I went (there) in the year of the hen, and spent a year (in that place).’ This is similar to *kış+la*- and *yay+la*-.

yır+la- ‘to sing’. *EDPT* s.v. *ırla*:-; the verb is attested both with and without initial /y/. In addition to the *EDPT*’s exs., we find *yırla*- in SuvZieme 693,13, *ırla*- in Maitr 32 r3 and 11 and the margin of KP LXVIII, as edited by Hamilton (+ facs.).

yıncgä+lä- ‘to be meticulous about something’ is also attested both with and without initial /y/, although *yıncgä* (q.v. above in section 3.323) and its cognates always start with *y*^o. *EDPT* s.v. *yıncge:le*:-;⁴⁹ an ex. from Heilk II is quoted in the *DTS* s.v. *jınčkäläp*. Additional instances appear in HtPar 130,12, Shō VIII a6 and r64 of the colophon quoted on p. 76 of AbiShotan; all three lack initial *y*^o and all three are used together with verbs signifying ‘looking’ or ‘investigating’, thus coming near in meaning to Republican Turkish *incele*-.

yog+la- ‘to hold a funeral feast’. *EDPT*; not attested in Uigur. It governs the nominal referring to the deceased in the dative. Cf. *yogla-t*- below.

1 *yok+la*- ‘to rise, get up, climb, move upwards’. *EDPT*; also attested in Höllen 70 and 71, QB 1805 and 3981 and in YE 10,10 (cf. *yol+uk*- below), 25,6 and 32,1. In these three, *yokladı* is used in connection with a deceased person, one of the many euphemisms in this matter. *yok* is found in the sense “upward slope of the land” only in the DLT, but *yokaru* ‘upward’ must be its directive

48 The final *h* in this last instance is no doubt merely graphic: Cf. *qmth* two lines earlier. The binomial which we conjecture to have stood here must have been the base of *yıgı sıgı* in the late UigTot 131, where the analogy of the second member can be taken to have influenced the first.

49 Azeri *ıncel*- ‘to become thin’ (used also in Republican Turkish) is not, of course, a survival of this, as we read in this entry of the *EDPT*: *+lA*- is never reduced to ‘+l-’, at least never in the south-west dialects. *+A*- and *-(X)l*- may have begun to fuse and give a combination already in late Old Turkic: Cf. *alpal*- and *moymal*- discussed among the *-(X)l*- verbs below. *+A*-(*X*)l- would become *+Al*-, which would, with time, get the allomorphs *+(A)l*-. *twş-ul*- apparently became reanalysed as *tusu+(A)l*- in Qarakhanid, as described below. Cf. also Schakir, 1933: 32 Anm. II for some late exs. of *+(A)l*-. Modern *ıncel*- must be a product of this late combination.

(or possibly an +Ar-U converb). Add also *altılı BİRli tal sögüt turkıñça kök kalıgka yoklap...* (BuddhUig II 533).⁵⁰

2 *yok+la-* 'to miss' is attested in BuddhUig I 55 and 74. The *EDPT* only has a number of Middle Turkic and modern instances listed in 902b-903a, within the entry for 1 *yokla-* and before it.⁵¹

yulug+la- 'to risk something (accusative) for the sake of (dative)' is rather frequent in the QB but may appear nowhere else. Synonymous with *yulug kıl-* (nine times *ibid.*) and *yulug ber-* (Maitr).

yumgak+la- 'to make something into small balls'. *EDPT*: Once in TT VII 22 and in a Middle Turkic source.

1 *yunla-* 'to use (up)'. Base not attested in Turkic; see the index to Gabain, 1974 for the etymology of both this and of 2 *yunla-*. *EDPT* and *DTS*; additional exs. in Ht VII 13 b20, Shō XIII a9, FamArch 128, UigSün 39 and frequently in Maitr, many of all these in a biverb with *ye-* 'to eat'. This *yunla-* is the base of *yunlaKlık tavar/kümüş/böz/çao/kunpo* of the economical documents.

2 *yunla-* 'to make harmonious'. Hap. in Ht, derived from a Chin. lexeme. Biverb with *amurtgur-*, q.v. below. Mentioned in the *EDPT* under 3 *yunla-*; 1 *yunla-* of that dictionary is a hap. in the DLT derived from *yun* 'wool', and '2 *yunla-*:' is our 1 *yunla-*.

yük+lä- is apparently a synonym of *yüd-* 'to load', quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, from various Middle Turkic sources etc. It appears also in Ernste 105.

Two lexemes which are more likely to be petrified converbs of +lA- verbs than +lAyU forms as described in part IV above are *başlayu* '(at) first' and *äsängüläyü*. *başlayu* appears nine times in KT and BQ, in YE 32,12 and, among later sources, e.g. in Suv 348,6. In TT V B3 and 7, 'än**başlayukı** is written as one word. Cf. *başlayukı yıl* (Ht X 13), *başlayuça* (UigTot 1016) and 'än *başlayu bulmuş yanı tüş* (ShōAgon 3, p. 204,10).

äsängüläyü always appears in letters and messages. The *EDPT* has an instance from Ht. It appears also in BT V 708 and 729; cf. UigBrief p. 453. In his review of BT V in *JA* 267 (1979), Hamilton states that it does not signify "demandant des nouvelles de la santé" but "faisant des vœux de bonne santé". Comparable, in effect, is *äsän+lä-* 'to greet', quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, Middle Turkic etc. *äsängüläyü* is attested also in HamTouen 20,4, 22,2 and 5, 23,3, 29,3 and 31,5, showing how common it was in actual correspond-

50 This does not signify that he climbed up actual palm trees, as Ş. Tekin's translation implies, but that he rose up towards heaven a height equivalent to that of so and so many palm trees. See *tur-k* above, in the introduction to section 3.102.

51 It is quite impossible to connect this verb with *yog+la-*, as suggested there: The two have different velars, and *yogla-* has a particularly narrow meaning.

ence. Cf. the use of *äsängü* as discussed in section 2.96 above, especially that in *äsängü bitig*.

+LA- is the most common denominal formative and the only one which is added freely to foreign bases. *+LA-n-* and *+LA-ş-* appear both as combinations and as formative sequences; there do not seem to be any phonological constraints which might have made it useful to present them together with *+LA-*. *+LA-t-* is not rare and *+LA-l-* is also found, but all verbs ending in these formative sequences are discussed under their last formative.

Many *+LA-* verbs (about a quarter of the ones we have listed) are derived from deverbal nominals. *-Xş+LA-* is conspicuously absent, whereas there are quite a number of *-Xş+A-* lexemes. *-Xn+A-* verbs are also surprisingly numerous, whereas *-Xn+LA-* is exceedingly rare: Otherwise, the base of *kālin+lā-* was hardly transparent. One *-Xn+LA-* verb is an obscure hapax whereas the other is only an alternant of an *-Xn+A-* verb, as far as one can see. The frequency of the deverbal forms attested as bases corresponds to the frequency of the deverbal nominals themselves; *-(X)g* and *-(O)k* bases, e.g., are represented with about ten *+LA-* derivatives each. *+LA-* derivatives from denominal nominals, on the other hand, are hardly known: *yerçilā-* and petrified *äsängülāyü* are the only ones we have in Old Turkic proper.

In fols. 584, 588 and 595-6, the DLT tries to define the *+LA-* formation semantically, and to determine what shape of base demands *+LA-* and what shape *+A-*; this attempt is not much of a success. I shall not aim at exhaustiveness but single out several semantic classes instead. *māñlā-*, *āñlā-* and *kuşlā-*, e.g., signify 'to search or hunt for the base'; but the 'hunting' verb *avla-* is derived from the name of the activity. *botola-*, *ānūklā-*, *buzagula-* and *kulunla-* signify 'to give birth to the entity denoted by the base'. *çagula-*, *kañşula-*, *kakula-*, *orila-*, *bozla-*, *tigilā-*, *yigla-*, *inçikla-* and *tWñla-* denote sound-producing activities. For *erpäKlā-* and *kılıçla-*, *bukagula-*, *sola-*, *torla-*, *köklā-* and perhaps *bagla-*, for *ütüglā-* and for *sapanla-*, the base serves as instrument noun. In *adutla-*, *uşla-* and *közlā-*, the 'instrument' denoted by the base is the part of the agent's body; with *boguzla-*, on the other hand, the body-part denoted by the base belongs to the victim's body. While *yayla-*, *kışla-* and *yilla-*, signifying 'to spend the stretch of time denoted by the base in a certain place or way', are formed with *+LA-*, *küzā-*, of analogous meaning, is an *+A-* verb. The base lexeme can be the agent, direct or indirect object of the verb or be an abstract denoting the activity itself. Verbs like *adokla-*, *agdukla-*, *agırla-*, *agrukla-*, *akla-*, *amrakla-*, *ayıgla-*, *ädgölā-*, *yavızla-* or *yeglā-* can be collectively formulated as 'to consider the object to be describable by the base adjective'. Some bases, like *tanuk* and *ıamga*, have semantically related though agentially differing meanings, and the relationship between base and derivate will depend on which use of the base lexeme we single out. *yagıla-* could be 'to become

an enemy, i.e. what is denoted by the base', or 'to *consider somebody* to be one's enemy'. But, in fact, these distinctions are irrelevant: A +tA- verb can mean practically anything with relationship to the meaning of the base. Sometimes, series like *botola-*, *änüklä-* etc. can bring about the analogical creation of a further verb in their domain, when the need arises and such a verb does not yet exist. Analogy does not, however, appear to have been strong enough to change *küz+ä-* to '*küz+lä-*'.

5.13 +tA-

This formation has much fewer products than the previous two. We shall again first list these alphabetically, then discuss it as a whole.

al+ta- 'to deceive somebody'. *UW* and *EDPT*. There is only one Uigur ex., but *altag*, q.v. in section 3.101 below, and its expansions are quite widely attested. *alda-* in the DLT.

bag+da- is attested several times in the DLT, where it means 'to trip someone'. See below for the °d°. We also have *bagda-t-*, a hap. in the DLT, *bagdaş* 'the cross-legged way of sitting' in *UigTot* and *QB* (discussed in section 3.103) and the petrified converb *bagdaşinu* derived from it (discussed at the end of the section on -(X)n- below). The meaning of *bagta-m* (q.v. in section 3.106 above) makes the connection with *ba-g* (see this in section 3.101) quite plausible.⁵²

(*māñ+dä-* appears in DLT fol. 618, where a verse is quoted to show its use. From *māñ* 'bird-seed, small grain' we also have *māñlä-* 'to look for, or pick up grain', but *māñdä-* signifies 'to pluck out hair': The derivation must be based on the physical similarity between the two actions. The DLT also has *māñdät-* and *māñdäş-*.)

istä- 'to seek something or ask for it'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. *tilä-istä-*. The same biverb is also found in *BT II* 1012 and *HtPar* 130,3 (where the parallel text *HtKZ II* 6 has just *tilä-*) and in *Shō VI* a 10-11. We have the legal expression *ayıt- istä-* in *UigLand* 12-13 (twice), *ZiemeSkav I* 11-12 and 13-14 and *ActeOuig* 12 in addition to *ayıtmazun iztämäzün* (thus) of *USp* 107,12. The biverb *sora iştäyü* appears in *ETS* 10,139. Instances like *ol udçı kälmyükkä ävintäki kişilär iştäyü* (*HtPar* 105 r24-26 = *Ht IV* 82-84) "Als jener Rinderhirte nicht kam, suchten ihn seine Verwandten" und *istädi tüzünlär izin* (*Ht VII* 10 b14; none of them quoted in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*) make it likely that *istä-* comes from *iz* 'trace, track, footprints'; the *EDPT* quotes a number of exs. for *iz+dä-* from Middle Turkic. The evidence for original back-vocalic quality of *iz* is

52 The connection with *bag* 'bond, tie' is even more convincing if one looks at the following sentence: *Bu gez Beyrek kızın ince beline girdi, bağdadı* (Dede Korkut, quoted from the *Tarama Sözlüğü*).

not strong;⁵³ a more serious objection to the connection of *istä-* with *iz* is the fact that it is usually written with /s/ both in Uigur and in Qarakhanid Turkic.⁵⁴ Another possible base for *istä-* lives on in Yak. *iäs* 'loan, debt', attested also in the binomial *iäs kūš*. This, now, must be a direct descendent of the Orkhon Turkic binomial always written as *is kūš*.⁵⁵ There is also a Yak. verb *iästä-* 'to ask for the return of a debt'. *istä-* is likely to have resulted from the collapse of **iz+tä-* with **es+tä-*.

(*käktäš-* 'to harbour rancour against each other' is attested only in DLT fol. 377, and a corresponding **tA-* verb is not known. It ought, nevertheless, to be analysable as **käk+tä-š-* from *käk* 'malice'.⁵⁶)

(*kurdaš-* 'to sit in the same rank as somebody' is attested only in DLT fol. 376, but should, similar to the previous verb, come from *kur* 'rank' over an unattested *+tA-* derivate.)

(*ok+ta-* 'to shoot an arrow at something'. It is not clear from the exs. in what case the animal or person shot at was placed. Attested only in the DLT in two passages. The DLT also has *oktaš-*, *oktat-* and *oktam*, and *okta-* is attested also in modern languages.)

soŋ+da- 'to chase'. Not attested outside the DLT and the QB; the exs. from QB 3423, 4351, 5004, 5859 and 6118 are not listed by the *EDPT*. DLT fol. 601 has an ex. for *soŋ* 'later; after' which would particularly suit the meaning of this verb, in the sentence *Sän mänig soŋda käl* 'You come behind me'.

tl+ta- 'to make excuses, seek pretexts'. *EDPT*: Two instances with dative of the excuse appear in an economical text in USp, and another one, with *tl+in*, in the QB. All three are written with *+dA-*; we have, however, *tlta-n-* in the Chuast, and *tlta-g*, q.v. above, is very well attested.

53 *EDPT* 277 suggests that the original shape of this lexeme may have been *iz*, because of *izig* with *ghain* in QB 4411. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* is the accusative *iz+ig* in QB 2382. As Dankoff's translation of the QB also shows, the 2382 context is quite clearly for '(physical) tracks (of the enemy)', whereas the 4411 context is not clear at all. Note also that the QB has many instances of nominals used as objects with no case suffix. *izig* must, therefore, at the moment, remain a *crux*.

54 The verb is not attested in runic script, but cf. the Türk royal proper name *İstämi*, mentioned in footn. 443 above. This etymology may not seem too convincing on the face of it, but most other Kök Türk proper names are, after all, Turkic.

55 References to the exs. can be found in the index of Tekin, 1968 s.v. *is. esig küçüg ber-*, attested 14 times in the inscs., seems to mean 'to pay duties, taxes'. The sentence "*Karluk esiñä kälmädük*" *tedi*. in ŞU S 1, followed by the fragments of an account of a campaign against the Qarluq, should signify: "The Qarluq have evidently not come for (paying) their taxes" he said.' The same lexeme is probably also found in TT I 24, and elsewhere.

56 *käk* rhymes with *iäg* in QB 2312. Nevertheless, I don't think it can be read as 'käg', as it appears with **k* in the Codex Comanicus and elsewhere (see the *EDPT*). This accords with the fact that the suffix *+tA-* does not appear as *+dA-* in *käktäš-* in the DLT: In that source, the voicedness of the dental of this formative accords with that of the final phoneme of the base nominal.

ün+tä- ‘to call’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially under ‘*maṇra- ündä-*’ and ‘*oqi- ündä-*’. Although the lemmata of both dictionaries are written with °d°, we find °r° in M III 9,13₁ (text 3) and 33,1₂ (Yosıpas), U II 26,13 (Bhadra), KP 33,2/3 and 60,6, TT I 108 and TT X 282. Add *üntäyü* from U IV A 142 and *üntädi* from ChristManus r 13; further exs. with °r° appear in LeCoqSchriftk IV 13 and Maitr 120 v 22 and 81 r 29.

(*üstä-* ‘to increase something’ is possibly derived from *üzä* ‘above’ with syncope of the unstressed and open second vowel and subsequent loss of voice in the sibilant. We find it in Suv 266,6-8, 407,15 and 593,19, Ht VII 12 b 20 and six times in the QB. *üstä-l-*, q.v. below, has many more exs., and cf. *üstä-η* in section 3.116 above. *üstä-m* is found in Maitr, DLT and QB. *üstün* and *üstürti* are apparently derived from the same base with the same phonetic changes, and are even closer to it semantically. *üstün* is formed with the well-known suffix of deictic locality, *üstürti* with the equally well-known (though less productive) +dXr+tI.⁵⁷)

The bases for this formative are all monosyllabic stems ending in consonants, with the possible exception of **üzä+tä-* > *üstä-*. In all cases, at any rate, the +tA- verb itself is bisyllabic. Practically all the exs. of Old Turkic proper have the formative as +tA- and not +dA-; in Qarakhanid Turkic, however, all the verbs of this formation consistently have /t/ after voiceless, /d/ after voiced final phoneme in the base. A number of later exs. can be found in Schakir, 1933: 46-7. Onomatopoeic °dA- verbs as *tIrpllda-* “schnattern” and *yälküldä-* “schlottern” in the Codex Comanicus do *not* belong to this formation, however: They may have come about through crasis with the verb *de-* ‘to say’ or follow Mo. models. *ba-g* is the only derived base for a +tA- verb. The n. to TT III 68 suggests that *arta-* ‘to deteriorate etc.’ also belong to this formation, and this hypothesis is quoted in the *UW* entry for the verb. There is no “*ar”, however, and the DLT’s ‘*arsu*’ may just as well be read as *ärsü*, as both the *EDPT* and DankKelly do.

Most +tA- verbs appear to be tr., but *tulta-* may not govern direct objects. It does not seem possible to find any semantic characterisation for +tA-, and its presence does not have any syntactic implication beside the possible one just mentioned. Nominals are formed either with -(X)g (*alta-g*, *istä-g*, *tulta-g*) or with -(X)m (*bagta-m*, *okta-m*, *üstä-m*). The verb *koldamla-*, attested in Suv 75,12 (quoted in the *DTS*) and Ernte II 52, probably comes from such an -(X)m derivative from an unattested +tA- verb: **koldam* is unlikely to have been formed using the formative of section 2.31, where N+dAm signifies ‘having the properties of

57 The discussion of both belongs to Old Turkic case grammar. The base of the very common *üstün* is not *üst*, as assumed by *EDPT* 242a; *üst* was back-formed from *üstün*, apparently in the language of Islamic texts only, and not before the 13th century.

N'. Nor is *tildam* (QB 3076 and 5651) likely to have been a *+dAm* lexeme, since it does not signify 'tonguelike' but 'one who speaks clearly and in a convincing way'. **kol+da-* would, like *tl+ta-* or *al+ta-*, have had its INSTRUMENT as base.

The only verbal expansions from *+tA-* verbs are *tilta-n-* in Chuast and *istä-t-* in Suv, BT III and DLT. In the DLT we also find *bagda-t-* and *okta-t-*, *ündä-š*, *mändä-š*, *kurdaš-*, *käktäš-* and *okta-š-*, and *istä-l-*. As with *+lA-* and *+A-*, there do not seem to be any limitations on the formation of verbs with *+tA-* bases. This speaks for indeterminate behaviour: We shall find that a whole group of denominational formatives is expandable only with causative affixes, onomatopoeic verbs have their limitation, and *-(X)rkA-*, to which we come presently, is practically limited to medial-reflexive expansion.

There are many *+dA-* verbs in Mo.; Mo. *arya+da-* is close in meaning to Tu. *al+ta-*, Mo. *dayu+da-* to Tu. *ün+tä*. The voiced dental of the Mo. formative accords with Qarakhanid *+dA-*: Devoicing after bases ending in voiceless consonants is secondary. Old Turkic *+tA-* is attested only after bases with /l/ (*al*, *tl*), /n/ (*ün*) and /z/ (*iz?*, *üzä?*). These three (and /r/) are the phonemes after which /d/ appears in its stop and not in its spirantic allophone. *+tA-* can therefore here stand for *+dA-*; this is what we also find in Mo. and in Qarakhanid.

5.2 Verba sentiendi: *+(X)(r)kA-* (and *-(X)rkA-*)

The verbs created with this formative all denote feelings or sensations, the base nominal being either the name of the feeling, the object of the attitude, what one sees an object as, the mental source of the attitude, etc. They are generally transitive even when expanded with *-(X)n-*, the only exception being, perhaps, *busurkan-*. Their being *verba sentiendi* explains why most of them are attested only together with this medial-reflexive formative. In two cases, both *+(X)rkA-* and *+(X)rkA-n-* forms exist, and only three *+(X)rkA-* verbs have no *-(X)n-* expansion attested. *-(X)n-* is the only verbal formative which we find to get freely added to *+(X)rkA-* verbs. This comes to show that sense, sentiment and attitude are private and personal matters, which can neither be shared with others, induced in others or let oneself get induced to by others. The only two (late) exceptions are where Buddha is induced to compassion (a feeling to which he is always prone in the first place); in these rare cases, the expander is *-(X)t-*. Otherwise, agents of *+(X)rkA-* verbs can be *-(O)k* nominals, whereas their objects are formed with *-(X)nçlg*. We will here depart from our procedure of grouping forms by their last formative in discussing *+(X)rkA-n-* verbs in this section and not in the section on *-(X)n-*; there, they will only be mentioned.

The full variant of the formative appears when the base is monosyllabic: *alp+ir-*

kan-, *käy+irkänçig*, *tañ+ırka-*, *tok+urkak* and *tsoyurka-*. A bisyllabic base ending with a vowel receives the formative without the /X/: *kıvı+rkan-*, *kişi+rkäk* and *özi+rkän-* are such derivatives. When a bisyllabic base ends in a consonant, the formative alternant is *+kA-*, e.g. in *erınç+kä-* and *yarlıg+ka-*. *äsirkä- < äsiz* is also in this third class: We remember the affinity between /z/ and /r/ in Proto-Turkic and think of the relationship between *+sXz* and *+s(I)rA-* (discussed below) and of many similar ones *within* Turkic languages.

Röhrborn, 1983 wanted to derive *adkan-* (which he writes as ‘*atkan-*’) from **art+ka-n-*. This would be against the distribution as described above, and no other formative of the shape *+kA-* exists in Old Turkic. Other points against this suggestion are mentioned under *adkaş-* in section 7.1. Note also that no other verb in the present formation has a *-(X)ş-* derivative. *adkan-* would have been the only such verb to consist not of three but of two syllables. Since the *+XrkA- ~ +rkA- ~ +kA-* alternation is a conspiracy whose object it is to keep the number of syllables in the stem constant, *adkan-* could not be in this formation. This assignment is strained from the semantic aspect and Uigur spelling *consistently* uses D.

Here, then, are the *-(X)(r)kA-* verbs and their *-(X)n-* derivatives (in case they themselves are not attested):

agrıkan- ‘to feel pain, to complain of pain’ from *agrı-g*, the abstract which denotes the sensation felt and communicated. It should be a simplification from **agrıg+ka-n-*: The passage /gk/ > /k/ happens with *yarlıg+ka-* as well,⁵⁸ and *agrıg* would, according to the above description, get the *+kA-* variant of the formative. See the *UW* for Uigur exs. of *agrıkan-* and the *EDPT* for the DLT. The translation “Schmerzen bereiten, schmerzen” given in the *UW* as one of two meanings is unlikely, as *+(X)rkA-* verbs always have the person feeling the sensation as subject.⁵⁹

alp+ırkan- ‘to have difficulties in something, to find something difficult; to find something boring’ and the dubious *alp+ırka-* are adequately discussed in the *UW*. The last mentioned (metonymically extended) meaning of *alpirkan-* need not be supplied with a question mark, as the *UW* does: It accords with “to occupy oneself with something out of boredom” quoted in the *EDPT* from Kaz. and with the original and the context. *alparkan-* in TuoLuoNi 396 (= ZiemeDrevSlov 230 o. as quoted in the *UW*) is just an inferior ms. variant of the instance in USp 102 a4.

äsirkä- comes from *äsiz*, an exclamation of bereavement found already in the Yenisei inscs. See the *EDPT* for it, though that entry lacks some instances,

58 It is unlikely that *yarlıgka-* should be a back-formation from *yarlıka-* created analogically, as the documentation for *yarlıgka-* is clearly *earlier* than that for *yarlıka-*.

59 The lacuna in HtPek 7 b 16 should not be filled as ‘*baş{ı}*’ but as *baş{ın}* (accusative) or *baş{da}*.

e.g. the one in HamTouen 1,30. Cf. also the following phraseological similarity in Qarakhanid Turkic: *äsirkäp açır män saña ay yigitlik* (QB 6528) “How I regret your loss, O youth” and *ässiz anıñ yigitliki* (DLT fols. 83 and 466) “Alas for his youth”. The DLT defines *ässiz*⁶⁰ as “a word of sighing for a loss”. Prof. Doerfer (personal communication) is, in this connection, reminded of Mo. *ese* ‘not to be, not’. *äsirkä-* never signifies ‘to pity’, as scholars have been led to believe by the ambiguous context of KP 71,3-4; it can always be translated as ‘to regret the (imminent or effected) loss of someone or something’. ‘regretting the loss of someone’ is conceived of as a positive sentiment by the authors, whereas ‘regretting the loss of an object’ can have the negative connotations of ‘to grudge’. The fact that DLT fol. 155⁶¹ only mentions “regret at the loss of a thing” is no reason to think that Qarakhanid Turkic lacks the former use: Cf. especially QB 3131. Further instances not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in Suv 227,16 (object: *ät'özlärin isig özlärin*) and 609,1 (*ät'özümün*), ShōAgon 2, p. 195,4₂ ([*ulu*]g *ädgü ögli köñülü*), BT XIII 49,18 (object in lacuna; wrong translation), QB 950 (*öz nāñin*) and 3745 (*dunyā*), BuddhUig II 16 (*ät'özün İSİG ÖZİN ädin tavarın*) and BuddhKat 21 (*atın adgırın koyın*⁶² *yılıkısın abıg yutuzın inçkä kırkının kántü ätüzin*⁶³). Further exs. can be found in BT III 202, ManErz IV 27 and Suv 453,21. The spelling *esirkäyü* of the KP instance is quite clear on the facts. It could be considered an error, were it not for another ex. in YE 29,4, hitherto misinterpreted. It reads: (*ä*)rd(*ä*)ml(*i*)[g] bols(*a*)r bodun es(*i*)rk(*ä*)yür m(*ä*)n er(*i*)nçim ‘... I am sad about having lost (my) people ...’. Cf. *äsirkä-n-* below and *äsirkänçsiz* in section 3.12.

erinchkä- ‘to feel compassion with or pity for somebody’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. The biverb *erinchkä-tsoyurka-*, which is quoted there, appears also in ShōAgon 2, p. 195,4₂ and 1,181 and 182, SuvGeng 603,13 and Warnke 296. Ms. M 126 + M 502m + M 201 v6 edited in the n. to BT V 217 should be completed to *üzütlärig [er]inchkäduk üçün* ‘because he has compassion for the souls’; there is space for the additional letters and nothing else makes sense. The *EDPT* is right in emending *irinçlä-* of M III to *irinchkä-*: In the preceding line, the ms. writes *täplänçsz* instead of *täpräñçsiz*. Besides, the resulting biverb *erinchkä-y(a)rlika-*

60 The double *ss* is expressive, as Kāšgārī himself says with respect to *esiz*, and need not be introduced into the canonical variant which must have served as base for *äsirkä-*.

61 Dankoff and Kelly, following the *EDPT*, write the verb with *g* and not *k*. Against this, however, is the evidence of BuddhKat 21; cf. p. 301 of the first part of that paper.

62 This is, of course, *koy+ı+n* ‘his sheep (accus.)’, not a simple noun stem, as one is led to believe by footn. 40 thereto.

63 In the Brāhmī documents, /ö/ and /ü/ alternate in the second syllable of this lexeme. Our spelling must therefore remain conventional as far as texts written in Uigur script are concerned.

is attested, in addition, in Shō IX a 14, Ht V 9 b 20,⁶⁴ and Shō VII b 9. Further exs. of *erinçkä-* appear in Suv 363,20, ETŞ 13,38, Ht VII 3 a 12, BuddhUig II 291, BT XIII 12,04 and so forth. On the analogy of the biverb *erinçkä-yarlıka-* we find that, in Maitr 106 r 10, *yarlıkançuçı* ‘compassionate’ is accompanied by *erinçkänçüçi*. This analogy is the only explanation for the isolated appearance of the latter beside the very common first lexeme.

käy+irkänçig ‘pitiful’ has already been discussed in section 3.311 above, together with *erinçkä-nçig*. It comes from *käy* ‘sorrow’ and appears only in Suv. Two of the instances are mentioned in the *DTS* s.v. ‘*kevirgänčik*’; not in the *EDPT*.

kıvı+rkān-mak appears together with *küni* and qualifies *könül* in Maitr 66 r 5; this is not mentioned either in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. From the same unattested +(X)rkA- verb we also have the rather common *kıvrkak* ‘grasping, miserly’, discussed among the -(O)k lexemes above; it is also used in a binomial with *küni*. Cf. also *kıvrkak+lan-* (discussed below), which is used twice together with *az+lan-*. The only possible existing base for these is *kıvı*, attested in QB 668, 1045 and 1332 as an attribute to *kut* ‘fortune’. Dankoff, who translates this as “hollow Fortune”, was probably thinking of *kovı*; but the first vowels of these lexemes are irreducibly different. ‘mean’ or ‘niggardly Fortune’ would do just as well in the context, and explains the +(X)rkA- derivatives.⁶⁵

(*kişi+rkāk ār* should probably be read in DLT fol. 411, with the *DTS* but against ‘*köşerge:k*’ of the *EDPT* and ‘*kösürgāk*’ of DankKelly. It signifies “a man who feels cramped for space when he sees a person in his house”. The ms. shows KSIRK’K, with a *sukün* added over the *sın* by a later hand. This accords best with *kişirkāk*, for which nothing has to be taken to be *wrong* in the ms., and only two diacritics to be *omitted*. Semantically, cf. *alp+ırkan-*; note its formal similarity to *kıvı+rkak* and *tok+urkak*.)

oyurkan- is discussed under *ywKurkan-* below.

özi+rkä- apparently comes from *öz* + possessive suffix, whence the meaning ‘to regard as one’s own’. There are three exs. of *özirkä-n-*, discussed in section 7.21. *özirkä-*, on the other hand, is attested only in Ht VII 11 b 12: *sam[tso] açarika yūküngäli bol[tumuz]. bizni özirkäp öziñä tarta y(a)rlikamak üzä berü y(a)rlikadı bodis(a)ıtlar ç[(ı)xşapat]ın*. Another indication for the hypostasis of *özi* is the postpositional phrase *özi+ni birlä* in Ht X 628 and 682, where one would (had *öz* had the mere possessive suffix with it) have expected **özin birlä*. *bir(i)si* also already occurs in Uigur (Suv).

64 In the clause preceding this one, ‘*ämğä[nç]l(ä)rin*’ is better read as *ämğä[k]l(ä)rin*; a lexeme ‘*ämğäñç*’ is not known.

65 The *EDPT* confuses *kıvı* and *kıv*, a presumable synonym of *kut* often used in a binomial with it. This is impossible both morphologically and syntactically, and does not fit the QB contexts. The QB Indeks, on the other hand, lists two instances of *kıv+ı* (with possessive suffix) under *kıvı*.

taŋ+ırka- 'to find something astonishing' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only from the QB and from Middle Turkic. It is, however, attested also in Warnke 71, Shō XII b 10, BuddhUig II 395 (biverb with *taŋ+la-*) and Ht IV 40, 1173 and 1233 and V 9 a 25. Ht VII 18 a 10-11 (= 1846-7) should no doubt be completed as *az tep taŋır[ka]yu y(a)rıkamazun*.

tok+urkak 'one who feels satiated' is attested in KT S 8 and BQ N 6. Discussed among the *-(O)k* lexemes above together with *tok*, q.v. We have no related *+(X)rkA-* verb but cf. *kıvırkak* above.

tsoyurka- 'to feel pity and compassion for somebody' comes from a Chin. lexeme signifying 'compassion(ate)', apparently itself not borrowed into Turkic. *lala-* among the *+lA-* verbs is a similar instance; *+çI* is another formative also added to foreign bases. The initial consonant cluster, which contradicts Turkic phonotactics, was sometimes simplified to */s/*. Cf. the *EDPT* for the first vowel. Beside exs. of the verb quoted there (which include instances from the QB), we find it e.g. in BT VIII A 175, ShōAgon 2, p. 195, 4-5₂ and InscrOuig IV 26 and V 13. *soyurka-t-* is attested in InscrOuig I 7, II 45, III 3, 45 and 49 and V 4. At least as far as InscrOuig is concerned, it may have been borrowed back from Mo. Cf. also *erinčkä-* above.

yarlıg+ka- 'to be gracious; to command'. In Uigur, it is very often used as an auxiliary of majesty, which can be translated as 'to deign'. In the QB and in Middle Turkic it signifies 'to pardon (sins)'. *EDPT* and *DTS*; further exs. in BT II 264, ETS 15, 25 and 29 and elsewhere. In Erdal, 1979, the difference between *yarlıgka-* and *yarlıka-* is shown to be a matter of (chronological or stylistic) age. The *EDPT* discusses 1 *yarlıg* 'poor, destitute, pitiable' and 2 *yarlıg* 'command'.⁶⁶ 1 *yarlıg* usually appears in Uigur in a binomial with *erinç*. I take the original meaning of *yarlıgka-* to have been more or less similar to that of *erinčkä-* (q.v. above in this section), i.e. 'to feel compassion for and act or speak graciously to(wards) a pitiable person'. The honorific use of this verb must be secondary, and agrees with what one would consider to be a proper transfer in this pragmatic domain. This view does not explain the existence of 2 *yarlıg*; the semantic relationship between *yarlıg* 'command' and *yarlıgka-* 'to command' is not of the type found in this formation. Possibly, therefore, 2 *yarlıg* is a back-formation from *yarlıgka-* after the meaning of this verb was extended to mark social class. Note that *yarlıka-n-* (discussed below) signifies

⁶⁶ As the following instance shows, 1 *yarlıg* is probably a *+lXg* derivative from *yar* 'spittle': *bizni kodup kança b(a)rgalı sakınur siz? ... bo muntag irinç y(a)rlag, ağız yarlıg köz yaşlıg, nāçükin kodup barır siz?* (MaitrGeng 6 b 29). *irinç yarlıg* (instance to be added to the *EDPT*) is here collocated with 'spittle-mouthed' and 'teary-eyed'. *yarlıg bilmāz yağı* 'an enemy who knows no mercy' (BT XIII 16, 20) is a metaphor for death. It presupposes a meaning of *yarlıg* which I have not met elsewhere.

‘to pity’, and that *yarlıkançsız* and *yarlıkançuçı* (both discussed above in section 3.12) reflect only this meaning and not that typical of *yarlı(g)ka*.⁶⁷

(*ywKurkan-* is found in TuoLuoNi 361: *munkul bolup ärtürü ywKurkanıp* . . . , is, following the Chin. original, translated as “(der Bäg) wurde verwirrt, . . . , er erstaunte sehr und . . .”. The n. adds: “Die Bedeutung ‘wehklagen (?)’ (ATG) . . . ist aufzugeben, ebenso auch ‘skryvat’sja’ (DTS 270b), dazu Näheres in der Edition der uig. Avalokiteśvara-Sūtras.” Attested also twice in the Suv, in one of these instances as a biverb with *oyurkan-*: *nä anı körüp takı artokrak oyurkantı ywKurkantı* (621,16-17) ‘When she saw that, she was even more surprised₂’. Neither verb is mentioned in the *EDPT*; they do appear in the *DTS*, s.vv. ‘*yoyurqan-* I’ and *ujurqan-* respectively. I have no etymology for these verbs, if they do not signify ‘to bemoan’.)

We have already listed all the *-(X)n-*, *-(O)k* and *-(X)ñçIg* derivatives from verbs of this formation. *erınçkāt-* is a hap. in Warnke, *yarlıkat-* a hap. in UigTot and *soyurkat-* is found only in InscrOuig; a rare and late expansion indeed. See Schakir, 1933: 35-37 for modern exs. of *+(X)rkA-*.

In a few cases, *+(X)rkA-* appears to have been transferred to the verbal domain. This is the case with *tuy-urka-* from *tuy-* ‘to perceive, notice’, in Warnke 24: *[taş]tırtın bir tavış tuyuş ün äşidilti. ol tep tuyurkap körüp kođduktā, agulug yılan orduka agtunıp kälip* . . . The page on which this appears had been considered lost; as P. Zieme informs me, it has now been rediscovered as ms. Mz 272. No other Old Turkic formatives get added to both noun and verb bases, and one would want to explain this phenomenon away. One could evoke Mongolian, which has a formative *+rKA-*, dominant with bisyllabic bases. We find e.g. Mo. *omorka-* < *omoy* ‘conceit’, *bayarka-* < *bayan* ‘rich’, *üye+rke-* ‘to associate with people of one’s own age’, *čilegerke-*, *ünerke-*, *ejerke-* and many more. Poppe, 1954 par. 247 translates the meaning of this formative as “to possess of something in abundance”, however, which differs from what Old Turkic *+(X)rkA-* has been translated as. According to Prof. Doerfer (personal communication), the similarity is a coincidence. The relationship between the two should, I think, be looked into more closely, as some of the Old Turkic *+(X)rkA-* verbs *can* be understood to denote over-abundance. Similarly, one might want to derive *tuyurka-* from some nominal derivate from *tuy-*. No such derivate springs to mind, however; it would be a useless and *ad hoc* hypothesis to invent such a nominal. In the case of *tuyurka-*, at any rate, analogy with Mo. is of no help.

Another candidate for deverbal etymology is *kıs-ırkan-* in *DLT* in fol. 398: *är tavarın kısırkandı* “The man held on tightly to his money and was afraid to spend

67 The original Proto-Turkic verb for ‘to order, command’ should be *buyur-*, discussed in section 3.102 under *buyruk*; it became obsolete in all types of Old and Qarakhanid Turkic.

it". There is also a verse quotation, so that we can be sure that Kāšgārī did not make up the verb. The last line of this reads *amti anı kısırkan* referring to grain, translated "now hold on and do not spend it". The use of *kıs-in-* in DLT fol. 344 is quite similar: The ex. for it is *ār tavarın kısındı*, translated "The man was stingy with his wealth". One might want to derive *kısırkan-* from *kıs-ig*, if one could assume *+(X)rkA-* to have been dominant. This nominal, although well-attested in Uigur and found also in the DLT (discussed above), always signifies 'confinement', however; it appears also in Middle Turkic, where it means 'distress'. A derivate from *kıs-ig*, in short, would not have had the meaning which *kısırkan-* would demand. *isirkän-* from *isi-* 'to be hot' is translated by the *EDPT* "to come out in heat spots". This is the meaning assigned to the verb by the DLT, where the subject is *baş* 'head'. Following the DLT, the translation of *isirkänmək* in (Brāhmī) TT VIII 16 is "Hitzepickel". There is no reason to transfer this meaning to Uigur, however, when, moreover, the subject is not the head but the person as a whole. I prefer the rendering of *ät'öz isirkänip* (UigTot 1141; not in the dictionaries), which is "wenn den Körper Hitze befällt". The *EDPT* quotes North-East Turkic languages as using the verb to mean "to feel hot"; this is what it should signify also in Uigur. An early ex. occurs in MaitrH XVI 10 b 12: *burxanlag pariçatır sögüt kut bulmak* (read thus) *ülüşlög xua çaçäk yertinçüdä yagitur, ada tuda tınlaglar anıñ köligäsintä olorup ögirürlär sävinürlär. m(ä)n yana nızvanılag kün t(ä)ñri çoğıña . . . isirkänsär m(ä)n yaramagay* '(extended metaphor in which Buddha is a shade-giving tree;) it will not do for me to get heated up by the blaze of the sun of vice'. In this case, *isi-g* is attested and has the appropriate meaning. Since *+(X)rkA-* is not dominant with the ubiquitous *yarlıgka-*, however, it couldn't have been dominant here. *ämirkäş-* in BT III 990 must have gotten dissimilated from **ämri-rkä-ş-*, from *ämri-* "to itch" (DLT fol. 140). Considering *ätim barça ämrişti* (DLT fol. 125) and the fact that *-(X)rkA-* forms verbs of sensation, *ämirkäş-* should mean 'to feel itchy all over'. *yıdışka-* 'to smell, to scent (tr.)' is not in the *EDPT* but the *DTS* quotes it from Suv. It is attested also in BT III 245 (as *ıdış°*). It probably does not come from an *-Xş* derivate of *yıdı-* (which is not attested), but from *yıdı-ş-* (which is). *busurkan-* or *buşurkan-* is a hap. in SuvÇağ in a biverb with *busan-* (q.v. in section 7.21); it is quoted in the *DTS* under '*buşan-buşurkan-*' but not in the *EDPT*. The two verbs together might mean 'to be sorrowful', as *busan-* by itself does. *busan-* is related to *busuş* (section 3.103), and the two can be taken to have had the common base **busa-*. Whether hypothetical **busa-* should be taken to be a *+A-* derivate from *bus* 'fog' is questionable but not to be excluded. If this assumption is made, we could take a verb *bus+urka-n-* to come from the same base. Otherwise, we could read *buşurkan-* and derive that from *buş-* 'to be annoyed'. In the Codex Comanicus we find *könül açırğamax* translated as 'contritio cordis' i.e. 'remorse'; it should come from *açı-* 'to pity

etc.'. *yerig yirtzkayw kayutın sınar* . . . in BT III 285, on the other hand, is probably to be emended to *yerig yırtıp kayutın sınar* . . .; the letters Q'YW were probably repeated inadvertently.⁶⁸ *tuy-urka*, *isi-rkän-* and *yıdıſ-ka-* do, in any case, appear to be solid enough.

In view of the antiquity of *isi-rkän-*, we have to face the fact that the formative described in this section was both denominal and deverbal. Old Turkic has no other such formative, but note the formal and semantic similarity between *+(X)k-* and *-(X)k-* and between *+(A)d-* and *-d-*. *-(X)rkA-* expresses a *type of action*, as dealt with in part VI of this book.

5.3 Onomatopoeics and synaesthetics

The following sections will deal mostly with verbs and also with some nominals, which all denote sound-producing activities. The sound may be the main object of the activity denoted and its essential part, or it may be a byproduct unintended by the agent. The bases, where such are attested, are imitative of the sound produced.

Beside being a functional group, the formations discussed here have some phonic similarities as well; they must have been related in Proto-Turkic or in Proto-Altaic (if such a language ever existed). Where anything about such relationships can be said merely on the base of Old Turkic or Qarakhanid material, this has been done here. Most of that is outside the scope of this work, however. T. Tekin, 1983 is the most recent paper on the subject from the Altaistic point of view, and also sums up studies by earlier scholars. Further work will, I believe, benefit from additional documentation from the various languages and dialects, and from minute morphophonological analysis of the facts. I here intend to do this for Old Turkic, clearly a key language in this matter. I have used the Qarakhanid sources more than elsewhere, as the documentation of Old Turkic (most texts of which are rather distant from the sounds of this world) is rather scanty for these particular formatives.

5.31 +kIr- and +kI-

What the vowel of this suffix was can only be determined with rounded bases. This is the case only for two verbs here, and the evidence for them is little and uncertain. To bring comparative evidence into the matter would not really be

⁶⁸ A verb as here created would be unlike the other verbs in this formation in not having to do with senses and feelings, and a causative *-(X)z-* is not called for by the context.

scientific, as comparison must be based on what we know about the particular languages and not vice versa. Here are the data:

alakır- is found in Uigur only in a biverb with *kıkır-* 'to shout'. See the *UW*, and the *EDPT* for an Ottoman cognate. The base is not attested in Old Turkic. Cf. *alakır-ış-* among the *-(X)ş-* verbs. Both this derivate and *alakır-* have spellings with dotted Q in mss. which consistently distinguish it from its voiced counterpart.

ay+kır- 'to shout out loud' also has a distinctive dotted Q in the only Uigur (Manichaean) ms. in which it appears. See the *EDPT* both for this and for its base.

(*bakır-* 'to bellow'. Not attested before the DLT, where it is said to be Oguz. The Mo. cognate *barkira-* makes it possible that the base lives on in Republican Turkish *bar bar bağır-*; this would mean that a final /r/ was dropped from the end of the verb's first syllable by dissimilation.)

(*bırkır-* 'to snort', in the DLT. Cf. *bırkıg* 'snorting (of a horse or donkey)' in DLT fol. 232. The relationship between the two lexemes is discussed below.)

(*bükür-* 'to spurt out, spray' is attested thrice in Suv, quoted in the *DTS*. The variant *bürkür-* appears five times in DLT fol. 352. If *bürkür-* could be shown to be original, it would support the etymology for *bakır-* mentioned above. QB 98 and 4892 (quoted in the *EDPT*) have /i/ in the second syllable: In the former, the archetype must have had *büvkir-* while, in the latter, the mss. converge on *bürkir-*. As far as the first syllable is concerned, the QB may constitute an intermediary between the presence and the absence of the /r/.)

(*çakırış-* is said in DLT fol. 371 to signify 'to shout to one another' and to be in use in the Oguz dialect. *çakır-*, its base, appears neither in Old Turkic nor in Qarakhanid, but is found in south-west and western Turkic from the 13th cent. on: See the *EDPT*. It may be a borrowing from Sogdian, where *žyyr-* is common in this meaning.)

(*kakır-* 'to clear one's throat, to expectorate' appears in QB 4113 in mss. A and C, quoted in the *DTS*. B has *kıkır-* (q.v. below) instead, and is followed in the *EDPT* s.v. *kıkır-* and in Dankoff's translation. B not only changes the particular vowel, however, but has a wholly different couplet regular in verse and rhyme. Since B's couplet contains words from 4114, I prefer the AC version. The *EDPT* s.v. *kıkır-* also mentions some Middle Turkic evidence for *kakır-*.)

(*käkir-* 'to belch' is attested in the DLT, in Middle Turkic etc.; see the *EDPT*.)

kı+kır 'to shout'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. '*urla- qığır-*'. See the *EDPT* for *kı*; the DLT also has the binomial *orı kıkı* 'shouting', but *+kır-/ +kXr-* is semantically more appropriate than *+(A)r-*. An additional ex. is found in Suv 7,17, documented also by the ms. edited in SuvLeg. Add also

kıkırıp kaç- in Ernte 133, *kıkıru yorı-* in BuddhUig II 225 and *orlayu kıkıru* in both mss. in TuoLuoNi 86.

(*sıkır-* 'to whistle'. Attested in the DLT, Middle and Modern Turkic; see the *EDPT*.)

(*üşkir-* 'to hiss, shriek or whistle' is attested in DLT fol. 121 and then in Modern languages, for which see the *EDPT*. *ol utıg käyikkä üşKürdi*, which seems to appear in the same entry of the DLT, has been confused with *üşkir-* first by the copyist in an apparent rereading of the work, and after him by Clauson and DankKelly; it is a -gUr- causative discussed in section 7.54. Intr. *üşkir-* itself is used four times, with vultures, snakes and persons as subject. The copyist had first marked the second syllable of *üşkir-* as I in two of these four exs. and left the two others unmarked. When rereading he added a U to three of the four instances because of the confusion.)

While this last bit of evidence thus speaks for /I/ in the second syllable, /X/ would seem to be slightly preferable as far as *bükür-* etc. is concerned. With the exception of this last mentioned, all verbs of this formation are onomatopoeics in the strict sense: They denote the emission of sounds by living beings. *bürkür-* appears originally to have been an -Ur- causative (base actually attested in various Turkic languages as quoted in the *EDPT* entry for *bürkür-*). In Qarakhanid Turkic it was then assimilated to the +kIr- verbs, by its aorist vowel /A/ in the DLT, by twice /I/ in the second syllable of the stem in the QB. This transfer had not yet taken place in Uigur. The shape of the present formative was consistently +kIr-, then.

We have already quoted *kıkıru* from BuddhUig II and TuoLuoNi. Otherwise, the converb and aorist vowel of this formation is /A/: *kıkıra* in U IV C89 and 138 and Suv 641,3, *burkıra* (apparently belonging to *birkır-*) in BT III 159, *bürkirär/büvkirär* in the QB, and *bakırar, birkırar, bürkürär, käkirär, kıkırar* and *sıkırar* in the DLT. In Erdal, 1979a, the appearance of this vowel in these forms has been connected with Mo. +KirA- to show that the original, Proto-Turkic form of the formative was *kIrA-. A few onomatopoeic verbs ending in °krA- will be mentioned below. It will be difficult to connect the two sets convincingly, if it cannot be shown why the stem-final /A/ was dropped here but retained there. Note that *kıkır-* is one of the few +kIr- verbs which has a base actually attested in Old Turkic; on the other hand, it follows from T. Tekin, 1983 that this verb has no Mo. cognate. The fluctuation in its converb and aorist vowel may be explained by its being younger than the other relevant verbs. It may have been created after the final vowel of *kIrA- was dropped, and never have had the longer stem form.

The DLT's *birkır-* 'to snort' and *birkıg* 'snorting' are evidently related. The latter seems to presuppose a base *birk- or *birki- presumably synonymous with *birkır-*. I would prefer it to be *birki-, as there seems to have been a rare

onomatopoeic formative *+kI-* alongside the ones discussed in this chapter. It may appear in the following verbs:

okı- ‘to call; to call out loud; to summon; to recite’. Only in Qarakhanid Turkic does this verb acquire the meaning ‘to read’. Pe. *xāndan* shows the same semantic configuration. Exs. in the *EDPT* and elsewhere. May come from the exclamation *w̄* which, according to DLT fol. 32, is “a particle of response to a caller”.⁶⁹

okı- ‘to vomit’ in the DLT etc. (see the *EDPT*) may also belong to this formation, but I know of no base for it.

sukı- is, in Uigur, attested only with *ärngäk*, practically always as object. Together, they signify ‘to snap one’s fingers’: *ärngäk sukımı içintä* (ETŞ 12,49 as reread and interpreted by Zieme, personal communication) is ‘in (as long as it takes to) snap one’s fingers’. *ärngäk sukıgıñça üdtä* (Maitr 4 v20, 16 r18, 148 r25 and 197 v11 and MaitrH X 5 b7) also means ‘in a moment’. *ärngäkin/ärngäk sukıp udgurgalı sakın-* (Maitr 128 r24 and 29) is ‘intending to arouse (someone) by snapping one’s fingers’. Since this looks so similar to *suk ärngäk* ‘the index finger’, the verb may perhaps come from **suk+kı-*. *ol anı sukıdı* “He poked him with his finger” in DLT fol. 562 must have some other explanation. *sukı-* is tr., and therefore unlikely to have been formed with *+I-*.

tokı- ‘to hit, knock, beat; weave’ (common; see the *EDPT*) is probably a *+kI-* derivative from *tok*, an onomatopoeic: Cf. *tok tok etti* “Something solid made a noise like one stone striking another” in DLT fol. 167. It has a double /k/ in some Turkic languages.

Several nominal formatives are added to *tokı-*, and verbal formatives of various sorts appear both with *okı-* and *tokı-*. From *+kIr-* verbs, on the other hand, we have no nominal derivatives. The only verbal formative added to them is *-(X)ş-*, with *alakırış-*, *çakırış-* and *kıkırış-* attested. This is an important difference.

+kIr- could be derived from *+kI-* with the deverbal intr. formative *-(I)r-* discussed in section 6.3. This analysis is not in contradiction with a connection with Mo. *+KirA-*, as that could also be a composite suffix.

Verbs whose second syllable has the shape /^oKUr-/ or /^oGUr-/ cannot have belonged to the *+kIr-* formative even if they denote certain sounds. This includes *katgur-* ‘to laugh out loudly’ (discussed under *katguruş-* in section 7.1) and *yañkur-* ‘to echo, resound’. Nor can *ıkurmak* (Heilk II 3,30, translated “Atem-not”) belong here, in spite of *ık* ‘hiccough’ in the DLT and related lexemes in modern languages. Not, that is, if read correctly with *u* in the second syllable.

69 The *EDPT* read this as a long *o*, Dankoff and Kelly as a long *ü*.

5.32 Onomatopoeics and synaesthetics ending in °rA-

All verbs in this section are bisyllabic. In the Old Turkic instances, the /r/ is preceded by a velar, /k/, /g/ or /ŋ/. We shall also mention a few lexemes where the phoneme preceding the /r/ is /ç/ and /l/. If we include them, we relinquish the limitation to the shapes °krA-, °grA- and °ŋrA- as an essential one. We shall first present the evidence for the verbs themselves, and return to the formational relationships subsequently. These will lead us to the names for the sounds represented and to the lexemes used for imitating them. We start with the °ŋrA- verbs, which constitute the subset with the best documentation.

maŋra- 'to shout' is quite common. Beside the exs. quoted in the *EDPT*, we find it in Yosıpas 17, BT III 300, BuddhUig II 188 and 203, Maitr 35 v 14, MaitrH XVI 4 a 1, and PañcFrag 65 and 68. The parallel ms. for the last-mentioned, PañcFrag 87 and 90, has *müñrā-* instead. In MaitrH X 7 a 18 read *bo muntag . . . maŋırt maŋramıŝ üni* ['his voice shouting thus' instead of *maŋramıŝ üs[tün* (see facs.). Cf. *maŋra-n-* below.

müñrā- 'to bellow'. Among other places found in the IrqB, BT III 270 (*müñürā-*) and PañcFrag 87 and 90. Add also *ulıy muñrāyü* from Maitr 173 a r 4, 199 r 4 and 70 r 14, *katıg ünin muñrā-* (Maitr 203 v 10) and *ulug ünin müñrāyü . . . ötün-* (Maitr 78 r 8). In Suv 641,1, *ulug ünin müñrādi, orlayu kıkıra . . . sav sözlādi* is said of a *xatun*. Evidence for the first vowel comes from the Codex Comanicus, which has *sır muñreydir* "pecora clamant".⁷⁰

çırā- 'to jingle' is attested only from the DLT on, but cf. *çırā-t-* below.

(*ıñra-* 'to moan' is used in DLT fol. 73 of a she-camel. We also find *ıñrat-* (DLT fol. 441) and *ıñran-* (DLT fol. 147, also of a she-camel). *ıñra-* and *ıñran-* are attested also in Middle Turkic. The DLT also has a -(X)ŝ- verb which may or may not come from *ıñra-*. The lemma has the first syllable vowelised as *a* by the second hand but unvowelled by the first, and refers to babies in pain. Then there are three verse instances, all referring to clouds and to torrents pouring from them; these are either unvowelled (fol. 133), vowelised with *a* (fol. 461) or with *ı* (fol. 617).)

(*kāñrā-* may have stood in QB 4301, in what has been read as *uŝak söz ādärmā, yemā kıkñāmā*. 'kıkñā-' (q.v. in the *EDPT*) would be isolated. Now *yā* may easily be an error for *nün* and *nün* for *rā*, giving *k(ā)ñrā-*. The translation would then be 'Do not seek petty arguments and do not nag'. This fits the wider context perfectly. *kāñrā-n-* 'to grumble' (well attested in Uigur) and *kāñrāŝ-* 'to rant or nag at each other' are discussed below, *kāñirtsız* and *kāñrā-g* above. *kwñrān-* in DLT fol. 618 is unlikely to be from a different base: It is translated

70 This should not be transcribed as '*muñra-*', as Grønbech does.

the way we would translate the exs. of *kāṇrān-*, and Dankoff and Kelly think the U of all three instances may have been changed from A by a later hand.)

(*koṇra-* appears only in the DLT, where it describes the voice of boys deepening at the age of puberty. *koṇra-gu* (quoted the *EDPT* from the DLT, Middle Turkic etc., and found also in Maitr 31 v 13 and 139 r 10) is some kind of bell, on the other hand, while the Codex Comanicus translates *koṇranır men* as ‘ich murmere’. *koṇruk-* is discussed among the *+(X)k-* verbs.)

yaṇra- ‘to babble’. *EDPT* (which also quotes *yaṇrat-* from the DLT). In IrqB XXII the agent of this verb, as well as of *kāṇrān-*, is, of course, the *uzuntonlug* who dropped her mirror into the lake. Add *yala yaṇragu* from BT III 261 and 352 (but cf. the n. to SuvStockh 49-50).

In nearly the same number of verbs, the /r/ is preceded by a non-nasal velar: *çıkra-* ‘to squeak, to grate’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT; see that also for the DLT’s *çıkra-ş-*. In Warnke 629, *ḡnlAr çıkrayu ünüp* [is wrongly translated as “[aus seinem Mund] kamen knirschend [unzählige Insekten und Würmer] hervor”. Cf. *çıkra-t-* below. A further ex. should perhaps be read in BuddhUig II 105, quoted under *kaṇsıla-* among the *+lA-* verbs above: Tekin has an unattested ‘*çırına-*’.⁷¹

(*çiKrä-* is attested in DLT fol. 567, transcribed with *k* by Dankoff and Kelly but with *g* in the *EDPT*. The DLT being our only source for this verb, both seem possible to me. The DLT translates *ätmäktä taş çiKrädi* as “The teeth grated on the gravel that is in bread”, but the subject of the verb in Turkic is clearly *taş* and not ‘the teeth’.)

çokra- ‘to bubble and boil’, usually of a thick liquid. As the *EDPT* writes, this verb is attested in M III 9,15₂ (text 4) and in the DLT. We find it also in Maitr 171 v 5 (of black fumes) and 218 r 23 (lost ms.) and BT II 554. Cf. *çokra-ş-* in the DLT, and *çokra-t-* below.

kükrä- ‘to roar, bellow, thunder’ is wrongly written with *ö* in the first syllable both in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*; the former connects it with *kök* ‘sky’. *kükrä-* had a short *ü*, however, whereas *kök* had a long *ö*, as Ottoman, Chuv. etc. show. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* are Ht IV 539 and V 2 b 4, BT VIII B 153, Hochzeit 29, Mängi 22 etc. The DLT also has *kükrä-ş-*, and cf. *kükrä-t-* below.

(*okra-* ‘to whinny’ is attested in the DLT, Middle Turkic etc., *okraş-* in the DLT. See them in the *EDPT*.)

tigrä- is attested in DLT fol. 567, in *at adakı tigrädi*. Dankoff and Kelly spell it as

71 A connection with the DLT’s *çlrIḡ* “onomatopoeic for the sound of a brass basin or the like” is unlikely, as the nasals differ and as the BuddhUig II passage is a description of birds’ activities. Zieme (personal communication) says the word is difficult to read in the ms.

'*tikrā-*' (Arabic script using the same character for front /k/ and /g/), but we have *tigrā-t-* with G in Runic script. Both the *EDPT* and DankKelly translate the quoted sentence as "The horse's hoof (hooves) clattered"; but *dawiya*, the Arabic verb used by the DLT, has the wider meaning of 'to resound'. This is corroborated by an Uigur ex. of *tigrā-t-* which does not apply to horses (quoted below in the appropriate section). The IrqB instance of *tigrät-*, mistranslated in the *EDPT*, also agrees with *tigrā-* 'to resound'. The DLT has *tigrā-š-* as well (of horses again).

Other consonants before °rA- are quite rare. *saçra-* 'to jump up or out, to fly (of sparks), spirt etc.', e.g., may be a synaesthetic verb, but note its semantic contiguity to (tr.) *saç-* 'to scatter, sprinkle'. Beside what appears in the *EDPT*, we have *saçırayu ün-* in Suv 315,5 and BT XIII 19,76, *közümüz karakımız saçrayur* in Maitr 172 v15 and further exs. in Maitr 171 v28 and Maitr XI 9 b14. Cf. *saçra-t-* below. *sayra-* 'to twitter', *titrä-* 'to shake or tremble' and *täprä-* 'to move, stir, shake' could also be synaesthetics. In three verbs in the DLT, the first syllable ends in /l/. In all three cases, a parasitic voiced dental appears between the /l/ and the subsequent /r/ (as in Spanish *hombre* < **homne*, Greek *andra* < **anra* etc.):

çalra- in DLT fol. 567: *ok keştä çalradı* 'The arrows rattled in the quiver'. In fol.

636, *çaldra-* is said to be onomatopoeic for sound made by gravel, or by a chain falling on the ground.

kaldra- 'to rustle (of a garment)' is listed in DLT fol. 636.

kwlrä- appears in fol. 568 of a stone making a sound in a well. In DLT fol. 636-7, *taş kudug içrä kwldrädi* (thus) is translated as "The stone resounded in the well and indicated its depth".

twldra- in DLT fol. 636: *toy*⁷² *twldradı* "The people dispersed on all sides" (Oguz dialect).

The variants of these verbs which have *d*'s are in fact spelled as *çaldıra-* (thrice), *kaldıra-* (thrice), *kwldürä-* (thrice) and *twldura-*, the additional vowel being by the first hand in the three verbs mentioned first. Both the *EDPT* and Dankoff and Kelly list the lemmata as I have done, and the *EDPT* explains that they appear "in a section for disyllabic verbs". Anaptyctic /X/ before /r/ is characteristic for very late Old Turkic in general,⁷³ and appears also in other verbs mentioned in this section: We have noticed *mañıra-n-*, *müñürä-* and *saçıra-*. These are late variants, with no bearing on the question of what the original shape of the present formative may have been. The shape (C)VCrA- is common to all its products, the con-

72 By Dankoff and Kelly erroneously changed to *boy* 'clan'. *toy* 'a company of people, a multitude' is well attested.

73 See Erdal, 1979: 158.

sonant preceding the /r/ being one of the three velars in practically all Old Turkic instances.

Among the derivatives, *koŋra-gu* 'bell' has already been mentioned. *käŋräK* 'kettle-drum' in BT VII A 149a, 376, 386 and 616 is unlikely to be derived from *käŋrä-* or *käŋrän-* 'to nag or grumble'; according to the distribution in modern languages, it must be a loan from Mo. *kenggerge*. This is suggested also by the shamanistic nature of BT VII A on the one hand, and the specific semantic domain of *käŋrän-* on the other. The possible connection of the two over Proto-Altaic cannot be discussed here. What is common to these three lexemes, though, is the fact that they denote implements made for emitting sounds. Another INSTRUMENT noun related to this formation is *çınratgu* in KP, mentioned under *çınra-t-* below. There is, finally, *çınırçak* 'cymbals', attested in BT III 972, BT VII A 164 and 628 and Hochzeit 25. This lexeme might come from **çınır*, the possible base of *çınra-*: Cf. *çınıl çınıl* in the DLT. It might also come from **çınırt-+çak*, as *oçuk* comes from *ot+çuk* (discussed in section 2.72); *+çAk* is usually a diminutive suffix (q.v. at the end of section 2.12), but cf. *bi+çäk*, *kapırçak* and *sörçük/sörçäk*, which are not. We are reminded, finally, of the deverbal instrument formative *-gUç*, which metathesises to *-çUK* after bases ending in /n/ or /r/ (section 3.21). Cf. also *çınra-k ün* 'a loud, clear sound' in DLT fol. 611.⁷⁴

Action nouns from onomatopoeics in *°rA-* are consistently formed with *-(U)t*, discussed in section 3.108 above. We find *maŋırt* from *maŋra-*, *käŋırtsız* related to *käŋrä-*, *tigirt* (and *tigirtsız*) from *tigrä-*, *kükürt* from *kükrä-*. These forms cannot be interpreted to indicate that *°ŋrA-* verbs once ended in *°ŋXr-*, *°grA-* verbs in *°gXr-* or *°krA-* verbs in *°kXr-*: No action nouns in *°t* are attested from onomatopoeic verbs in *+klr-/+kXr-* (discussed in section 5.31) as base; *täprä-* 'to stir (intr.)', hardly an onomatopoeic, is the base of *täpirtsız*, and there are explanations for the shape of these lexemes. Interestingly enough, the /r/ is preceded by an extra vowel also in *çınırçak* (just mentioned). Nor should *kaldurga ton* 'a rustling garment' (DLT fol. 635) < *kaldra-* be changed to '*qaldraya*', as Dankoff and Kelly do.

We have to distinguish between the name of the sound-producing activity, the name of the sound and the imitation for the sound. For *tigrä-*, all three of these happen to be attested: *tigirt*, the name of the activity, is an *-(U)t* nominal. The imitation is attested in DLT fol. 182 in (*at adakı*) *tigir tigir etti* '(The horses' hooves) made such a sound'. The name of the sound is *tigi* (Suv 166,6, TT I 90 and

74 The lemma following this one in the DLT is written an QNKRO. This is interpreted as *koŋra-k* both by Brockelmann and the EDPT, who variously 'emend' the Arabic translation to signify, respectively, 'bell' and 'cymbal'. Dankoff and Kelly read *qaŋrıq* and make it likely that the Arabic, which in fact signifies 'palate', is correct. The word is found in Idräk 75 with the meaning 'cartilage of the nose' and may, in some garbled form, appear in Khot 49. This entry has nothing to do with the present formation, then.

135, Maitr 50 v5). Cf. *tigisiz* (ETŞ 8,13 and ShōAgon 1,310). DLT fol. 547 translates *tigi* with *dawī* (from the same root as the lexeme which Kāšgarī uses to translate *tigrā-*), “heard”, he writes, “during the night”. Dankoff and Kelly render *dawī* as “a rustling noise”.⁷⁵

To judge by the evidence collected in the DLT, the verbs discussed in this section appear to have been created by using the formative +A- (q.v. above): *koñur ün* “a hoarse voice” (DLT fol. 603) must be the base of *koñra-* as translated above, and cf. *koñr+uk-* below. *çiKir çiKir* “sound of teeth [chewing] bread that has grit in it so the teeth are set on edge” (DLT fol. 183) is clearly the base of *çiKrä-* (q.v. above) by both content and phonic form. The same can be said about *ok keştä çaldır çaldır etti* (DLT fol. 230) and *çalra- ~ çaldra-* (also DLT), q.v. above. Thus also *tigir tigir et-* and *tigrä-*, both discussed above. However, as long as these bisyllabic °Xr lexemes are documented only by the DLT evidence and practically all the °rA- verbs which can be explained by this are also found only in the DLT, it remains possible that the former are in fact back-formations.

Where the sound-imitating segment is monosyllabic, no derived verbs are generally created: *kulakım çın etti*, *dañ doñ et-*, *kulakım sıl etti*, *çak çWk et-* are all listed in DLT fol. 600. *tWñ tWñ et-* (*ibid.*), however, is perhaps doubled by *tWñla-* (q.v. among the +LA- verbs).

If the base is bisyllabic and vowel-ending, +LA- is generally used: *tigilä-*, *tññla-* (q.v. in the EDPT), *çagıla-*, *kakıla-* are some of the examples. Some synaesthetics of the shape yVltri- are discussed in section 5.42.

The bases of *mañra-*, *münrä-*, *ınra-*, *känrä-*, *yañra-*, *çıkra-*, *çokra-*, *kükrä-*, *okra-*, *kaldra-*, *kwl(d)rä-* and *twldra-* are not attested either in Old Turkic or in Qarakhanid. In some cases, on the other hand, we have the imitative bisyllabic °r form but not the corresponding °rA- verb. Thus e.g. *taş kudugka tüşti buldur buldur etti* in DLT fol. 229. The base of *çınra-* is not attested either, but cf. *yügün çInIl çInIl etti* (vowels by the second hand) in DLT fol. 604. Sometimes, we have the -(U)t derivate of an onomatopoeic but not the verbal base. In DLT fol. 586, we read that *çağı+la-* (q.v. in section 5.12) has the variants *jagıla-* and *şagıla-*. Similarly, *çogi+la-* (a different verb discussed together with *çağı+la-* above) may have had a variant **şogıla-*. The same relation may hold between *çogurt söğüt* ‘whispering trees’ (ETŞ 8,13) and *ulug tigirt şogirt turgurdılar* (BT III 233-4). It seems unlikely to me that one should read the former as *çokurt* and connect it with *çokra-* ‘to emit the sound of bubbling and/or boiling’, or read the latter as ‘*sogirt*’

75 Kāšgarī writes: “The word has *kasra* (I) on the *tā*’, but in my opinion *naşb* (A) would be better.” He holds this opinion because he (unacceptably) suggests connecting *tigi* with *tāg-* ‘to arrive, etc.’. Since he does not say that anybody actually pronounced the lexeme as ‘*tegi*’ of ‘*tāgi*’, Dankoff and Kelly are wrong in mentioning *tegi* as a possible alternative to ‘*tiki*’. See above under *tigrä-* for the voicedness of the velar.

(as the editor does). *çogı* is attested; in Suv 166,6, e.g., together with *tigi* as BT III has *şogirt* together with *tigirt*. While *tigrä-* is common, however, there is no **çogır/çogur*, nor a verb **çogra-*: Its function is filled by *çogıla-*. Sometimes, derivatives are formed by analogy: *sıgt* and *yıgı* are near synonyms from which, respectively, *sıgt+a-* and *yıgla-* (with *+lA-*) are derived. In *yıgt sıgtuların tarkarıp...* (UigTot 131), however, the analogy of *sıgt* caused the addition of a *°t* also to *yıgı*.

It is interesting that no nominal derivatives at all are attested from *+kIr-/+kXr-* verbs, while the onomatopoeic verbs ending in *°rA-* (mostly preceded by a velar) have so many expansions. There are differences also in the verbal domain: The former are expanded only with *-Xs-*, the latter often with *-(X)t-* and *-(X)n-*. *-(X)s-* expansions of *°rA-* onomatopoeics are found only in the DLT and may have been impossible in Old Turkic proper.

5.4 Intransitive denominals

5.41 *+U-*

The formatives *+U-* and *+I-* can, like *+A-*, be added only to bases ending in consonants. In this they differ from *+(A)d-*, *+(X)k-* and *+(A)r-*. Unlike *+A-* but like these latter three, *+U-* and *+I-* only form intr. verbs. *+I-* is not a conditioned variant of *+U-*: Both are added e.g. to bases ending in /d, r, n/; *+U-* forms verbs with a well-defined semantic profile, whereas *+I-* verbs are semantically varied. *+I-* alters some final phonemes in its bases. The two formations will therefore be dealt with separately; *+U-* verbs here, *+I-* verbs in the next section.

agr+u- ‘to be or become heavy; of an illness, to become serious or severe’ is attested only once in Uigur, discussed in the *UW* under *agrumak*. Cf. also *agru-k*, *agrukla-*, *agruklan-*. The *EDPT*, which confuses *agru-* with *agri-* ‘to ache, to be painful’, quotes the evidence from the DLT and the QB. Both the DLT and the QB have both the metaphorical use of *agru-* (found in the Uigur instance) and the basic one.

(*alḡu-* ‘to wane (*küçi*)’ is discussed in the *UW* s.v. *al(ı)ḡu-*; see *alḡad-* in section 5.43 for the base. The ex. of *alḡu-* is ‘emended’ away in the *EDPT* s.v. *alanḡad-*;⁷⁶ the facts. is clear, however, and the two verbs have distinct meanings. ‘*alqu-* “sich erschöpfen” in ATSS IX a r5, B5 is probably to be read as *algu-* and must be this same verb.’⁷⁷ The dialect of the frs. excerpted in that publication replaces /ḡ/ with /g/ also in other lexemes.)

76 This was suggested already by Gabain in the n. to TT V A 88. By the way, there is no denominal ‘*+Ur-*’ formative, as she writes.

77 The *UW* entry is to be changed accordingly, and the entry ‘*alku-*’ in *UW* 104 a deleted. To judge by the translation of the ATSS verb, its base cannot have been *alg* (q.v. in the *UW* and the *EDPT*).

az+u- 'to become less'. Not in the *EDPT*. Appears in Suv 379,23 (biverb with *ägsü-*) and 480,19, in both cases in the expression *kutı buyanı azumış*. In his n. to Neujahr 16, Zieme mentions a Berlin fr. of this latter instance, which writes *azum[ış]*. Attested also in Shō III a3 (with *yañıl-*), BuddhStab II 1 = BT XIII 49,15 (misunderstood in both editions; with *buzul-*) and Neujahr 16 (parallel to *yokad-*).

✓ *bay+u-* 'to be or become rich'. *EDPT* only from the DLT and the QB on. In Uigur, only the infinitive is attested: In TT I 95-96, *bayumak* has been read correctly in the reedition in ETS; cf. the facs. Further exs. are *äd t(a)var üzä bayumak* (Neujahr 65) and *bayumaklıg çog yalın* (ShōKenkyū III 30).

bä(r)k+ü- 'to be or get firm'. *EDPT* s.v. *bekü-*; Clauson is right about reading this verb also in QB 1772, against Arat's established text and against the *İndeks*. A Middle Turkic ex. not mentioned in the *EDPT* is *bärkü-* in the glosses of the Rylands Coran translation. An instance in BT I B (74) is dubious. *Bä(r)kümiş* is a N. Pr. in UigLeih, written without R in ls. 2 and 4 and with in l.9. A *Bäkümüš Totok* appears in DvaKol I 20. Cf. *bäkü-t-* below.

çıgr+u- is a hap. in DLT fol. 567, translated as "The ground was trampled and hardened from so much stamping and walking on it". *çıgır* in the DLT and in Ottoman being 'a path (created by repeated walking)', the basic meaning of *çıgru-* must be '(of the ground) to become a path'. The DLT also has *çıgru-t-* and *çıgru-k yer* 'ground that is trampled down hard'.

✓ *çın+u-mak* . . . *könül* in Ht X 235 may, by the context, signify either 'truthfulness' or 'the habit of constantly looking for the truth'. The only other form of this verb attested is *çınıyu* 'truthfully' in Ht IV 1709 and BT I B (175) = D(93). In the last-mentioned instance it is opposed to *yeläyü* and thus comparable to *çın+layu*; see these two in part IV.

✓ *kad+u-* 'to turn into a blizzard' is a hap. in SuvStockh 83: *kadır yavlak yagmur yagıp üdsüz kolosuz kaduyur* 'Grim and harmful rains fall and, out of season, turn into blizzards'. The mss. have Q'TWYWR and Q'DYYWR respectively. Cf. *kad* 'blizzard (which kills people)' in DLT fol. 508, and the *EDPT* for Middle Turkic. P. Zieme mentions Kirgh. *kayı-* 'to feel cold'; this verb could come either from *kadu-* or from '*kadı-*'. The eds. write "*katuyur* bleibt vorerst unklar" and leave it practically untranslated.

kaln+u- '(of a thin thing) to become thick' is a hap. in DLT fol. 576. From *kalın* 'thick, dense'.

keñ+ü- 'to become wide, broad' is quoted in the *EDPT* from QB 5915, the DLT, Ottoman, etc. It is attested also in Ht IV 78 (with *bädü-* 'to grow'), QB 5657 and 6419 and found, in addition, in the glosses of the Rylands Coran translation. *keñü-r-* and its derivatives are very common (section 7.51 etc.).

kız+u- ‘to rise in price (of merchandise)’ is a hap. in DLT fol. 560, from *kız* ‘expensive’.

tar+u- ‘to be or become narrow, strait or constricted’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, the QB and one Middle Turkic source. Other Middle Turkic evidence comes from the glosses of the Rylands Coran translation, which has it six times and *taru-t-* four times. Attested also in the ms. Mz 627 (T II S19b) 14d, in Brāhmī, to be published by D. Maue: *gaumuṣṭi* (a swelling) *tarumuṣ ārsār* . . .

(*yeriñü-* ‘to be or become sorry or sorry for somebody; to be moved’, in Suv 619,8 and 644,9 (both mentioned in the *DTS* entries v. ‘*jiriñü-*’ and in *UW* 40 bs. vv. *açığ I A,a* and *açıt- II*), *HtPar* 44 r 16, Warnke 67 and 343. ‘*könüli yeriñäyü*’ in *Maitr* 12 v 10 is in fact an instance of this verb. I write it with *e* in the first syllable and list it in this formation under the assumption that the base is an (unattested) *-(X)ñ* derivate (see section 3.116) from *yer-* ‘to disapprove etc.’, and not *yiriñ* ‘pus’.)

Two verbs ending in °*U-* look as if they were derived from verbs:

(*säşü-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 562: *tügün säşüdi* “The knot weakened and nearly came loose” must, in some way, be related to *säş-* ‘to loosen, untie, unfasten’, by the DLT mentioned in a sentence with *tügün* as object. In section 3.103 we found, however, that *-Xş* is lost haplogically when added to bases ending in /*ş*/. Thus, *tüş* comes from *tüş-*, *tuş* from *tuş-*, *sış* from *sış-*, *koş* from *koş-* and so forth; this is the only explanation for the fact that no full-length *-Xş* derivates from °*ş-* verbs are attested. *säşü-* therefore no doubt comes from **säş*, an *-Xş* derivate from *säş-*. Räsänen, 1957: 163 refers to “uig. *säş-ü-* ‘sich losmachen’ from *säş-* ‘lösen’”; no such instance is known to me.)

(*adru-* ‘to be superior to (with dat. or abl.), excel (in something, ablative or *üzä* phrase)’ has been derived from *adır-* ‘to separate (tr.)’. Thus the *UW* entry, which mentions two *Ht* instances. We find *adru-* also in [xo]rmuzta v(a)çırınta *adrumış kögüzlüg* “der eine . . . den Vajra des Indra übertreffende Brust hat” (BT XIII 1,43) and *ayun künt[in] ad[r]umuş* (BT XIII 19,59) “Mond und Sonne übertreffend”. This last phrase is used parallel to *altunlug tagtın yegädmış*, which corroborates the interpretation. In Warnke 783, *kutrulmaklıg ädgüg bulmaz m(ä)n adruyu barıp* has, I think wrongly, been translated as “mich loslösend”; I think the sentence means ‘I have not, moving towards excellence, been able to attain the benefit of liberation’. *adruyu bar-* may appear also in *BuddhUig I* 11: Shōgaito, who edited the passage previously,⁷⁸ read it as *ädgü nomlar üzä adruyu*

78 Publication nr. 10 in Nachtrag 1 to the *UW* bibliography. “ETS 406 u.” in the *UW* lemma for ‘*adrun-*’ refers to this same passage, as quoted in a n. of Arat’s. Röhrborn does not translate the verb and writes “Kont. unklar”. He derives ‘*adrun-*’ directly from *adır-*, although such a derivate would have an unrounded vowel in the second syllable. This *UW* lemma should be deleted.

barıp . . . nirvanka kirürlär. The construction here is similar to *tıgrak bitimäk üzä ađradı* (thus, by error?) in one of the Ht exs. Arat (n. to ETŞ 15,31) and Ş. Tekin thought they saw '*adrunu*', but Zieme (personal communication) says that *adruyu* is likelier. *bilgä biliglig üni üzä adırmuş* "der sich durch seine Weisheits-Stimme auszeichnet" in BT II 643 is also likely to be a mistake for *adru*.⁷⁹ TT V B 67 and 75, finally, definitely also contain *adru*-, not any of the suggested 'emendations': *bilgä biligdin adrudaçı*⁸⁰ 'excelling by wisdom' happens to be parallel to *kutrul-makdın b(ä)küdüçi*, the same construction with a +U- verb; it signifies 'strengthened through liberation'. In section 6.3 I reconstruct **ad-* or **adı-* to account for *adın*, *adıl* and *adır-*. If the aorist could serve as a base for derivation (which is not certain), *adru-* might come from the aorist **adı-r* of this verb, using +U-. It does not seem too likely to me that it should be a back-formation from *adr-ok* (which would take the base off my distinction between *adr-ok* and *adru-k* as two lexemes) since this hypothesis does not explain the semantic differentiation, since *adrw-* is rather well attested and such back-formations not too common in Old Turkic. *adru-* is certainly not a 'variant' of *adır-*, as it differs from it in shape, meaning and government. No deverbal formative '-U-' can yet be postulated, as some might be tempted to do for the sake of Altaistic comparison (following Ramstedt): A single verb does not make a formation.)

boş+u- 'to become empty, free or loose' is attested only in DLT fol. 561: *anıñ özi boşudı* signifies "He moved his bowels", the basic meaning presumably being 'His self (or: core) became empty'. This may have been the only meaning of *boşu-* known to the author of the QB: *boşu-* itself is not found there,⁸¹ but in QB 1059 and 6010 we find (*özin*) *boşutgu* 'to administer a purgative'. The DLT further has *tügün boşudı* "The knot weakened" and *at boşudı* "The horse was released from its tether". Note that the last sentence is ambiguous: In the Tu. sentence as it stands, *boşu-* can be understood as intr. and as having the horse as subject: Its

79 The original ms. is lost now, and *adır-* was, of course, the *lectio faciliior*. The par. 9 of *adır-* in UW 54a can, I think, be deleted: Beside this instance, it contains a phrase in Suv which constitutes a misunderstanding of the Chin. original. Being just a slavish translation of the Chin. characters, it can be assigned no meaning at all, or else also be taken to signify 'those who attained a separating from the world'. In other words, *adır-* never really signifies "sich auszeichnen(?)".

80 Thus in 1.75. *bilgä biliglikin adrutaçı* is an error with little bearing. In his n. to ETŞ 15,31, Arat expresses surprise at the fact that the conjecture *adrut-* should have been included in the Analytical Index; it is even more surprising that this ghost lives on in the UW. '*adır-t-*', a variant ghost, is mentioned in the UW under **adırt-*. The DTS entry '*adırt-*' quotes instances of *adır-* in QB 2080 and 2787. *adırtıklıg* in TT VIII G 67 is probably an error in fragmentary context; what should have stood there will be found out when the source is discovered.

81 '*boşaŋ*' in couplet 2302 of the published text is Arat's conjecture. The text should read *tuşaŋ*, both by the mss. and by the meaning.

meaning would then be ‘The horse became free’. Another reading, however, gives ‘(He) released the horse’; Kāšgārī’s interpretation is, in a way, between the two. Taking *boşu-* to be tr. and *at* to be its object does not accord with the previous two sentences, nor what we have hitherto learned about *+U-*: that it derives intr. verbs from nominals. *boşu-* comes, of course, from *boş* ‘empty, free’. But the sentences mentioned next in the DLT even have objects with accusative suffixes: *xan yalavaçığ boşudı* ‘The king permitted the messenger to return to the one who sent him’; *är uragutın boşudı* ‘The man divorced his wife’. Kāšgārī adds that *boşu-* is both tr. and intr. In Uigur, however, only the tr. use of *boşw-* is attested. Beside the seven Manichaean and Buddhist exs. quoted in the *DTS* s.v. *boşu-* and *boşumaq* and in the *EDPT*, we find it in *Yosıpas* 105, *HtPek* 96 v3-4, *BuddhBio* 25, *UigSukh* 9, *Maitr* 112 r8, 177 v4, and 52 v20, *Abhi* 1401, *ShōAv* 141 and *Ht X* 1042. All have meanings like ‘to release, give leave, liberate and set free’. In one case the object is the bonds and fetters holding one in bondage; in another one the sins, which have an analogous effect on one’s spiritual life. In other instances, however, *boşw-* receives personal objects. Middle Turkic and the modern languages agree in assigning this tr. meaning to a verb *boşa-*. The connection with *boş* being beyond doubt, Uigur *boşw-* cannot be primary: It is either the result of a rounding of *boş+a-*⁸² or some extension of the intr. use of *boş+u-* found in Qarakhanid, or a back formation from *boşu-n-* ‘to free oneself, to get free’. This verb (discussed in section 7.21) may also have pushed intr. *boşu-* out of use. Within the present formation, *boşu-* is clearly an exception, at any rate; it will not be included in the syntactic discussion.

taşu- ‘to convey’ is not derived from *taş* ‘outside’. This verb is attested in *ol ävkä yarmak taşudı* ‘He conveyed the money (thus against Dankoff and Kelly) to his house’ (DLT fol. 561). Also in *Ht VII* 16 b5 (against Arlotto’s t’š’dy with Zieme, personal communication): *Samtso Açarı k(ä)ntü özi sapdıçta liñtsita luKçün yūdūp taşudı* ‘The Tripiṭaka Master himself loaded and conveyed bricks in baskets.’ Neither of these refers to transportation to the outside; nor do Middle Turkic exs.: *taşu-* should be a simplex.

Later *+U-* verbs can be found in Schakir, 1933: 24-5.

+U- verbs are expandable with causative *-(X)t-*: *bayu-t-* and *bäkü-t-* are discussed below; the DLT has *çıgru-t-*, and *taru-t-* has been quoted above from a Middle Turkic source. ‘*adru-t-*’, on the other hand, is unlikely to have existed, as explained under *adru-* above. Causative expansion with *-(U)r-* may also have been possible: *keñür-* is rare but the petrified converb *keñürü* is exceedingly com-

82 *+A-* verbs with /o/ in their bases, like *ot+a-* and *kor+a-*, did not undergo such a rounding, but the *b* may have helped: There is no *+A-* derivative from any nominal starting with *bO°* in our text. Cf., on the other hand, *bul(u)n+a-*.

mon, and cf. *keñürt-* and *keñürül-*. A -(U)r- derivate from *bäkü-* is not attested, but cf. the petrified converb *bäk(ü)rü*, and *bäkürt-* in the QB. See below for the distribution of these two causative formatives. Other expansions are exceedingly rare: There is a hapax *adru-l-*, and the DLT has *taru-n-*. The base of *boşlun-* (q.v. in section 7.22) is *boş+w-*, not a typical +U- verb. -(X)ş- expansions of +U- verbs are not known to me at all. *alañur-* is derived from *al(a)ñu-* with the type-of-action formative -(I)r-, discussed in section 6.3.

Eleven +U- verbs are attested in Old Turkic proper. They are usually accompanied only by their agents. Thus e.g. the exs. of *kad+u-*, *tar+u-* (ms. Mz. 627) and *adru-* (Warnke 783) as quoted above. Such sentences can be found also in the UW, in 94b for *alñ+u-* and in 40b (s.vv. *açl-* (II) and *açığ* (I) A,a) twice for *yeriñü-*. One further ex. is *buzulup azuyu barıp alkingu batgu tög bolmış* (BT XIII 49,15; agent lost in lacuna). The government of the locative case by *adru-* (in BT XIII 1,43 quoted above, and in Ht VII 1902⁸³) is a lexical matter not connected with the function of +U-. Discussing *adru-*, we also mentioned a passage in which *adru-* and *bäkü-* appear with ablative case forms; these refer to the domain within which the verb applies.

More interesting are the three instances where +U- verbs are accompanied by *üzä* phrases: With passive verb forms, nominals governed by the postposition *üzä* refer to the agentive, the source of the action; if this were the case with +U- verbs, they would have to be classified as passives. An instance of *bayu-* and three of *adru-* with *üzä* phrases have already been mentioned. We also have *adkaK vişay üzä azumadın yañılmadın* (Shō III a3), where an *azu-* form appears parallelly to one with the shape of a passive. In none of these sentences does the *üzä* phrase represent an active agent, however: In all of them, it refers to the REASON for which the process takes place, the concrete or abstract INSTRUMENT which lets it do so. *äd tavar*, *ädgü nomlar*, *ıgrak bitimäk* and *adkaK vişay* are not entities capable of instigating an event.

5.42 +I- and synaesthetics in °trI-

This is a formation for intr. verbs. Most of them, like the ones in the previous section, signify 'to become what the base nominal denotes'. We shall first deal with these, and then come to the other +I- derivatives:

käd+i- 'to flourish, to grow vigorous' comes from *käd* 'good, vigorous, tough', discussed in the EDPT. It appears in *ııgaçda törümış tüş yemişlär kädıyür* (Suv 517,9-10), published in UI 27,4 together with the Chin. original.⁸⁴ The aorist of

⁸³ Quoted in the UW entry as Ht II 1902; my 'VII' refers to the subdivisions within the work proper.

⁸⁴ Not mentioned in the DTS. The EDPT wanted to 'emend' *kädi-* to *bädü-* 'to grow bigger'.

kādi- appears in l.5 of ms. T II D 315 (Mz 738) published in ETŞ p. 218, in the N. Pr. *Kādir Inal*; read this instead of ‘*Kedin*’ of the text. *Kādir* is also part of the name *Kādir Yalu* in USp 84,2 (so to be read instead of ‘*kādūr*’). *Kādirā* in USp 48,2 is an expansion of this name; ms. T II D 315 l.5 could, according to P. Zieme, also have had *Kādirā* with the end lost in a lacuna: See +A in section 2.14 above.

öl+i- ‘to be or get moist’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT on. It appears also in *suvka kirsār ölimägäy* (Kuan 17).

When bases end in /z/ or /š/, these consonants are replaced by /r/ and /l/ respectively under +I- expansion. This descriptive statement could be replaced by an explanatory one only within a theory accounting for Altaic rhotacism and lambdacism as a whole. I have already remarked elsewhere about the connection between palatalisation and these phenomena.

sāmri- ‘to be or become fat or corpulent’ comes from *sāmiz* ‘fat, corpulent’ under syncopation of its second vowel. Quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT and the QB on; attested also in *yayıtda sāmrimiş yagış* ‘Opfertier fett geworden auf der Weide’ (BT XIII 39,24). *sāmri-t-* (q.v. below) appears already in the IrqB, and *sāmiz* is common in Old Turkic.

sekri- ‘to jump, start off (intr.)’ is documented in the *EDPT*, and cf. *sekri-t-* below and *sekri-k* above. In addition, *sekri-* appears in Maitr 33 v 18 and 105 r 15 and (metathesised to *sārki-r*) Hochzeit 32. *EDPT* and *DTS* do not have the base *sekiz* but it is found in Maitr: In *tetik sekiz biliglig ü[zä]* ‘Because (he) is sharp-witted and bright’ (4 r 23), *y(i)ti sekiz bilgä biligin ulag sapıg nomug tetrü körüp* (153 v 12 about a ‘sharp and quick-witted mind’) and the binome *y(i)ti sekiz* in 26 v 4 and MaitrH XI 14 a 7. This use must be a metaphorical extension of what *sekiz* can be taken to have signified originally.

yavri- ‘to be or become weak’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT and from a Middle Turkic source, in the *DTS* also from QB (3094) and Suv 609,20. The second verb in the series *küçsirä- yavru- turu-* quoted in the *DTS* s.v. *küçsirä-* from Suv 116,22 should be a misreading of this verb. Further exs. are *yavrumuş uluşın yana büntäg turgurdı* (InscrOuig III 6) and *yavrimaz ırtamaz y(a)rp kağı ton şır* (ETŞ 10,19), translated in the n. to BT VIII B 102 as “Er [d.h. Vajragarbha] ist nicht schwach und vergeht nicht, er ist sicher₂ und fest₂.” *yavri-t-* (q.v. below) is found already in the BQ inscription. *yavız* ‘bad’, the base, may originally also have had the meaning ‘weak’, as Orkhon Turkic *yavız bat biz* or *yadag yavız bolu* and similar passages show. Very peculiar is *yavri* as adjective in ETŞ 9,75 (*turuk yavri braman*) and HamTouen 7,19 (*alp ür*

yavri bolsar...): One is reminded of the relationship between *kari* 'old' and *kari-* 'to grow old'.⁸⁵

ükli- 'to increase (intr.)' is unlikely to have come from *ükil*, a hap. in DLT fol. 49, as stated in the *EDPT*. According to Kāšgārī, *ükil* is used in the Kıpçak dialect: It may either be a back-formation from *ükli-* created in that dialect, or a dialect variant of *üküş* 'many' from the Bolgar branch; the DLT often confuses these two dialects. Old Turkic not having participated in Bolgar (rhotacism and) lambdacism, *ükil* cannot have been the base of a derivation within it. As the specific rhotacism taking place before +I- is well-documented (above and below), lambdacism is likely to have occurred in these same circumstances; the very common *üküş* is the only reasonable base for *ükli-*. See the *EDPT* and the *DTS* for exs. for *ükli-*; further ones occur in BT II 1217, BodhiAvaKomm 22 Hochzeit 32, UigTot 489 and 500, BuyKäl 35, Maitr 44 v 4 and 12 v 14, Shō III a 1 and ShōKenkyū III 11 and 23, with the antonym *esil-* in UigTot 508 and 510. *ükli-* has been used with *üstäl-* in Maitr 12 v 14, with *bädü-* *ibid.* 151 v 6, with its synonym *asıl-* in Warnke 206, 513 and 524, BuddhUig II 178 etc., Maitr 89 v 17, 151 v 8 and 169 r 10, ShōUigFrag 2 and 3, BodhiAvaKomm 14 and ms. T II M12-17 v 1-5.

A few verbs of the form *yVlIrI-* deserve a separate mention. °trI- seems to have been the original form, with °tr- as (orthographical?) variant and °tlr-, °trA-, °drl- and °dlrA- as subsequent developments. The variants with °A- appear to have been influenced by the bisyllabic onomatopoeics and synaesthetics ending in °lrA- > °ldrA-; they are discussed in section 5.32.

yaltri- 'to glimmer, etc.'. To the *EDPT*'s exs. add *yaltr(i)yu* (TT VI 422), *yaltrip* (ETŞ 20,61), *yaltırıyu* (thus, BT III 997), *yaltırsar* (ETŞ 20,64), *yaltırıyur* (*ibid.* 116), *yaltırıyu* (ManTürkTex 434), *yaltırıyu yaşoyu* (Ht X 718 and V 11 a 13; BuddhUig II 599), *yaltırıyu yaşozun* (CYK 90) and so forth. Further exs. in BuddhUig I 299 and 300 and II 97, seven times in Maitr and UigKan 89. May be derived from a noun found as *yaldız* in Ottoman, or from the ancestor of *yaldır* 'parıl parıl' which the *Tarama Sözlüğü* quotes from Dede Korkut. *yaltrık* is common as well.

yuldrı- 'to gleam or shimmer (of a sword, of jewels)' appears in DLT fol. 633; the ms. (first hand) actually has *yuldıra-* (twice) and *yuldrı-* (once). The original shape of this verb must have been **yultri-*: *yaltri-* also has a D in the DLT.⁸⁶ The

85 At that stage of the language, *yavri* is quite unlikely to have come from 'yavri-g'. It lives on in Republican Turkish *yavru* 'fledgeling, (helpless) child'. Perhaps it was back-formed from *yavri-* on analogy of the diametrically opposed *kari*; its exceeding rarity would go well with this hypothesis.

86 The two verbs are spelled with *dāl* and not *dhāl*, a stop and not a spirant. The DLT's [d] may have

base is likely to have been *yultuz* ‘star’; hence my spelling of the verb with *u* against Dankoff and Kelly and others’ *o*. Original meaning therefore something like ‘to be or become (like!) a star’.

The existence of a verb **yltri-* may be deduced from one Uigur and one Qarakhanid ex.: *yulturar ay* ‘the shining moon’ (Windgott 17), *yağı ot kötürmiş tığ ot yıldıradı* ‘the grass gleamed as if an enemy had put fire to it’ (QB 6219). The velar of *yıldrik*, the name of a star in QB 5676 and 6220, shows back vocalism, and cf. Ottoman *yıldırım* ‘lightning’. The meaning of **yltri-* must have been close to those of the two preceding verbs.⁸⁷ The actual shapes of the stem in the two instances are analogous to the variants *yaltur-* and (Qarakhanid) *yaldra-* of the verb *yaltri-* discussed above. As initial /y/ occasionally narrows /A/ of the first syllable, *ylltIr-* and *ylldrA-* may in fact be two further variants of *yaltri-*. Cf. also the near-synonym Old Turkic *yašo-*, whose variant *ışo-* is attested in HamTouen 5,15.

yeltri- ‘to blow’ practically always has *yel* ‘the wind’ as subject; in Ernte 93 the subject is *esin* ‘breeze’. The direct base of *yeltri-* is not attested, but it must, in some way, come from *yel*. The variant *yeltri-* appears only in M III 10,5₁ (text 4) as *yel y(e)ltrisär*. Otherwise, we have only *yeltir-*: See the *EDPT* s.v.,⁸⁸ and BT III 336, LautHöllen 91 and Ernte 93. The aorist appears as *yeltirär* in Suv 566,2 and SuvStockh 81, as *yeldirär* in the DLT.

Two further *+I-* stems presumably according with what we have found out about this formation from the semantic point of view are attested only with *-(X)ş-* expansion:

sonış- ‘to wrinkle up (of the face), to frown’ in DLT fol. 316. *sor* ‘wrinkle’ is attested in UigTot 574 (with Tib. original) and ZiemeTārā 15c. *+I-* brings the meaning ‘to be or turn into what the base nominal signifies’, *-(X)ş-* adding the collective aspect; wrinkles in a frown do not turn up singly. The *EDPT* confuses this verb with *sor-uş-* (from *sor-* ‘to suck up, absorb’), although the two are well distinguished in the DLT.

suvış- ‘to be or become thin from too much water’ is attested in DLT fol. 319-320.

It is discussed together with *suvig* and/or *suvik* in section 3.101 above. **suv+i-*, the obvious common base of these lexemes, has not turned up.

belonged to the phoneme /t/ under these circumstances, and may possibly have been pronounced as a voiced stop before /t/ even in Uigur.

87 I take the QB sentence to be a play on *öt* ‘fire’ and *ot* ‘grass’. Dankoff’s translation, “blazing like an enemy’s fire signal” has *kara kuş* of the previous line, referring to Jupiter, as subject. This may fit the context but is hardly a correct translation of the sentence itself; it makes *ylldrA-* a tr. verb.

88 *yel turur* in KP XVIII 3 is clear on the facts. and should not be changed: A similar phrase is found also e.g. in M III 10,8₁, 11₁ and 15₁ (text 4); this is the passage in which we find the form *y(e)ltri-* quoted above.

sarig ‘yellow’ has been explained in the n. to Ht X 799 as a -(X)g derivate from an unattested +I- stem coming from *saz* ‘pale’. The rhotacism before +I- has already been found in *sāmri-* and *yavri-*, *yaltri-* and *yultri-*. Both *saz* and *sarig* have a long /ā/; see the mentioned n. (which covers four folio pages) for further details. *balig* ‘wounded’ (q.v. among the -(X)g lexemes) may have come about in a similar way but lambdacistically: From *baş* ‘wound’ over **bal-*. Cf. also *balık-* in the -(X)k- formation. *ükli-* from *üküş* is an attested analogue.

The +I- verbs to be discussed next are intr. like the above, but do not signify ‘to be or become the base nominal, to turn into it’; *yagri-* and *yıdı-* are solidly attested. Note that the +U- formation, which shares this meaning with +I-, does not show such exceptions.

(*kan+ı-* ‘to bleed (intr.)’ is well distinguished in DLT fol. 564-5 from *kan+a-* ‘to bleed (tr.)’. The ex. has *burun* ‘nose’ as subject, but it is said to be applicable to “any part of the body that bleeds”. *kanımaz* in Höllen 10 has fragmentary and unclear context; it needn’t belong to this verb, as the eds. think, but could also be ‘our blood’. So *kanı-* is a hap. of the DLT.)

(*kṽti-* appears in Suv 347,22 (quoted in the DTS), BuddhUig II 592 (misread as KWNDYYW and given an impossible etymology) and Ht IV 1243 (miswritten as ‘küdeyü’), V 146, X 400 and X 748. It always has *yıd* or *yıpar* or both as subject, and is usually associated with *bur-*, with *yıdı-* or with both. This documentation fixes its meaning as ‘to smell pleasantly, to emit a fragrance’. It should not, of course, be ‘emended’ away, as the EDPT suggests we should do. The base of *kṽti-* might have been *köt* ‘backside, buttocks’, hadn’t it been for the semantic incompatibility.⁸⁹ Several scholars have taken *kṽti-* to be derived from some other **köt*, signifying “(a) high (place)”. This, in turn, is taken to be derived from a verb **kö-* “to rise” (distinct from *kö-* ‘to guard’), said to be the base also of *kötür-* ‘to lift, to raise’. All this seems to me to be far-fetched. *kötür-* and *kötgi* (q.v. in section 3.110) probably have *köt-* (attested in Yak. and Azeri) as common base. By meaning, *köit-* (discussed among the -(X)t- verbs) clearly also comes from this *köt-* and not from *kṽti-*. *kṽti-*, which only denotes the emission of fragrance, is unlikely to be connected with these but may be a simplex. It is true that smells often spread upwards; not exclusively upwards, however. I know of no derivational means which could make such a connection likely.)

soç+ı- is found earliest in DLT fols. 558 and 566, as *at soçıdı* “The horse reared”. Its base, *soç*, is defined in DLT fol. 161 as “an onomatopoeic for something bouncing off” and quoted in examples. Derivates include *soçı-t-* in QB 3399 and 6537 and DLT, the DLT’s *soçgur-*, *soçı-l-* and *soçı-n-*, the last two attested

89 Could it be that *köt* ‘buttocks’, first attested in the DLT, should be some sort of euphemism originally denoting something fragrant?

in Uigur (also discussed below). Dankoff and Kelly and the *EDPT* write all these with *u* in the first syllable, but Doerfer, 1983: 97 has shown that the vowel is /o/: *soči-* in Mo. and *su:očuk* in Khalaj. Ottoman and Kıpçak *suç* 'fault, offence, crime' should not be confused with *soç*, as in the *EDPT*.

yagr+ı- 'to be galled (of a horse)' is attested in the IrqB and the DLT, *yagri-t-* only in the DLT. *yagır* 'saddle-gall' and *yagırlıg* 'galled' are found in the DLT, in Middle and in Modern Turkic but not in Old Turkic; cf., on the other hand, the Mo. cognate of *yagır* mentioned in the *EDPT*. Semantically interesting is the DLT's *ol atıg yagırladı* 'He treated the gall on his horse'.

yıd+ı- 'to smell', with a bad or a good smell (intr.). Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* can be found in BuddhUig II 592, Maitr 74,9, Ht X748. 'to smell (tr.)' is *yıd+la-*, reminding us of the couple *yagr+ı-* : *yagır+la-*.

Transitive *biti-* 'to write' will not be dealt with, as a (originally possibly Chin.) lexeme '*bit*' is not attested in Turkic. For all we know, the verb as such could have been borrowed from some other language (e.g. Proto-Mo., which also had it). *yaz-* 'to write' was replaced by *biti-* in the dialects which constitute Old Turkic. *yıd-* and *yagri-*, two *+I-* verbs differing in content from most of the verbs of this formation, do not show any aberrant syntactic behaviour.

As with *+U-*, the most common expander of *+I-* verbs is *-(X)t-*: We find *öli-t-*, *sämri-t-*, *yavri-t-*, *ükli-t-*, *sekri-t-*, *yalrı-t-*, *soçı-t-*, *yagri-t-* (DLT) and *yıdı-t-*. Other verbal expanders are rare: *soçı-n-* is a hapax with metaphorical *-(X)n-*. The DLT's language is peculiar for its *-(X)ş-* derivatives from *+I-* stems (not found at all with *+U-*): *öli-ş-* and the near-synonym *suviş-*; *sämri-ş-*, *sorış-* and *yıdış-*. All these *-(X)ş-* verbs are intr. collectives, bearing the notion that the process denoted applies to every part of the subject. A few nominal derivatives are formed with *-(X)g-*, *-(O)k* etc.

There are about as many *+I-* verbs as there are *+U-* verbs; there are similarities in the syntactic behaviour of the two formations. Like *+U-* stems, few of the *+I-* lexemes have any accompanying nominal expression, not taking the stem form of nominals into consideration. With no oblique nominal we can quote: *irin kan tökülür, twza yıdıyur* (MI 6,5, Legende) 'Pus and blood are running, their smell is spreading and they stink'. Such an ex. with *käd+ı-* was quoted above. A nominalised *+I-* verb with accompanying subject is *tigli üklümäk üzä* 'through the augmentation of drops' (UigTot 500). Concrete case forms dependent upon *+I-* verbs are *örlär ayça ükliyü* (Hochzeit 32) with an equative, and *ol bo yerteñçötä yalrıyur* (TT VIII B 13) with a locative. With a postpositional phrase: *ot öñlög yarok yaşok alkodın sınar yalrı(ı)mışın yaşomışın sakınmış k(ä)rgäk* (TT V A 9) 'One has to imagine that fire-coloured lights and gleams shine and sparkle from all sides'. *yagri-* in IrqB XVI is accompanied by a nominal governed by the postposition *tägi*.

yaltır- and *ükli-* are attested with non-actantial *üzä*-phrases: *arıgsızlık akın üzä üklimiş* in TT VIII D 35 constitutes a slavish translation of a Skt. perfect participle accompanied by an instrumental case form;⁹⁰ *y(a)rok yaşok mani monçuk ärdini InçIp öz y(a)rokı üzä yaltıru yaşoyu turmuş⁹¹ täg . . .* (U II 37,56, Uşnişa Viçay) 'As if the shining and bright pearl-jewel Mañi had stood shining and gleaming like that by its own light . . . '.

A difference between *+U-* and *+I-* verbs appears to be the greater semantic variation seen among the *+I-* verbs.

5.43 +(A)d-

The bases for this formation can be mono- or bisyllabic. All the bisyllabic bases ending in consonants have /X/ in their second syllable. *yagı+d-* and *yuvga+d-* are the only exs. for derivation from stems ending in vowels. It often has the same meaning as *+U-*, with the difference that many *+(A)d-* verbs have human subjects. Here are the *+(A)d-* verbs, listed alphabetically:

(*alṇad-* is mentioned only as a *hap.* in the *UW* s.v. *al(i)ṇad-*; it is attested also in Wettkampf 65 and 66, as *alṇadtu*. *alṇad-* has human subjects, which *alṇu-* (discussed above among the *+U-* verbs) does not. Another practically synonym cognate, *alaṇur-* (q.v. among the *-(I)r-* verbs below) can have either. The base of all these has been taken to occur in ManErz IV 32, but that is probably an error.⁹² As shown by five instances of *alaṇur-*, it probably had /a/ and not /i/ in the second

90 Translating *puştaṃ* as "ernährt" and *üklmiş* as "vermehrt" gives the impression that the Uigur translator allowed himself some freedom in his task. In fact, the Skt. form can also signify "reichlich", e.g.; it comes from *puş-*, among the meanings of which we find also "gedeihen" and "wachsen".

91 Thus very clearly visible in the facs.

92 This has been shown to be the case in a long n. to Pothi 381. Variants of *alaṇ* signifying "distracted, dumbfounded, amazed, stupid, foolish, thoughtless" are attested in Altai dialects, in Kazakh and Kirghiz. This does not accord with the Old Turkic instance either in meaning or in phonetic shape: While /i/ is often spelled as A in Old Turkic and especially Manichaean texts, Common Turkic /a/ always appears as such also in Old Turkic. The meaning "schwach" postulated by Bang for the passage is an *ad hoc* twisting of the meaning unwarranted by modern evidence. The *UW*, which also adopts this translation, changes Bang's *oglanları[ṇız birlä]* to *oglanları [birlä]*, but this cannot be accommodated with the context. In Clark's opinion, *alṇları* is "either . . . an uncerased error for *oylanları[ngız]*, or it is an error for *alṇlar < al-* 'to take' plus 2nd Plur. Imper. :*ṇglar* (i.e. [ba]rıp *alṇlar*). The first possibility is the most likely one." I prefer the second possibility: "yeti rtnikätägi . . . [ba]rıp *alṇlar*, *oglanları[ṇız birlä]* ävinizlärkä tägiṇlar" *teyü ät' özin koddı* is followed, two lines further on, by the carrying out of this last wish: *tükäsığcä rṇi yinçü äd tavaralıp [öz öz el]iṇä uluşṇa tägdilä[r]*. We need *alṇlar* to govern the "seven jewels". [ki]rıp must be just as good as [ba]rıp, and there must be other possibilities. I have, incidentally, filled the lacuna of l.384 in a different way, to

syllable; the *UW* lemma should be corrected accordingly. In any case, neither *alḡad-* nor *alḡad-tur-* (q.v. below) are ever attested with a vowel after the /l/.)

alp+ad- ‘to be or become a hero’ is a hapax in *qr(a)mi to[ḡ]anḡ alpādmaki* in Rāma 15. Not mentioned in any of the dictionaries (including the *UW*). Cf. *alpal-* ‘to be warlike’ in section 7.31; ‘*alplan-*’ exists only as the nominal *alplan-mak* ‘military, heroic; heroism’.

baṣ+ad- ‘to be or become a leader’ is taken to have been used in two passages, in one of which the word in question is damaged: $K^1W S^2\eta \ddot{W} N^2:B^1\dot{S} D^1W :T^2\ddot{W} R^2T^2[T^2]\ddot{W} M N^2:S^2\ddot{W} K^2L^2T^2I : (BQ S8)$ and $T^1Y^1S^2\eta \ddot{W} N^2:B^1\dot{S} D^1[.]:B^2I S^2Y^2\ddot{W} Z R^2N^2:K^2L^2T^2I : (BQ S11)$. Syntactically, there is no reason why the word in question should not be a title. For *Kw sāḡün B¹Ṣ D¹W tōrt [t]ümān sū kālti* the closest parallel would be *w]ḡ totok beṣ tūmān sū kālti* (BQ E 25), and there are others. The second should be read as *Tay sāḡün B¹Ṣ D¹W beṣ yūz ārin kālti* with the instrumental of *ār*.⁹³ Converb forms are possible, though.

bāg+ād-māk is the form of all seven exs. of this verb, which signifies ‘to be a *bāg*’. One, a binome with *ārklānmāk*, is quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. *erklen-*. The same couple reappears in *DreiPrinz* 66-7. Other exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear in *Maitr* 50 r 19 with *yegādmāk* = *MaitrH XVI 10 a 30* (with *elādmāk*). A verb *el+ād-* is not otherwise attested, and the meaning to be expected here does not accord with the behaviour of *+Ad-*. *elān-* (section 7.21 below) would fit, however: *elād-* may have been created in the inferior Hami version by analogy with *bāgād-*. $W\dot{C}\eta A B^2G^2D^2M A K^2A$ *tāgīr* in *BlattRun* 25 is read as *uḡḡa bāgādmākkā tāgīr* in *EDPT* 18 a top, s.v. *u:ḡ*. For a defense of Thomsen’s interpretation as *bāgdāmā* “Paradise(?)” see Erdal, 1988: 257.

bilgād- and *körk+ād-* are discussed in *DLT* fols. 433-4, with the exs. *kız körKādti* ‘The girl had a beautiful complexion’ and *oglan bilgādti* ‘The boy was intelligent’. Kāṣḡarī explains: “-ādti is a suffix that is attached to nouns forming verbs that indicate natural qualities. Ex.: the word for ‘beauty’ is *körk*; to say that something was beautiful you attach the suffix -ādti thus: *körKādti* meaning ‘It was beautiful’. The word for ‘intelligence’ is *bilig*; then: *oglan bilgādti* ‘The boy was intelligent’.” The *EDPT* disagrees with this etymology, deriving *bilgād-* from *bilgä*. Clauson does not justify his view in any way. *+Ad-* verbs often do signify ‘to become what the base nominal denotes’ (which would favour *bilgä* as base), but sometimes also ‘to acquire the denotee of the base as a trait’: Cf. the

be translated as ‘went each to his own country’; thus to account for the singular possessive suffix of *uluṣḡa*. The entry *almḡ* in the *UW* should, I think, be deleted: “Kinder, Frauen und Greise” are not “foolish etc.”. Röhrborn calls the *DTS*’s ‘*alaḡad-*’ “normalisiert”; so is his ‘*al(i)ḡad-*’.

93 Concerning the presence of *ār+ün* in the inscs. see the beginning of section 2.51.

very common *bun+ad-*. Nor is Clauson able to suggest any alternative explanation to *körKäd-*. Note that *bilgäd-* is a hapax, while *körKäd-* was known also in Middle Turkic. *bilgä+d-* is a possible etymology, but I see no reason to contradict the DLT.

bun+ad- EDPT and DTS, in the latter also s.vv. *munad-* I and II, *munadmaq* and '*munadquluy*'. Together with *adin-* or *tanla-* it means 'to be surprised', by itself 'to be in trouble; to be worried'. These biverbs are distinguished in the DTS. Further exs. appear in Maitr 47 r 13, 13 r 6, 146 v 10, 89 r 16, 196 r 31 and v 5, 147 r 18, 157 v 26, 459 r 4 and MaitrH Y 6 a 19 (quoted in Laut, 1986: 200), Ht IV 1707 and X 751 and 844. BuddhUig II has six exs. of *munad-* 'to be surprised', two of them with *tanla-*, four with *adin-*. Add *tanlap munadıp* (Maitr 132 v 18). *tanlançığın körüp adı[nu] munaddı* "Er sah das Wunderbare und erstaunte₂" (HtPar 130,8),] *könülinä munadıp tanlap...* (SuvGeng 604,1) and *körüp tanlayu munadu* (Shō VIII a 14). *munadinçig* (discussed in section 3.311) is also used together with *tanlançig* or *adinçig*. *munaguluk tanlaguluk... sav* in BT III 566 is probably an error for the present biverb: Cf. *munadguluk tanlaguluk iş* (TT X 22). It was to be expected that the meaning which *bunad-* has when used by itself should be the original one, and the biverb meaning a metaphorical extension: It represents a deflated hyperbole. This is shown also by the etymology: *bun* (*mun* in Uigur) signifies 'sorrow, grief, distress'. In this case, the formation does not signify 'to become what the base denotes' but 'to get into the state denoted by the base'. The original meaning of *bunad-/munad-* is found in Orkhon Turkic on the one hand and Qarakhanid on the other, but hardly ever in Uigur.

äd+äd-, EDPT and DTS. One of the instances is in Manichaean script and therefore unambiguous. *äd* is 'any possession of value'; the verb, however, must, by the context, signify 'to thrive, become nice'. One of the exs. has tree shoots as subject, the other a place (*yer orun*). Cf. the hap. *ädäd-tür-*.

är+äd- is attested in two different entries in DLT fol. 112, signifying "to be reckoned a man". Appears nowhere else.

ken+äd- 'to be late, to fall behind'. Not in the dictionaries. Attested in BT III 855, in ETŞ 13,184 in the phrase *kenädmätin ogadmatın*⁹⁴ and BT XIII 12,218 (*Maytrika kenädip tuşmaguka tüş kirmäzün* 'May the result not be that we have fallen behind and will not meet Maitreya!'). Qarakhanid Turkic has *kenik-* (q.v. among the +(X)*k-* verbs) instead of *kenäd-*.

kırgıl+ad- is a hap. in an *avadāna* text (Şaddanta). Of hair, 'to turn grey'. DTS; misinterpreted in the EDPT.

kiv+ad-mak is quoted once in the EDPT, together with *kutadmak*. Another ex.

94 See *og+ad-* below.

of *kutadmak kivadmak* appears in ms. U 53621.2, quoted in the n. to BT V 665. *xivadmak*, thus in Brāhmī, appears in ms. Mz 615 A 5, quoted in footn. 10 to Maue, 1984: 92. The binome *kut kiv* is common; no semantic difference can be detected between the two nouns, which is probably the case also with *kutadmak* and *kivadmak*. The fact that the first mentioned instance is *kutadmak kivadmak bolzun . . . dindarlarka* and not e.g. '*kivadzunlar*' may indicate that '*kivad-*' no longer existed as a finite verb.

köp+äd- 'to be or become numerous or copious'. Quoted in the *EDPT* from QB; found also in BuddhStab II 13 and CYK 42.

körk+äd- 'to be or become beautiful' has been quoted above, s.v. *bilgäd-*, from the DLT. *kögädtür-*, discussed in the section on *-tUr-* below, probably comes from it: /r/ loss in velar clusters is found also e.g. in *börk* 'grove' > *bök* and *bäk* < *bärk* 'firm'. As for the voicing of the velar (in evidence for *kögädtür-*, q.v.), cf. *+(X)k-Ar-* > *+gAr-* and so forth. In CYK 102 we read: *tüş yemişlig altun urugları yadılıp KWKYK*TLYP ür üdün* [. The editors hesitatingly translate this as "zum Himmel reichen", presumably connecting it with *kök* 'sky'. Such a verb being nowhere attested, I take this to be either an error for *kökäd-*, the verb discussed here, or an *-(X)l-* derivate from it. The problem with the latter idea is that passive derivatives from *+Ad-* verbs are not attested, and the present context does not demand a strictly passive form. Rather, L is likely to have slipped onto the stone under the analogy of *yadılıp*. T for /d/ is common in late texts. (Cf. Röhrborn, 1981 a, footn. 42.)

kul+ad- is a hap. in KT, used in parallel with *künäd-*; see the *EDPT*. 'to become a (male) slave'.

kut+ad- 'to become a blessing for someone; to enjoy divine favour and good fortune' or, what is sometimes called 'to be blessed'. Never governs direct objects, but governs the dative in the first-mentioned meaning. *EDPT* and *DTS*; appears also in Maitr 24,8, and see *kivadmak* above. A proper name *Kutadmuş* is found in UigLand 4, 10 etc., BT VIII p. 41, footn. A180 and WoodFr 1; see additional exs. in the special entry of the *DTS* for this name.

küç+äd- is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. The *EDPT*'s translation is wrong: The verb is always intr. and means 'to be strengthened, or aggravated'. Exs. not mentioned there can be found in BT I B (102) (written with T), Maitr 16 v 18, SuvStockh 70, BT V (13) 341, BT XIII 16, 13 and QB 6590. In Kinkashō śloka B, c, *küçädmäklig üd* translates Skt *bala-kāla-*.

kün+äd- 'to become a maid-servant'. Hap in KT, parallel to *kul+ad-*. See the *EDPT*.

og+ad- 'to tarry, to fall behind' can be taken to come from *og* 'pause, free time' discussed in *EDPT* 75-6; see also the exs. quoted in the footn. to BT III 797 (three from ETŞ for the binome *arasız ogsuz* 'without pause' and two for the

binome *og yık*). *og yık* is attested in TuoLuoNi 185, 269 and 285, [o]gsuz üzüksüz 'continuously' in Maitr 156 b13 and *ogsuz täğinçsiz* 'without chance (of meeting a Buddha)' is a common expression. The exs. for *ogad-*: *ogadıp kälmiş bizni täg tnl(i)g* (TT III 62-3) 'Somebody who has, like us, been falling behind'. Very similar *ogadıp kalmış tnl(i)glar* in ETŞ 10,289. *burxanlarig ogadmadın [saş]matın utgurak tuşgay sizlär* (Suv 24,20) 'You will meet the Buddhas without remaining behind, unmistakably and straightaway'. A similar sentence is quoted in the *DTS* s.v. *tuş-* from Suv 421,6. ETŞ 13,133: *uka bilü umamaktın ogadıp kaltımız* 'We remained behind because of our inability to understand and know.' ETŞ 13,184: *kenädmätin ogadmatın, ken yakın barzunlar* 'Let them draw close, then, without being late or remaining behind'. *ogadmatın* is attested also in BT III 797 and 799. *utmuşlartın ogadmayu* (ETŞ 13,85) can be understood in the light of] *burxanlartın ogadıp* [(BT XIII 21,63) 'having missed the Buddhas'⁹⁵ and *burxanlartın ogadmış ... tnl(i)glar* "die Lebewesen, die die Buddhas verpaßt haben" (BT XIII 27,14). The *EDPT* translates this verb differently, but then most of the exs. quoted were unknown to its author. W G¹D¹M D¹M A in YE 51,2 and W G¹D¹M D¹M : in YE 70,3 can now be read as *ogadmadım - a* and *ogadmadım* respectively, to be translated as 'I did not fall behind'.

öñ+äd- 'to recover one's health'. To the *EDPT*'s exs. add *uzun öñädmäz*⁹⁶ *nızvanılıg igig ämlätäçi bolalım* (ManErz IV 19 = Pothi 348); *igi kämi antak(i)ya ok öñädür* (Tug 88); *agrığı sönüp igi öñädür* (Ht V 14 a27) and *bodunun karasın ämläp, öñaddilär bınıktılar*⁹⁷ (Suv 598,17). The *EDPT*'s 1 *öñ* and 2 *öñ* are two uses of the same lexeme whose central meaning would have been 'front, surface'. *öñäd-* therefore 'to surface' or 'to advance' used metaphorically.

ul(u)g+ad- 'to grow up'. See the *EDPT* for runic, Buddhist and Middle Turkic exs. and the *DLT*. Additional exs. in YE 7,2 (runic), BT V 13(350) (Manichaeen), Maitr 178 r 15 (biverb with *bädü-*), 7 v 22 and 69 v 13, Ht V 7 a 17 and QB 4708.

yagı+d- 'to be or become hostile'. To the *EDPT*'s exs.⁹⁸ add]WQadıp *yagıdıp* (PañcFrag 184) and *yuvgadıp yagıdıp* (ms. U 182 v5). The last letter of

95 Zieme's translation of this, "von den Buddhas verspätet", seems somewhat unsuccessful.

96 Spelled °NK° which, in Manichaeen script, is different from °NG° = /ŋ/. Since the two are identical in Uigur script, the spelling probably means that the text was transferred from that into Manichaeen.

97 Or *bayaktılar*, q.v. among the +(X)k- verbs.

98 ManUigFrag r 10 is quoted there as [y]uvgaladı yagıdı, but this suggestion for the first word is uncertain: The third letter appears to be Y and not V, and the second has an unexplained irregularity.

'*yagıdu*' in ŞU E10⁹⁹ is a conjecture of Ramstedt and the word could be the locative of *yagi*.

yeg+äd- 'to be better than or surpass someone; to succeed, improve'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Further exs. in Maitr 50 r 19, 55 v 3 and 97 r 11 and Ht IV 146, all beside lacunae. *ut- yegäd-* 'to overcome' is attested, in addition, in Maitr 186 v 11, 137 v 4 and 10, 159 v 20, MaitrH X 5 b 23, BT XIII 39,8, UigTot 875, 883 and 889, BT VIII A 490, BT VII A 703. *yegädmiş* can be found, additionally, in ETŞ 10,254, BT II 511, ATSS, HamTouen 2,31 and 5,6', BT V(9) 131 (Manichaeen) and ĀgFrag (1) B 10, CYK 33 and as proper name. [*u*]tdı *yeñädı* (Ht V 6 a 7) seems fairly well visible on the facs.; if not a simple error, it must be a cross with *yeñ-*, same meaning, mentioned in the DLT as being Oguz and Kipchak. The verb *yegäd-* is attested neither in runic sources nor in Qarakhanid, but only in Uigur. Y²G²D²I in KT and BQ is *yeg+di*, an adverb like *katıg+di* and *yarıklıg+di*: This fits the context better, and the converb and aorist vowel of *yegäd-* is consistently documented as /U/. The passage in TT I 7-8 must be read as two sentences: *asra atıñ; yegädıñ* 'Your name is low (now), but you will soon have prevailed'.¹⁰⁰

yogun+ad- 'to become thicker' is a hap. in TT IV, written with T for /d/; but this is not a very early text. Since the word is not mentioned in the notes, it presumably appears in this shape in both mss. quoted for the passage. A third one, ShōUigFrag 2, writes *yogunayu*. This is either an otherwise unattested (and a bit unlikely) verb '*yogun+a-*' or an instance of the late passage of /d/ to [y].

yok+ad- 'to perish, be destroyed'. *EDPT*; *DTS* also s.vv. *alkın- yoqad-*, *arta-yoqad-*, *yetlin- yoqad-* and '*yoqadmayuluy*'. TT III should be read as *yokađu turur* which, according to the n. to Pohti 28, is clear in the facs. Further exs. appear in BT II 946, Warnke 677, BuddhUig II 489, Buddhāv H 52, HamTouen 1,42', BT XIII 13,128, 16,2 and 60,2 and on l.68 of the *Baxşı ögdisi* quoted in the n. to 13,98-9 and Neujahr 15. Neujahr 40 contains the couple *alkınmak yokadmak*.

yuvga+d- 'to be shameless and ill-mannered' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. It appears also in ms. U 182 v 5 (Uigur) in a biverb with *yagi+d-*. Cf. the DLT's *yuvga+lan-* 'to be ill-natured' quoted in the *EDPT*, and n. 98.

The DLT's view of this suffix has been quoted s.v. *bilgäd-* above. Modern exs. can be found in Schakir, 1933: 26-27. Cf. also Bang, 1925 b, 2. Anhang, p. 410.

All +(A)d- verbs have /U/ in the converb and aorist. A part of the exs. are

99 Not ŞU S4, as the *EDPT* writes.

100 Aspectually, this is similar to *äd tavar tiläsär bulıñ tapıñ* (TT I 11) and other such expressions in that text. Unless, of course, 'TYNG (*atıñ*) is an error for 'RTYNG (*ärtıñ*) 'you were': In this case, *yegädıñ* is something like a present perfect.

ulgadur ädädür (Windgott 9), *küçädü* (Maitr 16 v 18), *küçädür* (SuvStockh 70), *önädür* (Ht V 14 a 27 and Tug 88), *önädürlär* (BT V 458), *yegädür* (BT XIII 39,8, CYK 33 and Warnke 697), *yokadu* (KTE 10 and Neujahr 15) and *yokadurlar* (BT II 946). *äşid-* ‘to hear’, *igid-* ‘to feed and rear’, *küzäd-* ‘to watch, guard, protect’ and *uyad-* ‘to be ashamed’ are also °d- verbs with /U/ as converb and aorist vowel. They cannot belong to this formation, however: The first three because they govern direct objects, the fourth because it is formed with -d-. *küzäd-* had °d- in Orkhon Turkic and in KP; the metathesis *küdäz-* (not ‘*kütäz-*’) in DLT and QB is also evidence for original /d/. Both in TT VIII A 1 and 34 and C 4 (Brähmī; the last two with the formative -(X)g/Xg) and in the DLT, however, this verb is attested as *küzät-*. The °t- may therefore have gotten generalised in Uigur; the UW, at any rate, writes *küzät-*. Such a development does not occur in Uigur with +(A)d-; it may, in this verb, be due to analogy from -(X)t-. See *küzäd* in n. 351 in the first vol.: It also later appears to have changed its °d to °t.

The medial (often tr.) formation -d- is discussed below. It should not, of course, be confused with +(A)d-; problems in this matter are dealt with in that section.

Many +(A)d- verbs, among them *alḡad-*, *muḡad-*, *ädäd-*, *körkäd-*, *kutad-*, *önäd-*, *ul(u)gad-* and *yokad-*, are expanded with -tUr-. The hap. *kutadur-* may not be an exception, but a phonetically or graphically simplified variant of *kutadur-*. Interesting is the expansion *yegäd-mäkläşü* ‘competitively’: In this form (discussed in section 7.102), a morphotactic constraint on +Ad- is overcome by adding a mutual-reciprocal formative to the infinitive base. *küzäd-* is excluded from this formation also by the fact that it can undergo passive expansion and admits the formative -(X)n-. There appear to be very few nominal derivatives from +(A)d- verbs. The only ones I am aware of (not including -mAk) are *muḡadinçig*, the hapax *yegädinçlig* and *yegädinçsiz*.

In the great majority of cases, +(A)d- verbs are not accompanied by any oblique nominal expressions at all. Exs.: *ädgü kutlug tınl(ı)glarnıñ ogulanı ulgadsar*, ... (U III 80,1, Macht d. Liebe) ‘When the children of good and blessed people grow up, ...’; *müḡü m(ä)n tedäçilär barça ärtärlär*¹⁰¹ *yokadurlar* (BT II 946) ‘Those who say “I am eternal” all pass away and perish’; *tämür kazgokug [yer]kä tokısar näçäkäñgi yertä yatsar yogunañu uzayu umaz* (TT IV B 43) ‘If one beats an iron stake into the ground, it cannot become thicker or longer, for however long it may lie in the earth’.

Sometimes, a concrete nominal appears: *taloy içintä yokadtı* (KP LIV 1) ‘He

101 Thus the ms. The editor says that *ärt-* means “sterben” but writes ‘*artar*’ because there is a biverb *arta-yokad-* in two other texts. This latter fact does not, however, reduce the chances of existence of a biverb *ärt-yokad-* as well. *ärt-* isn’t really “sterben” but rather ‘to pass, pass by, pass off’ and thus also ‘pass away’. In UW 206 a top (published in 1981), Röhrborn changed his mind and subscribed to the present view (found in my thesis which appeared in 1977).

perished in the sea’.] *igindin öñäđti* (TT VIII A22) has the *ablativus separationis*: ‘He recovered from his illness’. A number of sentences showing *ogad-* with ablative are quoted above, in the entry. An instance of *yokad-* with the *+çA* case of similarity is attested in Neujahr 15, and the instrumental appears in *on küçin küçädü* in SuvStockh 70.

yañi äv bark iyäsiñä kutadur (TT VI 100) is translated in the *EDPT* as “A new house brings good fortune to its owner”. This is the *dativus ethicus*. *yegäd-* governs the ablative of comparison: *yertinçülärig ... bermiş buyantın ... çaytı örtmäktin ünmiş b(ä)lgürmiş buyan yegädür* (CYK 33) “...ist besser als ...”. Finally, the ablative of cause: *ol ärdinilär ayıg kılınç ärksinmäkintin yokadıp ...* (BuddhUig II 489). Nowhere, however, do we have an *+(A)d-* verb governing a direct object, with or without accusative suffix.

Here are exs. of *+(A)d-* verbs being accompanied by *üzä* phrases: *sünüş atış adası üzä yokadmaguluk ... suvka kirgülık törösi* (SuvDrog 475,6) ‘the method of going into water ... so as not to be destroyed through the hazards of fighting and artillery’. This *üzä* phrase is not agentive, though, as fighting, shooting and the hazards connected with these are not agentives in themselves. The following ex. is decidedly instrumental: *d(a)rnilär küçi üzä kutadaçı otlar kuvragı* (*ibid.* 13) ‘the bouquet of healing weeds which is a blessing by the force of incantation’. We do have an ex. (from an evidently early text) of an agentive dative with such a verb: *mani burxan t(ä)ñri yalavaçı alñadı, uçuz boltı; bir kişikä alñadı, uçuz yenig boltı* (Wettkampf 66), translated “Mani Buddha, der Gesandte Gottes, ist überwunden und beschämt, von einem Menschen wurde er überwunden und beschämt₂”. Even if we prefer a formulation like ‘einem Menschen unterliegen’, *bir kişikä* remains agentive. In a sense, *alñad-* is the passive of *alñadtur-* ‘to overcome’. As *yeg+äd-*, said of the victor, is coupled with tr. *ut-*, so its converse *alñad-*, said of the loser, acquires a passive status merely by its lexical content. At least in this ex., the absence of a passive morpheme does not appear to have been any impediment.

5.44 *+(X)k-*

There are more than thirty verbs in this intr. formation. Here they are: *ada+k-* ‘to be in or come into distress’ is dealt with in the *UW*. Both exs. quoted there are accompanied by *üzä* phrases referring to the source of the trouble, *yala yañku* in one case, *elçi ogri* in the other. Add *onñun üzä adakıp* [... (Ht V 14 b27), which shows the same construction, and the following, where the source appears in the ablative: *ig käm adasıntın adakğalı örlätğäli bulğatılğalı ugrasar ...* (TuoLuoNi 187) “wenn (sie) durch die Gefahren (ähnlicher) Krankheiten und Gebrechen bedrängt, gequält und in Wirrnis gebracht werden sollten ...”.

On the other hand, *kunçuyların yüräkin bağırın adakur ärti* (ibid. 273) “Er bedrängte Herz und Leber (jener) Frau” is no doubt an error for *adaktur-*, which appears further on in that text: Such a use of *adak-* would not accord with what we know about +(X)k- or Old Turkic voice in general. *adak-* is not mentioned in the *EDPT*.

ago+k- ‘to be or get poisoned’ is mentioned in the *UW* and the *EDPT* as ‘*aguk-*’; see the former for Uigur, the latter for DLT and modern evidence. The base appears in BuddhKat 27 (Tibetan script) as *ago* (to be added to the *UW* entry *agu*, I), in TT VIII I 15 (Brāhmī) as *agusuz*. To the *UW* entry for the verb add *suvusuz otsuz isig üzä agokup...* (Ht V 14 b 26), which has it accompanied by an agentive *üzä* phrase, and *agokmuşların yürüntägi* (TuoLuoNi 399). In two other instances, in ETŞ 17,17¹⁰² and TT III 28, the dative forms *nızvanılarka* and *nızvanıka* refer to the source of the poisoning.

ant+ık- ‘to swear an oath’ is dealt with in the *EDPT*, q.v. for the DLT and modern evidence, and the *UW*. The dental, written as D in the DLT and usually as T in Uigur, probably was [d] and not [ð] of [t]. *antık-* governs *ant* ‘oath’ as internal object, in two instances quoted in the *UW* and in a further one in BT XIII 21,41: All these have explicit agents as well; *andıkmuş* and in BT XIII 21,43 (also to be added to the *UW*) therefore has an object serving as kernel.

at+ık-muş ‘notorious, famous’ is attested in QB 246, 928 (mentioned in the *EDPT*, which also has modern and Middle Turkic evidence) and 2338 and once in Ht; see the *UW* s.v. Cf. also *atık-ımsın-* below.

bärKä+k- is a hap. in Suv, mentioned in the *EDPT*. It is accompanied by the instrumental phrase *bärKä kagal üzä*.

‘*bınık-*’ has been read in *elintäki bodunın karasın ämläp, öñäddilär bınıktılar* (Suv 598,17) and translated as if it were a synonym of *öñ+äd-* (q.v. above). This has been connected with what has been read as *bunkı täg* in Ht X 795¹⁰³ and Buddh-Uig II 286, as *bınkı täg* in Suv 597,15 (quoted in the *DTS*). The *EDPT* takes the verb to be a misreading of ‘*ın+ık-*’, but such a verb is not known either. I believe it to be an error for (rather than a misreading of) *baya+k-* signifying ‘to be or become as before’. The postpositional phrase is probably to be read as *bayakı* or *b(a)yakı täg*, attested e.g. also in TT V A 100 and 115.¹⁰⁴

bir+ık- ‘to get together, join (intr. or tr.), be united’. *DTS* and *EDPT*. Further exs. appear in ETŞ 20,63, BT VIII A 118 and 140 (biverb with *kavış-*) and 194,

102 This instance is mentioned in the *UW* entry as “TT VII 60 u. 17”: The passage first appeared within a n. to TT VII.

103 ‘*bunqı täg[räsi]*’ must be rejected, in view of the two other instances and the present context.

104 Ş. Tekin’s suggestion that the lexemes be derived from Middle Iranian *bwn* “Fundament” seems far-fetched both semantically and in view of the patterns of lexical borrowing documented for Uigur.

BuddhUig I 199 etc. What the subject is joined to appears in the dative, in Ht V 129¹⁰⁵ (quoted in the *EDPT*, misinterpreted by the editor), UigTot 1168, BuddhUig I 155. In Warnke 157 and 276, however, the nominal referring to what one is to be united with is governed by the postposition *birlā* instead of being in the dative. The word B²I R²K²I in the inscr., which appears four times adnominally in an almost identical phrase, surely does not belong here; it might be read as *bir+ki*: Even petrified converbs are rarely used adnominally, and under no circumstances does *+(X)k-* have /I/ as converb vowel.

(buln+uk- ‘to become a captive’ is from *bulun*, discussed among the *-Xn* lexemes in section 3.107. It is a hap. in QB 2389, not mentioned in the *EDPT* and misunderstood by the ed. and the *DTS*. The ed. appears to have confused the verb with *bulgan-*, to judge by his translation.)

muṇ+uk- ‘to be distressed, tormented, pressed’ is attested in QB 2397 (not mentioned in the *EDPT*) and 2391 and in the DLT. We have no early exs. for it, but it evidently is the base of Uigur *muṇkul*, discussed in section 3.113. *muṇuk-* also appears twice in the Rylands Coran translation glosses.

bur+uk- in *avda burukmuş kāyik osuglug* (Maitr nr. 51/116/174 v 16-17) may have signified ‘to die’: *bur* was the form in which the name of Buddha was borrowed from Chin., appearing also in *burxan* and *bursan*. The phrase would signify ‘similar to wild animals who died in a hunt’. P. Zieme reminds me of the semantic similarity with *t(ä)ṇri bol-* ‘to die’ in Ht X 752 ff.

mün+ük- ‘to commit a fault’ is a hap. in the late TT I; see the *EDPT*. The meaning is made certain by the Chin. original; cf. the n. to the text.

çav+ık- ‘to be or become famous’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Add *çavıkmuş* (BT II 431 and 572, ETŞ 10,63 and 159 and 11,109, BT VIII B 89 and Shō XII a 10, the last two in biverbs with *kükül-*). The three QB exs. quoted in the *EDPT* and the U II and Suv exs. quoted in the dictionaries also have the form *çavıkmuş*; cf. the near-synonym *atkmuş*. Other exs. appear in BT III 390 and 771.

çı+k- ‘to get moist’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. *çı* ‘moist’ is not attested before the DLT either; no doubt related to it, however, is *şı*: It has the same meaning, and is found, among other places, in BuddhKat 4.

äd+ik- ‘to succeed in something etc.’ is discussed in the *EDPT*. A. v. Gabain, the ed. of texts in which this verb occurs, takes it to be an *-(X)k-* derivate of *et-* ‘to do, arrange, organise’. This suggestion is attractive semantically, but *et-* is written with I in Uigur, in particular in texts in which this verb is found. *ädik-*, on the other hand, is only once (in Suv 556,22) written as *edik-*; see Schulz, 1978: 39. From *äd* ‘useful goods etc.’, then, keeping *äd+gü* in mind.

105 This and the instance in the preceding line are read as ‘*bürük-*’; note, however, that the editor writes in the introduction that I and A are difficult to distinguish after K and B.

ät+ik- is attested only in DLT fol. 105, with the aorist *ätikär. oġlan ätikti* “The boy put on flesh”.

ıl+ık- and *alık-* have tended to get confused. *ıl+ık-* is attested in QB 337 ms. B; the weaker A writes *alık-*, while ms. C *deest*. It comes from *ıl*, translated as ‘vile’ in DLT fol. 36;¹⁰⁶ see *ılık-dur-* (Suv) below. In DLT fol. 105, on the other hand, the second hand changed *alık-* (discussed among the *-(X)k-* verbs) to *ılık-*. The reason for the confusion must be the fact that the two verbs are similar also in content. *ıllıkar ät öz* in QB 337 has been translated as “his body will rot”.

iğ+ik- ‘to submit, enter, capitulate’, specifically ‘to submit to a foreign ruler (to become an internal tribe)’. Beside the *EDPT*’s exs. (from runic texts and from the DLT) it is attested in ETŞ 10,107, where it seems to mean ‘to surrender (to an abstract entity)’ and in Shō VII b5, where it is used together with *sıg-* ‘to fit into’.

(*keç+ik-* ‘to be late’ is attested as *käçik-* in BT VIII A 158: *yegü ašta m-a ber[gü]çä azkı(y)a käçiksär* “wenn man von einer Speise etwas zu spät gibt”. This is a synonym of Qarakhanid and Middle Turkic *keç-* e.g. in the DLT’s *är keçti* “The man was slow about the business”. I don’t think it is formed with *-(X)k-* (section 7.24) from *käç-* or from *keç-*, however: *käç-* does not have the appropriate meaning, and *keç-* is not known to me from Old Turkic proper. The voiced /c/ in Ottoman *gecik-* shows that the first vowel was long. The word could possibly be a misreading of KNYK°, an error for the verb of the next entry (see facs.).

ken+ik- ‘to fall behind’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT and from QB 4389. The latter is not actually in the text, but a good conjecture ‘quoted’ tacitly: One ms. has the impossible *kenil-*, the other *könik-* and the third a lacuna. *kenik-* is, however, attested in QB 4652 (in all three mss.), not mentioned by the *EDPT*. In DLT fol. 349, DankKelly correctly emend *kunik-*, with the appropriate meaning “to be overcome by weakness so that one tarries behind one’s companions”, to *kenik-*.

kir+ik- ‘to get soiled’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; further exs. appear in BT II 872,¹⁰⁷ BT III 681, Abhi A 139 b (quoted in *UW* 192 a midpage), Buddhāv H 109 and AbiShotan r 15-16 and v 15.

koñr+uk- is a hap. in Ernte 34, not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *tarıgçı bağlärniñ ... karınları açıp koñrukup ...* “ihre Magen werden hungrig und knurren”. Cf. *koñur ün* ‘a hoarse voice’ in DLT fol. 603, and *koñra-* in section 5.32.

106 The Index of the QB confuses 1 *il* “memleket” with 2 *il* (> *ilki, ilgürü* etc.) by Tezcan in his review of this work. However, Tezcan mistakenly writes *il* also as ‘il’. *il* appears in the QB couplets 2295, 2622, 4672, *ıl+ı* *ibid.* 1669, 2203, 2724, 4073 and 4589. *EDPT* 123 also writes this lexeme as ‘il’.

107 See the footn. to the passage for the problematic first letter.

(*say+ık-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 528, used in the sentence *yer sayıktı* ‘The ground became a stony tract’. *say*, q.v. in the *EDPT*, is attested also in Uigur.)

tag+ık- ‘to take to the mountains’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from Orkhon Turkic and the DLT. Then we have *satıgçılar tüzip tagıktı* (Ht V 2 a 13) ‘The merchants fled and took to the mountains’.

taş+ık- ‘to go out, step out’ is well-attested in Orkhon Turkic and Uigur and found in the DLT, as documented in the *EDPT*. Further exs. appear in BT XIII 6,13, Wettkampf 7 and 29 and in the ms. M657 v1 quoted in the n. to BT V 521.

tāṇ+ık- is a hap. in Warnke 275, not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *b(ā)k katıg kertgünç kōṇülümüz alko burxanların kōṇülü birlä tāṇikip, kamag burxanların küsüşi birlä birikip* . . . “ . . . möge gleich werden mit der Gesinnung aller Buddhas und sich vereinigen mit dem Gelübde aller Buddhas”. Cf. *tāṇ+Kär-*, the tr. counterpart of this verb.

tärs+ık- is mentioned in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. Hap. in Suv, in the biverb/binome *tärsikmāk tätrülmāk* ‘perversion, confusion’. Cf. the biverb *tärsikdūr-tätrüldür-* below.

(*tonçu+k-*: DLT fol. 380 *är tonçuktı* ‘The man was clogged up so that he couldn’t breathe’. *sugur tonçuktı* ‘The weasel hibernated’. The first meaning survives in a number of dialects to this day: See the *EDPT* entry. From *to-nçu*, which belongs to the *-(X)nçU* formation, and discussed in that section.)

(*tusu+k-* from *tusu* ‘benefit, usefulness’ is a hap. in DLT fol. 326, used in the sentence *bo ot maṇa tusuktı* ‘This medicine benefited me’. Clauson takes it to be an *-(X)k-* derivate from the hypothetical verbal base he thinks could be common to *tusul-* (q.v. among the *-(X)l-* verbs) and *tusu*.)

tüp+ük- ‘to get completed’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, but is rather common in late Uigur: It is found in ETŞ 9,32, ShōAgon 1,24, BuddhUig I 270 and elsewhere in this text and in UigTot 912 (with *tükä-*), 964, 985 and 992.

tüz+ük- is attested in]*täki* [. . .]/[*Ar*] *bägütlär kōṇülü tüzüküp* . . . (CYK 111) ‘May there be harmony between the [. . .] and the gentry in the [. . .]’; the editors’ ‘loyal werden’ does not seem just as appropriate to me. This is probably the verb meant in TT VIII D25 by the dittographical *tüsükmäkmäkkä bar-*, translating Skt. *sāmyam pra+i-*. *tüz+ük-* therefore signifies ‘to become equal, even, harmonious’. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*.

uç+uk- signifies ‘to end (intr.)’. It is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, from QB 6216 and from Ottoman and further attested in QB 4698, 5167, 5638 and 5692, in all these exs. with ‘life’ as subject. We find it also in BT VII A 249 and in the ms. Öt. Ry 2695, published by Zieme in *JA* 269 (1981): 385-399 (in the colophon). It is attested sixteen times in UigTot, in three of these written (or at least read) as *uçık-*. This is an intr. verb which never governs direct objects; a

number of the UigTot instances have, however, been mistranslated: *törütgülik uçukguluk yaratıglar* (1144) should not be “die zu schaffenden und zu vollendenden Verrichtungen” but ‘die zu schaffenden und sich vollendenden Verrichtungen’. *ıçtın sınar uçukguluk yaratıg* (397) should not be “die das Innere vervollkommnende Ausführung” but ‘die Ausführung, die sich im Inneren zu vervollkommen hat’. *ıçdın sınar uçukguluk yaŋ* (404) is not “die das Innere vervollkommnende Methode” but ‘die Methode, wie die innere Vervollkommnung zustande kommen soll’. The translations of the five instances following this one should be changed accordingly.

uya+k- comes from *uya* ‘an animal’s or a bird’s resting place or nest’. It is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, but is attested in Maitr 12 v2 and 103 v12 = MaitrH X 1 a 18. In the first of these it denotes the sun’s setting, in the second the setting of the stars. ‘to set (intr.)’ must therefore have been the meaning of this verb in Uigur.

(*yay+ık-* appears in DLT fol. 529, in the sentence *üd yayıktı* “The season became spring”. The *EDPT* quotes it also from a modern language).

yelvi+k- ‘to be affected by sorcery’. Quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* (also s.v. *jelvikmäk*). Found also in SuvDrog 475,8. The *EDPT* wrongly translates this verb as “to practise sorcery”; that, however, is *yelvi+lä-*. The error may have arisen from the Kuan context where, however, *yelvik-* and *agok-* have the victim as subject.

(*yer+ık-* ‘to settle’ is a hap. in QB 5177, mentioned in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*.)

yol+uk- ‘to meet on the way’. Not in the *EDPT*. In the *DTS* quoted from ŞU, which is a conjecture, and from YE 10,10 where, according to the unpublished material of Thomsen and Wulff, Y¹L¹K¹A Y¹N¹ is a misreading for Y¹W K¹L¹Y¹N¹ (*yok+la-yın*). We do find *yoluk-* in ETS 13,85 and, in a biverb with *tuş-* ‘to come accross’, in BT XIII 58,25. In ShōAgon A 59 we have *bizni tąg nomçıka yolukmakındın* ‘because of meeting a preacher like us’, instead of ‘*yolunmakındın*’ of the previous edition. Cf. also *yoluk-uş-* below. Lives on in the Codex Comanicus and elsewhere.

+(X)k- appears both after vowels and after consonants. *+(X)k-* verbs and their bases all have either one or two syllables. The DLT’s forms are discussed in Kowalski, 1949: 436; modern ones can be found in Schakir, 1933: 27-29. There is some degree of similarity in form, meaning, morphotactic distribution and aorist vowel between *+(X)k-* and *-(X)k-*. The converb and aorist vowel of *+(X)k-* is usually /A/. The exs. in the DLT are numerous; some of the others are *antıka* (Kuan 179) and *taşıkar* (ŞU E 5 and M II 11,14 and 20, text 4). *ädikü umaz* (TT V B 118) does

not come into the picture here,¹⁰⁸ but there are several other exceptions: *uyakur* has been read in Maitr 103 v12, and we have *çavıkur* in ETŞ 11,109 and possibly *tüzükür* in TT VIII C7. In *kavısur birikür* (BT VIII A 118 and 140), the first aorist may possibly have had an influence on the second one.

Most Old Turkic expansions of *+(X)k-* verbs are causatives. We find *biriktür-* (BT I, BT VII A, AbiShotan, ETŞ 13 and QB), *kirikdür-* (Suv), *uçukdur-* (CYK), *ılıkdur-* (Suv), *tärsikdür-* and *adaktur-* (both TuoLuoNi).¹⁰⁹ The standard causative or transitive counterpart of *+(X)k-* verbs, however, is the formation in *+gAr-* discussed in section 7.53. **yoluk-uş-* appears as hap. in an exceedingly late text, InscrOuig. Cf. also *kükül-* in section 7.31.

All the verbs under this heading are intr., except *antık-* with its internal object *ant* discussed above. As with the other intr. formations, the exs. with no accompanying oblique nominals are nearly as numerous as all the other instances taken together. Such are the sentences quoted under *konır+uk-* and *tag+ık-* above. Here are another two: *ymä näçä igidäyü antıktımız ärsär, . . .* (Chuast 104) 'And inasmuch as we have lied and sworn (on it) . . .'; *balıkdakı tagıkmış, tagdakı enmiş* (KTE 12) 'Those who were in towns took to the mountains; those who were in the mountains came down'. With concrete cases we also have a number of instances. Locative: *ünlär kök kalıgta nätäg birikgäli umasar, . . .* (BuddhUig I 199) "So wie z. B. alle Laute sich nicht im Himmel vereinigen können, ebenso . . .". Ablatival locative: *t(a)mgakınta k(a)ra tütün taşıkar* (M II 11,20, text 4) 'Black smoke emerges from her gullet'. Instrumental: *kañım kagan yeti yigirmi ärin taşıkmış* (KTE 11) 'My father the *kagan* is said to have set out with 17 men.' *birik-* governs the dative of what something unites with, e.g. in *muni üzä KÖNGÜL töziñä birikgäli umaz* (BuddhUig I 155). Under *täñik-* above we quote a passage in which both *birik-* and *täñik-* are accompanied by *birlä* phrases. In the following, both the locative and the dative are concrete: *täñiñ yinçgä savlarda bilgä biligläri birikmiş ol; täñridäm köñülkä birikmäkdä kök täñri yañın kılmuş ol* (Ht V 126-30), in the EDPT translated as "Their wisdom has been concentrated in deep subtle sayings; by uniting themselves with the divine mind they have acted like heaven itself".

An ex. with two postpositional phrases: *münsüz kadagsız arıgı süzüki üzä alko-dın sınar çavıkdılar* (BT III 390) 'Through their immaculate₂ purity₂ they were renowned at all quarters'. Most other exs. with *üzä* phrases also refer to such INSTRUMENTS: *nän köñülü adkanguluk kirlär üzä kirikmäsär . . .* (HtPek H 1 b5-9) is quoted in footn. 62 in TermBuddh. This is the case also in *yelvi kömän üzä yelvik-* (SuvDrog 475,8) 'to be ensorcelled by wizardry and magic'. Such are also the exs. quoted under *bärKäk-* and *agok-* above. With *ada+k-* 'to get into

108 See Erdal, 1979 a: 105.

109 These come from *bir+ık-*, *kir+ık-*, *uç+uk-*, *ıl+ık-*, *tärs+ık-* and *ada+k-* respectively.

distress', however, the source of the action marked by *üzä* can be of the sort which has its own wishes. Distress can be caused by *onjın* 'demons' in one case, by *elçi ogri* in another case. Under *adak-* we also quoted an instance in which the source of distress, *ig kām adası*, appears with ablative suffix.

The present formation differs from the ones in *+U-*, *+(A)d-*, *+(A)r-* and generally also *+I-* in not signifying 'to be or become what the base nominal denotes'; with a few exceptions like the QB's *buln+uk-*, the subjects of *+(X)k-* verbs are not coreferential with the bases of these verbs.

5.45 +(A)r-

Verbs formed with this formative are about as numerous as the *+(A)d-* and the *+(X)k-* verbs. Here they are, listed alphabetically:

(*adart-*, discussed among the *-(X)t-* verbs, may come from '*ada+r-*'. Such a verb is not actually attested, however, and cf. *ada+k-* and *ada+k-tur-*).

ak+ar- 'to become white' is, in Old Turkic, attested only in Ernte II 13; it lives on to this day, e.g. in Turkish *ağar-*. Not in the *UW* or the *EDPT*. It should be found out whether there is a semantic difference between this and (y)ür(ü)nar- and between *ak* and (y)ürün or whether the distribution is a matter of dialects.

alar- 'to be dazzled' is attested in Maitr (quoted and translated in the *UW*), in the DLT (q.v. in the *EDPT*) and in UigTot 46, not mentioned in either: *közi alarıp uzun tın alıp* . . . "Das Auge wird geblendet, man nimmt einen langen Atemzug und . . .". I take this verb to come from *al* 'scarlet'; at least, this is the impression one gets from reading the DLT's translation of *alar-t-* (in fol. 629).¹¹⁰ In any case, this verb should not be confused with *ala+r-*, as the *EDPT* does. *ala+r-* is attested only in DLT fol. 99, where it is mentioned in the sentences *talka alardı* "The sour grapes were varicoloured" and *kişi yeni alardı* "The person's body was leprous". *ala* has the two meanings appropriate for this verb in the DLT.

bagragu+r- appears in QB 6369, in the clause *özün bagragursa, bādütsä boyun*, . . ., which takes up 6367 a: *üt öz todsa kansa bolur bagragu*. Both base and derivate are written with A in the first syllable in the only ms. extant for the passage. Arat, the editor, and all the other scholars with him, change this to °u°, however, due to a spurious attempt at an etymology connecting it with *bugra* 'camel stallion'. There is a discussion of *bag(ı)r+agu* 'aggressive' in section

110 The *EDPT* renders Kāşgari's translation of *ol aṇar közin alarttı* with "He glanced at him with the look of one whose eyes are red with anger", where Dankoff and Kelly are content with "He looked at him askance". Arabic *šazr*, used here, really has both meanings of "askance (look)" and "blodshot with anger (eye)". Since blodshot eyes are likely to be biologically connected with anger, there is no reason to doubt that the Turks made the connection independently.

2.96; it is well-attested in the DLT and in Uigur. The “camel stallion” can be omitted from Dankoff’s translation of the QB passage, which should be: ‘And if your carnal self becomes aggressive and gets a thick neck, . . .’. As *boyn+agu* ‘arrogant, haughty’ (q.v. in that same discussion above) shows, ‘having a thick neck’ was a metaphor for arrogance.¹¹¹ Another ex. of this verb should be read in ShōKenkyū III 31: The first word in *bagragurmaklıg t(ä)rs bilig barça kılınc-larig kulturdı* wrongly received an L hook under its second Q. Here as in the QB, there is an instance of *bagragu* two lines before the verb.

bälgü+r- ‘to become apparent, to appear’. In addition to the *EDPT*’s exs., this verb is found in ET§ 16,58, 22,28 and 23,12, Suv 273,16, BuddhUig I 28-30, Neujahr 55, Weih 2 and 7, Ht X573 and A 20, Ernte 22-23, BT VII A 436 and 748, BT VIII B 22, UigTot 921, 951 and 1116, UjgStichi 5, CYK 33, DruTur 10, AbitAnk 6, BT XIII 55,4 and 42,21 and elsewhere.

bu+r- ‘to turn into steam’, hence ‘to steam, give odour’. Beside the *EDPT*’s exs. it is found in Neujahr 56, Ht X400 and QB 6625. *bu* is attested in the DLT.

(*bus+ar-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 308: *kök busardı* “The sky became covered with mist”. *bus* ‘mist, fog’, the base, is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, Ottoman etc.)

ärmägü+r- ‘to be lazy’. *EDPT*; additional exs. appear in BT III 432, Ernte 28 (written *er°*), Warnke 497,¹¹² ShōAgon B (1) 350 and 352 and ms. Mz 627 (T II S19) b v 4 (edited in SktUigBil). *ärmägürmāk* is the opposite of *katıglanmak*. See also the n. to TT II A 94. Cf. *ärmägür-mäksiz* in section 3.328 above. *ärmägü* is well attested.

äski+r- ‘to become shabby, worn out’, in the *EDPT* quoted from DLT, Atabatu ‘l-Ḥaqā’iq etc. It is attested also in Maitr 52 v 16 as *äskirmiş vr̥xar sāṇrām*, and probably found also in Ht V 2 a 6 as completed in UW 206 b top: [äs]kirmiş *artamuşı* is there said to correspond in this passage to Chin. *xiu*, translated as “verrotten”.

(*imär-* ‘to teem, to crowd’ is derived from *imä* “birlikte yapılan iş, imece” in the n. to Ht X639, which quotes and follows Sevortyan’s dictionary. The *EDPT* wants to ‘emend’ this verb to ‘*ämgä-*’, and under that lemma mentions four exs.; all have the form *imärigmä*. *imärigmä* is attested also in Ht X639 and Suv 437,4. Clauson’s proposal is unjustified, although *imä* has not yet turned up in Old Turkic. The derivate *imrām* in the DLT, discussed in the section on *-(X)m*, does not have any content related to suffering either. Its shape is one indication that the formative *+(A)r-* must originally have had the further vowel A.)

kadgu+r- ‘to grieve, be sorrowful’. Exs. quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*.

111 This is a calque on Persian.

112 Translated also in UW 154 b bottom.

kal(a)ŋu+r- 'to rise in the air' is no doubt derived from *kalŋu*, a hap. in the DLT.¹¹³ *kalŋu* is said to signify "floating on the surface of water"; but, as it probably comes from an *-(X)n-* derivate of *kali-* 'to rise in the air', its meaning must originally have been wider. The verb is discussed by the *EDPT* and found in the *DTS*, in the latter also under *qalaŋŋur-*. Add *kalaŋurmak* (BT I D (335) with facs.), *kalaŋurup öçär kılınçım* (ShōKenkyū III 15) and *ögrünç üzä kalŋurmuş tög bol-* (thus, BuddhUig II 136.)

kap+ar- 'to form into a blister or a vesicle'. See the *EDPT*, and add *ayaları kaparıp tälünü* from Ernte 32. Cf. *kapar-ma* in section 3.109.

kara+r- 'to be or become black or dark'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Appears also in ETŞ 16,64 and 20, HT V 10 a 19, VII 3 b 3 and X 1018, Suv 595,11-18 (quoted in the n. to UigTot 233), Ernte 36 and five times in the QB.

(*karagu+r-* 'to be unable to see' is a hap. in QB 6092, explained in the *EDPT*. *kara+gu* 'blind' (q.v. in section 2.96) is attested also in Uigur.)

kebä+r- 'to swell, to be inflated (of one's belly)' is documented in the *EDPT*. A further ex. can be seen on the facs. of ms. T II T 563 (U 184) r 6 (BT V pl. 39), in fragmentary context. There is enough of the context to make the above meaning unlikely for it. The base does not appear before the XIVth century, and then only in the west.¹¹⁴

(*kizar-* 'to be or become red' is not attested before the DLT and the QB, but *kizar-t-*, q.v. below, is well attested earlier. We have no **kız* 'red', but *kızgan*, *kızıl* and *kızıl* no doubt also come from it.)

kök+är- 'to be or become blue/grey/green'. *EDPT* from the DLT on; add *kökärip turur körlüg tag* (ETŞ 8,25).

kötgi+r- 'to form a small swelling or protrusion' is a hap. in UigTot 752: *ol üdtä kintik altınında kötgirip tursar. ...* Cf. *ibid.* 756: *kintik altınındaki kötgi üzäsintä. ...*; this base is discussed in section 3.110 above.

kurgu+r- 'to be wilful, light-witted or conceited'. *EDPT* s.v. '*korğur-*' from the DLT and *DTS* s.v. *qurğurmaq* from TT VIII A (Brāhmī, which fixes the first vowel). In its entry for *čökmäk* the *DTS* quotes a form '*qorqurmaq*' from the Suv; the context makes it probable that this is also the same verb. *bütmädük baxşılarnıñ yörügi ärsär kurgurmaklıglarnıñ nomı ärür* (BuddhUig I 380) has been read as if it were *kork-un-*. The facs. shows that both readings are possible, and I prefer the former: *korkun-* does not fit the context, as Tekin admits. Note that all three Uigur exs. are in *-mAk*. The base is found in the DLT (see the *EDPT*) and the QB (q.v. in the *DTS*.)

113 See *kalŋula-* under the *+lA-* verbs and footn. 28 thereto for more details. The sequence /lŋ/ obtains also in *alŋ+ad-*, q.v. above.

114 Intervocalic [b] belongs to the phoneme /p/; the phoneme /b/ has the intervocalic allophone [v].

(*küz+är-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 308: *üd küzärdi* “The autumn season began”.) *sar(i)g+ar-* ‘to be or become yellow’. To the *EDPT*’s exs. add *sarigaru turur* ‘keeps getting yellow’ (ETS 11,38) and *sargaru bıṣ-* (U IV D 124), a phrase similar to *yürünärü bıṣ-* (q.v. below under *yürün+är-*). A further ex. appears in M III 46,1₁ (text 35).

tank+ar- is found in TuoLuoNi 50: *kuan] ṣi im bodis(a)tv InçIp ... közünür; tanuklayu ta[n]karu InçA tep ayur* ‘The bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara then appears ... and, giving attestations and pledges, says the following:’. P. Zieme (personal communication) has suggested reading this verb also in BT III 884. We then get: *Darmaruçi atl(i)g elig xan ärdükünüz üzä tankartınız Maytri tetgäli* ‘By being the king D. you have testified that you are named Maitreya’. The ed. read ‘*tanan-*’ with impossible etymology. *tankar-* no doubt comes from *tanu-k* ‘witness’. It should therefore basically signify ‘to propose oneself as witness’, whereas *tanuk+la-* is ‘to bring forth evidence’. Cf. *tankar-ig* above and the hap. *tankar-iṣ-* below.

taṇla+r- is a hap. in IrqB XXVI in the phrase *taṇ taṇlardı* ‘It dawned’. Need not be taken to be an error:¹¹⁵ Cf. *tün+är-* and *tün kara+r-dı* on the one hand, and *tün+lä*, *tün+çülä* and Chuv. *käntärlä* (from *küntüz*) on the other. There is also a verb *taṇ+la-*, but it too is a hapax.

(*taz+ar-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 307: *tazardı nāṇ* “The thing became bald or scabby”. Note that Kāṣṣarī (fol. 509) makes *taz* qualify not only persons, but also horses, sheep and places, with various meanings.)

ṭlaṇu+r-mak ‘eloquence’ is quite common, but the *+(A)r-* verb itself is not attested. Beside what is quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, *ṭlaṇurmak* appears in BT II 569, 650 and 1072, Suv 69,20, BT VIII A 186 and BT VIII Anh. 2-3,18 and Buddhāv H 59 and 84. *ṭnlaṇurmak* in CYK 39 is an error. Cf. *ṭlaṇurmaklıg* in ÄgFrag (1) E 4. *ṭl+aṇu* is discussed in section 2.96 above.

(*toz+ar-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 527, in *toz tozardı* “The dust rose up”.)

tün+är- signifies ‘to be or become dark (of a place, of day or of one’s eyes)’ in the DLT and QB exs. quoted in the *EDPT*. All three Uigur exs., however, refer to ‘a person’s being in the (metaphorical) dark’. One of these latter is quoted in the *EDPT*; the other two are *tünärmüz saçılmaz dyan* ‘thought which does not get obscured or scattered’ (ETS 20,54) and, from Ht VII 11 a20: *ırak ıdılıp biligsiz bilig üzä, yakın tünärip kertü nom tözintä, burxan tözi ätözdä ärdükün bilü umaz biz*. Six of the QB instances of *tünär-* are not mentioned in the *EDPT*. *tünär-ig* (an *-(X)g* nominal) is very common.

tüpi+r- ‘of the weather, to be stormy’. In KP written with W and not WY in the first syllable; cf. however e.g. *ibid.* II 4, where *böz* is written as BWZ.

¹¹⁵ As the *EDPT* tacitly does s.v. ‘1 *taṇla-*’.

(*tüz+är-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 307-8: *yer tüzärdi* “The ground became flat”.)

(*yala+r-mak* is a hap. in Suv as mentioned by the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. ‘to make false accusations’, from *yala* ‘false accusation or blame’.)

yaŋku+r- ‘to resound’. The *EDPT* quotes two Uigur exs. with this meaning, and cf. *yaŋkur-t-*. Add [on] *yıŋak yaŋkurar* (MaitrH X5 b20), *üni yaŋkurar* (Maitr 153 v30, MaitrH XI 13 a6-7 and Maitr 145 r9 = MaitrH XI 10 b8-9. The DLT, however, translates *yaŋkur-* differently. ‘to echo, to resound’, *yaŋkur-* in Uigur, is *yaŋku+la-* in Qarakhanid Turkic; see the *EDPT* for this.

yaş+ar- ‘to become green and/or moist’. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear in BuddhUig II 503, Weih 7, ms. TM 155 r3 (quoted in the n. to BT V458 mistranslated), and in QB 1807 and 1810.

(*yaşaŋur-* appears in DLT fol. 620: Of the eyes, to be “dazzled from the sun’s rays and tear”. No doubt derived from *yaş* ‘tears’ and a formational parallel to *ulaŋu+r-*. The aorist form given for this verb by Atalay, the *EDPT* and Dank-off and Kelly is a conjecture; it is also incorrect, as we shall see below. The ms. contracts the aorist to YAŞA’NKUR. Interestingly, the aorist of this verb appears in the same contracted form also in the Rylands interlinear Coran translation. Tezcan identified these as the instances of the same verb in his review of the edition of the latter work in *TDAYB* 1978/9: 291, but was wrong in taking the form to be an error.)

(y)ürünj+är- ‘to be or become white’. In the *EDPT* quoted from Suv and the DLT. The converb in the following also represents this verb: *ötrü M(a)hendrasem elig öz tirä[nip]*¹¹⁶ *ätözintäki kaparmış ätin yara bıçıp ak[a] kälmiş sül suvın iglig ärkä içürüp yänä qk ätözintäki yürünärü bısa kälmiş ätin taŋçu taŋçu üzüp . . .* (U III 45,14). Cf. *sargaru biş-*, mentioned above.¹¹⁷ Add also *kuzgun täg öñlög k(a)ra [. . . y]ürünärmäki mänigü InçA bolz[un]* (M III 46,3₁, text 35) ‘May the whitening of the black, raven-faced [. . .] take place forever.’

For later +(A)r- verbs see Schakir, 1933: 30-32. Cf. footn. 1 to the n. to TT I 8, which mentions that +(A)r- is added to names of colours in Uigur (while there is more variation in later stages of Turkic). Beside this group, the bases of +(A)r- verbs do not appear to have anything semantic in common. A number of verbs dealt with above are hapax legomena in the DLT or the QB; others, however, are very common in Uigur.

The converb and aorist vowels of +(A)r- verbs vary. I therefore list all the evidence available, first for stems ending with the phoneme sequence °Ar-:

¹¹⁶ My conjecture; see *tirä-n-* below.

¹¹⁷ The *EDPT* takes this instance to be the directive of *yurun* ‘patch, piece of cloth’. The not too common directive, however, is hardly ever abstract. Front vowels (with the obvious exception of /ä/) are practically never written as such after initial y. Flesh, of course, looses its redness in cooking, becoming white.

(*al+ar-ur* DLT)

(*ala+r-ur* DLT)

(*bus+ar-ur* DLT)

kap+ar-u käl- U III 41,0, Mahendrasena; *kap+ar-ur* DLT

kara+r-u kuri- Ernte 36; *kara+r-u* [BT XIII 2,59; *kara+r-ur* DLT; QB 5347 and 5634

(*kizar-ur* DLT)

(*kök+är-ür* DLT)

(*küz+är-ür* DLT)

sarıg+ar-u tur- ETŞ 11,38; *sarg+ar-u biş-* U IV D 124; *sarg+ar-ur* U I 37,13, Töten
ta[n]k+ar-u . . . ay- TuoLuoNi 50

(*taz+ar-ur* DLT)

(*tün+är-ür* DLT)

(*tüz+är-ür* DLT)

yaş+ar-ur Weih 7; ms. TM 155 r3 quoted in the footn. to BT V 458; DLT; *yaş+ar-u[r]* M III 20,10₁ (text 8)

yürüñ+är-ü biş- U III 45,14, Mahendrasena; *ürñ+är-ür* DLT

As can be seen, all the forms listed above have /U/ as converb and aorist vowel. Not so when the stem does *not* end in °Ar-:

b(ä)lgü+r-ä Warnke 110; *b(ä)lgürä y(a)rlıka-* M III 35,15 (text 15);¹¹⁸ USp 101,4; Suv 3,6; Weih 2 and Shō VI a9 and XIV b11. *bälgü+r-är* Windgott 11; TT VI 322,¹¹⁹ 328 and eleven times in ls. 405-420; U II 5,3 and 6,5 (Lalitavistara); Maitr 70 r8 and, quoted out of the *nidāna* series in the Maitr, U II 8,15 and 9,1; BT I B (216); ETŞ 12,37; Suv 52,20; 74,20; 364,18-19; 367,15 and 374,13; Ht X573; UigTot 357¹²⁰ and 951; DLT and QB. The only exceptions are the following, all from rather late texts: *bälgürü y(a)rlıka-* U II 79,55 (Üdrät),¹²¹ BT III 1102 and ShōAv 231; *bälgürür* UigTot 1116.¹²¹

bu+r-a Ht IV 175, V146 and X400 and TT I 193; *bu+r-ar* DLT and QB 6625
(*ärmägü+r-är* DLT)

(*äski+r-ür* DLT, an exception; spelled without *wāw*. The *EDPT* mentions an instance from the Atabatu 'l-Ḥaqā'īq where the mss. waver between *äskirär* and *äskirür*.)

kadgu+r-ar M II 8,6 (text 3), DLT and QB 1233; *kadgu+r-a* QB 5445

(*kurgu+r-ar* DLT)

tüpi+r-är KP XVIII 2 and DLT

118 Passage quoted also in U I p. 57.

119 The eds. mention *bälgürür* in one ms. among ten; it is not clear to me whether this is the ms. published as USp 99, which also has *bälgürür* (on l.2).

120 Clearly visible on the facs.; the printed text should be corrected.

121 Clearly visible on the facs.

yan̄ku+r-ar TT I 135, Maitr 153 v30, MaitrH XI 10 b8-9 (= Maitr variant 145 v9 wrongly *yan̄kurur*) and 13 a6-7 and DLT.

Here, with insignificant exceptions, the converb and aorist vowel is /A/. This alternation between the two vowels in the converb and aorist suffixes does not appear with derived tr. stems ending in °r-: (Deverbal) *-Ur-*, *-Ar-*, *-gUr-*, *-ṣUr-* and *-tUr-* and the (denominal) *+gAr-* verbs, mostly causatives, consistently show *-(U)r*. Other °r- formatives, however, have *-(A)r*: Thus the onomatopoeics in *+kIr-* or *+kXr-* discussed in section 5.31, the DLT's intr. *+gIr-* (discussed as an appendix to section 6.3) and verb classes expressing special modes of event, process or behaviour, formed with *-çIr-* and *-gIr-*, *-gIr-*, which forms tr. as well as intr. verbs (as consistent with its function) is not an Old Turkic formative: It is documented only in the DLT. Otherwise, transparently derived °r- verbs which have /A/ as converb and aorist vowel are all intr. What about opaque bisyllabic °r- stems? The tr. ones (mentioned below in connection with *-Ur-* and *-Ar-*) fluctuate, as do the intr. ones. Exs. for bisyllabic opaque °r- verbs are *yalvar-* 'to beg and pray' and *yakar-*, the rare synonym and biverb-mate of *yalvar-*. *yakar-* today lives on in Republican Turkish, but in Old Turkic appears only in *yalvaru yakaru* in TuoLuoNi 372. *yalvar-u* can otherwise be found in Suv 10,11, TT IV A 7,¹²² ETŞ 13,146, BT VII B101 and Warnke 726, *yalvarur* in BT VIII A210,¹²³ IrqB LIV, Suv 10,15 and the DLT. *yalvar-a*, on the other hand, appears in Ht VII 2099 (= 22 b20), U II 79,52 (Üdrät), TT IV A 13, Kuan 40¹²⁴ and QB (thrice, with no variants in the mss.), *yalvar-ar* in M II 10,2₁ (text 4) and r9 of the ms. published in footn. 3 of ChuastBeitr. *älvir-* 'to rave',¹²⁵ with aorist *älvirär* in DLT fol. 120, *ögir-* 'to rejoice' and *tälmir-* 'to throw expectant, longing or intense glances' are intr. opaque °r- verbs.¹²⁶ Exs. for *ögirä* and *ögirär* are quoted in Erdal, 1979: 154, there taken to characterise early texts. Another feature of the texts showing the converb and aorist vowel /A/ with *ögir-* is that they are runic (nine times in the IrqB) or Manichaean (thrice). All texts with /U/ are Buddhist: *ögirü* in Maitr 407 b v3, ETŞ 13,191, UigBlock 7, Ht V226 and X312 and 364, *ögirür* in Suv 151,19, 152,5, 153,5 and 517,9 (= U I 27,2) and ETŞ 14,16. *ögirä(r)* does appear to have been the original variant, however, as the texts in which it is found are, in general, more

122 And then *yalvara* five lines further down!? Both instances are followed by /öl/. We are given no facss. with this text.

123 The four last-mentioned exs. do not appear in the dictionaries.

124 Thus in the ms. read by Ş. Tekin. The other ms. is quoted by Radloff as *yalvaru*.

125 See the UW s.v. *alvir-* and BT XIII 2,48 (which has *älvirgü* with front-vowel [g]) with footn. DLT fol. 120 writes the infinitive of this verb both with *kāf* and with *qāf*. *ol anñ yüzinā Alwirdl* is there translated as "He snapped back at him as though he wanted a quarrel".

126 Footn. 443 in vol. 1 proposes a possibly far-fetched etymology for *tälmir-*; a direct base for it is, in any case, not attested.

archaic. *tālmirū* is attested only in BT XIII 19,111 (see facs.).¹²⁷ *tālmirā*, on the other hand, appears in Suv 637,9, QB 6634 and, in Maitr fr. 105,¹²⁸ in the phrase *tālmirā közin*; this belongs to a pattern discussed in n. 506 below. We also have *tālmirārlār* in Suv 640,12 and *tālmirār* in the DLT.

+U-, *+I-*, *+(A)d-* and *+(X)k-* stems are expanded mostly with causative formatives. *+(A)r-* has only causative verbal expansion. Not counting *adart-*, which has no attested base, we find *alart-* (DLT only), *bālgürt-*, *karart-*, *kızart-*, *tünärt-* (hap. in the QB), *yaṅkurt-* and *yaṣart-*. Nominal derivatives from *+(A)r-* verbs are quite few: I can think of *kapar-ma*, *karar-ig*, *tünär-ig* and *tankar-ig* and of several nominalised *-mAk* forms.

+(A)r- verbs appear frequently with no accompanying oblique nominal expression. Here are a few exs.: *yıdı yıparı bura turur* (TT I 193) 'Its scent and perfume keep on rising'. *çiku taşın inçkä sokup lalap bakır eşiçtä sargargınça kagurup kün-çit yağınka* (thus!) *bulgap* . . . (Heilk I 173) 'Crush the *çiku* stone to dust, roast it in a copper pot until it gets yellow, blend it with sesame oil, . . .'. *ürän yaṣaru[r] yadılur* (M III 20,10-11₁, text 8) 'The seed gets moist and green, and spreads'. It is not rare for concrete cases to accompany an *+(A)r-* verb. E.g.: *tümän ban yerdä yaṅkurur süzök suv tigisi* (TT I 135) 'The din of limpid water resounds in ten thousands of places'. An instance with an ablative: *yüräkdäki xun ujkıdın ujıklār bālgürüp* . . . (BT VII A 436). One ex. with a local dative is quoted above s.v. *imär-*. Instances of *kötgi+r-* and *tün+är-* with locative are quoted above when dealing with these verbs, and a further one can be found in BuddhUig I 28-30.

We have no exs. with direct objects. An ex. with an *üzä* phrase appears in the DTS: *ol täñri kızı bo nomlug yarlıgı eşidü täğınip ögrünç sävinç üzä artıñı uz kalaṅgurup* . . . (Suv 372,3) 'When that divine girl had the experience of hearing this commandment she jumped up for joy in a very skillful manner and . . .'. This *üzä* phrase represents the reason and context of the girl's action, and not its instigator.

Verbs formed with *+(A)r-* are intr. in the strictest sense, then: They never fade into the passive, nor into the transitive.

+(A)r- stems have one, two or three syllables. Surprisingly many of them are formed from bases ending in *°gU*. Even disregarding *karagur-*, which is a *hapax* in the QB, we still have *bālgür-*, *ärmägür-*, *kadgur-*, *bagragur-* and *kurgur-*. To these we might add *yaṅkur-*, which has a *°kU* base, and *kal(a)ñur-* and *tılañur-*, perhaps also *yaṣañur-*, as verbs formed from *°ñU* nominals. Another conspicuous group

127 Zieme has no explanation for the third part in *El Çakır Şal*, the name of the scribe or the commissioner of the ms. It may, I think, be a Mo. variant of *şila* from Skt. *śilavant*, with the 'breaking' of /i/ and syncopation of final vowels characteristic of late Mo.

128 Quoted in the n. to TT I 46.

are the derivatives from colour names, (y)ürün+är-, ak+ar-, kara+r-, kızar-, al+ar-, kök+är-, sarg+ar- and perhaps yaş+ar- (cf. Turkish yeşer-!). +(A)r- verbs generally do signify 'to be or become, to form or turn into what the base nominal denotes'. One well-attested exception is *kadgur-*: *kadgu* is an abstract, not employed for reference to sorrowful persons.

5.5 The verbal expression of lack and loss: +s(I)rA-

For reasons given below, the entries for this formative will mention all evidence for a vowel after the +s°, and give information on the existence of a +sXz derivate from the base.

(baş+sıra- is a hap. in QB 4329: *karnı todsa tili başsırar* "Once a . . . man fills his belly, his tongue loses its head". For this metaphorical use, the İndeks gives the wrongly tr. translation "başsız bırakmak". baş+sız is, among other places, used in the QB itself, also metaphorically.)

el+sirä- 'to lose its social and political structure (of a people)' and elsirä-t-, q.v. below, are always written with °S²R²°. 'elsiz' does not seem to be attested. elsirä- is a hap. in KT, quoted in the EDPT. elsirä-t- is attested thrice, also in the inscriptions.

enç+sirä- 'to be uneasy, full of anxiety' is attested several times in a late text in USp, quoted in the EDPT. Also in *tünläsintä yänä ençsirämäkin ençsiräp uudımaz ärdi* (Warnke 21) and *nägülük munı tög ençsiräyür s(ä)n tep ol bayagut oğlu tıltagındakı ençsirägülük sablarıg keñürü sözlädi* (TuoLuoNi 225-7). Cf. ençsirä-t- below. There are nine exs. of the two verbs together, and eight of them are written with explicit °r°. See ençsiz in the EDPT.

kagan+sıra- 'to lose one's kagan', a hap. in KT, quoted in the EDPT. It and kagansıra-t- are both spelled with °S¹R¹°. I do not remember having come across kagan+sız, but kaganlıg bodun appears in the same KT passage.

kut+sıra- 'to lack blessing' is not mentioned in the EDPT. A Suv instance is quoted in the DTS, and we have *kuşsıramış arıamış elig uluşug kuşadtur-* in ShōAv 320. Cf. *kutsiratılmış* (ETŞ 10) below. All exs. are given with explicit I. See kutsuz in the EDPT.

küş+sirä- 'to lack or lose strength'. See küşsüz in the EDPT. Exs. for küşsirä- *ibid.*, and DTS s.v. 'kevil- küşsirä-' in particular. *kävil- küşsirä-* appears also in Suv 588,4, quoted in the UW, 206 a middle. Found in Heilk I and a number of times in the Suv, always written with I.

ög+sirä- 'to become or be unconscious, to faint; to lose one's head'. ögsüz exists. Exs. for the verb can be found in the EDPT and the DTS, the latter also under ögsirämäk. Further exs. in LautHöllen 40, UigTot 567, ShōAgon 1,350 and

TuoLuoNi 85. All these instances are spelled with I in the second syllable; so are all the Suv exs. as quoted by the editors and in the dictionaries. Both dictionaries misquote KP LXI 6, however, where the text has °srä° (cf. facs.). ögsirä-t- (q.v. below) is also spelled with explicit /i/.
 söz+sirä- 'to shut up'. Not in the dictionaries. Hap. in BT I D (188), written with explicit °i°. I have not come across 'söz+süz'.
 tatig+sira- EDPT and DTS. Attested in M III text 8, written T'TQSR', and in Suv. The former instance should be translated as 'His intellect loses its taste (for things)'. The Suv context is also served better with a metaphorical rendering. tatigsız is found first in the QB.
 tin+sira- 'to lose one's breath'. Found twice in Suv, both exs. in biverbs with ögsirä- (q.v. above). A third ex. of the biverb is ögsiräp tinsrap in TuoLuoNi 85. Cf. ögsirä-t- tinsira-t- below. All sources write °sir°. Cf. tinsız in the EDPT. (tüp+sirä-t-ü is a hap. in BT I D (321), clearly written with explicit °i°. 'to deprive of a base'. No +sIrA- stem is attested for this. Not mentioned in the dictionaries. See tüpsüz in the EDPT and the DTS, the latter also s.v. ultuz.)
 tüş+sirä- 'to become fruitless'. DTS s.v. tätyśira-, with which it appears as a biverb. Hap. in the Suv, not mentioned in the EDPT. Cf. tüşsüz in the EDPT. (umug+sira-t-maz is a hap. in TuoLuoNi 342. Not in the EDPT or the DTS. 'to make one lose hope'. No +sIrA- stem attested. The I is explicit. umugsuz, q.v. in the EDPT, is common.)
 (urug+s-ra-t- 'to deprive someone of progeny'. Hap. in KT E 10; does not appear in BQ, as implied in the EDPT s.v. Spelled W R¹G¹S¹R¹T¹Y¹I N²; between S¹ and R¹ there should, according to this spelling, be either /u/ or /a/ or nothing.¹²⁹ urugsuz is quoted by the EDPT only from the QB but is perhaps found also in QaraBalğ c6.¹³⁰)

The bases for this formation are mono- or bisyllabic nouns, in three cases belonging to the -(X)g formation. +s(I)rA- verbs are not numerous at all, but the formation has remained productive from the runic monuments all the way through Qarakhanid and the latest Uigur. A still later ex. is uyuxısira- 'waking' i.e. 'waking' in the Codex Comanicus. For modern exs. see Schakir, 1933: 44-45. Another aspect worth mentioning about this formation is the fact that none of the verbs is really common. Among eleven +s(I)rA- verbs actually attested (i.e. disregarding the +sIrAt- verbs also quoted here), five are hap. legomena, two appear twice and the rest not more than eight times. The three +s(I)rAt- verbs quoted here because the corresponding +s(I)rA- stem is unknown are also all attested a single time.

129 See Meyer, 1965-6.

130 As W L¹W R¹G¹S¹Z :B²I L²G² i.e. perhaps *ol urugsuz bilg* or *bilig*.

Ever since V. Thomsen,¹³¹ the formative in question has been related to *+sXz*. It must be remarked that the vowel of the nominal formative is /X/, while the verbal one has /I/ in most of the instances.¹³² We find, however, that *+s(I)rA-* has no explicit I in the earlier sources: KT, M III text 8, KP, both in runic and Uigur writing. Omission of vowels is not rare in Uigur texts and not especially noteworthy; in the present case, however, the linguistic reality of this absence is backed up by inscriptional evidence: especially the way *urugs^oratayin* is written. A possible explanation could be that *+sIrA-* was originally **+sXz+A-*. As so often happens in *+A-* derivation, the final vowel of the base was syncopated, resulting in **+szA-*. The two sibilants were apparently dissimilated and, in later texts, an anaptyctic vowel appeared. A zetacistic explanation is also possible. Cf. the discussion of *kösürKän* 'mole' in section 2.44. See also the DLT hap. *tuvra-* in section 5.11.

+s(I)rA- stems allowed of expansion only with *-(X)t-*, there being nine *+s(I)rA-t-* verbs (including *kutsiratıl-*).

Hardly any *+s(I)rA-* verbs are accompanied by any nominals except such as refer to the agent. Here is a biverb from Suv 619,18: *anı körüp ök ät'özlärin ol süñük üzä kämişip ögsiräp tınsırıp kamultılar* 'The moment they saw that, they threw themselves on that bone and fell over, fainting and losing their breath'. Here is an ex. from a Manichaean text: *bilgä biligi tat(ı)gsrayur; biligsizin yorıyur* (M III 18,12₁, text 8), translated above. The only oblique nominals which ever accompany these verbs are two instrumentals and one *täg* phrase. *[bu]suşlug [ä]mgäkin [ö]gsiräyürlär* (LautHöllen 40) is one instrumental; another one (in fact a *figura etymologica*) is quoted above under *ençsirä-*. So is *nägülük mum täg ençsiräyür s(ä)n* 'Why are you so nervous?'

The fact that *+s(I)rAt-* verbs are of about the same number as *+s(I)rA-* verbs may mean that the two formations formed an in a sense symmetrical couple: Lack or loss vs. deprivation. The occasional correlation of *+s(I)rA-* with *+lAn-*, dealt with next, parallels the *+sXz : +lXg* opposition.

5.6 +lAn-

There is no doubt that this formative is compounded of *+lA-* with *-(X)n-*, but it has a behaviour of its own: a composite denominal intr. formative. Even where

131 In the introduction to his edition of KT and BQ, p. 32.

132 Forms like Y'W L'S²Z N² and B'W NGS²Z in Toñ 35 and 48 respectively are not in conflict with the /X/: Instances in Toñ (and elsewhere as well) of S² used where we would expect back-vocalic /s/, also adjacent to /a/ and /u/, are given e.g. in Tekin, 1968: 40 top. The only explicit /I/ I know of in this suffix is *buñsız* written with °S²I Z in YE 26,7.

+IA- derivatives from the same nominals exist, the *+IA_n-* lexemes can be shown to have been derived from these independently.

agız+lan-, a hap. in the early text Gebet, must have signified ‘to be recited’; thus now translated correctly in *UW* 251 a. Dealt with in the *UW* s.v. *agazlan-*, which is what the ms. actually has. Not related to the DLT’s *agız+la-*, which is said to signify either “to make a mouth for a canal” or “to strike someone on the mouth” (fol. 152).

alp+lan-mak is described in the *UW*, translated as “Kriegshandwerk; Heroismus”.

Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. No *+IA-* derivative from *alp* is attested. The *UW* has three Ht exs. for this lexeme, and thinks the synonymous *alpal-*, which it quotes as a hap. in Suv, may perhaps be an error for this. There is, however, also an Ht ex. of *alpal-* (q.v. in the chapter on *-(X)l-* below). At least one of the *UW* instances of *alplan-*, *alp[lan]makka* in par. B, may therefore also be read as *alpal-*. *ayançaŋ+lan-* is a hap. in BT VIII B 219 in a biverb with *aya-*. It presumably means ‘to revere’, since its base signifies ‘reverent’. It is quoted in the *UW*. See the base in section 2.95 above.

az+lan- In addition to the exs. quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. 2 a: *zlan-*, found in Genzan D r 12, Maitr 13 r 2, BT VIII B 82, ShōAgon 2,2, p. 191, 4₂ and 8₂, UigTot 112, 116-7, 117, 119 and 1275, BT XIII 13,93 and Suv 266,20 and 319,21 (the last two quoted in the *DTS*). In Suv 16,9 (not mentioned in the dictionaries) read *ädkä tavarka azlanmagul* with SuvLeg p. 156, and not ‘*ädgü tavarka ...*’. As explained in the n. to BT XIII 13,93, the ex. there, a paraphrase of Suv 136,15, appears to come from *az* ‘few, scanty, a little’ and to signify ‘to be mean and/or stingy’: It deals with the giving of alms. A number of other instances, however, cannot but signify ‘to be greedy’, pointing towards *āz* ‘greed, lust’ as base. This is F. W. K. Müller’s translation of the verb, favoured also by the *EDPT*. This latter must be the correct translation e.g. in *altı adkangularka azlanmak bodulmak* in the Genzan ex., or in *bulmayukug* (or: *bolmayukug*, better) *bulgalı azlantaçı biligsiz bilig* (Suv 319,21). The UigTot 112-119 passage definitely speaks for this interpretation as well, and is so translated. Note also the biverb *azlan- küni+lä-* in UigTot 1275 and Suv 220,4 and the binome *azlanmaksız yapşınmaksız* in BT II 1362-3. The Suv 136,15 passage (followed by BT XIII 13,93) would seem to represent a reinterpretation of the verb by ‘popular etymology’ and not a different verb; all other instances can be accommodated with the derivation from *āz*. Qarakhanid Turkic, on the other hand, does have a different verb *azlan-* connected with *az* ‘little, few’: *azla-n-* ‘to despise’ in QB 305 and DLT fol. 151 from *az+la-* ‘to belittle, to consider few’ (QB 3231 and 3234, ignored by the *EDPT*). The latter is an *-(X)n-* derivative whereas the Uigur lexeme is a *+IA_n-* verb with no attested verbal base.

batıg+lan- is a hap. in *v(i)rxarka yakın batıgılanmazunlar* in Maitr 174 v12. It probably signifies ‘to empty one’s bowels’ and not ‘sich beschmutzen’ as translated in BT IX 175,12₂: Although formally derived from *bat-ıg* ‘swamp, bog’ (q.v. above), it is semantically akin to *batıg+lık* ‘toilet’. There is no related +lA- verb.

baz+lan- is a hap. in Tes 11 as interpreted by T. Tekin in AOH XLII (1988): 115: *Tabgaçka bazlanmış* ‘became a subordinate ally of China’. *baz* is attested already in Orkhon, but there is no +lA- derivate from it.

bokok+lan- is attested in one Manichaean source and in the DLT, dealt with in the EDPT. The Manichaean passage is quoted in UW 68b s.v. *agırlıg* A, b with the spelling of the verb adopted here. A +lA- derivate is not attested at all, *bokok* (q.v. in the EDPT) from the DLT on. ‘to come into bud’.

çeçäk+län- ‘to flower’. Earliest occurrences in an obscure passage in TT VIII P and in the DLT. No +lA- verb attested.

çog+lan- ‘to become scorching hot, to blaze or glow’. EDPT and DTS. Further exs. in BT III 1018, 1026, 1034 and 1042 and SuvStockh 74 (“glänzen die Könige herrlich”, metaphorically). *çog* itself has both the concrete and the metaphorical meaning. There is no related +lA- verb.

ärk+län-[mä]kim was reconstructed in TT II 1 (quoted in the EDPT) in a biverb with *b(ä)gädmäk(i)m*. The same couple, *bägädmäk ärklänmäk*, has turned up in another Manichaean text, DreiPrinz 67. ‘to be powerful’. No related +lA- verb exists; cf. *ärk+sin-* (tr.).

ärkäç+län- ‘to surge in waves’ is attested in Suv 630,17 (quoted in the DTS) in a biverb with *yaykal-*; in Ht IV 210, BT VII A 240, HtPek 99 a 6 quoted in UW 152 a s.v. *antag* A, d, Ht V 12 b 12-13, HtPek H 1 b 5-9 quoted in n. 62 of BuddhTerm, HtPek 83 v 6 and 84 v 3 mentioned in a n. to Ht IV 210, HtPar 171,13 quoted in UW 199a, mid-page, UigKan 87 and HtPar 131,6-7 quoted together with HtFragm II 25. Cf. also *ärkäçlän-tür-* below. In view of all these, Warnke 296 should be completed as [ärkä]çlänürlär, and not as [örkü]çlänürlär as done there, and BT I B 88 as ögüzün [ärkäç]länmaki and not as the ed. writes; ‘örgüçlänmäki’ in UW 124a is misleading. The exs. of M III 9,3₂ and 10,16₁ can also be read as [ä]rküçlän-, as the first vowel is torn away in the ms. in both cases. The DLT has this verb in fols. 157 and 60, the former quoting the verb as lemma and the latter its nominal base. There is, there, good evidence of *ärküç* ‘wave’ and *ärküçlän-* and slightly weaker evidence for *ärkäçlän-*, the form given throughout by Dankoff and Kelly.¹³³ There is no evidence for ‘örküçlän-’, the form favoured by the EDPT. The preference of the second

133 In all, the DLT has four instances of the verb, one of its base. In these five, the first vowel is explicitly written as ä in two cases by the first hand and as ö in three cases by the second hand. The

hand of the DLT ms. for this last variant may be explained by the adjacent appearance of the lemmata *örKüçlän-* ‘to acquire a braid’ and *örKüç* ‘braid, tuft’. We have spelled both base and verb with *k* throughout, as Old Turkic morphophonemics seems to demand; there is no actual evidence for not writing *g* instead. While the Manichaean and Qarakhanid verb comes from *ärküç* ‘wave’, the base of the Buddhist verb is *ärkäç*: This latter is the lexeme for ‘he-goat’ (q.v. in the *EDPT*). A noun *örgüç* denoting ‘a camel’s hump’ and similar objects comes up in Middle Turkic, but is by no means identical with the DLT’s word for ‘wave’, which was the base to our verb. Possibly, etymologically opaque *ärküç*, supported by the form of the verb in the archaic Manichaean source, was the original base of the present verb. *ärkäçlän-* may then have come up through popular etymology: Cf. *irkäk+län-* below and consider how young goats hop around.

enç+län- ‘to be or live in peace’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the QB. It is, among other places, found in ShōAgon 1,211,] *korkup k(ä)ntü öz'i ençlänmätin* . . . Cf. *enç+sirä-*.

ilgäysök+län- ‘to become shrewd at something’. Hap. in ETŞ 10,81: *al altaglarta ilgäysöklänü / atyanlık bolup* . . . ‘He became a master at guiles and . . .’. The base is discussed in section 2.93 above.

irkäk+län- is found only in the DLT and in TT VIII P. In the latter, the context gives no clue as to the meaning. DLT fol. 159 has the translations ‘to be wavy (of water); to shudder (of the skin); to pretend to be manly (of a man)’. The first vowel is clear in Brāhmī (TT VIII); the DLT ms. has both *fatha* and *kasra*, the former (i.e. an *ä*) probably being by a later hand. The third meaning in the DLT is etymologically unproblematic, but the first two need not be due to “a muddle” either, as the *EDPT* writes: A parallel for some metaphorical use would be *ärkäç+län-*, q.v. above. *irk+äk* is discussed in section 2.11 above; it has no *+lA-* derivate.

kan+län- ‘to get themselves a khan (of a nation)’. Hap. in Toñ; no related *+lA-* verb attested. See this in the *EDPT*.

katig+län- ‘to exert oneself’ is documented in the *EDPT* from runic, Manichaean, Buddhist, Qarakhanid and later texts. Additional exs. need not be mentioned, as they are exceedingly numerous. *katigla-* has been read only in Uigur script and rarely: in Ht V 152, UigTot 980 and BT VIII A 11. These should be defective spellings of *katiglan-*, as often happens in such graphic circumstances in Uigur mss.; a semantic difference is not detectable either.

käk+län- ‘to feel hate’. *öçäyü käklänü* appears in ETŞ 13,138: Hap., not men-

second vowel is explicitly written as *ü* by the first hand in two instances, not written at all in one instance, as *ä* by the first hand in one instance and as *ü* by the second hand in one instance.

tioned in the dictionaries. Cf. the expression *öçä-käk sür-* in the QB, and see *öç+ä-* above. A +lA- derivate from *käk* is not attested.

käm+län- 'to be or become ill' is by the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT. It appears also in ms. T II D 523, l.2, edited in the n. to TT VII 30 (quoted in the *DTS*). The DLT is the only source for a verb *käm+lä-* which, the author says, has the same meaning as *käm+län-* and is an alternative for it.

kıvrkak+lan- 'to be grasping'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. In Suv, biverb with *az+lan-*. Then we have, in BT XIII 13,92, *nom boşta kıvrkaklanmak* in parallel to *äd tavar boşta azlanmak*. No +lA- form has turned up. Cf. *kıvrkan-* in section 5.2 and *kıvrkak* in section 3.102.

kişi+län- 'to take for a wife' is a hap. in Maitr 5 r2. There is no '*kişi+lä-*'. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. BuddhKat (Tibetan script) 4 and a Brāhmī ex. in the n. to it show that *kişi* was in Uigur not only 'person' but also 'wife'.¹³⁴

körk+län- 'to become beautiful' is attested in Māngi 23 (*kümüslüg tag tæg körklänü* "wie ein silberner Berg schön wird") and ETŞ 10,275 but is not mentioned in the dictionaries. Cf. *körklän-tür-* below. The hap. *körk+lä-* in TT I 4 has the same meaning as *körklän-*, does not seem too dependable and may be an error for *körkl(ä)n-*; this possibility is considered also by the editor. In Heilk II p. 402, *körklän-* is 'to become well (of health)'. Cf. *körk+äd-* below.

xua+lan-: *bo yertinçüldäki näçä sögütlär ıgaçlar otlar yaşlar ärsär üdsüz kolosuz yäşärıp xu(a)lanıp . . .* 'to flower' (BuddhUig II 503). The scribe apparently forgot the A, which would have been written separately between the W and the L. Attested also in the late Buyan Ävirmäk (685,5). ETŞ 11,17 should probably be read as *q ujikläyü xualanu açıl* instead of '*. . . kua alu arıl*' as Arat does; see *aç-ıl-* for the last verb. Since '*xuala-*' is not attested and may never have existed, Ht X 336 should be completed as *bo alımla sögüt xual[an]makı ärsär, . . .*, and not '*xu-a-l[a]maqı*', as Tezcan does.

(*küç+län-* 'to be or become strong'. First occurrence in the DLT, but *küçlän-dür-* is attested in Uigur. *küç+lä-* does not appear before the XIVth century.)

küvüz+län- 'to be or get proud' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only twice from the QB. It is, in addition, attested in QB 1377, 4111 and 4553, in Maitr 26 r6 (*küvüzlän-gülük bağ işi*) and BT VII A 158 (*küvüzlänü turur*). There is no '*küvüzlä-*'; *küvüz* is discussed in section 3.111.

134 DLT fol. 166 has the following: "*kis* 'wife'. Thus: *anıñ kisi* 'his wife'. Some use the word with the possessive suffix. *ol kisi aldı* 'He took a wife'." Thus if we disregard the second hand. Clauson (*EDPT*) has concluded that there was a lexeme '*kisi*' 'wife' from Orkhon Turkic on (where /s/ and /ʃ/ are hard to distinguish). I think the DLT's *kisi* is a secondary contraction from *kişi+si*, with vowel elision and geminate simplification. Incorporating possessive suffixes with names of family members is as common as with body parts.

(**odgurak+lan-* is not attested, but cf. *odguraklandur-* among the *-dUr-* verbs. *odgurak* is very common, but there is no '*odgurak+la-*'.)

ogul+lan- is a hap. in UjgRuk III 7 in the phrase *ogullanu altum* 'I have adopted him as my son'. *DTS*; not in the *EDPT*. A *+la-* verb from *ogul* 'son' is not attested.

ög+län- 'to collect one's senses, recover consciousness'. *DLT* fols. 134 and 151 and the *QB* give some additional meanings for the verb. *DTS* (also s.v. *oñul-*) and *EDPT*. Additional exs. are *öglänmək bilinmək* in *BT VIII B 267* and *öglänü bilinü* in *Shō XII b 1*. In view of these two, *TT VIII G 12* should probably be completed as *öglänü bili[nü]*, and not as '*öglänü bili[p]*' with the *EDPT* (which makes no sense). No *+la-* cognate attested. *ög+läs-* 'to take counsel with each other' is likely also to be a direct derivate from *ög-*.

parviş+lan-muş ay 'the haloed moon' is a hap. in *BT XIII 20,8*. The base (a loan from *Skt.*) is attested in *BT XIII 1,49*. Neither is mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. There is no *+la-* cognate.

sak+lan- 'to be alert, protect oneself, hide'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, and also in *Ht X 235* and *Maitr 2 r 14* and *21*. Several further exs. are mentioned in section 7.21 s.v. *içan-*. Both *saklan-* and *sak* are common in *Uigur*; the *Uigur* instances of *sak* are mentioned under *odug* above, in section 3.101. *sak+la-*, on the other hand, is first attested eight times in the *QB* (only one of them mentioned in the *EDPT*), and not at all in *Old Turkic proper*. Without *odug*, early *sak* 'awake, alert' is found only in *Qarakhanid Turkic*: *QB* (about 20 instances), *Yarkand I 2* and *DLT*. It cannot be derived from *sā-* 'to count' both because of its meaning and because it has a short vowel in *Türkmen*.

saran+lan- 'to be or become a miser' is not mentioned in the dictionaries. Found in *ETŞ 11,37* as *saranlanmak*, in *BuddhUig II 16* in *saḍabira urudita . . . saranlanmaz āsirkāmāz ārti āt'ōzin İSİG ÖZin ādin tavarın*. *TT III 76* (= *Pothi 76*) should probably be completed as . . . *ma[kıg [sar]anlanmakıg . . . särgürtünüz*, as this is the only verb which fits both the space and the meaning well, and translated as 'You kept . . . and niggardliness . . . at bay'.¹³⁵ In *Maitr 226 v 7* there is a biverb *saranlanmak yapışmak*, in which the second verb is used metaphorically. Since *saranlan-* is the only *Uigur* verb derived from *saran*, *S'RN[']M'QSYZ* in *BT IX 145,18₂* (*Maitr*) should probably be completed as *sara[nlan]maksız*, the space in the lacuna permitting. *saran+la-* is a hap. in the *DLT* translated as 'to call somebody a miser'; it is unlikely that this grammatical ex. should be the base of *saran+lan-*.

sävinç+län- is a hap. in *Ht* discussed in the *EDPT*. It is a biverb with *üdlä-n-* (q.v. among the *-(X)n-* verbs), the two together signifying 'to be full of joy'. The cognate *+la-* verb is a hap. in the *Codex Comanicus*.

¹³⁵ The rest of this fragmentary sentence is discussed under *er-iş-*.

suk+lan- ‘to covet and desire something (also in the positive sense)’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from Uigur and from the QB. It appears also in Maitr 34 r 11 and 89 v 11, MaitrH X 8 a 16, and BT XIII 19,6 and 53,2. In both BT XIII instances the context has, I believe, been misunderstood by the editor. In 19,6 the text should be read as follows: *nāñ siziñ – umug mag a! – azk(i)ya ymä savınız bolmadı, sözlämişdä ök alko bilgälärkâ suklanguluk küsägülük bolmadı ärsär*. This means: ‘There has not been said even a bit about you – o haven of hope₂ – if, after their having spoken, you did not get coveted and hoped for by all wise persons’. In 53,2, *keñ yörügiñä suklanıp* cannot be a relative clause qualifying *Sävinä* but must have *Kki Kki Sutza* as agent. A +lA- derivate of *suk* ‘greed’ is not attested. (*tägziñç+län-*, perhaps ‘to be or become curly’ or ‘to form a lock (of hair)’, is a hap. in MaitrGeng 5 a 28: *birär ävin tüüläri öñärü ävrilip tägziñçlänip tururlar. tägziñç* (q.v. in section 3.104) is not, I think, attested with reference to hair, but *tägziñçük* (section 2.12) is. No related +lA- verb has come up.)

tärKiş+län- is a hap. in Maitr 11 r 14, in *bulganıp tärKişlänip niridanı braman İnçA tep tedi*. This verb signifies ‘to behave as a bully, become menacing’, to judge by the meaning of the base (discussed in section 3.103). There is no +lA- cognate. (*töläk+län-mäk* comes from *töläk*, discussed among the -(O)k lexemes. It is a hap. in Ht IV 1584, apparently signifying ‘tranquillity’. There is no +lA- derivate from the base. Like the previous two verbs, not mentioned in the *EDPT*.)

türkig+lan- ‘to be inhibited’. *EDPT* s.v. ‘*turkuğlan-*’ only from the DLT; that source, however, always writes the verb with I in the second syllable. The base is discussed in the section on -(X)g, q.v. above. ‘*turitmamay turyıylanmamay*’ has been read in Suv 235,4.¹³⁶ What must have been the same biverb appears also in BT II 882. There, the ms. itself is lost; Le Coq had read it as *toqit- tuyqınlan-*, A. v. Gabain as *twritmaqsız twrqınlanmaqsız*. The ed. of BT II chooses the first verb from Le Coq but the second from Gabain, for which his footn. brings some related modern forms. Similarity with the Suv couple and the meaning common to the Chin. original and the DLT in Arabic make it very likely that BT II 882 is a misreading of *turkıgılan-*. *tur-kun* (rounded second vowel), discussed in section 3.112 above, at any rate, can have had nothing to do with this: Meaning and form are different. There is no +lA- derivate from the base.

tutyak+lan- ‘to get befallen by *upādāna*’ is mentioned in the *DTS* with two Uigur exs., but not in the *EDPT*. It appears also in ETŞ 9,36 (biverb with *yapşın-*, a terminological synonym), Abhi A 141 b 4 quoted in UW 268 b and 141 b 6 in UW 265 a (both biverbs with *adkan-*) and Maitr 44 r 2 and 14. *tutyak* is well attested, but not a +lA- derivate from it.

136 Radloff changes this to ‘*turyıylanmamaq*’. q-dots being largely optional in this ms., Q can, of course, be read either as a voiced or as a voiceless back-vowel velar.

- türgäk+län-* is quoted in the *EDPT* from the *DLT*; there, it applies to clothes and signifies 'to be wrapped up in a package'. In Warnke 26, it has been used somewhat metaphorically: *agulug yılan orduka agtınıp kälip ät'özin . . . türgäk-länip* . . . The translation "... mit einem Körper, der wie ein Bündel geschnürt war . . ." is awkward at best: 'made its body into a bundle' seems a better translation. There is no *+lA-* derivate from *tür-gäk* (discussed in section 3.327).
- tüşüt+län-* 'to think', not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, appears in *UigTot* 1200 and 1296 and *BT VIII A 139*. Cf. *tüşütlän-il-* below. *tüş-üt* 'thought' is discussed in section 3.108 above. A *+lA-* derivate from it has not turned up.
- urt+lan-* 'to give birth to a male child'. Hap. in *IrqB*; no *+lA-* form attested.
- uz+lan-* 'to practise craftsmanship'. *+lA-* cognate not attested. Found only once before the *DLT*, in *Gleichn* (in *M I*).
- yarık+lan-* 'to put on, or wear, armour'. *TT VIII*, *DLT* and *QB* exs. quoted in the *EDPT*. Attested also in *yarıklanıp segirtmāk* "sich rüsten und angreifen" (Profan p. 282) and *yarıklanıp . . . yavız tüllärig tarkardaçı* "he who puts on armour and . . . drives away . . . bad dreams" (*ZiemeTārā* 20 c). No *+lA-* verb found here either.
- yat+lan-* 'to perform magical ceremonies' occurs several times in the phrase *yat yatlanguçı* in *TT X*. As explained in the *EDPT*, this means 'magician'. The additional ex. *balık yañlıg luu yañlıg* [. . .] *yatlangu sıruklar* (*Ht VII 4 a 11*) probably has the same collocation and should have *yat* in the lacuna: 'poles shaped like fish and like dragons for magical ceremonies'. In the specific context of *Ht VII*, the poles are not put to this particular use. *yat* 'rain magic' is attested from the *DLT* on, but it is not clear whether any such specific magic is denoted by the *Uigur* verb. The *DLT* has a hap. *yat+la-* in fols. 578-9, unlikely to be the base of *yat+lan-*: *yatçı yatladı* "The diviner performed a divination (thus!) with stones for clouds and rain".
- (*y(a)vlak+lan-* is a hap. in *BT II 256*, used together with *basın-*. Exact meaning does not follow from the context. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. No *+lA-* cognate attested.)
- (*yevig+län-māk* 'to equip oneself (?) is a hap. in *Maitr* 216 v 14, in damaged form appearing also in a parallel ms. in 59 v 3. *yevä-g* ~ *yevig* is discussed in section 3.101; cf. *yevin-*. Not mentioned in the *EDPT*.)
- (*yokay+lan-maksız* is a hap. in *BT II* mentioned in section 3.329. See *yokay* in section 2.97: No other derivates from it are known to me. 'to be or get haughty' would be the meaning of the finite *+lAn-* verb. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*.)
- yüz+län-* 'to face in a certain direction'. *+lA-* cognate not attested. Beside the *DLT* found four times in *TT V A 71-99*, and in *UigTot* 360-1: *anasıña utru . . . yüzlänip* . . . 'facing towards his mother'. Cf. (*y*)*üzlän-tür-*.

As this documentation is sufficiently varied from all points of view, +lAn- lexemes attested only in Qarakhanid Turkic have not been mentioned. The bases of the +lAn- verbs listed have one, two or three syllables. About half of them are simple (including borrowings from foreign languages), the rest representing a wide selection of denominal and deverbal formations. Surprisingly many +lAn- verbs are hap. legomena: More than half are attested only once in our sources, or in the DLT and once in Old Turkic. Such single occurrences are met with from the earliest (Toñ, Tes) to the latest texts; this shows +lAn- to have been fully productive at the individual level throughout Old Turkic.

Verbs in which -(X)n- is added to a +lA- stem are also common, and have been listed together with the -(X)n- verbs. Included there are all °lAn- verbs for which even a single ex. of a +lA- base is known; also lexemes like *atlan-*, whose °lA- cognate is either dubious or rarer than the °lAn- verb. In such cases, assignment to the present or to that section may have been arbitrary. Otherwise, however, +lAn- can clearly be seen not to bear reflexive or medial content any more than other (simple) denominal formatives like +(A)r-.

+lAn- is often expanded with -dUr-: We have *çoglandur-*, *ärkäçläntür-*, *körkläntür-*, *küçländür-*, *odguraklandur-*, *ögläntür-*, *saklantur-* and (y)üzläntür-. No -(X)ş- derivatives from +lAn- verbs are attested. The expansion *tüşütlänil-* is interesting, for it shows that a +lAn- verb *could* undergo passive transformation.

The DLT lists many +lAn- verbs in fols. 398-406 and 531-535 and discusses their meaning in fols. 401 and 531-2. Kāšgari's semantic grouping is the following (my formulation):

1. The +lAn- verb states that the agent has become owner of the base noun;
2. the agent naturally brings forth the base noun, becomes *with* it, covered by it etc.;
3. the agent considers himself to be one of the name of the nation appearing as base nominal, or dresses in their dress or otherwise becomes similar to the denotee of the base;
4. the agent reckons the object of the verb to belong to the category denoted by the base nominal.

The DLT's ex. for this last type is mentioned in fols. 531-2: *är atıg kızlandı* "The man reckoned the horse to be expensive". *ol anı kızlandı* "He counted the girl as one of his daughters", i.e. "He considered her a daughter". In Old Turkic, type 4 is not attested at all. Type 1 is rare even if the definition is understood in a broad manner: *yarıklan-* can be assigned to it, and *kanlan-*. *kişilän-* belongs to this type if the agent is the bridegroom; otherwise to type 3. *ogullan-* is here as it denotes adoption, whereas *urılan-*, which denotes birth, presumably belongs to type 2. Birth of animals is the domain of +lA-, with *botola-*, *buzagula-*, *ünüklä-* and

kulunla-.¹³⁷ Type 2 includes what plants bring forth (*bokoklan-*, *çeçäklän-* and the latter's synonym, *xualan-*) and what appears around the moon (*parvışlan-*). Most members of types 2 and 3 have bases denoting qualities, a subject not covered by the DLT's definitions if taken literally. Since Old Turkic abstracts often denote both a quality and its bearer, it is, for some lexemes, impossible to choose between type 2 and type 3. Such an instance is *suklan-*, for *suk* is both 'greed' and 'greedy'. The antonym of possessive *+lAn-* (types 1 and 2) is *+s(I)rA-*: *ençlän-* vs. *ençsirä-*, *kanlan-* vs. *kagansıra-*, *küçlän-* vs. *küçsirä-*. In KP LXI-LXII, *+s(I)rA-* and *+lAn-* derivatives from one base are used in contrast: *ögürädi, taltu, ölüg tög kamulu tüşti. ür keç temin öglänti*. The symmetrical relationship between *+s(I)rA-* and possessive *+lAn-* is the verbal counterpart of the relationship between possessive *+sXz* and *+lXg*. Type 3 *+lAn-* verbs usually have human subjects. This is true of *alplanmak*, *ayançañlan-*, *bazlan-*, *ilgäysöklän-*, *kıvırkaklan-*, *küvüzlän-*, *saklan-*, *saranlan-*, *uzlan-*, *yokaylan-* etc. Note, on the other hand, that only two *+U-* verbs can have human subjects. *+lAn-* verbs sometimes have the same bases as other denominal verbal formatives: *alplanmak* and *alpadmak* seem to have more or less the same meaning, whereas *az+u-* is different from *azlan-* even when this is taken to come from the same *az* 'few'. *körkäd-* can be compared to *körklän-*, *küçäd-* to *küçlän-*. *yagı+d-* and *baz+lan-* can be considered opposites, as can *mun+uk-* and *sävınç+län-*.

+lAn- verbs appear in a rather wide variety of syntagms, the most common situation being, of course, the absence of all oblique expressions. For this, one ex. will do: *üçünç, kunçuyı urılanmış* (IrqB V) 'Thirdly, it turned out that his wife had given birth to a son'. An ex. for a concrete case accompanying a *+lAn-* verb is found in TT V A 71: *kün ünär ugurda . . . küngärü yüzlänip . . . tapınmış k(ä)rgäk* 'One must pray at sunrise, . . . , facing towards the sun, . . .'. Among the many *+lAn-* verbs with locative we quote only *karınguda ärkäçländäç[ilä]rig* "die in der Finsternis wirbelnden" in HtPar 131,6-7. Another instance with locative is quoted s.v. *ilgäysöklän-* above, two others s.v. *kıvırkaklan-*. Under *azlan-*, the DTS quotes a Suv passage in which *azlan-* and *kıvırkaklan-* are accompanied by a locative. The instrumental accompanies *agazlan-* (thus the ms.) in a passage quoted in the UW in the entry for that verb.

We find the dative in *ol ok täginmäk tultagınta ajunlarka, äd tavarka, ärkkä türkkä azlanmak turur* (Maitr passage edited in U II 10,15-16) 'By the cause of just that *vedana* arises the greed for . . . authority and power'. *az+lan-* govern the dative also in UigTöt 112, 116, 117 and 119 and in two other exs. quoted above when discussing the verb. *baz+lan-*, as quoted, also governs the dative, and see the two exs. of *suk+lan-* quoted under the lemma above. In none of these con-

137 The difference might speak for empathy with human mothers.

structions does the nominal in the dative case refer to an active source of action, as encountered when it comes with passive verbs.

Just one ex. will be quoted from among the ones with a concrete postpositional phrase: *tagdın sınar yüzläñip ymä ançulayu sakınç kılıp ðarni sözlämiş k(ä)rgäk* (TT V A 77) 'One must face towards the north, think such thoughts and recite a *dhāraṇī*'. Another instance with a postpositional phrase can be found above, under *körk+län-*. Our only ex. of an *üzä* phrase shows us that postposition in its instrumental function: *särimmäklig yarık üzä yarıklanmış ärür* (TT VIII A 35-6) 'He is armoured with the armour of endurance'. Here, again, we find that no +lAn- verbs are passives.

It is significant that there are no really transitive +lAn- verbs either: The only nominal objects found to accompany them are internal, in the phrase *yat yatlan-guçı*. A certain affinity of this formation with the deverbal reflexive is shown by the fact that three among the four exs. of the accusative object I have come across refer back to the agent: *özlärin saklanu arıt[ı] t(ä)zgürü tutzunlar* (M III 38,5₁, text 20, reedited in ZiemeTexterg II 10) 'Let them be on their guard and keep themselves really in flight'; *ät'özin artok saklanu tutar* (Maitr 2 r14). Under *tür-gäklän-* above we quoted an instance in which that verb governs *ät'özin*, referring, as in the previous two exs., to the agent himself. Here is our only ex. with an independent object: *nirvan bulmak küsüşin yalñuklar yerin suklanıp ...* (USp 94,2, in a colophon of the Maitr) 'They covet the land of humans in the hope of finding nirvāṇa, and ...'. Normally, *suklan-* governs the dative and not the accusative of whatever is coveted.

The rare reflexive objects apart, +lAn- functions like any other one of the denominal verb formatives described above. Why did this secondary formation have to be created? The only reason is the fact that there are no constraints on the shape of +lAn- stems. Many have three and four syllables and they do not create consonant clusters by having the vowels of their bases get syncopated. This probably makes +lAn- verbs more transparent. This process echoes the popularity of +lA- over +A- and +tA-.

PART VI

Types of Action and Inaction

In Old Turkic, verbs are derived from verbs for two distinct purposes. By far the more important purpose, described in part VII below, consists in altering the structure of the group of participants of the event: When a causative or a passive are formed, this is the difference in syntax and meaning between the base and its derivate. With the formations to be described in part VI, the status of agent, patient, beneficiary etc. are not affected. The morphological space between the base of the verb and the slot for *-mA-*, the suffix of negation, is occupied by the signifiers for two distinct categories: The category of type of action (*Aktionsart* in German) and the category of voice. The two categories have often been united under the term *genera verbi*.¹³⁸ Intensives, verbal diminutives, iteratives, semelfactives, conatives, inchoatives, resultatives etc. express whether the event occurs just once or repeatedly, whether it is carried out intensively or feebly, whether it consists of a mere attempt at the action described by the base verb; they enable the speaker to refer just to the beginning (inchoative) or to a final stage (resultative) of an action, and so forth. Although some languages (e.g. Russian) have the same morphological means for expressing *Aktionsart* and aspect, the two terms mean something quite different: Aspect is the category distinguishing between *He sat at the table* and *He was sitting at the table (when somebody called him)*. These two sentences can be used to refer to the same event of sitting; the difference between them is that the first refers to it as a point event, while the second one makes it into a time frame for some other event. With members of the category of type of action, on the other hand, the event described through one member is stated to differ substantially from the one described by another member: 'to jump several times', 'to attempt to jump', 'to wish to jump', 'to land on the ground after a jump' etc. all denote classes of *different actions*, which cannot be covered by the simple verb 'to jump' if one is not to mislead the addressee about what is actually going on during the stretch referred to. German exs. for this category are *hüsteln* from *husten*, *aufessen* ('to eat up') from *essen* ('to eat'), *erkranken* ('to fall ill'). Whereas voice strongly interrelates with sentence syntax, the categories of aspect and type of action do not, in the languages I have come across, affect syntactic structure at all: Derived diminutives, conatives, intensives etc. are all intr. or tr. if their bases are so, and govern the same nominal cases as their bases. With derived reciprocal, causative, passive or reflexive verbs, however, the shape of the group or participators is always affected.

Most *Aktionsart* formatives actually detectable in Old Turkic do not denote

138 Just one example among very many in different languages is Böhtlingk, 1851: 268, where reflexives, passives, causatives and also intensives are called by the name *genera verbi*. The reason for this confusion lies in the morphology of the classical Indo-European languages, from where grammarians have uncritically transferred them to other language types. Morphological paradigms needn't coincide with functional ones.

'action' at all: They denote what could be called 'types of inaction'. Most important, here, is the desiderative, which expresses the mere *wish* to carry out something. Then we have *-(X)msIn-*, which forms verbs saying that one behaves *as if* one were doing something. The DLT's *-gXr-* verbs all signify that some event is *on the point of* happening. Verbs formed with the rare *-çIr-* state that action is taking place *a little bit*. The verbs of sensation in *-(X)(r)kA-* (section 5.2) do express action of a particular *sort*, but that formative is primarily denominal.

Intensives, of course, are a member of an *Aktionsart* category which denotes real and full action. The age of intensive formations, in which later Turkic languages are rich, had not yet come, however. *-(X)k-* and *-(X)d-* are not intensive suffixes, as assumed in Gabain, 1974 pars. 153 and 160; these formatives are discussed below. *-(X)k-* verbs *may* be inchoatives, but that formation is not very productive in Old Turkic. Old Turkic has no intensive formations at all; nor can they be assumed to have existed in Proto-Turkic, as Doerfer, 1981-2: 115-116 thinks. He mentions Brockelmann, 1954: 199ff. as source for his contention. As that passage thus serves as base for an important contention, it deserves some scrutiny. Brockelmann distinguishes between *-A-*, *-I-* and *-U-* as intensive formatives. He has three exs. of '*-U-*': *qoqu-*, *saru-* and *tüdu-*. The first is quoted only from a Middle Turkic source; the second is probably a denominal from Persian *sar* 'head'; see n. 410 in vol. 1. *tüdu-*, quoted from QBK 162,11 = QB 2870, is contracted from *tüdu u-* < *tüda u-*, as the meaning shows. '*-A-*' has the greatest number of exs. Among them, *buyura-*, *sapa-*, *sora-* (< Mo.?), *sürä-*, *talka-*, *tuta-* and *tüzät-* are quoted from Middle Turkic sources only; they have not come up in Old Turkic proper or in Qarakhanid Turkic. *käsä-* in QBK 177,3 = QB 3076 is an error for *kişä-* 'to hobble'. *tara-* "to disperse" in DLT fol. 559 thus remains alone; for that, cf. *taral-* (section 7.31 below). After discussing *tara-* 'to comb', Kāšgari notes that this verb and *tar-* 'to disperse' have the aorist form *tarar* in common. The form *taradı* which is added and translated as "He dispersed" is in contradiction with the statement that "the aorist is identical in [some] biliteral and triliteral [verbs] but the preterite differs".¹³⁹ Among the verbs mentioned as '*-I-* intensives', *sämri-* is the original stem with *sämir-* a late variant, while *taşı-* is a late variant of the simplex *taşu-* (q.v. in section 5.41) at the end). *sanı* in QBF 28,1 = QB 211 is a noun with a possessive suffix, *yinçü san+ı. tarı-* is a simplex not connected with *tar-* (see *tarı-g* above). *tokı-* (from onomatopoeic *tok*) can be found at the end of section 5.31, '*suçı-*' (or rather *soç+ı-*) in section 5.42. We are still left with a few real candidates for comparatively early *-I-*: DLT fol. 560 has a verb

139 Clauson is also suspicious of the DLT ms., while Dankoff and Kelly think *tara-* 'to disperse' may be a back-formation from *tar-* (over the aorist). Assigning an 'intensive' meaning to this stem-theoretical ex. is unwarranted in any case.

kazı- translated as ‘excavating the ground; scraping off a scab and the like’. This verb is attested also in later and modern Muslim sources. It is surely related in some way to *kaz-* ‘to dig up the ground’ (DLT and QB 1734-5 and TT VI 82 and TT VII 29,2). *kazın-* (q.v. below), *kazıp* in QB 5364 and *kazıgılı* *ibid.* 5357 might come from either base, but connecting them with *kaz-* would be a better guess: There is no *kazı-* in Uigur or in the QB. There is nothing detectably ‘intense’ about the meaning of *kazı-* as attested. *tat-* ‘to taste (tr.)’ and *tatı-* ‘to be tasty, delightful, enjoyable, pleasant’ are both discussed in the *EDPT*. The DLT only has *tatı-*; the QB *tat-* in 3568, 5440 and 5829, *tatı-* in 4169, 5627 and 4466.¹⁴⁰ The aorist of the former is *tat-ar*, attested in TT VI 174, of the latter *tatı-r*, attested in QB 4466 and possibly TT VIII I6 (fragmentary context). *tat-* is also found in *tatmış tatıg* (TT VI 176), *tatı-* also in ETŞ 11,8: *ançata tatıgay yiliktä* ‘Then it will be delightful in the marrow’, i.e. ‘in the essentials (??)’. The causative of the former is *tat-ur-*, mentioned below, the causative of the latter *tatı-t-*, found in the DLT. The most striking differences between *tat-* and *tatı-* are that the former is tr. and always refers to food; the latter is intr. and hardly ever does so. *tatı-* has no particular intensiveness about it. In spite of the fact that Kāšgarī makes it refer to food, this verb may not be related to *tat-* at all: This may be his grammarian’s rationalisation. *üti-* ‘to iron a garment’ looks like an *-I-* derivative from *üt-* ‘to singe’, but is a hap. in DLT fol. 555. *üt-üg* ‘flat iron’ (section 3.101) appears to come from the latter. The similarity between *kak-* ‘to strike lightly’ and *kakı-* ‘to be angry and annoyed at’ is likely to be a coincidence.

Ibn Muhenna (quoted in *TMEN* and elsewhere by Doerfer) says that verbs like *käl-i-di* and *bar-ı-dı* denote *fast* (not intensive) action. Fastness *could*, implying shortness, even denote diminution (the opposite of intensity). There is not much ground for the assumptions that there were any suffixes of the form ‘-A-’ (needed for the argument of Doerfer, 1981-2: 115-6)¹⁴¹ or that there were any ‘intensive’ verbs in early Turkic: With the material we have at present, such a hypothesis cannot be supported.

6.1 The desiderative

The desiderative formative *-(X)gsA-* clearly consists of *-(X)g* (discussed in section 3.101 above) and the very rare denominal formative *+sA-*, also of desiderative

140 The last, with *tiriglik* ‘life’ serving as subject as in 4169 and 5627, is wrongly incorporated in the entry *tat-* by the Index to the QB.

141 As an analogy from the Romance languages, Doerfer mentions *cantare*, which replaced Latin *canere* ‘to sing’. Note that this is a denominal verb from the verbal noun *cantum*: The later Turkic intensives are mostly also derived from verbal nominals.

content, discussed further on in this section. No desiderative is attested in runic sources. Uigur (both Buddhist and Manichaean) has the $-(X)gsA-$ verbs listed below; some of them appear also in the DLT.

bar-igsa- ‘to want to go’ is documented in the *EDPT*. *barig* (q.v. above) has a set of rather specific meanings and uses.

eşid-igsä- ‘to wish to hear’ is not in the *EDPT*. *DTS* s.v. ‘*eşitigsämäk*’ quotes one Suv instance. We also have *utgurak KÜSÄYÜR sävär taplayur äşidigsäyür biz* (BuddhUig II 12) and *nomçı bilgälärig nomlayu olorur körüp nomun eşidigsä* (Maitr 70 r 31). ‘*eşidig*’ is not attested.¹⁴²

kaviş-igsa- ‘to wish to be united with someone’. Hap. in M II 3 (mentioned in the *EDPT*), an early text. *kaviş-ig* (q.v. above) is attested six times, always in the phrase *kaş kavişig(i)* ‘the meeting point of the eyebrows’.

kir-igsä- ‘to wish to enter’, in the *EDPT*. ‘*kirig*’ is not attested.

kör-ügsä- ‘to wish to see’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.vv. *körüg-sägülük* and *körüksämägülük*. Another ex. perhaps appears in Maitr 170 v 31 = BT IX 159,31, if that should be read as *kim kayu tnl(i)g kop ädgü bütinäkin küsäsär qörügsäsär, ol tnl(i)g sımtags(i)z ädgükä kataglanmış kargäk* ‘Whoever wishes for, and would like to witness, the good outcome of everything, ...’.¹⁴³ *kör-üg* ‘interpretation’, a hap. in QB, is surely not the base of this verb.¹⁴⁴

oz-ugsa- is a hap. in UigSukh 37 not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *tişi tnl(i)glar k(ä)ntünün ämgäklig arkasız ätö[zin] yerip ozugsap...* ‘when female creatures despise their suffering, helpless body and want to be saved, ...’. There is no ‘*oz-ug*’.

öp-ügsä- ‘to wish to kiss’ is a hap. in M II 3, as *kaviş-igsa-*. See the *EDPT*. ‘*öp-üg*’ is not attested.

(*tapıgsak*, a derivate from an unattested $-(X)gsA-$ verb, is discussed above among the $-(O)k$ lexemes.)

ye-gsä- ‘to wish to eat’ appears in Ht V 7 b 20: *sirkälig tögi öt[mäk] yegsäp koltı. baxşıs[i] arxant “bo ötmäk kanta bar ärki?” tep täñridäm köz [üz]ä kördi...* In DLT fol. 577, ‘to wish to eat’ becomes *yesä-*. There is no action noun in $-(X)g$ derived from *ye-*.

142 On p. 177 we discuss *istä-glistä-k*; one of the instances of that lexeme was mistakenly read as ‘*eşidig*’, as mentioned there.

143 Ş. Tekin translates the verb as “hat nötig”, transliterating it as *k'r'ks's'r*; he must be connecting it with *kargäk*. This is unlikely, as the simplification of *kargäk* doesn't occur in this text, and $+sA-$ derivates are exceedingly rare in Uigur. ‘*kärgäklä-*’ would be good semantically, and cf. *küsäyü kärgäkläyü* in Maitr 161 r 16; but that is not what the ms. has.

144 What has otherwise been read as *körüg* is in fact *kürä-g*, q.v. among the $-(X)g$ lexemes.

As is evident from what is stated above concerning $-(X)g$ derivatives from bases expanded by $-(X)gsA-$, the deverbal desiderative sequence is added as one whole. $-(X)gsA-$ is, in Old Turkic, used only with simple bases. These bases can also be bisyllabic, as *eşid-*.

barıgsa-, *kirıgsä-* and *körügsä-* are attested also in the DLT. In addition, we find in that source *öl-ügsä-* “to wish to be dead” (fol. 153), *bil-ıgsä-* “to desire wisdom”, *ber-ıgsä-* “to be about to give” (thus), *käl-ıgsä-* “to wish to come”, *sat-ıgsa-* “to be about to sell” (thus), *tur-ıgsa-* “to want to dwell in a certain place”. In the DLT, the formative has the shape $-(X)gsA-$ only with monosyllabic bases ending in /r/ or /l/; *sat-ıgsa-* is an exception. Kāşğarī may have known it only from the following verse, which he quotes (fol. 590): *ävin barkın satıgsadı / yulug berip yazıgsadı*¹⁴⁵ / *tirig ärsä turıgsadı / anar sakinç küni twgdı* “The enemy wished to sell his houses and his landed property, to ransom himself thereby; he wished to stay alive; the sun [i.e. the day] of sadness arose for him”. With nearly 30 other monosyllabic bases mentioned in fols. 140-142, 568 and 577 and with the bisyllabic bases *kötür-* and *uçur-* (fol. 143), *okıt-* and *ögüt-* (fol. 153) and *kädür-* (fol. 590), the deverbal desiderative formative is *-sA-*. Kāşğarī also constructs *ur-*, *al-*, *il-* and *sür-* exclusively with *-sA-* and not $-(X)gsA-$. In fol. 569, under the lemma *kör-sä-*, he adds that the “root-form” of this verb is *kör-ügsä-* (mentioned above), and the “root-form” of *käl-sä- käl-ıgsä-*. Even with monosyllabic /r/ and /l/ bases, then, the first syllable of $-(X)gsA-$ was optional in the DLT’s language. “want”, “intent” and “desire” are Kāşğarī’s translations of this formative in his explanations.

It is worth noting that eleven among the desiderative stems listed in fols. 568-9 and 577 in fact have the shape *-IsA-*, the I being by the first hand. As we see in the ms.’s *yod-ısa-*, *sür-ısä-* and *kör-ısä-*, this vowel is /I/ and not /X/, whereas, when marked by the second hand, the vowel admits rounding and becomes /X/. This /I/ (emended away by Clauson and by Dankoff and Kelly) differs from both the converb and aorist vowel of the verbs in question, and from the phoneme in the first syllable of $-(X)gsA-$. Moreover, the stems are one syllable too long for the word patterns of these particular sections of the DLT. It should be noted that $-(X)gsA- > -sA-$ (or $-(X)gsA- > -(I)sA-$, for that matter) is not a regular phonetic development in Old or Qarakhanid Turkic, as /g/ does not, at this stage of the language, disappear after vowels. Possibly *+sA-* (to be discussed straightway) was transferred to the deverbal realm; the DLT also has other exs. of such a transfer. Curiously enough, the formation becomes similar to the Skt. desiderative,¹⁴⁶ although a direct influence seems quite improbable.¹⁴⁷

145 This verb is not listed above, as the word is a conjecture replacing YARİFSA’DIY of the ms.

146 As e.g. *ıpsa-* ‘to seek to obtain’ from *āp-* ‘to obtain’.

147 T. Tekin, 1968: 116 wrongly and improbably assumes the existence of *-sa-/sä-* in runic Ongin R 2;

+sA-, which serves as second part of the deverbal desiderative formative, is a rare bird; there is only one +sA- verb of any solid attestation in Old Turkic:

suv+sA- 'to be thirsty', found already in texts of group I. See *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. *açmaq suvsamaq*. *aç-* *suvsA-* is, besides, found several times in Maitr and in ms. T II Y 15.501 (U 3088) r4 quoted in the n. to UigTot 895. Further, together with the synonym *oñuk-* in ShōAgon A33: *suvsamiş oñukmuş KİŞİ sogık suvluğ yulka tuşarça* 'as when a thirsty₂ and wilting person comes upon a spring of cold water'. Cf. *usmak suvsamak* in Ht VII 2040-1. *köygäy susagay* (thus), finally, is used in Ernte 49 of a field. The original verb for 'being thirsty' must have been *us-*, while *suvsA-* originally was 'to want water'.

The DLT mentions about 15 other +sA- verbs. Most of them, *aş*+sA-, *açığ*+sA-, *tatığ*+sA-, *ägir*+sA-, *ärük*+sA-, *ät*+sA-, *kagun*+sA-, *çäniştürük*+sA-, *kurut*+sA-, *bagır*+sA-, *balık*+sA- and *yag*+sA-, have bases denoting, in some way, alimentation. *suvsA-* actually also belongs to this group. +sA- can therefore be said to signify, in general, 'to wish some sort of food'. The only aberrant lexemes are *äv*+sA- 'to long for one's home', *biligsä-*, which could be an -(X)gsA- verb by form but is translated as "to desire wisdom", and *ulug*+sA-. This last is used in the grammatically interesting sentence *är atta ulugsadı* "The man wanted the large one of the horses" (fol. 153).

In QB 4830 we also find a +sA- derivate: *kök*+sA- 'to want (to rise to) the sky'. Other exs. of +sA- are uncertain. There is *bergä*+sA- in M II 13,9 (text 5), a hap. at best. The text has been read, both by Le Coq and Arat,¹⁴⁸ as *min*[g . .] *k*[. .] *bärgän urupan bergäsäyür*; this would be translated 'He beats with a thousa[nd . .] whips and wishes to whip', not very convincingly. It might be an error for *bergä*+lA-.¹⁴⁹

B²R²S²G²M should, however, probably be read as *ber-sig+im*. Cf. the variation -sXk ~ -sXg within the Chuast text.

148 ETŞ 6 is a reedition of this.

149 In U IV A 165 we read *anta ok elig bäg kapkara tünlū taviş tıñ* [new line] *sayu bir üdün-ki(y)ä turdi*. The eds. read this as *tıñsa-* and translate "wollte lauschen"; it may, however, be the postposition *sayu* 'to every', which joins the stem form of simple nouns and seems to involve a dative or directive sense. We do not find any '*tıñsa-*' in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*; see *tıñ+la-* in section 5.12 above, also for *tıñ*. As the facs. shows, there is no mistake in the reading; there may, however, have occurred an error for *tıñla-*, which fits the context very well. As a more remote possibility, *sayu* could also be an isolated ex., with unusual meaning, of *sa-* (q.v. in the next par.). In *UAIb* N.F. 2 (1982): 289, Tezcan suggests that *kü:sä-* 'to wish' also belongs to this formation, and that its base lives on in Trkm. *küy* 'Phantasievorstellung, Wunschbild, Gedanke'; cf. Kirg. *küülö-* 'brünstig werden'. In M I 10,10 (quoted below), BuddhUig II 12, Maitr 170 v31 and perhaps elsewhere, *küsä-* and an -(X)gsA- verb are used in parallel manner; such instances lend support to the idea, but the base is not, in any case, attested as such in Old Turkic.

Middle Turkic and modern forms of *+sA-*, however, can be found in Schakir, 1933: 38-40. Verbal nominals, *-(X)g* and others, seem to have furnished the majority of the bases of those verbs, along with simple nominals.¹⁵⁰

It has been maintained since the DLT (fol. 143) that *+sA-* developed from *sā-*. This verb is attested from the DLT and the QB on with the meaning 'to count', however, and probably never signified 'to wish' or even 'to think'. Doerfer and Tezcan, 1980: 182 explain it as coming from a Khal. and Tkm. verb signifying 'to beat (cotton and wool)'. (i.e. originally 'holding beat'). *sa-* and *sayu* are discussed also under *sa-n* in section 3.107 above. Moreover, a form like *kirigsäyür* in KP is written as one word and there is no '*kirig*'; the final Ks in *eşidigsämäk* and *körüg-sägülük* (Suv) show that the second syllable of *-(X)gsA-* also follows vowel harmony. *-(X)gsA-* is, synchronically speaking, one suffix and not two: Most *-(X)g* forms related to the verbs in question are not attested or, if they are, have special and lexicalised meaning.

The *-(X)gsA-* verbs we have are not expanded by any verbal formatives. A nominal expander is *-(O)K*, at least in *tap-ıgsa-k* (mentioned above). It is questionable whether *twgsak* 'widow' in DLT fol. 236 can be analysed as *twg-(X)gsA-(O)k* with haplology, and derived from *twg-* 'to be born'; a derivation from *to-* 'to block' is not less questionable, on grammatical grounds. This formation is not attested in any relative constructions in the strict sense. Cf., however, the construction of *kör-ügsä-gülük* and of its negation mentioned above as being quoted in the DTS. The perfect, the aorist and the *-(X)p* gerund are the most common forms.

-(X)gsA- lives on in the Codex Comanicus, which has *körüvse-*, *tabuvsa-* and *kutkaruvsa-*.

Here are some exs. for the use of the desiderative: *näglük barıgsadıñız?* (KP LXVIII 8) 'Why did you want to go?' *anı üçün taloyka kirigsäyür m(ä)n* (KP XXI

150 *ärsäk* 'nymphomaniac, lecherous woman, whore' is *är+sä-(O)k*. This lexeme, attested from the DLT on and in most modern Turkic languages, should not be read as '*ärsäg*' as the EDPT does: The velar is /k/ in the Codex Comanicus and is retained in all subsequent sources. The fact that Mo., which also borrowed it, spells it with G is not an indication of Turkic /^hg/ either, but rather of Turkic /^hk/. Gabain, 1974 par. 79 mentions a formative *+sAk* and gives two exs.: One is *ärsäk*; the other, '*käksäk*', I haven't been able to find in dictionaries. The glossary of Gabain, 1974 has *käksäk* instead: A form *käksäk* has in fact turned up in BT II 252; cf. the n. thereto. A n. of Gabain, 1974 refers to a passage in Bang, 1916. There, all the exs. are modern except '*tabuqsaq*' (i.e. *tap-ıgsa-k*, mentioned above and discussed in the section on *-(O)k*) and '*qoruqsaq*' (quoted as a hap. from QB). The latter is in fact *kurugsak* 'stomach etc.', q.v. in the EDPT. The DLT is not very likely to be right about connecting *kurugsak* with *kurug* 'empty, dry', although one does sometimes have an empty stomach. *+sA-k* would not have the right meaning here, and the semantic connection between the two lexemes is not convincing. *+sAk* may turn up in Mo., but is hardly a grammatical reality in the variants of early Turkic known to us.

7) 'That is why I want to enter the sea'. *säviglig yaltraglı isig yuzünüzän körüg-säyür biz, küsäyür biz* (M I 10,10, TeilBuch) 'We wish to see and long for your lovely, radiant and warm face'. Several additional exs. are quoted above where I mentioned the various *-(X)gsA-* verbs. They all give a consistent picture of the meaning and use of the formation.

The desiderative is comparable to the causative in that both can be represented as sentence embeddings. This in itself is not sufficient reason for considering the desiderative to be a voice morpheme: The members of the Old Turkic modal paradigm¹⁵¹ can also be represented as sentence embeddings; what is more, both in them and in the desiderative the verb of the enveloping sentence must signify some sort of wishing. But in the modal paradigm the agent of the wishing is always the speaker, the agent of the embedded sentence, on the other hand, any of the six members¹⁵² of the person paradigm. With the desiderative, however, the two agents have to be identical. With the Old Turkic (and Republican Turkish) interrogative modal sentence, the agent of the wishing is the hearer. In any case, a member of the modal paradigm contains two deictic indications, while none at all are introduced by the desiderative morpheme; for the latter, these can of course be supplied by a person pronoun. Had this been the only difference between the desiderative and a member of the modal paradigm, a present desiderative form accompanied by a first person singular pronoun would have been identical in content to the first person singular member of the modal paradigm, which is not the case. The desiderative indicative merely states the existence of a wish to perform an action or do something on the part of a particular agent; the members of the modal paradigm, on the other hand, incite or invite to action; they have rightly been called 'the vocative verb forms'. Although indicating the presence of a wish, the desiderative has no *prima facie* affinity with mood, then, since it says nothing about the attitude of the speaker as such towards the activity in question, about his degree of emotional involvement, which is what is expressed by the mood category. As a pragmatic goal, uttering a first person desiderative can, of course, be more than a mere transmission of information: If a lover says 'I wish to kiss my beloved' (as in M II 8,10₂) and then makes sure that the text reaches him or her, the force of the utterance does not differ much from saying (or writing) *öp-üş-älim*. This collapse of pragmatic functions is beyond grammar, however.¹⁵³

Formally, it is impossible to say whether *-(X)gsA-* can be considered to belong

151 Characterised by *-(A)yIn*, *Ø-(gIl)*, *-zUn*, *-(A)Ilm* etc.

152 In the insers., at least, the 3rd person pl. does not appear to be morphologically distinct from the 3rd person sg., giving only five persons. There do, however, exist nominal and pronominal means to distinguish between the two.

153 Other first person desideratives are attested in M II 8,7 and KP 21,6-7 (sg.), M I 10,10 and BuddhUig II 12 (pl.).

to the voice paradigm: It is added only to simple bases and is not enlarged by any voice morphemes. One therefore cannot know, at present, whether it occupies any of the two morphological slots which will, below, be found occupied by the voice suffixes, or both of them, or none (constituting a slot together with the other type of action formatives). Had the situation been kept up through many exs., one would have had to take it to occupy both slots at a time, the base being capable of receiving either the desiderative morpheme or one or two of the voice morphemes.¹⁵⁴ But the $-(X)gsA-$ instances are too few for such a statement.

We are left with functional considerations, and they speak against including the desiderative among the voice morphemes: Its addition to a base does not entail any change in the structure of the agent-patient group.

6.2 The simulative

To describe an action as mere pretense, one added $-(X)msIn-$ to the stem denoting the real version of the action. This is, like $-(X)gsA-$, a composite formative. $-(X)m$ is, like $-(X)g$, well attested (and discussed in section 3.106 above). $+sI-$ and $+sIn-$, however, are (like $+sA-$) of problematic status as Old Turkic formatives. Synchronically, $-(X)msIn-$ is indivisible: None of the Uigur $-(X)msIn-$ verbs have an attested $-(X)m$ nominal from the same base in Uigur. Beside the Uigur hapax *orla-msin-* there is, in the QB, a hapax *orla-m*; the two are of very different semantic domains, however, and unlikely to be directly related. DLT fols. 395-398 deals rather extensively with $-(X)msin-$ and has many exs. for this formation from a varied collection of simple and derived bases. In fol. 398 Kāšgārī actually says that what he describes holds good for all verbs of the Turkic dialects/languages. His exs. will not be mentioned here, however. $-(X)msIn-$ is not attested in runic sources and is rather rare in Uigur. The eight instances we have appear in five texts; beside *yara-msin-* (which is discussed also in the DLT), all are hap. legomena. Only *atuk-umsin-* (misread) and *kıl-umsin-* are mentioned in the DTS or the EDPT. Here is the material:

kıl-umsin- 'to pretend to be doing something' in Ht VII, quoted in the EDPT.

Three $-(X)msIn-$ verbs are attested in BT III 230-232: *kızıg yölämsinip ün kötürüp kağıg orlamsınu*, 'Arıgımız Sundarini yağı mu eltdi?' *yıglamsınu* . . . In the order of their appearance, these verbs signify 'to go through the motions of being useful to . . .', 'to pretend to be shouting out of grief' and 'to pretend to be crying'. The denominal *or(i)la-* and *yıgla-* are discussed under $+lA-$ above.

¹⁵⁴ Such is the case of $+II$, the suffix of nominal coordination, which occupies both the slots of number and possession; it can, however, receive case suffixes.

otla-msin- is attested in Ht IV 42: *ötrü olud* [...] *törüsinçä otlamsınu* . . . , translated as “wie auf der Weide”. *ot+la-* ‘to graze’ appears in the DLT; see *otla-t-* below for a related verb in Uigur.

övkälä-msin- or *övkilämsin-* is attested in BT XIII 12,152, in *saṇa övk[.]lämsinü üznäyü* . . . ‘to pretend to be angry at . . .’. *övkä+lä-* ~ *övki+lä-* is the fourth +*LA-* verb we find serving as base for *-(X)msIn-*.

yara-msin- ‘to flatter’ is attested in DLT fol. 398 and BT XIII 10,11, in] *yaramsınup kimkä kälürüp* [. This is not to be translated as “als ob er jemandem schmeichelte (?)” as Zieme does: *yaramsin-* is just ‘schmeicheln’, the sememe ‘als ob’ being contained in the meaning of this lexeme. Kāšgārī says so explicitly: After having rendered a series of *-(X)msIn-* verbs with “he pretended to . . .”, he notes that the only verb on this pattern which does not have this content is *yaramsin-*.

atık-ımsın- appears in TT VII 42,5: *atıkımsınmayuk atıg bulsar art sayu mayakayur* ‘If a person who had not had any pretenses at fame becomes famous, he defecates at every mountain pass’. Arat read the verb as *atak°*, which is now corrected in the n. to BT XIII 60,6. I cannot agree with Zieme’s interpretation as ‘*adıgımsınmayuk adıg bolsar*, . . .’, from *adıg* ‘sober’: This does not seem to me to be as appropriate in the given context. Besides, *adıg* ‘sober’ has not yet turned up outside Muslim sources. *at+ık-* is discussed in section. 5.44. UW 257 b follows Zieme’s interpretation.

What Zieme was thinking of in proposing ‘*adıgımsın-*’ is a denominal suffix *+(X)msIn-*. We have two instances in which *-(X)msIn-* does, indeed, appear in the denominal domain. One of these appears in TT VII 42,5, the same passage as *atıkımsın-* (as corrected in the n. to BT XIII 60,6): *bägiımsınmayük bağ bōlsar, bältir sayu bālgū salar* ‘If somebody who had not hitherto thought of himself as *bäg* becomes a *bäg*, he sets up a mark at every cross-roads’. The other, *eş+ımsın-*, signifies ‘to behave as if one were somebody’s equal’, attested in QB 4095 and 4448. The list of proverbs published as TT VII is quite late, as other indices show. While *-(X)msIn-* is used in good Uigur texts like Ht, *+(X)msIn-* is marginal. Relevant for our understanding of how this transfer came about is *biysin-* “verachten” (*spernere*) in the Codex Comanicus. This comes from **bäg+sin-*; cf. *bey*, *biy* *ibid.*, < *bäg*. *eşımsın-* is used in the QB to signify ‘to treat somebody inferior as if he were one’s equal’; we find *biysin-* to be the exact opposite of this in meaning. Considering that the original denominal formative here was *+sIn-*, I take **bägsin-* to have been the earlier verb. *+sIn-* being obsolescent in Uigur, */(X)msIn-* was put to use instead of it. This analogical transference may never have gone beyond the semantic domain of ‘considering someone to be in a certain class’. This is another reason why ‘*adıg+ımsın-*’ should be rejected. Mo. has a denominal suffix *+msi-* e.g. in *ere+msi-* ‘to act like a man’, and *noyamsig* ‘like a leader, suitable for a leader’ from *noyan* ‘noble-

man, leader' (both derivatives in the Secret History). *ärämsi*- "prahlen" in the Codex Comanicus appears to be a borrowing from the Mo. lexeme mentioned; the QB verb *eşimsin*-, however, must be a Turkic creation. Therefore, *+XmsIn*- cannot have been taken over from Mongolian.

DLT fols. 131-132 has three *+sIn*- verbs: *ol kılmuş işinā oxsındı* "He regretted what he had done" from an exclamation unrecorded in our sources; *ogul ärsindi* "The boy showed manliness" and *ol bo ävni ävsindi* "He reckoned this house as one of his own houses and stayed in it". Then we have the hap. *suk+sin+mak* 'greed' in ETŞ 10,224, clear on the facts. and appropriate to the context. The only common *+sIn*- verb, however, is *ärk+sin*-, attested from the earliest texts on. Documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, it signifies 'to have or acquire power or authority (over), to be potent'.¹⁵⁵ Exs. not mentioned there appear in BT II 4, 695 and 708, ETŞ 9,86 and 10,28, AmitIst 93, BuddhUig II 488-9, Maitr 73 v 10, Weih 18 and 19, BuddhUig I 16, 17, 21 twice and 253, ShōAv 8 and 71, GuanJing 47, BT VII L 12, BT VIII B 120 and 129, UigTot 822 and 823, TuoLuoNi 115 and 399, UigSteu A 31 and so forth. In the last mentioned exs. and elsewhere as well, *ärksin*- appears together with *ellän*-. This being in fact the only *+sIn*- verb attested in Old Turkic, there is no way to determine anything concerning the meaning of this formative, or of making any statements concerning syntactic behaviour. It clearly does not imply make-believe (as *-(X)msIn*- verbs do); nor does *suksin-mak*. *ärksin*- is expanded to *ärksin-tür*-.

Whether *+sIn*-, consisting of *+sI*- and *-(X)n*-, was ever any more productive, is unclear. *+sI*-, however, must prehistorically have been an important formative. *+sIl* and *+sIg* (discussed in sections 2.61 and 2.32 respectively) are formed with it, and must have gotten fused long before our texts. Especially under the productive and well-attested *+sIg*, the semantic and functional connections of that formative with *+sIn*- and *-(X)msIn*- are clarified. *yara-msı-k* "Heuchler, Schmeichler; Heuchelei" discussed in *TMEN* 1853 is related to *yara-msin*- discussed above,¹⁵⁶ Rabğūzī's *külümsi*- 'to smile' would seem to be the base of *külümsin*- (same meaning), attested since the DLT. All this would seem to show that the immediate constituents of *-(X)msIn*- were *-(X)msI*- and *-(X)n*- and not *-(X)m* and *+sIn*-. If that is so, *ärksin*- (and *suksinmak*) should be considered pure and simple members of the *-(X)n*- formation even though their *+sI*- bases are not attested. *suvsuṣ* 'a watery drink', finally, also comes from a *+sI*- verb under derivation with the dominant formative *-Xş* (discussed in section 3.103). *suvsuṣ* is well attested both in Buddhist and Manichaean texts.

155 The verb read as '*ärksiräyin*' in M II 6,8 (text 2) can be seen to look rather like *ärksin*- on the facts.

A lexeme '*ärksirä*-' is not found anywhere.

156 Cf. *yaramsak* 'fidelis' in the Codex Comanicus.

As a verbal formative, however, *+sI-* survives mainly in the DLT. In fol. 144 there, it is stated that *+sI-* indicates that “the object named is altered from its original state and takes on the nature of what” serves as base for it. *süçig suvsıdı* “The wine became watery” and *üzüm açıgsıdı* “The grapes became sour” are given as exs. This *suv+sı-* is the base of *suvsuş*. Under *yag+sı-* (fol. 578) we find the sentence *yakrı yagı yagşumas* ‘Fat does not behave like oil’. *ât kaksıdı* (fol. 569) is translated as ‘The meat was cut into strips and dried, or almost did so’.¹⁵⁷ Cf. also *kurug+sı-* ‘to start to dry’ (fol. 590). *yarsı-* ‘to be disgusted and revolted by something and loathe it’ has been taken (cf. the *EDPT*) to be derived from *yar* ‘spittle’ and belong to this formation. This is quite unlikely, since *yarsı-* is tr. and does not signify ‘to be or become like spittle’; *+sI-* would not yield any other meaning. *süçi-* ‘to be sweet and pleasant’ (DLT fol. 558 and QB 813), however, probably comes from *süt* ‘milk’ over **süt+si-*. *süçi-g* ‘sweet (of words); wine’, attested already in Orkhon Turkic,¹⁵⁸ would be indirect evidence for the early presence of *+sI-*. Prof Doerfer (personal communication) reminds me that Tkm. *süyt* (= *süt*) and *süyji* (= *süyjü*, < **süçig*) both have long vowels, which adds likelihood to their connection. For the semantics cf. Middle Pe. *šrēn* ‘sweet’ from *šr* ‘milk’. Most of the DLT’s exs. for this formative are connected with food, but its original semantic scope may have been wider. Bang’s etymology *açıl-* < **at+sı-* (mentioned in the *UW* entry for *açıl* (I)) is, however, too far-fetched to be taken seriously. Another base not belonging to this domain appears in *kaşık ata* ‘stepfather’ of DLT fol. 611. This should be an *-(O)k* derivate from **kañ+sı-* ‘to be like (a) father’.¹⁵⁹ There is not a single *+sI-* verb in Old Turkic. For later periods see Schakir, 1933: 40-43. *+sI-* verbs express the similarity of their subjects to the base nominals. What they lack is the make-believe element of *-(X)msIn-*.

Unlike *ärksin-*, *-(X)msIn-* verbs are expanded neither with verbal, nor with nominal formatives. Most of the exs. of the latter are gerund forms. All except *kılımsın-* are quoted in context above; see the *EDPT* for that verb. As far as can be seen, *-(X)msIn-* verbs show the same syntactic behaviour as their bases. For the paradigmatic relationship to *-mAmlşsIg bol-* see the discussion of *+sIg* above. As *-(X)msIn-* is added to denominal but not to deverbal stems and is not expanded by voice formatives either, we have here the same problem as with *-(X)gsA-*: It cannot be proven formally that it does not go into the same morphological slot as the reflexive, the causative, the passive and so forth. Semantically, in any case, *-(X)msIn-* does not belong into that group.

A deverbal formative ‘*-sI-*’, postulated in *EDPT* p.xlvi, does not exist in Old

157 *kak* (DLT) denotes food articles cut into strips, dried for future consumption.

158 This lexeme is discussed in the section dealing with *-(X)g*.

159 *kaşık ogul* ‘stepson’, *ibid.*, must have been created after the etymology of *kaşık* got obscured.

Turkic: The verb ‘*emsi-*’ mentioned there is a dubious hapax in an obscure passage. ‘*sarsı-*’, which EDPT 854-5 creates because of “a clear semantic connection with 1 *sa:r-*”, has in fact the shape *sars-*: Cf. the converb *sarsa* quoted there. For *sar-*, cf. *sar-ıl-* and *sar-ış-* below. I know of no candidates other than these two for such a formation at an early stage. Rabgūzī’s *tal-sın-* ‘to be about to faint’ reminds one of the late transference of +*šA-* to verbal bases.

6.3 -(I)r-, -çIr- and -gIr-

A deverbal intr. °*r-* formative has to be taken to exist at least for a few inchoatives in the DLT. They are:

süçi-r- in fol. 307: *açıg nān süçirdi* “The bitter thing became sweet”. Cf. *süçi-* in DLT fol. 558 (*süçidi nān* “The thing was sweet”) and QB 813: *şākār tāg süçiyü barır ol kişi* ‘That man goes away, sweet like sugar’. Further cognates are mentioned under *süçi-g*, a derivate attested already in Orkhon Turkic. Aorist: *süçir-är*.

yılı-r- is used in an identical verse in DLT fols. 99 and 407: *ajun tını yılırdı* “The breath of the world became warm”. *yılı-* is attested only from DLT fol. 482 on, but cf. *yılı-t-* below and *yılı-g* and *yılış-ıg* above; the last-mentioned appears already in Orkhon Turkic.

yunçı-r- in fol. 485: *är işi yunçırdı* “The man’s affair began to worsen”. Aorist: *yunçı-r-ar*. Cf. *yunçı-* in *är yunçıdı* and *bilgä bögü yunçıdı* (both DLT fol. 577), *kılıç tatıksa iş yunçır* (fol. 407) and Suv 553,20 (quoted and translated in UW 98 a par. 3) and *yunçı-g* (DLT and QB).

Elsewhere, we find the connections listed below; particularly questionable in them is the semantic relationship between base and -(I)*r-* derivate. We discuss them for what they are worth.

adır- ‘to separate (tr.) etc.’ is amply documented and discussed in the UW; cf. *adr-ıl-*, *adr-ok* and so forth. It shares its base with *adın* ‘different’ (section 3.107), *adıg* ‘sober’ (section 3.101), *adıl* ‘excellent’ (section 3.113) and *adın-* ‘to sober up; to be impressed, surprised, shocked’ (discussed below). *adıız* ‘branch of a canal; piece of arable land delimited by such (section 3.111) could come from it or from *adır-*. Cf. also *adru-* in section 5.41. It is unclear whether this unattested¹⁶⁰ base was **ad-* or **adı-*; **adX-* would probably also have given **ad-*. The converb and aorist vowel of *adır-* is rarely /U/: We find *adırur* only in one

160 Ht X803 is perhaps *ärtmädi tügšilmä[di]* and not ‘*admatı*’, as has been read. A single ex. is no certainty in any case.

ms. of TT VI 184 where another two have *adırar*, *adıru* only in ETŞ 13,141 and M I 18,4₁.¹⁶¹ *adıra* and *adırar*, on the other hand, are very common (recently published exs. in LautHöllen 33 and HamTouen 1,62). This fact proves that *adı-* was not a causative in °*r-*, for those verb classes consistently have /U/ in these forms. That, in turn, means that the base must have been tr.

alaṇu-r- ‘to be or become weak’ is attested several times in the Suv, discussed in the UW. *alaṇu-* and *alaṇad-* (discussed among the +*U-* and +(A)*d-* verbs respectively) are practically its synonyms; note that they are not attested in Suv. See *alaṇad-* for etymology.

ägir- ~ *āṇir-* ‘to surround, encircle or besiege; spin or twirl thread’ has been connected by many to *äg-* ~ *āṇ-* ‘to bend (tr.)’. If there is such a connection, it can only be through the formative -(I)*r-*. Early exs. of *āṇir-* to be added to the EDPT entry occur in Toñ 20, 21 and 29, correctly read (I think) only by Giraud: *kaçan āṇirsār* (in 1.20 with the object *bizni*) ‘when/if it (sc. the Türk army) surrounds us’. Other scholars were misled by the fact that *kaçan* is wrongly spelt with N² in two among the instances. ‘*kaç nāṇ ārsār*’ could not have had any of the suggested meanings. *yip āgir-* and *yip āṇir-* alternate in the Maitr. The converb and aorist vowel of *ägir-* ~ *āṇir-* is consistently /A/ (in KTN 6, KP 2,2-4 (thrice) and 41,2 and DLT). Had the formative been the causative (-*Ur-*), *ägir-* would have had a rounded vowel both in its second syllable and as its converb and aorist vowel. The semantic relationship is not compatible with anything we can say about the present formative, however, and the explanation can only lie in prehistory.

ilgü-r- has been read in Maitr 12 v24 (*ätözümün ilgür*[]) and ShōAgon 2, p. 196,2 (*isig özin ilgürmäsär*. . ., rechecked for me in the facs. by P. Zieme). This is phraseologically similar to the BT II instance of *ilgü-n-*. *ilgün-dür-* and *ilgü-t-* are also discussed in the appropriate sections, q.v. The QB adds an initial /y/ in *yilgü-t-*, *yilgü-r-* and *yilgü*. This initial /y/ may actually have appeared also in the Maitr instance, in which the initial letter (taken to be *alif*) is missing in a lacuna. *yilgü-r-* is found twice in the QB: *kökiş turna köktä ünün yaṇkular / tizilmiş titir täg uçar yilgürär* (74) “. . . / soaring and fluttering in formation like a train of camels” and *kadaş köñli barça saṇa kadgurar / körü idsa bulmaz köñül yilgürär* (3329) “All your brothers’ hearts are fluttering out of anxiety for your sake and longing to see you”. QB 5972 should be read as *köñül yilgü-di*: The passage is discussed in the EDPT s.v. ‘*yalṇu-*’, a nonexistent verb.¹⁶² *yilgü-* and *yilgür-*

161 *adıru bilmäsär ukmasar* of this text probably has its /U/ from the roughly synonymous *adıru umasar*, the impossibilitative sequence (see Erdal, 1979 a).

162 *ülgürçi bor* (Hochzeit 19) could possibly be from *ilgür-t-çi*, which would make it signify ‘invigorating’ or ‘exciting wine’. There is a rare agentive suffix -*çl* found in *buzagulaçi* etc., and in negative -*mAçl*. Haplogogy from **ilgürgüçi* is another one of the possible explanations, but meaning and

- could possibly signify 'to be' and 'to get excited' or 'full of energy' in view of the meanings of the cognates (*yilgü-* and *yilgür-* differing perhaps in durativity).
- kadır-* 'to twist or turn back (tr.)' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT and the QB and from Middle Turkic sources; in all of these, it has /A/ as converb and aorist vowel. *kadırıp* appears in violent context in Maitr 108 v4. Cf. also *kadıra* 'repeatedly' in BT XIII 12,207, *kadra* 'back (adverb)' in the Rylands Inter-linear Coran Translation. *kadı-* 'to turn back (intr.) from the direction in which one was going' (q.v. below) must be its cognate. Their common base (**kad-* or **kadı-*) should also have been tr.: -(I)t- is often seen to turn tr. (and only tr.) verbs into passives, e.g. *sāv-it-*, *agırla-t-*, *bas-it-*, *āgir-t-*. Note that the QB contexts refer to fighting, like some exs. of *āgirt-* and *basıt-*. Cf. *kadr-ıl-* below.
- köpir-* 'to foam or froth' and *köpik* ~ *köpük* 'foam, froth' are discussed in the section on -(O)k. Here, again, the common base is not attested in Old Turkic. It is, however, preserved in Mo. and elsewhere and its existence follows from the comparison between the two lexemes mentioned. It can have been **köp-* or **köpi-*. In no case could *köpir-* be considered to have been a causative (cf. *köpirt-*); it might have been an inchoative: Cf. *süt köpürdi* 'The milk became foamy' in the DLT.
- talpı-r-* 'to flutter' is attested in BT III 250 as *Garudı kuşça talpıru*¹⁶³ *yarlıkadağı*, and in the DLT. In the DLT, the aorist is *talpırar*, what we expect in this formation. The DLT also has *talpın-* and *talpış-*, all three referring to the fluttering of birds. The base is quoted by the *EDPT* from the 14th century on in various dialects, and is found also in the bird passage in BuddhUig II 104: *örü uçğalı talpıyu, karışu oynayu ... kakılayu ātināyü...* The semantic difference between base and -(I)r- derivate is not clear.
- **tāgir-* 'to surround' is known mainly through its converb *tāgrā* 'around'; cf. *tāgrıglā-* and *tāgirmān* (discussed in the appropriate sections). It may possibly be derived from *tāg-* 'to reach'; if so, only -(I)r- can be the formative. The main problem, again, is meaning.
- ü(r)pār-* 'to bristle, stand on end etc.' is quoted by the *EDPT* from the DLT and elsewhere. The *EDPT* also quotes the DLT and later exs. of *ürpāk*, *ürpāt-* and *ürpāş-*. Add *üpärü turur sarıg saçlıg* 'with bristling blond hair' in l.4 of fr. T I α (U 5396) quoted in the n. to BT XIII 25,4. *üpār-* is either an error for DLT and later *ürpār-*, or the original variant. In any case, all the lexemes point to a common base **ürpā-* postulated also by the *EDPT*. The problem here is that the converb and aorist vowel is /U/ both in the DLT and in the Uigur passage

etymological connections seem clear enough. The initial vowel remains, of course, to be explained.

163 Thus instead of 'tālbirü' of the ed.

quoted, against the rule of the $-(I)r-$ formation. This may be a case of (dis-similatory?) complementary distribution as we find with $+(A)r-$, where $^{\circ}Ar-$ derivatives have /U/ as converb and aorist vowel.

yagu-r-muş (BT III 152) has the form of an $-(I)r-$ derivate from *yagu-* ‘to draw close’, but is probably rather the result of back-formation from *yaguru* (discussed at the end of the section on $-Ur-$): *ölgülük üdi kolosı yagurmuş ärdi* reminds one of *twgurguluk üdi yaguru kälti* (U III 63,18) on the one hand, of *ölüm üdi yagudukda* . . . (U III 43,28) on the other.

$+kIr-$ may perhaps have been derived from $+kI-$ using this same formative; onomatopoeic $+kIr-$ and $+kI-$ verbs are discussed in section 5.31 above.

Summing up we can say that Proto-Old Turkic may have had a formative of the shape $-(I)r-$ with /A/ in the converb and aorist, and that this formative seems not to have served the category of voice. What it did express is not clear.

A bit more can be said about $-çIr-$ which possibly, in some way, contains $-(I)r-$. Here, at least, we have one unproblematical Uigur lexeme:

kül-çir- ‘to smile’, quoted in the *EDPT* six times from Uigur,¹⁶⁴ twice from the QB and from Middle Turkic. All those Uigur exs. contain the nominal phrase *kül-çirä yüzin*¹⁶⁵ ‘with smiling face’, which appears also in Maitr 13 r28, 38 r9, 15 v5 and 120 r13. Then we have *külçirmäk* in Suv (quoted in the *DTS*), BT VIII B43 and BT VIII Nachtrag 1 l.12, and the following: *burxanlar yañınça külçirü*¹⁶⁶ *ulug kuvrag arasında InçA tep yarlıkadı* (ShōAv 216); *kirt kirt külçirä InçA tep* . . . (Maitr 12 r18); *bo ötügü aşidip ötrü Samso Açarı külçirä InçA tep tedi* (HtPek 54 r5-7) “. . . T.M. lächelnd folgendermaßen:”; *külçirä turur külçirgä atlag t(ä)ñri kızın ündürüp* . . . (BT VII A 619). Another two exs. of *külçir-gä* are mentioned in section 3.323. The DLT is alone with its variant *kül-sir-*, attested four times in fols. 364 and 394. In spite of its solid documentation, *külsir-* may perhaps stand for $*kül-şir-$, possibly the original form preserved by Kāşğarī.¹⁶⁷ *külçir-* is what can be called a verbal diminutive from *kül-* ‘to laugh’.

tam-çir- in DLT fol. 354 similarly comes from *tam-* ‘to drip’. *tam-* is not attested before Qarakhanid Turkic, but see *tam-ız-* in section 7.55. *tam-ga* (discussed in section 3.323) is early. In DLT fol. 354, *yagmur tamçırdı* is translated as “The rain drizzled” while, in fol. 367, *suv tamçırdı* is said to be “The water came down in a light shower from the cloud”. Among the four instances, two have I by the first hand in the suffix, one U by the first hand, and one U by the second

164 One of these is only a conjecture.

165 See n. 506 in the section on $-(X)r-$ for a discussion of this construction.

166 Thus in all three editions of the text. This form is an exception.

167 *tap-çur-* < *tap-şur-*, a causative, may show the same process..

hand. In view of the rounding effect of the /m/, I appears to be the preferred reading. The aorist is *tamçırar*.

(*yakçirt-* 'to rouse' (discussed among the *-(X)t-* verbs) may also have had a *-çIr-* verb as base.)

To judge by *külçir-* and *tamçur-*, *-çIr-* is a type of action formative. In this formation, we may (in *yakçirt-*) have a causative formative added. This, in itself, does not prove that the two groups of formatives belong to different paradigms: The different voice formatives in Old Turkic also combine with each other.

In the DLT alone there is another *°r-* formation:

man-gır- (*mangırar*) in fol. 365: *ol ätmäkig yagka mangırdı* "He was about to dip the bread in the butter".

käl-gır- (*kälgirär*) *ibid.*: *ol maña kälgirdi* "He was about to come to me".

kol-gır- (*kolgırar*) in fol. 363: *ol mendin kolgırdı* "He was about to ask me for something".

saç-gır- (*saçgırar*) in fol. 360: *är suv saçgırdı* "The man was about to sprinkle the water". In all three forms, the second syllable is marked both by a *kasra* and a *damma*.

soçgur- (*soçgurar*). Thus, with *damma* in the suffix in all three forms, in fol. 360: *at soçgırdı* "The horse was about to leap". From *soç+ı-* (discussed above) under syncopation of the medial vowel.

süs-gır- (*süsgirär*) in fol. 361: *sıgır ärig süsgirdi* "The ox was about to gore the man".

tam-gır- (*tamgırar*) in fol. 356: *suv tamgırdı* "Water was almost dripping" from *tam-*; related to *tam-çır-* just discussed. The couple *tamçır-* vs. *tamgır-* shows a neat opposition in the formatives: In the language of the DLT, at any rate, *-çIr-* may have marked light repeated action, whereas *-gIr-* was a sign of incipient action.

kurgır- (*kurgırar*) in fol. 363 is presumably derived with the same suffix from *kuri-* 'to dry (intr.)'. For some reason, however, *yer kurgırdı* is translated as "The ground was dry from lack of moisture". Cf. *soçgur-* above for the syncopation of the /I/.

In DLT fol. 363 we find a verb *kamgır-* (*kamgırar*). Kāšgarī writes: *anın yüzi kamgırdı* "His face was almost palsied. Also of anything that is slightly crooked". Now *kam-* is a tr. verb signifying 'to strike down'. DLT fol. 277 translates *ol anı kamdı* as "He beat him to death". *kamgır-* can by no means be a *-gIr-* derivate from *kam-*, for *-gIr-* clearly does not have any influence of the transitivity of verbs. Rather, it is an *+(A)r-* derivate from *kam-gı*, q.v. in section 3.110. The DLT translates *kamgı* as "twisted, crooked"; referring to persons' limbs and

faces, it signifies ‘palsied’. The fact the Kāšgari’s first translation contains the word “almost” shows that he was trying to connect it with this formation. He must be wrong about that, but *kamgir-* can nevertheless show us the way to an explanation of *-glr-*: This formative may come from *-gl+(A)r-*. The origin of *-glr-* may, then, have been parallel to that of *-(X)gsA-* and *-(X)msIn-*: Verbal noun + denominal verbal formative. *kötgi+r-* ‘to form a small swelling or protrusion’ has been discussed among the *+(A)r-* verbs above. **köt-* is not attested, but can be reconstructed from *kötür-* ‘to lift up’, *kötgi* ‘hillock, mound’ and the DLT’s *kötü* < **kötdü* ‘roof’. *kötgir-* is therefore another instance, the only one attested in (late) Uigur, of the formative sequence *-gl+(A)r-*. Like *-(X)gsA-* and *-(X)msIn-*, *-glr-* also denotes a type of inaction: Being about to do something. Note that the DLT’s translations of *berigsä-* and *satgsa-* are also, for some reason, ‘to be about to give’ and ‘to be about to sell’ respectively.

kädKir- ‘to run blindly, stumble while doing so’ may possibly also have belonged to this formation. The *EDPT* and the *DTS* (s.v. *kedgir-*) have several exs. of this verb from Uigur and the DLT; further ones appear in Profan p. 282 (quoted below under *sekri-t-*) and in BT III 258.¹⁶⁸ This verb does not appear to have survived in any modern language. It also has the converb and aorist vowel /A/: *kädKirär* in U IV C 13 and the DLT, *kädKirä* in Suv 10,8.

The DLT applies /glr/ also to nominal bases:

say+gir- (*saygırar*) in fol. 529-30: *yer saygırdı* ‘The ground nearly became a stony tract’ from *say* ‘a stony tract’.

taz+gir- (*tazgırar*) in fol. 356: *är başı tazgırdı*¹⁶⁹ ‘The man’s head was nearly bald’ from *taz* ‘bald’.

toz+gir- (*tozgırar*) in fol. 356: *yer tozgırdı* ‘The ground was at the point that dust would rise from it’ from *toz* ‘dust’.

süt+gir- (*sütgirär*) in fol. 361: *yogrut sütgırdı* ‘The yoghurt (was shaken up until it) became as watery as milk’ is actually spelt with *fatha* on the *kāf*, but aorist and infinitive have *kasras* in the formative.

There may have been some more such verbs, but their vowels are chaotic. They often show /A/ and not /I/ in the formative, and the whole phenomenon (as well as *kurgır-* mentioned above) appears to be a cross between *-glr-* and *+(A)r-*.

Nothing much has been gained in this section for the grammar of Old Turkic

168 For *adınlar kädKirmäk üzä kılıç algay* (BT III 258) we read in UW 89 a bottom: “‘man wird [böses] Karma erwerben, dafür daß man andere erschreckt hat’ (übers. so?)”. *kädKir-* is always intr., however, and *adınlar* should here be taken to be its subject and not its object. ‘... , wenn [es dazu kommt, daß] andere wild fliehen [müssen]’ would probably be a more correct translation.

169 The ms. actually has *tazgırdı* here, but the two other instances of the verb are spelled as *tazgir-*.

proper. It does become clear that the Old Turkic type of action category had more members to it than the *-(X)gsA-* and *-(X)msIn-* formations. What *-(I)r-* was originally used for demands further clarification. *In case yakçirt-* has a base belonging to a *-çIr-* formation, it shows that 'type of action' and 'voice' are intercombinable.

PART VII

Diathesis and Voice

Most morphemes used for deriving verbs from verbs in Old Turkic constitute the signs of the verbal category known as voice or diathesis. Each of these morphemes tends to choose a particular set of case functions from among a more general set. The set of nominal terms thus chosen by verbs of different classes is called the set of 'participants'. Some nominal categories, like the expressions for space and time, do not appear in any of the sets characteristic of particular voice morphemes, although compatible with any of them. These are not representative of participants, i.e. they do not refer to participants in the action. Voice, valency¹⁷⁰ and case have to be treated together, for voice determines the valency a verb is to have; valency is expressed by case forms. In Turkic, both case and voice are represented by inflectional paradigms, which makes functional description relatively easy. Distinctions lexical e.g. in English, like 'to remember' vs. 'to remind', 'to understand' vs. 'to explain' or even 'to say' vs. 'to ask' are part of the explicit grammar of Old Turkic: Their semantic content is subject to the rigidity of the system. Here we deal with the relation between the characterisation of the various nominal expressions in the sentence (or clause) by case endings and postpositions on the one hand, and the characterisation of the verb which governs them by voice formatives, on the other.

Since this part of the work tries to correlate verbal with nominal behaviour, morphological and formational problems can concern either the nominal or the verbal sphere. As far as nominal case forms are concerned, matters are more or less clear by now; they are in broad outlines discussed by the grammars, e.g. Gabain, 1974. Some residual problems are mentioned below. On the verbal side, however, the situation is quite different. There are quite a few elements in use for deriving verbal stems from (shorter) verbal stems. This derivation creates new dictionary entries, is not quite systematic, and irregularities are common. The functions of various formatives sometimes seem to overlap: thus the passive and the medial-reflexive, thus also the passive and the causative. On the other hand, one and the same formative (e.g. the causative or the medial-reflexive) can have several functions.

Grammars¹⁷¹ generally discuss all this under the heading of word formation, in the shortest possible terms. The syntactic aspects of such derivation have not been

170 I use this term to refer not only to the number of nominals which a verb can govern, but to the configuration of tasks which a verb deals out. A verb is accompanied by particular slots, which are occupied by obligatory or optional participants. Such occupation is a syntactical necessity, not related to thematic-rhematic structure nor to any pragmatic constraints.

171 Gabain, 1974: 80-83; Tekin, 1968: 115-117, Ščerbak, 1961: 165 par. 2, Nasilov, 1963: 29-30 and so forth. Thus for Old Turkic; grammars of other languages do, of course, often develop the subject.

treated adequately. There are several articles on a particularly interesting point¹⁷² and some remarks here and there.¹⁷³ There has been one attempt to treat our subject comprehensively, i.e. Amanžolov, 1969. That is a book about verbal rection in the language of 'Old Turkic texts' where, however, 'Old Turkic' has been taken in what I think is an impossibly broad sense.¹⁷⁴ Chapter I discusses the phenomenon of verbal rection in general and in its relation to other aspects of Old Turkic. Chapter II is about the rection of the underived verb; all case forms are here taken in turn and discussed. Chapter IV deals with the rection of what Amanžolov calls the analytical verb: a verbal phrase in which the verb and a noun stand in close juncture. This has some bearing on our particular interests and is dealt with further on in this section. The object of Amanžolov's chapter III has most in common with our work: Part 1 is about the rection of denominal verbs, part 2 about the rection of deverbal verbs. On pp. 68 and 98, the author maintains that rection is determined in a purely lexical manner and not influenced by morphemes of diathesis. However, the business of the grammarian is to include as much as possible of the information on the language in the rule-governed part, i.e. in the grammar. By denying offhand this possibility for his subject matter, Amanžolov has missed the chance of getting at the regularities which his research could have brought forth.

Old Turkic has the following case suffixes: the accusative, the ablative, the locative-ablative, the dative, the genitive, the comitative, the so-called equative and the instrumental. Then there is the bare stem, which serves as nominative; as far as nominals¹⁷⁵ with no possessive ending (but not nominals with possessive ending, nor pronouns) are concerned, also as the case of the indefinite object. In pronouns and possessive nouns, the accusative form is used for all direct objects. In other words, the case of the indefinite object (which, as we shall see, also has another function) is sometimes syncretised with the nominative, while in the remaining situations the neutralisation is between it and the accusative. I think that this two-way collapse is sufficient reason to consider the indefinite object a case; further on, I will show that it also has a particular behaviour.¹⁷⁶ This indefi-

172 By Kowalski, Röhrborn and Johanson; see my remark at the end of section 7.582.

173 Some, by Bang, I have had the occasion to comment on. I have, in general, very little referred to authorities in this work, as it is long enough as it is.

174 The delimitation of Old Turkic is discussed in section 1.1 above. I am uneasy and apologetic about all I have included under the name of 'one language', but Amanžolov is even worse in this respect.

175 Arguments for and against the noun / adjective distinction have not been seriously discussed concerning Old Turkic; the terms have not even been defined explicitly.

176 Thus the Latin dative is considered a case, e.g., in spite of the fact that it is sometimes identical with the genitive, in other noun classes with the ablative.

nite object case is the one demanded by postpositions: *çik bodun kırkız birlä yağı boltı* (BQ E26) but *kaganın birlä swña yıǵda süñüşdümüz* (KTE 35), *mini birlä* (U III 48,4), *yetinç oǵuşunuzlarnı birlä* (U III 55, 11-12), *sizlärni birlä* (U IV A81). With a different postposition: *yıd yıpar tǵ* (TT I 146), *kañım kagan süsi böri tǵ ärmış, yagısı koñ tǵ ärmış* (KTE 12) and, on the other hand, *bizni tǵ* (TT III 16), *kün tǵrı yarokın tǵ* (M II 8,13₁ and 15₁, text 3), *inisi açisin tǵ kılınmaduk ärinç; oǵlı kañın tǵ kılınmaduk ärinç* (KT E5).¹⁷⁷ Except for the indefinite object case, there is no structural difference between nominal and pronominal declension, although some cases may have different allomorphs for nominal and pronominal use. The comitative is not attested with pronominal bases, but is rare even with nouns. It is found several times in the great inscriptions,¹⁷⁸ in YE 28,8, M I 12,10 (TeilBuch) and several times in Chuast. This case will not be taken into consideration. As has been described in the grammars, the locative frequently has 'ablative' function: It can also mark the noun representing the starting point of the action. The delimitation of the ablative and the locative is a subject which should be looked at more closely, from the dialect, the historical and the functional points of view. In some texts the ablative form proper has a very limited use.

Functionally, there is no difference between case endings and postpositions. If we add the postpositions to the list of cases, which is not short in itself, we get an unstructured and quite open set, which *could* be termed 'lexical'.¹⁷⁹

In this collection, one division has traditionally been made: that between 'abstract' and 'concrete' cases, 'concrete' including reference to time and to space. The 'grammatical' cases characterise certain patterns of interaction, whereas the others are, in a sense, circumstantial. In the classical Indo-European languages, the same case forms and prepositions had both abstract and concrete uses; in Old Turkic, however, the dative is the only case, I think, which appears in both domains.

Akin to this is the distinction between 'actants' and 'circonstants', first made in Tesnière, 1959: 102ff.: "Les *actants* sont les êtres ou les choses qui, à un titre quelconque et de quelque façon que ce soit, même au titre de simple figurants et de la façon la plus passive, participent au procès." "Les *circonstants* expriment les circonstances de temps, lieu, manière etc.". There are two main differences between this distinction and the previous one: Firstly, Tesnière makes his distinc-

177 As has been shown in Erdal, 1979: 154, this is true only in texts classified as early for nouns with 3rd person possessive suffix. With the other possessive suffixes and with pronouns, this behaviour does not change even in later Old Turkic texts. In Qarakhanid Turkic, there are already some changes.

178 For these instances see Tekin, 1968, par. 3.2149.

179 See e.g. Gabain, 1974, pars. 272-326. I could not, however, accept as postposition everything she included under this name.

tion only in relation to the *verbal* syntagm and not for adnominal expressions. This suits me, as I am in fact dealing only with verbal syntagms. Secondly, Tesnière's concepts are based on semantic and/or syntactic peculiarities; for a linguist working on case, however, morphological characteristics, differences and identities are of prime importance. In this second point I do not follow Tesnière, as my interest lies in the correlation between morphological entities and syntactic structures.

A third distinction is that between obligatory, optional and free adjuncts to the verb. In the sentence

I fetched Judy from school an hour ago,

I and *Judy* are obligatory, *from school* is optional and *an hour ago* is free. Both the obligatory and the optional adjuncts are participants in the action, but the free ones are not. The obligatory and the optional adjuncts together represent the government pattern associated with the verb; it need not be completely realised, as some of its elements are optional. In what follows, I will limit my attention to those nominal expressions which represent actants or, as I call them, participants. I am not even interested in all participants, but only in the ones which can be brought into correlation with the members of the category of diathesis. Such a correlation is not a one-way determination from the verb towards the nominals. In the sentences

My son is running to / Ø the office now,

it is the nominal structure that makes the verb's meaning explicit. It is quite thinkable that nominal patterns should be determining grammatical meaning for the verb as well.

In Old Turkic, place nominals in the locative case can clearly accompany a derived verb just in the sense in which they accompany its base: *vuusin ätözintä tutmış k(ä)rgäk* (TT VII 14,11, Yetikän) vs. *alkışım(ı)z ötügümüz . . . nā yerdä tıdıntı tutuntı ärsär, . . .* (Chuast 161) vs. *kün iāñri kirdi; yer içintä yaromakı tıdıltı* (TT I 23).¹⁸⁰ Another ex.: *yertinçütäki tı[nl](ı)glar yintä[m] nırbanta twgzunlar* (TT III 167) vs. *alkatmış beş kat t(ä)ñri yerintä twgurtuñuz* (TT III 60). With the instrumental: *[ka]ñg ünin kıkıra İnçA tep tedi* (U IVC138) vs. *yäklär katıg ünin kıkırıştılar alakırıştılar* (U IV A295-6). The equative is not usually governed specifically by the verb either: "*Köñlünçä uduz*" *tedi. kök öñüg yoguru ötükän yıǵaru uduztum* (Toñ 15). Nor are most postpositional

180 The ed. joins *yer içintä* to *kirdi* and not to what follows, and translates "Der Sonnengott trat in die Erde ein". This, however, would demand the dative and not the locative, beside the unusual word order coming from such a division.

phrases, and here is one ex.: *elin üçün rddnilig tözün ätözin amgätip*... (M III 40,9₁, text 23). All such nominals are not participants.

A certain case is often demanded by a simple verb or by the base of a derived one through a semantic and/or lexical bond. Thus e.g. the ablative with verbs of escape and rescue: *alko yertinçütäki tnhlgar alp adalarıntın ozzunlar* (TT III 168) 'May all beings on earth escape from their grave dangers'. Such government stays invariant if the verb acquires a diathesis morpheme: *tamutın tüzünü ozkurtunuz* (TT III 68) 'You saved all of them from hell'. In the *n*-dialect the locative form also covers the domain of an ablative, and thus we have *ölümtä ozmuş* (IrqB XLIX) '(She) is said to have escaped death'. Also with causative transformation: *ämğäktä ozgurgay sän* (KP VI 2) 'You will save [them] from toil and trouble'.

As documented in the text, a considerable portion of the nominals accompanying the bases of verbs turns out to consist of bare noun stems, both as agent and as object. Close juncture between a verbal stem and a noun is shown, e.g., in the following ex.: *keniñä tözün maytri burxanıg tuş bolalım* (Pfahl I 10) 'Afterwards we hope to meet the noble Buddha Maitreya'. The close juncture of *tuş* and *bol-* is here both semantic and syntactic. Although *bol-* is, of course, intr. *tuş bol-* is tr. *tuş* clearly occupies neither the subject nor the object slot; we have a sort of noun incorporation. This phenomenon was first discussed by Grønbech, 1936, who gives the following ex.: *özüm kagan olortukum üçün*... (BQ E36) 'because I myself sat as *kagan*...' and *özümün ol tññri kagan olortdı* (KT E26 and BQ E21 complementarily) 'that (god of) the heavens seated me as *kagan*'. It ought to be mentioned that *olgurt-* usually serves as causative of *olor-*; *olor-* is found only as (*kagan olor-*)-*t-*, the causative of *kagan olor-*. Here is another ex. with a causative: *ç(a)mbudvip yer suv tolu ulug yel turgurmuşın sakınmış k(ä)rgäk* (TT V A82) 'One must imagine that the earth and waters of Jambudvīpa fill up, and that (the gods) raise a great wind'. The sequence *yel tur-* to describe the rising of the wind is found e.g. in M III 10,8₁, 11₁ and 15₁ (text 4) and KP XVIII 3. The matter can be observed also with cooperative-reciprocal formations: *bo yok tözlüg öpkä nızbanı ey[in] utzukup u[zun] turkaru öç k[äk] alısu*... (TT II B85) 'They are defeated into conforming with this passion of fury rooted in nothingness and continually₂ take revenge₂ of each other...'. *öç kāk al-*, the base of *öç kāk*¹⁸¹ *alış-*, can be found in DLT fol. 34. Nor is there any reason to think of a 'mutual or common becoming' when considering the third word in *tññür böşük boluşup kız berişip bağır böşük ädgü ögli bolurlar* (TT VI 308-9) 'They become each other's brothers- and sisters-in-law, give each other their daughters and become friends and well-wishers'. *ara kirişgäli umazlar* (BT II 950) 'They cannot intercede on each other's behalf' contains the reciprocal expansion of the expression *ara kir-*,

181 A common binomial.

which can be found in BT II 993-4 and Kuan 187, 206-7 and 211-12. Similar things can be said about *kut kol-* and *kut kolun-*, documented under *kol-un-* below and discussed in n. 310 in vol. 1. Here is an ex. with the causative of a tr. verb: *bökünki küntä bo nomlug oruntakı bir tög kşanti kılurdaçılarnıñ, böküntä* [(BT II 1066) 'From those who, as one, on this day bring about the atonement of sins in this bodhimanda, . . .'. *kşanti kıl-* is a fixed expression; *kşanti* is therefore the object of the base of the verb. The immediate constituents of the phrase are (*kşanti kıl-*)-*tur-*. *kşanti kılur-* is the causative of a verbal phrase signifying 'to atone one's sins', which is intr. when taken as a whole. Similarly the collocation *könül örit-*, which governs the dative, and its causative counterpart *könül örittür-*, which governs the same dative and, in addition, a direct object. Not only verbal stems serve as bases for voice affixes, then, but also verbal phrases containing, beside the verb, an adverbial predicative noun.

The accusative form is never used in close juncture with the verb base; the bare stem, on the other hand, is common in this status. There *are*, however, some instances in which bare stems serving as objects do not take part in a semantic union with the base of the verb, and represent participants. All those instances, and any others which may be such, will be duly considered.

The *accusative* case will receive attention in connection with all members of the paradigm of diathesis, as will the forms representing the indefinite object (i.e. bare stem for nouns, accusative form for pronouns etc.), under the conditions just mentioned. The *nominative*, on the other hand, although representing a participant, is not particularly interesting for us: All derived and underived finite verb forms have an agent in Old Turkic, which may always be expressed with the nominative, but may in any context also be left unexpressed. This is evidently so for the first and second persons of the modal and past indicative paradigms, but no less so also for all the third persons. In other words, the nominative is compatible with *all* verb forms and not characteristically present in conjunction with any particular ones.

The *dative*, however, turns out to be an especially interesting case for us. Beside a particularly wide spectrum of concrete significances,¹⁸² it also has some abstract uses: *näkä ıglayü busuşlug kältin?* (KP V2) 'Why did you come weeping and gloomy?'; *antag antag yertä bir köl suvı sugulup on mun balıklar künkä köyüp unakiya ölgäli turu täğiniürlär* (Suv 603,11) 'In a certain place the waters of a lake are retreating and ten thousand fish are burning in the sun and just about to reach the point of dying'. 'by, because of, through' the sun would be just as good for the context. *anıñ yarlıkıña, ärksizin, män bo muntag yavlak ada kılur m(ä)n* (U IV A160-1) 'I produce these so evil dangers by his command, without my will'. *beş*

182 These are noted very clearly e.g. in par. 3.2144 of Tekin, 1968: 131-2.

yüz sığınlar isig öz korkınçına ögsüz bolup yerkä yapşını sığıntılar (U IV C69) 'The five-hundred maral deer lost their mind in fear for their live self and stuck to the ground, seeking shelter'. Finally *kalmadı ärki ayıg kılınç maña kulmaduk* (BT XIII 13,109) 'There are probably no (types of) evil deeds which have not been carried out by me'. The nominal in the dative form represents the source or at least one of the sources from which the action issues, in an abstract sense. Thus the abstract significance of the dative form is diametrically opposed to its concrete significance, which is typically to refer to the point *towards* which the action is directed. It is the abstract significance which will occupy us in what follows. As we shall see, the 'originator' or 'instigator' sometimes referred to when passive behaviour is being described is, under certain circumstances, in the dative case. In the sentences quoted above, the verb is not passive but the dative form nevertheless seems to refer to 'originators'. This is equally so whether the verb is intr. as *köy-*, or tr., as *kıl-* in the sentence from U IV A 160-1. In BT XIII 13,109 the dative definitely has ergative sense, since it refers to the agent. The sentence represents a rhetorical figure in a versified text, and its structure may have been dictated by literary form. The grammatical fact remains documented for Old Turkic, however, and there are other instances. Whether this last type of dative is possible also when such an expression, containing an underived verb, has a *nominal* agent, remains to be determined. The Suv 603,11 instance with *köy-* could be considered a 'semantic passive', with the causative *köyür-* 'to burn (tr.)' as its 'active' counterpart. In any case, the dative appears in this sense also with tr. verbs. We will discuss the dative in connection with all members of the diathesis category, but in particular when treating the passives.

Among the postpositional phrases only those formed with *birlä* and *üzä* will be dealt with. Everything I have to say about *birlä* appears in the section on the reciprocal-cooperative activities. *üzä* has at least three meanings for which it is difficult to find a common denominator.¹⁸³ Primarily it means 'above', but sometimes also 'at', 'with' etc. We will be interested in the abstract uses of this postposition only; the main problem will be to decide when an *üzä* phrase represents a participant and when not. Uses as 'with the help of, through, by' tend towards this, and here are some exs.: *ün ägzig üzä yegädmiş atl(ı)g t(ä)ñri burxan kutıña yökünür biz* (BT II 511) 'We worship his honour the god Buddha named 'excellent in (or through, by) (his) voice and song'. "*käl toyın!*" *temäk üzä toyın kigürüp kuşılaram sänrämkä eltü bardı* (U III 75,2₁) '(Buddha) enlisted (the *şış*) as monks

183 Gabain, 1974: 396 n. 43 hints at the possibility that two lexemes, *üzä* and *özä*, may lie behind 'WYZ': *özä* is written so in the Codex Comanicus. However, *üzä* is attested dozens of times in the Brāhmī texts and thrice in BuddhKat 41-42 (Tibetan script); there is not a single exception. The Coman form is therefore irrelevant as far as Old Turkic is concerned.

by saying “Come, monk!” and took them to the Kuśālārāma monastery’. In these exs. the *üzä* phrase clearly does not represent a participant in the action, and I have found no exs. for its doing so when the verb is not either passive or reflexive in form. We will come back to *üzä* when discussing those members of the diathesis category.

There are quite a number of formatives used for expressing the content of a participant constellation different from the one associated with the base verb. Verbal duality and plurality is always associated with $-(X)_{\mathfrak{S}}$ -, however, and reflexive content always with $-(X)_n$ -. Other diathesis formatives are passive or causative or, interestingly, both passive and causative. Our procedure will again be to list all verbs created with a particular formative, and then discuss its functioning and function. That is where the cases and postpositions come in, for they represent the realisation of diatheses in connection with the participants in the event being referred to.

7.1 Verbs of vying and cooperation

Actions characterised by their being carried out by more than one participant in cooperation or competition on, towards, for, by against etc. each other, are formed with $-(X)_{\mathfrak{S}}$ -. $-(X)_{\mathfrak{S}}$ - verbs denote events whose *nature* is affected by this multiple participation; otherwise, the speaker can just use the plural. We first list and document $-(X)_{\mathfrak{S}}$ - stems. Then we mention a few verbs derived from nominals by $+IA-(X)_{\mathfrak{S}}$ -. last comes our functional evaluation of the formative.

^v $-(X)_{\mathfrak{S}}$ -. LEXICAL MATERIAL

(*adkaş*- ‘to be joined’ is found in ETŞ 8,1 as *adkaşu tur*-. See the UW entry s.v. *aṭkaş*- for this. The UW spells this verb, *adkaK* (q.v. above in section 3.101) and *adkan*- (q.v. below in section 7.2) with *t* and not *d* against the overwhelming weight of the documentation, because of an etymology presented in Röhrborn, 1983: The verb is there ‘explained’ as coming from **art+ka*-. Beside Uigur spelling, this is unacceptable because of Kaz. and Kirg. verbs pointed out to me by T. Tekin: *aykas*- in the former and *aykaş*- are translated as “zusammengelegt sein, über’s Kreuz gelegt sein, gefaltet sein (v. Händen), in Fugen gearbeitet sein (Holzarbeiten); sich vereinigen, untereinander verbinden, umarmen, packen beim Ringen” and there also is *aykaḷş*- with similar meaning. The *y* is here regular for older *d*. Thirdly, there is the sentence *äräj birlä ämgäk adakşu yatur* in QB 2936 (both extant mss.), in Dankoff’s translation “Hard work and contentment are bedfellows”. The thus attested form is

grammatically obscure and there would be no violation of the metre in emending it to *adkaşu yat*- 'to be intertwined'. The QB does not confuse the dentals. Fourthly, there is no formative *+kA*- but only an allomorph of the morpheme *+(X)rkA*- discussed in section 5.2. As shown there, the addition of *+kA*- to *art* would have been counter-grammatical. **adka*- is not attested. A further ex. for *adkaş*- is quoted by Zieme in *OLZ* 84 (1989): 62 from an unpublished text; it there appears in a biverb with *yapış*- (q.v. below).)

✓ *ag-iş*- is attested twice in Uigur with the meaning 'to deviate mutually (from the terms of a contract)'. See the *UW* for this verb, which comes from 2 *ag*- 'to change; deteriorate'. The DLT verb *ag-iş*- listed with its various meanings in the *EDPT*, on the other hand, comes from 1 *ag*- 'to rise'; it is not related to the present one.

akıl-iş- 'to flow together' is a hap. in Uigur discussed in the *UW*. It appears in a biverb with *kudul-uş*-; and the biverb *ak-ıl- kud-ul-* is also attested. See these and the biverb verbs below.

al-iş- 'to take from one another'. The Uigur ex. (quoted in the *UW*) contains the phrase *öç k[äk] alış*- 'to take revenge on one another'. This is the reciprocal of the phrase *öç käk al*- found in the DLT. The *EDPT* quotes *alış*- from the DLT and once from the QB; additional QB exs. appear in couplets 4111, 4305, 4421, 5032 and 5684. Several of these have the expression *älig alış*- 'to take each other's hand'.

alakır-iş- 'to shout out together or at each other'. Only in a biverb with *kıkır-iş*-.

UW; only one of the exs. mentioned there, the one of U IV A 296, actually exists: Of the other one, the ms. only has three letters.

✓ *amra-ş*- 'to like each other'. See the *UW*; exs. not mentioned there appear in InscrOuig I 48 (*abamuluk amraşıp* []), BT XIII 49,47 (*xanlarımız amraşıp sävişip tümän tümän yaşazun* 'May our kings live in mutual love₂ for thousands and thousands of years') and ShōAgon 1,319 (*isinmāk qmraşm[ak]*). Three further ones can be found under *isi-ş*- below.

(*arkaş*- is derived by the DLT, and by the *EDPT* s.v., from *arka* 'back' and translated accordingly. Outside the DLT and before the modern period it appears in two Brāhmī instances quoted in the *UW*, translated "ineinander legen, zusammenlegen". 'to clasp mutually' is, I think, a better translation: There are pairs of cooperating agents in all three instances; *-Xş*- denotes a mutuality of agents and not of objects. *arkaş*- is taken to have the same base as *arkag* "Querfaden des Gewebes, Schuß". The DLT's *arka*-, said to be Oguz, may have been their common base: Its translation is 'to search, investigate', but the original semantic kernel may have been more like 'to go through'. Cf. Chag. *arğa*- "den Faden einschießen (beim Weben)".)

aşla-ş- has been read in InscrOuig IV 50: *arşamış buzulmuş şın işlärin aşuru yasaşıp*

akalap olorurta aşnukı tayançıKları aşlaşıp ayıklıg xan bolgu tayzı birlä anıa yolukuşup . . . This probably signifies ‘to join (mutually)’; there is no reason to take it to be a mistake, as the *UW* does. A further ex. not mentioned in the *UW* but quoted by Zieme in his review to the *UW* (*OLZ* 84 (1989): 62) must have the same meaning, as it appears in a series with *sola-ş-*, *adka-ş-* and *yap-ış-* (all of them discussed in this section). The meaning of *aşlaş-tur-* (q.v. below) fits well with this. The *EDPT*’s 2 *aşla-* (the base of *aşlaş-*) and *aşla-l-* are attested only in Qarakhanid sources: The meaning ‘to mend’ in which *aşla-* appears to have been used there may well be secondary.

at-ış- is quoted in the *EDPT* from the *DLT*: *ok atış-* ‘to compete in shooting arrows’. In *Ht* V 5 b 14 we find the sentence *ötrü anta ok süñüşüp* [. . .] *adrışgali kılıntılar* well visible on the face. From this and from the wider context it seems likely that this is an error for *atış-*, in the sense ‘to shoot at each other’. For *süñüş- atış-* cf. the binomial *süñüş atış* in section 3.103. *adr-ış-* ‘to part (intr.)’ does appear in the *DLT* (see the *EDPT*) but not in *Uigur*. The *UW* has no *atış-*. *aya-ş-* ‘to respect each other’: See the *UW* entry for it.

ayıgla-ş- ‘to scorn each other’ appears once in *Suv* in the series *tötüşmək karışmak yonarışmak ayıglaşmak* as quoted by the *DTS*. See *ayıg+la-* above.

ayt-ış- does not appear in the *EDPT* and is quoted once from *UjgRuk* in the *DTS*. There, in *InscrOuig* IV 48 and in *YamadaSlaves* 11, it signifies ‘to consult with’. In *Ht* V 5 b 12, on the other hand, *uruş aytışu tötüş bolı* is rather ‘to invite each other (to fight)’. *olar için aytışdılar* ‘They became reconciled among themselves’ (*DLT* fol. 50) is better read thus; not as ‘*etiş-*’, as the *EDPT* and Dankoff and Kelly do: This fits the meaning better.

basın-ış- is a hap. in *SuvStockh* 72: *bir ikintişkä basınaşıp kunuş kırma kılurlar*. The eds. translate correctly as “unterdrücken sich die Leute gegenseitig und . . .” but misread the verb as ‘*basıraşıp*’. *bas-in-* (q.v. below) is tr.

ber-ış- ‘to give something to each other’ is found in *TT* VI 309 (passage quoted on p. 549 above) in addition to the exs. mentioned in the *EDPT* s.v. It appears also in *UigLand* 25 and in *QB* 4305 and 4421.

bıç-ış- is quoted in the *EDPT* from the *DLT*; there it signifies ‘to compete in cutting something’. Appears also in *Maitr* 173 r 10 as *etigläri yaratıgların üzüşür bıçışurlar* ‘They cut₂ each other with their accessories₂ (instr.)’, in 208 r 8 as *sañışu bıçışu*, 174 v 30 as *bir ikintişkä közrä kulgakra sañışur biz, tılımnı bıçışur biz*, in 171 v 3 as *bi bıçgu kılıçın bıçışurlar*, in 81 v 28 as *bir ikintişkä bıçışurlar* (thus) *käşişürlär tokışurlar sañışurlar* ‘They hew₂ at each other . . .’ and in 218 r 10 (biverb with *os-uş-*, q.v. below).

bil-ış- ‘to be acquainted with someone, to know each other, to meet people’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the *DLT* and the *QB*. Found also in *anı birlä siz bilişgäy siz* “Vous ferez connaissance avec lui” (*HamTuouen* 28,20), *ozakı*

bilişmiş ädgü ögli kişi (UigTot 71) ‘a well-meaning person who is an old acquaintance’ and *için ara bilişmâz . . . öñin öñin tururlar; olar ymä öz için ançulayu ok bilişmâz* (Suv 364,4-7). This last ex. does not refer to persons but to the different senses. For the first part of the passage, a Berlin ms. (quoted by Ş. Tekin) has the variant *için yänä bilişmâz. ikägü täñ bilişip täñ berür biz* (UigPacht J10) has a different use of *biliş-*, with the two sides not direct objects of each others’ knowing: “Wir werden beide zu gleichen Teilen verantwortlich sein und zu gleichen Teilen geben”.

birik-iş- is a hap. in ETŞ 13,84 not mentioned in the dictionaries: *ädgü öglilär birlä birikişip bir orunta birgärü ärälim*. ‘to gather (intr.) with’.

bog-uş- ‘to strangle or try to strangle one another’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. It appears also in Maitr 81 v30, *bir ikintişkä . . . boguşurlar ölrüşürlär*.

bol-uş- is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT on. Found also in TT VI 308, in a passage quoted on p. 549 above. No translation can be given for the verb itself, as there should be a bracketing (*tünür böşük bol(-)uş-*). One of the mss. has *kılış-* instead; this verb is discussed below. *boluşmaklıg uğuş* appears in Abhi B31 a12, quoted and discussed in the n. to KudJunshö B r1-2, also 31 b10 and 32 a1.

bul-uş- ‘to find one another’ or ‘to find something in cooperation with someone’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from ‘Toy’, i.e. T.M. 342 in KöktüTurf, and then only from the DLT.¹⁸⁴

bulga-ş- is mentioned in the *DTS*, not in the *EDPT*. Only once in Suv, and in QB 2336. Cf. the hap. *bulgaşmaksız* in section 3.329. ‘to be mixed up collectively; to be mixed up by one another’.

bür-üş- and *bur-uş-* (both DLT) are mixed up by the *EDPT*, although Kaşğari makes clear that they are distinct. The former refers to twisting up the mouths of sacks and the like, the second to the wrinkling up of the skin and of textiles. *bur-kı*, *burış* and possibly *buşrı* (< **burşı*?) are related to the latter.

bürt-üş- ‘to be in, or come into, contact with something’. Hap. in TT V, quoted in the *EDPT*.

✓ *çaxşa-ş-* is a hap. in *kaxşaşu çaxşaşu yorır[lar]* ‘They walk about, collectively tottering and making clattering noises’ (Ht IV 1541). The base is attested in DLT fol. 569: *taş çaxşadı* ‘The pebbles rattled. Also for the clinking of ornaments and other sounds’. This, in turn, may come from an unattested *-Xş* derivate from *çak-* (q.v. in the *EDPT*), an onomatopoeic verb. *yİnşAşU turur ol*

184 *yeg* (thus the *EDPT* with the facs.) *alıg buluşğalı unamaduklar* in the runic ex. signifies ‘They did not agree about finding (it either) good (or) bad’ or ‘. . . finding (its) virtues (and) inadequacies’ or ‘. . . finding (it) superior (or) inferior’ but not as translated in the *EDPT* s.v. 1 a:l: See *alıg* in the *UW* and the *EDPT*.

ärdinilig eṭiglär (BuddhUig II 75) may contain a similar verb if read correctly (if, e.g., it is not a mistake for ‘*yaṇra-ṣ-*’).

çiltä-ṣ- is a hap. in *aṣka okıṣıp ayaṣıp çiltäṣıp* . . . (Maitr 199 v5) ‘They invited each other to dinner, showed respect to each other₂ and . . .’. *çiltä-* is only used together with *aya-* and, according to UW 298 b, also with *ayaṣ-*, *çiltä-g* (q.v. in section 3.101) only with *aya-g*. Two exs. of *aya- çiltä-* are mentioned under *çiltäg*. Another one is found in HamTouen 15,16, wrongly spelled as ”Y’DY CYLTY. The “radical *çilt-*”, which the ed. would there like to reconstruct, is otherwise unattested; it could not be connected by any known formative to *çiltä-* or to its derivatives. Connecting this verb with the Skt. radical *cint-* ‘to consider’ would probably also be too far-fetched.

ädgölä-ṣ- ‘to be good to each other’ is in the EDPT quoted from U IV D 56 and QB 4354. It is attested also in U IV D 60, and Ht V 8 b3: *öz kılıkıṇa [ärt]iṇü uyadıp kaşmir xanı [bir]lä ädgöläṣıp ketdi* ‘He was very much ashamed of his own action, he and the king of Cashmere did good deeds to one another and he left’. See *ädgü+lä-* above: It has a slightly different meaning, and may not really be the base of *ädgöläṣ-*; in that case, *ädgöläṣ-* would be a *+LAṣ-* derivative from *ädgü* itself.

äriḡlä-ṣ- appears in BT III 584 and Warnke 553 together with *ütlä-ṣ-* (q.v. below). Not mentioned in the dictionaries. See *äriḡ+lä-* above. It too is attested only in a biverb with *üt+lä-*, and cf. the binome *üt äriḡ*.

edär-iṣ- ‘to chase each other, to follow one upon the other’. Attested in SuvZieme 693,20 (quoted in UW 135 a s.v. *ançata*) and UigÄg (1) E5 (*toyın toyın edriṣ-miṣlärin* . . . “in Gruppen₂ folgten sie aufeinander”). Also BuddhUig II 293: *saḡabira urudita BODISATV eyin bolup anıṇ savıṇa, edäriṣü birḡärü bayagut-nıṇ äviṇä täḡip* . . .¹⁸⁵ The same verb may appear also in ManMon 91: *iki iṣ ayguçılar eträ[ṣ]müzün. eträṣıp iṣ küç aḡduk kılsar kıy(ı)nka kızgutka täḡzün*. This could signify ‘to alternate on the job, i.e. not to carry it out simultaneously’. The variant *edräṣ-* may appear also in Maitr fr. 499 r2: The /i/ of the formative may have gotten widened due to the /r/. A problem is posed only by the dental, for ManMon does not confuse the dentals, generally. See *edär-t-* also for the base.

elt-iṣ- appears in TT VII 17, and in TT VII 30, the continuation of the text of TT I. The two contexts are rather obscure and not really compatible. Arat’s etymology and his and the EDPT’s translations are not too convincing, but I have no better suggestion. *elt-* is ‘to bring’; cf. *elt-in-*.

185 Ş. Tekin has *edäriṣ-* govern *savıṇa*, but it is unlikely that this verb should signify ‘to follow’ in the abstract sense of ‘acting in accordance with the words of . . .’. *savıṇa* is either used as an adverbial phrase by itself (‘on her word’) or governed by *eyin bol-*.

- er-iş-* ‘to try to reach, one with respect to the other’, i.e. ‘to compete’, is attested in TT III 77: *k[arışm]akıg erişmäkiğ särgürtünüz* ‘You have put off strife and competition’. This translation (and my conjecture with *kar-iş-*) derive from similarity with the binomes *erşi karşı* and *erşisiz karşısız* (section 3.118 above) and, of course, from the context. The *EDPT*’s translation of *erişmək* as “arrival” (adopted by Pothi) seems inappropriate. *bir ikintişkä erişmäki* (*ĀgFrag* (1) G b4), on the other hand, is no doubt correctly translated as “ihr Einander-Erreichen”: This accords both with the Chin. original and with the context.
- erpä-ş-* in *bir ikintişkä erpäKin erpäşü kälirl[ä]r* (*Maitr* 68 v17) is a hap. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Cf. *erpäK* in section 3.101 and *erpä-l-* below.
- eştr-üş-* is a hap. quoted in the *EDPT*: *savlaşıp eştrüşüp* ‘informing₂ one another’. See *eşt-ür-* (< *eşid-*) below.
- et-iş-* is attested only in a Suv instance and then in the *Sanglax* (as quoted in the *EDPT*). The DLT verb mentioned in the *EDPT* entry is better left as *aytış-* (q.v. above). *käşinlärnin sapında tügşilmäktin üd kolo tört uluglar etişip tügşilürlär üd eyin* (*Suv* 590,13-15) can be translated as follows: “Through the regular change of the two-month seasons, the periods and the four great (elements) form each other and get changed according to time”.
- evin-iş-* ‘to hurry up together, spur each other on’ is a hap. in *Shō* VI b12: *iki turgak äränlär evinişü tavranişu ünüp balıkun . . . ev-in-* is found in the QB but not in Old Turkic. For the biverb cf. *evä* (read thus) *taya tavrano* (*U* II 29,18-19).
- id-iş-* ‘to send something to each other’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT on. Uigur exs.: *Samto açarınıñ T(a)vgaç xan birlä kälis barış bitig ıdısmakın ukutmak* (colophon of *Ht* IX, quoted in *Ht* X p. 11); *ol maña ärtüt ıdıştı, äd tavarlar b(ä)lgülüg bolsar, bäläg ıdışalım* (*Maitr* 157 v1); *ärdni b(ä)lgülüg bolsar, bir ikintişkä bäläg ıdışalım* (*ibid.* 19).
- iç-iş-* ‘to drink collectively’ appears in] *toylaşıp içişip* [(*InscrOuig* I 47). In the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT on.
- ikä-ş-* ‘to quarrel’ is found in DLT fol. 103 (quoted by the *EDPT*, which also has modern forms) and in *Rabgüzī*. The base is attested also in the DLT; cf. *ikinçsiz* in section 3.12 and *ikiş* in section 3.103.
- il-iş-* ‘to get caught in one another’ or, in the *ETŞ* ex., ‘to get engaged as a group’. In the *EDPT* quoted only from DLT and QB on; Uigur exs. appear in *ETŞ* 13,72 and *BT* VII A259.
- isi-ş-* is quoted in the *EDPT* only from the DLT; there the verb is attested in its primary sense connected with physical warmth. In Uigur, we find the verb in three *Āgama* instances: *ShōAgon* 1,177 and 192 and *ĀgFrag* (1) B18 all have the binomie *isişmək amraşmak*. Cf. *amra-ş-* above, and the biverb *isi-n- amra-n-* among the *-(X)n-* verbs. All these refer to affection. Metaphorical *isiş-* was preceded by *isigläş-*.

isiglä-š- in MaitrH XVI 5 b 18 appears to have had the same metaphorical meaning as *isi-š-* of the previous entry, whereas the DLT's *isig+lä-* has to do with the literal meaning of *isi-g*. Hap., not mentioned in the *EDPT*.

✓ *iskä-š-* 'to pluck out mutually' is mentioned neither in the *EDPT* nor in the *DTS*.

It is a hap. in Maitr 173 r 29 (BT IX 172,29₁): *amarıları uvut yinlärin üzüşür iskäşürlär* 'Some of them are engaged in cutting up and plucking out each others' sexual organs'. The DLT has *iskä-* and *iskän-*; *iskä-* 'to pluck' is attested also in Ht IV 58 and six times in Maitr.

işlä-š- 'to work for something together, to work for a common aim' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. It is attested also in BT II 939, MaitrGeng 11 b 4 and Warnke 601.

it-iş- 'to push each other' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. Attested also in BuddhUig II 88 together with *kakıtış-*.

kaçur-uş- 'to chase each other' is quoted by the *EDPT* only from the DLT. Found also in BuddhUig II 104, in a passage about birds: *karışu oynayu, kaçuruşu tokışu, kakılayu ütinäyü* . . .

(*kakıtış-* is a hap. in BuddhUig II 88, in *kalıñulayu üşüşü, katguruşu külüşü, kakıtışu itişü, kavışu yığılışu* . . . Base not attested, but related to *kak-* (DLT f.) 'to strike, tap, knock'. Left untranslated by the editor.)

(*kaxşa-* appears in Ht IV 1541, quoted under *çaxşa-š-* above. Its base is not attested in Old Turkic, but the n. to BT III 218 quotes it from several modern languages with meanings related to shaking (intr.). Toalster's 'explanation' is unacceptable.¹⁸⁶ We also have *sundari kız . . . kaxşaşu turur eñigligin tümägligin . . . oposalk(ı)ya kälir ärkän . . .* 'When the girl Sundarī came walking with (her) shaking adornments₂ . . .' (BT III 218).

kalı-š- is used in the DLT (quoted in the *EDPT*) of horses and stallions, and translated as "to leap together". The base there signifies 'to rear and bolt' (fol. 564). In Tariat S2 it appears to have been used in connection with tribes: *beşinç ay üç yegirmikā kalışdı. sünüşdüm, anta sançdım*. 'On the thirteenth day of the fifth month there was a collective uprising (or the like). I fought, and routed them there'. This is a likelier interpretation than *kal-ış-* 'to stay behind (i.e. run off) collectively'. I take it to be a metaphorical transfer from the equine domain (so familiar to the early Turks).

kar-ış- probably originally signified 'to mix, mingle (with each other)'. This meaning is dead in Uigur, however, together with the base *kar-*. *kar-* is in the DLT

186 *EDPT* 613 a quotes *kak+sı-* (mentioned in section 6.2 above) from the DLT and from a Middle Turkic text in Arabic letters. It is there spelled with *şād* and translated as "(of oil) to be rancid". Toalster takes *ş* to be /s/ (the way Skt. is transcribed) and, extending the translation outside the domain of the kitchen, translates "gehen stinkend und rasselnd umher". The final /h/ of *kak+sı-* is disregarded.

said to be Oguz, and has a rather Western distribution. In Uigur, *karış-* normally means ‘to disagree, to quarrel’, as documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. Note, however, the not so serious use of *karış-* in BuddhUig II 104 (quoted under *kaçuruş-* above). The semantic shift of *karış-* appears to have come from battle terminology: Cf. *melée* in French, ‘engagement in battle, joining battle’ in English. QB 2290-2384, which describes fighting, has the verb not less than five times. Cf., on the other hand, *karışmaz yağlar* ‘enemies that were implacable’ in QB 145. An additional ex. in ETS 11,48 occurs in a rather obscure passage. The translation of *karışu turur tört azıqlıg* (ms. T I α (U 5396) 1.3 quoted in the n. to BT XIII 25,4) as “er hat vier unregelmäßig stehende (?) Hauer” is probably wrong: Cf. *böri tişi karıştı* “The wolf’s teeth gnashed (?) – this occurs during the days of his fast, since the wolf does not eat for one week out of each month . . .” (DLT fol. 317).¹⁸⁷ Gnashing is thus another special meaning of this verb. *karşı* (section 3.118) and *karşut* (section 3.108) clearly come from the Uigur use of *kar-ış-*, and *karıncılıg* (q.v. in section 3.104) has an associated meaning. Cf. also *karış-ma yağı* ‘hostile enemy’ (QB 5866) and *karış-gan* “valiant” (QB 2379). *kar-* may have died out because of homophony with 2 *kar-* ‘to choke on something’ and 3 *kar-* ‘to flow over’.

katgur-uş- ‘of a group, to laugh loudly’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It appears in BuddhUig II 88 as quoted under *kakıtış-* above and, as *katgur(u)ş-mak* in Maitr 18 v 11-12. *katgur-* is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT and the QB and found also in *xaxa tep katgurmak* (BT VIII B 144) and perhaps *külär yüzin kotgurur kaşın* (Maitr 13 r 5 with irregular vowel): *katgur-* and *kül-* are often used together; *çeçäk yazdı yüz kör külär katgurur* (QB 80) is similar to the Maitr instance.

kat-ış- is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT; there it signifies ‘to help someone mix one substance with another one’, or ‘to vie with someone at doing so’.¹⁸⁸ The sememe of the substances themselves mixing is already contained in the meaning of *kat-* ‘to mix (two or more things, tr.)’. *katış-* is attested also in UigTot 14-16, but with a different content and use: *uç katıştırmak* ‘ärsär, twgmak ölmäklig anırabav az birlä katışmak, tüläki anırabav biligsiz bilig birlä katışmak, [ara] bolmaklig anırab(a)v öpkä birlä katışmak ‘ärür. This

187 Zieme’s translation is unlikely also because *turur* is an auxiliary which denotes continuous aspect and/or durative Aktionsart: Cf., among many exs., the one with *kaxşaşu turur* quoted under *kaxşaş-* above.

188 The text of DLT fol. 313 reads: *ol mänig birlä talkanka yag katıştı* “He helped me mix the barley gruel with butter. Also for vying”. The *birlä* is actually governed by the suffix *-Xş-*, to express either cooperation or competition. I don’t understand why Dankoff and Kelly remark, in a footn.: “Thus the text; helping and vying should be reversed, or else *mänig birlä* should be read *maña*”.

clearly means ‘to mix (intr.)’, i.e. ‘to mix with each other’. Presumably due to the bilateral meaning of *kat-* itself, *-Xş-* here serves as de-transitiviser. *kat-ış-* is here practically a synonym of *kat-ıl-* (q.v. below) or, at any rate, of *katılış-*. This is not a case of sporadic confusion on the part of the translator of *UigTot*, as *katiş-tur-* (discussed below: attested elsewhere as well) comes from this (and not the DLT’s) *kat-ış-*.

katıl-ış- ‘to get mixed with one another’ is attested in *UigTot* 73 (*suvlı sütlü katılışmış tığ*), 460 etc. and *ShōAgon* 1,331 (*ǰ äränlär birlä öñrä ajunta birgärü katılışu kavışu . . .*). Cf. *katılışmaksız bulgaşmaksız* (BT II 1263). There is no reason to assume an error in the DLT, as the *EDPT* (which did not know this verb) does s.v. *katiş*: *katılış-* (syncopated as in *ShōAgon*) is attested in the DLT as well. See *kat-ıl-* below, and cf. *katiş-*.

kavı-ş- ‘to come together, to reunite’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also s.v. *qatıl-qavış-*. Among the many additional exs. we can mention the ones in *Hazai* 62 and 78, BT VIII A 117 and 193 and *UigTot* 347 and 630; a further one is quoted under *katıl-ış-*. Cf. *kavış-ıg* and *kavışut* above, *kavş-ur-* below, and *yol tāmür . . . urug kadaş ogul kız birlä kavışgu üçün* (BT XIII 20,62) “damit Yol Tämür mit den Nachkommen, Verwandten, Söhnen und Töchtern (wieder) vereinigt werde”. Although its content implies the participation of two parties, *kavış-* may not always have been felt to be an *-(X)ş-* verb: Cf. *kavış-ıg-*. A base for it may appear in *Toñ* 12: *Tavgaç, Oguz, Kitan bo (ü)çägü K¹B¹S¹R¹, . . .* ‘If these three, the Chinese, the Oghuz and the Kitan, unite, . . .’.¹⁸⁹ *rasıyanıg oñ sol ayalarka bir ikintişkä kavıp sürtüp . . .* (BT VII A 379) is translated as “indem man das . . . Rasāyana auf die rechte und die linke Handfläche reibt, während [die Handflächen] aneinanderliegen, . . .” in *UW* 289 b; but the word is damaged and this late text is an unlikely place to find an obsolete base. It should be *kavı-*, to judge by the shape of its other derivate, *kavı-r-*. *kavır-* is an *-(U)r-*causative; the base must have been intr. because *kavış-* is intr.

kavış-ıg- is a hap. in *BuddhUig* II 89, quoted under *kakit-ış-* above. *EDPT* and *DTS* do not mention this verb. Such an instance, appearing in a flamboyant series of transparent *-(X)ş-* verbs, is not significant enough to put into question the appurtenance of *kavış-* to this formation.

(**kayvılan-ış-* and **kavlan-ış-* are not attested, but *kayvıla-n-* and *kavla-n-*, *kayvılanışdur-* and *kavlanışdur-* are: See those verbs below.)

känrä-ş- is a hap. in *TeilBuch* (M I) in a biverb with *yüntüş-* (q.v. below). It is spelled as *k(ä)ñräs-*: cf. *k(ä)rgäksiz, ı(ä)gl’ük* etc. in the same passage. It has therefore hitherto been read as ‘*käkräs-*’, which is how it appears also in the

189 It is possible that *K¹B¹S¹R¹* should simply be *kavışsar*, but not very likely: Cf. *aşsız* ‘without food’, spelled *Ş S’Z* in *KT* E26 and *BQ* E21.

EDPT. Such a stem would, however, be quite isolated: Osm. *käkrä*- “to be or become sour or acid” (mentioned in the *EDPT*) is probably a back-formation from *käkrä* “acid, bitter”, interpreted as < **käkrä*-g. *käkrä*, in turn, cannot be derived from *käk* ‘malice, rancour’ (as suggested in the *EDPT*). A very common cognate of *känräs*- is *känrä-n*- ‘to grumble’. See *känrä*- in section 5.32. By the meaning of those lexemes and by the context, *känräs*- must be ‘to nag or rant at each other’.

kär-iş- ‘to contend with someone or with each other’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT and from one Uigur instance. *tötüş-käriş*-, which appears in the latter, can be compared to *tötüş-käriş* and *tötüşlüg-kärişlig* discussed in section 3.103. The idea behind *kär-iş*- must have been something like a tug-of-war: *kär*-, first attested in the DLT, only has the concrete meaning ‘to stretch’.¹⁹⁰

käs-iş- is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT (with concrete meaning) and from several economical texts in the USp. In the latter, it signifies ‘to conclude an agreement, settle an account’. Then there is an ex. in Maitr. quoted under *bıç-iş*- above, which signifies ‘to cut each other (physically)’. Cf. also *üz-üş*-.

keñäş- ‘to take counsel with someone’ comes from *keñ+ä*-, discussed among the +A- verbs. Instances of *keñäş*- not quoted in the *EDPT* appear in Ramstedt II 4, BT XIII 49,31 (*aka in[i] kız kälinlär birlä keñäşip* (thus) . . .), InscrOug IV 48 and FenTen III 12.

(*keñäş*- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It appears in U III 66,17 (fragmentary context), BT III 180 (. . . *savlarıg keñsäşü Inça tep sözläştilär*), Warnke 80 (“...” *tep käñsäşip* . . .), Maitr 11 v16 and 7 v28 (both *kä°*) and ShōAv 22, 96, 158, 258, 273 (all of them *kä°* and not *ke°*). The base of this verb is not attested, but should be **keñiş+ä*-. Qarakhanid *keñäş* ‘counsel’ is discussed among the -Xş lexemes. What has been read as ‘*kinggäšti-lär*’ in U I 8,4 looks, in the facs., like *keñsäšti-lär*. If this is correct, the distribution of *keñsäş*- vs. *keñäş*- seems to be the following: *keñsäş*- only in religious Uigur texts, *keñäş*- in non-religious Uigur documents, Qarakhanid and Muslim Middle Turkic and modern languages. The two verbs appear to have the same meaning.

ket-iş- ‘to part from one another’ is documented in the *EDPT*. Only one Uigur ex. has turned up; *tuuşdaçı* and *ketişgüçi* of this passage cannot be translated modally (which both the ed. and the *EDPT* do) but must be predicates of descriptive nominal clauses.

190 Kljaštornyj thought he had an instance of *käriş*- in Tes 10. T. Tekin shows in *AOH XLII* (1988): 114-5 that this reading is dubious, and makes it probable that the stretch is part of a place name. Not quite to be excluded is the possibility that it is an instance of the verb of the previous entry, spelled as *k(ä)ñkr(ä)ş*-.

kıkr-ıŝ- ‘to shout to one another’. The *EDPT* s.v. has tacitly emended the ex. from U IV A 9: The text has *kıkrıŝu*, well visible on the facs. In U IV A 295 and C 21 we find *kıkrıŝ-*, as in the DLT. *kıkr-* is discussed in section 5.31.

kıl-ıŝ- ‘to do something to each other’ is in the *EDPT* documented from the DLT but not from Uigur. One ms. of TT VI 308 has *kılıŝ-* where the rest have *bol-uŝ-*. *kŝanti kılıŝgalı y(a)rılıka-* (BT III 584 and 615) is the reciprocal of *kŝanti kıl-*, a very common sequence. There is, finally, *t(ä)ñrilär yalñoklar birlä säviŝip . . . ögrünç sävinç kıl(i)ŝmıŝlar* (Räma 21).

(*kırmalaŝ-* is a hap. in *elig uluŝug kırmalaŝ* [TT VIII E 17] ‘collectively pillaging realm and nation’. The *ŝ* before the lacuna is marked as uncertain. **kırmala-* is not attested but its variant *karma+la-* is discussed above; see section 3.109 for the variants *kırma ~ karma*, both ‘plunder, pillage’. The *EDPT*’s tacit ‘emendation’ to ‘*karmalaŝ-*’ is unjustified.)

kir-iŝ- ‘to engage in something in a mutual manner’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. Then there is *ara kir-iŝ-* (BT II 950) ‘to intercede for each other’ and the following (Ht V 5 b 10): *üküŝ yıl ay ärtid[i]*, *bo iki xanlar törüsi sav[ka] kir-iŝ-mädi* ‘Many years and months went by, and these two did not engage in (mutual) talks in the manner of kings’. Cf. *kir-iŝ-tür-* below.

köm-üŝ- ‘to bury each other’. The *EDPT* quotes the DLT as the earliest source for this verb; appears also in a fragmentary passage in M III 32,2₂ (text 13).

kör-üŝ- ‘to see one another, to look at each other, to meet’. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear in Hazai 78, UigBrief C 8 and 11, ShöAgon 2, p. 194,6₁, UigTot 72, BT VII O 1, BT VIII A 136, 137 and 138, Ht IV 445 and 1426, V 5 b 10 and 11 and 13 b 23 and VII 6 a 2 and 15 a 10-11, ManTürkTex 610, Hochzeit 26, Tenri A II and VIII and Maitr 135 r 1 and 217 v 7. In Maitr 187 r 29, this verb is used of the sun and the moon, as in TT I 93.

(*közkiŝ-* appears to signify ‘to compare a copy with the original, collate mss.’ in two colophons quoted in AbiShotan pp. 76 and 77 respectively: *bo idok Koŝavarti ŝastırnıñ patartında on kuonın m(ä)n Nom-kulı ŝabık(i)ya közkiŝü täğindim. yalñok äğsük bolmuş ärsär, . . .* and *biz üç kiçig kiŝilär baŝtın bärü adakka tägi közkiŝü tükätmiş ärür. kärgäksiz yana äğsük bolsar, . . .* The ex. of *közkiŝ-* in Ht V 256 has no object, and might signify ‘to confront’: [*sawŝin*]¹⁹¹ *baxŝılar birlä közkiŝ[gäli] anuk* ‘ready to take part in a confrontation with the *hınayäna* teachers’. Another possibility (more in accordance with the other two exs. of the verb) would be to take the object ‘text’ to be ‘understood’: ‘ready to compare canonical texts with . . .’ (in a learned dispute). No base is attested for this verb, but it might come from an *+(X)k-* derivate of *köz* ‘eye’. The consistently unrounded second vowel would speak against such an etymology,

191 This word should have been marked as a conjecture in the *EDPT* entry for *közkiŝ-*.

though, and *közkiş-* might be compounded from *köz* and some unattested **kiş-*. **kiş-*, in turn, *might* have been a cooperative verb.)

kuç-uş- ‘to embrace (one another)’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from one Uigur ex., from the DLT and from Middle Turkic. It is attested also in QB 3292 and UigTot 1429 (*kuçuşur yañ üzä* “auf die Art der Umarmung”).

kudul-uş- ‘to be poured together’ is a hap. in ETŞ 9, quoted in *UW* 81 a s.v. *akılış-*. Cf. that verb above.

kun-uş- ‘to rob one another’. Quoted in the *EDPT* from the QaraBalğ inscr., from the DLT and from Middle Turkic. *kun-* governs the noun referring to the stolen entity as object. From the DLT’s *olar ikki tavar kunuşdı* “Each of them stole the other’s property” we see that *kunuş-* retains this object but has the subjects as indirect sufferers. Cf. the use of *kun-suk-* in section 7.41.

kül-üş- ‘to laugh collectively’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT on. It is attested also in BuddhUig II (biverb with *katgur-uş-*, quoted above s.v. *kakıuş-*) and Maitr 18 v 11, 134 v 30 and 145 r 11. Cf. *külüş-üg* among the *-(X)g* lexemes.

kürä-ş- ‘to contend, come to grips with or fight with each other’ is attested in BT XIII 12,170 (uncertain and in fragmentary context), QB 681, 2249 and 2360 and Wettkampf 71: *biziñä bo öçäşmäk küräşmäk k(ä)rgak ärmäz* “Dieses miteinander Kämpfen₂ ist für uns nicht nötig”.¹⁹² DLT fol. 238 has the same verb: *kız birlä küräşmä* “Do not wrestle a virgin (for she will bring you down)”, part of a proverb. In fol. 318, the DLT has a lemma for the verb *küri-ş-*, translated as ‘to help someone shovel something; vie with someone in shovelling’. There is a confusion in the vowels of this passage: *küri-ş-* is spelled as *KURAS̡°*, *kör-üş-*, the previous lemma, as *KURIS̡°*. As happens with other lexemes, *küräş-* itself does not appear as lemma although it is used in an example. Due perhaps to this confusion, both *TMEN* 1626 and the *EDPT* derive *küräş-* from the verb signifying ‘to shovel’. This is unacceptable both because of the second vowel in *küräş-* and because the semantic relation between contests and shovelling is tenuous. *küräş-* ‘to contend or come to grips with each other’ (secondarily, > ‘to wrestle’) is likelier to come from *kür+ä-* ‘to desert, make oneself independent’, discussed among the *+A-* verbs. Cf. also footn. 453 in vol. 1.

ogşa-ş- ‘to resemble one another’ is a hap. in ETŞ 16,27 not mentioned in the dictionaries.¹⁹³ Cf. *ogşaş-tur-* below, and see *ogşa-t-* for the quality of the velar.

okı-ş- signifies ‘to call to one another, call or invite each other, shout at one

¹⁹² This translation is a bit sloppy: The context is about a contest and not about a real fight, and *öçäş-* and *küräş-* do not denote fighting in any strict sense.

¹⁹³ Wrongly written with *u°* by Arat. Corrected by Zieme in a n. to Samanta 3, where ETŞ 16,25-28 are reedited.

another' in both Uigur exs. cited in the *EDPT*, and also in Maitr 199 v 5 (quoted under *çiltā-š-* above) and in QB 2365. The translation 'to read, or recite, together' given in the *EDPT* is not really found in the DLT either; it is not, in fact, attested before Middle Turkic.

orna-š- 'to dwell collectively; to be permanently located, in a group' is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. Further exs. appear in ETŞ 10,10, ATSS VII and XV, Hochzeit 33, HtPek 153 a 11 (quoted in UW 99 b s.v. *alkış* A,a), BT VIII B 110 and 116 and Shō XV 9. Cf. *ornaş-ıglıg* in ETŞ 10,286. *orn+a-* is discussed among the *+A-* verbs.

os-uş- is mentioned neither in the *EDPT* nor in the *DTS*. Found as *bıçışu osuşu* 'cutting one another into small pieces' in Maitr 218 r 10 and in Maitr 105 v 12 (= BT IX 230,12): *bıçışu osuşu 'ärüyü sıza olıyu* [. Derived from *os-*, a simplex not to be confused with the base of *uvşal-*, *uvşan-*, *uvşat-* and *uvşak*. The converb of *os-* is *osa*, whereas the converb and aorist vowel of derived °ş- verbs is /U/: Thus e.g. *yeşür* in QB 6481. Nor is *os-* to be confused with *üz-*, as the Maitr carefully distinguishes /z/ and /s/, and as *os-guç* (discussed in section 3.21) has a back velar. This base is attested in *bıçıp osup* in Maitr 73 r 12 and *bıça osa* in Maitr 173 a 329 r 3. Cf. also *bıçıl- osul-* below. *os-*, q.v. in the *EDPT*, signifies 'to cut into small pieces'.

öçä-š- 'to wager or argue or contend with one another'. The *EDPT*'s two *öçeş-* are clearly two uses of the same verb; especially since it is expressly stated in the pre-Qarakhanid item in '2 *öçeş-* that the fight is *savın*, 'in words'. Add *baxşının savına öçäsmäk* (ETŞ 11,93). In Wettkampf 54 and 70, *öçäş-* denotes a real, physical contest between two persons. *bir ikintişkä ... yançışurlar öçäşürlär boguşurlar ölrüşürlär* (Maitr 81 v 30) is certainly even more violent. In view of these, *öçäşgü yok ölümkä* (BT XIII 16,8) is well translated as "Streiten mit dem Tod gibt es nicht". See *öç+ä-* above.

ögrünçülä-š- 'to have a good time together' is a hap. in DreiPrinz 109. Cf. *ögrün-çü+lä-* above.

ögü-š- appears only in the IrqB. The *EDPT* (q.v.) is probably right in taking it to be the reciprocal of 'to grind'; this is written as *ögüş-* also in the DLT. The DLT gives the base as *ögi-*, but cf. *ögüp* in Heilk I 55 and *ögümüş um* in Ernte 113.

ögür-üş- is a hap. in *bulmadukug bulmuş täg ögürüşü sävinişü* (Shō VIII b 10) 'rejoicing₂ collectively like people who found something they hadn't (been able to) find (before)'. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. The normal form of the base is *ögir-*, often used in a biverb with *säv-in-*.

ölr-üş- 'to kill each other' from *öl-ür-* (q.v. below) is not mentioned either in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *ölrüşür* is wrongly altered in Ht IV 1170. Then we have *bir ikintişkä ölrüşürlär* (Maitr 173 r 26) and *bir ikintişkä tokışur[lar] uruşur ölrüşürlär ärdi* (Maitr 166 v 5). Maitr 122 r 21 should no doubt also be read as *bir*

- ikintişkă ölr(ü)şürlär* instead of ‘öläşürlär’ of BT IX 63,21. *örlüşürlär* in Maitr 81 v31 (quoted as *ölrüşürlär* under *öçä-ş-* above) is either a misreading of this verb or a case of a misplaced L-hook or the result of metathesis. Changing it to ‘örlä-ş-’ is, at any rate, excluded because of the context: ‘to get angry’ is not violent enough.
- öp-iş-* ‘to kiss one another’. The only ex. before the DLT is in the KP (see the *EDPT*) and has I in the second syllable; see facts. This might point to an original **öp-*. Cf. *öp-ün-* below.
- örlät-iş-mäk* is a hap. in Ht, quoted in the *EDPT*. ‘mutual annoying’. Cf. *örlä-t-* below.
- san-iş-* is a hap. in ShōAgon 1,220, quoted also in the n. to ĀgFrag (1) F21: *ogul bolur birlä yänä sanışdaçı* “Kinder sind die Miteinander und Zusammen-Gehörenden”. *sanış-* corresponds to Chin. *shu* ‘to belong to, be subject to, connected with; depending upon’. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Cf. *sa-n-* below.
- sanç-iş-* ‘to stab one another’. *EDPT* only from the DLT on. Attested also in Maitr 30 v29 (quoted in n. 53 in Gabain, 1974: 397), 86 r3 (quoted s.v. *tik-iş-* below), 81 v28, 208 r8 and 174 v30 (all quoted under *bıçış-* above) etc., and in InscrOuig II 10 and 51.
- sar-iş-* is a hap. in BT III 351, not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. The passage is quoted in the syntactic discussion below. *sar-* “to rebuke harshly” is attested in the DLT. See *sars-ıg* above and *sars-ıt-* below for *sars-*, whose relation with *sar-* is obscure.
- satıgla-ş-* is found in Ht IV 965-6: *üküş ärdini yinçü vromluglar birlä satıglaşur* ‘They trade great amounts of jewels and pearls with the Greeks’. *satıg+la-* is mentioned in the DLT, which adds: “The more correct form is *satıglaşdı*.” The DLT ex. for *satıgla-* also governs the person one trades with by a *birlä* phrase.
- savla-ş-* should signify ‘to tell each other anecdotes and stories’. Attested in the DLT and once in a Manichaean text, quoted in the *EDPT*. *sav+la-* is discussed above.
- säv-iş-* ‘to like or love one another’ is quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. Exs. not mentioned there appear in Rāma 20 and, quoted under *amra-ş-* above, in BT XIII 49,47.
- sävin-iş-* ‘to rejoice collectively’ is found in Shō VIII b10 (quoted s.v. *ögürüş-* above) and InscrOuig II 6. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*.
- sıg-iş-* is quoted in the *DTS* from the Atabatu ‘I-Ḥaqā’iq. Used also in *ulug ulug bramanlar . . . uluş balık sayukı bay bayagut kişilär ıkmış tæg yolta sıgışmadın . . . basa yorıyurlar* (MaitrGeng 10 a13; ‘to have enough space, of a group’) and *oglanlarım birlä sıgışu yaraşu* (FenTen III 12; “to get along with”).

sığta-ş- ‘to lament together’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, in the latter also s.v. *ulış- sıytaş-*.

Further exs. appear in BT II 967, BT III 1030 and Ht X 1065 and 1067-8. See *sig(i)t+a-* above.

sına-ş- ‘to measure each other’s strength’ is quoted in the *EDPT* once from U IV.

Found also in *bir ikinti birlä anta sınaşal(ı)m* (Wettkampf 83); cf. *küçümüz bir ikinti birlä sinalım* (*ibid.* 42). *sın+a-* is discussed above.

sogı-ş- is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. Found also in *ot yelkä sinmişä älig adak sogışur* (UigTot 46). ‘to cool down’, “with a connotation of totality” (as the *EDPT* puts it).

sok-uş- ‘to hit upon something or someone’, occasionally ‘in a fighting spirit; to find oneself in a certain situation; to meet’. Exs. additional to the ones of the *EDPT* appear in ETŞ 10,219, HtPar 165,22 (quoted in *UW* 43 b s.v. *ada*) and MaitrGeng 2 a27. In Warnke 512, *sok-uş-* and *tuş-* are used as synonyms: *ädgü öglilärkä tuşsarlar, . . .* correlates with *ayığ öglilärkä sokuşsarlar, . . .* The Maitr has nine exs. of . . . *birlä sokuş-*.

sola-ş- appears in BuddhUig II 85: *äsriñü ärdinilär üzä kavşuru solaşıp kavısu bütmiş ärdinilig kämilär*. ‘to get fastened with chains collectively’, or perhaps ‘to each other’. A further ex. is quoted from an unpublished text by Zieme in *OLZ* 84 (1989): 62: In *ıArIn aşlaşu solaşu adkaşu yapışu* the first biverb is probably tr., the second not; this might mean that the direct object was inalienable (like ‘hands’).

sök-üş- ‘to abuse one another’ is discussed in the *EDPT* s.v. ‘*sögüş-*’. The base had a long vowel in Common Turkic, which gave voicing to the /k/ in Oguz and related sources; scholars therefore often write it with g. The /k/ is justified under *sök-üş* ‘abuse’, in section 3.103 above.

sözlä-ş- ‘to converse, discuss a matter’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter under *sözläş-gülüg*. Found also in BT III 180 and 355 and, in a biverb with *ütlä-ş-*, 591, 599 and 615; Maitr 7 r10-11 and 157 v17, ShōAv 22 and 159, Ht VII 9 b13 and ĀgFrag (1) E4. Common in economical texts: ActeOuig 3-4, UigLand 5, ZiemeSklav I 2-3, UigPacht M3 and YamSaleLoan. See *söz+lä-* above.

sün-üş- ‘to fight’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; attested also in Maitr 81 v11. This is beyond doubt related to inscriptional *sün-üg* (discussed in section 3.101)¹⁹⁴ and the action noun *sün-üş* (section 3.103). The fact that fighting is a reciprocal activity explains the near-absence of the base. It might, however, be *sün-*, attested in DLT fol. 614, its causative *sündür-* in fol. 617: *ördäk kamışka sündi* “The duck concealed itself in the reeds; the same for anyone who goes into a thing, such as a man who intrudes into a person’s house, or the like”, with aorist *sünär*, infinitive *sünmäk*. DankKelly were the first to recognise this verb: Already the sec-

194 Corresponding to *sünü* < **sün-gü* in other dialects of Old Turkic.

ond hand crossed out the three Us of the first syllables and wrote Is instead (thus also in the causative), and was followed by the *EDPT* among others. If this really is the base of *sünüş-* etc., one can think of ‘mutual intrusion into each other’s ranks’. Less likely is a connection over *sünüg ~ sünü* ‘lance, spear’ (which enters the victim’s body). Cf. *AoF* 17 (1990): 138.

sür-üş- is a hap. in TuoLuoNi 326: *munça sini birlä öç kāk sürüşmāz* [*m(ä)n*] “Von nun an werde [ich] an dir keine Rache₂ (mehr) ausüben”. A verb *sürüş-* may not itself have existed, however, as the sequence is the reciprocal counterpart of the phrase *öç kāk sür-*, attested twice in the QB. In both these instances, there are *metri gratia* alterations: *öç sürsä kāk*¹⁹⁵ (2312) and *öçäp kāk sürär* (4651). *öç kāk* is common.¹⁹⁶

sürt-üş- is found from the DLT on, but see *sürtüş-tür-* (a hap. in Heilk I). See the *EDPT* for *sürt-* ‘to rub, smear etc.’.

süyäs- is a hap. in BT I B 128: *tunl(ı)gh nomlı ikigü bir ikintikā suyäsürlär* ‘Living beings and *dharma* support each other’. Base not attested in Old Turkic but alive in Kirgiz; see the n. to the passage for this and for other later and modern cognates. We also have *süyäk* ‘support’ (discussed among the *-(O)k* lexemes above) and *süyän-* ‘to lean on something’ in the Codex Comanicus.

tala-ş- ‘to quarrel, engage in mutual encroachment’. Both this and its base are documented in the *EDPT*.

tan-ış- ‘to deny one’s faith collectively, go back on one’s words as a group’ was not identified by the ed. in BT III 1020: *mar mişaxa, m(a)da m(a)ryam, / m(a)xmat yal(a)vaç tanış(ı)pan / mañr(a)nu, yerlärin tar bulup / mayatrim siziñä ök unan-gay* ‘They . . . will all call out, denying their faith . . .’. Attested also in the DLT as quoted in the *EDPT*. Cf. *tan-* in the *EDPT* (especially the TT VI 215 instance) and in NesTex T III B 99 c (U 321) 2.

tankar-ış- ‘to engage in mutual pledging’. Hap. in Maitr 157 r29: *ötrü olar iki ulug eliglär bir ikintiškä InçA tep tankarışu b(ä)k katag sav sözlädilär*. Misunderstood in BT IX 133,28: Cf. *tankarış* among the *-Xg* nominals and see *tank+ar-* in section 5.45.

tunukla-ş- is a hap. in MaitrGeng 12 a 13: *anta ötrü ol urılar badarı braman birlä*

195 This appears at the end of a verse and rhymes with *täg*. We might therefore want to write all the Uigur and Qarakhanid exs. of this noun (qq.v. in the *EDPT*) as *käg*. The Codex Comanicus writes *kek*, however, which is also what the modern languages quoted by the *EDPT* show. Could the latter be cases of final devoicing?

196 What Thomsen read as *inili açili kiñşürtükün üçün* (KT E6) could also be *kāk sürtükün üçün*: Runic I changes to A and η to K² by the addition of little slant incisions, which may have been overlooked by scholars or gotten eroded. The sibilant is a plain S². Note that *inili açili* is in the nominative, while *bägli bodunlig*, the expression after it, is in the accusative. Cf. *kikşür-* among the *-Ur-* verbs.

tanuklaşmış savlaragöp sakınıp ... 'to attest to each other about something'.
See *tanuk+la-* above.

tap-ış- is very common: Beside the exs. of the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, we find it in ETŞ 10,283, 11,66, 69 and 101, Ht V16 a2, ms. PelliotOuïgour 203 r6 (Uig-Bunken p. 77), BT XIII 55,5 and Shō XI a13 (these two in a biverb with *tuş-*), QB 3314 and 6204, Suv 634,9 and BuddhUig II 71. Usually, it signifies 'to find one another'; in the last two exs., however, 'to find, of several agents'. *tapış-* does not appear in runic or Manichaean texts and is not mentioned in the DLT.

tapla-ş- is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT. Attested also in Ht V5 a24: *yegin üstünkisin talulap, kamagun taplaşıp xan kütular*. 'they collectively agreed' or 'unanimously ratified (the choice)' or were 'collectively pleased over it'. See *tap+la-* above.

tarma-ş- 'to scratch each other' appears in Maitr 173 r19: *tämirlig tırnakın bir ikintişkä tarmaşurlar*. Cf. *tarma-k* (in section 3.102), where a Maitr sentence with *tarmak* and *tarma-* is quoted. *tarma-* 'to lacerate, scratch aggressively' is attested also in Maitr 74 v22 (Zieme, personal communication, against Ş. Tekin; the latter's translation is wrongly influenced by the unrelated *tala-* 'to pillage'): *ätözlärig soka tarmayu yeyürlär*. Maitr 198 v31: *yüzlärin [...]ArIn tarmayurlar*. The Maitr also has the derivate *tarmaklag* (spelled thus for *+lig*). In the DLT we find *tarmaş-*, *tarmal-* and *tarmat-* (qq.v. in the *EDPT*). *tarmaş-* in DLT fol. 370 is actually spelled with both A and I in the first syllable; this may possibly be due to the influence of *tırnak* 'nail, claw'. *tarma-t-* has five times first-hand A in the first syllable, *tarma-* once A by the first hand and once A by the second, *tarmal-* once A by the first and twice I by the second hand.

tart-ış- appears only once before the DLT: in QaraBalg c9, as *kunuşmak tartışmak*. Probably 'to drag things away from each other'.

tavran-ış- is a hap. in Shō VI b12, mentioned neither in the *EDPT* nor in the *DTS*.

Quoted unter *evin-ış-*, with which it appears as a biverb. 'to hurry together'.

See *tavran-* among the *-(X)n-* verbs.

tavrat-ış- 'to vie with somebody in hurrying; to hustle each other' is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT. Attested also in Ht IV 663.

tayan-ış-mak 'to rely on one another' is a hap. in BT II 923. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*.

täg-ış- 'to reach one another'. *EDPT* only from the DLT on, but found also in Maitr 104 v11, InscrOuig 145 and QB 2375, 2376, 2377,¹⁹⁷ and 3419. '*tavar altın*' *tedi. m(ä)n 'almadım' tedim*. '... *kälsür tägişgäy biz*' *tedim* ... (HamTouen 34,15) is translated as "... 'Lorsque Vaçi viendra, nous nous confronterons' ai-

197 Among the instances of *tägiş-*, the Indeks to the QB mentions one from couplet 2495. This, however, is the noun *tägiş*, for which the Indeks has no entry. Not noticed by Tezcan either.

je dit". The QB exs. refer to meeting the enemy in battle. The meanings of *tāgşil-* and *tāgşür-* (qq.v. below) are quite different; cf., however, *tāg-iş* in section 3.103.

(*tāgşür-üş-* is found only in USp 30, quoted in the *EDPT*. The end of the word is missing.¹⁹⁸ Possibly 'to exchange'. This ex. can perhaps be compared to *tāgşürüş-ürüşüp üzüleşüp*, in a sentence I quote s.v. *üzül-üş-*. *tāgşürüş-* might be metathesised from *tāgşürüş-*.¹⁹⁹ See *tāgşür-* among the *-Ur-* verbs.)

tāñā-ş- 'to be or become equal to one another' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT, from two QB instances and from later sources. Attested also in HtPar 143,20 (quoted in *UW* 92 b under *alig*; instead of [ihm] write [einander]) and QB 3484 and 4654. See *tāñ+ä-* above.

tāprā-ş- 'to stir or shake (intr.) together'. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in BT VII A 221 (*yumğunñ tāprāşmışın sakınmak*) and BT XIII 4,41 (*alko marımları tāprāşdı* 'All his members shook').

te-ş- 'to say to one another' is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*; found also in BT III 367 and Maitr 146 v 11 (with *bir ikintişkā*) and 129 v 13.

teril-iş- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* but found in Shō XIII b 14: *şravast balık içindāki bodun bokun atlıg yüzlüg bağ işi birlä birgärü yığılışıp terilişip....* *ter-il-* 'to assemble (intr.)', q.v. below, is also attested in a biverb with *yığ-il-*. *teril-* and *teriliş-* should differ mainly in expressivity, since *ter-il-* already denotes a group activity.

tidil-iş- 'to be prevented collectively; to be restrained by each other'. Not in the dictionaries, but found in ETŞ 9,48, Suv 44,19, Warnke 339 and Abhi B 89 a 7-8. See *tid-il-* below.

tik-iş- has been read in Maitr 86 r 3 (*tikişü sançışu* []) and Maitr fr. 499 r 2. Completed by MaitrH in Laut, 1986, 199, this latter reads as follows: *iki agulug yılan b(ä)lgürtdi, bir ikintişkā tikişü edrä[s]ü* "ließ . . . zwei giftige Schlangen erscheinen, die sich gegenseitig stachen und verfolgten". *tik-* 'to sting (of snakes), to bite (of scorpions)' is attested in the DLT.

tirā-ş- 'to quarrel' is attested in Shō VI b 10 (*tirāşgāli kālmiş çın ärsär . . .*) and 11 (*tirāşip uturu turalım*). The *EDPT* quotes it only from the DLT.

to-ş- should not be confused with the simplex *tuş-* 'to encounter'. It is not mentioned in the *EDPT*, but the *DTS* s.v. *tol-* has a Suv ex. of the biverb *tol- toş-*. The same biverb is found also in *asankı p(a)ramıtlarımız tolup toşup . . .* (BT XIII 52,2) and *argamta ulatı kök kalık birlä t(ä)ñ tüz, süzök toşu tolu tapıg*

198 Complete as *tāgşürüş[ümüz]* and not with unrounded vowels, as Radloff and the *EDPT* do.

199 '*tüz-gür-üş-*' would be semantically difficult. Zieme appears to analyse it as *te-ş-gür-üş-*. One problem with this is that the first vowel is said to be A, not I; another one, that such a sequence would have a double appearance of the same formative *-Xş-* for no semantic purpose. (*tāgşür-* contains no living instance of *-Xş-*.) Thirdly, *-gUr-* is usually primary.

uduglar boldı (UigTot 1378) ‘Argham etc. became offerings₂ equal₂ with heavens₂, filling₂ (intr.) with purity’. The exs. of *toş-* by itself are all late: *bilgä bilig[lig] suv üzä büün ät'öz toşup* . . . (BT VII A 126); further ones appear in UigTot 1135, 1137, 1139, 1164 etc. *tok* (discussed in section 3.102), *tol-* and *tod-* are cognates; see the latter for further cognates. The base *to-* may be attested in KT S8 and BQ E6: *açsar tos(u)k öm(ä)z s(ä)n, bir tods(a)r açs(ı)k öm(ä)z s(ä)n*.²⁰⁰ *to-sXk* cannot be from ‘*todsuk*’, as the lack of assimilation in *todsar* shows; nor can it be from ‘*toşsuk*’ for semantical reasons, and because °şs° remains unassimilated in *aşsız* in the same inscriptions. A certain ex. of *to-* appears in BuddhUig II 193: *YALNGUKlar kulgakların toyu tutup*. . . ‘people stopped their ears and . . .’. In TT II B 20, *to-p* cannot be a variant of *tolp* ‘all’, as such a loss of /l/ would be completely isolated at this early period: *asra mänsiz sakinçlarig turum ara top yokađturur yetlintürür* ‘(Anger) immediadely stifles lowly and selfless thoughts and destroys₂ them.’ *toş-* should be something like ‘to fill (intr.) with many things’.

twgr-uş-mak ‘to generate each other’ is a hap. in BT II 918. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*.

tokı-ş- ‘to collide (of two objects or living beings or of two warring forces)’ is quoted in the *EDPT* only from the *DLT*. Attested in a description of bird activity in BuddhUig II 104, signifying ‘to collide’: . . . *kaçuruşu tokışu, kakılayu ätinäyü* . . . *oynayurlar*; in Maitr 176 v16 (quoted in *UW* 204 a top, translated “sich schlagen”): *turkaru arşı karşı bolup* . . . *tokışurlar*; in Profan p. 282, translated “kämpfen”: *tumlıp kirip tokışmak*; in Maitr 81 v29 (q.v. under *biç-iş-* above) and in 166 v5 (quoted under *ölrüş-*), also in belligerent context and in Maitr 68 v12 and 14 and 108 r2 and QB 2364.

toyla-ş- ‘to gather (intr.) together, to assemble (intr.)’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is attested in InscrOuig I 47 together with *iç-iş-* (q.v. above)²⁰¹ and in BuddhUig II 335 of birds: *yemişliklärä yuullarda ödräk* . . . *°iä ulađı kuşkı(y)aların* . . . *üküşläşip toylaşıp uçmışların*. See *toy+la-* above, and *toylaş-tur-* below. The central meaning of *toy* is ‘multitude, assembly’.

tötüş- ‘to quarrel’. There is no attested base for this, but cf. *tötüş* (section 3.103 above) and the *DLT*’s *tötür-* (discussed among the *-Ur-* verbs). Appears in the *DTS* s.vv. *tütüş-* and *tütüşmäk*, to which the *EDPT* adds the exs. from TT I 72 and *DLT*; see also the entry *tut-uş-* below. Further exs. appear in BT XIII 45,1 (fragmentary context), HıPar 171,22 (quoted in *UW* 249 b), NesTex T III B 99

200 The first word is A Ç S¹K and not A Ç S¹A R¹ in KT; but the BQ version is preferable, and represents a correction on the part of the scribe.

201 Hamilton and Geng translate this as “manger et boire ensemble”, which does not suit the meaning of the other instances or of the base. Ş. Tekin’s translation of the following ex. as “sich vermehren” is also incorrect.

- c3²⁰² and Maitr 176 r2 quoted in *UW* 204 a (q.v.). The DLT's *tötşüg* 'quarrelsome' comes from this verb.
- tur-uş-* 'to confront, make a stand against each other' is quoted by the *EDPT* and the *DTS* from the DLT on. Found in *Suv* 7,10 in a biverb with *utrun-* (q.v. among the -(X)n- verbs) in *k(a)nta takı utrunguluk turuşguluk küçümüz bolgay?* and in *Suv* 18,13 (quoted in *UW* 93 a). Another ex. may possibly appear in *ShōAgon* 1,152, instead of what the ed. reads as '*turukdaçı qranlär*'; Q and S can be quite similar in late Uigur cursive.
- tuş-uş-* 'to come across or meet one another'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Further exs. in *BT* XIII 6,7 and 46,2, *Shō* XIV b7, *MaitrGeng* 8 a22, *Maitr* 217 v6 (biverb with *körüş-*) and *UigTot* 701.
- tut-uş-* 'to hold or get hold of each other; to consider each other as . . .'. The *EDPT* confuses this with *tötüş-* and *tüt-üz-* (discussed among the -Xz- verbs). In addition to the passages quoted in the *EDPT*, *tutuş-* appears in *TT* VII 17,23 and 25,4, *InscrOuig* I 46, *Maitr* 199 v3, *UigTot* 459, 1041 and 1147 ('to hold together'), *QB* 41 and DLT. See footn. 377 in vol. 1 for *tutuş-* in the sense of 'to catch fire'.
- tutul-uş-* is a hap. in *Abhi* B 89 a7-8 as quoted in *UigKan* p. 149: *anıñ tözi süzök ödrilig* (thus or *öñvilig?*) *ärür ymä ők kalı sıparır täg, bir ikintikä tıdılışmaz tufuluşmaz* = *nacānyo* 'nyam āvrñvanti. 'to adhere to each other'. See *tut-ul-* below.
- (*ud-uş-* 'to follow in a group' is a hap. in *BT* III 800, perhaps better read as *ud-uz-* (q.v. below). The *EDPT* s.v. has the verb only from Middle Turkic on. Base and cognates are discussed under *uduz-*, and cf. *ud-un-* below. The form mentioned in *EDPT* 73 b s.v. '*uduşur-*' is quite dubious.)
- ugra-ş-* 'to fight one another' appears in the DLT, quoted in the *EDPT*. With the help of the facs. published by Bang in *Georgspass*, this verb can be seen to have appeared also in *M* III 49,1: *antag kişi mäniñ T'DYRY xan birlä ugraşmaş(ı)m körüp*²⁰³ *ösär, mar Gewargiz tep tesär, bolmazun ol kişi ävintä täglök . . . aksak . . .* 'If such a person sees that I struggled with²⁰⁴ T. xan and remembers it and says "St. George!", let there, in that person's house, be nobody blind or . . . lame or . . .'. For the semantic connection with the base cf. e.g. *öpkäm kälip ugradım* 'I went toward the enemy in a raging fury' (DLT fol. 75) and *takı bolmaz ürsä yağı ugrasa / tokışmak tiläsä* (*QB* 2364).
- ula-ş-* 'to join one another, to follow upon one another, to form a continuum' is in

202 'yirdi' 'beschimpfte' is perhaps better interpreted as *yirdi* 'he tore asunder'.

203 Looks rather like K in the ms., which is what the text has; but that makes no sense.

204 *ugraş-*, which can actually be seen on the facs., corresponds much better to Bang's ἀγών and ἄλληλους than his *urus-*.

the *EDPT* quoted twice from the QB, from the DLT and from later sources.

Attested also in *ĴkādĴār ulařu turdı* (Ht X A 21), *urug uçakları ulařu bo örükä yetmiřläriñä tĴ* (InscrOuig V 43) and QB 2996, 3000, 6173 and 6281.

ulal-ıř- is a hap. in ETř 9,59, not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. ‘to be joined together with something’. See *ula-l-* below.

uli-ř- appears once together with *řigta-ř-* in Suv (quoted in the *DTS*) and then only in the DLT. ‘to howl together’. *ul-* and *řig(ı)t+a-* are also used in a biverb together.

ur-uř- ‘to quarrel or fight with each other’ is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT.

Attested also in Maitr 176 v 16 and 166 v 6 (both biverbs with *tokıř-*), Ht V 5 b 20, QB 2289, 2293, 2378, 2383 and 3400, and in Ernte 42: *ögänlikläri birlä suv üçün ülgüsin bilmädin uruřu* ‘wegen der Kanalanlagen und des Wassers kämpfen sie miteinander ohne Maß zu kennen’.

üküřlä-ř- is a hap. in BuddhUig II 335: *yänä ymä kördilär... kuřk(ı)yaların üñisig ädgü ünläri üzä ätä saryayu*²⁰⁵ *üküřläřip toylařıp uçmışların*. ‘to become a multitude’. Base attested first in the DLT in a slightly different sense, but in Muhenna in this one.

ülä-ř- ‘to divide something among each other’. Attested in ms. T II 1071 (U 5525) l.4 quoted in ManTüTex p. 69, and in the DLT. Three other sources are economical: USp 28,6 (q.v. in the *EDPT*), UigPacht J 9. (*näçä urug baťa ikigü täñ üläřip alır biz*) and UigPacht K 10.

üntür-üş- ‘to make something rise to appearance, of a group of agents’. BT III 355 and 364. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Cf. *ün-tür-* below.

üş-üş- is a hap. in Old Turkic, but found in Ottoman. It appears in *ol balıktaktı tınl(ı)glar... kalıñulayu üřüřü katguruřu külüřü... mäñiläyürlär* (BuddhUig II 88) ‘to crowd together from all sides around something’. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *üş-* is first attested in the DLT, but several other Uigur derivates from it are discussed in the following sections.²⁰⁶

ütlä-ř- ‘to give advice to each other’. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Found in BT III 64, 591, 598 and 614 in a biverb with *sözlä-ř-* and 583 and Warnke 553 with *äriğlä-ř-*. *üt+lä-* (q.v. among the *+lA-* verbs) is also, by the way, found frequently with *äriğlä-*.

üz-üş- appears mainly in contracts, in which it signifies ‘to reach a final agreement (between parties)’: Two USp exs. are quoted in the *EDPT*; see, further, ActeOuig 5, YamSaleLoan 1,6 and 3/1,3, UigLand 7 and ZiemeSklav II 6. The

205 This is a metathesis of *sayra-*, q.v. in the *EDPT* (from the DLT).

206 ř. Tekin translated the instance as “sie schwimmen”, which means that he interpreted it as (y)üz-üş-. This does not fit the context: The agents live on ships but not in water, and could not have carried out some of their other activities if they had.

sum agreed upon is given in the dative case. The DLT has the verb only in the literal sense of 'helping each other, or competing in, cutting'. Kāšgarī does, however, document the same semantic development with *bıçığ* and *bıçgas* from *bıç-* 'to cut': He translates these lexemes as 'agreement, contract'. Cf. also *käs-iş-*. The Maitr has two exs. which have the literal meaning 'to cut (at) each other'; they appear in biverbs with *bıçış-* and *iskāş-* and are quoted with them. *üzül-üş-* is a hap. in ms. TM 101 (U 5237) quoted in the n. to UigPacht C3: *yänä yWl tWQantaki y(a)rim äkim yerimni Kayımtuka täşgürüşüp üzüülüşüp [satdım]* (ls. 3-5) "Ferner habe ich mein halbes Saatland in Yol Togan an Qayımtu nach gegenseitiger Vereinbarung (Hend.) verkauft". The verb is synonymous with *üz-üş-*, then, but has only the seller as formal agent and does not govern the *dativus pretii*. *üz-ül-* is not attested with the special meaning which *üzüş-* and *üzülüş-* have in common; *üzülüş-* would appear to be an *ad hoc* creation starting out from *üz-üş-* and not from *üz-ül-*.

yagıla-ş- is a hap. in Suv, quoted in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. 'to engage in hostilities with one another'. See *yagı+la-*.

yak-ış- 'to be or come close to each other' is quoted in the *EDPT* under '2 *yakış-*' from the DLT, once from a Manichaean text and once from the QB. It appears also in QB 3036. See *yaxşı* in section 3.118.

yanç-ış- is a hap. in Maitr 81 v30, not mentioned in the dictionaries: *bir ikintişkä ... tokışurlar sançışurlar yançışurlar öçäşürlär ...* 'to crush each other underfoot'.

yap-ış- 'to literally stick or adhere to something'. To the *EDPT*'s exs. add Maitr 218 v4 and 10, 168 v5 and 16, 199 r10, 164 v29 etc.

yara-ş- 'to be suitable; to agree, accord or fit in with each other'. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear in Maitr 104 v5, PañcFrag 211, ETŞ 11,53, FenTen III 12, Ht V6 a14 and 19 and 7 a19, UigTot 344, 654-5, 664, 665, 677 (twice) etc., Hochzeit 24, CYK 103 and elsewhere. An instance in Maitr 18 v26 is translated in UW 134 a s.v. *ançama* A,b as "geschmückt"; *ançama körklä kraja ton birlä yaraşmış ärür* is better rendered as 'How beautifully the monk's robes suit him!'. Cf. *yaraş-tur-* below and *yaraş-ı* in section 3.118.

ye-ş- 'to eat each other' appears in Maitr 150 r12: *yulki ajuninta twgmiş tınl(i)g[lar-nıñ bir] ikintişkä yeşmək [äm]gäk[läri* "[die Leiden] der in der Tierexistenz wiedergeborenen Lebewesen, daß sie einander gegenseitig auffressen". The *DTS* quotes *yeşür* from QB 6481 but the *EDPT* has neither instance.

(y)*ıgla-ş-* 'to weep together'. *EDPT* s.v. *ıglaş-* and *DTS* s.v. *jöylaş-*. Further exs., in BT II 966, Suv 640,17-18 and Ht X 1068 and 1104, are all written with *y°*. The instances of KP 53,1 and Ht X 1068 have the verb together with *şıgla-ş-*, as *yıgla-* (discussed among the *+la-* verbs above) accompanies *şıg(i)t+a-*.

yıgıl-ış- 'of many persons, to meet all together' is quoted by the *EDPT* from the

DLT on. Attested also in *bäg bägät barça yığılışıp* ... (InscrOug II 8), ... *ol balıktaki tınl(ı)glar* ... *kakışıu işiü kavışıu yığılısu* ... *māñilāyürlār* (Bud-dhUig II 89) and *bodun bokun* ... *bäg işi birlā birgārū yığılışıp terilişıp* ... (Shō XIII b 14). See 1 *yığ-ıl-* below.

(*yılı-ş-* is, as a verb, attested only in the DLT, in the concrete sense of ‘to become warm collectively’; cf. the *EDPT*. *yılış-ıg* (q.v. among the *-(X)g* lexemes), however, is a very early figurative derivate from it.)

yoluk-uş- is a hap. in InscrOug IV 52, an exceedingly late inscr.: *anta yolukuşup* ... ‘meeting each other there’. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Cf. *yol+uk-* above.

yölä-ş- has been read in *kün t(ä)ñrikä ogşayur yöläşür* in M III 18,7₂ (text 8). The facs. shows that the ms. is torn now and that the first and third letters of the word have disappeared. *yöläş-* is possible, however; it reconstitutes the biverb which must have been the base of *ogşat- yöläştür-* (see the causatives below). *yöläşi* (discussed in section 3.118, q.v.) clearly comes from this verb, as does *yöläş-ür-*. *yölä-* ‘to support something or somebody’ is also the base of *yölä-msin-* (mentioned in section 6.2). The semantic relation between *yölä-* ‘to support’ (quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, the QB and modern languages) and *yöläş-* ‘to resemble’ appears to have been a Sanskritism.

yügür-üş- ‘to come running in a group’ is attested in Ht V 15 b 26: ... *tep äşidtäçilär k(ä)ntün ök yügürüşü bardılar*. The *EDPT* quotes this verb from the DLT on. *yünt-üş-* *EDPT*s.v. ‘*yöntüş-*’. All three exs. appear in one page, MI 9 (Legende). In one the verb forms a couple with *okış-*, in the other with *söküş-* and in the third with *käñrüş-* (all discussed above); these suggest some meaning like ‘to insult each other’. The base is attested in Khal.²⁰⁷ as *yint-/yünt-* “ausschimpfen”, with *yindiş* “Schimpfwort”. It cannot be connected with Ottoman *yont-*,²⁰⁸ which is back vocalic, whereas Uigur *yüntüştükin* has front *k*. The Chuast word read as *yontumuz* (*EDPT*s.v., n. 89 in Asmussen, 1965: 172 and ChuastBeitr n. 9) in all mss. could also be *yünt(t)ümüz*: *yü°* is often spelled as *YW°* in Uigur, and this text has the habit of spelling geminates as simple consonants. The fact that the previous verb is *ur-* does not mean that the two are synonyms.

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-(X)ş- appears both after vowels and consonants. Derived bases are not rare. Most common are *+A-ş-* and *+IA-ş-* with about a dozen verbs each; the latter count does

207 Doerfer and Tezcan s.v.

208 ‘to chisel, hew, carve’, a not too suitable meaning either. See e.g. the dictionaries of Radloff and Zenker.

not include the formative $+lA\text{ş-}$, to which we come soon. The formative $+klr-$, discussed in section 5.31, is expanded only with $-X\text{ş-}$; this is a limitation which does not follow from the phonic shape of the formatives. Among deverbal bases, $-(X)l-$ is the most common: We find *akılış-*, *katılış-*, *kuduluş-*, *teriliş-*, *ıdılış-*, *tutuluş-*, *ulalış-*, *üzülüş-* and *yığılış-*. $-(X)l-X\text{ş-}$ verbs are attested mainly in late texts; most (except, i.e., *katılış-*, *ıdılış-* and *yığılış-*) are hapax legomena in Uigur. Two are also given by the DLT. There are several derivatives from causative bases: *üntürüş-* appears twice in BT III. Derivates from $-Ur-$ verbs are *eştrüş-*, *kaçuruş-*, *ölrüş-*, *tägsürüş-* and *twgruş-*. Then there is *aytış-*, *kakıtış-*, *örlätiş-* and *tavratiş-* with $-Xt-$ bases. From $-(X)n-$ stems, finally, we find *basınış-*, *evinış-*, *sanış-*, *säviniş-*, *tavranış-* and *tayanış-*; the base of *säviniş-*, in particular, is not a medial-reflexive verb, as *säv-* has a very different meaning. None of the formative sequences found in these verbs are combinations.

The statement of Gabain, 1974 in par. 164 concerning this formative, “stets letztes der in diesem Kapitel genannten Bildungselemente”, is not correct. Even if we disregard *tägsil-*, *bagdaşını olor-* and *yapşın-*, whose $-(X)\text{ş-}$ bases are not really cooperative-reciprocal, we are still left with many causative expansions: There are at least four $-şUr-$ verbs and approximately twenty $-(X)\text{ş-tUr-}$ verbs. All these are discussed among the causatives.

$/U/$ is the converb and aorist vowel of $-(X)\text{ş-}$ verbs, at any rate of the polysyllabic ones.²⁰⁹ There are no petrified converbs in this formation.

A few forms in $-mAklA\text{ş}U$ do seem to be used rather adverbially, though. I mean *bir ikinikä yegädmäkläşü . . . ilinçülädilär* (U II 22,27) “trying to get the better of one another” (EDPT) and *aşunmaklaşu* ‘in competition’, attested thrice in Suv (see UW entry for it).²¹⁰ They are expansions of *yeg+äd-* (section 5.43) and *aşun-* (section 7.21) respectively. Then there is *ünüp Sudarşan balıktın, ürgür-mäkläşü TÄŋRİ TÄŋRİsi burxanka bardılar* (ShōAv 163) ‘They set out from the city of Sudarşana and hurried to Buddha, the god of gods’. *ürgür-* is a variant of *er-gür-*. Not a single finite $-mAklA\text{ş-}$ form is attested. We do, however, have, from a stem mentioned above: *ılgı yegädmäkläşmäklig köñülläri* (ShōAgon 1,245). In view of this last ex., there is no petrified converb formative $-mAklA\text{ş}U$. Being poorly attested, $-mAklA\text{ş-}$ cannot be considered a composite formative in its own right. What the exs. have in common is the content of competition.

209 The only monosyllabic verbs with this formative in Old Turkic are *te-ş-* and *toş-*. Of the first no aorist or converb has appeared till now, of the second the biverb *toşu tolu* in UigTot 1378. QB 6481 (all three mss.) has *ye-ş-ür*. See also Erdal, 1986 for the converb and aorist vowel of monosyllabic bases in Qarakhanid sources.

210 Schulz, 1978: 189 n. 12 tries to explain the existence of *aşunmaklaşu* (the only $-mAklA\text{ş}U$ form he appears to have noted) by the impossibility of creating a reciprocal derivate from *aşun-*. Since $-(X)\text{ş-}$ was added to $-(X)n-$ verbs, this explanation seems rather *ad hoc*.

In a way similar to *-mAkLAşU* but clearly of different origin is *yar(ı)şmalaşu*, in BT II 274 and Ht VII 15 a3: *anı üçün öñdün T(a)vgaç elintäkilär yar(ı)şmalaşu edärip üküş tıdılur*. Also in ShōAgon B 1,243; *öñin öñin y(a)rışmalaşu tılöp bay barımlıg bolmakıg*,²¹¹ . . . The first sibilant is written with S in } *ajuntakı unlıglarıg yar(ı)şmalaş* [(TT III 23, Manichaean script) but dotted as Ş in *yar(ı)şmalaşmak-lıg* in BT II 196-7. The Pothei-book has a lot of consonant errors and is not more dependable in this respect than BT II. *yarsı-* ‘to abhor’ is therefore less likely as ultimate base than *yariş-* ‘to race, compete’, particularly since the second vowel is attested in ShōAgon B 1; ‘in competition’ fits the meaning best. One ex. of *yariş-* is quoted below, when dealing with the DLT’s *+LAşU* forms. *yariş* ‘race’ and *yarışm* are DLT cognates. *yarişmalaşmaklıg* (BT II) is comparable to *yegädmäkläşmäklıg* (just quoted). *yariş-* ‘to compete’ is attested only from the DLT on, in Middle Turkic etc., but *yaraş-* (considered by some to be the base) fits neither by sound nor meaning. The *-mAlAş-* form is practically a synonym of the three formed with *-mAkLAş-*. The *+LAşU* forms in the DLT (q.v. below) also refer to ‘competing’ but get the stake of the related bet as base.

If *-mAkLAş-* and *-mAlAş-* are occasional and not composite formatives, is there a formative *+LAş-*? Quite a number of *+LA-ş-* verbs appear earlier in this section, but corresponding *+LA-* verbs are attested for all of them. *+LAş-* verbs which may be directly denominal are rare. We find the following:

arka+laş- is a hap. in Ht VII 15 a5: . . . *arkalaşıp bir tæg öñi öñi küni üzä* is, in the UW entry for this verb, translated as: “Indem sie sich allesamt durch Eifersucht in verschiedene Gruppen spalteten, . . .” This *arka* signifies ‘faction’; the EDPT mentions no derivate from it.

çav+laş- is a hap. in Shō XII a 10: *bayagutlar amançlar çavlaşıp yığılıp İnçA tep* . . . If this would signify ‘to make (the meeting) known to each other’ or at least ‘to call each other’, it could be connected with *çav* ‘fame’. UW 115 b translates the instance as “strömten zusammen (?)”, Röhrborn and Laut, 1988, 93 as “gerieten (?) . . . in Aufregung (?)”, with no explicit justification. No ‘*çav+la-*’ is known to me, and Qarakhanid *çavlan-* has a different meaning.

çıkan+laş- is a hap. in HamTouen 28,21: *anı birlä siz bilişgäy siz iki çıkanlaşgu* ‘You will know each other so well as to be like two cousins to each other’ (?). This difficult sentence (clear in the facs.) can only be understood by bracketing (*iki çıkan*)+*laş-gu*. No such verb is mentioned in the dictionaries.

(*çImşIlAş-* and *çImIlAş-* appear once each in the editions of Suv, in the same passage; in both cases used about *ät’öz* ‘the body’. Quoted by the DTS but not be the EDPT. If these are mistakes for ‘*çImşIllış-*’, they could possibly be a

211 Not ‘*bulmakıg*’, as Shōgaito writes.

-(X)l-(X)ş- derivate from 'çImşl-': That may in fact have to be read as the second lexeme in *bıçmış çımkımuş* (Heilk II 3,63, also of the human body).) (*ädgölüş-* is mentioned among the -(X)ş- verbs but may nevertheless belong here.)

(*keñaş+lâş-* should perhaps be read in Adams 31: *yänä bir kul algalı mini bilän keñäşläşip turur* 'He is continuing his consultations with me with the intention of buying a slave'. This is merely a conjecture; *UW 90 b* (mid-page) writes the same as '*käñkiläşip*'.)

kili+lâş- appears in ETŞ 13,20 and BT XIII 28,24. We find *kili* in ETŞ 11,160 and the two lexemes are discussed in the n. to the latter. In the n. to the BT XIII ex. (which reads *kililäşmäk kıl[ayın]*), ETŞ 11,160 is reinterpreted and *kili* given a Chin. explanation.

kol+lâş- is a hap. in Ernte 109: *kollaşıp kötürgüçi kullar* 'the servants who carry (it) by clasping each others' arms', The ed. found this verb with the same meaning in Old Ottoman.

ög+lâş- 'to take counsel with each other'. Attested as early as Toñ (twice). *ö-g* is common and so is *öglän-*, but there is no +*LA-* cognate. Cf. *keñäşläş-* for the meaning.

yarp+lâş- is a hap. in Shō X a 2: *amtıkı savlarıg Sudarşanı elig on tümän bayagutlar birlä yarplaşıp ayagka tägimlig iki toyınlarka İnçaA tep sözlädilär*. 'to collectively confirm the present matters'.

To these verbs we can add the DLT hap. *salımlaş-* "to contend with someone and oppose him stubbornly", discussed in the *EPDT*. It has no attested °*m* base. The DLT mentions *konoklaş-* together with this, but for that the verb *konok+la-* is found several times in the DLT. Practically all of the above are hap. legomena, for which no +*LA-* cognate may have appeared by coincidence. Whenever their meanings and use is sufficiently clear, they can safely be dealt with as -(X)ş- verbs.

More interesting are the DLT's +*LAşU* forms where the base states the stake in a bet. He e.g. has *oynadım atlaşu* "I gambled and made the stake on it a horse"; *ol mäniñ birlä oynadı kögürçünläşü* "He gambled with me with a pigeon as the stake"; *ol at yarışdı mäniñ birlä tavışganlaşu* "He had a horse race with me for the prize of a hare, and the competitor who outlasted the other got it"; *ol anıñ birlä çögän urdı ömläşü* "He wielded the polo-stick in competition with him for a stake of a pair of trousers". This does appear to have become a real formative for denominal adverbs with very specific meaning; the DLT is not, however, a source for Old Turkic.

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

Dealing with the behaviour of $-(X)\text{-}\text{ş}$ - verbs, we consider dubious ones to be an improper base for syntactic consideration. Nor should we, in principle, deal with the behaviour of $\text{°}\text{ş}$ - verbs whose (not cooperative-reciprocal) bases are unknown in Old Turkic or uncertain: Such verbs are *arkaş-*, *kakıtış-*, *kaxşaş-*, *keñsäş-*, *közkiş-*, *sünüş-* and *tötüş-*. However: Among these, *keñsäş-* is in complementary distribution by text-type with *keñä-ş-*; the two verbs have the same meaning and can be expected to have the same syntactic behaviour. *sünüş-* ‘to fight’ and *tötüş-* ‘to quarrel’ are reciprocal by basic meaning. *kakıtış-* is a hap. in a series of $-(X)\text{-}\text{ş}$ - verbs and shares their behaviour. The base of *arkaş-* is attested in Chagatay, quoted e.g. in the *UW*. *kaxşaş-* has its base attested in several modern languages.

The meaning of $-(X)\text{-}\text{ş}$ - is such that its use presupposes the presence of parties acting against, from, at, in competition with, to, on, in cooperation with, together with or for each other. Practically all $-(X)\text{-}\text{ş}$ - verbs do have two or more *subjects/agents* vying or cooperating, or one subject/agent vying or cooperating with some other participant in the action. *yapış-* does not have such a meaning, and should be excluded from the following discussion. Nor is there anything mutual about *ayığ öglilärkä sokuşsalar* . . . (Warnke 512) e.g.; neither in what is quoted, not in the context. Most instances of *yara-ş-* are not typical of $-(X)\text{-}\text{ş}$ - either. Some are, however, e.g. *oglanlarım birlä sıgısu yaraşu* . . . (FenTen III 12) ‘staying on good terms with my sons’. *közkiş-*, finally, has been translated as having a plurality of objects and not necessarily of subjects: The ex. quoted first in the entry even has a real singular subject. We take it, though, that collation or textual comparison was carried out by two or more persons reciting their respective mss. or blockprints. This would give cooperation of subjects beside plurality of objects and make *közkiş-* have normal $-(X)\text{-}\text{ş}$ - meaning.²¹² So much for aberrations.

The different meanings of $-(X)\text{-}\text{ş}$ -, like ‘helping’ or ‘vying’, are not connected with distinctive syntactic structures and are not signalled in any other way. Thus, DLT fol. 313, *ol mäniñ birlä talkanka yağ katıştı*, is translated as both “He vied with me in mixing gruel with butter” and “He helped me mix”. In fol. 325-6, Kāšğarī holds a different view. He writes: ‘This form . . . occurs with the meaning of giving help in the action. Thus *ol maña ton tikişdi* “He helped me sew the garment”. *ol maña bitig bitişdi* “He helped me write the book”. [Secondly,] it occurs with the meaning of vying in the action – to see which of the two is the more skillful, the more courageous, the stronger or the more resourceful in that action. Thus *ol mäniñ birlä çalışdı*²¹³ “He wrestled with me (to see which of us was the better or the stronger wrestler)”. *ol mäniñ birlä ya kuruştı* “He contended with me in stringing

212 If it is an $-(X)\text{-}\text{ş}$ - verb at all: See the entry itself.

213 This instance is not mentioned in the *EDPT* either in this or in any other form.

the bow (to see which of us was the stronger in stringing)”. The distinction between helping and vying is as follows: When you mention the particle *maña* meaning “to me”, then it has the meaning of helping. When you join to the verb the particle *māniñ birlä* meaning “with me”, then it has the meaning of helping.’ This statement can easily be shown to be wrong at least as far as Old Turkic is concerned: A few counter-examples are listed below.

A distinction which Old Turkic does make is that between the asymmetrical use of -Xş- verbs and the symmetrical one. By ‘asymmetrical’ I mean the use in which only one of the participant parties is presented as subject: the other one is ‘demoted’, in a sense which will appear more clearly below. In the symmetrical use of verbs of cooperation or vying there is a homogeneous subject group of individuals all behaving in the manner denoted.

We deal first with -Xş- action presented as asymmetrical. The nominal representing the ‘major’ participant here appears in the nominative, whereas the nominal referring to the demoted participant is governed by the postposition *birlä* ‘with’. *birlä* is an original +LA adverb signifying ‘together’, mentioned in part IV of the present work. Occasional remnants of such a use are *ikki är birlä süñüşdi* “The two men jousted in battle” in DLT fol. 616; or, *birlä kavışmış ka kadaş y(e)gän tagay adaş böşük ädgü öglilär kim bar ärsär* (U III 33,16) “Whatever there are of brothers and relatives, nephews and uncles, comrades₂ and well-wishers united together . . .’. Nominal phrases governed by *birlä* appear to have been as common with verbs not formed with -Xş-, if not more common. Here are a few exs.: *o[guz] bodun tokuz tatar birlä terilip kälti* (BQ E34) ‘The Oguz people assembled with the Tokuz Tatar and came’. *eçim kagan birlä ilgärü yaşıl ögüz şanDuñ yazıka tägi sülädimiz* (KT E17) ‘Together with my elder brother the kagan we campaigned eastward all the way to the Green River and the plain of Shantung’. *tört tugum beş ajun altı yoltaki tınlıglar birlä katlu karlu* ‘mixing₂ with the creatures of . . .’ (Suv 133,15). *ötrü ol br(a)xmadatı elig tişi bars birlä yazınmışda . . .* (U III 63,13) ‘Then, when that king Brahmadatta sinned with the female tiger, . . .’. Although the tigress may well have been involved actively, this was no sin on *her* part. Exs. in which the *birlä* phrase is not counterpart of the agent appear to be less easy to find. Two instances are: *alko nızvanlarıg yıdı yokı birlä kalısız birtäm tarkarmış* (Suv 49,1) ‘those who did away with all vices totally₂ and uniformly’. *tävä²¹⁴ iki yig torku iki ketmän birlä alıp ävdä berin* (HamTouen 23,17) ‘Take the camel together with two (bales of) untreated silk and two mat-tocks and bring them home’. Instrumental *birlä* may have been rare in early texts. One possible ex. appears in Ht X154. A *birlä* phrase can also depend on a nomi-

214 The word *ol* preceding this belongs to the previous sentence, where it serves as copula. Thus against Hamilton’s translation.

nal, e.g. *kök kalık birlä t(ä)ñ tüz* (UigTot 1378) quoted s.v. *toş-* above. Sometimes (though rarely and apparently only in colloquial language) *birlä* becomes a mere 'and'; e.g. in the sentence quoted under *uruş-* above. Late variants of *birlä* are *bilä* and *bilän*; *birlän* is rare.

-*Xş-* verbs governing *birlä* phrases representative of the 'secondary' participant have already been quoted above, under *aşlaş-* (with *yoluk-uş-*), *birikiş-*, *ädgölüş-*, *ıdış-* (from Ht), *katılış-* (from ShōAgon), *keñäş-* (from BT XIII), *säviş-*, *sığış-*, *sürüş-*, *tanuklaş-*, *teriliş-*, *ugraş-*, *yığılış-*, *keñäşläş-* and *yarplaş-*. In all these, the entity referred to by the nominal phrase governed by *birlä* is a human being or a group of humans. Something non-human can only be found under *katış-* above. This distribution is not a coincidence; rather, it reflects what we generally found to be the case. Runic exs. are *inim köl tegin birlä sözläşdimiz* (KT E26) implying cooperation and *kaganın birlä soña yışda sünüşdümüz* (*ibid.* 35) implying antagonism. Note, in connection with the KT E26 instance, that only two persons are involved: the speaker and Köl Tegin. As with Republican Turkish *ile*, singular subject plus singular nominal governed by *birlä* demand a plural verb form.²¹⁵ Further -*Xş-* verbs typically governing human *birlä* phrases refer to meeting and consultations (*körüş-*, *tuşuş-*, *ay(ı)uş-*, *keñäş-*, *sözläş-* e.g. in UjgRuk 3,2, InscrOuig IV 48, BT VIII A 136-8, BT XIII 49,31, FenTēn III 11, UigTot 72, Ht IV 445 and V 78-9 and 13 b23, TT VII 30,7-8, U II 35,26-8, Suv 612,10 and 420,6, TT V A27), to fights (BQ E27, Suv 18,12) or to other bilateral activities (e.g. ShōAv 20 quoted in the UW s.v. *ayaş-*, M II 8,16-17, KP 52,6 and so forth). When the factor found in the *birlä* phrase is non-human, it usually consists of the vices one is supposed to fight against (e.g. in M III 12,13-14₂: *nızvanılar birlä sünüşmāk öçüşmāk*); these are, in a sense, personalised. I have only met two instances in which inanimate (albeit spiritual) contact is represented by -*Xş-* verb plus asymmetrical agent representation: In these two passages (TT V B71 and U II 10,19), the grammatical agent is also of the same type as the one found in the *birlä* phrase. From this consistent equivalence in the real-world status between grammatical agent and the entity 'demoted' into grammatical subordination it follows that the activity itself is truly mutual. The *initiative*, however, may be considered to have been that of the agent, or the speaker-writer may be *empathetic* with him and see the activity through his eyes, or *concord* may demand this construction: The -*Xş-* verb may be subordinated to a non-mutual verb and share its agent. The sentence with *satıglaş-* also quoted above, e.g., is *about* what the agents do, not about the Greeks' activities. By this, though, the bilateral nature of trade is not denied; nor is there an implication of initiative on the part of the agent. Cf. also *ädgölüşip* parallel to *uyadıp* under *ädgölüş-* above. The sentence

215 Cf. also Russian *my s toboj* signifying 'you and I' and not necessarily 'you and we'.

quoted under *birikiş-* above is *addressed to* the grammatical agent of *birikiş-* and not to the participant governed by *birlä*; the former is invited to initiate a bilateral activity. The Ht sentence with *ıd-ış-* (also quoted above) is a chapter title in the biography of Xuandzang; it is therefore natural that his name should be the agent of the sentence. The mutual nature of the correspondence with the emperor of China is stressed, however, by the adverbial *kalış barış*.

Whenever demanded by rhetoric, the verb of such an *-Xş-* sentence *can* appear in the singular. Cf. the *veni – vidi – vici* tone of the following: *kırkız bodunug uda basdım. kaganın birlä soña yışda süñüşdüm. kaganın ölürtüm, elin anta altım* and so forth (BQ E27).

Grammatically symmetrical *-Xş-* clauses have all participants showing mutual behaviour appear as grammatical subject. When parties take each other as direct or as indirect object, the adverb *bir ikintikä ~ bir ikintişkä* can be used. This appears as *bir ikintişkä* in Maitr (twelve exs.), BT III (four exs.), Suv (twice) and ĀgFrag (1) G but as *bir ikintikä* in ManTürkTex 610, Tenri (twice), Abhi, BT I. The *avadāna* frs. fluctuate, with *bir ikintikä* in U II 22,27 (no facs.; original lost) and U IV A 84-5, but *bir ikintişkä* in U IV A 42²¹⁶ (both checked in the facs.). The damaged ex. in TT II A 55-6 can therefore be completed either way. This °ş° probably comes from the possessive suffix *+sI*. It is true that the sibilant would not have swallowed up the /I/ within ‘normal’ Old Turkic phonology, and that the dative form of this possessive suffix is *+sIŋA* and not ‘*+sIkA*’. Cf., however, [*bir ikinti*]²*ikä* : *s¹(a)b¹in¹ : öç(ä)ş²miş²l²(ä)r²* in KöktüTurf TM 342 2 r 1 (assuming the conjecture to be correct). Sentences with *bir ikinti(ş)kä* are quoted above s.vv. *bıçış-*, *boguş-*, *ıdış-*, *öçüş-*, *ölrüş-*, *süyüş-*, *tankarış-*, *tarmaş-*, *tikiş-*, *tutuluş-* and *yançış-* and with *yegādmāklāşū* and in the UW under *amraş-*. Under *kavış-* we quote a sentence in which *bir ikintişkä* is used with two simple verbs: Although the palms of the two hands serve both as subject and indirect object of the action of rubbing on the *rasāyana*, the primary subject is the person;²¹⁷ using an *-Xş-* verb might have given the impression that more than one person is involved. Note that, although *bir ikinti(ş)kä* looks like a dative, the various agents need not be each others’ dative objects: With *bıçış-*, *tokış-*, *käsiş-*, *sañış-*, *ölrüş-*, *ayaş-*, *amraş-*, *körüş-*, *tikiş-*, *tarmaş-* or *boguş-*, e.g., they are each others’ direct objects. *bir ikintişkä bäläg ıdışalım* (Maitr 157 v19) shows an *-(X)ş-* verb with direct object and agents as each others’ indirect objects. Unlike Uigur, the DLT’s *bir ükindi* does have a declination: adnominal Ø in fol. 126, *+ni* in fols. 126, 320 and 476,

216 *bir ikinti-s[i]kä* in the first edition of this in U I 43,5-6 is misleading: The facs. shows that there is no lacuna here.

217 Primary and secondary subjects as in Chin. and Japanese syntax. An inalienable entity as the palm of one’s hand is a most likely secondary subject.

+*din* in fols 313 and 487 and +*niñ* in fols. 122 and 368 beside +*kä* in fols. 375 and 476. Note that Kāšgārī uses analogical *äkinç* as ordinal, the dental form being retained only for the expression of mutuality. The neutralising dative *bir ikinti(s)kä* would seem to be a specifically Uigur development. In *bolar üçägü . . . uça kälip ikintiškä* [sö]z savın sözläşü (Maitr 7 r10) the *bir* is lacking.

birsi birsiñä in tämir käşänkä oxşatı birsi birsiñä ilişü tur- (BT VII A 258) would be more specifically dative.

Under *sınaş-* above we quote an ex. with *bir ikinti birlä*, apparently the mark of mutual comitativity. Note that *bir ikinti birlä* is attested also with *sına-*, in a sentence in which the agents have not each other but *küçümüz* as mutual object. Here, the presence of *birlä* does not, of course, signal any asymmetry in the agent group, as no nominal representing a 'demoted' agent is governed by it. *bir äkindi birlä* appears also in sentences in DLT fols. 102, 103 and 373, but Uigur otherwise has nothing similar to it. The Manichaean text *Wettkampf* is either particularly archaic in this or else reflects a different dialect.

In the rare cases in which *birlä* is not a postposition but a coordinating conjunction, it marks a symmetrical relationship between agents. Such are the sentence quoted under *biliş-* from HamTouen 28,20 (in spite of the ed.'s translation) and the one quoted from the QB under *adkaş-*. Two nominals joined by *birlä* need not, of course, serve as subjects of any -*Xş-* verb, in fact not necessarily as subjects at all. Cf., in this connection, the ex. quoted from Ernte under *uruş-*.

Rather rare marks of complementary behaviour are *için* and *için ara*; both appear in a passage quoted from Suv under *biliş-* above. Another ex. is *ülüşgü ugrınta kamagun için ara sarışıp . . .* (BT III 350-51) "als sie den . . . Erwerb verteilen, schalten sie sich alle untereinander aus . . .". These instances are important, for the *EDPT* under *için* (an instrumental form) only has Manichaean and Muslim exs.

Other adverbials, e.g. *birgärü* or *kavşuru*, can also appear with -*Xş-* verbs. The most general characteristic of mutual, cooperative, vying clauses is the fact that their subject is represented by a plural form or by a collective. By 'collective' I mean such lexemes as *bodun* (with *keñäş-* and *tep teş-*), *alko el bodun* (with *säviniş-*), *bodun bokun* (with *sözläş-*), *tünür böşük* (with *kaviş-* or *körüş-*) and so forth. In the greatest majority of -*Xş-* clauses, the verb has a plural nominal or pronominal subject or just appears in a plural verb form.

When -*Xş-* verbs denote activities carried out merely together with each other or in view of each other,²¹⁸ the specific meaning of the formative becomes difficult to detect. Merely collective meaning is found in the following verbs: *alakuriş-*,

218 Damourette and Pichon, 1932-51 have the three auxiliaries *faire*, *laisser* and *voir* as the three members of their verbal category of 'immixtion'. Old Turkic expresses both *faire* and *laisser* by

kıkırış-, *çaşşas-*, *kaxşas-*, *ulış-*, *sığtaş-*, *yığlaş-*, *katguruş-*, *külüş-*, *ögürüş-*, *sävinış-*, *toylaş-*, *içiş-*, *üküşlâş-*, *yıgılış-*, *teriliş-*, *akılış-*, *kuduluş-*, *evinış-*, *tavranış-*, *kalış-*, *ornaş-*, *ışlâş-*, *sogış-* and *täpräş-*. These verbs have here been listed by what I take to be the degree to which Westerners are likely to find it easy to conceive of the action expressed to be group behaviour and not merely plurality: Collective shouting (*kıkırış-*) or crying (*yığlaş-*) may be more of a specific experience for us than collective dwelling (*ornaş-*) or collective cooling down (*sogış-*). Yet *älig adak sogışur* may have had rather different connotations than if *sogı-* had been used instead. In BT II 939, the ed. takes *ışlâş-* in *bo kızkı(y)a yaşta ışlâşip nâtägin k(ä)ntü özüm*²¹⁹ *keñätgäli boşungalı ugay biz* to be an 'intensive': Referring to par. 164 of Prof. Gabain's grammar, he translates: "so werden wir in diesem so kurzen Leben *tüchtig arbeiten* und irgendwie werden wir das eigene Leben verlängern und (von Not (?)) befreien können". Note, however, the translation of *ışlâş-* in *b(ä)k katıg tutum kertgünç[kä] barmak yölänmäkkä ışlâşip*. . . (Warnke 601, the same text as BT II): "gemeinsam ausführen, sich gemeinsam um etwas bemühen". It may well be possible in some cases (e.g. with *ornaş-*) that the meaning of mutuality is practically nonexistent. These cases are rarer, however, than could be guessed from reading the translation.

Not many deverbal nominals come from *-Xş-* verbs. Section 3.118 above lists the ones in *-şl*. Then we have *kavışig*, *yılışig* and perhaps *külüşüK* with *-(X)g* and *kavşut* with *-(U)t*. Quite a number of *-Xş* lexemes clearly also come from *-(X)ş-* verbs. *ornaş-ıglıg* and the binome-biverb *katlış-maksız bulgaş-maksız* are mentioned in the appropriate sections above. Relativisation of *-(X)ş-* verbs is rather rare.

7.2 Medial, reflexive and anti-transitive verbs

This chapter deals with verbs formed by using the common *-(X)n-*, the rather rare *-(X)k-* or the obsolete *-(X)d-* formatives. The combination *-lXn-* is also given a section of its own in this chapter. As elsewhere in this part, we first list the verbs alphabetically, then discuss their morphological and syntactic properties. Whereas *-(X)ş-* verbs pose no problems as far as their agential configuration is concerned, the verbs of section 7.2 are rather fuzzy in this respect. The general purport of the formatives discussed here is to stress the relevance of the agent

the causative morphemes (as described below; the content expressed by French *voir* (in this use) is left to non-systematical means. When this content is mutual, *-Xş-* is used for it.

219 This is probably an error, as there is more than one 'speaker'. *Kşānti* texts have standard formulations; the present instance appears to have been adapted from an original with a single repentant sinner and *özüm* have been overlooked.

himself, of what pertains to him, to the action. With reflexive verbs, the subject represents both the agent and the object of the action. When a verb is medial, the action is carried out with respect to or for the benefit of the subject, a member of his family, a part of his body or any other thing inalienably related to him. By 'anti-transitive' I mean presentation of an action as emanating from the subject itself, although the transitive base would have made an agent-patient representation possible. A synonym term for 'anti-transitive' is 'recessive', used e.g. by Tesnière; to call such verbs 'reversive' would be less appropriate, as the reversal of transitive is passive.

7.211 *-(X)n-*: LEXICAL MATERIAL

aç-in- 'to open one's clothes, baring the bosom; to disclose one's sins'. See the *UW* for the Uigur instances. The *EDPT* confuses this verb with *açı-n-* and has a single entry for both. See that for the *DLT*'s *aç-in-* (which is given with the physical meaning).

açı-n- 'to care for, look after, tend (a person or an animal)'. The object should pertain to the agent either by family relationship or by possession or be treated as such. See the *UW* for the Uigur exs.; add the ones of HamTouen 5,70, 20,17, 25,6 and 30,5-6 (all with family relatives as objects) and ZiemeSkav III 30 (*açinu y(a)rl(i)g bolzun*). *DLT* and *QB* exs. of *açı-n-* are listed in the *EDPT*'s entry for this and for the previous verb. Derived from the *UW*'s *açı- II* and related to our 2 *açı-g* 'gift, favours' (see section 3.101 above). Seeing that the biverb *açı-n- ağı-n-* (attested in *M* III 11,2₂ (text 6) and *Maitr* 136 r5 and 198 v3) can also signify 'to look after', '*açı- II*' (with '*açı-g II*') appears to be only a secondary meaning of *açı-* 'to be sad (about something), regret (something)'; there are, after all, six Old Turkic exs. of '*açı- I*' but only two of '*açı- II*'. The existence of the binome *açıg ağıg* 'favours' also speaks for this. The semantic connection can also be seen in English *care* and in German *Sorge* vs. *Vorsorge*, *sich um jmdn. sorgen*; *sich um jmdn. kümmern* vs. *bekümmert* and so forth. Whether 'to be bitter (or sour)' was the original meaning of *açı-* (as suggested in the *EDPT*) is hard to tell; it does not follow from Old Turkic documentation.

(*adin-* has two distinct but connectible uses separated into two lemmata in the *EDPT* and the *UW*: 'to recover from drunkenness or a similar state' and 'to be moved (positively or negatively), to be very surprised'. The latter meaning can only be assigned to the couple *adin- muṇad-* and not to *adin-* alone. It is likely, therefore, that the two *adin-* are in fact one lexeme, and that the meanings of the two verbs in this collocation shifted towards each other. *adinçıg*, *adin*, *adıl*, *adıg* and probably also *adır-* (all dealt with above) are cognates. Whether the base is attested depends on the correctness of the reading *admatı tüğşilmäti*

with reference to the complexion of a dead person in Ht X803. As determined by N. Yüce, *adındı yüzi* in the Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab corresponds to *sahama wajhuhu* 'his face complexion changed'. Four instances of *adın- muṇad-* from BuddhUig II should be added to the *UW* entry. DLT and QB replaced *adın-* by *adıl-*.²²⁰)

adır-in- 'to separate (intr.) from one's family' appears in the first person sg. past form, thrice in the Yenisei inscr. Two of the instances are mentioned by the *DTS* but not the *EDPT* or the *UW*; the third appears in YE 13,2. In this last there is, according to Thomsen and Wulff's collations, no doubt about *kuyda kunçuyum ad(i)rındım* (with N²). *adır-* is discussed in section 6.3.

adırtla-n- is a hap. discussed in the *UW* (not mentioned in the *EDPT*). Accompanied by what appears to be an agentive *üzä* phrase, and may have had some such passive meaning as 'to be diagnosed', 'to be set apart', 'to be singled out' or 'to be under special observation'. See *adırt+la-* above.

(*adkan-* 'to perceive etc.' is documented in *UW* 263-9 together with its derivatives. Although the *UW* spells it as *aṭkan-*, practically all sources write the dental as D; the main exception is the late Leningrad ms. of the Suv. See *adkaş-* in section 7.1 for etymology. Appears in biverbs with *ilin-*, *yapşın-* and *bodul-*, which shows its original meaning. *UW* 263 b writes: "Die -n-Erweiterung wohl in Analogie zu *tayan-*". The verb denoting abstract perception clearly does not need the assumption of such an analogy to account for the presence of -(X)n- in it. The many exs. with direct object accord with the fact that the meaning of this verb is not reflexive. Just as unacceptable as the etymology of Röhrborn, 1983 is that of Bang, 1925 b: 396; but Bang had only a fraction of the documentation at his disposal.)

(*ag(i)zan-* 'to utter, to recite' is adequately discussed in the *UW*; see the *EDPT* for modern survivors. **ag(i)z+a-* is not attested. Cf. *agız+lan-* 'to be recited' in section 5.6.)

agri-n-; *agırın-* in the Suv (which also has the variant *agızan-*). In the DLT "to be in pain", in the Suv 'to complain of pain'. The biverb *açın- agrın-* shifted to 'caring for or about' somebody; cf. *açı-n-* above. Uigur *agri-* has the body part (*tış, yüräk, baş, adak, boguz tamak, yan, sin süñük, ämig, burun*) as subject; the subject of *agırın-*, on the other hand, is the suffering person.

(*agrıkan-* 'to feel pain, to complain of pain' is discussed among the +(X)rkA-verbs, section 5.2. A corresponding stem without the -(X)n- is not attested.)

agrukla-n- 'to find a matter burdensome or onerous' is, by the *EDPT*, quoted only from the DLT. The *UW* has it from BT I. Attested also in HamTouen 14,2 and 3, in both cases with *l*-hook wrongly placed under the R. *tokuz on kat*

220 *adıl-* cannot be read in QB 2374, as written in the *EDPT*.

*azıki*²²¹ *agruklanmazun* “qu’on ne tienne pas pour un fardeau les 90 couches de provisions”. *tuglug*²²² *elim yavız kulıntın agruklanmazun* is wrongly translated as “Qu’on ne tienne pas pour un fardeau mon état à drapeau à cause de ses mauvais serviteurs (esclaves)”. Rather, *tuglug elim* is the subject and *yavız kul* a sg. referring to the writer himself. See *agruk+la-* above.

agt-in- ‘to rise, climb, get to’ is used only in Uigur (both Buddhist and Manichaean) and is discussed in the *UW*. As written there, the evidence of the exs. in Brāhmī and Manichaean scripts speaks for a realisation as *axtin-*. The dotting of the velar in the Ht mss. could also be interpreted this way: Velar /k/ was no doubt, in certain circumstances, also realised as [x]. Not mentioned in the *UW*: *oglanıyısı üzü agtınmış arkalıg* and *atasınıñ arkasınıñ otrasında agtını[p]* (ms. T II S19 b = Mz 652 v 7-8 in SktUigBil; Brāhmī),] *agtınur* (LautHöllen 71), *eyin kızıgçä agtına agtına* (thus?! UigTot 1100), *kayçu çiu atl(ı)g balıknıñ arkusınaru agtınıp barır ärkän* (TuoLuoNi 356) and *kök t(ä)ñrikä agtınıñ, t(ä)ñrim* (BT XIII 27,25). The TuoLuoNi ex. has ‘to go up to’ in the sense of ‘going to the capital’: In a personal communication, P. Zieme notes that such expressions are found also in Chin. and Iranian; in the Old Testament one also went *up* to the capital. All the other exs. signifying ‘to reach’, however, have (some) hell as target: U II 78,43 and 79,46, UigSün 46 and LautHöllen 71. See 2 *ag-ıt-* ‘to rise’ among the *-(X)t-* verbs; *agt-in-* should be its reflexive or anti-transitive derivate. The synonymous but rather rare 1 *ag-* (*ag-* II in the *UW*) is not, I think, attested in Buddhist texts; nor does it have the extended meaning ‘to reach, to get to’.

al-in- ‘to accept, chose, receive into oneself, take up’. In Buddhist texts only in the abstract sense (with ‘advice’, ‘the true doctrine’, ‘the King of Men’, ‘the realm of Buddha’, a ‘*sūtra*’ etc. as objects), only *in bonam partem*. *al-*, on the other hand, is mostly concrete and often has negative connotations. A number of exs. are not mentioned either in the *UW* or the *EDPT*: KudGojūni A 6 and 7 and AbhiKār 14 c have the phrase *özkä alın-*, BuddhUig I 99, 103 and 106 the synonymous *KÖNGÜLKä alın-*. These join the three exs. of par. 3 of the *UW* entry. SP 26 has the sequence *alın- tut-*; this is probably not a biverb but has *alın-* used as inchoative of *tut-*. *al(ı)nur tep bitiyü täğintim* (BT XIII 39,25) signifies ‘I have humbly written it down in the hope that (he) accepts (or: favours) (it)’. This instance was not identified by the editor, who wrongly writes ‘*alnur*’.²²³ Whether *yeğinç küntä . . . beşägü buñk alınıp ünär* (the foetus as

221 If correctly translated, to be emended to *azıki*: This text wrongly writes *yıları* for *yuları*, *ögürinä* for *ögürinä* and *ilätü* for *ülätü*. *azığı* ‘its canine tooth’ would give even less sense.

222 Wrongly written as TWXLWM.

223 A footn. adds: “Unklare Lesung. geschrieben ”’ur [i.e. *alnur*, M. E.]. Statt -w- ist vielleicht aber

subject, UigTot 359) is medial is an open question: Buddhist anatomy and physiology is, after all, a rather imagined matter. In a Yenisei ex. (for which see the *EDPT*; discussed in the syntactic explanations below) and in Manichaean M III 14,4₁ (text 7; not quoted in context in the *UW*, not mentioned in the *EDPT*) it signifies 'to take for oneself as wife'. *al-* can also have this meaning (par. 12 in the *UW* entry), but only in the generalised phrase *är / kız / tul kişi / kâlin al-*. *alın-*, however, has specific women as objects and appears to be more personal. *alın-* is medial, then,²²⁴ in the sense in which this term is used in Greek grammar. The Qarakhanid exs. (q.v. in the *EDPT*) have different connotations.

alk-un- 'to consume or exhaust oneself, perish, be or get used up'. See the *UW* for the Uigur exs., the *EDPT* for the runic and Qarakhanid ones and the *DTS* for biverbs. Instances from M I 8,8 (TeilBuch) and M III 10,9₂ (text 5) are listed under *alkın-* in the *EDPT* but under *alkan-* (q.v. below) in the *UW*. The first should, as the *UW* notes, be read as *alk-*; there are several other exs. in that text for extra prevocalic *alif*.²²⁵ The M III instance, however, does belong to *alkın-* although it is spelled as *alkan-*: With the accusative *kamgag* for 'normal' /*kamagig*/, this is one of the texts which occasionally uses *alif* for the phoneme /i/. The context is not unclear, as the *UW* maintains, and von Le Coq's translation makes perfect sense. Other exs. to be added to the *UW* entry are *aşımız azukumuz tükäl alkınmuşında* (InscrOug II 11) and a further one *ibid.* 16, *alkınzun* (AbitAnk 42), *alkınmak yokadmak* (Neujahr 40), *agir ayig kılınçları öçüp alkinıp . . .* (AbitIst 62), *alkınur[lar ärti* (TuoLuoNi 204) and *alkingu batgu* "Verschwinden und Untergang" (BT XIII 49,16). See *alkınmaksız* above, *alkındur-* below. *alkınçu* and *alkınçsız* could just as well come directly from *alk-* 'to destroy, use up, finish'.²²⁶

alka-n- 'to call out invocations or to call out in invocations, both when praying or praising and when cursing'. See the *UW*; the ex. of Wettkampf 5 (of praising) should be added to the entry. *alka-* is also used both *in bonam* and *in malam partem*.²²⁷ *alka-* and *alkan-* appear to have had more or less the same meaning,

auch -y- zu lesen." The present interpretation makes the eds.' first choice of reading W appear preferable.

224 Against the *UW* entry, which denies this.

225 One of the objects of this verb is the accusative form which has been read as 'koyanug' both in the *EDPT* and the *UW* and translated as 'sheep'. What the scribe meant to write must have been *koynnug*, which explains the rounded accusative allomorph. Similar ways of writing phonetically complex phonemes are attested also in other early texts; cf. *turuñya* in the Irq Bitig.

226 Both the *EDPT* and the *UW* maintain that *alko* (which they write as *alku*) is a petrified converb of *alk-*. I can't see much of a connection, though: *alko* signifies 'all', and the converb vowel of *alk-* is not rounded but /A/ as expected.

227 The *alka-* ex. of TT I 170 quoted as having positive content in *UW* 95 b is corrected in *UW* 244 a-b

but *alkan-* is used only in Manichaean texts. The biverb *kargan- alkan-* ‘to call out curses to each other’ comes from a biverb **karga- alka-*, whose assimilated variant is listed in DLT fol. 145. There we read: ‘*ol anı kargadı arkadı*’ ‘He cursed him and mentioned his evil deeds’. This is used as a paired expression, never alone. It is derived from their word for ‘praise’, *alkış*. From the frequent use in the paired expression, *alkadı* became used also for evil, even though its root-meaning was for good. Then the *rā* is an alternant of the *lām*.²²⁸ Although *Kāšgarī* was right about the phonetics, he was wrong about the semantic aspect. *alpirka-n-* ‘to find something too difficult or tedious’ is discussed with the *+(X)rkA-* verbs in section 5.2. The existence of *alpirka-* is not certain; see the *UW* s.v.

amra-n- ‘to love’ is discussed in the *UW*, also s.v. *amranmak* (which is much more common than *amran-*). Further exs. in *UigTöt* 116 with an anaptyctic vowel as *amuranmak*, 183, 361 and 364, *Tenri A I* and *IV* and *HamTouen* 1,46, 5,32 and 6,5. An epistolary biverb *isinü amranu* appears in *HamTouen* 17,2 and 14, 20,4, 22,2 and 5, 23,3 and 29,2. In *UigTöt* 183, *ög kaṇ amranmış üdtä* is translated as ‘Wenn Vater und Mutter sich lieben’. I think this should be ‘Wenn man Vater und Mutter liebt’ with *ög* and *kaṇ* as objects and not subjects (the formulation of the Tib. original permitting): Cf. *amra-š-* above. For *amranguluk sävgülük bol-* in *TuoLuoNi* 26 = 37, the meaning of *amran-* is wrongly given as ‘geliebt werden’. The passive sense of the construction comes from the deontic passive participle, not from the verb stem itself. *amrançıg* (q.v. in section 3.311) can come from the base *amra-* (with which *amran-* appears to be synonymous); cf., however, *amranmaklıg* vs. *amramaklıg*.²²⁸

anu-n- ‘to prepare oneself, to make ready’. See the *EDPT* for Qarakhanid exs. (there are more in the QB than mentioned there) and the *UW* for Uigur ones. Add *anunu küdä tururlar* ‘they wait, preparing themselves’ (*BT XIII* 19,81). The base is a hap. in the DLT.²²⁹ Cf., however, *anu-t-* (below) and *anu-k* (above).

ar-in- ‘to tire (intr.)’ is attested in *BT II* 970: *ät’özläri arınıp tınları tınılıp tını üzülgäli bartukta ...* ‘When their bodies tire and their breath becomes cold and ...’. Does not belong to *er-in-* ~ *yer-in-*; that shouldn’t and doesn’t have such a variant and does not fit in meaning. The first verb in *arınıp ärmägürüp* in *Chuast* 255 and 266, associated with *ärkligin ärsizin* in both instances, also

and shown to have the opposite purport. Compare, as a semantic parallel, the ambivalence of Arabic *dā’a*.

228 *amramaklıg* is not a hap., as what it appears in the *UW* entry for it: It is attested also in Warnke 60. We discuss the morpheme sequence *-mAk+IXg* at the end of the section on *+IXg*.

229 The ‘*ant-*’ instance mentioned in the *EDPT* is a mistake for *ay-*. This was noted by Tezcan in his n. to *Ht X* 1038.

belongs here. It is spelled with two *alif* in ms. TM 183,5 of the Chuast, in Manichaean script and published by Le Coq. He adds in a n.: “Schlaffheit und Mattigkeit des Handelns war ausdrücklich verboten”. See *EDPT* and *UW* for *ar-* ‘to be or get tired or weary’. The *UW* has no entry for *arin-* but considers this a spelling variant of ‘*ärin-*’. Such a form would have no appropriate etymology, however.

ari-n- ‘to purify oneself, to be pure’. See the *UW* s.v., also for the valency difference between this verb and *ari-*: *ari-n-* always has personal subjects and spiritual content. The content of *ari-*, on the other hand, is not necessarily spiritual; even when it is, its subject is practically always non-personal. See *al-* and *al-in-* (earlier in this section) for a similar distribution. Exs. in ShōAgon 1, p. 157,4 (. . . *bulur arınmakıg*) and AbiShotan v17 (*munuñ arınmakıma yevig [ti]zig bolmakı*) should be added to the *UW* entry. See the *EDPT* for the uses to which the DLT puts *arin-*: They are purely carnal, although impeccably reflexive. Interesting for Uigur are the meanings *arin-* has in the Codex Comanicus. *arit-in-* presumably ‘to get oneself clean’: In all six exs. mentioned and quoted in the *UW* and the *EDPT* it appears in a biverb with *yu-n-*. It may be noticed that three pre-Qarakhanid instances of *yu-* are *arig yup*, *arıtı yup* and *arıtı yumıñ arutmuş k(ä)rgäk*. In all exs. the biverb is used of physical washing (although at least in one instance within an extended metaphor for something more abstract): hence a real reflexive. Cf. *ari-t-* below.

as-in- should, I think, be read in TT VII 23,2 (which the *UW* apparently assigns to a verb ‘*äsin-*’) and in TT VIII (Brāhmī) I 17 (which *UW* 234 b considers dubious). See a further ex. under *yorit-* in section 7.561. It should *not* be read in Toñ (which see under *aşa-n-*) nor in the QB (which see under *aşun-*). I find all three Uigur contexts to be reasonably clear. In the Brāhmī ex., apparently, the diacritic for *i* was inadvertently omitted, leaving the middle *akşara* of the word *as(i)nup* with the shape for *sna*. The verb could signify ‘to hang (an amulet, a necklace) on oneself’.

aşa-n- ‘to have a meal; to eat (also with direct object); to enjoy’. A runic ex. is mentioned in the *EDPT* s.v. *asin-*, Uigur ones in the *UW*. *aş+a-* (q.v. above) and *aşan-* appear to be synonyms. Cf. *aşan-tur-* below.

(*aşgin-* ‘to be worn away’. The *EDPT* only from the DLT and from later texts. The *UW* has two Uigur exs.; in his review of *UW* fascs. 3 and 4 in *OLZ* 84 (1989): 62, Zieme quotes two further ones. His suggestion that the verb be read as ‘*aşkin-*’ appears to be motivated by his idea that it should be a variant of *alk-in-*; this is unacceptable because of Ottoman *aşin-* (same meaning). I know of no base in Old Turkic for this verb. Ercilasun, 1984: 42-43 believes in a formative -*gXn-*, to which he assigns *ıçgin-* “kaybet-”, *ötkün-* “taklit et-” and *tüzgin-* “dön-, dolaş-” from the QB, *aşgin-* and *boşgun-* from the DLT. *tüzgin-* is the

result of metathesis and none of the others have any evident bases. He adds: “Ekin . . . vazifesi belirsizdir”.)

aşun- ‘to surpass, excel’. Uigur exs. are listed in the *UW*, Qarakhanid ones in the *EDPT*. *aşun-* has been read in BT XIII 19,58 with a meaning appropriate for *aşun-*, and may be the original shape of the verb. A connection with *aş-* ‘to cross over; to surpass’ is made likely by the fact that, with other *-(X)n-* verbs as well, the *-(X)n-* derivate has the transferred meaning where the base verb has both the concrete and the transferred one.²³⁰ Note also that there are several exs. in the transferred meaning, where both *aş-* and *aşun-* are used in biverbs with *ärt-*. Such phraseological similarities are a common characteristic of derivatives. The major alternant *aşun-* may therefore be a back-formation from *aşnu*. *aşnu* is much more common and found much earlier and also served as base for several derivatives; *aşnu*, in turn, would come from *aş-in-*.²³¹ The QB 4848 ex. listed in the *EDPT* in fact belongs to *äşü-n-*. A real ex. in QB 595, on the other hand, is in the *EDPT* listed under *asın-*. There the mss. A and B have *asun-* (thus), while C is missing.²³² See Tezcan’s review of the QB İndeks for both instances. The *-mAklaşU* derivate of this verb is discussed in section 7.1. In BT XIII 49,15 there is an ex. of *az+u-* which the ed. would like to read as ‘*aşu-*’ and take to be the base of *aşun-*. He translates it as “fortschreitet (?)” and calls it “eine erweiterte Form zu *aş-* ‘überschreiten’”. But that would give a hapax, whereas the context is perfectly served with *azu-*.

ata-n- ‘to be named, to be called . . . , to be considered to be . . . ; to be nominated to a high office’. The *EDPT* set up ‘to be famous’ as one of the meanings of this verb only for the sake of the IrqB LV instance; that, however, should better be translated as ‘he was nominated to a high office’. See the *UW* for the Uigur exs., the *EDPT* for the Qarakhanid ones. There are additional exs. in the Tariat inscr.:²³³ *k(a)ra bod(u)n . . . k(a)g(a)n (a)t(a)dı; t(ä)ñridä bolm(i)ş (e)l (e)tm(i)ş b(i)lgä k(a)g(a)n (a)t(a)dı, (e)l b(i)lgä k(a)tun (a)t(a)dı. k(a)g(a)n (a)t(a)n(i)p x(a)tun (a)t(a)n(i)p ötü(k)ä n ortusinDa . . . örgin bunDa (e)ü(t)-d(i)m (S6) and t(ä)ñridä bolm(i)ş (e)l (e)tm(i)ş b(i)lgä k(a)g(a)n (e)l b(i)lgä k(a)tun k(a)g(a)n (a)t(i)g k(a)tun (a)t(i)g (a)t(a)n(i)p . . . (W1)*. T. Tekin’s translations are as follows: “The common people . . . appointed (me) kagan, appointed (me) *Tängridä-bolmış, El-etmiş Bilgä Kagan* . . . and (my wife) *El-Bilgä Katun* . . . After having been appointed *kagan* and *katun*, I had my head-

230 For the latter meaning, see especially the *UW* entry.

231 Even if the Y in the BT XIII instance of this verb is uncertain and even if it should remain a hap., this account of the origin of the shape of *aşun-* remains viable.

232 Read QB as *kapugda aşungıl maña bol yakın* ‘excel at court . . .’; cf. Maue, 1981 for *kapıg* in this meaning.

233 The scholars are in disagreement over the overall ordering of the lines of this inscription.

quarters established here . . . amidst Ötüken.” and “I, the Heaven-born and the State-Founder Bilgä Kagan and (my wife) El-Bilgä Katun, having assumed the title of kagan and the title of katun, . . .”. The reflexive meaning which Tekin assumes for the last two exs. of *atan-* is expressed in Ht IV 5 b8 as *ol tegin ymä özin xan atantı*. See the base *at+a-* in section 5.11.

atla-n- ‘to ride or mount a horse, to set out’ is documented in the *UW* (Uigur) and the *EDPT* (DLT etc.). Medial verb. See *at+la-* above and *atlan-tur-* below.

(*avin-* ‘to enjoy oneself, take pleasure (in something)’ is document in the *UW* (Uigur) and the *EDPT* (Qarakhanid exs.). *avinçu* (discussed among the *-(X)nçU* forms in section 3.105) is attested already in the IrqB, Qarakhanid Turkic also has the abstract *avinç* and cf. *avut-* and *avutıl-* below. A base for all these is not attested, however. This verb is also medial. ‘*avinıl-*’ in TT VIII D is a mistake corrected in the *UW*; ‘*avinçsız*’ in the *DTS* reproduces an error of U I corrected in the reedition of the text in U IV.)

aya-n-makka tükällig ‘worthy of respect’ is a hap. in an Uigur text, quoted in the *UW*. Anti-transitive, whereas *aya-l-* (q.v. below) is passive.

(*ayin-* must have been the original shape of a verb which then apparently turned into *äyin-*. The runic IrqB XIX and M III 10,6₃ (text 5) in Manichaean script (both in the *EDPT*) have back vowels; *korkınu ayınu* (Suv 314,17, quoted in the *DTS* s.v. *qorqın- ajın-*) and *ayınıp äymänip* (Ht IV 1506, not in either dictionary) are ambivalent. *äyinç*, discussed above in section 3.104, has front vowels, however: It is attested with the accusative and dative suffix allomorphs *+ig* and *+kä*. No base is attested for *ayin-* ‘to fear’ in Turkic, but Mo. *ayu-* ‘to fear’ is very likely to represent **ayX-*: As follows from Thomsen Hansen, 1963, the argument used in the *EDPT* against such a connection is invalid. *ayin-* may have gotten fronted because of the /y/ or by analogy with *äymän-* (q.v. below). *äyin-* may also be dialect variant, as the Buddhist sources have it, and only the Buddhist ones. *korku aynu* in QB 4049 (not in the dictionaries, mistranslated in the *İndeks* of the QB) is probably also ambiguous as to fronting.)

ba-n- ‘to bind something on oneself, to put on a weapon’ is attested in a Yenisei inscr. and in the DLT. See the *EDPT*.

(*bagdaşınmak* is a hap. in the nominal phrase *yarım bagdaşınmakın [o]lor-* in MaitrH XI 6 b9; a description of this way of sitting is given in the n. to the translation. Cf. the petrified converb *bagdaşını* below.)

bak-in- ‘to look at something for one’s own benefit; to look around’. *EDPT* from the DLT and the QB on. Add *çınkaru bakın* (ETŞ 12,20) and *öñdün kedin bakınu* (BuddhUig II 103). *bak-* ‘to look at’ is also quoted in the *EDPT* only from the DLT and the QB on, but is attested also e.g. in Ernte, Bud-

dhUig I (thrice), Suv, BT III (thrice) and ShōKenkyū. Cf. also *bak-ig* ‘glance’ (DLT), *bak-ut-* (BT VIII A) and *baktokla-* (Suv). The Uigur texts mentioned here are late.

maṇra-n- ‘to call out’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* (which do have the DLT’s *maṇraṣ-* and *maṇrat-*). Attested in *kuṣ māṇin maṇranu* (Hochzeit 31) “(wie . . .) ein Vogel nach seinem Futter schreit”, *kay kay sayu maṇirt(i)n maṇrandılar*²³⁴ (Shō XII b 12, with anaptyctic /i/) ‘they called (it) out in all the markets’ and in BT III 1020 (quoted under *tan-iṣ-* above). See *maṇra-* in section 5.32 above.

bar-in- is, in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, quoted only from the DLT on. ‘to flow off from a person’s body’: *āt’özümüzdin kan yiriṇ söl . . . akar barınur* (Maitr 61 r 10), *kan iriṇ akar barınur* (Maitr 174 r 4) and *iriṇ tav akar barınur* (ibid. 24). Cf. *uraguttın kan barındı* (DLT fol. 338), of menstrual blood. *bar-* is, of course, ‘to go’ in the widest possible sense.

bas-in- semantically differs from *bas-* ‘to press, impress, crush, make a surprise attack, suppress’ in several ways. Anti-transitive *basın-* in IrqB XLVI: *tābā titigkā tüşmiş; basınu . . .* ‘A camel fell into a bog. Under (physical) pressure, it . . .’. Similar in *yat yagıka basınmaguluk* (Suv 422,3). Anti-transitive or reflexive in Toñ 39: *nākā tazar biz? üküş teyin nākā korkur biz? az teyin nā basınalım? tögälim!* “‘What are we running away for? Why do we consider (them) numerous and are afraid? Why should we consider (ourselves) few and feel under pressure (or: impose restraint on ourselves, or: suppress our spirit)? Let us attack!’”. The other exs. of *basın-* are tr., signify ‘oppress, repress’ in Uigur and ‘oppress, treat with disrespect and despise’ in Qarakhanid (q.v. in the *EDPT*). Here, *basın-* differs from *bas-* in having an abstract and metaphorical meaning, whereas *bas-* has mainly physical content.²³⁵ Such exs. can be found in TT II 1,12 (quoted in the *EDPT*), TT VI 10 (biverb *iyin- basın-*), BT XIII 13,91 (*öz[üm]tä kudi kişiläriğ iymäk basınmak*) and TuoLuoNi 190 (*basıngalı örlätgäli umazlar* “können nicht (mehr) bedrücken und quälen”). *basıñç* ‘oppression’ (q.v. in section 3.104 above) and *basıntur-* ‘to get oppressed etc.’ (discussed below) come from this last use of *basın-*. Cf. also *basınguluksuz bol-* (section 3.312) and *basıñış-*.

başla-n- ‘to begin (intr.)’ is documented in the *EDPT*. Exs. not mentioned there appear in Maitr 6 r 1, 3, 5 and 8 (where it signifies ‘to rule’ as an intr. activity of

234 The ed. read *maṇirt(i)n* as ‘*maṇınta*’ which does not make much sense. Cf. *maṇirt maṇra-*.

235 *bas-* does appear in abstract use in two cases. Firstly, when denoting the repression of one’s own passions: *öpkä nızvanıların iyä basa umadın ok, . . .* (TT II 2,74). Similar to this, TT III 120-1 (= Pothi 160-1) should probably be completed as [*nızvani*]ların *bastılar, arxant kutın bul[ıtlar]*; not as [*ayığ*]ların . . .’. Secondly, the biverb *iy- bas-* has non-physical content: *ayığ kılınçlıg tosun yavlak moyga tınlıglarığ iyär basar* (TT VI 255).

Buddhas before entering *nirvāṇa*), Ht X 11, ms. T I T 301 (U 2378) l.2-3 (in the n. to Hochzeit 12) and in l.2 of a Manichaean fr. from Istanbul quoted in the n. to SP 30.

mayakan- is a hap. in BT XIII 60,8: *maxeşvari tãñri başlap munça terini kuvragı birlä / mayakanzun yämü [...]I sãniñ agızınka*. We have to face the fact that this verse is obscene and irreverent; obscene graffiti have always been a commonplace, and Cf. Republican Turkish *Ağzına sıçayım*. I translate: 'May the god Maheşvara together with all that assembly₂ of his defecate into your mouth [...], O.K.?' Not translated by the ed. See the *EDPT* for *mayak*. Verbs denoting bodily functions tend to be medial in form.

bädizä-n- 'to adorn oneself' is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Attested in Maitr 75 v32 as *bädizänürlär ärdi*. Cf. *bädiz+ä-* above, *bädizä-l-* below.

bädüklä-n-ü is found only in ShōAgon 2, p. 190,7 in fragmentary context.

bädük+lä- appears in DLT fol. 593, translated 'to reckon somebody to be big'. In the entry *bädükläntür-* in the *EDPT* it should have been noted that, in the one possibly real ex., the first two letters are conjectured and the third is marked as uncertain.

bäklä-n- is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT on and from Heilk I 12 (*u[n b]äk-länmä[k* 'the impediment of breath'). The DLT gives several meanings, corresponding to what we find in additional Uigur exs. *kızıl bakırlag naralar içintä bäklänmiş amarıları* (Maitr 68 v2) corresponds to the DLT's *bäkländi nän* 'The thing was kept or guarded'.²³⁶ A further Maitr ex. of *bäklän-* appears in 176 v13. Cf. *alko üç yavlak yolnuñ kapığı tunzun bäklänzün* (BT XIII 46,24) 'May the gate to all three evil ways be blocked and secured'. Another DLT ex. is *är ävindä bäkländi* 'The man entrenched himself in his house'. By metaphorical extension of this meaning, *yarok yaşok sakınmak üzä bäklänip*... (UigTöt 194) 'man muss sich durch das Vorstellen von Licht verschließen'. Another ex. of *bäklän-* appears *ibid.* 233. *ernim bäklänip*... 'my lips got locked up' appears in Suv 9,8; the ms. of this passage edited in SuvLeg (T I 164 v10) has *agızum bäklänip* instead. This reminds us both of the BT XIII instance and of the DLT's *bäkländi nän* 'The thing became firm'. Ht X 793 has been read as *adaki sön tumlıyu b(ä)rkränmiş ärdi*, 'to get rigid (of a corpse)'. The *l*-hook must again have been forgotten and we have the same verb here. *bärk* is the original shape of *bäk* (unless this is also an error). Another ex. of *bäklän-*

236 The words "'the thing was stored up' or 'the thing was in store'(?)" of the *EDPT* entry should be deleted: Dankoff and Kelly correctly translate the original as "transitive or not transitive". What Kāşgārī probably means is that the Oguz used *bäklän-* both as anti-transitive and as passive (only transitives being capable of passive transformation). Where the Uigur have *bäklä-l-* (q.v. below), Ottoman Turkish to this day neutralises the opposition between passive and reflexive if the base has an /l/ in the last syllable.

appears in Ht X1114. Here the context is too fragmentary, but “gömülmüş” does not seem to be a likely meaning for this verb. See *bäk+lä-* above, *bäklä-l-* below.

bärt-in- ‘to get injured’ is in the *EDPT* quoted from one Uigur ex. and from the DLT. Attested also as follows: *buzulup bärtinip* . . . (TuoLuoNi 98); *tançu aşılg* [. . .] *z dyantın tursar ok* [. . .] *rU bärtinür*;²³⁷ *anı* [ü]çün *aşnuça* [ya]g *süt kodup* . . . (Ht V 3 a5) i.e.: If you wake him up by giving him *bits* of food, he will get hurt; therefore give him lots of cream and milk. *busuşlug okın ursukup bertinip* (thus) *yüräki ämgänti* (Suv 632,23) ‘She got hit by the arrow of sorrow and got hurt, and her heart ached’. *bärt-* is “to wound or break without inflicting visible injury” (DLT). See exs. in the *EDPT*, and in the *DTS* s.vv. *bert-* (the ex. from TT I 198 quoted there should belong to *ber-* ‘to give’) and ‘*bart-*’. The spelling ‘*b(i)rt(d)umuz / b(i)rtd(i)m(i)z / b(i)rtt(i)m(i)z*’ of the eds. of the Chuast mss. in 80 and 215 is groundless. Cf. *bärKä* (with late variant *berKä*) and *bärt-ök* above.

biş(u)r-un- is a religious term signifying ‘to assimilate a doctrine, get well versed in it and exercise it’. Not used in the concrete sense which *biş-ur-* (q.v. below in the section on *-Ur-*) and the hap. *bişrun-dur-* can have. Both Manichaean and Buddhist. Most common is the biverb *bişrun- ögrätin-*, attested in TT V B 8, Buddhäv H 18, AmitIst 68, Suv 39,14, 136,19, 140,11, 141,19, 213,18, 371,14 etc., BT III 769, UigKol 26-7, ShōAgon 1,15 (twice) and 92, UigFalt 8-9, 13 and 33, Warnke 554. Further exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* occur in BT II 99, 391 and 1070, Suv 211,6 and 372,9, ETŞ 13,82 and 100, 19,20 etc., 67 times in UigTot, twice in BuddhUig I 402, ShōAgon 1,187, BuddhUig II 14, UigKol 13-14, Buddhäv H 1 and 24, BT VII J 4 and 17 and A 768, 422 and 449, UigFalt 67, 69 and 70, BT VIII A 451 and 453, AbitAnk 21 and 23 and elsewhere. It can govern the dative (as in the TT III ex. quoted in the *EDPT*) or direct objects: *käzig*, *alko ädgülär*, *köni dyan*, *arig yorig*, *nom*, *yol* and others.

bil-in- ‘to know for oneself; to attain self knowledge, to come to one’s senses, to become self-conscious, to admit one’s sins’. Documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* from runic, Manichaean, Buddhist and Qarakhanid sources, in the latter also s.v. *ökün- bilin-*. This biverb appears also in UigSünd 4. A biverb *tuyun-bilin-* can be found in Suv 218,18, UigTot 438 and in the Maitr, *öglän- bilin-* in Shō XII b 1, *ukun- bilin-* in BT II 969-70, Maitr 73 r 18 and 178 r 5, UigSünd 43. Further exs. in ShōKenkyū II 26, ms. T II K 8 r 6 in ChuastBeitr footn. 3, Suv 625,17 and BT XIII 4,34²³⁸ and 12,13. The *EDPT* mentions instances where *bilin-* is used in biverbs with *açın-* and *kakın-*.

237 Not ‘*bardınur*’, as the ed. writes.

238 *yazokın bilinip ol yaña* should here be translated as ‘that elephant realised that he was sinful’, not

boguzla-n- is a hap. in Toñ quoted in the *EDPT*; found also in the Sanglax, etc. See *boguz+la-* above. The instance is normally translated as if it were a passive form. Perhaps the limitation on -(X)l- in Ottoman Turkish, i.e. the fact that it could not be added to bases which had an /l/ in their last syllable, held also for Orkhon Turkic; at least I know of no instance to contradict it.

(*boşgun-* 'to get instruction, to learn'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Appears also in ETŞ 13,124 and 27,2, frequently in the Maitr, Ht V 12 b 1 and IV 1688 (*kuldın nom boşgunı*, source of instruction in the ablative), Töpfer 15 (*baxşıda boşgunmuş bilig*, similar construction relativised), 19 and 26, UigFalt 2 and Suv 395,10. Base unknown, but no doubt connected with *boşgur-* (q.v. among the -Ur-verbs) and *boşgut* (section 3.108). Under *boşgut*, the reader can find several additional exs. of *boşgun-*, and there are many more. *boşgut-* (discussed among the -(X)t- verbs) may not have existed.)

boşw-n- 'to free oneself, to get free, from impediments of the soul (mainly sin)'. Exs. in the *EDPT*, a further one in Maitr 73 r 19. Cf. also *yazokumuznı boşwnu kolmak* in Le Coq's ms. of Chuast 185 where Radloff's ms. has *boşwyu ötün-mäk*. The instance in ŞU quoted in the *EDPT* is not certain: Only B¹W seems to be free of doubt on the quite good photograph which I was generously allowed to examine in Copenhagen; *bo elkä* might also be possible. *boşw-* is tr. in Uigur (which makes it an exception in its formation). See its discussion in section 5.41, and that of *boşlun-* in section 7.22.

bög-ün- 'to comprehend, perceive, recognize' is better discussed in the *DTS* (also under *činyar- bögün-*); the *EDPT* has only one Uigur ex. and understands it wrongly. Additional exs. appear in BT III, ShōAgon 3, p. 203,2, BT XIII 35,9 and 38,14 (similar to the TT III ex. misunderstood in the *EDPT*). Used in biverbs with *sakın-* in Suv 706,16, BuddhUig II 609-10 (twice) and ShōAgon 1,61 and 105 (this last mistakenly read as '*saqınmaq bögümäk*'). BuddhBio 12 should be read as *bo beş türlüg ağır tülläriğ bögünü kördi bodısıtv bilgä biligin* 'He perceived₂ these five types of important dreams through his wisdom of being a bodhisattva'. The ed. wrongly reads this as '*bügürü*'.²³⁹ *bögün-* no doubt comes from *bög-* 'to gather and assemble'; the derivate differs from the base by being its spiritual counterpart. *bög-* is discussed in the *EDPT*; the Suv 137,4 instance was taken over into the versified version and now appears as BT XIII 13,110. Maitr 11 v 8 has another ex.

böl-ün- 'to be divided into parts or groups' is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the

as done by the editor. Thus both by the case and possessive suffixes and because of the context. Word order is a bit irregular but, as elsewhere in this text and in others, normal poetic licence.

239 He constructs an unattested verb '*bügü+r*'; the facs. shows the reading *bögün-* to be possible at least as well as this. Moreover, +(A)r- verbs typically signify 'to be or become the content of the base'; this could not be said of how the ed. translates his instance.

DTS. *bölünüp* appears quite clearly on the face. in BT I D (174) and not at all clearly *ibid.* (158). *böl-* is quoted in the *EDPT* from a controversial passage in Toñ and in the *DTS* form a Suv instance; it appears also in BT II 227, ETŞ 12,6, Maitr 450 v3,²⁴⁰ and UigFalt 115 and 120. Nine exs. of the biverb *böl-adırtla-* are mentioned under *adırt+la-* above. Cf. *böl-ük-* and *böl-ül-* below, *böl-ök* and *bölmäksiz* above.

bulga-n- 'to be stirred up, agitated; to be contaminated with something'. Exs. in *EDPT* and *DTS*, also in ETŞ 9,78 and 11,4, Suv 636,16 and ten times in Maitr (BT IX). Add also *övkälämäz bulganmazlar* (Maitr 80+59 v26). The biverb *busan-* *bulgan-* appears in Ht V6 b18 and ShōAgon 1,334. A number of QB exs. of *bulgan-ok* are mentioned under *bulga-k* above. Cf. also the next entry. (*burçın-mak* appears in Māngi 12 in parallelism with *bulganmak*. *bur[ç]ınmaks[ız bul]ganmaksız köñülin* (BT XIII 3,52) is translated as "mit unverstörtem und unverwirrtem Sinn". Cf. *burçintur-* in BT XIII 13,88 and Suv 136,11. The *EDPT* did not believe in the existence of such a stem, but these four exs. remove all doubts about its existence. In Suv we find the series *köñüllärin karınların irintür- burçintur- örlät- ämgät-*, in BT XIII 13 (a paraphrase of the Suv passage) *burçintur- ... köñüllärin busantur-*. These determine the meaning of *burçın-* as 'to be vexed, provoked, have a temper'. The *DTS* writes this verb with *o* in the first syllable, but the cognates quoted in Bang and Gabain's ns. to their ed. of the Suv passage indicate the opposite. The base is not attested in Old Turkic but lives on as stated in that note.)

(*busan-* 'to be sorrowful'. **busa-* is not attested, but *busuş* must also come from it. *DTS* s.v. '*buşan-*' and *EDPT*. Add *busanguluk taplaguluk iki türlüğ savlar* (BT II 918) "Tatsachen, über die man sich freuen (oder) bekümmert sein muß", *b[u]sanıp* (BT XIII 49,6), *ärtnü bāliñlädilär busantular* (Ht X465), *busan-ämgän-* (TuoLuoNi 229), *ayı busantımız* (HamTouen 20,13), *busanmanlar* (MaitrGeng 7 b11 according to Zieme, personal communication; misspelled as '*busa-*' by the editor), *yerinti busantı* (Ht X1020) and *köñüli biligi ärtnü busantı yer[in]ti* (HamTouen 1,63). In UigTot 1184, the transcription '*buşan-*' is wrong, the translation "über ... zornig werden" (with accusative) unlikely.²⁴¹ If anything, *busan-* governs an *üçün* phrase (as in the KP ex. quoted in the *EDPT*, the TT X ex. quoted in the *DTS* and *tagay çor üçün busanmanlar* (HamTouen 21,5); or the dative, as in Suv 631,3 (q.v. in the *DTS* entry) and Ht V6 a11: *yultuzçı körüm[çi] yokıña busanıp ... sezinti.*)

240 It is, however, a mistake in Maitr 450 v3: *tarmaklag bölär käl* should rather be translated as 'clawed (*tarmak*+IXg) spiders come ...'. Ş. Tekin (107,15) wrongly transcribes the word as '*boylar*'.

241 The ed. apparently confused *busan-* with *buş-* 'to be irritated, annoyed, angry' or, at least, thought the two could be related. The *DTS* also writes '*buşan-*'.

(*busurkan-* is a hap. in a biverb with *busan-* and, as a *verbum sentiendi*, presumably its synonym. Discussed in section 5.2. An *+(X)rkA-* verb related to it is not found.)

bügülä-n- 'to have mystical wisdom'. Appears 13 times in the infinitive (including 6 in BT II and one in Abhi 1451, quoted in *UW* 289 a par. 3). Other exs. occur in Kuan (quoted in the *EDPT*), MaitrGeng 12 b9 (*bügülüg köñülin bügülänü yarlıkap ...*) and MaitrH XVI 5 b30 (*t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi burxan ... elig xannıñ köñülintäki sakınçın bügülänip ...*). See *bügü+lä-* above.

bür-ün- 'to wrap something (direct object) round oneself' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from Qarakhanid Turkic on. The DLT's *uragut yogurkan büründi* is similar to an ex. in Maitr 128 v 14 = BT IX 77,14: *böz bürünüp içintä olormuş kim toyın ärki?* "Welcher Mönch ist es, der mit einem Baumwollgewand umhüllt drinnen sitzt?". There is a further ex., in fragmentary context, in Maitr 128 r3. The DLT also has the cognates *bürmä*, *bürül-*, *bürüş-* and *bürünçük*.

çız-un- 'to draw or write for oneself' is a hap. in Shō XI b5: *tükäl tāmür tu k(ı)ya*²⁴² *çızındım*. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *çız-dur-* is also a hap. in Uigur and *çız-* itself is rare as well. Only *çız-ıg* (q.v. above) is quite well attested. None of these appears in Qarakhanid Turkic. Mo. *jiru-* 'to draw, paint' is probably related to *çız-* (and not to *yaz-* 'to write', as stated in *EDPT* 984 a).

çu-n- 'to practice penitence'. Not mentioned in the dictionaries. Attested in *ämğäktä çunup ...* (ETŞ 9,76) and *ulug çunmaklıg ärip çunmaknıñ intın kızıgıña tägmiş ärür* (BT VIII B 154-5) "Er ist der große Büsser, er ist zum jenseitigen Ufer der Buße gelangt". The instance in MaitrH Y6 r12 should be translated accordingly. See *çu-k-* and *çu-l-* below; the base is discussed under *çu-k-*.

ädlä-n- 'to serve as something, to be utilised' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the DLT and from Ottoman. Under *atla-n-* in 269 b, the *UW* says that "DL'N- in Maitr 145 r30 should be read as *ädlän-* (in spite of BT IX I p. 110 n. where a nonexistent DLT verb is 'cited'); the instance governs a direct object, however, and remains a problem. Cf. *äd+lä-* above.

ämğä-n- 'to suffer'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Further exs. in Höllen 135, Maitr 127 r8, BT II 177 and 208, ManTüTex (16) 343, Ernte 84, BT VIII A 143, Shō IX a15, BuddhUig II 53, Ht V8 a18 etc. Worth quoting is *ätözin nän ämğäk ämğän-mädım* (Ht V12 b25); another ex. with *ämğäk* as internal object is quoted under *ämğä-k* (written in Tib. script). The biverb *ämğän-tolgan-*, quoted in the *EDPT* from a Manichaean text, is attested also in BT XIII 12,105. Another

242 Expresses humility. *tu*, transcribing the Chin. term for 'slave' (as found out by P. Zieme), has the same purport.

biverb is *busan- ämgän-* (TuoLuoNi 229). The *üzä* phrase in *agrig üzä ämgän-* (TuoLuoNi 85) is instrumental, as the dative in *isig kuyaşka ämgänmiş k(i)şi* in TT VIII I 10.²⁴³ See *ämgä-k* above for the mutual distribution of *ämgä-* (well attested in the QB) and *ämgän-*; the intr. *ämgä-* was displaced by the latter. Cf. also *ämgä-t-* below. See the *EDPT* for a special polite use of *ämgän-* reported on in the DLT; it reminds one of German ‘sich hinbemühen’.

(*äñän-* is attested in *kuvraglık*²⁴⁴ *ävlärig yalnız ’äñäntimiz ärksintimiz, adnaguka ber(mä)dimiz* (Maitr 69 r4) and *säñik säñräm sanlıg idişin tavarın ’äñänü alıp işlätdimiz, adnaguka bermädimiz* (*ibid.* 11) with the meaning ‘to set apart for oneself’. For the double initial *alif* cf. *äñ+lä-*. We do not have **äñ+ä-* but see the petrified converb *’äñäyü* ‘(in) particular, special’ at the end of section 5.11. *’äñän-yük* is used with roughly the same meaning but is always adnominal. It appears, variously misread, in BT XIII 56,15 (see the n. thereto for the interpretation) and 5,57 (cf. facs. for the correct reading), Maitr fr. 249 v3, MaitrH XI 7 b9, ETŞ 9,51 and 10,25 and M III 22,14 (text 8; facs.?). DTL fol. 91 has this lexeme with °*n-y*° simplified to *y*, as in *ögräyök, sarkıyuk, osayuk* and *bulgayuk*.)

(*ärksin-* ‘to have or acquire power (over)’ is dealt with in section 6.2, q.v. above. This is a medial verb.)

äsirkä-n- ‘to regret the loss of what is one’s own, i.e. to grudge’. The *EDPT* is probably right in that M III 21,3₁ (text 8) should be emended to *äsirkänü kızkanu* (and not, e.g., to ‘*äsirkäyü*’). A variant with initial /e/ appears in Maitr 198 r19: *boşı bergäylär ärdi, esirkänmäk köñül turgurmagaylar ärdi*. The base also has a variant with /e/. *äsirkä-* is discussed in section 5.2.

äşü-n- ‘to cover oneself as with a blanket’ appears in QB 3785, 4848 and 5003 (only the first of these mentioned in the *EDPT*). Also in BuddhBio 8: *üstünki kök t(ä)ñrig äşükçä äşünür bolur* ‘Er hüllt den hoch oben befindlichen Himmel wie eine Bettdecke um sich’.

(*äymän-* ‘to be shy’ is often spelled as *’äymän-*, for which an explanation is given in the *EDPT*. Front vocalism is guaranteed by *korkmak ’äymänmäk* (Maitr 55 r11-12), *äymänçlig* (Ht VII 3 b10), *äymänmäk* (HtPek 92 b13, Maitr 90 r7 and DLT fol. 138-9) and *äymänök* ‘reserved, self-effacing, reticent’ (QB 2237 and 4349), which are all spelled with a front *kāf*. Also by *äymänçsiz* in (Brāhmī) TT VIII A 48 and *emän-*, *ıman-* and *ymän-* in the Codex Comanicus. *äymänmäklig* in (Brāhmī) TT VIII A 10 is a compromise; the counter-exs. are *korkınçig*

243 Not TT VIII L 10, as written in the *EDPT*. Why the *EDPT* translates this as “suffering from sunstroke” is not clear.

244 Thus and signifying ‘meant for the community, for public use’; not ‘*kuvraglık*’, as it has been read.

- aymançığ* (Suv 614,5) and *burxanka aymanmakın* (MaitrH XI 3 b14), both with Q. The back-vowel variant may be due to analogy with *ayın-* or be caused by spelling pronunciation of the first part. Other exs. are ambivalent in this respect: Some are mentioned in the *EDPT*, and in the *DTS* under ‘*ajman-*’, ‘*qorq-ajman-*’ and ‘*ujat-ejmän-*’ (thus); others appear in Maitr 73 v3, Ernte 51, Ht IV 1506 and 1686, Shō VI b6, Suv 141,5, EhlersNotab 4 and BuddhUig II 501. See *äymänçsiz* in section 3.12. No base is attested for this *verbum sentiendi*. There is no reason to think that *äymän-* and *ayın-* ‘to fear’ (q.v. above) were originally related, although there is some superficial similarity especially in the written shapes, and although both can be used together with *kork-*.)
- (*elän-* ‘to rule, be a ruler’. *DTS* s.v. ‘*ilän-* I’ and ‘*ilänmək*’ and *EDPT* s.v. *ellen-*; UW 163 b writes *el(l)änür*. It is always spelled with one L, however; even if it could be proven conclusively that it comes from *el+lä-* (q.v. above) and not from ‘**el+ä-*’, geminate *l* could have been simplified prehistorically.²⁴⁵ *ellä-* is attested only in runic sources, *elän-* never in them. In M III 19,16 (text 8), BT V (13) 375, UigSteu A 31 and UigSukh 25 we find exs. not mentioned in the two dictionaries. Another etymology not to be excluded would be to connect this verb with the base of *ilgärü* and *ilki* ‘first’, in view of the fact that *baştınkı* and *başlayukı* are synonyms of the latter.)
- elt-in-* ‘to carry with one, acquire, get etc.’. Exs. in the *EDPT*; also in Maitr 84 v1, 110 v10, 203 r11 and 127 r11-12, ETŞ 9,99, 10,229, 13,13 and 199, 14,20 and 16,81, DruTur 10, BT VIII B 92, 142, 181 and 199 and BT XIII 27,32. *öz eltin-* in UigFalt 30 and 41 and ÄgFrag (1) B 12, 16 and 27 signifies ‘to lead a certain way of life’; it may, as Maue has written in connection with the ex. mentioned last below, be a calque on the Skt. phrase *ātmānam ud+dhār-*. *āṇ kenki āt’özüg eltindäçi* in TT VIII A 48, BT III 488 and ms. T III Toyoq 302 (Ch/U 6939) v14-17 (quoted on p. 335 of the publication containing Neujahr) corresponds to the Skt. compound *antima+deha+dhāri* ‘the bearer of the very last body’. Ms. T II S19 +IM 8 II (Mz 648) 3rd text b r4 is in SktUigBil completed as [*utaçi*] *ol ätözüg ye[ltiṅgä]li* and translated as “Er ist in der Lage, sich am Leben zu erhalten”. This is possible only if *elt-* or any of its derivatives can be shown in any independent way to have had initial **h* (> *y* ~ Ø).
- er-in-* is a *verbum sentiendi* signifying ‘to be annoyed at or impatient with (and therefore in some exs. to be negligent about) someone or something’. The *EDPT*’s lemmata for ‘*erin-* (?*érin-*)’, ‘*irin-* (?*érin-*)’ and ‘2 *yérin-*’ (with variant *érin-* in the body of the entry) should be united. None of these comes from the DLT’s *är irdi* “The man was lonely” (the base of the QB’s *irinçig* ‘boring’). The base of *er-in-* is *yer-* ‘to loathe, oppose, despise, criticise’, attested in Maitr 108

245 *elig xan* ‘king’ from *el+lig xan* has the same base, and there are numerous other cases.

r9, U III 73,21-2 and 83,27 and 13 times in the QB; further, in the biverbs *yer-münä-* in Maitr T III 118 β v9 and Ht VII 1798, *yer- yarsı-* in U III 43,21, *asKaṇçula- er-* (thus) in Heilk II p. 402 l.2²⁴⁶ and *er- yalk-* (thus) in Suv 235,10-12 and 250,7. The variant with initial *y* must clearly be considered the main one with the base (and with the QB's *yeringig* discussed above), but not with the other derivatives: *er-ik-*, *er-il-*, *er-it-*, *erinc* ~ *yering* and *er-in-* (with *ärinöksüz* ~ *erinöksüz* discussed at the end of section 3.102, *ärinmäksiz* from section 3.329 and *erin-tür-* discussed below). In Uigur texts, *erin-* and *yerin-* fluctuate: ... *bäğkä işikä yerinür övkiäyür* (TT VI 18) is the same biverb as *erinmädin* [övkä]lämädin (Ht VII 9 a13) and *nän kimkä ymä eringülük övkälägülük ärmäz* (Suv 228,14-15). From the biverb in *yerinti busantı* (Ht X 1020) we find the causative expansion *erintür- busantur-*. In TT VI 452, one ms. has *yerin-* while the other three write *erin-*. Further exs. with *yerin-* appear in KP 68,5, U III 73,22 and Warnke 20,²⁴⁷ with *erin-* in Suv 488,5 and M II 12,3₁ (text 5, Manichaean). The two Chuast exs. quoted in the *EDPT* under '*erin-*' in fact belong to *ar-in-*, q.v. above. In QB 2462, *erinmäz* is the variant of the two better mss., while the later one has *ärin-*; in the entry in DLT fol. 109, the forms fluctuate between *ärin-* and *erin-*.²⁴⁸ Cf. *erin-tür-* ~ *yerin-tür-*.

et-in- 'to prepare oneself'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. In Old Turkic proper it usually appears in biverbs either with *yarat-in-* or with *timä-n-*. *etin- yaratın-* is attested also in BT VIII B 143 among other places, *etin-* alone e.g. in Maitr 112,36, ShōAv 133 and BuddhUig II 9, 103 and 342.

ev-in- 'to hurry (intr.)' is attested only in QB 1999, 2359 and 2363 (only the first of which is mentioned in the *EDPT*), but cf. *evin-iş-* above. The QB also has an imperative *ev-it!* 'Make it fast!'. The *EDPT* has *ev-* 'to hurry' only from DLT and QB ff. It was probably intended also in U II 29,18 and 24 in a binomial *evä taya* (describing a hysterical running about). Cf. also *eväk* in DLT and QB.

(*içan-* 'to be apprehensive about something, stand on one's guard, dodge' appears in different shapes. The *EDPT* s.v. *içan-* does not believe in the existence of such a verb. In two of the exs. quoted there it stands parallel to *saklan-*. *DTS* also has *saqlan- yiçan-* (thus) from Suv (not mentioned there under *yiçan-*).

246 As corrected in *UW* 234 b top. The ed. wrongly read *aya-* instead of *er-*.

247 According to P. Zieme, the "Lesung" of this ex. is "unklar"; '*yirivip*' of the edition must be an error.

248 The *EDPT* entry for '*erin-*' tacitly chooses the weaker variant of QB 2462, *ärinmäz*, which differs also from the original shape of the verb. In DLT fol. 109, we have *är işka erindi* "The man was indolent in the matter out of boredom" and not as read or translated in the *EDPT*. In the aorist and infinitive forms in this entry, the first hand did write *fathas* (to which a second hand added *kasras*). *ar-in-* 'to tire (of something)' is clearly a different verb, although the two can look similar in some scripts.

Add *ıçanıp saklanıp* (BT II 233 on a leaf now lost). In ThreeLett 47 and 48, the facs. shows *ayı kuturu ıçını saklanu turgu kılıñ* 'make them go on being exceedingly₂ alert and on their guard' in one version, *ıçanu saklanu* in the other one.²⁴⁹ In UW 67 a s.v. *agır B,f fin.*, *yıçanmaklıg ağır köñülin* (Suv 492,18) is translated as "mit ehrfürchtigem und respektvollem Herzen". Not in the dictionaries is also *twgdı bälñ tåg seziki oğlanıña yıçanu* (Suv 632,22). *sezin-* and *(y)ıçan-* are associated also in Warnke 242: [*ayıg*] *kılınçlıg* [*tı*] *dıg* [*tu*] *tug üzä* [*tıdı*] *lıp üzülüp kutrulmaklıg orunka alp öf* [*gölük*] *ärür tep cın kertü sezingülük ıçanguluk bolgaylar*.²⁵⁰ A further biverb is *korka y* [*ıçanu*] in BT XIII 13,36. As stated by Zieme in *TDAYB* 1982-83 (1986): 235, *korka ıçanu* appears also in InscrOuig V 51 (misread by the eds.). Both exs. of this biverb describe the humility of scribes. Two identical passages in ManMon 45 and 47 are visible on the facs. but of obscure content. The Codex Comanicus has at least four times *yıçan-*, changed in all instances by a German hand to *yaçan-* by adding an A. This alteration is significant: DLT fol. 479 also has thrice *yaçan-*. *ol mändin yaçandı* is there translated as "He was ashamed [before me] because he failed to do the matter". No base is attested for this *verbum sentiendi*.)

(*ıçgın-* 'to lose something, let it go, let it slip away' is very common in Old Turkic. *EDPT*; *DTS* especially s.v. '*jüttür- ičyin-*'. Some of the exs. not mentioned there appear in *UigTot* 784, several times in *ETŞ* and in *QB* 2350. Add also *ög ıçgın-* 'to lose one's mind' in *LautHöllen* and *ıçxinur* in *Brāhmī* script in ms. *Mz* 210 A 3 quoted in n. 16 to Maue, 1984: 93. Base and derivation unknown, and the similarity with *ıçan-* may be coincidental. Possibly a medial verb.)

(*ınan-* 'to believe (in)'). Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear, among other places, in *Hazai* 5, *ETŞ* 9,96, 14,4 and 16,1, *Maitr* 18,4 and 5, *UjgStichi* 4, *TuoLuoNi* 241 (*ınan- kertgün-*), *UigTot* 1313, *Ht VII* 9 b 21 (*yınan-!*) and *Shō-Kenkyū* II 19.²⁵¹ No simplex for this verb is attested, but cf. *ınag* (section 3.101) and *ınal* (section 3.113) and also *ınamlı* < **ınam* in the Codex Comanicus.)

ırğa-n- is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only from DLT fol. 132 and translated as 'to shake and sway (intr.)', and from later sources. In *UigSukh* 14 we have] *yer alko*

249 The readings and interpretations of both Tuguševa and Clauson are aberrant. *ıçını* in one of the two versions of the passage is not surprising for the second vowel: As Clauson writes, "medial *ale*, *ili* ... are usually indistinguishable ... A letter which looks like a clearly written *ili* sometimes appears where *ale* might be expected."

250 The translation "Dann wird man durch das Taten-Hindernis verhindert und vernichtet und schwerlich zur Stätte der Befreiung gelangen, und man wird wahrhaftig zweifeln und argwöhnisch sein" has, I think, two errors: Firstly, *cın kertü* is probably the object of *sezin- ıçan-* and not adverbial. Secondly, the sentence *kutrumaklıg orunka alp ögölük ärür* probably represents the contents of the thought of those who have doubts and apprehensions; the ed.'s remark "*tıp hier im Sinne von ücün*" does not, I think, apply.

251 '*amtu-ta ınanu*' in ms. T II M 12-24 as quoted in the n. to BT I D 177 should be *amtu-ta ınaru*.

yırganur (thus), translating a Chin. biverb with the same meaning. *yırğa-l-*, q.v., is rather common, and cf. *ırğa-g* above. The n. to the UighSukh instance mentions Anatolian forms of this verb with initial *y*.

ıgdülä-n- 'to feed oneself' with *käntü özümün* as object: an Uigur hap. quoted in the *EDPT*. Tacitly emended there: The text has *ıgdilän-* (see facs.). *ıgdü+lä-* is discussed above.

ilgü-n- is perhaps 'to develop energy'. The *EDPT* wrongly writes that the only (Manichaean) instance which it quotes may be an error. Attested also in BT II 218, in *agızlarınta ot yalın ünüp isig özlärin tükäl ilgünü*²⁵² *umazlar* '... and they are quite unable to pull themselves together' or '... to muster up some energy'. In the Manichaean ex., *yel tärri küçin ilgünmäkin* is 'by invigoration stemming from the wind god's force'. See *ilgü-r-* in section 6.3 above also for the base, and cf. *ilgü-t-* and especially *ilgün-dür-* below.

il-in- 'to be or get caught in or with something'. M I 15,5 (TeilBuch; quoted in the *DTS* s.v. *közkä ilän-* and joined to a verb signifying 'to reprove') should be read as *köziñä nāñ il-(i)nmägäy*.²⁵³ Several of the exs. mentioned in the *EDPT* are of the biverb *ilin-* (or *yilin-*) *yapşın-*. This biverb is additionally attested in U III 30,25, PañcFrag 19 (y°), Scharl 34, BuddhUig I 318. A biverb *adkan- ilin-* is found in ETŞ 15,16 and Suv 293,1, *tayan- ilin-* in BuddhUig I 261. *ilin-* appears also in BuddhUig II 38 etc., BT VII L6, UigTot 108, 202 and 203 etc., *yilin-* in Maitr 164 v29 and 168 v4 (both biverb with *yapış-*), UigTot 97 and twice in ms. T III 84-60 (Mz 751) v27-32 quoted in the n. to BT XIII 5,130. Cf. *ilinmäksiz* and *ilinçsiz* above.

isi-n- 'to have warm feelings towards someone'. In ManMon 108 (as translated in GeistDrog) 'to try hard'. Before the DLT, the dictionaries only have the biverb *isinmāk [a]m[r]anmak* in Ht. Further exs. of this biverb appear under *amra-n-* above. *isi-ş- amra-ş-* (q.v. among the *-(X)ş-* verbs) has the same transferred meaning. *isin- yilin-*, 'to be enthusiastic' or 'to try hard' is discussed under *yılı-n-* below. See *isi-g* above, where the base and other cognates are also discussed. (*isirkän-* 'to feel hot' is discussed among the $\pm(X)rkA-$ verbs in section 5.2. Its $-(X)rkA-$ base is not attested.)

iy-in- 'to oppress and crush (in an abstract sense)'; *EDPT*. One of the exs. appears in a biverb with *bas-in-*, as *iy-* (q.v. in the *EDPT* under *ıy-*) usually appears with *bas-*. Cf. also *iyin-tür- basın-tur-* below. Add *yança iyindäçi* (ETŞ 10,21). Ht

252 *ilgün-* is rather clear in the facs. in spite of 'ilgin-' in the text: cf. e.g. the first word in the last l. of this ms. page for an instance of KY.

253 As elsewhere in Manichaean texts and as a continuation of Sogdian orthography, medial vowels are also often preceded by *alif*. Here the *alif* became necessary when the pen was lifted and the word divided into two; the vowel itself was omitted, however, as in 10,5, 11,15 and 4, 16,12 and elsewhere in that text.

VII 2 a22, read as *könülüm biligim yetilmädin artokrak iyinip* . . . ('WYYNYP in Arlotto's reading) may be *ayın-* 'to fear' or *uy(a)d-* 'to be ashamed': Intr. exs. of *iyin-* haven't come up in Uigur. *ol är iyındı* "The man strained at stool" (DLT fol. 138) is a different dialect: The DLT's infinitive is *ıynmak* with *qāf*, which is why the *EDPT* wants to read all exs. with back vowels. Cf., however, *ıymäk* with front K in BT VII B 12 and BT XIII 13,91. That the DLT's vowel is the original one is proven by the biverb *ıy- bas-*, which probably appears in (runic) Tes 17: Cf. T. Tekin in *AOH* XLII (1988): 117.

kakı-n- 'to repent' appears thrice in Suv in a biverb with *ökün-*: See the *EDPT* for two of the exs., *UW* 149 b s.v. *antada A,a* for the third. Two further exs. in BT XIII 13, a paraphrase of a section of Suv, are quoted s.v. *ökün-*, with which, again, they appear as biverbs. BT V 5,81 is by the ed. completed as *ka]kınalım aç[a]lım*; but the second verb is better taken to be *aç-ın-* 'to disclose one's sins'. *kakın-* is not a derivate of *kak-*, as written in the *EDPT*, but of *kakı-* 'to be angry' (beside the DLT attested in Suv and HamTouen 25,4 and in Ht IV 538: *övkälöp kakıp tagka ünüp kükrädi*). It is therefore a reflexive.

karga-n- is in Uigur attested twice in a Manichaean text in a biverb with *alka-n-*; both instances are quoted in the *UW* under this latter verb. The Yenisei passage referred to in the *EDPT* entry for this verb is quite correct, as can be seen in the Copenhagen material. *kargan-* there has the same meaning as in DLT fol. 391: *är özin kargandı* "The man cursed himself out of remorse". 'to curse each other' is, in the DLT, *karga-ş-*; Manichaean Old Turkic has, for this content, *kargan- alkan-*.

(*kaşan-* 'to urinate'. The *EDPT* quotes two Heilk I exs., the DLT and later texts. Also in a fr. quoted in the n. to BT XIII 1,113: . . . *bo munçanı* [. . .] *kaşanmış yertä saçzun* 'Let him scatter this much onto the place where X urinated'. This is not clear about the agent, but the two Heilk instances refer to humans. The DLT, on the other hand, says the verb applies to animals, especially to horses (as also the later exs. show). In Uigur, it thus enters the domain of *sid-*, a *-d-* verb. No base for *kaşan-* is known, but verbs denoting bodily functions do tend to be medial. Cf. also *kaşan* in section 3.116.)

kat-un- 'to become hard or tough' appears in TT VII 30 and the DLT, quoted in the *EDPT*. QTWSN'R in TT I 194 (q.v. in the *EDPT* entry) must be a mistake and could be many other things. *kat-* 'to be or become hard' is attested only from the DLT on; *kat-ıg*, on the other hand, is common.

katr-un- is attested in U IV A 15 and 23 (only the first of these mentioned in the *EDPT*) in the phrase *elig bæg yüräkin katrunup* "stärkte sich in seinem Mut". Without *yüräk* as object, the verb appears in Ernte 38: *tarıgçı bəglär . . . olormadın katurunup* . . . 'they did not sit down but hardened themselves'. Another possibility is to render it as in DLT fol. 390: *külär är katrundı* "The laughing

man restrained himself. Its root-meaning is to stop short in a matter.” *ol maṇa yarmak berür ärkän katrundi* “He was giving me a dirham but then he stopped short and held back”. In any case, to judge by the voiceless dental in the DLT and the round vowel of the formative, the only base I can think of is *kat-ur-* ‘to harden (tr.)’ in the DLT.²⁵⁴

kayvılan- appears in ShōAgon 1,184: *InçA kaltı ädgü at kamçika kayvılanmış tæg* ‘just like a good horse getting docile through the whip’,²⁵⁵ misread as ‘*qayı-länmiş*’. Zieme (personal communication) suggests that *kayvılanmaksız köñü-lin* should probably be read in BT VIII A 131 instead of ‘*kavırlanmaksız*’ of the edition. Neither a verb ‘*kavırlan-*’ is attested, by the way, nor an appropriate base for it. See section 3.329 for the form of this word. *kayvılanıştur-* is discussed in the section on *-tUr-* below. **kay-vı* is not attested, but *kayvısız* is discussed in section 3.115. *kayvılanıştur-* has, in UigTot, a syncopated variant *kav-lanışdur-*. What has been read as ‘*qrılmiş*’ in UigTot 447 should probably be *kavl(a)nmiş*; the second letter does look like an A on the facs. The Tib. original having a verb signifying “to bring together, put together, make to meet”, the eds. thought of ‘*kar-ıl-in-*’; that, however, is too irregular and unattested. *kav-l(a)n-* fits the context well, too. **kayvı+la-* is not attested as such, but see *kavla-* in section 5.12.

(*kazgan-* ‘to win, earn, gain’ is very common from the insers. on, through Uigur and Qarakhanid Turkic. It has no known base, but its meaning is clearly medial. Cf. *kazganç.*)

kaz-in- is quoted by the *EDPT* from the DLT. Attested also in Hochzeit 30 as *kotuz bukaça yer kazınu* ‘digging about at the ground restively’. This comes from the specific use of *kaz-* with domestic animals as subjects: *at kazdı* “The horse was restive and dug at the ground with his forefeet”. *kaz-* with domestic animals as *objects* is a quite different verb, q.v. s.v. *kazgok* (section 3.22).

kädlä-n- is a hap. in Suv, quoted in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. ‘to get tough’. *käd+lä-* is attested only in the DLT, with a rather similar meaning.

käñrä-n- ‘to grumble, complain’. A probable instance of the base is discussed in section 5.32 and see *käñrä-s-* above. The KP ex. is isolated with its I in the first syllable. The best interpretation of the verb in IrqB XXII is given by Bang, 1925 a: 234. To the *EDPT*’s exs. add *käñrängäy sän* (ETŞ 12,55),] *tep käñränü* (BT XIII 12,119), . . . *tep käñranti* (Ht VII 7 b9)²⁵⁶ and *käñrännälim ken üdtä*

254 Lexically comparable from U III 26,13-14: *v(a)jırda ymā katıgrak sāniñ köñülün* ‘and your heart is harder than adamant’. The DLT’s sentences could also be translated in this sense, or the translation given there may be secondary.

255 Translating the instance as “beachtet” with “die Peitsche” as object (UW 253 a bottom) is, I think, not very good.

256 Read wrongly by Arlotto, correctly by Geng.

tep 'so that we should not complain afterwards' (ShōKenkyū II 5). The parallel version of this last, appearing in BT XIII 12,25, has *kāñrānmäyin* instead. All these show that the lemma *kēñren-* of the *EDPT* has the wrong first vowel. Another ex. of this verb probably appears in BuddhUig II 420, misread as (the inexistent) '*kārgān-*': *öñünmāmişkā ayutmamışka bo savlarıg, ökünü kāñrānū turūr ārkān . . .* 'not having asked₂ for these matters, I kept on being sorry and complaining, and . . .

kāvşä-n-sär appears in ETS 11,61 with the meaning 'to become limp and soft'. The *EDPT* quotes this verb only from the DLT, in a different (though related) meaning. See the *EDPT* for the base (DLT ff.). *kāvşä-k* (discussed above) is well attested in Uigur in the rounded variant *kövsäk*.

(*kertgün-* 'to believe (in) something'. *EDPT* and *DTS*; the exs. from BT II 235 and 739, Ht 2119, Maitr 9 v10,²⁵⁷ UigTot 722 and 724 and BT VIII A 226 are not mentioned there. Spelled twice with G in the second syllable in Brāhmī mss. (TT VIII), but four times with K there in the (Manichaean script) Chuast. Clearly connected with *kertü* 'true, truth', but the derivational relationships are not clear: The two may have had a common verbal base (*kertü* being formed with *-dU*, discussed above). It is less likely that *kertgün-* (or *kertkün-*) should come from **kertü+k-ün-*: The final vowel would be syncopated as stated in section 1.8, but *+(X)k-* verbs don't receive *-(X)n-* expansion.²⁵⁸

kıl-in- 'to behave in a certain way, to behave as if . . ., to make oneself into, to act; to come into existence, be formed'. The last-mentioned, anti-transitive meaning is attested, among other places, in Toñ 1.²⁵⁹ Par. 5 in the *DTS* entry has several exs. of *kılın-* governing *-gAlI*, with the meaning 'to prepare, set out to do'. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* appear in BT III 281, ShōKenkyū III 34, Suv 620,11, Adams 28, BT VII A 605, BT VIII A 159, Uig-Tot 1311 and Maitr 226 v21 and 227 r7.

(*kızgan-* 'to be miserly, to grudge'. *EDPT*²⁶⁰ and *DTS* both write this with °s°; all three (all Manichaean) pre-Qarakhanid instances have °z°, however. KIZ-

257 Misread or miswritten with R instead of N at the end of the stem.

258 This is a significant limitation which *+(X)k-* has in common with all the other formatives discussed in 5.4-5.6.

259 *bilgä toñukuk bän özüñ tavgaç elinä kılınım* is correctly translated in Nauta, 1969: 309 as "während des chinesischen Reiches / der chin. Herrschaft". The temporal dative of Orkhon Turkic is described in T. Tekin, 1968: 132, section 3,2144, par. 5. Orkhon Turkic has no local dative, however, and par. 4 of that section should be deleted. See the same Nauta paper for the difference between the physical dative and the locative.

260 In the passage from M III 11,8₂ (text 6), quoted there in part, *arig nomka* is not the indirect object of *kızgan-*. The passage reads: *k(ä)ntü kizlänçünün arig nomka kızganmatın akı köñülün inanı sezinmätin kizlän* 'Guard your own treasure without misgivings, believing in the pure doctrine without grudging and with a generous heart'. It happens quite often in Old Turkic that a subordi-

- GAN° and CHEXGAN° in the Codex Comanicus is also evidence for [z]. The second velar is thrice written as /G/ in DLT fol. 391, which makes an original /k/ unlikely. The cognate *kızgak* ‘stingy’ (q.v. in section 3.102) is also spelled with Γ in the London ms. of TT VI (which distinguishes between the back-vowel velars). The etymology ‘*kız+ka-n-*’ (from *kız* ‘miser(ly)’ in DLT, two mss. in 5 and Maitr 80+59 v23) of Zieme, 1969: 133 is therefore unacceptable.²⁶¹)
- kiçi-n-* ‘to itch (intr.)’, *EDPT*. Not attested before Heilk I and the DLT.
- kizlä-n-* is a hap. in Maitr 176 r9, in *münlärin yazokların ürtünü kizlänü* ‘hiding and concealing one’s faults and sins’. Medial counterpart of *kiz+lä-*.
- kol-un-* *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. *qut qolun-*. The instance quoted by the *EDPT* from Ht is a conjecture. Before the DLT, this verb appears only in the phrase *kut kolun-*; TT VIII K5 should probably also be completed as *kut kuoll[on]or* (Brähmi). Additional exs. of this sequence appear in BT II 68, BT VII A 312 and B 94, Ht V 4 a27 and AbitAnk 46. This is the medial counterpart of the common expression *kut kol-*, documented in the *EDPT* entry for *kol-*. See also (*kut kol-*)unç under *kolunç* in section 3.104 and especially n. 310 thereto.
- kora-n-* is a hap. in Heilk I, quoted in the *EDPT* and translated as “to lose flesh”. See *kor+a-* above.
- kork-un-* is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only from the DLT on. Further exs. appear in Maitr 216 v12 and 59 v2 and ShōAgon 1,7 and 21. Only an ex. quoted in the *DTS* from Suv has the shape *korkin-*; that is used in a biverb with *ayın-*. *ayın-* appears also together with *kork-*, and it does not really seem possible to distinguish in meaning between *korkun-* and its base.
- köl-ün-* ‘to be hobbled, fettered, harnessed; to harness for oneself’. The last mentioned meaning is found in ShōAgon 2, p. 194, 9₂ in *münmāk azu kölünmāk*. Exs. in the *EDPT*; additional ones, with abstract meaning, in UigTöt 306 and ShōAgon 1,235 (*kölünüp öçmāk*). Cf. *kölün-dür-*; some further possible evidence for *kölün-* in the medial meaning is mentioned under *köl-ür-* below.
- könlä-n-* ‘to think seriously for or about oneself’ is found four times in Maitr: *takı ymā kuçuru könlänür m(ä)n* (MaitrGeng 2 a2), *amti könlänmätin ayıg kılınçtın tıdılmasarsızlär...* (ibid. 8 a29) and *... tergäli, ... yıggalı, ... öçürgäli könlänip ötrü köñülintä İnçA sakınçı boltı* (Maitr 128 r15) and in MaitrHXVI 5 b30. These are not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*; the *EDPT* s.v. *köñle:-*, however, quotes *kö:nle:n-* (thus) from Houtsma’s text, translated ‘to wonder at (something)’. *köñl+ä-* is discussed above.

nated verb is placed between the verb ‘above’ it and that verb’s direct or indirect object; but this matter deserves separate discussion.

261 In spite of the retention of the velar in South-West Turkic. *UW* 79 b bottom also writes *kızkan-* with °k°.

kör-ün- ‘to become visible or be seen; to see for oneself’. By the *DTS* and the *EDPT* quoted only from QB (very frequent) and DLT. Found also in U II 87,58 (Qutlug, clearly visible on the face.), Maitr 12 v24 and M II 9,6 (text 4, = ManErz I 2).

(*közün-* ‘to be visible, to appear’. Derivation uncertain: Perhaps *köz+ü-n-* or possibly **kö-z-ün-*, from a base which might relate it to *kör-*. DLT fol. 345 says that *közün-* instead of *körün-* is Argu, and that it comes from analogy with *köz*. Seeing how well *közün-* is attested from the earliest Uigur texts on, the analogy may in fact have been the other way around: Seeing that *közün-* is derivationally opaque, *kör-ün-* may be the secondary creation, analogical after *kör-*. Exs. for *közün-* in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*; some of the additional ones in ETŞ 9,16 and 44, 10,193, ThreeLett 10 (passage corrected in TUO), BuddhUig II 171 (as corrected in the n. to BT XIII 28,39) and in many additional exs. in BuddhUig I and II, UigTot 875, BT VIII A 87, 416, 423 etc., AmitIst 21 (twice) and 62, Ht IV 1243, V 6 b4, X 372 and 573 and Ernte 99. *yugärüki közüñgmä* (Suv 135,23) is ‘present’ in the spatial, *közüñür üd* (KudGojüni A 4) in the temporal sense. Cf. *közn-ök* and *közüñ-mä* above, *közüñ-dür-* below.)

kurşa-n- ‘to put on (as) one’s belt’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only from the DLT on. Attested also in ManTüTex 520 as *kurşanñu bolzun* (thus) and in Maitr 173 r7 (*kurlar kurşanıp*).

kuvra-n- ‘to assemble, come together’ is attested once in Toñ and once in a Manichaean text; see the *EDPT*.

küçä-n- ‘to become arrogant; to seize by force’. *EDPT*; additional exs. in BT II 248 (*öz tapı eyin küçänip alko yavız işlärig işlämək*) and QB 1053. *küç+ä-* is common.

küsä-n- ‘to wish something for oneself’ appears in BuddhUig I 362: *ol tözüñlär täg ädgükä tägmädin kurug küsänip yorıyurlar*. Ş. Tekin’s translation “sie sehnen sich immerdar umsonst danach, ohne zur Vortrefflichkeit zu gelangen wie jene Edlen” is unacceptable: *kurug* is not adverbial on *täg-* but the direct object of *küsän-*. The *EDPT* (s.v. *küsenç*) considered this verb to be “not noted before XIV” (i.e. the XIVth century). The proper name *Küsän Çor* in the margin of KP fols. XLIV and XLVI need not contain the Turkic name for the town of Kucha but could belong to the very common class of imperative names, in this case from the present verb.

(*küvän-* ‘to be or get proud or arrogant’ has no attested base, but cf. *küvüz* discussed in section 3.111 above and *küvänç* in section 3.104.²⁶² *EDPT*;²⁶³ add *özün*

262 Hardly related is the one-before-last verb in *ütözümüzni orarlar yararlar iskäyürlär yañarlar wvayürlär kwvayürlär örtäyürlär* (Maitr 201 v27 = BT IX 251,27₂).

263 The *EDPT* entry for this quotes Middle and Modern Turkic verb instances of the form *kuvan-*,

(instr.) *ögär küvănür ärti* (Wettkampf 75) and *ärkimiz kuçümüzkä küvănip* . . . (Maitr 62 v9).)

küzäd-in- 'to guard oneself' is a hap. in ShōAgon 1,361: *yorımak üzä ädgüti yığınurlar küzädinür[lär. . .], İnçA kalı* . . . '(Monks) restrain and guard themselves well by . . ., just as (a tortoise . . .)'. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *küzäd-*, discussed at the end of section 5.43 above, is tr. and not an *+(A)d-* verb; had it been one, it could not have been expanded with *-(X)n-*. Cf. 2 *yig-in-* below.

(*odun-* 'to wake up (intr.)'. No base attested, but cf. *odug* 'awake' in section 3.101 above and *odgur-* below. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear in Ht V 3 a9 and X207, BuddhBio 24, Maitr 128 r31 and 163 r12, BT VIII B186 (*odun-tuyun-*) and BuddhUig I 246. *odunmuş* 'awake' can be found in Suv 16,15 (also in the parallel ms. edited as SuvLeg), Ht X 509, BT XIII 28,37 and several times in the QB.)

(*okı-n-* 'to be read; to pretend to read' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the DLT on. Attested also in QB 1356, where it signifies 'to read for oneself'. Note that *okı-* is 'to read' in Qarakhanid Turkic whereas, in Old Turkic, it signifies only 'to call, to call out loud' and 'to recite'.)

oxşa-n- 'to caress, fondle'. Hap. in BT XIII 12,101: *kulunçakım [te]p oxşanu* '[She] caressed [me] saying "My little filly!"'. See the *EDPT* for the base, which is attested in the DLT and later Muslim texts, in the Codex Comanicus and in modern languages. Cf. *oxşançığ* in section 3.311 above and *oxşagu* (DLT and Maitr 33 v15). The °n° of *oxşanu* is well visible on the facs. The mediality of the verb must be due to the inalienability of one's children.

(*olin-* is discussed in the *EDPT*. It lives on in Khal. *holun-*, same meaning, which fixes the first vowel as /o/. The Uigur ex. quoted there has it in a biverb with *tolga-n-* which is attested also in DLT fol. 386-7. There is, further, [nız] *vanı basınçına olup* . . . (Maitr 2 r4) 'writhing under the pressure of vice . . .'; a further Maitr ex. is discussed together with *olı-K*. The base has not turned up, but the DLT has *olıt-* 'to twist', e.g. somebody's neck. Cf., further, *olınç yol* in the DLT (section 3.104 above), *olınçığ* (section 3.312), *olıK* (section 3.101) and *olıglıg* (section 3.119).)

opla-n- should be read twice in IXu 23 in the following passage: *yagıka yalñus, oplanu tãgip, oplanu kirip, özi kışga kãrgãk boltı*.²⁶⁴ Thus according to Thomssen and Wulff's unpublished materials, where Clauson read 'uplyu' (thus) and

which signify 'to rejoice'; in the Codex Comanicus we find KOAN- with this meaning, and KOANÇ 'joy'. These are not secondary forms of *küvăn-*, as Clauson thinks, but come from **kiv+an-*; cf. *kiv+ad-* above.

264 *kãrgãk bul-* is another reading for the idiom at the end of the sentence, a euphemism for 'dying'.

'*uplu:*' respectively. His dictionary therefore lists the first under *opla-* and the second under *uvul-*, a verb attested only from the DLT on.²⁶⁵ *op+layu täg-* is discussed in part IV above, and there interpreted in accordance with a paper of Sertkaya: On the one hand, *oplayu* belongs to the group of adverbial animal similies. It was, apparently, *also* felt to be verbal, as we here find it expanded with *-(X)n-*. The explanation for this expansion is that the head-on attack was carried out on one's own (and consequently with tragic outcome) and apparently without consultation. It is from such a context that one can best understand the opposition *-(X)n-* : *-(X)ş-*.

orna-n- 'to stay (physically or spiritually), settle, establish oneself'. Cf. *orn+a-* above, where cognates are mentioned. To the *EDPT*'s exs.²⁶⁶ add further ones in BT II 1267, ETS 9,50, Ht VII 5 a 16, ManTüTex 10, BT VIII B 114, Maitr 16 v 19, UigTot 225, 349, 385, 392, 395 etc. In BT XIII 15,64 we find the biverb *töşän- ornan-*, in BuddhUig II 23-24 twice *ornan- tur-*, in Ht V 11 a 14 and Shō III a 13 and VII a 6 *olor- ornan-*.

(*otun-* is a hap. in Maitr 201 r8 (BT IX 250): *biz öñrä v(ı)rxar säñräm sanlıg sögütin bıçtım(ı)z ärdi, otungu otuñın altımız ärdi*; the ed. does not translate this verb. It might come from *ot* 'fire' by way of an unattested **ot+u-*; this latter could have served as base also for *otuñ* 'firewood' (discussed in section 2.92), or the lone *otun-* could have come from the common *otuñ* by back-formation.)

(*oyurkan-* is discussed in section 5.2 above, together with *ywkurkan-*. No *+(X)rkA-* base for it is attested, and its meaning is uncertain.)

ög-ün- 'to praise oneself, boast'. *EDPT* only from the DLT on. Attested also in ShōAgon 2, p. 195,7-9: *käntü özi ögünür "alkonu bilir-män" tep ... käntü özi ögünür "bar tuymakım" tep*.

(*ögrän-* and its cognate *ögrät-* have no attested base; they probably come from **ögür+ä-*. About *ögür*, the *EDPT* writes: "'a herd', esp. of horses, but also of other animals; this meaning survives in some modern languages, but it now usually means (of an animal) 'tame, domesticated'; (of a person) 'friend, comrade' (i.e. a member of the same group)." According to the DLT, *ögür* can denote also a group of slave girls. *ögränmiş* has been used in Ht to refer to 'trained horses'. The *EDPT* quotes *ögrän-* from the DLT and from an Uigur text where it qualifies a young woman as 'being used to something, having got training in ...'. Among the Maitr exs. for *ögrän-* note *köñüli... katulu karılı turgalı ögränmiş ärsär...* (Maitr Taf. 80+59 r72-3 and v5) 'whatever person's mind is used to be mixed with ...'. The DLT's

265 The *EDPT*'s first instance for '*ufulu*' (thus) is also incorrect: See *topl-un-* below.

266 The reference there to 'M II 8,40-1' should be corrected to read T II 8,40-1.

ögräyük ‘custom’ does not come from the base but is a simplification of **ögrän-yük*.²⁶⁷

ögrät-in- ‘to educate oneself, to practice something, to acquire a habit’. *ögrät-* is discussed among the *-(X)t-* verbs, and *ögrät-ig* (section 3.101) is rather common. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter s.vv. *ögrätinmāk*, *bışrun- ögrätin-* and *bışu-run- ögrätin-*. Further exs. of *bışrun- ögrätin-* are mentioned s.v. *bış(u)r-un-*. Add thrice *ögrätinsār* (Maitr T III β v13, 14 and 19), *maytri sakinçka / ädgü törükä ögrätin-* (Maitr 79 v17 and 21²⁶⁸), *paṇşukul ton kädämäkdä ögrätin-* (Warnke 491), *ögrätinmäkdä ögrätin-* (BT VIII A 397), *ögrätinmāk* (UigTot 612 bis, 613 and 824), *ögrätindäçilär* (BuddhUig II 369-370 (twice) and AbitAnk 17 and 79).

ögrünçülä-n- ‘to enjoy oneself’ is discussed in the *EDPT*, but the lemma is there written wrongly. See *ögrünçü+lä-* above.

(*ökün-* ‘to repent’ has no attested base; a few exs. possibly belong to (y)ük- ‘to heap up’. To the *EDPT*’s instances of *ökün-* add *ökünür män* (ETŞ 14,12). A further ex. is quoted s.v. *kāṇrān-* above. Attested also in BT XIII 13,32 (with *kşantı kılın-*), 13,122, 13,131 (with *kşantı kılın-* and *kakın-*), 13,161 (with *kakın-*), 14,7 and 20 (both with *bilin-*) and 16,41 and Maitr 176 r 24, 63 r 6 and 71 r 28 (all three with *kşantı kıl-*)).

öp-ün- ‘to gulp down’ is in the *EDPT* quoted from one early Manichaean instance. Also from the DLT, where it is translated as ‘to pretend to sip’. *öp-* is quoted in the *EDPT* with two exs., both with ‘water’ as object, from a runic text and from the DLT; it is attested also in Suv 641,6. We have *öp-* only from the DLT on, with the meanings ‘to kiss; to sip soup’. These bases may be onomatopoeic, which may explain their similarity; cf. *öp-iş-*.

örlä-n- is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only from the DLT and from Middle and Modern Turkic. Attested also in HamTouen 15,3 and 4-5; in both exs. and in the DLT of the ‘rising’ of a cloud. *örlä-* is discussed among the *+lA-* verbs.

örtä-n- ‘to blaze, be burning, be burnt (out, down)’. *EDPT*²⁶⁹ and *DTS*. Further exs. appear in Höllen 37 and 73, UigSün 20, dozens of times in Maitr and Neujahr 88. *ört yalın üzä örtünü turur* (Suv 99,16) is probably an error for this verb. Cf. *ört+ä-* above.

(*ötkün-* ‘to imitate someone, taking him as a good example’ or, *in malam partem*,

267 Similarly, Kāşğari’s *sarkıyuk* must be from *sarkin-yuk* as the simplex is *sark-* and not ‘*sarkı-*’, and *osayuk* (QB and DLT) must be from *osan-yuk* as there is no ‘*osa-*’. The common Buddhist term *bulganyuk* (q.v. in *EDPT* 338) appears as *bulgayuk* in the DLT.

268 As completed by further mss. and edited in Laut, 1986: 203.

269 The sequence *kanatın köyürgäy* (not *kü* as written there) *örtängäy s(ä)n* quoted from M III is not, of course, a “Hend.”

'be a fake'; in Warnke 78 and the DLT also 'to tell (a story)'. The QB²⁷⁰ and DLT exs. are mentioned in the *EDPT*. Found also in ETŞ 13,36 and 40. I write the velar as /k/ and not /g/ because of the Common Oguz form, *öykün-*: **ödkün-* regularly gave *ötkün-* in Qarakhanid. The Uigur exs. have twice *t* and once *d* in texts which cannot be depended upon for the representation of voicedness. For the meaning cf. Ar. *ḥāka*, which also signifies both 'to imitate' and 'to recount'. I would take 'to imitate' to be the primary, 'to recount' the secondary meaning (as Semitic shows it to be the case for Ar.). If this is so, the *EDPT*'s etymology²⁷¹ is not acceptable; a direct base for *ötkün-* is not attested, in any case. Cf. *ödkünç* in section 3.104.

öt-ün- is 'to present something to a superior (a king, a master, a spiritual leader etc.)', usually 'a request' but sometimes (e.g. UI 6,12 and CYK 52) 'offerings'. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* are frequent in the Maitr, in BuddhUig I and elsewhere, and appear also in TibStud (*ötönü*); BT VIII B 218 and Shō I b 12 have the biverb *aya- ötün-*. The common *öt-üg* 'request, prayer' (q.v. above) is certainly a cognate. Mo. *öči-*, mentioned in the *EDPT*, cannot be connected, as its cognate would have had to be '*öti-*'.²⁷² It seems quite possible for *ötün-* to be derived from *öt-* 'to pass through, to penetrate, pass off', though. 'to push oneself through' would be a likely self-disparaging expression for the purpose; -(X)n- in other verbs as well transfers the meaning to the abstract metaphorical domain: Cf. *InçA tep ötti* (ManMsFr r8).²⁷³

övkilä-n-mäk is twice attested in the unpubl. fr. T II S32 a6 c, quoted in the n. to KPZieme 10. *övkilä-* is a variant of *övkä+lä-*, discussed above. The two verbs probably had roughly the same meaning, but *övkilän-* may have denoted a more introverted sort of anger.

özirkä-n- appears in TT III 101:] *özikānt[iniz] yomgını*, with lacuna filled in accordance with parallel passages. The translation which we adopt, 'you have regarded them all as your own', is based on Arat's interpretation. Other exs. are attested in InscrOuig V5 (interpreted correctly as "s'appropriier quelqu'un" in the most recent edition) and HtPek 48 r2 (quoted in UW 297 a-b; loan translation from Chin.). The meaning does not appear to have differed much from that of *özirkä-*, discussed in section 5.2.

sa-n- 'to be reckoned to be . . .'. *EDPT*; common in many sources. *sa-* 'to count' is attested from the DLT and the QB on, but the petrified converb *sayu* '(to, in,

270 The two QB exs. are mistakenly written as *ötgür-* in the QB İndeks.

271 The *EDPT* confuses *öt-üg* 'request, petition' and *öüK* 'register, memorandum' (discussed under *öüK+lä-* above). The amalgam is supposed to have been the base of **ötg+ü-*; from this, in turn, the present verb is supposed to have come.

272 This probably did exist in Proto-Turkic, and was the base of *öüK* of the previous note.

273 Cf. Zieme, 1970 s.v., with references given there.

at) every' is common already in the runic inscrs. Doerfer and Tezcan take the original meaning of *sa-* to have been 'to beat; to keep beat'. See *sa-n* (section 3.107).

sak-in- 'to think, imagine, plan etc.'. Very common from the inscrs. on, but *sak-* is rare (TT VIII K, DLT and QB; see the *EDPT*). *sakış* (section 3.103) is a cognate, while *sakinç* (section 3.104) and *sakinok* ('thoughtful, cautious', found 47 times in the QB but nowhere else) come from *sakin-*. Due to the scarcity of *sak-*, any semantic difference between it and *sakin-* is difficult to make out; the *-(X)n-* may have been added to stress the fact that thinking is an internal process. Instances of *sakin-* not mentioned in the *EDPT* or in the *DTS* occur frequently in the Maitr, fourteen times in AbitAnk and thirteen in Amit1st, in ETŞ 20,95, ATSS, BT VII A 428, BT VIII A 59, 61 etc., UigTot 329-30 (twice) and 595 (all three the biverb *ö-sakin-*) and so forth.

sal-in- 'to hang down loosely'. Instances not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in Ht V2 b 10, in Maitr 173 r21 and 174 r9, in an unpubl. fr. quoted in the n. to BT XIII 5,130 and in ms. Mz 191 (T II 19a) (to be published by D. Maue). The Uigur exs. are all intr., and apply to people's flesh, hair and beard, lip and to an object hanging from a person's neck. In the QB and in Middle Turkic (as quoted in the *EDPT*) there also are tr. exs. which mean 'to cast away from oneself'. These two meanings are connected with different meanings of *sal-*, a rather polysemic tr. verb. *salıntur-* (q.v. below) accords in meaning with the Uigur evidence for *salın-*.

satga-n- probably appears in ÄgFrag (1) G b5 instead of '*satgayu inçip kälmiş*' of the editors: The facs. (although very clear) certainly shows no evident Y before the last letter, but perhaps N^p. The Chin. original demands and intr. verb signifying 'to fall utterly, to be in difficulties'. *satga-* 'to trample on something, to injure (a person's feelings)' is discussed in the *EDPT*. It is attested also in BT II 253 and LautHöllen 129-130. In both these exs., it has humans as object; it is, both in the BT II instance and in QB 4112 and a DLT ex., used in such extended senses as demanded by *satga-n-* in our context. Cf. also the meaning of *satga-g* (section 3.101).

sär-in- signifies 'to impose patience upon oneself' in the DLT, in BuddhKat 28 (ZYË.RÏN.NUR) and once in Suv. Otherwise only in the common Buddhistic term *särinmāk* '*kṣānti*'. Exs. of *särinmāk* not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* occur in BuddhKat 16, 27, 28, 39 and 42, BuddhUig I 327, UigFalt 1 and 7 and HamTouen 5,10 and 35 and 6,8. Cf. *sär-il-*.

säv-in- 'to rejoice' *EDPT*; attested also e.g. in BuddhUig I 357. Very common in a biverb with *ögir-* (similar meaning), e.g. several times in IrqB, in BT III 574-5, Ht IV 1721, V2 b 10-11, VII 8 b 9-10 and X312-3 and 431, UigTot 1269, BT VII A 778 and B 85-6 and elsewhere. This biverb would also fit much better in BQ

E2, where the text has *öltäçiçä sakınıgma Türk bağlär bodun (ä)g(i)r(i)p sävinip toñıtmuş közi yügğärü körti*.²⁷⁴ This same biverb also gave *ögürüş-säviniş-* and *ögirtdür-sävindür-*. *sävinç* comes from *sävin-*, but *säv-iglig*, *säv-ig*, *säv-iş-* and *säv-il-* belong to *säv-* 'to like, to love'. The semantic relationship between *säv-* and *sävin-* is such that 'joy' demands to be applied to an object with *säv-*, but remains within the sphere of the subject with *sävin-*. The meanings of *üdlä-* and *üdlän-* (q.v. below) supply a parallel to this.

(*sezin-* 'to have an apprehension, a suspicion or a doubt'. See *sezik* (section 3.102) for **sezi-* and cognates. Middle Turkic evidence for *sez-* (thus) 'to feel, anticipate, become aware of' can be found in the *EDPT* entry for it. It lives on in most languages. *EDPT* and *DTS* have exs. of *sezin-*; additional ones appear in ETŞ 12,22, UigPañc 24, Maitr fr. 115 v2-3, BT III 66, Genzan A r5, 6 and 7, BuddhUig II 133 and 632, ShōAgon 2, p. 190,3, Abhi B 67 b8, Ht V 6 a 12, VII 8 b9 and X 492 and 791, ShōKenkyū III 17 and so forth.)

sı-n- 'to break (intr.), be broken' is adequately discussed in the *EDPT*. It is attested in runic Turkic, Uigur and Qarakhanid.

sig-in- 'to seek or take refuge somewhere'. *EDPT*; further exs. appear in Ht IV 443, Maitr 5 r28 and 31 and UigTot 1282 and 1287. See *sig-* 'to fit into something or some place' in the *EDPT*. *sigın-* is its spiritual and psychological counterpart. One of the meanings of *sig-ur-* (q.v. below) is particularly close to this.

sıka-n- is found in Bhadrā, U II 25,16 in *Arçumı toña uzun saçın kedin arkasında etip biläkin sıkanıp* . . . (as a preparation for action). Misunderstood by the ed. and also by the *EDPT* s.v. *sigın-*: The phrase means 'to tuck up one's sleeves', even though the central meaning of *sıka-* is 'to stroke'. *sıka-* is attested in TT VIII K and the DLT and also in MaitrGeng 8 a25 (wrongly written *suqa-*). *kolun sığan-* is common in Osm. from the XIVth century on in the present meaning, and *biläklärin sığamışlar* can be found in the *Tarama Sözlüğü*.²⁷⁵ The primary meaning of *sıkan-*, 'to rub oneself', is attested in BuddhUig II 103, but was misread as '*sıqaqu*'.²⁷⁶ Describing bird behaviour: *öñdün kedin bakınu, öñlärin yññlärin sıkanu, ögän kızıglarında kımrayu, örü uçğalı* (mistakenly written '*wç°*') *talpıyu* . . . The DLT has *sıga-n-* in this sense. UW 174 a s.v. *ara* A,h wants to change the U II text to read *sıgan-* as well; the ms. itself is now lost. *suga-* (with derivatives) is peculiar to the DLT, however; Osm. *sıga-* cannot

274 The regularly absent vowels have been marked as such only in the word under discussion. For the suggested emendation, one has to assume that the scribe forgot an *W* before the *G*² and an *I* after it.

275 Republican Turkish *sıva-* still has both meanings of 'to rub, stroke' and 'to tuck up (one's sleeve, skirt etc.)'. Azeri also has a cognate.

276 Q seems impossible; two dots can't be seen on the facs., although the single dot may be a bit bigger than usual.

be a survival of it (as the *EDPT* writes); the two verbs are not mutually reducible by historical phonology.

(*sıṣrun-* is a hap. in BT XIII 12,8, in a fragmentary passage. The ed. takes the initial sibilant to alliterate with *Şiki burxan* of l.10, which refers to the Buddha Śikhin. This would mean that the word should be read as *şıṣrunu* (although neither of the two are written with superscribed dots). Otherwise clearly visible on the facs. **sıṣ-ur-* is not attested, but *sıṣ-* and *sıṣ* (< **sıṣ-iṣ*) are common. The variant *şıṣ-* can be documented from Middle Turkic on, whereas Windg and TT VIII M (which are written in scripts using distinct letters for /s/ and /ş/) clearly write *sıṣ-*. So do Qarakhanid sources. Poetic licence may have compelled the author to introduce spoken or even vulgar variants into his text.)

silk-in- 'to shake oneself'. The earliest evidence for this in the *EDPT* is from the DLT. Attested also in BT II 355 and 1052-3, ShōKenkyū III 17 and Hochzeit 33. See *silkin-ig* above, *silk-tür-* below. *silk-* (*EDPT* and *DTS*) 'to shake (tr.)' applies to trees and bells in the exs. attested.

soṣi-n- is mentioned in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. Hap. in Töten, U I 37,4. Of the heart, 'to beat irregularly'. *soṣ+i-* (q.v. in section 5.42) appears in DLT and QB, and cf. *soṣi-l-* below. Those denote the 'rearing (intr.)' or 'leaping' of an animal. The use of *soṣin-* should therefore be metaphoric.

sogı-n- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT. We also have the following: *anı ücün yılan [ü]küṣ sogınur* (Ht IV 481) 'That is why snakes cool themselves (there) a lot'; *sogık äsınlär üzä nätäg sogınu mänıläyür ilinçüläyür ärsär . . .* (Suv 209,18) 'just as they get cooled down by cool breezes, have a good time and enjoy themselves' and *nızvanılıg y(i)ti ootın örtändäçi unl(ı)glar, umugsuz inagsız ämgäkin iyäsiz bolmuş iringlär sogındılar öz tapça mänü nırvan ençi üzä* (Suv 368,23) 'the . . . burning creatures, the . . . miserable ones got agreeably cooled down through the peace of eternal *nirvāṇa*'.²⁷⁷ In all three instances, the cool is a pleasant experience for the creatures who are the subjects of the verb. The DLT's verb also has a human subject, whereas *sogı-* there applies to 'water'. Both the *EDPT* and Dankoff and Kelly spell the DLT instance as *sogun-*; but the second vowel is by the second hand, and therefore possibly wrong.²⁷⁸ *sogıngu* is attested in TT VI New 8,7 and 9 v 1, in ms. passages which correspond to TT VI 84, against at least seven other mss. which are not noted as having it. Oda considers it a problem, connects it with '*suq-* or *soq-*' 'to thrust into' and, with great hesitation, translates it as "winter dwelling". It is quite

277 Ş. Tekin here translates the verb as "wurden befriedigt", possibly so as to render an invented '*suk+i-n-*'.

278 The entry appears to have gotten mixed up with that of *sug-un-*, a cognate of *sug-ul-* discussed below. The authorities mentioned spell the amalgam as '*sogun-*'.

unlikely for a winter dwelling to be *tagtın sınar* 'in the northern part'. Rather, this is a 'refreshing room' for the summer. A derivate of *sok-* or *suk-* would *not* have an unrounded vowel in the second syllable. *sogingu* accords with the connotation of pleasantness associated with *sogın-* above.

sola-n- is not mentioned in the dictionaries. 'to lock oneself in' in BT III 1029, 'to be besieged' in Familienreg 19 and InscrUig II 10. See *so+la-* 'to fasten with chains' among the *+la-* verbs.

sögl-ün- 'to be roasted' is discussed in the *EDPT*; a further ex. appears in Maitr 183 v13. All three Uigur exs. have 'flesh' as subject. *sögül-* is a tr. simplex, quoted in the *EDPT* from Heilk I and the DLT on. 'roast meat' is *sögl-ünçü*. The Oguz, as first reported in DLT fol. 185, have a form *sögüş* surviving to this day in Republican Turkish. The DLT defines it as 'kid or lamb fit for roasting'; from his mentioning that this has a 'thin *kāf*' we know that the velar is *g* and not *k*. The relationship between *sögül-* and *sögüş-* must be lambdacistic, unless *sögüş* is based on a metanalysis of *sögül-*.

(*sun-* 'to stretch oneself, or one's hand, out towards someone' is documented in the *EDPT*. It may also be an *-(X)n-* verb, to judge by *boyun su-mak* 'obedience' and *boyun su-gan* 'obedient' in the Rylands Interlinear Coran Translation and in the Muqaddimatu 'l-Adab (as quoted by N. Yüce). It is noteworthy that the last mentioned text also has a variant *sü-*.)

suçul-un- 'to be plucked or pulled out'. *°çul°* is written out explicitly in the IrqB; the *EDPT* lemma is therefore misleading. That is the only ex. of the verb before the DLT. *suçul-* is a tr. simplex. It is found in DLT and QB and also in Maitr 33,19 and BuddhUig II 570.

sug-un- of DLT fol. 343 is correctly translated by Dankoff and Kelly as 'to make ablutions (after urinating etc.)'; wrong in the *EDPT*.²⁷⁹ This is probably also how the verb in TT VII 32,20, 33,1, 3 and 4 should be read; it there refers to 'rinsing one's hair'. *sukun-*, the variant quoted in the DLT as being in use in the Uç dialect, surely need not be that of Uigur. *sug-ul-* and *sug-ur-* (qq.v. below) are cognates; cf. also *sugun-dur-*.

(*suk+sin-mak* 'greed' is mentioned in section 6.2. It is similar to *ärk+sin-*; no related *+sI-* is attested for it. It is a hapax and can be considered a *verbum sentiendi*.)

sürt-ün- 'to rub oneself'. *EDPT* only from the DLT on. Also attested in BuddhUig II 102: Referring to birds, *kudrukların tikä, köküzlärin bögsäglärin sür-tünü*... Ş. Tekin reads '*sürtür-*' with a translation as given here, which is impossible. The facs. shows both R and N to be possible readings.

(*talán-* is a hap. in Heilk II p. 4 (colophon), not mentioned in the dictionaries: *yüz*

279 See the previous note.

bir türlü bitiglärdä talanmış ulug türlü çiniK bo ärür 'This is a ... selected from 101 sorts of books'. Meaningwise, this verb must be a derivate from an unattested, syncopated variant of *talū+la-* (q.v. above). That *tala-* 'to pillage' should have anything to do with this seems unlikely: The meanings seem too far apart, the QB has both verbs, and *tala-* is attested also in Ht, an early text (quoted in the *EDPT*).

tap-in- Both 'to worship' and 'to serve' and even 'to nurse (a sick person)',²⁸⁰ These meanings can be taken to have belonged to a continuous semantic field: Cf. ZiemeTexterg II 16 *arig dindarka arig a[şın arig] içgün tap(i)nzu[n]* 'Let him serve (~ worship?) the pure elect with pure [food and pure] drink'. In ZiemeSkav III 16, the meaning 'to serve' is the only possible one. In addition to what the dictionaries have, the very common biverb *tapın- udun-* appears also in BT II 725-6, fifteen times in Maitr, ShōAv 47, 52, 209 and 235, Buddh-Uig I 383, ShōAgon 3, p. 203,21, Ht V 10 b 3 and X 274, Weih 17-18, BruchGeb 9 and elsewhere. See *tap-ig* for its nominal counterpart, *tapıg udug*; another ex. of *tapın- udun-* is also quoted there. Further exs. of *tapın-* not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear frequently in the Maitr, in ATSS, BT VIII A 64 and 141 and Töpfer 36.²⁸¹ Another biverb is *yükünmək tapınmak* (AbitAnk 61). *tap-* with dative²⁸² means 'to serve' and not 'to worship' in runic Turkic, Uigur and Qarakhanid (not taking one of the DLT's exs. into account); *tapın-* would be its spiritual counterpart, beside the possible interpretation as 'to serve for one's own good'. How *tap-* 'to find' fits into this is not clear.

tari-n- appears once in USp 77,6 and in the DLT. 'to cultivate for oneself'. The quotation in the *EDPT* is misleading, as an *-Xp* form cannot be used adnominally in Old Turkic. The passage reads as follows: *tarig tarır yerin bodun tarınıp yer başıña kalan tutup* ... 'The people cultivate the millet fields for themselves, and they pay *kalan* taxes per field'.²⁸³

tart-in- 'to be attached (to one's relatives), to love them dearly' is attested in TT VII 37 and the DLT. It is abstract and spiritual, whereas *tart-* 'to pull, draw, drag' is concrete.

tatga-n- is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, and appears also in Suv 364,11, ETŞ 10,137 and UigTot 1424. It usually signifies 'to find a dish tasty', in the last mentioned ex., however, apparently 'to taste (something)'. The hap. *tatg+a-* (discussed in section 5.11), however, has the food and not the taster as subject. (*tavran-* 'to hurry, strive, be zealous'. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* are found

280 Similarly with the Semitic root **b d* and in many other civilisations.

281 The translation "ernährte" is not quite exact.

282 See the *EDPT* entry for it. There are six instances in the Yenisei materials in Copenhagen.

283 What has been read as '*tarınsar*' in TT I 208 is obscure and may be an error.

in ETŞ 13,153, ManTüTex 236-7, ATSS, Maitr 153 r22, 23, 24 and 25, UigTot 204, Shō I b2 and XI b1, Suv 141,19, BT XIII 12,135 and HamTouen 5,7. 'tavra-' is not attested in spite of the *EDPT* and the *DLT*.²⁸⁴ See *tavrak* among the -(O)k nominals and *tavrat-* among the -(X)t- verbs. *tärk tavrānu*, which can be seen clearly on the facs. of ETŞ 13,145, replaces the usual adverbial phrase *tärk tavrati*.)

taya-n- 'to lean on or support oneself by something, rely on it'. Beside the *EDPT*'s exs. we find this verb in BT IB (68), BT II 969,²⁸⁵ Ht VII 2 b1, BT VII H3, BT VIII A5, UigTot 30, 127, 592, 594 etc., Buddhāv H2 (twice) and 6, BuddhUig I 4-5, 381 etc., BuddhBio 23²⁸⁶ and elsewhere. *taya-* 'to prop something up, to lean it against something' appears to have kept alive only in the west: It is first attested in the *DLT* and now in use only in the Oguz languages. *taya-k*, on the other hand, is common in Uigur.

täg-in- mainly signifies 'to undergo, to experience', of both pleasant and unpleasant, both moral and immoral experiences; 'to be entitled to' is another attested meaning. It thus essentially signifies 'to get to' like *täg-*, but with abstract goals. *täginmāz* signifies 'No.', like Republican Turkish *olmaz*. Another common use of *tägin-* is as an auxiliary of humbleness. This use (often e.g. in BT II) must have developed out of the content 'to approach for one's own benefit'. Its aorist is written as TE.KU.NUR in TibStud. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* appear, among other places, in BT II 853, ATSS, BuddhUig I 45, 243 and 365, frequently in BuddhUig II and in Maitr, in AmitIst 61, Ernte 11 and 41, KudGojūni A1 (twice) and so on.

tägriglā-n- is a hap. in Maitr 216 r5 not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *ayığ [ki]lınçların tägriglänmiş* is 'somebody who has surrounded himself or placed himself into a whirl of evil deeds'. See *tägriglā-* above; it is common in the Maitr.

(*tägzin-* signifies 'to revolve, rotate; travel about'. *tägzinü yorıdı Äntkāk uluşug* in HtPar 129,27 corresponds to *käzä yorıdı Äntkāk elin* in the parallel translation

284 *tavrati* of TT VIII D1 is the petrified converb discussed in section 7.562 below and not the perfect form, as Clauson ('spelt -ti') thinks. The verb quoted by him from the *DLT* is thrice spelled as *yavra-*, by Kāşgari said to be a synonym of *ugra-* (which **tavra-* could not have been) and translated as *yaştıddu* 'was hard, sturdy'. Dankoff and Kelly here follow the *EDPT*'s unsound suggestion.

285 Spelled *ta'yan-*. There is no particular reason for reading '*tanyan-*' with the editor: As can be seen on the facs., there is no dot on the third letter; nor can there be any doubt about the identity of the verb.

286 *sünülärin yerkä tayanıp süçig udiyur* has, I think, the warriors and officers as subject and not the king, and should be understood in the plural. The sentence before that can be taken to read *şudoğan xa[n]ımuş alpagut orñut äränlärin balık kapıg[ınta tu]rgurup ogın küzädür* 'Our king Şuddhodana guards his son by placing his warrior and officer men at the city gate'.

from Chin. in HtKZ II 4. The eds. translate this as “Er durchwanderte ...”. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* in ETŞ 10,43, BuddhUig II 287, 412 and 576, UigTot 545, 549, 550, 556 etc. and in many other texts. Derivation unclear, but connected with *tägirmi* (footn. 443 in vol. 1), *tägirmän* (section 3.325), *tägrä* (under **tägir-* in section 6.3) and *tägriglä-* (section 5.12). *tägziñç* (section 3.104) no doubt comes from *tägzin-* itself. It cannot be excluded, however, that *tägzin-* had not only rhotacistic, but also zetacistic cognates: *tägzig* has been read in ShōAv 37, *tägzim* ‘piece of cotton rolled and stuck into the nose against bleeding’ in Heilk II 2,2. Neither of these is certain, however.²⁸⁷ The QB has the metathesis *täzgin-* instead of *tägzin-* and, from it, the hap. *täzgin-ök* ‘turning’.)

täl-in- ‘to get perforated, pierced, worn through’. *EDPT* from the Orkhon inscs. on; attested also in Ernte 32 and 104. Said of the ground or, due to wounds etc., of the skin. *täl-* (q.v. in the *EDPT*) is tr.²⁸⁸

tälgä-n- ‘to get or be infuriated’ is quoted in the *DTS* and the *EDPT* only from the DLT. There is also an ex. in U III 24,14₁, and in both we have the biverb *bulgan- tälgän-*. Similarly *tälgä-* appears in the DLT only with *bulga-*, and *tälgäk* (q.v. in section 3.102) only in the binome *bulgak tälgäk* (Manichaean text). In ms. Mz 648 ([T II] S19) + IM 8 II, 2nd story, a v5 (in SktUigBil in Brāhmī), *]lgäp ölürsär* corresponds to “wenn man eine Schlange reizt und tötet”. This should presumably be completed to *bulgap tä]lgäp ölü-*. Similarly an ex. in Maitr 148 r13. In Maitr 2 r30, *takı ymä bar bo kanmaksız tälgänmäksız tö[z-lüg* ... is an error for *bulganmaksız tälgänmaksız*; this is what the parallel ms. MaitrH Y 11 a30 – b1 actually has. Many such couples of *-mAkSxZ* forms are listed in section 3.329.

(*tänlä-n-* ‘to estimate with respect to oneself’ is in the *EDPT* quoted from the Suv. See *tän+lä-* above. The DLT’s *tänlän-* “to take measures (in one’s affairs)” (fol. 618) is a different verb; it is probably directly derived from *tän* with the formative *+lAn-* (section 5.6.).)

täprä-n- ‘to stir’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the DLT and from three QB passages. It is, in addition, found in QB 3004, 3902, 4402 and 5030 and HT X754. Cf. also *kertü tözi täpränmäksız üçün* ‘because it is their true nature to be immobile’ (BuddhUig II 445). *täprä-* ‘to move, stir, shake’ is documented in the *EDPT*. The two verbs are both intr. and have similar meanings, and both take

287 P. Zieme writes to me about *tägzim*: “Lesung schwierig! Besonders -s-? -m ist deutlich.”

288 In the DLT entry for *täl-*, the infinitive and aorist forms were forgotten. The words about the kid and the milch-ewe clearly belong to a different verb, *täli-*, which must have gotten among the monosyllabic verbs by mistake: The past form of this verb was written as *tälidi*; the infinitive was written with both *fatha* and *kasra* and the *fatha* then crossed out; the aorist was first written with *alif* and *fatha*, subsequently changed to *yā* and *kasra*.

both animate and inanimate subjects. In the QB, the choice must have been determined by rhyme and metre; what determined it elsewhere is not clear to me.

täp-in- (DLT fol. 338) signifies 'to move one's foot, to kick', *äligin uvun- tävin-*, on the other hand, "to wring one's hands (with shame or regret)". In UigTot 47, *uzun tun alıp älig adak täpinür* is read as *täbinür* and translated as "reibt sich Hände und Füße". It seems that *tävin-* is specific about hands as *täpin-* is about feet. The grapheme P represents the phoneme /p/ and the allophone [b] of the phoneme /b/, between vowels normally realised as [v]. UigTot 47 should be read as *täpin-*. A Suv ex. of *täp-in-* is quoted under *koldamla-* in the DTS.

(*tävšin-* "to be very active in a matter" is attested in Maitr 165 r6: *amarıları yerdä suvda tarıg işin işläyü, amarıları isiç bukaç tägirmän tägrä tävşinü, . . .* (= BT IX 149,6). It appears also in the DLT, transcribed correctly by DankKelly. The EDPT erroneously changes it to '*tevşen-*' for the sake of an unacceptable etymological connection. We have no etymology for this verb.)

tet-in- is, in Uigur, attested in Ht X209, ETŞ 15,77 and Warnke 254 (none in the EDPT); with -gAll phrase it signifies 'to dare to do . . .'. *teŋingülüksüz* in BT III 315 is given a different translation but may nevertheless belong here. The EDPT has this verb only from the DLT. There, with dative, it signifies "to oppose someone boldly"; *yüziñä tetnü bak-* is "to look at somebody's face directly". *tet-* is attested in the DLT and the QB but not in Old Turkic proper. There, with dative, it also signifies "to oppose" (as *tetin-* in the DLT). Uigur *tetin-* is more abstract.

tid-in- 'to restrain and/or control oneself, to refrain from doing something' is documented in the EDPT. Further exs. appear in QB 1380, 5436 and 6289 and BT XIII 13,152. This is the intr. and reflexive counterpart of *tid-*, a common verb q.v. in the EDPT.

tilta-n- is a hap. in Chuast, quoted in the EDPT; 'to use something as a pretext'.

til+ta- is discussed in section 5.13. Both verbs govern the dative of the excuse.

tut-in- 'to get torn to shreds'. Hap. in the IrqB, spelt T¹I T¹N²M S²; the sentence is quoted in the EDPT entry. I have not found *tut-* 'to tear to shreds' before the DLT.

(*tigilä-n-* appears to be roughly synonymous with its base, *tigi+lä-* (q.v. above): Both are intr. and signify 'to emit a certain (droning?) sound'. *tigilän-* (not mentioned in either dictionary) is attested in UigTot 1152 and 1163.)

tilä-n- 'to seek or wish for something' is attested, in this shape, in an economical text in USp and in DLT and QB. These are quoted in the EDPT. The classical Uigur form, however, was *tilin-*, attested in Ht X51 and IV 1038 and Warnke 576. The first is translated best in UW 279 a top, as *tilingü* "erstrebenswert". The third appears after a lacuna, as *üç y(a)vlak [yolta . . .] tilinip tüzginip . . .*

The ed. took it to be synonymous with *tägzin-* but it may have had an object signifying ‘refuge’ or ‘repose’ in the lacuna. P. Zieme tells me that the Chin. original here only has *lun zhuan* “sich drehen”. ‘seeking [repose/refuge]’ would then be a (quite appropriate) addition of the translator. The distribution of *tilin-* and *tilän-* corresponds to what we have for *tilik ~ tiläk*, with *tiliklig*, *tiliksiz* and *tiliklä-*. See *tilik* in section 3.102, where the original shape of the base is also dealt with. *tilä-* ‘to seek’ is documented in the *EDPT*.

timä-n- is quoted in the *EDPT* from Ht, while the *DTS* quotes *tümän-* (thus) from Suv. Both are instances of the biverb *etin- timän-*. Elsewhere, *etin-* appears in a biverb with *timä- ~ tümä-*; *et- timä-* is also attested. Our biverb is to be translated as ‘to prepare oneself’. See *tümäg* (section 3.101) for the biverb *etig tümäg*. An instance of *etig+lig tümäg+lig* is also quoted there; what we have in BT VII B 1, however, is *et-iglig tümä-glig*, referring to the object of *et- tümä-*.²⁸⁹

tirä-n- ‘to brace oneself, resist’ is, in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, quoted only from Qarakhanid. Further exs. appear in Warnke 433, 497 and 644, all three with the biverb *katıglan- tirän-*. The same biverb is attested also in QB 3638, translated “be firm and brace yourself”. *tirä-* ‘to prop against’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the DLT and then from Middle Turkic. It is attested also in UigTot 1021, of propping the tongue against the palate. As distinct from *tirän-*, *tirä-* appears to have been capable only of reference to physical matters.

to-n- ‘to be blocked, to be closed up’. See *to-d-* in section 7.23 for the base and for cognates. In addition to what there is in the *DTS* s.v. *tun-* and in the *EDPT*, we find *ton-* in *köküz tonsar* (Heilk II 2,29), *tamu yolu tondı bāklāndı* (MaitrH XVI 4 a 8), *alko uç yavlak yolnuñ kapıgı tonzun bāklānzūn* (BT XIII 46,24) and *ıdıgıg tuman tonmakı tarıkar* (*ibid.* 18,3). Like the third, TT VI 234 also has a door as object of *ton-*. The fourth, beside being a metaphor, reminds one of *kök tondı* ‘The sky was overcast’ in the DLT. *to-* is tr.

tokı-n- is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the DLT, and from the phrase *köziñü tokın-* ‘to catch sight of’ (with the entity being caught sight of as grammatical subject). A further ex. (q.v. under *tültrün-* below) signifies ‘to be struck by a certain feeling’. In *öñräki Xormuzta süñüşintä tokıntım* “Je fus défait dans le combat d’Ohrmizd qui (eut lieu) auparavant” (HamTouen 8,7), *tokın-* signifies ‘to be beaten (in war)’. Note that *är tokındı* “The man was beaten” is said in the DLT to be in the Oguz dialect.

tolga-n- ‘to writhe’. In one ex. quoted in the *EDPT* of a girl dancing; in another, however, with *ämgän-*, in which case it can be compared to *ämgät- tolga-*: See *tolga-t-* below. *ämgän- tolga-* ‘to undergo pain’ is found also in BT XIII 12,105. BT XIII 12,81 refers to two mss., one of them edited as ShōKenkyū II

289 The last mentioned is an instance of the formation discussed in section 3.119.

30: Concerning *tolganmış k[içi]g ögümüz / tugum ajun tutmuşımızta / tumlugta isigdä ämgänip* . . . Zieme says that his reading is “unklar”; Shōgaito read *tol-gatmış*. Zieme’s translation “die wir selbst mit der Geburt-Tat(?) gequält haben!” would fit Shōgaito’s reading better; with *tolga-n-* it should be: ‘(Our birth-belaboured dear own one!) Our dear little mother who writhed in pain when . . .’. Shōgaito’s not too clear facs. deserves rechecking.

tona-n- ‘to dress (intr.)’ is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. See *ton+a-* ‘to put on (a piece of clothing)’; other cognates are also discussed there. *tonangu*, which has its own entries in *EDPT* and *DTS*, is from *tonan-*; we find it also in Maitr 126 v14. Cf. also *tonan-dur-* below.

(*topl-un-* ‘to get pierced’ is a hap. in the DLT. *topol-* ‘to pierce’ is a simplex in spite of its passive appearance (cf. also tr. *sögül-*). Its first vowel is discussed under *topolgak* in section 3.327. See ‘*tupul-*’ in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, the latter especially under ‘*öt-tupul-*’ and ‘*ötkür-tupul-*’. Additional exs. of *topol-* appear in BT I D (170), ETŞ 10,23 and 57, BT III 221, Maitr 2,24, Ht IV 424 and ShōKenkyū II 21. Two further exs. from Toñ 13 are mistranscribed by Aalto and in the *EDPT* as *topla-*, a verb which is first attested in modern sources. IrqB L should read *topolginça* ‘till one pierces a hole in it’, again in idiomatic use. Another ex. of *topol-* in KÇ 19 is transcribed as ‘*at ufulu*’, but ‘*uful-*’ does not exist.²⁹⁰ Other cognates are *topl-ok* and *topol-gan*; see *topl-ok* above for possible etymological connections.)

töşä-n- ‘to prepare some place as a bed for oneself’ is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and thrice from the QB. Further QB exs. occur in couplets 4591, 6404, 6507 etc. Uigur exs. appear in BuddhBio 5-6 and BT XIII 15,64. With *töşäk* ‘mattress, bedding’ as object, it signifies ‘to spread out (a mattress) for oneself’; thus in Maitr 65 r8 and 165 r17 and 19 with *tölt töşäk* as object. *töşä-* (documented in the *EDPT*; attested also in Maitr 138 v6, 55 v13 and 52 r2 and LautHöllen 71) lacks the medial content which *töşän-* has; cf. also *töşä-k* above.

tut-un- signifies ‘to hold oneself; to hold oneself on to something, to occupy it; to be held or caught; to get hold of something of one’s own’. In Suv 434,20 and SuvStockh 86, of the sun or the moon, it signifies ‘to get eclipsed’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; further exs. appear in USp 105 a12, BuddhBio 15 and Suv 141,9. Very common in the QB; occurs already in Orkhon Turkic. *tut-* is just ‘to hold, grasp, seize’.

tuy-un- ‘to be or get aware, comprehend, achieve enlightenment’, *tuyunmuş* ‘enlightened, buddha’ and *tuyunmak* ‘enlightenment, bodhi’ is very common in Uigur but attested only there. With the exception of TT III 120, all exs. occur in

290 The *EDPT* entry for *uvul-* contains another ‘*ufulu*’ from the same inscr.; that should be *opla-n-u*, q.v. above.

Buddhist literature; the presence of *tuyun-* in that text could be another indication of its syncretistic nature. *tuy-* ‘to perceive, notice, feel’, on the other hand, is not part of any religious terminology, and occurs in runic and Qarakhanid sources in addition to Buddhist and Manichaean texts. Exs. of *tuyun-* not mentioned in the *DTS* and the *EDPT* are very numerous: They occur *passim* in ETŞ, BT II and BuddhUig I, and also in Buddhäv H 8 etc., UigKan 69, BT VIII B 186 and 226, UigTot 437, Shō IX b 3, Ht VII 10 b 12, ms. Mz 640 (T II S 19) + IM 9 III + I M 4 I r 3 in SktUigBil, BT XIII 21, 60. Cf. *yetiñsiz tuyununçsuz [küü] kälīg* (Ht V 11 a 18).

tültr-ün- is a hap. in MaitrGeng 9 b 16: *toyın bolmak küsüşin tültrünü tokınu*²⁹¹ *tülükün yol yoriyur* ‘struck₂ by the wish of becoming a monk’. *tültür-* ‘to strike, beat’ is discussed among the *-tUr-* verbs.

türt-ün- ‘to rub (an ointment) onto oneself’ is documented in the *EDPT*, also under *türtüngü*. *türt-* is not reflexive by itself (i.e. unless accompanied by *ät’ öziñä*); the ex. in the fr. quoted in the n. to BT V 458 was mistranslated.

u-n- ‘to be successful; to thrive’ is usually attested in the aorist forms *unar* and *unmaz*: In MI 36-37 of hens and cocks (quoted in the *EDPT*s.v. ‘on-’)²⁹² and in HamTouen: *m(ä)n unmaz yañı agduk bitkäçi* “moi, le copiste maladroit, novice et abject” (1,47’) and *unmaz kulı* “serviteurs (esclaves) incorrigibles” (14,4), parallel to *yavız kulı* “mauvais serviteurs (esclaves)”. In the QB, the aorist of *un-* is consistently *unur*, not *unar*. The QB’s *unur* (exceedingly common) and *unmaz* (only in couplet 3667) were identified in Tezcan’s review of the İndeks to the QB. He follows Arat’s interpretation of *unarça ayayın* ‘Let me say it as best I can’ in Atabatu ‘I-Ḥaḡā’iq l.4 (with long n.) and Eckmann’s *ägär unsa miz ...* and *korkuñlar Täñridä unmuşñızça* of the Rylands Interlinear Coran Translation. In the QB we have, e.g., *särinsä kişi tägmä iştä unur* (2612) ‘if a person is patient, he will succeed in anything’, *yagıda kayısı sak ärsä unur* (2353) ‘Among enemies, whoever is awake prevails’ or *bilig birlä yalñuk bädüp çavlanur / kişilärdä üstär kamug iş unur* (2415, wrongly spelt as ‘önür’ in

291 Geng writes ‘töltrinü toqunu’.

292 In his n. to DhāSū 16, Röhrborn thinks one might translate these five instances as ‘to hide’. DhāSū 16 reads *eşidsärlär olar bo darni sözlämişig, k(ä)ntün ök ongay yaşgaylar*. The ed. notes that the Chin. original has a binome signifying ‘to hide’ and expects the translation to have a similar binome. In Uigur, however, ‘to hide’ is only *yaş-* and *ongay* could be taken together with *käntün ök*: The copyist may possibly have written it instead of *onay* (q.v. in section 2.97), Q for K. If such a rare error did actually take place, the translation would be ‘When these (creatures) hear that this *dhāraṇī* has been pronounced, they hide by themselves, without problems’. The fragmentary M I context would indeed permit any translation, but the other instances of *un-* are clear.

the text). *unup sinap* (Ernte II 8) signifies 'succeed and gain experience!'. *u-* governs verbs, *u-n-* never; *u-* usually refers to ability in a specific domain, *u-n-* to general success. *un-* is not (of course) related to the West (Middle) Turkic verb *on-*, which gave Tat. *uŋ-*. Chuv. *in-*, on the other hand, probably comes from *u-n-*.

(*uçın-* is found in Tiš 49 a7 as quoted in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*: *yelvikip uçınip ölmägäy*. In *SuvDrog* 475,7, *uçıK yelpig üzä uçın-* is parallel to *yelvi kömän üzä yelvik-*. *uçın-* is clearly related to *uçıK*, which appears twice in a binome with *yelpig* and is discussed together with it in section 3.101. *uçın-* apparently denotes some sort of magical practice. A base for this verb is not attested. *uçıK* possibly lived on in Ottoman *uçuk* 'epilepsy' quoted in *EDPT* 23 a s.v. *uçuk*. Because of their second vowel, these lexemes cannot be connected with *uç-*.)

(*uçuzla-n-* is, I think, attested in *tuglug elim unmaz kulıntın uçuzl(a)nmazun* (HamTouen 14,4). *uçuz+la-*, which the ms. has, is a tr. verb (discussed in section 5.12 above). Besides, the sentence is parallel to *tuglug elim yavız kultıntın agruklanmazun*; the sequence 'N' is often simplified to one 'tooth'. I therefore translate: 'May my standard-owning country not consider itself worthless due to its good-for-nothing slave' (i.e. 'because of me?').

ud-un- appears always in the biverb *tapın- udun-* (or *udun- tapın-*); it is therefore difficult to assign to it a meaning by itself. Spelt as 'U.DU.NUR in *TibStud*. See the *EDPT* and the *DTS*; many additional exs. are quoted under *tapın-* above. Further ones can be found in BT II 734, 894 and 898, frequently in *Maitr* etc. Cf. also *tapın-tur- udun-tur-* below. Base and cognates are mentioned under *ud-uz-* below. *ud-* is absent from Old Turkic proper; this is another reason why the function of *-(X)n-* can't be determined here.

uk-un- 'to realise something about oneself' is attested four times in a biverb with *bil-in-* (q.v. above for the exs.) and also in *Maitr* 226 v20 and 227 v14.

ula-n- 'to be joined or attached to something, to be rooted in it etc.' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the *DLT*, the *QB* and from Middle Turkic. It is attested also in *korkın[ç]ıg sansarka ulanmış ärsär sizlär . . .* (*MaitrH* X5 a14) "die ihr dem furchtbaren *Samsära* verhaftet seid, . . .". *ula-* is tr.; *ula-l-*, q.v. below, has a different and specific meaning.

um-un- 'to desire something; to expect, to imagine'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Add *umun-guluk taplaguluk* (BT II 234), *umunu küdä tur-* (*BuddhUig* II 598). In an ex. in U III it governs the accusative, but the sequence *umun- inan-* (which appears seventeen times in BT II) governs the dative of the thing prayed for. *umun-inan-* appears also in *Warnke* 130, the same text as BT II. *umun-* also governs *-gAll* forms, e.g. in *BuddhUig* II 476 and *ETŞ* 13,63. In *ETŞ* 12,114 we have *umun- küsä-*. A meaning 'to imagine, to think of' with no volitive content

appears in ms. Mz 652 (T II S19 b) v3,²⁹³ BT III 303 (*kimni birök öz kişi tep umunsarlar, olar ok . . .* “Die Menschen, von denen man meint, sie seien einem Vertraute, eben diese . . .”) and in a ms. fr. quoted in the n. to this last. *um-* is attested only from the DLT and the QB on; cf., however, the common *um-ug* (section 3.101), with which a number of other cognates are also mentioned. *umun-* may have replaced *um-* in Uigur.

ur-un- is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and QB, Middle Turkic etc. In the DLT and QB it mainly signifies ‘to beat one’s body’ (for various reasons) or ‘to put on something’, a piece of clothing, a turban, a veil, a new face. Not found in the *EDPT* is an ex. from QB 4886 and one from U IV A 299. This latter has, pretty well visible on the facs., *sıçganakların urun-*; it probably means ‘to beat one’s muscles’, as a sort of massage.

utr-un- ‘to oppose something or somebody, confront an enemy’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; also in Maitr 5 r7. An ex. of *utrun-* from BT XIII 3,27 is quoted s.v. *uya-d-* below. The base is discussed with the petrified converb *utru*, in the section on the formative *-Ar-*. *utar-* and *utruş-* (DLT) also have confrontational meanings, *utru* not necessarily.

(*uvşan-* ‘to crumble (intr.)’ is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Hap. in Kuan 28, with the v.l. *uşan-*. A direct base would be formed from *uvuş* (DLT) with the *+A-* formative, but is not attested. See the pretty common *uvşak* in section 3.102, also for other cognates.)

(*uzanmak* ‘ability, mastery’ is documented in the *DTS* under ‘*usanmaq*’ and *uzanmaqlıy* and in the *EDPT*; other exs. occur in ShōAgon 2, p. 194,8₂ (wrongly written as *osanmak*), HtPek 39 v8 and 87 r5-9, Samy. ms. Stockh H13 a20 quoted in UW 254 a top and TuoLuoNi 364. Agentive *uzanmaklıg* is discussed on p. 154. Clearly from *uz* ‘(a) skilled (craftsman)’, but no other related form has appeared: Neither an *+A-* nor an *+A-(X)n-* verb, nor any other cognate. Cf., however, *uz+lan-* (section 5.6). Not to be confused with *osan-* ‘to be negligent’, documented in the *EDPT* from the QB on.)

(*ün-* ‘to rise, spring up, set out’ may also have been formed with *-(X)n-* although its base is not attested in Old Turkic: This base still lives on in Khal. and must have had the shape **hü-*. This etymology is corroborated by the variant *yün-* attested in BlattRun 16 and in a Brāhmī ms. edited in SktUigBil.)

293 This was edited and normalised from Brāhmī script in SktUigBil, where the sentence reads: *kim sığmatı ärsär ätüzünñüñ* (thus, not *ätöz*, also elsewhere in Brāhmī) *içindä ülgüsüz [. . .]riñ umunur män arslan bolmakıg bulup ol bolor taştın turmış tığ*. If we ‘normalise’ word order as well, we get ‘*umunur män kim ülgüsüz [ärdämlä]riñ ätüzünñüñ içindä sığmadı ärsär, arslan bolmakıg bulup taştın turmış bolor ol tep*’ and, translating, ‘I reckon that, if your innumerable virtues found no place in your body, they must have remained outside when it (i.e. your body) changed into being a lion’.

üdlä-n- is documented in the *EDPT*. It is attested in the *DLT*, where it applies to mares and signifies 'to be on heat'. The only Uigur ex. is in *Ht*, in a biverb with *sävinçläñ-*, a hap. discussed in section 5.6 above. The two are translated by the ed., who took the Chin. original into consideration, as "ich habe mich entzückt und erfreut". In this case the agent is the speaker, Xuandzang himself. The base *üdlä-* 'to desire' is attested in QB 1504, probably 1588 (actually attested only in one of the three mss.) and perhaps 5635 (where the ed., the *EDPT* and others read *udlayu*). The semantic content of the addition of *-(X)n-* must have been similar here to that found in *sävin-* from *säv-*. The unattested base of *üdlä-* could have given *üdig* 'passion' (*DLT*, QB ff.) over an unattested **üd+i-*.

ük-ün- '(of troops) to collect (intr.), (of an army commander) to collect (his troops) around him'. In the *EDPT* quoted twice from the Orkhon inscs.; attested also in Profan p. 282: *ükünüp tägip är tutmak* "sich sammeln, angreifen und Männer ergreifen". See the *EDPT* for *ük-*,²⁹⁴ and *üküş* (section 3.103) for some cognates.

ürt-ün- 'to cover oneself, to cover up something about oneself'. *EDPT* and *DTS* from TT VII 1, *DLT* and QB. Found also in Maitr 176 r9 and 202 r20, both with *yazokların* 'their sins' as object. Cf. *ürt-ül-* below.

üş-ün- is a hap. in *ĀgFrag* (1) B 1: *könüllärin yığınmuş üşünmişlär*, translated "Sie haben ihre Sinne gesammelt₂". Not in the dictionaries. The Chin. original writes 'to guard, protect'. See the intr. *üş-* 'to crowd together, collect in a crowd' in the *EDPT*, and note that *yığ-* is tr. The *-(X)n-* here marks reflexivity and also the metaphorical and abstract use to which the verb has been put. *könül yığın-* is a common phrase; the translator must here have added *üşün-* to make clear he meant 1 *yığın-* and not 2 *yığın-* (as the Chin. original would demand).

yad-in- 'to open oneself up (to view and to criticism)'. Hap. in *Suv* 138,1 mentioned in the *DTS*, in a biverb with *aç-in-*: *açınur m(ä)n yađınur m(ä)n, yaşurmaz m(ä)n baturmaz m(ä)n, ürtmüz m(ä)n kizlāmüz m(ä)n*. *aç-yad-* appears three pages further on in the same text; *açın-yadın-* is its reflexive and metaphorical counterpart.

(*yaxsın-* is found in *DLT* fol. 489: *är kaftan yaxsındı* "The man threw the cloak over his shoulders but did not fasten the middle or put his arms in it. Also for a tunic or other". Not mentioned in the *EDPT* are three Uigur exs. of this verb. The *DLT* ms. writes thrice *S* and not *Ş*, but the (in themselves ambivalent)

²⁹⁴ *biligni yükär män* is quoted in the *EDPT* for *ük-*. DankKelly emend this to *biligni böğär män*, no doubt because *bä* and *yä* are practically identical in Arabic script and are often confused in this text, and as the meaning of *bög-* is quite appropriate. While the *EDPT* does not seem to me to be necessarily wrong in this, the DankKelly version must clearly raise doubts concerning *yük-* as a variant for *ük-*. Cf. also *yükün-* below.

Uigur instances should probably be transcribed with *ṣ*: *t(ä)ṣri burxan . . . tumliḡ bolmuşka [üç] ağır kraja ton [ät'özin] üzä yaxşını y(a)rlik[adı]* (Ht IV 1001) “Als der Göttergott Buddha sich früher an dieser Stelle aufzuhalten geruhte, geruhte er die drei heiligen Kaśāya-Gewänder über den Körper zu ziehen, weil die Nacht kühl wurde” and *saçımıznı sakalımıznı yülütüp tüşürüp, saḡatı kraja yaxşınıp, toyın törösindä turup . . .* (Shō VII 7) both suit the DLT’s meaning perfectly. In MaitrGeng 10 b26, *altun öñlüḡ yaltrık yalma yaxşınmış* is parallel to *yörgänmiş* and *kädmış*; the word *yalma* (hitherto found only in the DLT) denoted a “padded raincoat”. I take the DLT spelling to be ‘economical’ or the result of dissimilation: [x] is the back-vowel allophone of /k/ when adjacent to /ṣ/ and not /s/. The X itself therefore indicates that the sibilant was /ṣ/. It is also demanded by etymology: The verb obviously contains the formatives *-(X)ṣ-* and *-(X)n-* (and not *+sln-*, e.g.); cf. the rare *yak-ıṣ-* ‘to be or come close to each other’ (section 7.1) and Qarakhanid (and later) *yaxşı* ‘fine, appropriate’. *yaxşın-* has reflexive meaning.)

- (1 *yal-in-* is a hap. in *ört yalın yalını sakınmış k(ä)rgäk* (TT V A121). *yal-* is probably a simplex. It is, in Old Turkic, found only in the biverb *örtän- yal-*, in U II 9,30 (Maitr) and Maitr 218 r22, the second not mentioned in the dictionaries. *örtän- yal-* is ‘to blaze, to flame’.²⁹⁵ The usual verb for this content is *yal-in+a-* (q.v. in section 5.11) and cf. *yalın+la-* (section 5.12). Cf. also *örtä-n-* above. *yal-in* ‘flame’ is a cognate.)

- (2 *yalın-* ‘to strip oneself’ may be derived, particularly if it is related to *yalın* ‘naked, bare’. *yalım kaya* ‘bare rock’ may be a cognate. Beside the DLT ex. quoted in the *EDPT* it is also found in BruchGeb 37, ShōAğon 1,57 and QB 5243.)

yap-in- is documented in the *EDPT*. The three Uigur exs. have *aya* as object and signify ‘to place (the palms of) one’s (hands) together’. The DLT has other uses, e.g. ‘to cover oneself with something’. *yap-* ‘to stick (things) together, to fix (things), to build’ is rather rare in Old Turkic; cf. *yap-ıṣ-*, *yap-ıl-*, *yap-ıt-* etc. *yapṣ-in-* or *yafṣın-*,²⁹⁶ ‘to adhere, be attached to’. Beside the *EDPT*’s exs. attested in UigPañc 19, UigKan 207, BT II 1195 and 1206, UigTot 202 and 282, BuddhUig I 318 and 320, Ht VII 10 b4, BuddhUig II 42, Warnke 538, Abhi A93 b1 (quoted in *UW* 267-8), Suv 102,19, 109,14, 306,20-24, 376,16 and else-

295 *yan-* ‘to burn’ is first mentioned in the DLT as the Qıbčaq variant of *yal-* and does not reappear till the XIVth century; it may be an analogical creation. *yak-* is given as ‘to burn (tr.)’ in a dictionary of that period, the earlier meaning being ‘to come into or be in contact’. Cf. also *yak-tur-* below.

296 Thus, with F, apparently in TT III 127; in Manichaean writing, which has a special character for [f]. The continuant /s/ appears to have extended its fricative nature to voiceless consonants preceding it, thus bringing about fricative allophones: [x] for /k/ and here [f] for /p/. Process attested in the environment of posterior vowels only.

where. Often in biverbs with *bodul-*, *(y)ilin-*, *adkan-*, in texts of Buddhist doctrine: of ‘attachment’ to women, one’s body, riches, sense objects and, in general, things of ‘this’ world. This use is never attested with the base *yap-ıŝ-* ‘to stick, adhere’, discussed in the previous section. *yapŝın-* can, however, also be put to concrete use; e.g. in U IV C69, of maral deer fearfully *clinging* to the ground and, in UigKan 207, of musical instruments *stuck* up in the sky.

yara-n- ‘to curry favour, ingratiate oneself with someone’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from one Uigur ex. and from the DLT. Found also in QB 614, 4063 and 4753. *yara-* being ‘to be advantageous, beneficial, useful’, *yan-* must basically have signified ‘to make someone useful and advantageous for oneself’.

yarat-un- ‘to organise oneself; to adorn and furnish oneself with something; to work hard on something for oneself’. BT VIII A 452 and 454, BT III 436, 450, 464 and 625, ETS 9,80, 10,170, 13,180 (twice) and 20,219, BuddhUig I 250 and often as *yaraŋınmak* in that text, BT XIII 38,20 and 55,7. *yaratun-* in KT E 10 must be an error, rectified in the parallel passage in BQ E9.²⁹⁷ *yara-t-*, q.v. below among the *-(X)t-* verbs, is semantically quite distinct from *yara-*; the adjacence of two formatives is therefore irrelevant here.

yarlıka-n- is attested in M III 11,13₁ (text 5), quoted in the *DTS*²⁹⁸ but not the *EDPT*. *yarlı(g)ka-*, its base, is discussed in section 5.2. It either signifies ‘to command’ or is a pragmatic auxiliary which can be translated as ‘to graciously. . .’. Since it comes from *yarlıg* ‘poor, pitiable; pity’, its original meaning should have been ‘to pity’; the passage from this meaning to the ones actually attested can easily be followed when the agent is a focus of power over others. *yarlıka-n-* links with that original meaning of *yarlıka-*, for it signifies ‘to have pity on . . .’. A second ex. of it is attested in ZiemeSklav III 5, in fragmentary and unclear context; translating this *y(a)rl(ı)kanzun* as “möge man geruhen” is unacceptable.

yarma-n- ‘to cling unto a precipice, a wall, a ladder and to scale or climb it’. The context of the TT I 46 ex. is translated better in the *EDPT* than by Bang and Gabain; an ex. from the Maitr quoted in the n. to the latter (found also in the *EDPT*) is transcribed and translated better there than in BT IX 248,24₂. *yarman-* governs the dative of the wall in the DLT and the ladder appears in an *üzä* phrase in SuvZieme 692,19 (not in the *EDPT*): *ol ŝatu üzä yarmanıp t(ä)ŋri yerinä agtın-*. A further ex. in BT XIII 16,21: *y(a)rlıg bilmäz yağıka yarmantaçı kim bolgay?* ‘Who might grapple with the enemy who knows no mercy?’, only a

297 This is also the opinion of Hovdhaugen, 1974, who adds: “There is no evidence for an original rounded vowel in the reflexive morpheme.”

298 ‘ölülür’ in that quotation has to be corrected to *ölürür*.

tentative translation. *yarma-*, a hap. in Höllen 62 (q.v. in the *EDPT*) also signifies ‘to scale, climb up’, but governs a direct object.²⁹⁹

yasta-n- ‘to use (something, direct object) as pillow or support, prop oneself on (something)’ appears, damaged, in BuddhBio 7: *Sumer tagıg yastwkça yast(a)nur* “Er legt den Sumeruberg wie ein Kopfkissen für sich zurecht”. Attested also in QB 622, 2727 (not in the *EDPT*) and 5974 in rather similar meaning, and in Middle Turkic. Also, with metathesis, in Ht VII 7 b3: *kolın yatsangusıntın üntürüp, ulug tına* . . . ‘he raised his arm from where it rested, sighed deeply and . . .’.³⁰⁰ *yasta-*, documented in the *EDPT*, signifies ‘to prop (somebody, in the dative) up on (something, direct object)’. Cf. *yastwk* in section 3.102.

yayka-n- ‘to sway and be disturbed, (as) of water’ is attested twice in a Manichaean text and once in a Buddhistic one as mentioned by the *EDPT* and the *DTS* (the latter also under *bulyanmaq jajqanmaq*). The v.l. of TT VI 422 (quoted and ‘translated’ in the *EDPT*) appears only in one among three mss. and is a meaningless error. *taloy ögüz suvları yaykanur* can be added from Maitr 145 r5 and 153 v25. *yayka-* is only found from the XIVth century on, but see *yaykal-* among the *-(X)l-* verbs.

yaz-in- is documented in the *EDPT* under 2 *yazın-* from Orkhon Turkic, Manichaean and Buddhist texts; attested also in Maitr 174 r13 and v21, 80r 4 and 84 r21 and 23. Not found in Qarakhanid or later. ‘to do something morally wrong, to sin’. This seems to be the meaning of practically all the early exs. of

299 A ‘precipice’ is *yar* in Old Turkic, but an etymological connection between this and *yarma-* can hardly be established.

300 Geng reads ‘*yarsingu*’ instead of Arlotto’s *yatsangu*, but that makes no sense at all in the context. Arlotto has a n.: “*yatsa-* MK ‘to lie down’ + refl. *-n-* and *-qw* nomen instrumenti. Here of course ‘where one puts one’s arm down’ or ‘pillow’. Professor Pritsak has pointed out the connection between this word and the modern Turkish word *yastık* ‘pillow’.” Arlotto, that is, thought this to be an instance of what appears in DankKelly as follows: “*är yatsadı* ‘The man wanted (footn.: “wanted” added in margin by later hand.) to settle down for the night, to sleep and to lie down’. *yatsar yatsamaq*.” The DLT ms. actually has thrice *yatsa-* and not ‘*yatsa-*’, altered by DankKelly. This is a desiderative form, as discussed in section 6.1 above. The desiderative formative had the shape *-(X)gsA-* throughout Uigur; only in the DLT, and under certain conditions, did it lose its velar and even, sometimes, its first vowel. Such a development cannot be imagined to have taken place already in Ht; there is no ‘*-sA-*’ in Old Turkic proper. As long as it stands alone against so many exs. of *yasta-* and *yastwk*, *yatsa-n-gu* can only have been the result of metathesis. Even if it were the source of *yasta-*, such a verb could not be used to postulate the existence of a deverbal ‘*-sA-*’: It would still stand alone as a lexeme and, what is more, has no desiderative content. The fact that the first hand omitted the verb ‘wanted’ from the translation of the DLT’s *yatsa-* has no particular significance. Ercilasun, 1984: 19 thinks *yasta-* may come from ‘*yas*’ in *yas sönük* (Suv 625,10); that, however, is to be read as *yaş sünük* ‘fresh bones’ (less likely is *yas sünük* ‘bones of bereavement’).

- yaz-* too; *yaz-*, however, is sometimes used in the concrete sense of 'going astray, off the right path etc.', while *yazın-* is only used figuratively.
- (y)*ettür-ün-* is a hap. in ETŞ 10,148, not mentioned in the dictionaries: *başın ettürünmiş* (not 'ıdturunmış') *Yatıyadan* 'Yajñadatta who lost his head'. See *yet-dür-* among the *-tUr-* verbs. *yetlin-* and 1 *yetil-* also have variants without initial /y/.
- yevin-* is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is found in] *yevinmək tuşka* [(Scharl 94) and *iki türlüğ yeväglär üzä yevinip* ... (Scharl 97), translated as "Zeit des Sich-Ausstattens (sambhārāvasthā)" and "sich mit zwei Arten von Ausstattung ... ausgestattet habend, ..." respectively. See under the cognate *yevä-g* (section 3.101) why the second vowel may have become /i/, and cf. *yevil-*, *yevä-t-* and *yevig+län-*. *yevin-* is the reflexive-medial counterpart of tr. *yevä-*.
- 1 *yığ-in-* is attested as 'to collect something for oneself' only in the *DLT*; the base of *yığın-tur-* (q.v. among the *-tUr-* verbs) must also have been concrete. Uigur 1 *yığın-* is spiritual only: With *köñül* (and *ög*) as real or understood object, it signifies 'to concentrate one's mind, to meditate'. This is attested e.g. in TT III 162 (Manichaean) and Warnke 287, TT VIII A 27, DvaKol I 25, BT VIII A 290, ShōAgon 1,53 and BT XIII 5,226 (Buddhist). This corresponds to *köñül yığ-* e.g. in TT III 31 ("to collect somebody's thoughts", Manichaean), USp 43,6 and TT I 222, and is a loan translation from Skt. *sam+ā+dhī-*, parallel to Parthian *amwrd(i)šn* (q.v. in the *UW*).
- 2 *yığ-in-*, related to 2 *yığ-il-* (q.v. below), signifies 'to keep away (intr.), hold back, restrain oneself'. *köz başlap kaçığların yığın-* (ETŞ 8,29) is 'to restrain their senses, first and foremost the eyes'. This second *yığ-in-* is found also in the QB: *buşı bolma iştä sän övkä yığın* 'Don't be irritable in business, restrain your anger' (1414 and 5216), *tiläk arzu sürmä havañnı* ('your passions') *yığın* (6118). Thus also in *azlanguluk tıtaglartın ätözüg köñülüg yığınmak ärür* (Suv 242,3-4) 'That is, to hold one's body and mind in check before vicious causes'. This is how *yığın- küzädin-* (ShōAgon 1,361, quoted under *küzäd-in-* above) and *yığın- üşün-* in *öz köñüllärin yığınmış üşünmişlär* (ÄgFrag (1) B 1) come to have practically the same Chin. counterparts: 'concentration' and 'meditation' is what protects and guards the believer against the impressions of this world. The *amv(a)rd(i)şnılg ot* (TT III 28-9) serves as antidote to *az nızvanı* (Manichaean text). The corresponding use of *yığ-* is known to me mainly from Muslim sources. QB 1265 has *ay ädgü du'ā sän balānı yığ a* "O benediction, hold back evil". The *DLT*'s *ol мәni aşka yıgdı* "He detained me for a meal" also belongs here. The use of *this yığ-* in Middle Turkic is well described by Bodrogligeti, 1984: 463; cf. also what the *EDPT* gives. The two verbs *yığ-il-* (q.v. below) also have various meanings corresponding to the ones of *yığ-in-*.
- yılı-n-* is not mentioned in the *EDPT*; the *DTS* has an ex. from (the inferior) ms.

A in QB 101. Uigur only has it in the biverb *isi-n- yılı-n-*, which perhaps signified ‘to be enthusiastic’ or ‘to try hard’. *toyınlar isinü yılını* (ed.: ‘*yalını*’) *bısrunsar ögrätinsär, . . . uyur oz[galı]* (ShōAgon 1,357) and *bir iştäş kamag uluğ kuvrag birlä [ön]gin [ön]gin yaraglarınça isinü yılını, ağır ayançañ [sak]ın-çı[n]. . . köñülüg öritip . . .* (Warnke 150); a further ex. appears *ibid.* 553. These can’t be instances of *ilin- ~ yilin-* (q.v. above under *il-in-*) because of the positive content and the semantic affinity with *isi-n-*. *yılı-* ‘to be or become warm’ (EDPT quoted from DLT) is only concrete and literal, *yılın-* only attested in metaphorical use; cf., however, *yılı-g* (section 3.101). The metaphor may have its origin in the spiritual meaning of Skt. *tapas* ‘warmth’.

yod-un- is the reflexive of *yod-* ‘to wipe off’, discussed in section 7.23. In both instances, Suv and DLT (qq.v. in the EDPT and the DTS), it appears with *yaş* as object and signifies ‘to wipe away one’s tears’.

(*ywKurkan-* is an obscure verb discussed in section 5.2.).

yola-n- ‘to go in a certain direction, to make oneself a way’ must be distinguished from *yölä-n-*, although this may be difficult in specific cases. *yola-n-* comes from *yol+a-*, q.v. in section 5.11. I read *yolan-* in *körtülär . . . yomğı bertin yñak yolanıp . . . barmışların* (Suv 599,19). UW 246 translates this as “sie sahen, daß [die Tiere] . . . alle nach einer Richtung sich orientierten und . . . liefen”, but still transcribes ‘*yölänip*’. This ex. is quoted in the DTS but not the EDPT. Another instance may be *Çixuen atl(ı)g bilgä yakın yaguk yolantı* (Ht V 11 b 26) and cf. s.v. *yölän-*.

yölä-n- is generally written as YWL’N°; spelling *yw°* as YW and not YWY° is common orthographical practice. Thence the difficulty in distinguishing between this verb and the one in the previous entry. *yölän-* is certain in *b(ä)k katıg tutum kertgünç[kä] barmak yölänmäkkä işläsip . . .* (Warnke 601) “sich bemühen, in dem fest zu haltenden Glauben zu wandeln und sich auf ihn zu stützen”. *ölänsär* (thus) *üküş turgurmakka* (ShōAgon 1,21) is also spelled by the ed. with front vowel; cf. *ädgükä öläntürmək* (*ibid.* 34).³⁰¹ *ät’özintäki kop tüüsi yokaru yölänip tururlar* (MaitrGeng 5 a26) and *yokaru yölänmiş tüüläri* (*ibid.* 11 b23) probably belong here as well, while Abhi 2363 is certainly an instance of *yölän-*: *qmtı . . . sizlär maña tayaklıg ärür sizlär. m(ä)n nurvan bulmuşta ken . . . tayanmış yölänmişñizlär kargäk sudurka*. An ex. in BT I B (61), finally, has probably wrongly been taken to have *yölän-*: *ortun yolta kalma-guluk ol: . . . köñül tapa yolanmış k(ä)rgäk*. *yölä-* ‘to support’ is mentioned in the DLT only with its physical sense of ‘propping up’; QB 2105, 5125 and 5792 have metaphorical uses, however, which directly correspond to what we have for *yölän-*.

301 I have no explanation for the absence of the initial *y*; **h*??

yörgä-n- 'to be wrapped around, covered up with something'. By the *EDPT* and the *DTS* quoted only from the *DLT*. Fourteen times attested in the *Maitr*: also e.g. in *MaitrGeng* 10 b25, where *yörgänmiş* is parallel to *yaxşınmış* (q.v. above). This verb without the initial *y* is attested in *Legende*, MI 5,14, *öl tözün är k(a)mag özi tonı baştan adak(k)a tägi kanka irinñä* (thus) *örgänip* . . . Same verb, similar context, *ibid.* 6,8. See *yörgä-l-* below for exs. of the (tr.) base.

yu-n- 'to wash (intr.), wash oneself'. *EDPT*; further exs. in *Ht* VII 10 b16, *Suv* 478,2-7 (quoted in the n. to *BT* VII A 21), *Shō* XIII a 11 and *BT* VIII B 156. *uşın arıtıp agızın yunzun* (*Suv* 524,15) is 'One must clean one's teeth and wash one's mouth'; not "man soll seine Zähne putzen, den Mund [spülen] und sich baden", as translated in *UW* 70 a s.v. *agız* A,a,1: A reflexive form can, of course, govern a body part as object. *yu-* 'to wash (tr.)' is well attested.

yul-un- 'to be pulled off, plucked away, redeemed' is dealt with in the *EDPT*; add an ex. from *QB* 1438.³⁰² There is only one (late) *Uigur* instance.

yupa-n- 'to hide from a difficult situation, a difficult task etc.'. The only *Uigur* ex. is *yarsıncıg yavız ölümkä yaşıp yupanıp ozgu yok* (*BT* XIII 16,19) "Vor dem . . . Tod gibt es kein Verstecken₂, keine Erlösung". Attested also in the *DLT*, for which see the *EDPT*; cf. also *yupa-t-* below. The base is attested in the *DLT* (spelled as '*yuba-*' in the *EDPT*); *DankKelly* translate "The man neglected the matter and did not settle it". *yupa-*, *yupan-* and *yupat-* all have this slightly different meaning in the *DLT*, which the *Uigur* ex. of *yupa-t-* does not share either.

(*yükün-* with dative, 'to worship, do obeisance to somebody'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. *jınçür-*. *yınçürü yükün-* appears also in *ETŞ* 20,36, whereas *AbitAnk* 61, e.g., has *yükünmək tapınmak*. *yükün-* is very frequent in *UigTot* and *Maitr*, and appears also in *BT* II 148, *BT* VIII B 219, *CYK* 51, *ShōKenkyū* III 32, *Ht* V 2 b14 and 18, *AmitIst* 86, 91 and 99 and so forth. Worth noting is *YUG-KUN-NUR-BIS* in *BuddhKat* 1 and 2. *Bang* and *Gabain*³⁰³ tried to connect *yükün-* with *yükmäk* ~ *ükmäk* 'heap'. The semantical problems in such a connection could perhaps be solved; weightier is the objection that the *y* of *yükün-* is always there, whereas the alternation *ük-* ~ *yük-* goes back to **hük-*: Cf. *ük-ün-* and especially *hük-ün* above. I propose to derive this verb as **yü-k-ün-*, connecting it with *yügärü* and *yülüğ* 'facing etc.'. This last is analysed as **yü-l-üg* and discussed (together with *yügärü*) in section 3.101 above. *Tezcan*'s review of *BT* V (*TDAYB* 1978-9 (1981): 299) has a different etymology.)

302 The entries '*yolun-*' "*sıyrıl-*" and *yulun-* "*kurtar-*" of the *İndeks* to the *QB* should be united. The quality of the base vowel varies in the *Turkic* languages.

303 In footn 1 to p. 98 of *TT* VI. The *EDPT* notes *yükün-* as a simplex.

yükün-ün- 'to worship for one's own sake'. Hap. in BT XIII 60,5: *Maheşvari täñrikä yükününgäli kälmişñkä*. The ed. thinks it is an error for *yükün-*; but as *yükün-* was opaque for its users, it is quite normal that there should be a medial expansion from it.

PETRIFIED CONVERBS

One such lexeme is *aşnu* 'before, previous etc.', q.v. in the *UW* together with its derivatives. I think it can only have temporal meaning and never signify "voran": Par. A,a of the entry should probably be deleted: The KP instance can very well be understood temporally, and what appears in Töpfer 42 is probably *asnu* 'hanging on/for oneself' from *as-in-*. See *aşun-* 'to surpass, excel' above.

The sequence *bagdaşını olor-* 'to sit with crossed legs' is not mentioned in the *EDPT*; the *DTS* has one ex. from Suv. *bagdaşını* and *olor-* are always adjacent except in ETŞ 9,13-14; there, the separation is probably justified by the metre. Further exs. appear in UigTot 1017, Maitr 7 r19 and 148 r10, BT XIII 33,5 and UigKan 303 and 319. BT XIII 20,9 has the collocation in three mss., A (= Hazai 9), B (= UigStichi 8) and C. *v(a)jir bagdaşını olor-* of BT VII C18 can be compared to *v(a)jir bagdaş tæg* in UigTot 750. A hap. *bagdaşınmak* is discussed among the *-(X)n-* verbs; no **bagda-ş-* is attested. See *bag+da-* in section 5.13. *bagdaş* appears in the QB and in Middle Turkic.

MORPHOLOGY

-(X)n- is not often added to *-(X)ş-* verbs. *yaxşın-/yaxsın-* has its problems. We just mentioned the petrified converb *bagdaşını* and its obsolete base. One other ex. is *yapşın-*, whose base is not a cooperative-reciprocal as far as its meaning is concerned. *umşun-* in BuddhUig I 318 must be an *-(X)n-* verb, but no **um-uş-* is, in any case, attested. What has been read as *yargaşın[z]un* in BT XIII 6,1 is rather dubious, as the lacuna may have been greater. *-lXn-* verbs, in which *-(X)n-* appears after *-(X)l-*, are discussed in the next section: *-lXn-* is, in some cases, a combination of formatives rather than a formative sequence. *-(X)n-* is in a number of cases added to causative forms, among them *agtın-*, *arıtın-*, *ögrätin-* and *yaratın-*, *bışrun-*, *katrun-* and *şışrun-*. Note *yükünün-*, finally, whose base is opaque. Among all these, *agtın-* is a real anti-transitive of a causative, *arıtın-* a real reflexive of a causative. In none of the other cases can two distinct diathesis meanings be isolated.

-(X)n- verbs receive mainly causative expansion. *bışrunul-*, *ötündürül-*, *tapın-turul-* and *yüküntürül-* are passive derivatives from *-(X)n-* verbs: The three verbs mentioned last are formed with the suffix of section 7.32. *bışrun-* and *ötün-* govern

direct objects, the other two indirect ones. All four -(X)n- verbs have lost the medial or reflexive component of their meaning. Five -(X)n-(X)ş- verbs (listed in the previous section) are not significant from the functional point of view: Concerning *sanış-*, *tavranış-* and *tayanış-*, note that there is no *sa-* or **tavra-* or *taya-* in Old Turkic, so that *san-*, *tavran-* and *tayan-* were not analysable as far as the speakers of that language are concerned; the base of *sāvin-iş-* is a semantic simplex. *evin-iş-* is a hap. in an Uigur text while *evin-* appears only in the QB. Thus it is again only the combination of -(X)n- with causative formatives that represents a true joining of two diatheses.

-(X)n- is very often added to denominal bases, the most prominent among them being those formed with +lA-. This is only natural, as +lA- is the most common of denominal formatives forming verb stems. If a related +lA- verb is not attested, a verb formed with the combination of the two formatives is discussed in section 5.6: +lAn- acquired a life of its own; it was used as a single element without many of the characteristics of -(X)n-. For about 20 -(X)n- verbs, however, a +lA- stem can be shown to have served as base; these, of course, appear in this section. Other denominal verbs also served as bases for the present formative, e.g. +A-. *ag(i)zan-*, *āñān-*, *uvšan-* and *uzanmak* presumably also come from +A- verbs, but those have not yet turned up. The relationship of -(X)n- with +(X)(r)kA- ~ -(X)(r)kA- has been pointed out in section 5.2; the collocational affinity between the two formatives has its source in their semantic affinity: *verba sentiendi* by definition have an egocentric content.

Converbs and aorists of -(X)n- verbs have /U/ in their suffixes; as shown and documented in Erdal, 1979 a: 107, this usually holds also for monosyllabic -(X)n- verbs. *ün-* may also originally have been an -(X)n- verb, but is opaque within Old Turkic: As shown *ibid.* 111, its converb and aorist vowel is generally /A/, with possibly one or two Manichaean exceptions. Some of the °n- verbs discussed above cannot be shown to actually have been formed with -(X)n-, among them *aşgın-*, *āymān-*, *içan-*, *içgın-*, *kaşan-*, *kazgan-*, *kızgan-*, *ötkün-* and *tāvşin-*. Some of these may in fact be simple verbs. All of them, however, have /U/ as the vowel of the converb and the aorist. The only polysyllabic verb ending in /n/ whose converb and aorist vowel is /A/ is *kayın-* 'to boil (intr.)'. How this came about is explained in Erdal, 1979 a: 115.³⁰⁴ Since, with the exception of *kayın-*, there are no

304 The first word in B¹W S¹N¹A :B¹W S¹N¹L¹D¹M in ŞU E7 has been read as 'boşuna', among others in *EDPT* 383 a. The second word cannot be identified with anything known; as a quite clear photograph shows, the first word is damaged particularly in the third letter and therefore uncertain. *boşunu* and *boşunur* appear, in any case, in Kuan 40, at least 18 times in Chuast, in TT IV A 7 and 14 and elsewhere. *busan-*, a possibility at least as far as the reading alone is concerned, is also often attested with -U(r). *ötü tüğünär m(ä)n* in U II 80,64 Üdrät seems to be rather clear on the facts. and must be an error. TT IX 54, Suv 401,10, U III 4,1, Haricandra, KP LXXIII 2, U II

polysyllabic $^{\circ}n$ - verbs which do not have /U/ in the converb and aorist suffixes, this vowel cannot be used with them as a criterion to distinguish the simple from the derived verbs.

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

Most $-(X)n$ - verbs are not accompanied by any nominal except that representing the subject: *özün ol tuşbaşına kâmişti, yuntı, arıntı* (MI 7,21) 'He threw himself into that spring and washed and cleaned himself'; *ıda taşda kalmışı kuvranıp yeti yüz bolı* (Toñ 4) 'Those who had remained in forest and desert gathered and there turned out to be 700 men'. The fact that it comes natural to use a simple intr. in the English translation should not be seen as the taking of a stand on the question of whether the $-(X)n$ - form was actually felt as a genuine reflexive. It was the group, strictly speaking, that gathered itself; a mutually cooperative and concerted behaviour on the part of all the men taken as separate entities should have demanded the $-(X)ş$ - form. One further ex.: *anı üçün m(ä)n taz artukaş birlä ökünür biz bilinür biz* (TT IV B28) 'That is why I, Dhāsa, together with *Artukaş*, we repent and admit (our sins)'. Not very different are the instances with *figura etymologica*: Their direct object which is a verbal noun, is not a participant but has adverbial function: *arşlan silkinigin silkindäçi aıl(ı)g bodis(a)tv kutıma yükünür biz* (BT II 1052) 'We prostrate ourselves before his holiness the bodhisattva named "He who shakes himself with the shake of a lion"; *yüräk yarılınçığ ämgäk ämgänürlär* (Höllen 135) 'They suffer heartbreaking sufferings'.

Here is an ex. with an ablative locative: *yazokda boşunu ötünür biz* (Chuast 85, 92, 101 etc.) 'We pray to free ourselves from sin'; *yin[d]äm ayıgta y(a)ratın-taçılarıg uđtınız* (TT III 74-5) 'You curbed those who consistently adorned themselves with evil'. Locative expressions as the one in the last-mentioned ex. never serve as participants. The following sections will discuss only those expressions which may do so.

$-(X)n$ - verbs with direct object

Direct objects may be with or without accusative mark; with pronouns, only the first possibility exists. In most of the medial-reflexive sentences with accusative, the object contains a possessive suffix referring to the agent:

87,63 Kutlug, BT II 68 and 71 and many other places all have *täginür*. Perhaps the vowels have been interchanged and one should emend to **ötä täginür*; **ötünü täginür* is another possibility. *eyin käzigçä ağına ağına* in UigTot 1100, "der Reihe nach sich erhebend" only shows how late that text is.

1. The direct object may be the word *özin* or *ät'özin*, e.g.:
ol kişi suvka kirip ät'özin arıg yunup yañı arıg ton kädip . . . (Suv 519,12) 'That man went into the water, washed himself clean, put on clean new clothes, . . .'.
2. Sometimes the object is a part of the agent's body:
kanatımın silkinip ymā t(ä)rkläyü kal(ı)kdan kudı entim (M III 23,6₂, text 8) 'I shook my wing(s) and came down from heavens in a hurry'; *tışın arıtıp ağızın yunzun* (Suv 524,15) 'One must clean one's teeth and rinse one's mouth'.
3. The object can also be an abstract noun referred to the agent: *yazokumuznu bilinür biz* (TT IV A 65) 'We admit our sin'; *kayuka ärsär tayangusın tüşgüsin arıtı bilinmāz ukunmaz* (BT II 969-70) 'He no longer has the awareness nor the self-understanding concerning what it is he should lean upon or alight on'. In the following rather complicated ex., *kılınçımıznu* is governed by *ökün-* (which could not yet be shown to be an *-(X)n-* verb but behaves like one): *amtı ol kulmuş agar tsuy ayıg kılınç(ı)m(ı)znı kaltı kurug kovuk sögüt özänintä ört tamutmuş tæg ökünmäklig örtin örtänür biz* (UigSün 19) 'We now burn with the (metaphorical) fire of repenting those committed heavy sins₂ of ours, as if one had kindled a fire in the heart of a dry and hollow tree'. Cf. also *münlärin yazokların ürtünü kızlänü* (Maitr 176 r9).
4. *öz* and *ät'öz* with *-(X)n-* verbs refer to the subject's self and body even when not accompanied by a possessive suffix: *täginmāk nomug özkä alınıp köñıldä kılur* (TT V B 73; see *al-in-* above and the *UW* entry for this verb; par. 3); *äñ kenki ätözög eltindäçi* (TT VIII A 48) 'the bearer of the very last body'.
5. Direct objects which are the subject's children or other relatives of his or are considered or treated as such are governed by *-(X)n-* verbs whose content denotes such treatment. This is the case with *açı-n-* and the biverb *açın- agrın-*. In Buddhistic texts the persons 'cared for and looked after' are, however, mostly the needy and destitute.
6. Action which the subject takes for his own benefit is also expressed with *-(X)n-*. Such verbs are *äñän-* 'to disappropriate' and *ärksin-*.
7. Those sentences can be disregarded here in which the verb either has no attested base, as *adkan-* or *tägzin-*, or has dissociated itself from its base semantically, as the common *tägin-* 'to experience' from *täg-* 'to reach, attain', or *bışrun-* 'to assimilate a doctrine' from *bışur-* 'to cook'. *basın-* 'to oppress' is typical of a whole class of *-(X)n-* verbs: Semantic proximity to *bas-* is clear, but the use of *basın-* can hardly be argued to be reflexive. It is therefore not surprising that, e.g. in TT II 1,12, BT II 256 and BT XIII 13,91, we find *basın-* with the independent direct object. With quite a number of *-(X)n-* verbs, the difference between them and their base consists of their being abstract, metaphorical, spiritual. See the above entries of *açı-in-* 'to disclose one's sins', *adkan-* 'to perceive', *al-in-* 'to accept advice, the true doctrine etc.', *arı-n-* 'to

be pure, purify oneself (with personal subjects and spiritual content)', *bas-in-*, *bısr-un-*, *boşw-n-* 'to get free from impediments of the soul', *bög-ün-* 'to comprehend, perceive', *elt-in-* 'to lead a certain way of life', *isi-n-* 'to have warm feelings towards someone; to try hard, to be enthusiastic' (this last also together with *yılı-n-*), *iy-in-* 'to oppress and crush (in an abstract sense)', *känrä-n-* 'to grumble, complain', *öt-ün-* 'to present something to a superior', *sig-in-* 'to seek or take refuge', *tap-in-* 'to worship', *tart-in-* 'to be attached to somebody, love him dearly', *täg-in-*, *tokı-n-* 'to be struck by a certain feeling', *tuy-un-* 'to comprehend, achieve enlightenment', *yad-in-* 'to open oneself up to view and to criticism', *yarat-in-* 'to work hard on something', *yarlıka-n-* as auxiliary of majesty, *yaz-in-* 'to sin' and 1 *yığ-in-* 'to concentrate one's mind, meditate'. Since the reason for using *-(X)n-* in these verbs is semantic rather than syntactic, it is not surprising that the resulting derivatives should not have the syntactic behaviour of reflexive or of medial verbs.

8. When *-(X)n-* verbs are medial and not reflexive or anti-transitive, they can, of course, govern any object; tr. verbs no less than intr. ones can be marked for including the subject or his domain as beneficiary of the action: *ut tuşın kânç oğlan asınsar yüräklig bolur* (TT VII 23,2) 'If a little boy hangs the tooth of a dog onto himself, . . .'; *bo yetikän sudur ärdinig agzanıp miñ küön tükäl yakdurup . . .* (I) recited this *Yetikän sūtra* jewel and had printed fully a thousand copies . . . (TT VII 40,121, the *Yetikän sudur*); *yañı arıg ton tonanıp . . .* (he) put on new and clean clothes and . . . (Suv 487,7); *bilgä biliglig y(i)ti kılıçig tayanmak k(ä)rgäk* (BT I B (78)) 'One should support oneself by the sharp sword of wisdom'; *ymä t(ä)ñrim siz yunduñuz bilgä biliglig suv üzä biligsiz biliglig kkirlärig* (ms. T II S90 [U 5335] 32,13 and 33,2-3). This phenomenon seems to be rare but does exist.

However, in the great majority of sentences and other verbal constructions dominated by *-(X)n-* verbs, no reference appears to any direct object except as being, in some sense, a 'part' of the subject. All this does not, of course, apply to verbs like *umun-*, whose base was in disuse as far as the speakers of Uigur were concerned: In this sense, *tün kün sini umunıp* (the last vowel may be wrong; the ms. looks as if it were damaged here) *saña amranmakın muna ölürm(ä)n* (U III 82,27) 'I wish for you by day and by night and – lo – am dying in love for you' is no real exception.

In most cases in which an object not marked with an accusative sign accompanies a medial-reflexive verb, the object is clearly in close juncture with the verb and unspecific. Some such instances have already been quoted and will not here be repeated. Only the following two need be discussed: *turkaru aş içgü İnçA kolosınça aşanmak k(ä)rgäk* (M III 12,3₂, text 6) "(darum) ist es nötig, immer

Speise und Trank so zu ihrer (bestimmten) Zeit zu genießen". The objects are unspecific, and were separated from the verb apparently in order to lend maximum prominence to *Inça* and *kolosınça*. An early ex. with unspecific object, clearly not lexically connected with the verb's base: *sü yorıdım . . . karıg sökdüm, yok(g)aru at yetä, yadagin, ıgaç tutunu agturtum* (Toñ 25) 'I had the army set out . . . I made them climb on foot, towing their horses upwards, holding themselves on to trees'.

Here may be the place to mention the third category of reflexive constructions of DLT fol. 393, which is of the type

Subject – *öziñä* – Indefinite Object – -(X)n- verb derived from tr. base

The dative (*dativus commodi*) of *öziñä* was apparently not necessary in Old Turkic proper as the morpheme -(X)n- was sufficient to convey its content.

-(X)n- verbs accompanied by *üzä* phrases

It has to be determined whether *üzä* is here used to form ergative expressions, a function it has in the passive. If it turns out that this does happen, that would mean that -(X)n- is also capable of being a genuine passive. In some cases this is clearly not so, as in the following, where *üzä* is used in parallelism with the instrumental suffix: *ädgü ögli y(a)rlıkançuçı köñül üzä burxanlar birlä tñ köñülin, burxanlar birlä tüz küsüşin yertinçünün ulug ädgü ögli y(a)rlıkançuçı köñüllüg kañlarıña tüzükä umunup inanıp yükünür biz* (BT II 28) 'We prostrate ourselves, hoping for, and believing in, all the great, well-thinking, compassionate fathers of the world, through well-thinking and compassion, with a mind in tune with the Buddhas and with intentions in accord with those of the Buddhas'. Cf. also the instrumental *üzä* phrase in the sentence *siz yundunuz bilgä biliglig suv üzä biligsiz biliglig kkirlärig* quoted above as ex. for an -(X)n- verb governing an accusative. The matter is not so clear in the following instance, but an instrumental interpretation of the *üzä* phrase is still more convincing: *kılınçıña ökünmäklig ört üzä örtänip kop köñülin ayıg kılınçdın ävrilsär . . .* (U III 5,2) 'If he burns with the fire of repentance for his deed, and if he turns away from evil action wholeheartedly, . . .'. In *amari pretlär k(ä)ntü saçları üzä ürtülüp yörgänip . . . uzun kürtüklärdä yugürürlär kaçarlar* (Maitr 198 r 7) the -(X)n- verb is even used in parallelism with a passive form together with an *üzä* phrase. The decision as to whether a phrase with *üzä* is to be taken as agentive or as instrumental depends on our understanding of the text. If we now try to get to the *basis* of this understanding, the following appears: Living (or supernatural) creatures tend to be seen as agents, while everything else is felt to be instrumental. Strictly speaking, living creatures can, of course, have their function limited to being just instruments; tales, on the other hand, can personify anything. But the first is a rather rare possibility which the

speaker-author can be expected to thematise, while context should give us sufficient notice in the second case. Other exceptions can be assigned to the various types of metonymy and metaphor. In general, then, the ergative expression will contain a living creature, or anything which the speaker-author conceives of or chooses to present as being endowed with its motivated behaviour. We have only one such case with $-(X)n-$, and that in a relatively late text: *kimlär birök ulug ig kām üzä tutulup otaçılar üzä adırtlanıp titmiş kođmış ärsär ymä . . .* (U II 43,20, Uşnişa Viçay). Possible translations for the hap. *adırtla-n-* are mentioned in the entry for it above; the rest is ‘Even such people as have already been caught by a major illness and . . . given up₂ by the doctors . . .’. Whether doctors were independent or instrumental can only be decided by information on the society being reflected in this text; in the Manichaean institution for which ManMon served as charter, the latter appears to have been the case. ‘*adırtla-*’ would, in any case, have been just as possible as *bäkläl-*, *baglal-*, *küläl-*, *nomlal-* etc., qq.v. below. The use of *üzä* must here be due to the influence of the passive within parallelism of the two $-(X)p$ clauses.

$-(X)n-$ verbs with dative forms

As we shall see below, the dative can also mark an ergative expression, e.g. in the passive use of $-(X)t-$ verbs. The cooccurrence of this case form with $-(X)n-$ therefore also needs investigation. The concrete uses of the dative can be disregarded from the start; such, e.g., are the datives accompanying the reflexive forms in the following sentence: *ol beş yüz sığınlar isig öz korkınçına ögsüz bolup yerkä yapşını sığıntılar* (U IV C69) ‘Those 500 maral deer became senseless from fear for their life and stuck to the ground, seeking shelter in it’. In the following sentence and in others similar to it, the dative does represent an abstract relation, but not ergative content: *äzrua t(ä)ñrikä, kün ay t(ä)ñrikä, küçlüg t(ä)ñrikä, burxanlarka inantım(i)z tayantım(i)z* (Chuast 139-40) ‘We have put our trust in and rely on the god Zerwan, the God of the Sun and the Moon, in the Powerful God and the prophets’. There is a special construction for *sa-n-* with the dative, which signifies ‘to be esteemed as, or pass for . . .’: *kayu kişi ög kañ köñlin bärtsär ol tınlıg tamuluk bolur, ogul kızka sanmaz* (KP XI 8) ‘Whatever person breaks his parents’ heart, that creature becomes fit for hell and is not counted for a son or a daughter’. We might also mention the dative which accompanies (y)il-in- (*yapşın-*): *mäniñ özümkä ymä yilinmäkim yapşınmakım yok* (UigPañc 19) ‘I have no adherence₂ to my ego’. *turuñya kuş tüşnäkinä konmuş, tuymatın tuz(a)k(k)a ilinmiş* (Irb LXI) ‘A crane settled on its resting place; without noticing it got caught in a snare’. Here and in the following ex., the dative form may be conceived of as the source of the action, but there is definitely nothing ergative about it: [nız]vani

basınçına olunup . . . (Maitr) is translated above in the entry for the verb. In none of the sentences with -(X)n- does a dative represent a participant in the action, then.

Ergo, -(X)n- verbs are never passives.

7.22 -lXn-: LEXICAL MATERIAL

The combination of the formatives -(X)l- and -(X)n- normally syncopates the vowel of the first formative (which falls off in any case if the base happens to end in a vowel). -lXn- is dealt with as a combined formative rather than as a sequence because none of the exs. appears to have been derived from an -(X)l- verb as base. Meaningwise, the verbs to be discussed below are more limited than what we find in section 7.21. This may be a coincidence, since -(X)n- verbs are much more numerous than -lXn- verbs; there may, however, have been a real difference, determining the choice of the speaker/writer between -(X)n- and -lXn-. Here, then, are the verbs:

boşlun- is an intr. verb in Heilk I, referring to women's bearing of children. This is a hap., mentioned in the *EDPT*. No doubt to be analysed as *boşw-lun-*, with the usual syncope of the second vowel. This is the only case of the addition of -lXn- to a base ending in a vowel. It is unlikely that it should be a rounding of 'boş+lan-': Such a rounding does not happen with *çoglan-*, *öglän-* etc.. *boş+w-* is discussed in section 5.41. Whereas the DLT's *boş+u-* is intr. like a regular +U- verb, Uigur *boşw-* is tr. Meaningwise, *boşlun-* corresponds to the DLT's *anın özi boşudı* "His bowels were opened". *boşu-n-* is intr., but limited to the spiritual domain.

suk-lun- 'to get stuck (in something)' is correctly interpreted in the n. to Pothi 55 = TT III 55. It appears in this meaning also in the DLT, and in Maitr 58 r 18: *taş kapıgında oy kazıp tolu ört yalın koz kodup bālgūsüz agzın ürttdi. [o]yta tādūktā suklunup tūşzün [tep] sakıntı*. The translation "soll er geblendet sein" of BT IX 161,18₂ follows earlier attempts to translate the verb, and is wrong. *suk-ul-*, attested only in the DLT, is a real passive and gets the object of the action as subject. All three exs. of *suklun-* have to do with holes in the ground, and the two Uigur exs. may have had the narrower meaning of 'falling in'. In TT III 55, *suv kwznāki* 'water hole' is a metaphor for 'pride'.³⁰⁵

305 Both Bang and Gabain and Clark took the 'water' by itself to be the metaphor for 'pride', but the 'water hole' is what one gets stuck in. *kwznāk* is attested also in BuddhUig I 389, 390 and 392 with reference to the holes in a net. K²W Z N²W K, i.e. *kwznw̄k* in IrqB XVIII refers to the smoke hole in a tent, and must be the same lexeme. The BuddhUig exs. are correctly translated as "Loch", but the ed. mistakenly took the original meaning of the lexeme to be "ingeschrumpft". Nevertheless, his connection with Ottoman *kūsnū-* ~ *kūsnā-* and *kūsnūk* may have something to

tik-lin- 'to be, or be placed, or place oneself vertically, i.e. upright' is, in the *EDPT* quoted from the *DLT*; there it concerns a piece of wood. In *BT VII B83*, in] *özläriniñ tillärintin y(a)rok ünüp balıka tiklinip* . . . , a ray of light goes vertically towards the *bali* offering. In *BuddhUig I 557*, finally, the subject is a person: *amı maña yaramagay olorgalı yaḡalı. . . . azuça ärsär ymä tikilinip turup küdäyin . . . tep arıtı olormadı yatmadı uḡmadı*. The context makes the significance of *tikilinip* (thus here!) clear. *tik-il-* has been used more or less like *tiklin-* in *UigTot 1039*, but is a real passive in *DLT* and *QB 4009*. *tik-* is tr.

tök-lün- appears once in *Heilk II A* (quoted also in *UW 76 b s.v. agu A,a*) and in the *DLT*. 'to pour out (intr.), to ooze out'. *tök-ül-* is very well attested and *töklün-* is synonymous with some of its intr. uses. '*tök-ün-*' is not, but cf. the Manichaean hap. *töküntür-*.

üz-lün- signifies 'to break (of a rope)' in the *DLT*. The *Uigur* exs., however, have 'doubts' or 'hopes' as subject and signify 'to come to an end'; this is a metaphorical or abstract use as we often find it with *-(X)n-*. One such ex. appears in three mss. in *TT VI 381* where the other four have *üzül-*; the others (not found in the *EDPT*) are *sezikiñiz üzlünzün* (*MaitrGeng 2 a24*) and *umugı üzlünmiş osuglug* (*Maitr 161 r27*). *üz-ül-* (q.v. below) also often has this meaning 'to cease, be cancelled, come to an end' in *Uigur*; but *üzlün-* makes this abstract meaning explicit. *üzlün-* should perhaps better be considered a derivate from *üzül-* than directly from *üz-*. Cf. also the solidly attested *üzlünçü* 'end' (discussed in section 3.105).

yet-lin- 'to disappear' is common, and so is its base *yet-* 'to lose'; an *-(X)n-* derivate from this base is not attested, however, and *yet-il-* is very rare. The *EDPT* writes that this verb is often used together with *bar-*; it may be, then, that the hap. occurring in *yitrinip bardılar* in *Suv* (quoted in the *DTS*) should be emended to *yetlin-*: The omission of *L* hooks by scribes is notorious. *yetlin-bar-* is additionally attested in *Ht IV 1172* and *X745* and *Maitr 85 v6, 116 v30* and *14 r3*. The last-mentioned ex. is spelled without the *y*, as the ones in *ShōAgon 3*, p. 203, ls. 12, 13 and 16 and *Maitr 198 v14*. Further exs. of *yetlin-* can be found in *Ht X1011*, *BuddhUig II 434* (with *közünmüz bol-*), *Suv 198,8* (with *yok+ad-*), seven times in *Maitr* and *SuvStockh 86*.

yuk-lun- 'to be polluted; of filth, to adhere' is, curiously enough, attested only in negated form. *DTS*; not in the *EDPT*: *ädgü altunug sızguru särgürsär toz tumanlıg kkirlär yuklunmadın öz tözi arınmış süzülmüş altun tözi b(ä)lgürär* (*Suv 74,18*). Add *BT I B (67)*, misunderstood by the eds.: *nızvanika yuklun-*

it. A derivation from *közün-* 'to appear' is out of question, in any case: both because of the meanings, and as there is no deverbal suffix '-Ak'. That *kwznäk* is not 'reflection' (thus e.g. Clark in *Pothi*) should be clear by now.

masar, ... tayansar kkirsiz arıg orunka, ... 'If one does not get polluted by passion, ... if one has an undirtied clean place as base, then ...'. A further ex. is *ol BODUGlar munçukka yuklunmadın munçuk arıg tözinçä turup...* in BuddhUig I 99. *yuklunmaksız* 'unpolluted' in U II 37,59 (Uşnişa Viçay) was misunderstood by the ed. (and also by the *EDPT* s.v. '*yoklun-*'). In ETŞ 10,202 we should read *kkir yuklunmaksız* instead of '*yolatmaksız*';³⁰⁶ the same form appears also *ibid.* 10,274 and 15,6.³⁰⁷ *yuk-ul-*, q.v. below, is very similar in meaning. *yuk-* 'to pollute' is attested in the metaphorical sense of most of the instances of *yuklun-* and *yukul-* in ETŞ 18,8 and BuddhUig I 399.

yub-lun-maklıg kqñülümün urgu yer bulmaz m(ä)n (Ht VII 1968 = 20 a24) is by Arlotto translated as "nervous heart". Prof. Gabain derives this form from a Mo. verb, while the *EDPT* connects it with the DLT's *yupa-* 'to neglect' (which is there read as '*yuba-*'), *yupal-* 'to be neglected'. These, however, would have given an unrounded vowel in the formative. These authorities were misled by the labial, spelled with the character for P. The same verb appears also in QB 662, spelled with *fā* with three dots; this represents the sound [β], a voiced bilabial spirant: *nātäg kim orunsuz topik yuvlunur / anı tög mǎ dāvlāt özüm yulunur* "Just as a ball with no fixed position rolls about, in the same way, I, too, fortune, retain my freedom". 'rolling about' is in both exs. used as a metaphor for restlessness and instability. The DLT's ex. for *yuvlun-* is purely concrete, as befits a dictionary. *yuv-ul-* is attested in Toñ, DLT and QB.

GRAMMAR

All our *-lXn-* verbs are bisyllabic. The converb and aorist vowel of all of them is /U/. The bases of all *-lXn-* verbs are tr., which is not true of *-(X)n-*, for example. All of them are simple verbs. The only expansion of a *-lXn-* verb is *yetlintür-*; *yetlin-* is also the most common verb in this section. There are many more *-lXn-* verbs in the DLT, e.g. *aç-lın-* 'to open (intr.)', *bog-lun-* 'to choke (intr.)', *bög-lün-* 'of water, to be stagnant', *bük-lün-* 'to be bent or folded double over'. Kāṣṣarī fol. 491 on this formation is worth quoting. In the DankKelly translation: "One says: *ār topik yuvdı* 'The man rolled the ball'; then: *topik yuvuldı* 'The ball was rolled'. Then *nūn* may be added to it, thus: *yuvlundı* meaning 'It rolled by itself'. Before the *nūn* was added to the *lām* the verb was intransitive in two respects. One is that the action was performed by an unknown or absent agent; in this case the verb acts intransitively, and when *nūn* is combined with it, the verb becomes intr.

306 The facts. is quite clear: There even is a dot on the N. Only the hook of the L has slipped a bit backwards.

307 *yana ywkıla käl-*, which is quoted there from Kuan 36-7, is obscure.

without anything else performing the action upon it [i.e. middle – DankKelly]. As in the above ex.: *yuvdı* means ‘He rolled’ – a biliteral tr. verb; when *lām* is added, thus: *yuvuldı* it means ‘It was rolled by the agency of something else [i.e. passive – DankKelly]; or else ‘It rolled by itself [i.e. middle – DankKelly]. The verb becomes trilateral and intr. in two respects. And when *nūn* and *lām* are combined, thus: *yuvlundı* it means ‘It rolled by itself’. The verb becomes quadrilateral and intr., progressing from biliteral to trilateral, and from trilateral to quadrilateral.” What Kāşgarî means is that *-(X)l-* verbs can be used both as passives and as anti-transitives, *-lXn-* verbs, on the other hand, only as anti-transitives.

With most *-lXn-* verbs there is no oblique nominal at all, e.g.: *agazımtakı tataglar barça yetlinip artokrak açığ bolup kün t(ä)ñri yarokı közümtä arıtı közünmāz* (U III 37,31) ‘The tastes in my mouth all disappear and there comes an extreme bitterness, and the light of the sun no longer is visible to me’.

There are two instances with dative, one of them local: *küfānçlıg suv kwznäkiña suklunmuşlarka kw[...lüg] köprügüg körkittiñiz* (TT III 55, an extended metaphor) ‘To those stuck in the water-hole of pride you have shown the bridge of [...]’. The other one is not ergative either: *nızvanıta turup nızvanıka yuklunmasar, yertinçü üzä tayansar kirsiz arıg oronka...* (BT I B (67)) ‘If he stands in the face of lust and does not pollute himself with lust, if he leans on a dirtless and pure place, ...’. No candidates for ergative expressions have turned up here, and *-lXn-* presents itself as a purely anti-transitive formative.

I have not come across any relative uses of *-lXn-* verbs.

The only verbs which justify considering *-lXn-* a formation in its own right are *suklun-* and the late hap. *boşlun-*. *üzlün-* and *yuvlun-* are probably best analysed as *üzl-ün-* and *yuvl-un-*, with the *-(X)n-* adding metaphorical content. With the four remaining verbs, the *-(X)l-* stem is practically synonymous with the one ending in *-lXn-*, neither being passive in the strict sense. No *-lXn-* verbs are medial or reflexive.

7.23 Medial verbs in *-(X)d-*

Some verbs denoting states and activities of the body and the mind appear to have been formed with this rare formative. Here is the evidence:

(*bud-* ‘to be very cold; to freeze to death’ appears in *toñmuş budmuş tınlaglarag... kigürüp...* (MaitrH XI 6 b21) and *är tumlugka budtı* (DLT fol. 633). The EDPT adds evidence from modern sources. It must be related to *buz* ‘ice’, which would be an *-(X)z* nominal denoting the object of tr. **bu-*.)

(*sid-* ‘to urinate’, EDPT. The reason for the scarcity of this verb (Heilk I once, two entries in the DLT) may be its meaning. No base attested, but *sik* ‘penis’ is

a cognate. *sik-* ‘to copulate’ involves another person, which *sid-* does not. (Admittedly, there are other differences to the experience as well.) Cf. also *sig* ‘urine’ (section 3.101) and *sig+ä-*. Cf. *kaşan-* (section 7.21).)

sök-üd- ‘to kneel in somebody’s presence’ is a hap. in TT II 1,35: *kuvraggaru k(ä)lt[i], d[i]ndarlar[ka...] söküdüp...* “vor den Elekten auf die Knie fallend...”. This is unlikely to be an $-Xt-$ causative, as TT II 1 is an archaic text which nowhere confuses the velars. It also has /I/ as aorist vowel, the phoneme /ā/ in its original shape and several exs. of the directive suffix $+gArU$, which gets rare later on. The meaning of *söküd-* is not appropriate for $-Xt-$ verbs either, for the synonym *sök-* is intr., and its $-Xt-$ derivate (q.v. in section 7.56) a simple causative. *ol bağkā sökti* (DLT) and *bo Aytoldı kirdi köründi söküp* (QB 581) have practically the same meaning as Manichaean *söküd-*. *söküd-* was borrowed into Mo., where it has /g/ instead of /k/, but runic *sök-ür-* (q.v. above) shows the Old Turkic velar. The Yak. verb *üöt-* “(Schamane) die Geister herbeirufen, beschwören, unter fließenden Bewegungen des Körpers und vornehmlich der Hand in Richtung Süden den Geistern Geschenke darbieten” must have gotten to it through Mo., as its velar would not otherwise have dropped. (I owe the information on the Mo. and Yak. verbs to Prof. Doerfer.) Cf. also Ordos *sö^hxör-* “saluer en pliant un genou...”. The hap. *söküd-* is our only evidence for the vowel of $-(X)d-$.

(*sud-* ‘to spit’ is another verb of solitary bodily activity. Attested, in addition to what is quoted in the *EDPT*, also in Suv 612,5 (miswritten as *‘sūt-*’ by A. v. Gabain) and ETS 11,106. No base or cognates; lives on in Chuv. *sur-*.)

to-d- ‘to be or become satiated’. This, *to-k* (section 3.102), *to-l-*, *to-n-* and *to-ş-* are all cognates. See *to-ş-* (section 7.1) for the base. Cf. also *to-z-umçı* (section 2.75). Exs. for *tod-* are listed in the *EDPT*; there are many derivatives from this verb.

uya-d- ‘to be ashamed’ may belong here. The base *uya-* ‘to put to shame’ may appear in BT XIII 3,28: *ulusuñdın tözi ünñädin / utrunmuşça bodunuñnı / uyap kalsar s(ä)n bolmaz mu? / antag kılmañ birökçi larıgka balıktın üñsär s(ä)n, ...* ‘Isn’t it better if you do not set out altogether from your state but, as if opposing them, put your people to shame and stay? In case you do not act this way but set out from the town to the forest...’.³⁰⁸ The ed. takes *bodunuñnı* to be governed by *utrun-*, but that demands the dative of whatever one is opposed to. He translates *uyap* as “beschämt”, but that would leave the suffix $-d-$ without function. If *añ kalıp onıp turur* in LetterTunHuang 12 (no facs.) should in fact be *kalıp wyap*, *uya-* might instead signify something like ‘to stay at home’; in that case this entry should be deleted. The $-d-$ of *uyad-* (exs. in the *EDPT* but

308 The unusual place of *arig* before *balık* is demanded by the alliterative pattern.

there are many more) is guaranteed by the DLT and the QB. Four instances written *uyat-* in TT VIII E do not disprove it, for that text also has several *adın, igid-* and *odog* written with T. *uyat* 'shame' is discussed in section 3.108. (*yüd-* is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*; further exs. appear in ETŞ 9,99 (*yüdä eltinü*) and 13,126 (*yük yüdä*), Profan p. 278 (*çipin taloyug sugurgalı, çömäli tagıg yudgäli kılınurça*³⁰⁹), Ht V 13 a20 (*yaña yüdmiş nom bitiglär üküş üçün*) and 15 a20 (*yük yüdmiş atın*) and VII 16 b5 (*k(ä)ntü özi . . . yüdüp*) and Maitr 74 r2 (*äñinlärintä yüdä*), 75,33 (*äñinlärintä yüdüp*), *ibid.* 45 (*kapların yüdä*), 51 and 57. *yüd-* is often used with *yük* as object, signifying 'to load something on oneself, to carry' or 'to load on one's pack animal'. It must also be connected etymologically with *yük*, which must be an *-(O)k* derivate from their common base. Such a base is not attested, however. Cf. also *yütür-* (under *-tUr-*.)

An additional verb which *may* have belonged to this formation is *äñit-* 'to bend down (of humans)', if it originally had /d/. *äñit-* is discussed in the section on the causative formative *-Xt-*, as it is spelled with T in TT VIII.

The converb and aorist vowel of this formation is /A/, at least as far as the monosyllabic verbs are concerned: *yüdä* is found in Maitr 74 r2, ETŞ 9,99 and 13,126 and U II 76,3 (*Üdrät*), *yüdär* in TT V B49. When it appears later, *sid-* is also attested only with *-A(r)*. Concerning *tod-*, the DLT says that *todur* is permissible beside *todar*. We have *tođa* in ETŞ 9,76,³¹⁰ however, and QB 923 has *todar*. *uya-d-*, however, is attested in the aorist form *uyadur* (e.g. in TT VIII E and the DLT), whereas *äñitä* is the very common converb form of *äñit-*. Since monosyllables do tend to have /A/ as converb and aorist vowel in general,³¹¹ the identity of the original vowel of this formation remains an open question.

All bases of *-(X)d-* verbs are simple. They are expanded only with causative formatives, e.g. *todur-* and *tođgur-*.

-(X)d- is an obsolete formative; verbs here mentioned were already pre-formed by the time of Old Turkic and may, in fact, have been opaque. *-d-* is therefore irrelevant for Old Turkic grammar.

309 This is a simile, which says: 'as when a midge attempts to sip up the sea and an ant to carry a mountain'. The ed. translates the latter as "durchdringen", presumably taking it to be a variant of *ör-* 'to pass through'. I have not met such a variant elsewhere, however; initial /y/ is a reflex of *h, and cannot be taken to pop up without reason.

310 Interpreted correctly in *UW* 239 a par. d,1 against the ed.

311 See Erdal, 1979 a passim.

7.24 -(X)k-: LEXICAL MATERIAL

Our documentation for this formative is clearly better than what we have for *-d-*, although it is far from being a common or active one. Here are the verbs:

(*alık-* and *alıg* ‘bad’ (discussed in the *UW*) probably have the base **alı-* in common (distinct from **alX-* > *al-* ‘to take’). *alık-* is attested in five instances in DLT fol. 105, translated with terms denoting both physical and moral rottenness, pollution, vility and corruption. Four of the instances are changed to *ılık-* by the second hand, which probably took this to be *ıl+ık-* (q.v. among the *+(X)k-* verbs). Then there is *açmış bars tąg alıku* (Mängi 22), conjecturally translated as “wie die hungrige Tigerin erschöpft ist”. The correct content of the sentence is likely to have referred to the vile nature of hungry tigers in general.)³¹²

(*amrik-* is a hap. in Tiš, quoted in the *UW* s.v.; it is there translated as “zur Ruhe gelangen, ruhig werden(?)”. Need not be an “alter Fehler” for *amril-* (q.v. below), although this latter is exceedingly common: *-(X)k-* verbs in general tend to be rare. The base the two verbs have in common is not attested in any case, but its petrified converb *amru*, q.v. in the *UW*, is.)

(*aşuk-* signifies ‘to hurry, to be in a hurry’ in Uigur (q.v. in the *UW*), in quite a number of Middle Turkic sources (q.v. in the *EDPT*) and in modern languages. The meaning “to crave or long for something” in DLT fol. 105 also has some Middle Turkic evidence for it. In view of its context, the reading *aşuk*[*maz* in UigBrief C13 may be correct in spite of scepticism in the *UW*; it would belong to the second use. *aşuk-* can be considered to be derived only if it can be proven to be related to *aşun-* ‘to surpass, excel’ (q.v. in section 7.21. For the meaning, cf. *aşunmaklaşu* ‘in competition’ (documented in the *UW*).)

(*balık-* ‘to get wounded’. The *EDPT* quotes this verb only from the DLT and the QB; found also in Chuast 74, written without the second vowel. This *balk-* can be compared to *elt-* ~ *elit-* and *tark-* ~ *tar-ık-*. The base must have been a verb: Cf. *balıg* ‘wounded’ (section 3.101 above) and *baş* ‘wound’. Its shape could have been either ‘*bal-*’ or ‘*balı-*’: Zieme, 1969: 258 (n. 764) speaks of a verb ‘*bal-*’ said to be attested in an unpubl. ‘Lehrtext’; but that could possibly be a form to be understood either way, like ‘*balıp*’. For the first possibility cf. *yavaş* and *yaval-* (mentioned under *yaval-tur-* below); for the second, the *+I-* verb *ükli-* and *üküş* ‘a lot’. Another case similar to that of the base of *balık-* could be *sögül-* (q.v. under *sögl-ün-*) and *sögüş-*.)

bodu-k- is a hap. in ShōAv 312, not understood by any of the eds.: *işlärig işlögü*

312 I don’t believe that *alk-* ‘to terminate, exterminate’ comes from *al-* ‘to take’; there are “semantische Probleme”, as the *UW* says s.v. *alk-*. DankKelly consistently spell *alık-* as ‘*eliq-*’; what they mean by this spelling is not clear to me.

tuşında / bodukmuş bilgin boş taş eliglig signifies ‘at the time of carrying out meritorious deeds, with a dedicated mind and a generous₂ hand’. *bodu-l-* (q.v. below) has a similar abstract meaning in Uigur.

(*böl-ük-* ‘to get into separate flocks and assemble in them’ is a hap. in the DLT noted by the *EDPT*. See *böl-ün-* for cognates and the base.)

(**bur-k-*, perhaps ‘to be wrinkled up and become stern, of one’s face’ is not attested, but cf. Republican Turkish *yüzünü burkmak* and *yüzü burkulmak*. From this come the DLT’s *burkug* (q.v. in section 3.101) and *burk-ut-* ‘to make one’s face stern’. The DLT’s *burış* ‘a wrinkle in skin or clothing’ (fol. 184) is from the same base, and so are *bur-kı* and *buşrı* (a *-şI* form with metathesis).)

çom-uk- is a hap. in InçA *k(a)ltı tärin titigtä çomukmuş ud täg* ‘like a bovine drowned in deep mud’ (ShōAgon 1,270). *çom-* is intr.; cf. *çom-ur-* and *çomr-ul-* below.

çu-k- appears only in TT VIII C5, in a biverb with *ämğä-n-* ‘to suffer’.³¹³ The simplex is attested in the corresponding biverb: *çudılar ämgätdilär* in ms. T III 84-74 r9-10 (quoted in Zieme, 1970 s.v. *çoy*). Also in] *küçin kün çoğı çumakta öşkürü sarıg terilür* (TT VIII I 23) ‘By the force of . . . and the striking of the sun (cf. ‘sunstroke’) the bile gets concentrated’ (or: *tirilür* ‘regenerated’?) and *amarı[ları]n tarta esä tokıyu toñ[layu] çuyu bälğürtür* (Maitr 165 r2). *çu-k-* is therefore the anti-transitive where *çu-n-* (q.v. above) is reflexive and *çu-l-* (q.v. below) passive. *çog* ‘blaze, glare’ is not a cognate; Choi, 1988: 162 suggests a Chin. etymology for it.

(*er-ik-* ‘to be bored or vexed’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT, the QB, Middle Turkic etc. The exs. of QB 765, 1005 and 3773 are not quoted there. See also Tezcan’s review of the *İndeks*. The *EDPT*’s lemma is wrongly ‘*irik-*’: cf. *ärık-* in the Codex Comanicus and other cognates under *er-in-* above.)

(*kork-* ‘to be afraid’ (with dat., later also abl. of what one is afraid of) is taken to be derived from *kori-*; **kori-k-* would have been syncopated like *balk-* and *tar-k-*. *kork-* would originally have meant ‘to protect oneself’, then, which might be the real meaning of a part of the instances. **kori-k-* explains the shape of *kork-uñç*; see this above in section 3.104 also for the other lexemes containing /h/ instead of the expected /u/. *kori-* ‘to protect’ and other derivatives from it are attested in the DLT, but *kori-g* appears already in various runic inscs. (section 3.101). IrqB

313 The two verbs correspond to what is written in Skt. as *ādīpita*. This has to be emended to *ādīpita* to give the perfect passive participle of *ā+dīp-*, ‘to flame, blaze’. This is what the ed. does to translate *çukup* as “flammend”. It has been noted that the shortening of *ādīpita* to *ādīpita* would be necessary to save the Skt. metre. Whatever the author of the Skt. text meant, however, the translator apparently took it to be the perfect passive participle of the desiderative of *ā+dabh-* ‘to hurt’, which is *ādipsita*.

XXXVI reads K¹W R¹K¹ŦÇİŦG vs., in the same *irk*, W̄ G²R²ŦÇW̄ŦG. The explicit I in the last syllable of the former can only be explained if the verb had an unrounded vowel after /r/. Note that the second vowel of *korıg* is not explicit in any of the instances. Whatever the reason for this, it enables us to read also K¹W R^{1w}KWR¹ in Toñ 39 as *korıkur*. The IrqB might also have had *korıkiŋç*. All these deficient spellings could have been better accounted for if the base had been *kor+a-* ‘to suffer loss’, for /A/ is implied by runic consonant characters; but the meanings of *kora-* and *kork-* do not fit.)

oŋ-uk- ‘to wilt’ is attested in ShōAgon A 33: *suvsamiş oŋukmuş usukmuş YALN-GUK sogık suvlug yulka tuşarça* . . . The DLT has two entries for this verb, in both with one ex. referring to a man’s face and one to a fabric. The human ex. is, in one case, translated as “to become pale”, in the other as “to become lean because of illness etc.”. For *oŋ-*, the DLT has only an ex. with a fabric, but there is a reference to a person in QB 3845. In addition to the *EDPT* exs., *oŋ-* appears also in QB 4959.³¹⁴ The IrqB ex. of *oŋ-* has a horse exhausted in the desert, like the man in the ShōAgon instance of *oŋuk-*.

(*öç-ük-* appears in the DLT and once in the QB; quoted in the *EDPT*. Of voice, ‘to fail’, of breathing, ‘to be interrupted’, of embers, ‘to die’. Although *öç-* is intr., there is a verb *öçül-*.)

(*öyük-* or *üyük-* ‘to sink into quicksand’ is attested only in DLT fol. 138. It must belong to this formation because of its synonym *wyül-* in QB 3090 and *wyūk* “quicksand” in DLT and QB 974, 3089, 3090, 3091 and 3795 (the last four not mentioned in the *EDPT*).³¹⁵ The base could have had one syllable or two.)

(*saŋç-ık-* ‘to be routed, to be stabbed’ in DLT fol. 380 has passive meaning and could perhaps come from **saŋç-sık-* (formation described in section 7.41 below).)

(*savr-uk-* is attested in DLT fol. 380, bot as a lemma and in verse. Of tears, ‘to trickle’ from the eye; also “of water in flowing rivers when it surges”. *EDPT*. Cf. *savr-ıl-* below.)

(*sezik-* is attested only in the DLT, quoted in the *EDPT*. ‘to have an apprehension towards somebody in some matter’. See *sezik* in section 3.102 for base and cognates.)

sor-uk- is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT, where it signifies ‘to be inquired about’. There are two Uigur exs. of *sorukmuş* ‘famous’: *suvlug yalınlig sorukmuş bilgü Sukuşmaçudı all(ı)g bayagut* (ShōAv 10) ‘the glorious₂, famous and wise *şreşhi* named *Sūkşmacūda*’ and *umug inag bolgalı umaktın . . . aı küü*

314 The İndeks to the QB says that *oŋ-* appears also in couplet 1908, but that turns out to belong to *oŋay* ‘easy’ instead.

315 This must have ended in /k/ and not /g/ as it rhymes with *täzgin-ök* in QB 3089.

elținür . . . sorukmuş bilgin (ETŞ 10,231). Cf. *küsi sorulmuş* in Gebet, MI and *kü sorug* (Suci).

(*soy-uk-* is a hap. in the DLT, quoted in the *EDPT*: *är soyuktı* “The man’s property was plundered”. Cf. *soyul-* below.)

tar-ik- ‘to disperse (intr.), to be driven away, go away’. Quite distinct from *tar+ik-* ‘to be or become narrow’ (DLT), but confused with it by the *EDPT*. A further ex. is given by the *DTS*, and others can be found in U III 41,5₂ (Mahendrasena), BT I B (100) and (114), BT II 686 (*ket- tarik-*), BT III 572, 1108 and 1109, ms. T II M 12-17 v2 (*ket- tarik-*, quoted in the footn. to BT I B (74)), ETŞ 20,83 (*tarikar*) and 20,216 (*ket- tarik-*), BT XIII 13,31 (*tariku[r]*), 18,3 (*tarikar*), 37,2 and 46,21 (*ketzün tarikzun*), Ht IV 1261 (*tarikdi ketdi*), Buddhāv H 93,³¹⁶ Warnke 448 ([*tar*]ıkar ketär öçär amrılur), UigKol 17, Junshō C v7, Abhi B 48 a6 (*tariku tükät-*) and 12 (*tarikur*), Mängi 15 and elsewhere. In TT VIII *tarik-* corresponds to Skt. *apa+it-*, in ms. Mz 652 (T II S 19b) in SktUigBil *tarikmuş* to Skt. *gata* ‘gone’: There is no passivity about the meaning, just intransitivity. Further exs. of *tarika(r)* can be found in U III 41,5₂, BT I D (315) and Suv 469,21 and 516,22, of *tarikur* in TT III 94. *tar-* ‘to disperse, scatter, do away with, remove’ is attested in ETŞ 11,22 with *nızvanı* as object, in QB 2268 with *yagı* and in DLT fol. 201 (verse) of dispersing the enemy army. Cf. *tarkar-* in section 7.52 below and the problems posed by *taral-* (section 7.31). *tarkıñç* (section 3.104) comes from *tar-ik-*. *tarik-* *ket-* is a very common biverb; it appears, beside the exs. mentioned above, in UigBlock 151, UigTot 771 and 943 and Ernte 7. *ketz]ün tarkzun* in ManTüTex (22) 494 and *sezikimiz tarkzun* in Maitr 165 v28 should not be thought to be a defective spelling but must be an archaic variant or a dialect form: *balk-* < *balık-* also appears in a Manichaean text, and cf. *kork-* above and Ottoman *bur-k-*.

(*tur-uk-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 326, in *kan turuktı* “The blood swelled in the vein”; ‘the same when pus and matter gather in a wound’. *EDPT*. ‘*turuk-*’ in ShōAgon 1,152 is a mistake; it should, according to P. Zieme, perhaps be emended to *tur-*.)

us-uk- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT,³¹⁷ and translated as ‘to be thirsty, to be overcome with thirst’. DLT fol. 104 has a proverb with nominalised *usukmuş* “the thirsty one”. An Uigur ex. of *usukmuş* is quoted under *oñ-uk-* above. In Ernte 33 we read *usukup, karınları açıp koñrukup* “sie werden durstig, ihre Magen werden hungrig und knurren”. The base is in the DLT trans-

316 *yavlak* (not ‘*yavrak*’, as in the text) [*yo*]llar alkugun barça tarıktı [*ket*]di, hardly ‘[*öç*]di’ as they write.

317 ‘*asukı*’ there quoted from Kaş. II 165,9 (i.e. fol. 349) must be a printer’s mistake: The text has a plain *damma*.

lated just like *usuk-*. The *EDPT* and the *DTS* have Uigur exs., one of them the biverb *us- suvsa-*. A further ex. of *us-* appears in Heilk II 1,13. In TuoLuoNi 143 and ShōAgon 1,63, *us-* is associated with *aç-* 'to be hungry'. *suv+sa-* (q.v. in section 6.1 above) is a synonym.

yalk-ık- is a hap. in ETŞ 13,126, quite clear on the facts. 'to have had enough of something, to be nauseated'. Not in the dictionaries. *yalk-* is attested in Suv, DLT and QB. In the preceding line and in rhyme with *yalkık-* is a verb *tal-ık-* 'to go under' (in the whirlpool of *saṃsāra*). This is a hap. in Old Turkic but lives on in a number of modern languages. See *tal-* in the *EDPT*.

GRAMMAR

tarik- is both well attested and transparent. *kork-* is excellently, *aşuk-* well attested, but both are opaque. Among the others, *bölük-*, *wyük-*, *sañık-*, *savruk-*, *sezik-*, *soyuk-* and *turuk-* are attested only in the DLT, *erik-* and *öçük-* only in the DLT and the QB. We have the hapax legomena *amrik-*, *çomuk-*, *çuk-*, *talık-*, *boduk-* and *yalkık-*. *alık-* and *balık-* are also opaque. Beside *tarik-*, the reasonably solid *-(X)k-* verbs are *oñuk-* (once ShōAgon and DLT), *soruk-* (once ShōAv, once ETŞ 10 and DLT) and *usuk-* (same passage as *oñuk-*; once Ernte and DLT). Living bases of transparent *-(X)k-* verbs are tr. in *boduk-*, *bölük-*, *çuk-*, *erik-*, *sañık-*, *savruk-*, *sezik-*, *soruk-*, *soyuk-* and *tarik-*, intr. in *çomuk-*, *oñuk-*, *öçük-*, *talık-*, *turuk-*, *usuk-* and *yalkık-*. All *-(X)k-* verbs are intr., and may be inchoative. All bases are simple, except perhaps the DLT hap. *savruk-*; the verbs *bastık-* and *bultuk-* are discussed further on in this section. *-(X)k-* has the causative expansion *-Ar-* in *büt-K-är-*, *kıs-K-ar-* and *tar-k-ar-* (section 7.52). The DLT verb *könKär-* (section 7.53) might have a similar structure. These are simple transitivity expansions with the causee as object. In a different dialect, the DLT's *bur-k-ut-* 'to make (one's face) stern' has *-(I)t-* instead.

The converb and aorist vowel of this formation shows great fluctuations. The *-A(r)* and *-U(r)* forms of *tar-ık-* are listed among the various forms quoted for that verb; the *UW* quotes an instance of *aşuka* and one of *aşuku*. Toñ writes *korkur*, but the *Suv* has *korkar*; the *QB* fluctuates between /A/ and /U/. The *DLT* has /A/ in all verbs discussed in this section. Note also that *-sXk-* forms generally have /A/ in their converbs and aorists: *-(X)k-* appears as second element in the formative *-sXk-*, discussed in section 7.41.

bastık- and *bultuk-* have *-(X)k-* as last element of the stem, after *-(X)t-*. While *bastık-* may, however, be derived from the well-attested *bas-ut-* (discussed among the *-(X)t-* verbs below), *bultuk-* appears to have been formed by using a combination *-tXk-*, not attested elsewhere. Cf. Kowalski, 1949: 430.

bas-t-ik- 'to be overwhelmed or overcome by, fall victim to (something)' is in the *EDPT* quoted from *töri türlüg ş(ı)mnularka çalsıkmaz bastıkmaz* (TT V B 29) and *ig agrıg üzä bastıkmak* (TT VII 40,134, in the *EDPT* misquoted as '... agrıgka...'). We also have [övkä] *köñülkä başıkip* "von [Zornes-]Sinn bedrückt" (BT XIII 5,119), *bastıkmış köñülkä özi* (ETŞ 11,100) and *kalın uuka basıtkmış tög bolup*... 'he felt as if overcome by a deep sleep' (UigTot 109). These exs., i.e. the construction with the *üzä* phrase and the one with agentive dative, show *bastık-* to be some sort of passive; *bas-ıt-*, on the other hand, leaves some responsibility with the victim. *bastık-* thus becomes the Uigur counterpart of Qarakhanid *bas-sık-* (discussed in section 7.41). *bas-tık-* is attested only in Buddhist Uigur texts and does not reappear anywhere else. The spelling *basıtk-* of UigTot also points in the direction of a connection with *basıt-* (although this is, of course, a very late text).

bul-tuk- is, in DLT fol. 380, constructed in the sentence *bulduktı nän* "The thing was found". In Uigur, however, it has some very different uses: Like Arabic *wujida*, Republican Turkish *bulun-*, Danish (*der*) *findes* etc., it denotes 'existence'. There appears, in Uigur, to have arisen the need for a verbal way to express the content of *bar* and *yok*. The biverb *bar bultukar* is attested in Scharl 34. We have *bultukar* also in Maitr 4 r16 and Suv 390,2. The verb is mostly attested as *bultukmaz*, of which we have counted 40 instances. In comparison, we have one *bultukgay*, one *bultuksar* (Suv 694,9), one *bulıukup* (Suv 693,13), one *bulıukmasar* (ETŞ 15,47). This count does not include the equally well-attested phrase *-gAll bultuk-*, which signifies 'to be possible'. The syntax and semantics of *bultuk-* are clearly better to describe within a general account of what serves as copula in Old Turkic. Not to be dismissed is the possibility, suggested in the n. to TT X526, that *bultukmaz* was contracted from **bul-tuk ärmäz*. The other forms of *bultuk-* could easily have been secondary. The copular domain shows unparalleled phenomena in many languages.

Like *-(X)k-* verbs, then, *bastık-* and *bultuk-* are intr., and their bases are simple. Whether they are syntactically aberrant remains to be seen.

-(X)k- has been said to produce 'intensive' verbs, but I can see no base for this contention; in fact there is no reason to think that there is such a 'signifié' in Old Turkic. *tarık-*, the most common *-(X)k-* verb, is mostly attested in a biverb with the simple *ket-*, in intr. constructions. Most of the other instances of transparent Old Turkic *-(X)k-* verbs have already been quoted; none is accompanied by a direct object or qualifies a direct object, and none has an agentive dative or *üzä* phrase with it. Other than the exs. of *tarık-* and the ex. of *usukup* quoted from Ernte, they all appear in relative constructions: *amrıkmış arıg çaxşap(a)ılıglar* (Tiš), *täriñ titigdü çomukmış ud* and *suvşamış oñukmış usukmış YALNGUK*

(both ShōAgon), *bodukmuş bilig* and *sorukmuş bilgä* . . . *bayagut* (both ShōAv) and *sorukmuş bilgin* (ETŞ 10). *yüzä başa bo sansarta* . . . *talıkıp* / . . . *beş yollarta* . . . *yalkıkıp* / . . . *ämgäk täginür tınl(ı)g* (ETŞ 13) is also relative. The kernel of all of these is the agent.

-(X)k- verbs are neither tr. nor passive, then, nor medial or reflexive. They are all anti-transitive. *çomuk-*, *oñuk-* and *usuk-*, *talık-* and *yalkık-* are, in this sense, over-characterised.

The transparent -(X)k- verbs are all late, it turns out, with the exception of *tarık-*. -(X)k- appears to be a rejuvenated formative.

7.3 Passive verbs

In this chapter we deal with verbs whose subject is the object of the action. A verb is passive if the subject is represented as taking no initiative in the occurrence of the event. The formatives forming such verbs are -(X)l- and -tXl-. With -sXk- (section 7.41), it is the suffering concernee who lacks initiative. -(X)l-, the only simple passive formative, is the most common one. Verbs formed with passive formatives often have anti-transitive meaning. *aç-il-*, e.g., signifies 'to open (intr.)', where *açın-* is reserved for reflexive and metaphorical uses. 'to separate (intr.)' is *adr-in-* only in the Yenisei inscrrs.; the other sources, from Orkhon Turkic to Uigur, Qarakhanid Turkic and later, have *adrıl-* for this meaning as well. All these matters will be sorted out after the listing and documentation of the specific verbs. -sXk- verbs are never anti-transitive, but can, on the contrary, even be transitive: Their subject is the creature *concerned* by the action but not necessarily the ultimate object. The derived verb passivises for the concernee but still governs the direct object of the base verb: Cf. Engl. *The man was given the book*. -tXl- appears only in late texts and has a grammatically somewhat biased distribution; -(X)l- was, therefore, the only early formative which formed single-participant passives. -sXk- is dealt with in 7.4, together with -tXz- (with which it has the participant configuration in common).

7.31 -(X)l-: LEXICAL MATERIAL

aç-il- is documented in the UW; beside the concrete meaning 'to open (intr.)', it can also signify 'to open up (intr.)', to become evident, to become public' etc. Additional Uigur exs. appear in BuddhUig I 392-5 and UigTot 877 and 1067 (to the UW par. 1,a), Māngi 24, BuddhUig II 97, Shō I b 13 and VII a 5 and UigTot 811 and 818 (UW par. 2), *açıl-yadıl-* in Kinkashō D,d (pertains to UW par. 4) and *ibid.* C,d (for UW par. 5), ShōAgon 1,284 and UigTot 64. ETŞ 11,17

should be read as ‘*Q*’ *ujikläyü xualanu açıl / kamağ tıtsılarnıñ ara* instead of ‘*arıl*’ of the edition.³¹⁸ ‘Open up among the disciples like the letter *Q*’. This is a play on two meanings of *açıl-*, respectively translated as “aufblühen” and “zugänglich werden” in the *UW*; moreover, the letter *Q* having the shape of a tulip in the Uigur alphabet, the addressee is invited to ‘flower’ and ‘open up’ like it. Par. 7 of the *UW* entry should be deleted, as the ex. quoted in it belongs to par. 2: The sun is there³¹⁹ likened to a flower, said to have opened. All exs. of *açıl-* are anti-tr., including the Qarakhanid ones quoted in the *EDPT*; none are passive in the strict sense. Cf. *aç-in-*.

adr-ıl- ‘to be or get separated’. See the *EDPT* for runic and Qarakhanid exs., the *UW* for Uigur ones. Found also in LautHöllen 28 (to *UW* par. 2) and AsXete B 1. Often used with the adverb *öñi*.

adru-l- is found in BT XIII 39,2-3: *alkışlğıñ adrulmuş alkatmış Uyğur elimiz* “unser an Segen *ausgezeichnetes*, gepriesenes uigurisches Reich!”. Probably not the passive of *adru-* (discussed in section 5.41) but a cross between it and *adrıl-*. *adrulmuş kükülmüş Gandahastı atl(ı)ğ yaña* of Buyan (not an Old Uigur text) clearly belongs to this lexeme, to be translated as ‘to excel’.³²⁰

agt-ıl- “to be knocked down” is attested in DLT fol. 129, ETS 11,79 and BT III 369. The DLT ex. is quoted in the *EDPT*, the two Uigur ones in the *UW* under *agtal-*. *agtal-* is a form attested in Tug 48, and Röhrborn says the ETS and BT III verbs are “vielleicht Lesefehler” for it. This is stated not to be the case in Zieme, 1982: 175. The Tug 48 biverb *agtalı toñtalı* is discussed with the petrified converb *agtarı* in section 7.52: I don’t think that is an instance of *agt-ıl-*. Kāšğarī says that *agıl-* comes from *agtarıl-* and the *EDPT* and the *UW* follow him in this belief. *agtarıl-* is also attested in Uigur, however; a sporadic elision of a phoneme pair like /ar/ is something unheard of within Old Turkic. See 1 *ag-it-*, the likely base, in the section on *-(X)t-*.

agtar-ıl- ‘to get knocked about, turned about or translated’. Exs. in the *UW*. See the base *agt-ar-* in the section on *-Ar-*.

318 This being a second person imperative form, the statement “nur in der 3. Pers.” of the *UW* entry (top of 41 b) should be deleted. This emendation is hesitatingly suggested in *UW* 191 b top.

319 *kün t(ä)ñri xayısı açılta yaradı* is translated as “der Sonne Glanz ist aufgegangen und erstrahlte”, although “Glanz” does not ‘open up’ in Old Turkic. *xayısı* is probably the same lexeme as *xoyısı* of TT VIII A 39. It is discussed in Maue, 1987: 37-38, who also mentions a Ht ex. The fact that the present instance definitely refers to a flower may help untie the Gordian knot with which Maue feels confronted.

320 Although a nearly modern addition to the Leningrad ms. of Suv, Buyan is included in the corpus of the *UW*. This Buyan instance is listed as a spelling variant in the *UW* entry for *adrıl-* and, because of its different meaning, given a paragraph for itself. Par. 7 of this entry should now be deleted.

ak-il- 'to come flowing, flow about; get dissipated (of the doctrine), to be swept over by etc.'. *UW*; an ex. assigned to *ag-il-* by the ed. in Neujahr 56 is better translated as in *UW* 275 b top s.v. *av-*. The biverb *akıl- ün-*, in the *UW* quoted only from ETŞ 20,139 (= *UigKan* 168), appears also in *GuanJing* 38-39 and *Abhi* 1948 (twice). Further additional exs. are attested in *UigTot* 1156 (of a drop) and *Ht* V 14 b25 (of a path in the desert being swept over by sand). The transferred meaning of *akıl-* as 'to be propagated' is also found in *BT* XIII 49,1, in the biverb *ulalzun akılzun*. The n. thereto has a further fragmentary ex. of this verb. Cf. also *akıl-tur- ulal-tur-*, the causative of this biverb. This secondary meaning of *akıl-* (not attested with *ak-*) is calqued on Chinese. In *BuddhUig* II 475-8, *akıl- säril-* is used twice in reference to water seen as a mirage. *akıl-* is used together with *kudul-* in *BT* III 670 and 673 and *UigKan* 166-8, and cf. *akıl-ış- kudul-uş-* above. *ak- kudul-* is also attested. Note that the bases of *kudul-*, *yadıl-*, *süzül-*, *säril-* and *ulal-*, all used together with *akıl-*, are tr., while *ak-* is intr.

al-il-muş 'taken' is in the *UW* quoted from a single Uigur instance; attested also, in a biverb with *bul-ul-*, in *BT* XIII 58,37. *al-in-* is never, in Old Turkic, used in a passive sense.

(*alpal-* is, in the *UW*, quoted only from one Suv ex.; it there appears together with *kädlä-n-*. Röhrborn considers the possibility that this be an error for *alp+lan-*; this is made less likely by the existence of a further ex., in *Ht* V 4 b7: *Odon xan ärtinü kadir bil[ig] sür(ü)p alpalmaklıg, antag ädgülärig ädrämliglärig sävdäçi qmradaç³²¹ ol*. An +A- derivate of *alp* is not attested. See also *alp+lan-mak* in section 5.6. *alpal-* is 'to be warlike'. For the possibility that a formative +Al- was coming up cf. *moymal-* in this section, n. 49 in vol. 2, *oñal-* (the XIIIth cent. variant of *oñul-*), *Rabgūzī's sag+al-* and *Qarakhanid tusu+l-(?)*.)

(*amrıl-* 'to quiet down, be at peace' etc.; see the *UW* entry for the various Uigur meanings and for most of Uigur documentation. *Qarakhanid* material is collected in the *EDPT*. Related to *amırtgur-* (q.v. among the -gUr- verbs), *amrık-* (a hap. in section 7.24) and the petrified converb *amru* (see *UW* entry), but the base is not actually attested. Some of the exs. not mentioned in the *UW* occur in *UigTot* 163, 907 and 1239, *BuddhUig* I 19, 23, 38, 41, 64, 104, 266 and 297, *ZiemeTārā* 16 a and b, *BT* XIII 21,12 and 19 and 47,16 and *UigKan* 84. The *UW* lists a number of exs. where *amrıl-* is used in biverbs with *turul-* or *öç-*. Instances of *BuddhUig* I, *ZiemeTārā* and *UigTot* which I quote also have this last biverb, which served as base for the binome *öçmä amrılma* (discussed in

321 The ed. wrongly writes 'ämrädäçi', misled by the single *alif* at the beginning of the word. *alpal-maklıg* (and not 'alplamaklıg') is well visible on the facs., although a bit damaged.

section 3.109).³²² **amı-r-* must have belonged to the *-Ur-* formation (and not to *-(I)r-* discussed in section 6.3) as it has a /U/ converb and a passive derivative. Its cognates, in turn, were *amıl* (section 3.113 above) and *amuş-* in DLT fol. 104. Note also A-MRİ-LU[R] in TibStud.

anut-ul- 'to be prepared' is a hap. in TT VIII G, quoted in the *UW*. *anu-t-* (dealt with among the *-(X)t-* verbs below) is rather common, whereas *anu-* is a dubious hap. in DLT.

apıt-il-maksız is a hap. discussed in section 3.329 above, quoted in the *UW* as *abitılmaksız*. *apı-t-* is discussed in the section on *-(X)t-* 'to get eclipsed'.

ar-il- 'to be tricked' is quoted in the *EDPT* from KT and BQ, in the *UW* from a Manichaean text. Clauson preferred to derive the verb from *ar-* 'to be tired', but the ManTüTex context makes it clear that the other *ar-* was the base.

(*art-il-* 'to get loaded on a pack animal' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and from Middle Turkic. An instance in Ernte 111 is dubious, as the *UW* writes.)

as-il- 1 'to get suspended' is quoted in the *UW* s.v. *asıl-* II from two Uigur exs., in the *EDPT* from the DLT and the QB etc. An instance in BT XIII 5,200, by the ed. assigned to this verb but transferred to *asıl-* 2 in the *UW*, should better remain here. It occurs in a fragmentary context, but corresponds to the sentence "Halte dich am Ast eines Baumes fest!" of the Skt. text. As the 'festhalten' takes place only in l.204, I prefer to read *asılıp kalm[ak] sögüt[ä]* instead of Zieme's 'kalm[ıš]'.³²²

as-il- 2 'to be increased, show gains, flourish, prosper' is attested only in Uigur and documented in the *UW*; a further ex. appears in BuyKäl 30. Wrongly written as 'aşıl-' in the *EDPT*; see the base in the *UW* and *as-ıg* among the *-(X)g* lexemes above. *asıl-* is very often used in biverbs, with *ükli-*, *küçäd-*, *üstäl-*. *küçläri asılzun üstälzün*. [*a*]sılmuş üklimiş küçlugin küsünlugin ... in ms. PelliotOugour 212, 11 (UigBunken p. 67) shows that such biverbs are interchangeable synonyms.

ata-l- 'to be called by (a) certain name(s)' is only attested twice in Uigur, quoted in the *UW* but not mentioned in the *EDPT*. See *at+a-* above. The 'normal' verb for this content is *ata-n-*, q.v. in section 7.21.

avıt-il- 'to get distracted' is read in TT VIII D13 in the *UW*; where previous authorities had given 'avınl-'. Exactly the same phrase as in TT VIII D13 is found also *ibid.* 39, translating the same Skt. expression as there. A. v. Gabain had there also read 'avınl-', presumably wrongly. This second ex., however, is mentioned in the *UW* neither under 'avınl-' nor under *avıtl-*. See *avıt-* 'to distract and comfort (a child)' among the *-(X)t-* verbs.

322 *öç-* always appears first, *amıl-* always second, due to the universal tendency to have the shorter element first under coordination.

aya-l- 'to be respected' is attested thrice in Ht, discussed in the *UW*. See *aya-n-* above, *aya-t-* and *aya-tıl-* below.

ba-l- 'to be attached, tied down'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter s.v. '*balmaq bekläl-mäk*' (Suv). Further exs.: *bäk katıg bag çuğın balmıŝ ärür s(ä)n Maitr 116 v8*); *tümän türlüg ämgäklär üzä [yör]gälürlär balurlar* (Warnke 577); a further ex. of the biverb *yörgäl- bal-* is quoted under *yörgä-l-* below from ShōAgon. Further: *kälginig tarkarmakta nän yana balmamak* (ShōAgon 1,88); *tuysar muntag sansartaki bag üzä balmaz* (ETŞ 12,35 as rectified by Ş. Tekin); *kamağ kut bulmađuk yalanuklar üç türlüg tözlär üzä tıdılmuŝka balmıŝka* (Suv 57,3) "Weil alle Menschen, die das Heil noch nicht erlangt haben, durch die drei (folgenden) Prinzipien beschränkt und gebunden sind, ...". In all our exs., the 'ties' appear to be spiritual. Cf. *bal-dur-* below.

bagla-l- 'to be bound and fastened'. Not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Appears in ETŞ 13,50 and 15,58 and 59. See *bag+la-* above.

bar-il-muŝ appears in TT VIII A 16 to translate the Skt. passive perfect participle *yāta*: *eyen barıl-* 'to be followed' is the passive of the verbal phrase *eyen bar-* 'to follow' (e.g. twice in TT VIII A 16-17 and in D 15). *bar-il-* in DLT fols. 333 and 337 is used as an impersonal and not as a passive verb.

bas-il- 'to be pressed down' does not appear in the *EDPT* but is quoted in the *DTS* from the QB. Attested also in BT III 135.

bat-il- 'to stick in (something) and be submerged in (it)' is in the *EDPT* quoted only from TT III 27.³²³ It is found also in BT I B (160) in fragmentary context, in Wortlisten A v ii 1 and, misspelled, 2 (with Soghdian counterpart), and Maitr 77 r6: *uzun örtlüg yalınlig tüülärım(i)z kántü saçım(i)zta batılıp ...* 'our long flaming₂ hairs get stuck in among our own hair'. The TT III ex. also governs the dative of what the subject gets immersed or stuck in.

bädizä-l- 'to be adorned' is attested in *tuglar pralar yälü kögän tąg ıraktın bädizäl-gäy* (Ht VII 6 b 17). The *EDPT* only has *bäzäl-* from the DLT. See *bädiz+ä-* in section 5.11.

bäklä-l- 'to be fastened; to be held as prisoner'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. '*balmaq bekläl-mäk*'. Found also in BT II 1163 and ETŞ 13,149. See *bäk+lä-* above.

biç-il- 'to be cut, to be cut off'. *EDPT* only from the DLT on, *DTS* also Tiš (*biçil-üzül-*) and Suv. In Buddhist contexts often of the cutting (off) of parts of the body; beside the two mentioned exs. also in Höllen 63, Maitr 201 v5 and

323 Not 'irregular', as written there; cf. *ak-il-* above. Cf. also 'to be sunk' from 'to sink' in English. Note that no passive derivate from *batur-* 'to submerge' has till now appeared in Old or Qarakhanid Turkic: The formative -(X)l- was apparently sufficient to mark the presence of an instigator for the sinking as distinct from the subject.

LautHöllen 73 (all three *bıçıl- osul-*) and BT XIII 3,62. Attested also in BT I D (51) and BT V 159 (both with *käsıl-*), 156 and 161. *bıçış-* is also used in biverbs with *osuş-* and *käsiş-*.

bışrun-ul- 'to get practised, get assimilated (of a religious doctrine)'. Appears only in TT VIII B and C, once in each, quoted in the *EDPT*. *bışr-un-* (q.v. among the *-(X)n-* verbs) is a tr. semantic simplex.

bıl-il- 'to be known'. *EDPT*; *ögin ök bililgäy özin* (ETŞ 11,14) is very similar to the phrase quoted there from Ht. Further exs. appear in BT I B (101) and CYK 2, the biverb *bilil-ukul-* in BT III 745 and BT VIII A 275. Cf. the biverb *biltür-uktur-*.

biti-l- 'to be written'. *EDPT*; mainly in Manichaean texts.

bodu-l- signifies 'to be dyed' only in the QB; in Uigur, however, 'to cling', usually metaphorically.³²⁴ The hap. *bodu-k-* (section 7.24) appears to have a similar abstract meaning. *bodul-* has a positive connotation only in ETŞ 13,24 (*ögir-mäkig bodulu işlälim*) and Suv 373,15 (*nurvanka ymä bodulmaz*). See the *EDPT* and *DTS* for exs., the latter especially s.v. *bodulmaq*.³²⁵ Appears also in Maitr 176 v22 and 218 v4 (*yapışmış bodulup*), ETŞ 12,7, Suv 102,19 (*tişi tınl(ı)gka bōdulmak yapışınmak*), ShōAgon 3, p. 203,18 (*bodulmuş yapışınmış köñüll[ü]g biliglig*), Genzan D r12 (*altı adkangularka azlanmak bodulmak*). Spelled as *bodol-* in Brāhmī script (ms. Mz 627 b r7 in SktUigBil). See also Röhrborn, 1981: 342, where the verb is translated as "sich hinreißen lassen von, entzückt sein von ...".

(*moymal-mışlar* is a hap. in Ht quoted in the *EDPT*; 'the confused'. Cf. the DLT's *boymaş-*. An *+A-* form is not found, but see the *EDPT* under '*muyum*'; an ex. not quoted there appears in Zieme, 1970 s.v. Cf. *alpal-* above for the formation.)

böl-ül- is mentioned neither in the *EDPT* nor the *DTS*. Found in *ken bölülmiş bilgä bilig* (BT I B (232)), *üç uğuşlar üzä bölülmiş* "auf drei Generationen verteilt" (BT III 104) and *ançulayu ymä KÖNGÜL tegli kertü töznün bölül-mäki yok ärip* ... (BuddhUig I 134). 'to be or get divided'. Cf. *böl-ün-*.

bulga-l- is, as a verb, a hap. in Warnke 433: *bilgäli ukgalı umamakları ugrınta ikirçgü sezik üzä köñülläri bulgalıp* ... 'to get confused'. Cf. *bulgalmaksız* (section 3.329) in BT II, the same text as Warnke.

bul-ul- 'to be or get found or attained' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only from TT VIII G. Attested also in ETŞ 16,82 and 84, Abhi A 117 a15 (in UigKan p. 151) and

324 As D. Maue has noted, the Skt. verb *ra(ñ)-* has both meanings; the most common Uigur use would, I think, be a loan translation.

325 The ex. mentioned in the *EDPT* as appearing in Ht VII 2121 is a conjecture. The suggestion of *EDPT* 297 a s.v. '2 *bo:d' that *bodu-* be derived from a word written '*boi*' in M II D 11,18 cannot be correct: *d > y* is a late development. Rather, that word must be read as *bō* 'spider'.

118 a 13 (in TermBuddh), BT VIII A 8 and BT XIII 49,40 (*mundırtın bululmuş ağır buyan*) and 58,37 (*alılmış bulul{muş buyan}*).

buşr-ul- 'to be annoyed'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also under *buş- buşrul-*. All three of their exs. are from Suv. Add *buşrulu* from Ht IV 1466. See *buş-ur-* among the *-Ur-* verbs.

buz-ul- 'to be spoiled or destroyed'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also s.vv. *arta-buzul-*, *buzulmaq* etc. Further exs. are found in ETŞ 15,60 and 61, BuddhUig I 37, ShōAgon 1,112, Weih 12, ms. T II Y 15,501 (U 3088) v7 quoted in the n. to UigTöt 895 and TuoLuoNi 98. The biverb *arta- buzul-* is, beside what the *DTS* mentions, found in BuddhUig II 580, BT XIII 49,15, Maitr 1 r3, InscrOug IV 49; the inverse *buzul- arta-* in Weih 12, Shō XIV a5, TuoLuoNi 275 and ETŞ 10,180. Similarly, there are Uigur exs. (from the Maitr on) of the biverb *buz-arta-t-*. Cf. DLT and QB *buz-uk* 'ruined' (exs. in the *EDPT*).

bük-ül- 'to be bent or doubled over'. In the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT, Middle Turkic etc. Attested also in Maitr 12 r17 and v9, in *ulug karı bükülmiş ât'öz* and *ägrilmiş bükül[miş ât'öz* respectively. *bük-* is intr. both in the DLT and in BT III 214; this fact is not disproved by the existence of *bükül-*, as Clauson thinks.

(*büksül-* 'to burst and split open' is said in the DLT of a wineskin or of "any vessel", in the Suv of the heart. The first is quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. '*büksül-*', the second in the *DTS* s.v. '*böksil-*' (biverb with *yarıl-*). I take the *EDPT* to be right about the connection with *bük-*, but the immediate source could have been **bük-üz-*; there is no sign of a *Ş* in any of the four instances. If the second vowel of the Suv ex. can get any additional support, this etymology should be abandoned altogether. Cf. Kaz. *böksör-* "sehr verringern; töten, zerreißen, zerfleischen", quoted by Radloff. The second verb in *kürülüğüçi kişinin küsüri sökölzün, ala tagarın yivi büsälzün, targıl öküzün taparı tälinzün* (Ernte 103) probably also belongs into this entry, taking the velar to have been omitted inadvertently: The other two verbs imply bursting etc. due to excessive produce, and other passages of the text have similar purport. Seams of sacks burst under such conditions; they do not get pulled together, as Zieme's connection with Osm. *büzül-* implies. Ottoman *büz-* appears to be a variant of *bür-*).

bürt-ül- 'to be touched'. *EDPT* from one Uigur ex.; attested also in ShōAgon 1,119, AbitAnk 71 (*bürütılmäk*) and Maitr 171 r11 and 76 v7 (both spelled with BWR°), 63 r14, 177 v8 and 89 v9. In the last mentioned ex., the scribe forgot the L hook, which makes the verb appear as '*bürtür-*'.

bütür-ül- 'to be carried out' is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Attested only in BuddhStab I 16.

çomr-ul- 'to be made to submerge' is a hap. in Abhi 1104: *ol s(a)nsar ärür üçün alko unl(ı)glarka çomruguluk bağguluk orun, ...* 'because that *saṃsāra* is the place where all creatures are made to go under'. The passage is quoted in n. 348

in UigKan, read as 'çomnul-': But the sequence $-(X)n-(X)l-$ was not in use,³²⁶ and there is no 'çom-un-'. What appears in an interpolation after TT VI 195 in ms. P 1 should be read as *çom'ar batar*; not 'çomnar', which would have had /U/ as aorist vowel.³²⁷ *çom-ur-*, q.v. below, is well-attested.

çöz-ül- 'to fall apart, be dispersed'. In Suv, of a flying star. *DTS*; the *EDPT* quotes only the *DLT* (*çöjül-*), the *Sanglax* and modern *Oguz* languages (all *çözül-*). The Suv ex. is spelled as *çözüül-*; there is nothing surprising about /z/ being spelled with the latter S in that ms. Whether a verb in *Mängi* 18 spelled like the Suv instance also belongs here is a different question. The ed. makes the connection with the Suv verb but not with *çözül-* and translates] *turur kut buyan çusulu turur. çog yalın* [as "Glück und Verdienst, sich herabsenkender (?) Glanz und Pracht". This interpretation disregards the punctuation mark and does not, I think, accord with the context. Does Republican Turkish *coş-* 'to exult' have any cognates?

çu-l- 'to be smitten, afflicted'. Not in the *EDPT*. All the exs. in the *DTS* s.vv. 'çol-soqu-l-', 'çolmaq', 'çolmaqsız' and 'buzulmaqsız çolmaqsız' are from the Suv. For base and cognates see *çu-n-* and *çu-k-* above. The literal meaning of *çul-maksız* must be 'without affliction'; not "hitzelos", as proposed in *ÄgFrag* (1) p. 279.

äg-il- 'to be or get bent' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the *DLT*, the *QB* etc. Exs. from *QB* 3491, 6532 and others are not mentioned there. *äggil-* in *ATSS* could be either a graphic doubling like *s(ä)vägg = sävig, tünärigg* and *män(i)zligg* in *M III* text 4, or represent *änil-* as the ed. writes: The same text also spells *alη+u-* (discussed in the section on *+U-*) as *algu-*. Cf. *ägir- ~ änir-, äñ-it-* and *än-iz-*. *ägr-il-* has been read in *Maitr* 12 v9 in a biverb with *bük-ül-* and presumably as a synonym with it; see *bük-ül-* above. The *EDPT* quotes *ägril-* from the *DLT*, where it has the two meanings 'to be besieged' and 'to be spun'.

(*äs-il-* 'to be poured (of dry substances like sand or flour)') is attested in the *DLT*, quoted in the *EDPT*. The *DTS* assigns a verb in Suv to this lexeme but, as written in the n. to *BT XIII* 17,12, it is a mistake for *es-il-*. The *DLT* also has *äs-* 'to pour out a dry substance': To judge by *eşmiş min* 'poured-out flour' in *ManMon* 65 and 67 and *i's-* in *Khal.*,³²⁸ it appears originally to have had the vowel /e/.)

ütiz-il- 'to be played (of a musical instrument)' is a hap. in *Buddhāv* H89: *ütizilmiş*

326 *-lXn-*, on the other hand, is common. *bıgrunul-* is not real counter-evidence, as the very common *bıgrun-* has a function, life and meaning quite different from that of *bıg-ur-*.

327 Radloff, who edited the ms. as 'Beilage II' to his edition of *Kuan*, did not put a dot on the 'N of the word (in l.25); this should probably signify that he did not intend it to be read as /n/. Bang, Gabain and Rachmati, on the other hand, write 'çomnar' in the footn. of their edition.

328 This *Khal.* verb does not belong to *es-* 'to diminish (tr.)', as Tezcan, 1981: 31 writes.

t(ä)ñridäm oyun bädiz ün[i]. This is the passive of *ät-iz-*, q.v. below among the *-(X)z-* verbs.

ävr-il- 'to turn, revolve, turn back; to develop (intr.); to practise'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. ETŞ 10,51 and 277, 13,135, 155 and 163 and 16,78, Maitr 4,47, 15,12 and 44 r10, Ht V13 r17 and v20 (both *yanturu ävril-*), thrice in BuddhUig I 179-180, Buddhäv H51, Suv 652,13-15 (*oñaru ävrilmış*; quoted in the n. to BT VII A43), UigTot 742 and 745 (*yokaru ävril-*), ShōAv 45 (*törü eyin ävril-*) and 139 (*inçgälâyü körüp alkonı, ävrilip yana biziñkä kâlinlär*), ShōAgon 1, p. 157,2 (*yol ävrilmâz yanmaz*) and BT XIII 55,7 (*ädgülik işlârdä ävrilip y(a)ratınıp . . .*) bring additional exs. The BT XIII 55 phrase appears also in BT III 864; but *ävril-* was there deleted by the first hand and replaced (for no good reason) by *ävrildür-*. +*!In ävril-* in LautHöllen 1 and 37 is 'to turn away from (an action etc.)', i.e. not to do it.

(*er-il-* appears in DLT fol. 107 in a biverb with *sarıl-*, translated "to be shaken with grief and remorse". Exs. in QB 5629 and 5773 were identified by Tezcan in his review of the QB İndeks, and translated as "üzülmek"; 5773 also has the binomial *eril- sarıl-* just mentioned. The İndeks itself confuses these with *ir-il-* "küçül-, gedil-" (10 exs.). Cf. *er-in-*, also for other cognates. The Uigur hap. *eritil-* has a different meaning.)

erpä-l- 'to be sawn'. TT VIII G and DLT, quoted in the *EDPT*. The *EDPT* and the *DTS* quote *erpä-* only from the DLT, but it is attested also in LautHöllen 119. Cf. *erpä-K* (section 3.101) and *ärpä-ş-*.

es-il- 'to diminish (intr.)' is quoted in the *DTS* from DLT fol. 139 and Suv (*esil-mäksiz koramaksız*). *EDPT* 117 b and 248 a wants to 'emend' this verb to '*egsil-leksil-*' (meaning *ägsü-l-*, not in use before Middle Turkic) and has one Uigur ex. Attested also in Suv 71,1 (with *üklimäk*; still written as '*eşilmäk*' in Suv-Schul p. 131) and 516,21-2, BuddhUig I 18 and 23, UigTot 508 and 510 (with its antonym *üklimäk*), Maitr 109 r10 and 168 v10, ShōKenkyū III 23 (with the same antonym) and Ht VII 7 b13. '*ezilmäk*' and '*ezilmäksiz*' in the *DTS* seem also to belong here. In ShōAv 310 we have *ertäki tög etgükä ugraglıg esilü turur bodunug bokunug . . .* A further ex. appears in QB 221, as stated in Tezcan's review to the QB İndeks;³²⁹ another one presumably in Warnke 335, where '*işilmäklig tuş*' should be read as *esilmäklig tuş* 'age of decadence'. The n. to BT XIII 17,12 assigns an instance in Suv 433,11 to this verb as well (apparently with *kora-* like the Suv ex. quoted above, and like a further ex. in BuyKäl 35). *es-* 'to reduce' is attested in *är at kul küñläriñ aş ton yegü işgülärin estilär* (Maitr 75 v24) and, in a biverb with *tart-* and signifying 'to disappropriate', in Maitr 62 v13 and 82 r6. *bodunnun ämgäklärin esdäçi* (ShōAv 316) signifies 'who reduce

329 Dankoff translates this as 'to be hanged', presumably reading *asil-*; unlikely.

the suffering of the people' and not "wünschen ... daß die Leiden des ... Volkes vergehen": The ed. appears to have been thinking of *istä-* instead of *es-*. *beş yükmäklärig kördüktä / birdäm kertü nom bar / biligsiz karaŋgu / birl[ä] turur, esär /* (BT XIII 17,12) should not be translated as "abnehmen": 'When one sees the five aggregates, at once there is one true doctrine. The darkness of ignorance halts on the spot, and one reduces it'. The sequence *öçür-es-* quoted in the n. thereto from Suv 588,12 also shows *es-* to be tr., as do the Maitr exs.. *es-* is attested also in QB 5280, also to be translated as 'to make less, reduce'. According to Tezcan, 1981: 311 this base is attested also in Anatolian Turkish.³³⁰ A cognate is *es-iz* (q.v. among the *-(X)z* nominals).

eşt-il- is the most common variant of the passive of *äšid-* 'to hear' and signifies 'to be heard'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter s.v. *eštil-*. The original shape of the base, used without exception in Orkhon Turkic and common also later, had an /ä/ in the first syllable. The alteration to /e/ is a case of *Umlaut*; appearing most when the second vowel is syncopated, it is due to compensation. *eštür-*, an *-Ur-* derivative discussed below, practically always shows syncopation and practically always /e/. The behaviour of the passive is more varied: Two thirds of the exs. are syncopated, nearly two thirds have /e/, nearly two thirds write the dental as /t/. Among the exs. not mentioned in the dictionaries, we find *eštil-* in ManTü-Tex 396, thirty three times in Maitr and in MaitrH IV 13 b6-7 and X7 a21, *ešidil-* in UigTot 565 and 706, *äšdil-* in BT VII A338, *äštil-* apparently in Laut-Höllen 92 (thus(?) facs. against *e°* of the ed.) and *äšidil-* (the etymology-sensitive variant) in ETŞ 11,51 (according to P. Zieme perhaps for the sake of the metre) and 20,147, InscrOuig III 13, Ht VII 10 a5 and X 531-2, BuddhUig II 19, 29, 47, 416 and 565, Warnke 791, TUO 19 = XVIII, BT XIII 4,11, and 24,3. Often has *ün* 'voice, sound' as object. Cf. also *äšid-tür-* in section 7.57.

et-il- 'to be made, arranged'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.vv. '*edäd-etil-*' and *bış-etil-*'. Additional exs. in Sho III a 11 and XII a 7, eight times *etilmiş* in Maitr, BuddhUig II 493 (with antonym *buzul-*); the biverb *etil-yaratul-* also in BuddhUig II 330, GuanJing 2-3 and 24, Shō VII a3 and VIII b6, AbitAnk 58 and probably TuoLuoNi 115. This biverb always has the shape X *üzä etilmiş yaratılmış* Y 'a Y adorned₂ with X'.

irga-l- 'to sway, to be shaken'. In the *EDPT*'s exs. said of trees. Attested also in UigTot 262 (*irgalur täpräyür* of the human body), Maitr 145 r8 and 156 r22 (of divine palaces) and 153 v24 (with *titrä-*, of mount Sumeru) and Ht VII 3 a9 (*yelkä irgalur sögüt [täg]*). *irga-*, in the *EDPT* quoted form the DLT, is found also in Rāma 9. Cf. *irga-g* (section 3.101).

igid-il- 'to be fed, reared'. The *EDPT* has this stem only from TT VIII D as 'hap.'

330 But not in Khal., as he thinks; cf. footn. 328.

and, as a separate entry, *igdil-* (same meaning) from the DLT. *igdil-* is attested also in M III 45,6₂ (text 32).

irk-il- ‘to be accumulated’. *EDPT* from the DLT on; attested also in QB 310 and 5502, and in ETŞ 10,65: *ilkisiz uzun sansartın bärü irkilü kälmiş tsuy erinçü* ‘... which have been accumulating since ...’.

kadrıl- is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only from the DLT: in *anıñ boynı kadrıldı* ‘His neck twisted’. *kadır-* signifies also ‘to turn (tr.) back’; its etymology is discussed in section 6.3. The following is also an ex. for this verb: *yañalar bāgi ... oñaru tägzinü kadrılı kayıp ... İnçA tep tedi* (MaitrGeng 7 a 5) ‘The lord of the elephants twisted back around over his right side and ... said as follows:’. Cf. *kerü kaydı* ‘He turned back’ in the DLT. Then we have *kamagunı tükäl bäl-gülöp, kadarılıp bärü* (not ‘baru’) *kälinlär* (Shō VI b 9) ‘Find out about it all₂ and come back here’. This is more likely to belong here in spite of the second *a*, and not to *katar-* (discussed in the section on *-Ar-*): The passive of a causative is inappropriate here.

kagr-ul- ~ kagur-ul- is, in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, quoted only from Suv (several times) and the DLT. In Suv it is used in connection with *busan-* and *busuş* and signifies ‘to be mentally tortured’, although *kagur-* (apparently a simplex) is ‘to parch or roast’. In the following passage the first verb may also be this one, but P. Zieme tells me that the ms. has disappeared: *sagur(u)lgay örtängäy [o]tlug tamu içintä* (M III 7,11₂, first text) is written in Uigur writing, in which *S* and *Q* would look rather similar. A parallel passage is written in Manichaean script, but the critical stretch is a lacuna: *[ka]grulgay ör<t>ängäy otlug [tamu] içintä* (M III 6,6₁, text 1).³³¹ The original and concrete use of this verb is attested also in BT XIII 3,64: *ayaztaki künnün çoğı üzä / arturu birdäm kavrıldı* ‘(They) got quite₂ parched by the blaze of the sun in the clear sky’. In the DLT, *kagrul-* and *kavrul-* are said to be alternatives. Several further instances of *kavrıl-* also appear to belong here rather than be passives of *kavır-* ‘to collect; constrict’: *ämğäkin kavrılıp ädgü yolçı yärçi baxşıg körü umadım* (MaitrGeng 4 b 14); *xua çäçäkläri kavrılır* (Maitr 198 v 18); *oñmaz kavrılmaz kut küçintä* (Maitr 28 v 1). For *kudı bolsu duşman başı kavrılı* (QB 119) one can really hesitate between *kagr-ul-* and *kavr-il-* as etymology.³³²

kam-il- ‘to be struck down, fall to the ground’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. *tüş- qamıl-*. Also in *oprıda tüşär biz kamılur biz* (Maitr 174 v 5), *töpön kamılıp ...* (BT XIII 12,152) ‘(I) fall to the ground on my head and ...’ and *ig*

331 The *EDPT* would like to change this to ‘*sugurul-*’; such a verb, however, does not exist either.

332 The *EDPT* assigns the QB instance to *kavr-il-*; Tezcan agrees with him in the review of the QB Indeks, against the translation of the Indeks. Especially after the form appearing in BT XIII, one cannot be so sure any more.

agrigka tuş bolup ät'öz ölüp kamılsar... (Suv 366,13 quoted in UW 72 b middle) “wenn der Körper auf Krankheit₂ trifft und sterbend zusammenbricht...”. Should also be read in IrqB XII, misunderstood by Clauson:³³³ *är avka barmış, tagda kamılmış. “täñridä ärklig!” ter. yavız ol* ‘A man went hunting. On the mountain he fell to the ground. He says “O almighty in heaven!”’. This is bad’. Cf. *kam-ıt-* below.

kar-ıl- appears, in DLT, QB and Suv, together with *katıl-*, except in the DLT’s Oguz ex.; all these (mentioned in the *EDPT*) mean ‘to mingle (intr.)’. The same biverb appears also in *kimniñ köñüli bo üç türlüğ ädgülär birlä katılu karılu* [(Maitr 80+59 v 4) and *bo üç türlüğ ädgü töz birlä köñüli katılu karılu turgalı ögränmiş ärsär...* (*ibid.* r27).³³⁴ Cf. the biverb *katımız kardımız* in Maitr 62 r20-21. *karıl-* is attested without *katıl-* in BuddhUig II 451: *yana ymä alko* (not “LWQ, as the ed. writes) *nomlarnıñ çınju tözi kavişdaçı ymä ärmäz, karıladaçı ymä ärmäz, yalñuz bälğülüg ärür*. Cf. also *al[ko] äd tavar barça tol p karılsar...* (Maitr 1 r14).

kat-ıl- to be mixed with something’ and associated meanings, also ‘to interfere with somebody’s actions, come into conflict with him’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; the biverb *katıl- karıl-* is discussed in the previous entry. Further exs. of *katıl-* in MI 17,8 (TeilBuch), BT III 293, HukVes I 9-10, BT VII A784 (*tüzül- katıl-*) and 787, Maitr 60 v6 and 140 r14 and UigTot 457. *birlä katılmak* in AbhiKärKomm 5 and 8 signifies ‘to correspond with someone’. *ikägü ka(ı)lp ätöz bolur* (UigTot 466) shows that the relationship between the two mixing entities can also be a symmetrical one. *katıl-* also governs *birlä*, e.g. in UigTot 348, *sütli suvlı täg bilig birlä ka(ı)lp tutur*. For this, cf. also *ka(ı)ş-* and *katılş-* in section 7.1 above. ‘to have to deal with something’: *bo yer suv bağ borluk savına t(ä)ñri mojak aftadan xruzanlar katılmazun, iş ayguçılar bilzün* (ManMon 94); *saña katılmaguka t[...]* *munça sini birlä öç kāk sürüşmāz [m(ä)n]* (TuoLuoNi 325) “dir nicht in die Quere zu kommen [habe ich versprochen]. Von nun an werde ich an dir keine Rache₂ ausüben”.

käd-il- has, in TTI 149 and DLT, clothing as subject and signifies ‘to be put on, to be worn’. *börk tög kädilü* (Mängi 24) “wie eine Mütze aufgesetzt wird” also has this meaning. A second use of *kädil-* seems to be to refer to the (in some way visible) adherence of sin or meritorious deeds to somebody: *ayıg sakınıp kılmuş işläri özlärinä vn yanıp kädilzün, ayıg sakındaçı[arka] kädilzün, aşnusunda ok ayıg iştä ilindäçilärkä vn [ya]n[ıp] kädilzün, öñ'd[ün] ked[in ...] ya[nı]p kädil-*

333 *kamla-*, the verb which Clauson takes to have stood there, does not appear before the XIVth century according to *EDPT* evidence. Even there, it signifies ‘to practice medicine’ and not the meaning demanded by the present context.

334 Reedited in Laut, 1966: 204; translation on p. 207.

zün (BT VII L 3-9) versus *tānri kızının tişi āt'ōzi tāgşilip āzrua tānri āt'ōzlüg boltı, bodis(a)ıtlarınñ kutı buyanı kädilti. anı körüp ulug āzrua tānri anşız muñadıp tañlap . . .*³³⁵ (Suv 381,12). Cf. *kād-ür-* below, and the base attested in the Codex Comanicus: *ātiz käy-* (< *ātüz* < *āt'öz käd-*) is said of the incarnation of Jesus Christ. For this use of *kädil-*, 'to be transformed into . . .', there are five exs., three of them mentioned in the *EDPT*; all of them are Manichaean: In M I 18,3₂ and 5₂ and ManUigFr 400,1, the entity into which the subject is transformed appears in the dative; in M III 15,7₂ (text 7) and M I 21,4 the goal appears in an *üzä* phrase. It may be a coincidence that, in these last mentioned two exs., there is a many-to-one transformation. Cf. *kädil-tür-* below. In M I 21,4, *kädil-* is paraphrased as *birlä katıl-* 'to mix and become one'. The Old Turks appear to have understood the notion of transformation through masquerade.

kämiş-il- 'to be thrown away'. Found in BT III 134 and TT VIII D (reference in the *EDPT*). *kämiş-* is a tr. simplex.

kär-il- 'to stretch (intr.), get stretched'. Attested in the biverb *karın ürülmäk kārilmäk* "des Bauches Anschwellung" in Heilk II 1,39 and 60; the *EDPT* also has the evidence from the DLT. Found further in Ernte 116 and Tug 36, and in *kārılıp töpön yūkünür m(ā)n* 'I stretch (down my) head and worship (Buddha)' (BT XIII 12,26).

käs-il- is a biverb with *üz-ül-* in all three pre-Qarakhanid exs. quoted by the *EDPT*. This same biverb is found also in BT VII A 682 and Shō XV 6. The biverb *bıç-ıl- käs-il-* is attested in ManTüTex 9,159 and BT I D (51). *siziñ tılñız nāçük käsilip yerdä tüşmāz?* (HamTouen 1,41) "Comment votre langue n'est-elle pas coupée et ne tombe-t-elle pas à terre?" has a physical use for this verb; some of the exs. mentioned above, however, signify 'to be discontinued'. *isig tını käsilip . . .* (BT XIII 16,15) is "His warm breath is cut off, and . . ."; the same expression appears in the DLT.

kāv-il- 'to get weak'; with *küç kūsün* of strength, 'to get undermined'. *küç kūsün kāv-il-* is, in addition to what appears in the *EDPT*, attested in Ht VII 2 b 19 (biverb with *arta-*) and X 439 (biverb with *alk-in-*). Further exs.: *bo āt'öz kāvılıp küçsiräp artayur* (Suv 588,4 quoted in UW 206 a middle) "dieser Körper wird schwach und verfällt"; *kävilmäkkä barı [tū]kättim*³³⁶ (Ht IV 299) and *tarıgçı bağlär . . . kāvیلü* (Ernte 41). *kāv-* 'to weaken somebody's strength' is attested in the DLT; cf. *kāvş+ä-*.

335 Ş. Tekin has a misled translation. In a n. to it there is a reference to Gabain, 1950, a previous edition of the grammar. That, however, has the correct translation.

336 *tükär-* (and not *tükä-*) is a perfective auxiliary. *küçüm kūsünüm kāvیلü tükäpti* of Ht VII 2071-2 should not be changed to '*tükädi*', as written in UW 214 b mid-page.

keñür-ül- ‘to get widened, to get spread’. *DTS*; not in *EDPT*: Quoted from *Suv*.

Attested also in *añ küsi ke[ñü]rülmiş ärdi* (Ht VII 15 b 14-15) ‘His name and fame had roamed wide’ and *nurvannın köni yolu açılzun keñürülzün* (BT XIII 46,25) ‘May the righteous way of *nirvāṇa* be opened wide’. In his edition in *UigFalt* 156, Hazai read this as ‘ölzün kigürülzün’. Zieme corrected the first verb but left the second one unchanged, although the N is clear on the facts.³³⁷ *açıl- keñürül-* is phraseologically connected with *keñürü açıl-* of HtPek 80 a2 (quoted in *UW* 41 b s.v. *açıl-*, 4); cf. also the instances of *keñürü aç-* quoted in *UW* 38. The two verbs are in antithesis to *tonzun bāklānzün* of the previous verse. Further, there is a *bālgū nom keñrūlmāklig sävinç* (HtPar 58 r 17-23) and a *keñrūlmāklig bilgū bilig* (*UigTot* 53). See *keñü-r-* in section 7.51 below.

kıl-ıl- ‘to be done, to be made’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Appears also in *ETŞ* 11,159 and 13,15.

kır-ıl- ‘to be scraped away’, *EDPT* and *DTS*. Except in the *DLT* attested in *Suv* in the biverb *ärt- kırıl-*, a euphemism for dying. The same biverb was perhaps intended in *BuddhStab* II 20, in *ärtmiş kırılmış ög kañ aka ini kız kälınlärımız*, although the facts. looks more like the ed.’s *kınıl-*. As especially the meanings of *kınıg* and *kınımlıg* (qq.v. above) show, *kın-* rather means ‘to strive towards, be intent upon’; this would not fit here. Some of the Middle Turkic exs. of *kırıl-* quoted in the *EDPT* have meanings like ‘to be destroyed’ and ‘to be massacred’. *kır-* ‘to pluck out hair, to scrape (e.g. the ground)’ is attested only from the *DLT* on. Cf. also the common biverb *ärt- kıyıl-* below.

kırşa-l- is, in the *EDPT* quoted from *DLT* fol. 383, where it appears in: *anıñ başma taş kırçaldı* ‘The stone struck his head and fractured the skull’. The *DLT* has the base also as *kırça-*, discussed in section 5.11 above. The shape as given above appears twice in Ht X: *samtso açarı . . . adakı tayıp sürçüp yoñası ançak(i)ya kırşaldı* (Ht X 504) ‘His foot slipped and he stumbled and his thigh was wounded somewhat’;³³⁸ *tayt[o] samtso açarı adakı kırşalmak [ug]rınta ağır tapsız boltı* (Ht X 983) ‘The Dai-Tang master Tripiṭaka quite lost his energy as a result of wounding his leg’.

kıs-ıl- ‘to be or get squeezed’. *EDPT*; attested also in *Heilk* II 1,10 and as *kısag tañagta* (i.e. *kısıg tañıgta*) *kısılur tañılur* (*Maitr* 114 v7). The inscriptional

337 *kıgr-ül-* is attested in the *DLT* (q.v. in the *EDPT*) as the passive of *kıgür-* (discussed among the -gUr- verbs): *tavar ävkä kıgrüldi*. As expected, it takes the entity which is introduced as subject.

338 *UW* 133 b s.v. *añçakya A*,^a translates this as “sein [Schien]bein wurde etwas aufgekratzt!”; if that were all that happened, however, the outcome would not have been as grave as it turns out to be subsequently. Tezcan wrongly reads both instances as ‘*korsal-*’, a verb which does not exist. ‘*korsa-*’, as Tezcan read in Ht X 508, should be *kogşa-* ‘to become weak’ (q.v. in the *EDPT*). The instance quoted in the n. to Ht X 504 from *U* III 69,6, by the ed. read as ‘*kurşa-*’, may also have been *kogşa-*; the ms., at any rate, is now lost.

instances in the *EDPT* entry for *kıs-* probably constitute a different verb; otherwise, *kıs-* is there quoted only from the QB and the DLT on. We also find *kıs-* ‘to squeeze’ in Maitr 182 v1, together with *tañ-* and *bog-*.

kıyı-l- ‘to be hewn, felled’. The *EDPT* has exs. from Ht VII 1887-8,³³⁹ DLT and QB; another one from QB 5076 should be added. The Ht ex. mentioned and the ones in Ht IV 1106 (*elig bāg kıyılmışda ken . . .*) and 1195 (*Şila aditi elig kıyılı*), Suv 395,17, BT XIII 38,38 (*ärtmiştä kıyılmışta*), BT XIII 49,71 (*ärtmiş kıyılmış ög kañ . . .*), Ht X 498 (*man[ga är]tgülük kıyulguluk b(ä)lgü ol*) and UigOn III B r5 (*bo ävniñ barknı[ñ e]diläri iäläri ärtmiş kıyılm[ış idokl]arka . . .*) are all used metaphorically about the death of a honoured person. *ärt-* *kıyıl-* may possibly have been meant to be read also in the two Uigur exs. of *ärt-* *kırıl-* quoted under *kırıl-*, the mss. permitting. *kıyıl-* is not an alternant of *kıdı-*; the matter is discussed under *kıdı-g* in section 3.101 above. *kıyıl-* happens not to be attested before DLT and QB, where it has two distinct meanings; basically, it signifies ‘to cut slantwise’. *kıyı-ma*, *kıyı-n* and *kıyı-k* are cognates attested in Uigur, *kıytur-*, *kıyış-* and *kıyma* from the DLT on.

koñr-ul- ‘to be uprooted’, *EDPT*. Before Middle Turkic attested only once in Suv. The first certain ex. for the base is in the DLT. Another one may appear in TT IX 67 = Pothi 450, in *]larıg başkoklarıg konku[r-;* see *başgok* in section 2.94.

koş-ul- ‘to be joined to something, by something or through something’. In the *EDPT* from TT VIII A, DLT and Middle Turkic. Add *üçägü koşulup . . .* (Uig-Tot 381) and *alko koşug ~ koşuglar üzä koşulguluk bolmakı* in Junshō C r3 and Abhi B 48 a 1ff. In QB B 59, *koşul-* refers to the composition of verse. *koş-* ‘to conjoin’ is a simple verb not related to *kon-*, *kod-* or *kop* ‘all’; *koş* ‘a pair’ (q.v. in section 3.103) probably comes from **koş-uş*. The aorist form of *koş-* is *koşar* (DLT and QB) and not ‘*koşur*’. *kon-* does not have the converb and aorist vowel appropriate for *-(X)n-* verbs either; the problems encountered if one wants to assign *kod-* to any of the °*d-* formatives are more of the semantic sort. *koş-* has a plurality of objects, not of subjects (as the use of the *-(X)ş-* formative would have implied). *kop* is semantically far away.

köm-ül- ‘to be buried’. By *DTS* and *EDPT* quoted only from QB on; found also in BT III 135 and Maitr 74 r8.

könt-ül- ‘to be straightened; to be put right; to be healed’. A Suv ex. (biverb with *oñarıl-*) is quoted in the *DTS*, a Ht ex. in the *EDPT*. Also *yañıp atl(ı)g külüg otlar üzä ämläp köntülmäsär* (TuoLuoNi 123) and *igi kämi [. . .] köntül[]* (*ibid.*

339 The accusative in *baxşım(ı)znı kıyılı tep äşidip . . .* (Ht VII 1887-8) is not “a scribal error”, as Clauson writes, but an integral part of the *accusativus cum indicativo* construction quite common in Old Turkic.

243). *kön-ül-* ‘to make straight, to make something straight about oneself’ is attested only in the DLT and the QB. *kön-* ‘to get straight’ appears also in ThS I a6³⁴⁰ and, not mentioned in the *EDPT*, Rabgūzī. QB exs. of *könit-* which the *EDPT* does not have appear in couplets 2884, 4997, 5204, 5527, 6082 and 6561. Cf. *kön-i* (section 3.118).

kör-ül- ‘to be seen’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from TT VIII D and the DLT. Attested also in QB 4249; also in *yügärü] körülü turur* ‘It is evidently visible’ (Junshō Ar3) and *anılayu ok körülür barı* (Abhi 2349, translated in UW141 b).

köşit-il- ‘to get obstructed’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *köşi-* has the obstructing entity, *köşi-t-* (q.v.) the obstructor as subject. Exs.: *köşitilmiş kertü tözlüg tınlag oğlanlarının aşaylarına çarutlarına yaraşı körk mənizlär kör-kitü ... köşiklärin tıdıkların ketärip tarkarıp ...* (Shō XI b11); *alko tınl(ı)glar-nıñ biligsiz bilig üzä bilgä bi[lig]läri ürtülüp nızvanuları üzä qonıulları köşitilip ...* (Warnke 213) “wird die Gesinnung verhüllt” and *alko tınl(ı)glar ikirçgü seziktin öñi ödrülmäyük, [...], nomta üküş tıdlurlar köşitilürlär* (ibid. 415).

kötr-ül- ‘to be raised, exalted’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. The common title *atı kötrülmış* is dealt with in UW 259-60. Related are also *Ku[mara]çivi baxsının atı küs[i] kamagta kötrülmış ärdi* (Ht V1 b19) and *kopta kötrülmış nom eligi* (SuvGeng 598,7). A further ex. is quoted under *külä-l-* below. *kötür-* (discussed among the -*Ur-* verbs) has no attested base in Old Turkic.

kuç-ul- ‘to be embraced, carried in the arms’ is a hap. in TT VIII D, quoted in the *EDPT*.

kud-ul- ‘to be poured’. To the *EDPT*’s exs. add *aka kudulu başladı* (BT III 123 and 128), *akıl- kudul-* (ibid. 670 and 673), *suvlar kudulup ...* (ETŞ 20,137), *kudulur sular* (thus Ernte 22), *kudulur akınlar* (Ernte 23) and a further one in ShōAgon 1,119.

kurı-l- ~ kurul- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Its etymology is discussed under *kurug* in section 3.101 above; note that its base is intr. The base signifies ‘to dry (up)’, its -(X)l- derivate, metaphorically, ‘to suffer loss, get destroyed’. The biverb *kurıl- arta-* is attested in BuddhUig II 183: *kololayu körsär m(ä)n bo ätözümün, kuruldaç³⁴¹ arıadaçı ärür, nän ür turmaz*. Two lines further: *baxşıka tapıg kulsar m(ä)n, kurulmaksız bäk mәнñü ätözüg bulgay m(ä)n*. The form *kurılmaksız* has the same meaning in ETŞ 13,72. Warnke has the other variant: *qmtı bo üdtä mәнñi tört m(a)xabutlarım takı kurulmadın ...*

340 *otka könmış kılıç*, as we read there, cannot be ‘a sword burnt through fire’ but only ‘a sword straightened through fire’: Since the text also has the word *koñçı* ‘shepherd’ with *ñ*, *kön-* could not yet have become *kön-* (or *köy-*) in it.

341 Thus, as the facts. shows clearly; not *qwryl’-*, as Tekin writes.

(539) “in dieser Zeit, wo meine vier Elemente nicht verfallen sind” and *ol kişi nā [ār]sār ymā esilmādin özi ǫk kurulup* . . . (614) “ohne (die Tugend) jenes Menschen, wie es auch sei,³⁴² zu vermindern, selbst überaus Schaden nehmen”. Cf. *kurul-dur*-.

kutađtur-ul-mış ‘given good fortune’ is a hap. in USp 103 a, a dhāraṇī; the *EDPT* tacitly emends the dentals of the form. See *kutad-tur*- below.

(*kutsira-t-il-mış* is the inverse of the previous lemma, ‘a person from whom divine favour is withheld’. Hap. in ETŞ 10,67, not mentioned in the dictionaries. *kut-+sira-* is an intr. hap., ‘*kutsira-t-*’ not attested at all.)

kuṭr-ul- ‘to be saved, to attain salvation’ apparently comes from *kuṭur-* ‘to pass one’s limits, be excessive; rave’. It is the intr. counterpart of *kuṭgar-* ‘to save’ (discussed in section 7.52); they probably come from the same intr. base. *EDPT* s.v. *kurtul-* and *DTS* s.vv. *qurtul-*, *boşun- qurtul-*, *oz- qurtul-* (*qutrul-*), *qutrulmaq* and others. A proper name spelled Κουτλουμούς and Κουτουλούμος is common in Greek sources³⁴³ from the XIth century on. The variant without /r/ is found in most modern languages. *kuṭul-* appears to have been normal in the QB, while the DLT has both *kuṭul-* and *kurtul-*. Kāšgārī says in fol. 383 that *kurtul-* comes from *kuṭul-*, in fol. 329 that *kuṭul-* could come from *kurtul-*.³⁴⁴ *kuṭrul-* is the most common variant in Uigur: Beside the exs. quoted in the dictionaries, it appears in Maitr 465 r6, BT I D (86) and F (36), fifteen times in BT II,³⁴⁵ BT III 403, ETŞ 9,49, 13,179, 15,56 and 66 and 20,162, Hazai Aval 21-22, BT VII A 698, BT VIII A 25-6 and BT XIII 49,74 (these four with the biverb *oz- kuṭrul-*), UigTot 485 (*kuṭrulmaklıg yol*), ShōUigFrag 30 and 32, Shō XIV b2 (with subject, in *ätöz kuṭrulmak küsüs örit-*) and so forth. *kurtul-* strikes us as the variant of sources standing outside the orthographical norm: BuddhKat 15 has ‘O-ZAR. GOR-TU-LUR., 43-44 GUR-RTOL-GO. DİN-LGIG. YAS-MAS.³⁴⁶ *kurtul-* is further attested in ATSS, HamTouen 1,43’ and 2,13 and 36, beside exs. mentioned in the dictionaries. U III 11,7 even has *kuṭruldaçı* (cf. facs.). Maitr 145 v22 has *kurtul-*, the parallel ms. MaitrH XI 11 a 18 *kuṭul-*. Earlier Manichaean sources like M I 29,32 and Wettkampf 25 write

342 Better: ‘in welchem Maße auch nur’.

343 See Moravcsik s.vv.

344 He suggests *kuṭ buldı* as alternative explanation for *kuṭul-*; that is, of course, wholly unacceptable.

345 See the index there. Three of these exs. have the form *kuṭrur-*; these are probably cases of the omission of the L hook rather than real variants.

346 The ms. has a redundat *akşara* LOG after the stem of the verb, which we have left out. *kurtulgu unlıg yazmaz* is ‘Beings destined to be saved do not stray’. *yaz-* ‘to err’ being intr., DİN-LGIG should be *unlıg* and not its accusative form. The text has a rather free use of G (in this case possibly indicative of the velar pronunciation of the /l/); cf. also *adır-* for *adır-* in this text. *yaz-* ‘to untie, loosen’, is unlikely in this context.

kurtul- while the later pothi book (TT III 25 and IX 28) shows *kutrul-* in accordance with the etymologising norm.

(*kükül-* ‘to be known (by some name), to be famous, praised’. Probably from *kü* ‘fame’, apparently as **kü+k-ül-*. Not in the *EDPT*; *DTS* s.v. *kügül-*. The biverb *kükül- çavık-* is found in BT VIII B 89 and Shō XII a 10. *tüzüdin kükül-miş* ‘praised everywhere’ (BT XIII 20,39)³⁴⁷ is an epithet of Avalokiteśvara; another ex. from Buyan *ävirmäk* is quoted in the n. thereto. Further exs. appear in BT VIII B 105, BT III 771 and 864, BT XIII 21,26, Suv 493,20 and 549,5, Ht IV 821 and 1575, HtPek 39 v 8 and 79 r 2 (quoted in *UW* 248 b middle) and HtPar 4 r 11 (quoted in the n. to Ht VII 1870) and ETŞ 15,33 (*alkoda yeg adruk üzä kükülür siz* ‘You are known as the most excellent of all’).)

külä-l- is found in HtPar 139,26 quoted in *UW* 143 b bottom: *külälmiş kötrülmiş köni nom* “die gepriesene₂ wahre Lehre”. Not mentioned in the *EDPT*; the *DTS* has an instance from Buyan *ävirmäk*, which we do not consider Old Turkic. Cf. *külä-til-* below (section on *-tXl-*), which is also used in a biverb with *kötrülmiş*. That verb also reappears in Buyan *ävirmäk*. *kü+lä-* is discussed in section 5.12 above.

küzäd-il- ‘to be guarded’. *EDPT* s.v. ‘*ködezil-*’ and *DLT*. Found twice in QB in the metathetical Qarakhanid variant, and in Tiš: *alko Kumb(a)ntı kuvr[agı] üzä küzädilip* . . . We know that the base had an /ü/ and not an /ö/ because of three Brāhmī exs., and that it ended with /d/ at least originally, because of runic and Qarakhanid evidence. As at the end of other bisyllabic opaque bases ending in /d/, there may have been a passage to /t/ at least in some variants of Uigur and Qarakhanid. *küzädig*, *küzäddür-*, *küzäd* and *küzädin-* are cognates; see also the end of section 5.43 for the base.

nomla-l-muş ‘preached’ is a hap. in TT VIII B. *DTS*; not in the *EDPT*. Cf. *nomla-til-* below. *nomla-n-muş*, a hap. in Maitr 88 v 15 (BT IX 216,15₂) occurs in fragmentary context any may be a mistake for this. See *nom+la-* in section 5.12.

oñar-il- ‘to be put right’ is quoted in the *DTS* s.v. *köntül-*, with which it appears together in a Suv biverb. Hapax, not in the *EDPT*. The n. to TuoLuoNi 126 gives the Chin. source of the biverb. *oñar-* is a causative like *kön-it-*.

(*oñul-* ‘to recover (intr.)’) is attested in the major one among three mss. in TT VI 215, thrice in TT VII, once in Suv, in QB 2443, 3874 and 4357 (these three not mentioned in the *EDPT*) and several times in the *DLT*. The *EDPT* has an unlikely etymology for this verb,³⁴⁸ but our suggestion may not be much better:

347 This follows the translation of the editor. *UW* 270 a-b instead writes “der ‘Von-allen-Gelobte’”, taking the *+dIn* suffix as agentive ablative.

348 The forms *oñul-* and *oñal-* are not at all “used indiscriminately”, as the *EDPT* writes; *oñal-* is not found before the XIIIth century at the best. Clauson only gives the lemma as ‘*oñal-/oñul-*’ to suit his etymology: that it is “presumably Pass. f. of **oña-*-, cf. *oñar-*”.

oñul- and *oñar-* perhaps come from a verb *oñ-* ‘to be in good order, thrive, prosper’, attested only from the XIVth century on: The *EDPT* has some evidence for it under ‘*on-*’ (which I discuss above as *u-n-*.)

(*ornat-ul-* is a hap. in CYK 21, a very late text. *orna-t-* is common and also found *ibid.* 28. *orn+a-* is rare.)

os-ul- is found only in a biverb with *bıç-ul-*, in Höllen 63, LautHöllen 73 and probably 87 and Maitr 201 v5, with the meaning ‘to be cut into small pieces’. Cf. the *EDPT*. *os-* itself is attested only with *bıç-* in Old Turkic; cf. *os-uş-* above in section 7.1.

oy-ul- ‘to be hollowed out’, *EDPT*.³⁴⁹

öç-ül- ‘to be quenched’ is attested in *toloyka* (thus) *tüşmiş yıçınça tamduksuz öçülü* (Neujahr 23) and *yalınap yana ok öçülür* and similar sentences in UigTot 767, 800, 813, 814 and so forth. Another two exs. quoted by the *EDPT* are biverbs with *alkın-*, and in both the agent is ‘our’ sins. There also is a biverb *öç-alkın-* with the same meaning, exs. for which can be found in the three dictionaries.³⁵⁰ *öç-* is intr.: *öçül-* is taken up again below.

örlät-il- ‘to be torn by anger or be subject to other negatively intensive feelings’. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Found in *övkä üzä örlätıl-* (ETŞ 13,138), *busuş-lug bolup ämgänürlär örlätılürlär* (ShōAgon 3, p. 203, l.14) and *busuş kadgu ämgäk örlätılmäk* (*ibid.* 17). *örlä-t-* (an *-(X)t-* verb) is a semantic simplex.

ötä-l- ‘to get transmitted, given, paid’ appears twice in QB 2670. In DLT fol. 105 it signifies ‘to exert oneself, to go to great pains’; this is further from the etymology but was the base of *ötl-üm* (section 3.106).

saç-il- ‘to be scattered or dissipated’. Beside the exs. in the *EDPT* it is attested in ETŞ 20,44, 62 and 65, in ms. T III M 84-58 l.1 quoted in the first n. to TT V A 117 and frequent in the QB. Further: *bitig saçılğay tep korkup* (Ht VII 13 a24), then *[biti]glär ymä saçılmuş* (*ibid.* 16 a 14) and *änätkäkçä nomlar saçılğay* (*ibid.* 16), *[kav]ıklayu saçılı* “wie Kleie zerstreut werden” (Neujahr 29) and *kovi süñüki saçılur* (BT XIII 17,6) ‘his hollow bones get scattered about’.

sañç-il- ‘to get thrust into something’. *EDPT* only from the DLT; attested also in Maitr 110 r 12 with needles as subject. Exs. in UigTot 375, 377 and 473 all refer to a Y-shaped grafting of one vein upon another.

sap-ul- ‘to be or get together, to join (intr.) or get joined or grafted’. *EDPT* only

349 Clauson calls the word *yerkä*, which appears in the U III sentence in which *oyul-* is attested, “doubtful”. The facs. shows it to be very clear and not doubtful at all.

350 The *EDPT* writes, among other things: “*öçül-* Pass. f. of *öç-*; ‘to be extinguished’. Technically ungrammatical, since *öç-*, which has the same meaning and is also used in Hend. with *alkın-* is Intrans. and should not have a Pass., but survives in NE Tel. *üçül-* . . .”. Grammatical enquiry, however, shows that *öçül-* is not ungrammatical; all *-(X)l-* verbs from intr. bases are collected and discussed below.

from the DLT. Add *sapılgu ol sankā* (ETŞ 11,146) ‘One should be added to that number’.³⁵¹ Cf. *sapılı tägingülük bursañ kuvragnıñ sanıña* (Shō VII b7). A biverb *ula-l- sap-il-* is attested in Suv 44,1 and in Ht VII 2 b12: *yurtta idok nom ulald[ı] sapılı*. Cf. the binome *ulag sapıg* ‘endless succession’ (section 3.101) and *ula[ma]kta sapmak[ta]* (Ht X1176). Additional exs. appear in the colophon of the Aryarājavādakasūtra³⁵² and in Ht X833. Further: *anam xatundın adrılp bir ajunlug busuş kadgu köñülümkä sapılıp...* (HtPar 20 r11) ‘I was separated from my honoured mother, sorrow of a lifetime was grafted into my heart and...’. *biçäk tæg sapılı* (Mäñgi 24) is translated as “wie ein Messer an sich genommen wird”; if it is to connote swiftness, as the context demands, the author should rather be thinking of the throwing of knives. Cf. *itilgän sapılğan* “a hustler, one who goes in and out among affairs” in DLT fol. 90 (spelled SAYILĠN, but *bā* and *yā* are practically identical). Some exs. of *sap-* are mentioned in the EDPT.³⁵³ Cf. also *sap-şı* and *sapşı+sıg* (with back velar) above. *sapıl-* should not be confused with *säp-il-*, q.v. below; *sap-tur-* and *säp-tür-* are distinguished clearly in the DLT.

sar-il- ‘to be angry with somebody’. Infinitive spelled with *qāf* in DLT fol. 330, which fixes the harmony class. The base *sar-* ‘to ill-use someone, to address him harshly’ does not (according to DankKelly) have “-*ma:k* altered from -*me:k*”, as the EDPT writes, but rather a ligature of K and Q by the same first hand. Tezcan (review of the QB İndeks) may therefore be wrong in reading *sār-* and *sārıl-* to accord with Republican Turkish, Azeri and Kirghiz *sert*. Cf. *sar-ı-ıp* in BT III 351. The EDPT quotes the form *sarılsa* twice from the QB; add *sarıldım saña mән* (QB 795), *sarılma maña* (3809) and *erilmä sarılma* (5773). *sarılma yüräkim* in ETŞ 11,91, does not help in determining the vowels either.

351 UW 291 b bottom wants to emend *sanka* to ‘*sañka*’ and to translate: “man muß sich dem Sañgha anschließen”. Such an ‘emendation’ is unnecessary, however, as the Shō VII ex. quoted next shows.

352 As quoted in the *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II, p. 227, by A. v. Gabain.

353 The EDPT is no doubt right about reading *säpti* “equipped” (tr.) in KP. I agree with the n. to Ht X1176 that *säpär* in the IrqB (quoted in the EDPT s.v. *sap-*) is an error for *sapar*; this means that the source of the text must have been in Uigur script (where the two words are indistinguishable): In *sinokıñın säpär* (recte: *sapar*) *mән*, *üzükiñin ulayur mән* we find the same parallelism with *ula-* which we find in *ulag sapıg* and in *ulal- sapıl-*. *sinokug sapar ol*, *buzukug etär* (QB 1858) must have been an idiom akin to the IrqB expression. *et-* can, on the other hand, appear also together with *säp-* ‘to furnish, equip, procure’: *etmäksiz* (misunderstood by the eds.) *säp-mäksiz* (thus, with front *k*) in BT VIII A115 is a translation of a Tib. lexeme signifying “genuine”; *anı nāñ unl(i)glar etip säpip kılmuş ärmäz* (BuddhUig II 486) refers to *çın ärdinilär*, and should have the same purport. UigSteu A 28 should be read as *aryadanıg etip säpip...*, not ‘*sapip*’.

sat-il- ‘to be sold’. By the *DTS* and the *EDPT* quoted only from the *DLT*. There are two Uigur exs., both of a person being sold as slave. One is *satılur m(ä)n* ‘I am for sale’ in *BuddhUig* II 225, while the other appears in *GengContr* 2,13.

sav-il- is in the *EDPT* quoted from the *QB* and the *DLT*, Middle Turkic etc. Attested also in *oy kōtgi yerlärig tüzä, sapan tutup savılı* . . . (*Ernte* 36). The ed.’s translation as “die Vertiefungen und Erhebungen (aufweisenden) Flächen ebnen sie, den Pflug halten sie und beugen sich . . .” is probably motivated by the *DLT*’s statement that *savıl*-³⁵⁴ is used about “anything when it declines from a fixed position or inclines”. The earliest occurrence of *sav-* is not in the *Tafşır*, as stated in *EDPT* 788 b bottom, but in *Heilk* II 1,4 and in *QB* 6168. Cf. *savış* in section 3.103.

savr-il- ‘to spray or spatter (intr.)’. *EDPT* and *DTS* from *Suv*, *DLT* and so forth. Found also in *BT I B* (89) and *yaşları savrılı* (not: ‘*savlıru*’) *ıglayu* (*MaitrGeng* 6 b6) and *Maytridin adrılmak* (normalised: *adrılmak*) *ämğäkkä yaşları* (thus presumably instead of ‘*yasruli*’) *savrılı äliglärin kavşurup* . . . (*ibid.* 4 a4). Cf. *savr-uk-* above.

säç-il- ‘to be chosen, to excel (by some particular quality)’. To the *EDPT*’s exs. add *säçilmiş* (*BT II* 793 and 1214), *üdrülmiş säçilmiş subum orun* (*ShōAv* 252) and *ya[l]ñuz säçilmiş* (*Schwitz* 12). Further exs. not mentioned there occur in *ETŞ* 15,36 (quoted and best translated in *UW* 249 b par. c,1) and *QB* 5595.

säp-il- ‘to be equipped with, to get, have’ is attested thrice in *Ht*: Two exs. are quoted in *UW* 124 a, spelled ‘*sapıl-*’; a third, spelled correctly, in *UW* 235 b par. B,c. See n. 353 above for the base.

sär-il- ‘to endure, to remain as one is, to stay, to tarry’; apparently also ‘to calm down’. See *seril-* I and II in the *DTS*, and *EDPT*. *kalı säril-* in *BuddhUig* I 53 appears to be not “aptallığı devam et-” but ‘His madness calmed down with time’; one often needs the context to disambiguate between the different meanings of this verb. Other additional exs.: *sansız üküş kalp üd üzä ür kaç särilür* (*ETŞ* 9,30); *nän särilü tıdılu umadı* (*Ht X* 1007); *ançakı(y)a särilip tavrak bargalı bolmadı* ‘we tarried therefore for some time, and it was impossible to advance quickly’ (*Ht V* 13 a23); *näçäkätägi KÖNGÜL tözintä särilip turdaçılar ärsär* . . . (*BuddhUig* I 33) “(die) die solange (thus!) in der Bewußtseinsnatur ständig ausgeharrt haben”; *bulıtlar yıldızsız ärdükintin särilip umatın utru törümüştä utru keñip kök kalık nätäg arıg süzük bolur ärsär, ançulayu ymä igid sakınçlar yıldızsız ärtükintin särilip umatın utru turmuşı utru öçüp* . . . (*ibid.* 169-171); exs. in *BT III* 1117, *Neujahr* 86 and *BT XIII* 38,23; two further ones

354 *DLT* fol. 330-31 has, in the second syllable, once a *kasra* by the first hand and thrice a *damma* by the second. I agree with DankKelly’s introduction, which states that the first hand knew better; their choice of *sawul-* as lemma is therefore unjustified.

quoted under *akul-* above; [*bir...k(i)ya ärsär ymä tınalım sārīlālim* ‘Let us pause₂ at least for a while’ (Warnke 555) and *ymä inçip ädgü tetig nomlug şazınım öçülmätin alkınmatın suraşı üdkä täginçä-kä(ä)gi*³⁵⁵ *yertinçütä sārīlip... “Nun aber bleibt meine gut zu nennende (following an interpretation of the eds.’ meaningless TYWYWK as if it were the grammatically impossible ‘te-t-yük’) Dharma-Disziplin ohne zu verlöschen und zu verschwinden bis zu ewigen (langen) Zeiten auf der Welt” (Suv 164,17). Cf. also sār-in-, sārınçsız and sārgüsüz, sārımlig and sārımsız in the appropriate sections.*

särmä-l- ‘to be moved through water’ or, of water, ‘to be strained’. The *EDPT* has only the DLT. Add *särmālip akar* (ETŞ 8,19), which *UW* 78 a rather loosely translates as “reinigendes fließendes Gewässer”. Cf. *sārm+ä-* among the *+A-* verbs.

sāş-il- ‘to be unfastened, untied’. The *EDPT* quotes this from *Suv* about “wrappings and bonds” (*bag çug*) and from the DLT about knots (*tügün*) and rams and he-goats. Exs. with *tügün* are attested also in *UigTot* 772, 803, 809 and 817. *Bt I D* (200) is quoted in *UW* 232b s.v. *asıl-* par. 1,b; *yol sāsīlip... is there translated as “der [Asamkhyeya-]Weg entfaltet sich (?) und...”. In KP LXXVIII 6, the good king excuses himself for leaving the beggars by saying: *bo yertinçü törüsi antag ol: amrak ymä adrılur, sävig ymä sāsīlür*.³⁵⁶ A verse similar to this proverb is found in DLT fol. 486, where Kāşgārī translates *koçnar tākä sāsīldi* as “the rams and billy-goats separated from the ewes and she-goats”. *Suv* 12,6-7 should (against the *DTS*) be read as *isig öz alımçılarımın yavlık köñülläri şaşılzün* ‘May the malice of my life-takers be relaxed!’. ‘*şaşıl-*’ is not attested anywhere and would not fit the context.*

sık-il- ‘to get squeezed; feel constricted, under pressure or in anguish’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; additional exs. appear in *Suv* 638,14-15, *BT XIII* 26,1 and *TuoLuoNi* 280; an instance in *Maitr* 198 r24 is translated best in *UW* 171b middle. The biverb *sıkıl- tañıl-* is attested in *Suv* 586,14, Warnke 461³⁵⁷ and *TuoLuoNi* 86. Other sequences are *uyad- sıkıl-* (*BuddhUig II* 274) and *ämğän- sıkıl-* (Warnke 320). For this last, cf. *açmaklıg ämgäkin sıkıl-* (Warnke 51).

sımta-l- ‘to be negligent and careless’. *EDPT* from *TT VIII A* and *Kuan*. In *Kinkashō B,d*, *sımtalguluk* translates the same Skt. term as in *TT VIII A*. The *EDPT* has two exs. of *sımta-* ‘to neglect, be careless about (something)’, and a third one appears in *ETŞ* 12,54. Note that *sımtal-* is by no means its passive

355 K'DGY should be a late addition: The parallel ms. *U* 702 does not have it. The content of *+kA tägi* is in fact already included in that of *-gInçA*.

356 Thus Hamilton, against Pelliot's ‘*sārīlür*’. The facs. shows the word to be damaged in the ms., but it does look like *şaşlür* (thus). *sārīlür* does not fit the context too well.

357 *ün buşup sıkılıp tañılıp... Similar to this, Heilk I 3-5 should be read as *yüräk sıkılmak ün buşmak*; not ‘*buzmak*’, as the *EDPT* writes following the editor.*

counterpart (which would have the neglected entity as subject) but its intr. one. Cf. *simta-g*. Neither *simta-* nor any of its derivatives seem to be found in any Turkic source outside Uigur, but Mo. does have them.

sız-ul- 'to melt and ooze away', in both exs. (quoted in the *EDPT*) about fat. Cf. *sız-gur-* below. *sız-ıg* (QB 2579; not in *EDPT* or *DTS*) signifies 'melting'; its meaning should not be confused with that of *sızla-g*. *sız-* is intr.; it is in the *EDPT* quoted only from Qarakhanid sources, but appears also in Maitr 105 v12 (with *ärü-*) and in ManTürkFrag 3.³⁵⁸

(*soçı-l-* may be a hap. in a difficult passage in MaitrH X 7 b10, which the eds. translate as if it were *suçul-* 'to pluck or pull out'. The descent of Maitreya onto earth is likened to something leaping (= *soçıl-*) from something onto a wall. P. Zieme suggests tentatively that *krp* may come from Skt. *garbha* 'womb'. Cf. intr. *soç+ı-* in section 5.42 above, where cognates are mentioned.)

sok-ul- 'to be crushed'. *EDPT* only from DLT on. Ms. T II D 523 l.2, which belongs to the text of TT I (quoted in the n. to TT VII 30) has the biverb *yemril-sokul-*.

sola-l- 'to be chained, to be locked in' is a hap. in BT II 1162-3, in the biverb *solalmış bāklālmış*. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *sola-* and *bāklā-* are also used in a biverb (quoted in the *DTS* s.v. *solamamaq*). See *so+la-* in section 5.12.

sor-ul- 'to be enquired about'. *küsi sorulmuş* in M I 26,28 (Gebet) should be compared to *kü+m sorug+um* in Suci 4, and *sor-uk-* in section 7.24. Except this ex., *sorul-* is attested only from the XIIIth century on.

soy-ul- 'to get flayed' is found in Töpfer 3, in *ätinüz soyultı*. *EDPT* from the DLT, Middle Turkic etc. DLT also has meanings like 'to get stripped' and 'to get peeled'. *soy-* is also attested only in concrete sense, while the DLT's *soy-uk-* and *soy-suk-* are metaphorical.

sök-ül- is attested in *kürülüğüçi kişinin kūsüri sökülsün* (Ernte 102) "Des aufhäufenden Menschen Rippen mögen gebrochen werden". *EDPT* quoted from the DLT on, as 'to be torn apart, split'.

sözlä-l- 'to be mentioned' is not mentioned in the *EDPT*, but a passage mentioned in the *DTS* has three exs. from Suv. It is attested also in BT VIII A 194 and CYK 81, and *alko etiglig nomlar birgärü bir kšan üdtä bolurlar . . . sudurta sözlälmäkintin* (Tenri B 64) 'All elaborated dharmas come into existence in a moment by their being mentioned in a sūtra'. *söz+lä-* is discussed in section 5.12.

sug-ul- 'to become scanty by being drained off', of a liquid. *EDPT*; a further ex. from Suv 600,6 is quoted in the *UW* 97b top. With a dative of source: *ulug ulug*

358 Chuv. *šār-* 'to urinate', which the *EDPT* assigns to this etymon, no doubt comes from a back-vowel (and presumably older) counterpart of *sid-*, same meaning.

ögüz suvına tägsärlär, olarnıñ täpizläriñä kurıp sugulup barır (Maitr 198 r14). An ex. from QB 2866 is not quoted in the *EDPT* either. Cf. *sugulmaksız kudulur sular* (thus, Ernte 22).

süz-ül- ‘to be strained or rinsed’ or, metaphorically, ‘to be pure and pious; to have faith (in . . .)’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. *arınmaq süzülmäk*. The concrete sense of *süz-ül-* is additionally attested in BuddhUig I 80 and 189 and UigKan 84 (with *tur-* and *amrıl-*) and 168. Common in Uigur is the spiritual meaning, lent to Mo. as *süsül-*: It appears, in addition to what the *EDPT* quotes (and mistranslates), in MaitrHI 6 a3 (Laut, 1985: 50), BT XIII 46,5, BuddhUig I 10, BT VIII A 111 and 113, CYK 51, Shō XIII b3, Maitr 4 v5 and 226 r15 and elsewhere. Shō VII a7-8, HazaiAval 8,³⁵⁹ Ht VII 7 b2, BT XIII 13,12 etc. have a biverb *süz-ül- kertgün-* ~ *kertgün- süz-ül-*. *süz-ülmişlär* in BT VIII A379 signifies ‘the faithful’ and not as translated. Cf. *süz-ök* above.

tak-ıl- ‘to be fastened to something’. The *EDPT* quotes this from the DLT on. What appears in ETŞ 11,70 as *bo biliglär takılıp* . . . does not, probably, come from this base but should be *tākıl-* ‘to fall apart and scatter’: This is also found in two Middle Turkic exs. quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. *takıl-*, and *dağıl-* in the Oguz languages and *tākul-* in Khal. Cognates are Turkish *dağıt-*, *dağınık* and the second part of *darmadağın*.

tamt-ıl- appears as *tamdulmuş* ‘on fire’ in Suv (quoted in the *EDPT* s.v.) and ETŞ 13,25. The rounding is no-doubt due to the /m/. As Zieme notes, the Suv 141,8 instance of *tamdulmuş* has a (probably more original, as I believe) variant *tamutmuş* in an earlier ms. Also in *alın*³⁶⁰ *ılur tamdulur adroklug Uygur bizniñ elimiz a!* (BT XIII 39,6). *tamut-* is not reducible and unrelated to *tam-ga* (q.v. in section 3.323). See *tamt-ur-* below.

tañ-ıl- ‘to be constricted’. The entry in the *EDPT* comprises some exs. for *täg-il-*, q.v. below. Exs. of a biverb with *sık-ıl-* are mentioned under that verb. The *EDPT* has a Maitr biverb with *kıs-ıl-* and the DLT evidence. An ex. in QB 4595 is a mistake for *yañıl-*, according to Tezcan’s review of the İndeks. *tañ-* ‘to tie up tightly’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from DLT and Middle Turkic, but appears also in Maitr 82 r19 and 182 v1.

taral- ‘to be or get dispersed’. Written clearly with *a* in the second syllable in two Uigur exs.: *taraldaçı targu bilig* (ETŞ 11,71) and *dan[ı]n tokıtırça taralu* (Neujahr 19). Taking the first word in the second ex.³⁶¹ to be an instrumental and not

359 Probably not ‘*süz-ülmiş kert[günç] köñüllüg*’ but *süz-ülmiş kert[günmiş] köñüllüg*.

360 This may possibly stand for *yahn* by poetic licence, being constrained by the #a° of the rote-rhyme. *alın* makes no sense in the context, whereas *yahn* is reminiscent of *çog yahn* ‘glory’. Zieme takes *İİİİ-* to be *yılı-l-*; that is not attested elsewhere, but I have no better explanation.

361 The ed. leaves this untranslated. I would like to explain it through Skt. *danḍa* ‘a stick’, over a Middle Indian **danna*.

an accusative, we get 'getting dispersed (i.e. breaking apart) as if beaten with a stick'. The DLT fol. 331 passive derivative from *tar-* is *tarıl-*, whereas *taral-* is there the passive of *tara-* 'to comb'. Exs. of *tar-* are mentioned under *tar-ık-* in section 7.24 below. *tara-* 'to comb' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and the QB on, but appears also UigTot 434: *taramış* there corresponds to a Tib. expression signifying 'bristly, rugged, shaggy'. DLT fol. 559 discusses both *tar-* and *tara-*; that passage is discussed above in the introduction to part VI. *tar-il-* 'to get dispersed' is attested also several times in the Rylands Interlinear Coran Translation. The Uigur variant *taral-* may have arisen out of contamination between *tar-* and *tara-* or, alternatively, the second vowel may be due to the influence of the /r/. As we read in *EDPT* 547a, some modern languages have *tara-* as a secondary form of *tar-*. The present ex. may also be the first instance of such an -A- expansion, as comes up in a number of verbs in Middle Turkic. This remains only a possibility as long as there is no certain such ex. of *tara-* itself.

tart-il- 'to be drawn from, drawn out, attracted'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. A further ex., *bo añar tayaklıgın, andırtın tarılıp twgmışka ärür üçün...* (Abhi 1943) is accompanied by an ablative like the instance from TT V quoted in the *EDPT*. This is the ablative called 'of separation'.

taş-il- is probably to be read in M I 5,11 (Legende) in *ol yarsınçığ ütözintäki kan irin arıgsız yablak taşılın tökülti*, with the *DTS*. The *EDPT* prefers to read 'tesilti'; cf. *tüş-il-* below. The subject being a liquid, *tüşil-* is inappropriate in this context. BT XIII 27,1 should also, I think, be read as *tökü]lū taşılı turur* (editor's conjecture; context fragmentary). Other -(X)l- verbs are also derived from intr. bases; parallelism with *tök-ül-* (or whatever other verb can be conjectured in BT XIII) should have helped.

täg-il- 'to come to coincide with something', i.e. 'to become something else'. Often used together with its antonym *ag-* 'to come to differ'; *UW* 61 b bottom (quoting and correctly translating M III 12,14₁, text 6) renders both together as "die Form wechseln²". Can be found in the *DTS*, but the *EDPT* does not recognize its existence.³⁶² Semantically related to *tägsil-* and *tägsür-* (And their base, attested in Ottoman as *değiş-*). The antonym couple (used about souls in the numerous existences) appears as *aga tägilü* (three mss. among four in TT IV A 20; Maitr 149 r12 and 131 r1 and BuddhKat 7), *aga tägilü* (Maitr 114 v4; MaitrGeng 4 a22) and *agmak t(ä)g(i)lmäk* (the M III ex. mentioned). The converb vowel of *tägil-ä* is against the rules as set out in Erdal, 1979 a, but this is not the only case where this vowel is altered by parallelism with an adjacent converb. The instance *yelü kögün... күntün [y]ñak kälip purnavası yultuzka*

362 The exs. are discussed by him under *tägil-* 'to be blinded' and *tarıl-*.

tägilip . . . (Ht X 824) is wrongly translated as “değip”. Whether *täg-il-* “berührt werden” in ATSS is meant to belong here or to the verb signifying ‘to get blinded’ is not clear.

(*tägšil-* ‘to alter, change (intr.), to be changed’ has no base attested in Old Turkic, but this base probably lives on in Republican Turkish *değiş-*, same meaning. Not directly related to Old Turkic *täg-iş-* (q.v. above), but *tägšür-* is close; cf. also *täg-il-* for the meaning. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also s.v. ‘*šaš- tegšil-*’. Appears also in BT I D (75), (109) and (311), BT II 921 (spelled (*tägšilmäz*), ManTüTex 574, ShōAgon 1,218 and 220, Suv 419,5, 595,11-18 (in the n. to UigTot 233), 590,13-15 (quoted s.v. *et-iş-* above) and SuvZieme 691 r2, BT XIII 12,155, AmitlSt 14, BT VII H 12, Ht V 4 b 12 and X 1129, UigTot 282, 542, 546, 554 etc., 978, 1237, 1374 and 1376; Abhi B 59 b6 *apud* UW 249b par. A,b,2. The biverb *ag- tägšil-* appears in Warnke 256, 270 and 422, *arta- tägšil-* in Ht X 471, *ärt- tägšil-* or *ad- tägšil-* as read by the ed. in Ht X 803. Cf. also *tägšilmäksiz* (section 3.329).)

täš-il- ‘to be pierced’, *EDPT*.³⁶³

(*tätrül-*, apparently ‘to be perverted’ or ‘to be pathologically obstinate’. The *EDPT* mistakenly writes this with *é* (i.e. /e/) although, as Clauson himself states, all exs. have *ä*; his motives are, as often, etymological. The instance from Suv (*DTS*) has *tälvä bolup tärsikmäk tätrülmäk*; cf. *tärsik-dür- tätrül-dür-* below. Add *altu kaçığ tätrülmäki* “die Falschheit der sechs Sinnesorgane” (UigTot 1261) and *t(ä)rs tätrü körüm üzä köñülüm köküzüüm tätrülüp* . . . (Suv 136,18) and cf. *tätrülmäklig* in Maitr 137 v13. Base not attested but *tärtrü* ~ *tätrü* must be its petrified converb.³⁶⁴)

tävr-il- ‘to roll over, revolve’. In both of the exs. quoted in the *EDPT* associated with *ävril-*, and said of the movement of *samsāra*. *ävrilmäk* . . . *tävrilmäk* is attested also in Maitr 153 r11; add also *tävrilü yortıyur* (Maitr 156 v3). The only Uigur ex. of *tävir-* in the *EDPT* is *nom tilgänin tävirär* in TT VII 455. It is attested also nine times in the Maitr, six of these in the phrase *nomlug tilgän tävir-* ‘to turn the wheel of *dharma*’.

tävšä-l- is attested in DLT fol. 384 in the biverb *ušal- tävšäl-* ‘to crumble (intr.)’. The base is attested in DLT fol. 569: *anıñ täri tävšädi* “His sweat covered him in beads (from work)”. Since this and the aorist and infinitive are all spelled with *ḍamma*, the *EDPT* changes *tävšäl-* to ‘*tüvšäl-*’; the rounding is, I think, second-

363 The phrase written ‘*ičägüsi tašilip*’ in U III 43,24 (Mahendrasena) is changed in the *EDPT* s.v. to *tešilip*. Clauson’s view is now confirmed by *ičägüsin täšip*, as should be read in UigPañc 116 in spite of the ed. The translation cannot be “ihre Eingeweide heraustraten . . .” if *ičägü* has the accusative suffix. *taš-* and *täš-* look identical in Uigur script but can, in identical forms, be distinguished through the transitivity of the second and the intransitivity of the first.

364 Discussed among the petrified converbs in section 7.512.

ary and caused by the /v/. Attested also in Suv 366,16: *ig agrıgka tuş bolup ät' öz kamılsar, ulug kiçig arıgsız*³⁶⁵ *artok bolup tävşilür* (thus in the second syllable?) 'when one is confronted by illness₂ and the body collapses, the small and the big excrements become excessive and form into pellets'. The base, then, is also intr. *ter-il-* 'to assemble (intr.)'. In addition to the exs. quoted by the *EDPT* we find this in Maitr 129 r9, U III 74,17 and BT III 61 in a biverb with 1 *yıgıl-*. Cf. *yıg-ter-* in Suv 360,13, *terä yıga* in BT III 775. *teril-* is common since Orkhon Turkic.

ıd-il- 'to be held in check, be limited to a certain domain, to hold oneself away from something, to hold back or be held back'. To the *EDPT*'s exs. add *öz yaş ıdılmuş üd* (BT II 949), *biligsiz biliglig ıdığ üzä ıdılmuş* (BT II 874), *ögnün kañnıñ ogıñ kızın sakınmaklıg ädgü ögli kqñülü bo bir ajunta ok ıdılur ärip* . . . (Warnke 198), *yana k(ä)ntü özi ymä bo bitiglär kälginçä Odon xanta ıdılup bargal[ı] bolmay-ukka* . . . (Ht V 11 b12), *ırak ıdılup biligsiz bilig üzä, yakın tünärip kertü nom tözintä* . . . (Ht VII 11 a19), *amı bilinür biz kántü yazokumuznı, boküntä ınaru ayag* (i.e. /ayıg/) *kılınçnı ıdılur biz* (MaitrGeng 8 a18), *näñ İnçİp ıdılmadın sözlänlär* (Shō VIII b2). Further exs. appear in Suv 57,3, BT III 679, Warnke 791, Maitr 122 r29, 31, v4, 10, 14, 23 and 28, 123 r4 and 198 v25, ms. Mz 751 v3 quoted in *UW* 234 a bottom (*sözlämäktin ıdıl-*), Abhi 118 b4 in TermBuddh, Ernte 89 (*ıdılmadın tuğçı*), Ht X 1008 (*säril- ıdıl-*) and Neujahr 11.

ıg-il- is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT;³⁶⁶ of an arrowhead, 'to get blunted and broken' when striking a rock. *ıg-* also has this meaning of a rock 'blunting' the head of an arrow, but also a psychological use: *bulun bolup başı ıgdı*, which Kāšgari (fol. 155) translates as "he bowed his head from the hardships he suffered"; *ärän körüp başı ıgdı*, translated (fol. 310-11) "when he saw the men of my army he hid his head and fled". Suv 622,12 should perhaps be read as *açıg üzä ıgılup* . . . instead of *ıkılup* of *UW* 40 b s.v. *açıg* par. A,a: Röhrborn translates "er wurde durch den Kummer bedrückt", which fits the uses of *ıg-*. A similar feeling is that of Xuandzang, when he feels his imminent death and says to the *tapıgçılar* (Ht X 613): *mä[nin] una ärtimlig törü ıgıp käl[m[iş]] ol*.³⁶⁷

ık-il- 'to be crammed into something'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Add *ıkılup turur* from Höllen 105 and Ht X 527. In Ht X 825, a monk sees a vision of a four-way rainbow changing into a constellation, which gets crammed into Xuandzang's cell: . . . *p[avan]ka enip ıkılup turmuşın adırtlıg kördi*. It seems to me less likely that this should be *ıgıl-*, although the Q has no dots to it.³⁶⁸

365 Ms. 'QRYQSYZ, corrected by Ş. Tekin and in *UW* 190b par. A,b.

366 The ms. has thrice 'tagıl-', in the *EDPT* correctly (I think) changed to *ıgıl-*.

367 Tezcan loosely translates as "yaklaşık gelmiştir". Clauson (*EDPT*) wants to have another *ıg-* in DLT fol. 547 where the ms. has *ag-* preceded by what could be T, N or Y; DankKelly prefer *yıg-*, which seems much better in the context.

368 Tezcan's index has a practically identical translation for *ıgıl-* and for *ıkıl-*! Similarly, *ädgü tın-*

(*tuntur-ul-* is a hap. in U II (Uşnişa Viçay), quoted in the *EDPT*: *alko ançulayu kälmişlär üzä tinturulmakı bolur*, ‘to be put to rest’. Müller’s translation, which related to *tın* ‘breath etc.’, would have been likelier if *tın* and *turulmak* had been written separately (which the facs. shows them not to be). See *tın-tur-* below).

tik-il- ‘to be set up or to join vertically’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted only from the DLT. It is attested also in QB 4009 (metaphorical) and UigTot 1039: *bo iki tamırlarınñ üstün uçı burunnıñ ikidin sınarında tikilip turur*. Cf. *tik-lin-*.

tir-il- ‘to be revived, resuscitated, to come back to life’. The *EDPT* has runic and Qarakhanid exs. but knows of “no clear occurrence” in Uygur. *ölgüm bar ärsär tirilgäy tep saknur män* (ZiemeSklav III 20), to be translated as ‘Should I have to die, it will, I think, come back to life’ is an Uigur ex. So are many in the descriptions of hell: Maitr 81 v32, 82 r17 and v21, 83 v17, 84 v26 and 108 v3 and LautHöllen 92-3.³⁶⁹ The inmates are told *tirilñlär* so that their suffering can continue, which they do: (*ölüp*) *ikilä tirilñlär, yana tirilñlär; ölürlär yana ymä tirilñlär*. A hap. *tir-* ‘to live’ is quoted in the *DTS* (but not the *EDPT*) from U II (Qutlug). *näçä tirsä dünyä...* (QB 114) may contain this verb, but see *EDPT* s.v. *ter-*. Note that the base is intr. *tir-ig* and *tir-gür-* are cognates.

tit-il- is definitely attested only in ShōAgon 1,110, in the phrase *birlä titilmäk üzä* ‘to be given up together (with those things at the moment of death)’. Some of the verb forms read as *tidil-* may possibly belong here instead.] *özläri titilmäz*, as has been read *ibid.* 114, is perhaps an instance of *tidil-*.

tiz-il- ‘to be arranged in a row’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from QB 74 and the DLT. It is attested also in QB 5676 and in *kuruñça käzig[inçä] tizilñlär* (Ht VII 4 b 17), *munçukka oxşatı tizilü* (BT VII A 253-4) and *divatanıñ öññä oxşatı öñlügin tizilü* (*ibid.* 262).

to-l- ‘to be filled, crammed, to fill (intr.); to fill (tr. of the filling substance as subject), to be made to block a passage; to be fulfilled’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. *tolu* is a petrified converb from this; exs. for it which are not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* appear in ShōKenkyū III 19, Höllen 105, BT I B (208), D (152) and D (236) and BT II 1074. Additional verbal exs. for *tol-* appear in Maitr 159 r28, 144 v9 (*kapıgınta tolup tur-*), 174 r25 (*ötägimiz tolmaız*) and 83 v16. See *to-ş-* above, also for the base and for other cognates. Exs. for a biverb *tol- toş-* are also mentioned there.

togra-l- ‘to be cut in slices’ is, in this form, found in DLT fol. 381: *ät tograldı* and

l(i)glar üzä tkmiş täg tolu (MaitrH X 4 a6 translated as “vollgestopft”) should hardly have been written as ‘tkmiş’.

369 Verbs in Maitr 86 r1 and 2 are wrongly listed under *tiril-* in the Maitr index, although their translation in the text correctly denotes *teril-*. There would have been less likelihood for this error if the text had been transcribed and not just transliterated.

ton kirdān tograldı; Kāšgārī adds that this verb is used “also if there appear splits in a leg or in any woven material”. Uigur has the variant *togrwl-*, applying only to human flesh: *tarıgçı bağlārın . . . adak soñları togrwlu* (Ernte 33);] *āti yini togrwlup yarılısar*³⁷⁰ [(U III 78,23);] *togrwlup yıdıp sasıp* [(U III 25,6). The base is attested as *togra-* in DLT, Heilk I and in later sources. I have no explanation for the shape of the Uigur derivate; *-Xl-* is not dominant e.g. in *ata-l-*, *aya-l-*, *bagla-l-*, *bādizā-l-*, *bāklā-l-* and so forth.

tolgur-ul- is attested in *sol eligi üzä beş rasıyanlar üzä tolgurulmuş kapala tutup . . .* (BT VII A 414) “in der linken Hand hält sie eine mit den 5 Rasāyana gefüllte *kapāla*”. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *tol-gur-* (q.v. below) is common.

toñtar-ıl-u is attested twice in Suv, in both exs. as biverb with *agtarılu*: ‘to be overturned₂’. *EDPT* s.v. *töñderil-*, *UW* s.v. *agtarıl-*. See under *toñtar-* below for the problem of the vowels of this verb. *agtarılu toñtarılu* may be a late replacement of the biverb *agtaru toñtaru*, the *-(X)l-* getting added to make the intr. meaning of the petrified converb explicit.

tök-ül- ‘to pour out (intr.), spill (intr.)’ is common in Old Turkic. The *EDPT* lacks the ex. from QB 5982, and *yaşı tökülü ıglayu İnçA tep ötüg ötünti* (BruchGeb 67).

tur-ul- ‘to calm down, be calm, stable’. To the exs. of *DTS* (*turul-* II) and the *EDPT* add *turulmuş* ‘calm’ (Ht VII 5 a 10 and the thrice in BT II), *amrılmış turulmuş* (ShōAv 9, 104 and 171), Maitr 198 v 17 (*köñülläri turulmaz*), *köñül turulsar // sakınç amrılısar* (BT I B (90)) and *amıru saçılmadı turulsar* (ETS 20,65). Concerning *çın kertü turulmak yavalmakta yavaldurtaçı* (ShōAgon 1, p. 157,5) note that *yaval-* is, like *turul-*, attested in a biverb with *amrıl-*. *tur-* is intr.; when not reduced to a marker of durativity it stands in concrete use, whereas *turul-* is spiritual. Cf. *turul-tur-*.

(*turgur-ul-* is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is a hap. in InscrOuig V 50, an extremely late text. *tur-gur-* is very well attested.)

(*tusul-* is attested more than 70 times in the QB and appears in DLT fol. 332 in the phrase *bo ot añar tusuldı*³⁷¹ “This medicine was beneficial to him”. Kāšgārī says that this verb comes from *tusu bol-* or *bul-*, while Ercilasun, 1984: 20 takes it to be ‘*tusu+l-*’ and Clauson ‘*tus-ul-*’.³⁷² The word quoted in the *EDPT* under ‘*tus-*’

370 Thus the ms. against the editor; the word is a bit damaged.

371 The *EDPT* thinks the ms. has ‘*tasaldı*’, but DankKelly write TUSUL‘DIY without comment. They all agree that the aorist and infinitive have U in both syllables.

372 Ercilasun further mentions the following as exs. for ‘*+l-*’: *çavıl-* in A 40,11 (*çavlan-* in the parallel passages in BC); *ögdıl-* (which does not come from *ögdı*, however, but from *ög-it-il-* with syncope) and *kwyul-* ‘derinleş-’, which he would like to derive from “‘sağlam’ mânâsındaki *kođı*”. *kwyul-* is attested not only in QB 3070 (mss. BC) but also in the DLT, where it signifies ‘to coagulate, become viscid, thick (of a liquid)’. The DLT also has the related *kwyug* ‘viscid, thick

is only a weak variant, however, the better one being *tusul-* itself. *tusu* ‘benefit, advantage’ (spelled thus in TT VIII K9, Brāhmī) does not look as if it were the member of any known formation; Sinor, 1970 makes it likely that it was borrowed from Proto-Mongolian. Somebody in UigSklav III 5 is called *Tuṣul T(ä)ñrim kutı*; the ms. appears to distinguish between S and Ṣ by giving the lower part of the former letter a leftward slant. If this is an imperative name (as is common), it might show that Uigur has a verb *tuṣ-ul-*; *tuṣul-* might then be a secondary contamination with (foreign?) *tusu*. In Uigur we have *bo ät' özkä koñül eyin bolguluk savlarıg bo ok közünür ajunta tilämiş k(ä)rgäk, ät'öz kodup adın ajunka barsar bo mänñilär barça nä ärsär tuṣulmaz* (U III 43,14) ‘When one goes to another world, none of these delights, whatever they are, can be attained’; *söki xanlar küçi ymä tuṣulmagay* (TT I 106) ‘The might of the kings of old will no longer be attained’; *ätözlärinñä ança munça*³⁷³ *tuṣulur* (TT VI 262) ‘Their own benefits will be rather moderate’; *nä] ärsär tuṣulmaz* (Laut-Höllen 41) ‘Nothing whatsoever will be of any avail’;³⁷⁴ *tuymaklıg tugsar tüzükä tuṣulur* (BT XIII 18,16) “Wenn ein mit Verstand versehener geboren wird, nutzt es allen”; *tuprakda t[ö]rümış tüzükä tuṣulur* (*ibid.* 25) and *üntürür küntä bo bitigig üç kata okızun . . . ärtinñü tuṣulgay kutadgay* (TT VI 287). Concerning the biverb in the last ex. note that *Kutad+a* contains another imperative name, like *Tuṣul*. All the Uigur exs. are spelled with *s* by their eds.; our suggestion can only be proven to be correct if some exs. of *tuṣul-* with dotted Ṣ turn up. Meanwhile, *tusul-* remains a problem. *tuṣ-* does not govern direct objects.)

tut-ul- ‘to be grasped, seized, held’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Further exs. appear in ETS 10,105 and 185, Suv 123,3 and 156,17, QB 2711 and 2720, Ht VII 12 a 16, BT XIII 12,175, ms. Ötani 2695 a 18 and Scharl 83 and in another two exs. in the n. thereto. According to this n., *tutuldaçı* corresponds to Skt. *grāhya* (a cognate of English ‘to grab’), elsewhere translated as *adkandaçı*. Cf. *adkan-*, *adkaK* above. *tutulu tıdilu umazlar* in Maitr 198 v25 signifies ‘They are impossible to be held₂ back’ and not as translated in BT IX.

tüş(ü)r-ül- ‘to be dropped’. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Found in ETS 10,109; also in Abhi 118 b 13 (in TermBuddh): *kurugin түсүрүлүр үчүн әртмиш үдкә ат болур әртмәк теп*. A third ex. is quoted in the n. to this. See *tüş-ür-* below.

tüşütlän-il-mış is a hap. in TT VIII B quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. *eyin*, there given a wrong translation. The ed.’s translation, “durchgedacht”, should be correct by

(of a liquid)’. QB 3829 uses this *kwyug* ‘thick’ metaphorically: *bilgi kwıyug* ‘with profound knowledge’. The same metaphor appears in QB 3070, *kwyuldı bilig*. The base of these must have been **kwy-* or **kwyw-* but surely nothing with /d/. Cf. also n. 49 in vol. 2.

373 This phrase also in ETS 14,31 and a number of times in the Maitr.

374 Laut takes *ärsär* to be conditional also by meaning, but cf. the U III ex. of *tuṣul-* (among other similar instances).

meaning of the Skt. original and also by etymology: Cf. *tüşüt+län-* in section 5.6.

tüz-ül- 'to be put in order, to be at one and in harmony with, etc.'. In addition to the exs. quoted in the *EDPT* it appears in Suv 373,12, 383,22-384,1 (together with *öñi bol-ma-*) and SuvZieme 693,18, UigTot 566, 860, 870 and 976, BT VII A 784 and 787 (both biverbs with *kat-il-*), Ht X 530-1, Buddhäv H 101 and BT XIII 1,110, as corrected in *UW* 290 a top. For the last ex., which refers to the ground 'becoming level', cf. *yer tüzüli* in the *DLT*.³⁷⁵

(*uduz-ul-* is not attested as a finite verb, but *udužulmaksız* has been read in BT VIII B 127³⁷⁶ and translated as "nicht irregeführt". I take it that the eds. base this translation on the Tib. original, which is supplied in a footn. Cf. *ud-uz-* 'to lead' in section 7.55.)

ugra-l- appears in *nägü işkâ ugralsar m(ä)n*, . . . (Adams 29) 'for whatever work I was intended'. The *EDPT* has this verb only from the *DLT*: 'to be intended for something'.

uk-ul- 'to be understood'. In the *EDPT* and the *DTS* quoted only from the *DLT* and the *QB*. Found also in BT I and III and in Scharl 64. See *bil-il-* above for the biverb *bilil-ukul-*.

ula-l- 'to join, be related, transmitted, handed on'. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in Buddhäv H 76, Tenri B 54, ms. T II S 91 in the n. to BT I B (12) etc. Further exs. either contain the phrase *ulalu kälmiş baxşılar* 'gurus who have been continuously succeeding each other' (UigTot 1328 and 1415, BT VII A 344 and 757, B 17 and 25 and N 3, BT VIII A 58 and 334) or refer to the transmittence of the teaching (*nom*, *y(a)rığ*, *ün*, *sav*) to others (e.g. BT XIII 58,34) or to those in the future (e.g. BT XIII 53,4). Biverbs are *ulal-yadıl-* (Ht V 10 a 14), *ulal-akıl-* (BT XIII 49,1) and *ulal-sapıl-* (Ht VII 2 b 11). It appears with antonyms in *tutçı ulalıp üzülmädin käsilmädin* . . . (Shō XV 6). *nom ulal-mış* in *bo nom ulalmış* . . . *baxşıkağa ulalmış ärür* (UigTot 230-2) signifies 'tradition'. *ol idokların y(a)rıgları äşid(i)lgü ünläri ulalguta biziñ qonüllüg yolumuz birtäm tıdılıp* . . . (Warnke 791) signifies 'in the handing on of the precepts and the worth-observing utterances of the saints the passage of our heart was utterly impeded . . . '.

unut-il- 'to be forgotten' does not appear in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* but has been used in *unutilmış kalmış ogulka kızka* (UigOn I v 9).

(*uşal-* 'to get crumbled' is attested in Suv (quoted in the *DTS*) and *DLT* (quoted in

375 Zieme writes '*tüşül-*' but is unable to interpret three words further on in the line; Kara (*OLZ* 84 (1989): 355) suggests *yagız* for the first. *tüzül-* is here spelled with S, but so is *oztular* six lines further on. A verb '*tüşül-*' does not exist: BT XIII 3,68 should better be read as *üz-ül-* (q.v. below).

376 Not 217, as written in the index to the text.

the *EDPT*), and then in the Codex Comanicus and elsewhere. *uvšan-*, *uvšat-* and *uvşak* (q.v. in section 3.102) are cognates; but the direct base is not attested before Middle Turkic, and is dubious even there.)

üd(ü)r-ül- ‘to be set apart etc.’ in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, the latter especially under ‘*ödrülmäklig*’, ‘*ödrülmiş*’ and ‘*ödürül-*’. Very common is the phrase *öñi üd(ü)rül-* (as *öñi üdür-* appears in TT III 32): It can be found in U II 42,8, TT V B 40-1, Suv 99,5, BuddhUig II 522, UigFalt 9/10, Warnke 414, BT VII A 705-6, ShōAgon 1,49, in the *Baxı Ögdisi* quoted in the n. to BT XIII 13,98-9, Buddhāv H 63, Maitr 146 r21, 51 r28, 91 v11 and 35 v4, Junshō C v2 and Abhi B 48 a5 quoted in the n. thereto, Tug 119 and BT III 20,58. Note the word order in direct speech, in *biz ymä siznidä üdrülüp öñi munta kalmaz biz* (Maitr 51 v11) “Auch wir, getrennt von Euch, bleiben nicht hier”. This phrase usually governs the ablative in *+dIn*, sometimes instead the case in *+dA*. Common is also *üdrülmiş* in the sense of ‘chosen; elect; excellent’, e.g. in M I 28,26, Pfahl as quoted in the *EDPT*, ManTüTex 8,122, UigTot 408, Shō XII a4 (with *säçilmiş*), Ham-Touen 5,43. Further exs. of this verb appear in UigTot 880 and 939-40, Ht IV 404, BT VII B 122.

ür-ül- ‘to get or be inflated or distended’. Exs. in the *EDPT*. The base is attested as *yūr-* in UigTot 1047 and in Heilk I,³⁷⁷ and Heilk II 1,60 writes *yürül-*.

ürt-ül- ‘to be or get covered; to cover, to be made to cover (said of the covering object)’. This latter meaning is found in *busuşlug bulutları ürtüldi* (BT III 334 and 394). Both the *EDPT* and the *DTS* write this verb as *örtül-*. Exs. not mentioned in them are found in BT I D (106), BuddhUig I 7, Suv 340,19 (quoted as *örtül-* in UW 122 a par. A,b,1), BT VIII A 408, UigTot 863, 874 and 918-9. Add also *biligsiz bilig üzä ü[r]tülmişläri üzä* “weil sie von Unwissenheit bedeckt sind”. Röhrborn, who gives this translation in a reedition, still writes *ö°*. Zieme also writes *örtül-* in BT XIII 15,34 and 58,8. However, TT VIII G 69 has *ürt-*, TT VIII A 15 *ürtül-*. A third Brāhmī ex., in ms. Mz 652 (T II S19b) v4, reads *yürtülmiş ay tñriniñ yadılmaz çoğı yalını* ‘the unspreading brilliance₂ of the covered moon’ (according to SktUigBil). Khal. *irt-* “bedecken” also speaks for original /ü/.³⁷⁸ I take original *ürt-* to have subsequently widened its vowel because of the /r/.

üstä-l- ‘to be increased, become more’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially under ‘*aşıl- üstäl-*’. The passages where this biverb appears are listed in the UW s.v. *asil-*, mid-page in 232 a. In addition, *üstäl-* appears in Suv 10,7, Ht VII 2 a23

377 The reading of these latter exs. was checked by Zieme, as he writes in the n. to the UigTot instance. They therefore stand in spite of the *EDPT*’s idea that they were “mistranscribed”.

378 Though not for the initial **h*. *yurtgün*, a variant of *ürgün* discussed in section 3.112, is another piece of evidence for this, on the other hand.

and 7 a4, BuddhUig I 18 and 22 (both with the antonym *esil-*), BT XIII 12,213 and Maitr 12 v14 (with synonym *ükli-*) and 63 v3. Similar to the biverb *asil-üstäl-*, *as-* appears with *üstä-* in Suv 266,6-8 and in a number of other instances mentioned in UW 223 b. *üstä-* is discussed in section 5.13.

üz-ül- 'to be torn or broken, to end (intr.), to be discontinued'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also under *üzülmäk*, *öçmäksiz üzülmäksiz* etc. '*üzül-*' of TT VII 40,15 is in UW 232 a corrected to *üst(ä)l-*. A biverb *üzül-käsil-* is documented under *käs-il-* above. 'to stop breathing is *tn(i) üzü-* (BT II 964 and 971 and UigTot 270), 'to die' *isig özi üzü-* (LautHöllen 123), 'to end one's existence in some hell' *özi üzü-* (Maitr 174 r24). In three passages quoted in UW 171 a, *ikin ara üz-* and its passive *ikin ara üzü-* translate the same Chin. expression. *üzül-mädin tuıçı* (Ernte 93) is a synonym couple. In BT XIII 3,68 we can read [*olor-*] *kalı turkalı umatın* /*[u . . . küçi]üzülüp kamultı*, instead of '*[üşülüp]*' as Zieme writes.³⁷⁹ Further exs. of *üzül-* occur in BuddhUig I 263, 311, 312 and 328, UigTot 49 (twice), Ernte 117, BT XIII 1,6 and 24,1, Ht VII 8 b9 and HtPar 225,12 *apud* UW 285 a top, ms. T II 7 15.501 (U 3088) r5 and 6 quoted in the n. to UigTot 895 and several times in Suv as quoted variously by Röhrborn.

yad-il- 'to spread (intr.), to be spread or widespread'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. The couple *açıl-yadıl-* is quoted thrice from Ht in UW 41 b s.v. *açıl-* par. 4; a further ex. appears in Kinkashō D,d. A Brāhmī ex. of *yadıl-* is quoted under *ürtül-* above; see UW 81 a for the biverb *akıl-yadıl-*, *ula-l-* above for the biverb *ulal-yadıl-*. *atı yadıl-* appears in HamTouen 5,55 and 3', 7,11 and 21,2 and HtPek 87 a4 (UW 250 b bottom) etc., *aıt [ç]avı irakta yadıl-* ShōAgon p. 207,6, *kü(si) at(i) yadıl-* in HamTouen 7,11, KP 7,2 etc., *at(i) kü(si) yadıl-* in BT XIII 49,45, Suv 567,12, TT I 146 etc. *kenürü yadıl-* can be found in HtPar 21 v21 and BuyKäl 29. Further exs. of *yadıl-* occur in Maitr 13 r18, 19 v15, 88 r10 and 150 v15, UigTot 444, 446, 1056 and 1069, CYK 102, BT VII H7 and 26, UigKan 88, Ht VII 14 b25, Ht X 1116 and 1127, HtPek 119 b6-10 quoted in the n. to Ht X 60, LautHöllen 54, BT I D (59) and (101), BT II 902, BT III 125, a number of the times in ETŞ and frequently in the QB.

yakdur-ul- in l.3 of a colophon quoted in AbiShotan p. 81 is a passive of *yak-tur-* 'to have printed': *ud yıl üçünç ay bir yanıka Kamçođa yakdurultı* '... got printed...'

yanç-il- 'to be crushed or oppressed'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Add *yançılıp öni saçılur* (BT XIII 16,4).

yap-il- 'to be covered, closed'. *EDPT* from the DLT and the QB; the instances of QB 1321 and 4638 are not mentioned. Found also in BuddhStab II 16.

379 A verb '*tüşül-*' does not exist; see *tüz-ül-* above and footn. 375 for another non-instance in BT XIII.

yapr-il- is attested in Heilk II 3,156 in the phrase *yaprilip tursar* . . . ‘if it adheres . . .’ in fragmentary context. *yaprul-* ‘to stick closely’ in the DLT has the rounding of the second syllable either from the /p/, or as a reflex of the second formative, -*Ur-*, in its unsyncopated shape. The subject is a wound in Heilk, clothes in the DLT. The Heilk instance does not appear in the *EDPT*, and is wrongly quoted in the *DTS* as ‘*yavril-*’. Rachmati’s ‘*yabril-*’ is confusing. *yap-ur-*, q.v. below, means ‘to smoothe, to level’; this is a bit different from what one would expect the base of *yapril-* to signify. The semantic connection between *yap-* and *yapril-* is clear, however.

yar-il- ‘to split (intr.), to be split’. *EDPT* and *DTS*. It applies to the ‘splitting open’ of the ground in UI 37,17 and Maitr 105 r 10, to the ‘bursting’ of flowers in Maitr 55 v 17 and BuddhUig I 97; the DLT also has the phrase *çeçäk yarılı* of flowers bursting into bloom. The bursting apart of human flesh is described in IrqB, MI, Heilk I and, not mentioned in the dictionaries, Maitr 61 r 7 (with *yırtıl-*) and Ernte 109. The metaphorical breaking of the heart is *yüräk yarıl-* (TTX and Suv) whence (described in section 3.311) the phrase *yüräk yarılınçig* ‘heartbreaking’. Very similar are the passages *yäk içkäknin başı yeti öñi yarılğay İnçA kaltı alı ıgaç tæg* (TT VI 375) and *yarılğay olarnın başları yeti bin öñi adrılıp, İnçA kaltı şutı atl(i)gıgaç buñkı yarılmış tæg* (the Suv fr. ms. TII Y 59 (U 1868 a) r 2-5 quoted in a n. to ÄgFrag (1) F3). The QB 4715 and 6139 exs. are not mentioned in the *EDPT*; neither are the ones of Maitr 227 v 17 and Ht X 1016.³⁸⁰

(y(a)ra-l- has been read in TT VIII A 34 (quoted in the *EDPT*) and HamTouen 5,22, in both cases with unclear use and meaning.)

yarat-il- is quoted in the *EDPT* with a TT VIII ex., *bilgä b(i)lig üzä y(a)ratılmış -bol-*. Under *et-il-* I quote a number of exs. of the biverb *etilmiş yaratılmış*. Further exs. appear in BT VIII B 60, ETŞ 13,171 (*Antsañ üzä yaratılmış takşut*) and 15,88 (*Aryabaşça yarañılmış . . . takşut*), BuddhUig I 272 (*KÖNGÜL birlä yaratılmamışın ukut-*). Note that *etilmiş yaratılmış* signifies ‘to be adorned with . . .’, while *yaratılmış* is ‘to be created’. *birlä yaratıl-* in Tenri A IV and VIII and Abhi A 93 b 9-10 and 94 b 7-8 appears to have some special meaning (“tätig werden” in UW 267b bottom) and may be a loan translation. Mentioned here and not under -*tXl-* because it belongs semantically to *yarat-* (q.v. below among the -(X)t- verbs) and not to *yara-*.

yarot-il- is a hap. in Kinkashō D,c: *m(ä)nsiz tözlüküg, kim burxanlığ kün t(ä)ñriniñ savlıg yarokı üzä yarotılmışıg . . . kör-* ‘to see the *nirātmatā*, which is made to shine (or shined upon or enlightened) by the word-light of the Buddha-sun’. *yaro-t-* (q.v. among the -(X)t- verbs) is common.

380 In this last ex., in *ümgäklig taloy [ögüz] ikidin yarılı*, *ikidin* is probably not the +*dIn* ablative but the orientational locative case in +*tXn*.

yayı-l- 'to be shaken, upset, be put into disarray'. *DTS* and *EDPT*, the former especially under *jajıl- jajqal-* and '*tebrānçsiz jajılmaqsız*'. Add *öntün baraglı*³⁸¹ *bodun Sogçio taştınunta yayılıp* ... 'the host going in front went into disarray on the outskirts of (the city of) S. and ...' (ManBuchFrag II 2,2,5); *Sintu ögüz kaçmışta kemi yayılıp [suv]da tüşmiş* (Ht V 11 b5) 'the ship was upset and fell into the [water]'. The biverb *yayı- yaykal-* is attested also in BuddhUig II 498 and UigKan 86. *yayı-* has been read also in Weih 6; if this is correct, it should not be translated as "zerstreut werden" but as 'to get excited'. The base is spelled as *yay-* in M III 6,3₅ (text 1, quoted in the *EDPT*) but as *yayı-*³⁸² in ManTüTex 15,282: *ol yäklärig bo yerdä suvda öni yayıgay sürgäy tamuka kämişgay*. The DLT's *yayık* can also only be explained as *yayı-k*, although that source otherwise syncopates the final vowel of *yayı-*. Kāşgārī thought that *yayık* was a "variant" of *yay-ıg* 'fickle, unstable' (which is attested 30 times in the QB) and the *EDPT* follows him. The QB 1428, 2336, 5600 and 5601 exs. of *yayı-* are not mentioned in the *EDPT* either.

yayka-l- 'to be shaken, to sway, quake'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially under '*erkäçlän- jajqal-*'. Exs. of the biverb *yayı- yaykal-* are mentioned in the previous entry; they have 'the earth' and 'waters' as subjects. An instance in fragmentary context occurs in Ht X 862. See *yayka-n-* for the base: It is an *+A-*derivate from *yayı-k* "unstable" (DLT fol. 454) living to this day in many Turkic languages. Old Turkic has no formative '*-kA-*' which could connect *yayka-* directly with *yayı-*; the allomorph *-kA-* of *+(X)rkA-* ~ *-(X)rkA-* (section 5.2) is inapplicable in this case.

yaz-ıl- 'to be or get relaxed or unattached', from *yaz-* 'to untie, dissolve' is attested in ShōAgon 3, p. 207,16: *ögrünçlüg sävinçlig bolmak üzä ötrü bolur yazılmakı ögirmäki*: The meaning 'to relax' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT ("the wrinkles of one's face"), from a *tafsīr* and from Ottoman. *yazılur intiri kaçığla[r]ı* (BT XIII 19,64) signifies 'Their senses₂ become unattached'. *yazıl-* is common in the QB in the sense 'to get untied'.

yemr-il- 'to be shattered'. To the *EDPT*'s exs. add *yemrilti sokultı* (ms. T II D 523, 1.2); *kum [täg] yıgulu / korum kaya täg yemrilü* (Māngi 25) "[wie] Sand angehäuft wird, wie Steinfelsen niederstürzen"; *tāñri kükräp yer täprämək tıl-*

381 As S. Tezcan stated in the 1988 session of the P. I. A. C. at Weimar, this word should not be read as '*baraşlı*' with the edited text. The facs. is clearly visible but admittedly ambiguous; this is the *-(X)gli* form of *bar-*, with /i/ spelled as A.

382 *yay-/yayı-* never signifies 'verbreiten, austreiben' in Old Turkic, as Zieme writes in his n. to BT XIII 39,23. What he is thinking of is *yad-*, the phonic change of which, however, took place after Old Turkic. Therefore, there can be no "dev. Nomen" from this latter base of the form '*yayı*'. The extra "Haken" which Zieme saw after the 'r' is not superfluous at all: The word can be read as *yaylag* (q.v. above, section 2.73), the scribe having forgotten to add the hook of the L.

tagınta tag yemrilip üñür açılmış (Ht V 2 b5); *kök kalıktın ulug türlüg tag kaya tüşmiş yemrılmış* (thus) *täg* (UigTot 325) translated “herunterstürzen”; *yemrilmiş v(i)rxar säñrämkä yakın* “nahe den verfallenen Tempeln und Klöstern” (Maitr 109 r4); a further ex. in Maitr 101 r12-13 is translated as “zerstört”; *ulug tag yemrilürçä* (BuddhUig II 245; similarly 583); *ulug ta[g ye]mrılmışkä oxşaı* (Ht X 1146) and *yazkı muzça yämrülü* (thus).³⁸³ An ex. in Suv 602,14 has *yemir-* and *yemril-* together, applying to the mouth of a canal. The translation “nieder/herunter-stürzen” does not seem appropriate but is derived only from the context. See the *EDPT* for the (presumably simple) base; an ex. for it not mentioned there occurs in Maitr 60 r4.

yer-il-, of objects ‘to be split apart’. *EDPT* from the *DLT*, and also in *tsun tsun*³⁸⁴ *yerilip yırtulup* (BT II 982; read thus) ‘torn to pieces the size of an inch’. Ht VII 2039 has the biverb *adrılgaı yerilgäli* applying to persons who get separated and are parted; Hochzeit 35 can also be completed to *ay ayıña [adı]l[m]azun; yıl yılıña yerilmä[zün* ‘may they not part, month after month and year after year’.

1 *yet-il-* from *yet-* ‘to get lost’ is badly attested. Maitr 6 v3 has a biverb *yetilür alkinur* between lacunae. Neujahr 35 is likelier to be *ätözlärıntin ırayu, [kqñ]ül-lär[in]tin (y)etilü* ‘removing themselves from their bodies, disappearing from their hearts’, which is considered a possibility in the n. thereto; *it-il-* ‘to be pushed’, favoured by the ed., seems less likely to me. The common *yet-lin-* has some exs. without initial /y/, and the hapax legomena (y)*ettür-ün-* and (y)*etütçi* lack it as well. See *yet-tür-* below on why I write the base with /e/ and not /i/; in view of the unstable /y/, its original shape must have been **het-*. *it-il-* ‘to be pushed’ is found in the *DLT* but not in Old Turkic proper.

2 *yet-il-* is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the *DLT* on; it is found also in Uigur, where it can mean ‘to suffice’ or ‘to arrive’. This accords with the ambiguity of 2 *yet-*, which is ‘to catch up with, overtake’ and also ‘to be sufficient; to overcome’. *küçi / küçün yet-* ‘to be strong enough’ (U II 26,12-13; U III 71,6, TT VII 25,18 etc.) is similar to *küçüm näçük yetilgay?* (InscrOuig V 47). *yılmuz yaşımız yetdi* ‘our years and age have caught up with us (i.e. we have come to the end of our lives)’ in U II 88,79 has its counterpart in *yaş yetil-* (QB 261 and 1222) and *üd yetil-* (QB 1099 and 1211) and cf. *karılık yetil-* (QB 5716). *avıçğa arokı yetti* (KP 37,1) exactly corresponds to *arokun yetilip kälmiştä / ançak(ı)ya udiyu...* (BT XIII 12,145) ‘when you get tired, sleep a bit and...’. *bakırı ädi tavarı yetilmädin* (TuoLuoNi 347) and *könülüm biligim yetilmädin* (Ht VII 2 a21) both sig-

383 There is no reason to devise the translation “dahinschmelzen” for this instance (Ernte 6): During the thawing season, ice masses often move to the edges of precipices and get shattered when falling off them.

384 Found also in U II 86,42 (Kutlug): The reference in the *DTS* should be corrected accordingly.

nify 'not to be enough'. *küç* (or *köç*?) *yetilmäyükkä* (Ht V 13 a 23) could either be '... were not equal to the task' or '... did not arrive'.

yevil- 'to be equipped, fitted out' is attested in Suv 566,8 (quoted in the *DTS*) and in DLT ff. (for which see the *EDPT*). The DLT ms. fluctuates between *yevil-* and *yevül-*, the variation of the second vowel being due to the rounding effect of the /v/. Cf. *yevä-g* and *yevin-* above, *yevä-t-* below.

1 *yig-il-* 'to be accumulated'. Discussed in the *EDPT*; add *yıgılmış yazoklar* (ETŞ 13,17). Another ex. in BT III 61 is a biverb with *teril-* 'bürtmäkdin yakılacağı', which appears twice in TT V B, has, in Kudara's reedition, been corrected to *yıgil-*. Further: *al[ko] yumğı yığıldı* 'all assembled together' (BT XIII 6,15); *beş türlüg ärkligär birlä yığılp turzun* 'May the five types of senses remain collected' (*ibid.* 12,15) and *barçası yumğı yığılsar* (BT XIII 35,7). A Brähmi ex. with *yıgilur* can be found in ms. Mz 648 ([T II] S 19 + I M 8 II), 2nd story ("Der blinde Brahmane") a v5 in SktUigBil. More exs. in Ht VII 4 a 1, 9 b 10 and 16 a 12, X 1086 and elsewhere in Ht, UigTot 281, 299, 302, 876, 1113 etc., at least 20 times in Maitr, ShōAv 258, AmitIst 23, Hochzeit 21, Ernte 96, BT VII A 223-4, Suv 33,8 and 188,10, BT VIII A 231 and 254 and Anh. 2-3,10, BT III 462 and so forth. *yig-il-* served as anti-tr. for *yig-*; 1 *yig-in-* is in Old Turkic used in exclusively spiritual meanings, while the DLT has it as medial.

2 *yig-il-* is, in DLT fol. 477, distinguished from the other verb of this shape. For the present one he writes: "*är iştin yığıldı* 'The man refrained from work'. Also when someone else prevents him – tr. or not tr. [i.e. passive or middle]". This *yıgil-* is derived from 2 *yig-*, documented under 2*yig-in-* above. Cf., further, the following Middle Turkic sentences, quoted by Bodrogligeti in *JAOS* 104/3 (1984): 463: *bilig Haqqnı bilmäk, taqı ämrini tutup yıgmuşındın yıgilmaq kamäl* 'Knowledge is to know God, to carry out his commandments and to abstain completely from what he has forbidden'; *yıg(ğ)aqtn yıgilmas takäbbürlüg är* 'An insolent person does not abstain from what is prohibited (through religion)'. 2 *yıgil-* may appear also in UigTot 876: *tört türlüg yıgilguluk ig kämlär* is hardly "die viererlei anhäufenden Krankheiten²" as translated by the eds., as *yıgil-* is passive and *-gUlXk* a necessitative form. It could signify "The four illnesses which should be prevented", if the Tib. original permits it.

yıgr-il- is attested in BT XIII 3,66: *b[ur]l[arı] ... künnün çogı üzä ... kavruldı ... udlukları artok yıgrılıp ...* 'to get drawn together, to get wrinkled'. *EDPT* from DLT and modern languages; the language of the Quu (Lebed) uses it in connection with the skin. The *EDPT* quotes the base only from Shor, but it also gave *yıgır-gok* (q.v. in section 3.22).

yırt-il- is attested in Maitr 61 r 8, in 'ätim(i)z yinim(i)z yarılır yırtılır örtänür yalar 'Our flesh and bodies get cleaved and torn, ...'. The *EDPT* quotes it from the DLT, Middle Turkic etc.

yod-ul- ‘to be or get smeared’. In the *EDPT* attested from the DLT on (“to be wiped”). Appears also in Maitr 176 v22 (BT IX 184,22): *bir ikint[ışkâ] amran-makin bodulup yodulu[p . . .] . . . ulug yazoklar ärt(t)imiz* of sexual contact.

yogr-ul- ‘of wet substances to combine with dry ones to form mud, dough etc.’. *EDPT* and *DTS* from the DLT and Suv. Cf. *yogurt* (a cognate) and *yogun* (a cognate of the base).

(*yori-l-* is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*; it appears to have been an *ad-hoc* creation in Kinkashō A,d: *ädgölärig kuruldurdaçılar üzä nizvanılar üzä ıñragsızlar*³⁸⁵ *üzä özin wkdämin*³⁸⁶ *amtu yorılır*, in Röhrborn and Laut, 1988: 29 translated as “. . . wird durch die Die-Gunäs-Schädigenden, durch die Klešas, durch die ohne (Elefanten)-Haken, nach Gutdünken jetzt gegangen”. The Skt. text has *caryate*, the medio-passive form of the root *car-* = *yori-*. In Skt., however, this root has the additional meaning ‘to set about doing something, to approach a task’, when it is tr. The translation of *nir-añkuša* is also over-literal, as this is also used metaphorically to signify ‘unchecked, unruly, uncontrolled’.³⁸⁷)

yörgä-l- ‘to get wrapped around with something, to be wrapped around’ does not appear in the *EDPT*; the *DTS* has one ex. from Suv. We further find *kugus kapta yorg(ä)lip . . .* ‘wrapped around in a leather sack’ (BT XIII 17,3),] *yörgälip* in fragmentary context in BT XIII 19,109, *Inça k(a)ltı bintadu kurtı öz yıpına yörgälmiş tög* (Ht VII 11 a5) ‘as the silkworm is wrapped in his own thread’;³⁸⁸ *seziklig toor üzä bäk katıg yörgälip* (Scharl 26) “mit dem Netz des Zweifels fest umhüllt”. Two exs. of the biverb *ba-l-* *yörgä-l-* are metaphorical:] *barça birgärü yörgälmiş balmışlar ol* (ShōAgon 1,180) and *tümän türlüg ämgäklär üzä [yör]gälürlär balurlar* (Warnke 577). Another instance appears in Warnke 719. *yörgä-* is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from three Uigur exs.; we find it also in Ht IV 1254 and eight times in the Maitr (two of these with *tolga-*, one with *ägir-* and another with *ürt-*). Cf. also *yörgä-n-* above; it appears as *örgän-* in an early text, which points towards initial **h*.

385 There is no reason to take the present variant as a “Schreibfehler”, as Röhrborn and Laut, 1988 suggest: See *ırga-g* in section 3.101.

386 This word is discussed in n. 88 in vol. 1. Kudara at least transcribes the word as ‘*ökädämin*’. Röhrborn and Laut, 1988 obscure the ms.’s data by writing ‘*ök temin*’ where the ms. in fact clearly separates between ‘WYKD’M and YN but makes no division after the K. The vowel after the dental is ‘ and not Y, as Röhrborn and Laut’s transcription would let us believe; nor are Uigur words spelled with initial D known to me. In the interlinear mapping of the Skt. and Uigur passage, Röhrborn and Laut moved ‘*ök*’ out of the domain of *iha* into that of *svaira* (as against Kudara’s attempt).

387 As Kudara stresses, the text actually has no meaning as such in Turkic; it cannot, therefore, be used to describe Turkic grammar.

388 Arlotto wrongly yynk’l-.

yör-ül- is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from *Suv* (once) and the *DLT* and signifies 'to be unwrapped'. In *QB* 6028 it is used of a dream, and signifies 'to be interpreted'. *yuk-ul-* 'to be polluted with something; of the polluting substance, 'to infect, soil, adhere to'. The *EDPT* quotes this verb from the *DLT*, where the voicelessness of the velar is (thrice) beyond doubt; I don't see why Röhrborn spells it with *g*. What the *EDPT* quotes from *Kuan* probably does not belong to this verb at all. Attested in *ät'özlärinä öl ödüş yukulur* (Maitr 198 v 16) and *oların nızvanılıg u birlä yukulmuş* (read thus) *bilgä biliglärin açıp* . . . (*HtPar* 164,6 quoted in *UW* 38 a s.v. *aç-* par. 6). A further instance, quoted from *Şınko Şäli Toton*'s writings by K. Röhrborn at the 1988 (Weimar) session of the P.I.A.C., is *ägsük bolguluk ayıg kılınçka yukulmagalı* . . . "nicht befleckt zu werden".

yuv-ul- appears in *Toñ* 26,³⁸⁹ in *ı Barlık aşdımız, yuvulu entimiz*. One is reminded of *äsyäk yuvdı* 'The donkey ran at top speed' in the *DLT*. *DLT* fol. 478 gives *topık yuvuldı* "The ball rolled" as example sentence for the verb. A verse he quotes there, however, has the sentence *Kwlbak udu yuvulma* translated "do not roll behind *Qulbāq*"; i.e., presumably, 'do not run after him'. The *QB* has *yuvul-* in couplets 4902, 6213 (the only one mentioned by the *EDPT*), 6238 and 6327, all of them of tears 'running or rolling' down one's face. The central meaning of *yuvul-* must then have been one of a 'free movement down an inclined or vertical surface'. The *EDPT* gives *yuv-* 'to roll (tr.)' only from the *DLT* on; but the *U* III 64,21 text should probably be read *boyunun bıçıp başın yerdä yuvdı* instead of 'yoidi'.³⁹⁰ See *yuv-lun-* in section 7.22.

MORPHOLOGY

It is by no means the case that all polysyllabic verbs ending in /l/ are -(X)l- verbs. Simple verbs in °l- are, e.g., *kösül-* 'to stretch out one's legs' (*EDPT* from the *DLT* on; also in *Ht* X 741, *Shō* IX a 12 and *BT* XIII 60,11), *sögül-* 'to roast' (attested with object e.g. in *BT* XIII 5,95), *suçul-* 'to pluck out' (q.v. under *suçl-un-*), *topol-* 'to pierce' (discussed under *topl-un-* above), *yañıl-* 'to err' and *yaval-* 'to be tamed, subdued' (related to *yavaş*). These will, of course, be excluded from discussion in this section.

The aorist and converb vowel of -(X)l- verbs is /U/, also when the derivate is monosyllabic: *balur* (*Ht* VII 1873 and Warnke 577), *tolur* (*BT* I D (223) // B (196)

389 'jobalu', the transcription given by Aalto (among others), is impossible for the reasons given in the *EDPT*.

390 Rolling people's heads about must have had a special significance, as the *DLT* has the verse *alplar başın ol yuvar*. Cf. also n. 346 in vol. 1.

and four times in the QB³⁹¹) and *tolu* (MI 25,11 (Gebet), Ht VII 1923, Höllen 105 and 132, TT V A 81-2, TT X 185, Heilk I 176-7, Suv 199,20, TT VIII B 10, in a number of exs. in the QB and in others quoted above s.v. *to-l-*). *ye-l-ür*, which appears only in the DLT entry, can be added to the list. One of the reasons for considering *yal-* to 'blaze up' to be a simplex is the fact that its converb and aorist vowel is /A/.³⁹²

-(X)l- is added to bases ending in all the consonants and vowels.³⁹³

The only formative combination which has -(X)l- as second element is -tXl-, discussed in the next section. Together with it we mention a few instances of the formative sequence -tUr-Xl-. -(X)l- is, in fact, very often added to causative bases. Mentioning only the unproblematic instances we have *ag-t-il-*, *agt-ar-il-*, *apı-t-il-*, *buş-r-ul-*, *çomr-ul-*, *büt-ür-ül-*, *ät-iz-il-*, *keñü-r-ül-*, *kön-t-ül-*, *köşi-t-il-*, *kutad-tur-ul-*, *kutsıra-t-il-*, *orna-t-il-*, *tın-tur-ul-*, *tol-gur-ul-*, *tüş-ür-ül-*, *yak-tur-ul-* and *yaro-t-il-*. -(X)l- derivates from other deverbal stems, on the other hand, are not formed: Not from desideratives, cooperative-reciprocals, reflexive or medials. *adru-l-*, *bişrun-ul-* and *tägş-il-* are not real exceptions, as a study of these verbs will show. The bases of all three are simple from the semantic point of view; the assignment of *adru-* is problematical, to say the least.

A number of -(X)l- verbs are expanded with -tUr-; they are discussed together with the other verbs formed with that formative. Taken together with what was just stated concerning the addition of -(X)l- to deverbally derived stems, it emerges straightway that passive and causative form a category distinct from that including the other diathesis morphemes. There are a number of -l-Xş- verbs, however, and they are discussed in section 7.1. The anti-transitive formative -lXn- (section 7.22) has -(X)l- as its first element.

One would have expected -(X)l-, the 'classical' passive formative, to get added only to transitive bases. This is not at all the case: *ak-il-* (common), *bar-il-* (hap. in TT VIII A in the phrase *eyen barıl-*), *bat-il-*, *kurı-l-* (~ *kurul-*, common, metaphorical), *öç-ül-* (common), *sımta-l-*, *sız-il-*, *taş-il-*, *täg-il-* (metaphorical), *tävşä-l-*, *tir-il-* (common; *tir-* hap.), *tur-ul-* (common, metaphorical), 1 *yet-il-* and

391 Couplets 536, 759, 5731 and 5913. *tolur* in QB 137, rhyming with *yorur*, must be the result of poetic licence.

392 It has no Old Turkic cognates: Cf. n. 295 above.

393 Amanžolov, 1969: 72 is wrong in thinking that it is not added to stems ending in /l/. We have a number of such exs., the more common ones being *bilil-* and *külil-*. Amanžolov is thinking of a complementary distribution with -(X)n-. This does not exist in Old Uigur, although it is found in some modern languages. The content of the passive and medial-reflexive formatives coincides only when they represent the anti-transitive. Such verbs formed with both -(X)n- and -(X)l- are discussed below.

yori-l- (hap. Kinkashō) all come from intr. bases. To this we can add *sār-il-* ‘to endure, remain as one is, stay, tarry, calm down’, which comes from *sār-* ‘to endure something’. This base is tr. while the *-(X)l-* derivate is intr., but the latter refers to the former’s subject, not to its object. The metaphorical *-(X)l-* derivatives from intr. bases remind us of the metaphorical use of *-(X)n-* described above, but are much fewer. In metaphorical *tāgil-*, e.g., *tāgin-* in this sense was blocked because that verb already existed with a different meaning. In other cases, parallelism may have helped: *akıl-* was used together with *kudul-*, *yadıl-*, *süzül-*, *sāril-* or *ulal-*, *taşıl-* with *tökül-*. With the hap. legomena *barıl-* and *yorıl-*, the derivate appears to have been a calque on a Skt. medio-passive within a slavish translation. With *tir-il-*, the base had actually fallen into misuse. With derivatives from intr. bases, at any rate, the addition of *-(X)l-* is not accompanied by any change in the group of participants.

SYNTAX

-(X)l- verbs are not usually accompanied by oblique nominals; this fact holds for passives, anti-transitives, mediāl-reflexives in general. Most of the nominals which do accompany *-(X)l-* verbs are place and time expressions. E.g. *ol ädgü kü at tört bulunḡda yadıltı* (KP VII 2) ‘That good name and reputation spread in all four directions’. With the ablatival locative: *türk bodun kanın bolmayın Tavgaçda ad(ı)rılı* (Toñ 2) ‘The Türk nation separated from China without having a khan (of its own)’. The ablative form itself is also attested: *anıñ arasınḡa elig bāgnıñ oñ kolı biläkindin käsiliḡ kılıçı birlä yerdä tüşti* (U IV C135) ‘While that happened, the king’s right arm was cut off at its wrist and fell to earth together with his sword’. Another strictly concrete case form is the instrumental: *t(ä)ñrıl[i y]äkli y(a)roklı karalı ol üdün k[a]tılı* (Chuast 7) ‘God and demon, light and darkness (were) mixed at that time’.

-(X)l- verbs accompanied by the dative

It turns out that most of the dative forms accompanying these verbs are also in concrete use. A temporal dative: *ol ädgü kü at tört bulunḡda yadıltı, küniñä kol-ğuçılar üzülmädi* ‘... Day by day the (stream of) beggars did not stop’ (KP VII 3). In some other cases the dative is dependent on the specific content of the base: *el bulgakiña katılımtız ärsär*... (TT IV B18) ‘If we took part in public unrest...’; *igid köñül küçäḡip öçürgäli umasar mänli kişili körümkä ikiläyü ävrilür* (BT I B(103)) ‘If falseness grows strong and one cannot quench it, one turns again to the view (distinguishing between) “I” and “others”.’

The following instance is instrumental rather than local: *kuguş [yıl]pka yor-*

g(ä)lip . . . (ms. T III 3008 [Ch/U 7503] 3 quoted in the n. to BT VII A 407), translated as “mit Leder-Schnüren umwunden”. The dative in *kertgünçsüz [äzü]g savıña arılıpan* [. . .] *Q taşksar, ötrü ol yäklär yegäy* (ManTüTex (15)277) shows the verb signifying ‘to be tricked’ accompanied by what could be either an instrumental or an ergative expression.

Unmistakeably ergative datives accompany *-(X)l-* verbs only in very late texts, and very rarely: *anıñ arasında bo savlar pır(a)s(ı)naçı eligkä äşidilti* (BT III 366) ‘In the meantime these matters were heard by king Prasenajit’. With the same verb, *kimkä äşidilip ämgäkligniñ açığ üni* . . . (BT XIII 24,3) “von wem gehört wird des Leidenden bittere Stimme”. Also with *kimkä*, in TT VIII B 10-12: *anapānāsmṛti dhyān kimkā tolo tükäl uz pışrunulmuş ärsär, eyen käzigçä tüşüt-länilmiş, nätäg täñri burxan üzä nomlalmış ärsär, ol po yertençötä yalrıyur*. The instigator of the action described by the form *nomla-l-muş* is Buddha; just as clearly, the person who could carry out the action described by the verbs *bışrun-* and *tüşüt-län-* is referred to as *kim*. *kimni üzä* does exist (e.g. in M III 11,11₁ and 22,11₂ and BT III 149) and *bışrunul-* can govern an *üzä* phrase (the only other ex. of this verb). The Skt. original has the genitive *yasya* ‘whose’, so that the Uigur wording cannot be a calque either. I take this dative to have been taken over from the ergative dative which we find with *-(X)t-* verbs in passive function.

-(X)l- verbs accompanied by phrases with *üzä*

The sentence just discussed already supplied us with an ergative *üzä* phrase accompanying a passive form with *-(X)l-*. Another ex. is *oyta kämişilip tut uçuz bolmaklıg toz tup' rak üzä kömütilär basılıtar* (BT III 135-6). Notice that this last *üzä* phrase allows both of an ergative and an instrumental interpretation. One can translate ‘They were thrown into a hole and buried and pressed down by the dust and the earth of despicableness’, or ‘with the dust and the earth of . . .’. In case the instrumental interpretation of the *üzä* phrase is adopted, there are again two interpretations: Either the *-(X)l-* forms are passive, in which case one must understand that an unspecified (and hence indefinite) person used the dust and the earth to bury ‘them’, or the verbs are anti-transitive, in which case ‘their’ intr. buried and repressed state is referred to. Cf. also *nägülük muntag yañılmak üzä tıdıltnız ärki?* (Ht VII 2126-7) ‘Why is it that you were so inhibited through (or ‘by’) error?’. Further exs.: *ajuntakı kılınç tüşi üzä ürtülmişlär* (BT I D (106)) ‘those who are covered by the fruit of (good) action (performed) in the world’; *bilkä b(i)lig üzä y(a)ratılmış bolmasar* . . . (TT VIII A 11) ‘If it is not created through (or ‘by’) wisdom . . .’. The status of the *üzä* phrases in these clauses seems undecided. There are also many exs. in which an instrumental interpretation seems the only possible one: *yükünür biz idiz ädrämi üzä säçilmiş atl(ı)g t(ä)ñri*

burxan kutıña (BT II 793) 'We bow to his honour the divine Buddha named 'he who has been singled out through his lofty virtue'.

Among the numerous sentences in which an -(X)l- verb is accompanied by a phrase with the postposition *üzä* I have found only few in which freedom of action can reasonably be attributed to the entity represented by the nominal governed by *üzä*. Here is one of them: *ol tınlıgı İnçIp alko ançulayu kälmişlär üzä viyakrut kılılmuş ärip üzäliksiz köni tüz tuymak burxan kutındın yanmaksız ävrilmäksiz ärür tep bilgülük ol* (U II 39,100-101, Uşnişa Viçay). What we have here is the passive of the phrase *viyakrut kıl-* 'to profesy', not of *kıl-* by itself; the sentence as a whole is an ex. of the *accusativus cum indicativo* construction so common in Uigur. Thus: 'Let it be known that a profesy by all the *tathāgatas* has gone out concerning that creature, and that it is recoilless and unflinching from the highest straightforward₂ Buddhahood of enlightenment'. Another instance is *nätäg täñri burxan üzä nomlalmıış ärsär, ol po yertençötä yalrıyur* (TT VIII B 12) already quoted above. This part of the sentence is a real calque on the Skt. *yatha buddhena* [*deśita*] *so 'smin* [*pra*] *bhāsate loke* 'as has been profesied by Buddha, who shines in this world': *nätäg* and *ol* have been made to introduce relative clauses, which they cannot do in any real form of Old Turkic; the relative clause describing Buddha has been postposed and not embedded. In accord with this practice, the Skt. instrumental is translated by the *üzä* phrase. In this and in the previous ex., using the basically instrumental *üzä* to create ergative phrases appears to be a Sanskritism; the whole phenomenon may be due to foreign influence. One other point has to be kept in mind concerning these sentences as well as the one with *kömlütılär basıltılar* appearing above: In both, the verbs in question are used in parallelism with other verbs, with which they have the agent in common. As real passives with explicit ergative expression they could indeed have been transformed ('back') into active constructions; this, however, could not have happened to the parallel expressions, be it only because there are no ergative phrases to them: The topic and comment pattern would be disrupted. If, moreover, *viyakrut kılıl-* would have been transformed into the active, *ol tınlıgı* could have been mistaken for the agent of *viyakrut kıl-* and *ançulayu kälmişlär* for a direct object. Except under such very special conditions, -(X)l- verbs do not seem to have participated in passive constructions of the type 'John was hit by Jack'. They are, that is, either anti-transitive, or at least passive only in the sense of the Arabic *majhül*: They are used when an entity undergoes an action whose instigator is not mentioned.

7.32 *-tXl-* (\sim *-(X)tXl-* \sim *-tUrXl-*): LEXICAL MATERIAL

agırla-tul- ‘to be revered’ is a hap. in ETŞ, quoted and discussed in the *UW*. It serves as passive for *agır+la-* ‘to honour, revere’ and not to *agırla-t-* ‘to get oneself (or somebody else) honoured or revered’. *agırla-n-* is in the *UW* mentioned as a hap. with no context (i.e. in fragmentary surroundings); it can therefore be assigned no meaning or function.

alka-tul-muş appears as a biverb with *öğitilmiş* once in BT III, quoted and discussed in the *UW*. The two together signify ‘praised’, which is also the meaning of *alka-t-muş* (discussed among the *-(X)t-* verbs). *alka-tul-* here appears to have been created after *öğitil-* on the analogy of the biverb *ög-alka-* (numerous exs. in the *UW* entry for *alka-*); it is not a derivate from *alka-t-muş*.

amra-tul-muş is a hap. in Laut 37 not mentioned in any of the dictionaries: *amratul-muş sävitiilmiş* [*ay t(ä)ri tilgäni*] ‘the beloved moon-disc’ (with Skt. original). Appears to have been created in a way very similar to that of the verb of the previous entry: *sävitiil-* is well attested like *öğitil-*, and *amra-* was often used together with *säv-*. *amra-tul-muş* is not the passive of *amra-t-muş* ‘beloved’. The common *amra-n-* is not anti-transitive.

ay-turul-muş üt ärig (ETŞ 13,167) is ‘a prescribed advice₂, something one is told to do’. Hap., not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *ay-tur-* ‘to make somebody tell something’ appears in DLT fol. 138, but cannot have been the source of the present verb: ‘an advice one was made to utter’ is not a meaning appropriate to the context.

aya-tul-muş ‘honoured, revered’ appears in U II 60,3₂; *ayatulıp* in TTVIII D 12 and 21 as glosses to Skt. participles with the same meaning. Synonym of *agırla-tul-* as *alkatıl-* and *öğitil-*, *amratul-* and *sävitiil-* are synonym couples. *aya-* and *agırla-* are very often used together as a biverb (see *UW* s.v. *aya-*). *aya-n-* is a hap. in the phrase *ayanmakka tükällig* in *Zieme Tärä*, while *aya-l-* appears thrice in Ht (twice *ayal-muş*, once *ayalıp*). When somebody is described as *deserving* the honour he gets, *aya-t-* is used (q.v. among the *-(X)t-* verbs). *aya-tul-* is not a passive of that but, like the equally rare *aya-l-* and *aya-n-*, derived directly from *aya-*.

bas-ıtl- ‘to be overwhelmed’ is found in ETŞ 10,68 (*-muş*) and 154 (*-maklıg*), not mentioned in the dictionaries. *bas-ıl-* appears only in BT III 135, while *bas-ın-* has a tr. meaning, semantically removed from that of the concrete meaning of *bas-*. *bas-ıtl-* is thus the strictly passive counterpart of *basıt-*, which means ‘to let oneself be overwhelmed’.

bulga-tul- is a hap. in TuoLuoNi 187: *ig kām adasıntın adakgali örlätgäli*³⁹⁴ *bulgaıtl-gali ugrasar...* ‘wenn ... sie durch die ... Krankheiten und Gebrechen ... in

394 This is a surprising form; one would have expected a *-tXl-* passive here as well.

Wirrnis gebracht werden sollten". *bulga-t-* and *bulga-l-*, which both also have passive meaning, are also hap. legomena. *bulgat-* appears in a Manichaean text and is unlikely to have served as base for *bulgatul-*. *bulga-n-* is the only common verb in this family of lexemes.

er-iñil-miş is a hap. in *ançulayu kälmiş üzä eriñilmiş* "durch den Tathāgata getadelt" (BT III 645). This comes from (y)*er-* 'to criticise, loathe'; it is the late alternative to *er-it-miş* (q.v. in section 7.56 below). The *-(X)l-* derivate from this base is attested in Qarakhanid, with a different meaning.

ısr-tul- is a hap. in ETŞ 10,67: *içgäklär üzä ısrılmaq* 'to be bitten by devils'. The EDPT has Qarakhanid and Middle Turkic exs. of the base; it is, however, attested in Suv 19,12-13 and Warnke 53f. (quoted in UW 275 b). The DLT also has the passive *ısrıl-* and the causative *ısrıt-* 'to make somebody bite something'; there is no reason to think that *ısr-tul-* comes from this latter.

kavza-tul- 'to be surrounded'. EDPT, and DTS under *qavsatıl-*. Further exs. of *kavzatılmış* occur in ETŞ 13,75 and BT VII A 114, 121, 427 and B 4 (*taloy [ögüz] üzä kavzatılmış*). *kavzañıl-* appears also in BT VIII A 470, 476 and 481, ShōAv 89 (*muñ yol yarokları üzä tägirmiläyü kavzañılıp*) and BuddhUig II 597 (*ULUG kuvragka kavzañılu*) and 113 (68000 *apsarılar üzä kavzatılu*). *kavza-* 'to surround' and *kavza-t-* 'to surround oneself with' are discussed in the section on *-(X)t-*.

kizlä-tul- is a hap. in *adrok adrok ärdini äd tavarlar yula yokıntın karangu üzä kizläñilip . . .* (UigFalt 111) 'in the absence of a lamp, various₂ jewel articles₂ are hidden by the dark'. *kizlä-t-* 'to urge someone to conceal something' is attested in the DLT; by meaning, *kizläñil-* is not its passive but that of *kiz+lä-*, discussed among the *+lA-* verbs.

kurşa-tul- appears twice in Uşnişa Viçay (quoted in the EDPT under *kavzatıl-*) in a biverb with *kavza-tul-*; no difference in meaning can be detected between the two verbs. See also the DTS. *kurşatıl-* appears also in ETŞ 9,19 and BT VII A 461, and all four exs. end in *-u*. *kurşa-t-* appears in the DLT with the meaning "to order somebody to gird himself"; this cannot be the base of *kurşatıl-* as attested. *kurşa-* (discussed above among the *+A-* verbs) and *kurşa-n-* are found also in Uigur. The nominals referring to the surrounds appear in the U II 30,30 and BT VII A instances in *üzä* phrases.

külä-tul- is a hap. in BT XIII 13,18: *külätılmış kötrülm[iş baştınkı]ta baştınkı* "Gepriesener, Erhabener, der [Ersten] Erster, . . .". *külä-l-*, a Ht hap. quoted in the previous section, also appears as *külälmiş kötrülmüş*. No *-(X)t-* derivate of *kü+lä-* 'to praise' is attested. *ög-* and *külä-* are often used together; *küla-tul-* therefore semantically and formally accords with *alka-tul-* and *ög-itil-*. *külälmiş* qualifies 'the true doctrine'; *külätılmış*, on the other hand, a supreme Buddha (lost in a lacuna) who is himself the source of his own praiseworthiness.

nomla-tul-mış ‘preached (participle)’ appears in TT VIII A 16, ETŞ 10,291, BT VII B 112, BT VIII A 11, 14, 35 etc., BT XIII 13,27, 20,51 (stanza identical to the passage of the BT VII B 112 instance) and 50,13. Not mentioned by the *EDPT*; the only ex. quoted in the *DTS* belongs to Buyan, a post-Old Turkic addition to Suv. Several of the instances quoted above have the form *X üzä nomlatılmış* ‘preached by X’. The only instance of *nomla-l-* (mentioned among the *-(X)l-* verbs) also has the shape *X üzä nomlalmış*. *nomla-t-* is a causative also by meaning. Again by meaning, *nomlatıl-* is not the passive of this causative but of *nom+la-*, ‘to preach’, an often used verb.

ög-til- ‘to be praised’ is used in PetInscr 1,3, InscrOuig V 3 and QB 177 and 909, *ögiñil-* in ETŞ 15,3 and BT III 71. The proper name *Ögdülmüş* (thus) appears frequently in the QB. Most of these texts are late, whereas *ög-üt-mış ~ ög-it-mış* ‘who has deserved praise’ appears also in early texts. It is the only attested form of the stem *ög-üt-* / *ög-it-*, which is unlikely to have served as derivational base to *ög-til-*. *ög-* ‘to praise’ is also common.

ötün-dürül-mış ‘humbly uttered (in ⟨my version of⟩ the Upālisūtra)’ appears in ETŞ 10,290. The context does not permit us to connect it with *ötün-dür-* as it cannot have signified ‘to be made to pray for (something)’. Another ex. of *ötündürül-* may have stood in InscrOuig V 1, but the context is unclear.

säv-itil- is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. We have *utmuşnıñ ogıanları üzä [är]tingü sävitilmişkä* ‘to him who is exceedingly loved by the Victor’s sons’ (ZiemeTārā 5d), *t(ä)ñrilärli kınarılar üzä sävitilmişkä* ‘to him who is loved both by the gods ⟨and⟩ the Kimnaras’ (*ibid.* 20b) and *alko kamag burxanlar üzä artok sävitilmiş idok* (BT XIII 26,7) “die von allen₂ Buddhas äußerst geliebte Heiligkeit”. Then we have, in BT III 72 and 578, the biverb *sävitilmiş taplatılmış* and in Laut 37 *amratılmış sävitilmiş*, with the near-synonyms *amra-tıl-* and *tapla-tıl-*. There also are biverbs *säv-it- amra-t-* and *säv-it- tapla-t-*, but these signify ‘to arouse love’ or ‘liking’. The just mentioned forms with *-tıl-mış*, on the other hand, have, respectively, *yañı kün* and *[ay t(ä)ñ]ri tilgäni* as kernel; these are not entities which could be given credit for arousing love or admiration.

sözlä-til-mış appears in TT VIII A 44³⁹⁵ corresponding to Skt. *ukta*, in Kinkashō C,c corresponding to *vāhita*: ‘uttered, proclaimed’. The same form is attested also in BT VII A 766 and BT VIII A 279, 286, 292 and 389. The finite verb with this meaning was *sözlä-l-*, of which the text just mentioned, BT VIII A, had an example. *sözlä-t-*, discussed below, has a ‘real’ causative meaning; *sözlätılmış* is not its passive, however, as it refers to the utterance.

tapla-tul-mış appears in BT III 72 and 578 in a biverb with *sävitilmiş* and qualifying *yañı kün*. Further *üküşkä taplatılmış Maxa Sanpadi xan täg* (DruTur 11) “wie

395 Not VII A 44, as the *EDPT* writes.

der von vielen verehrte König Mahāsammata (thus P. Zieme)”; *taplagılgılarka taplatılmuş üçün, YMÄ biziñ taplagım(ı)zta taplatılmuş ärmäz üçün ymä ter* (Junshō A v 10); *ol tınlıg . . . baxşı üzä taplatılmuş ym[ä bolgay* (BT VIII B 274) ‘That creature . . . will be accepted as guru’; . . . *tep taplatılmuşça* (BT XIII 13,28) ‘as it is accepted/believed that . . .’. Related to this last use is *inçip munda yänä tamurlarıg beş türlüg üzä taplatılur* “Hier aber wiederum, was die Adern betrifft, so werden sie auf 5 Arten angenommen”³⁹⁶ (UigTot 430). *tapla-t-* also has a passive-like meaning but implies self-triggering.

tapın-turul-muş is a hap. in SuvCaitya 31,23: *äzrua xormuztanıñ . . . adakınta tapınturulmuş . . . çaytı* ‘the caitya of his (i.e. Buddha’s) being done obeisance to at his (i.e. Buddha’s) feet’. *tap-in-* (q.v. above) governs objects in the dative.

tokı-tıl- ‘to be struck (perhaps also to be driven along)’ by the wind or a torrent. The EDPT quotes two exs.; add *suv kälğiniñä tokıtılmuşlar* (ETŞ 10,225). Both *tokı-* and *tokı-t-* are common. *tokı-tıl-* is, by meaning, not derived from the latter. *tokıt-* has a causative meaning in most instances but a passive one in others.

yör-ııl- has been identified by Röhrborn and Laut, 1988: 32 where Kudara had read ‘*yorıtıl-*’: *mıñ mıñ tözünlär üzä yörıtılmuş m(ä)nsiz tözlük*³⁹⁷ (Kinkashō D,b) ‘the *nirātmatā*, interpreted by thousands of nobles’. *yör-* ‘to interpret’ is reasonably common, an *-(X)t-* (or *-(I)t-*) derivate from it not attested. *yör-* is tr., and see *yör-ül-*: The QB uses *yör-ül-* for the interpretation of dreams, while the only Uigur ex. has it describe (physical) unwrapping.

yükün-türülmüş signifies ‘one worshipped’ and not ‘one who is made to worship (someone else)’; it therefore belongs into this section and not into that of *-(X)l-*. *yükün-*, having, at any rate, the shape of an *-(X)n-* verb, could apparently not be expanded with *-(X)t-* even when incorporated into *-tXl-*. *yükün-türülmüş* is attested twice in the Utsukmaksız Darni (U II 53,3₃ and 54,2₁), in one case accompanied by instrumental-comitative *mudurlar üzä* and in the other by agentive *analar kuvragı üzä*. The first-mentioned instance is, both in meaning and shape, similar to the construction found with *tapınturulmuş*: That also refers to the indirect object, and is accompanied by instrumental *tokırları üzä*. The second ex. is quoted by the DTS, none by the EDPT. There is another one with an agentive *üzä* phrase in BT VIII A 260: *alko burxanlar üzä yükün-*

396 To judge by this translation, the eds. appear to have taken the accusative morpheme as a mark of thematisation. They may be right about this; this is just a speculation if there are no further exs. for such a construction, however. Alternatively, the accusative form may indicate that the verb was not meant as passive but as impersonal; That happens in Republican Turkish with the passive, however, without recourse to such a mixed construction. *taplagılgı* very often appears in UigTot with the meaning ‘having a particular opinion or view or preference’.

397 Spelled as ‘*tözlüg*’ by the editors; see under *+lXk* type B₃, section 2.77 above.

dürülmüş “von allen Buddhas verehrt”. *yükün-* does not govern the accusative but the dative; formally seen, therefore, it should not have been able to undergo passive transformation; nor is an *-(X)l-* derivate from it attested. *yükün-tür-* is attested in Orkhon Turkic with real causative content. *yükün-* may originally have been an *-(X)n-* verb (and is discussed in section 7.2), but is semantically a simplex.

MORPHOLOGY

ötündürül-, *tapınturul-* and perhaps *yüküntürül-* are derived from deverbal bases; other bases are denominals in *+lA-*. The three verbs just mentioned and *ayturulmuş* have the rarer *-tUrXl-*; *aytl-* would have been ‘to be asked’. The exs. of all four passive *-tUrXl-* verbs end in *-mlş* and all are late. The variants *-tXl-*, *-XtXl-* and *-tUrXl-* taken together make the shape of the present formative identical to the sequence of a causative formative with *-Xl-*; what especially characterises the present combination is its meaning.

There are nearly as many verbs in the preceding section in which *-(X)l-* is added to causative bases as there are derivates in the present section. While the present (composite) formative is added only to tr. bases (with the dative-governing *yükün-* again an exception in a sense), the sequence causative formative + *-(X)l-* never appears after tr. bases. We could therefore speak of a complementary distribution and deal with the two phenomena together. We would, however, then be disregarding the fact that the causative element *here* contributes nothing to the meaning of the derivate. Where the causative of the base is attested, the *-tXl-*, *-XtXl-* or *-tUrXl-* form does not come from it by meaning, if that base is transitive.

Another characteristic of the present formation is the fact that more than half of its derivates are attested only in the *-mlş* form, as perfect passive participles. Even when other forms are attested, as with *tokutl-*, the *-mlş* form is unexpectedly well represented. Other verbs, as *agırla-tıl-*, *bulga-tıl-*, *ısr-tıl-*, are haplogomena.

Thirdly, practically all verbs listed here occur only in relatively late Buddhist texts. The main exception is *ögtil-* in the QB. Neither Runic nor Manichaean sources have them; nor do I know of any instances from the Maitr, the *avadāna* collection of U III etc., not TT VI or KP. Very well represented, on the other hand, are sources as BT III, VII and VIII, UigTöt etc. and late verse of ETŞ, BT XIII, BuddhUig II, ShōAv, Laut and Kinkashō. From this and from what was said above it can be concluded that it was ungrammatical in early Old Turkic to add causative formative + *-(X)l-* to transitive bases, be it separately or as a combination.

Most verbs in this section belong to several limited semantic domains. Group-

ing them by bases, we have *amra-*, *säv-* and *tapla-* for loving or liking, *alka-*, *ög-* and *külä-* for praising, *agırla-* and *aya-* for revering and honouring and (y)*er-* for their opposite, *yükün-* for worshipping, *kavza-* and *kurşa-* for surrounding. *bas-*, *bulga-*, *ısır-* and *tokı-* have violent content, and only *kizlä-* 'to hide' stands by itself. The last group is *nomla-*, *sözlä-*, *ay-*, *ötün-* and *yör-*, which all refer to the emitting and receiving of religious verbal material. The formation appears to have spread within such semantic fields, often with the help of biverbs. After *aya-tıl-* existed, e.g., the common biverb *aya-agırla-* may have led the writer of the ETŞ verse to *agırla-tıl-*. Using the verb *ögitil-* he had learned with his language, the author of BT III may have created the biverb *alkatılmış ögitilmiş* on the analogy of the biverb *ög-alka-*, thus bringing about the appearance of the hap. *alka-tıl-*. Similarly the hap. *amratıl-mış* after the quite common *säv-ıtıl-*.

Most interesting is the relationship of the present formation with those among the *-(X)t-* verbs which have been said to have 'passive' meaning. This aspect of *-tXl-* is dealt with further on in this section. Here we just mention a fact concerning those bases from which we have both 'passive' *-(X)t-* and *-tXl-* derivatives: comparing the agents of such verbs, we find that the former group of derivatives get animate agents where the *-tXl-* verbs tend to have inanimate ones: Only animate agents can *incur* praise, reverence or violence.

One further evidence of the fact that *-tXl-* is only *in statu nascendi* is the shape it has after bases ending in consonants. For fully fused combinations such as *-sXk-*, *-tUr-* or *-lXn-*, the initial vowel of the first element is never reconstituted even after consonants. Concerning the present combination, however, we find such forms as *basıtıl-*, *ögitıl-*, *sävıtıl-* and *yörıtıl-* beside once *ısır-tıl-* (which has a bisyllabic base) and *ög-tıl-* (twice Yuan Uigur, twice QB).

SYNTAX

There is no great difference between the behaviour of the verbs of this formation and that of the *-(X)l-* verbs. Here are two exs. with *üzä* expressions which may be ergative; both appear in the Uşnişa Viçay, in which we had found a rare ex. of an *-(X)l-* verb with ergative *üzä* phrase: *m(ä)n İnçİp t(ä)ñri kızlarıñ terin kuvrag üzä kurşañlı kavzañlı t(ä)ñridäm vişaylıg mänñiläriñ k(a)ltı tapımça täğünürümtä İnçA tep ün eşidilti* (U II 30,30) 'While I was thus surrounded and encircled by the multitude of divine maidens and experiencing divine sense pleasures, there was heard a voice saying thus:'; *anıñ tozı tuprakı yel üzä tokıñılıp tägsär ymä – t(ä)ñrilär eligiya – ol tıñl(ı)gka nän ayıg kılınç bolguluk, ayıg yavız yollarta barguluk korkınç ayınç bolmaz* (U II 39,90) 'If just its dust should be knocked about by the wind and get (to him), o king of gods, that living being will not be in any danger of meeting evil deeds or of going on bad and evil ways'. A fourth sentence

with an ergative *üzä* phrase, *alko ançulayu kälmişlär üzä tinturul-*, also appears in that same Uşnişa Viçay, U II 46,64. Such exs. are met with also when the *-tXl-* verb is relative. There also are relative clauses in which a *-tXl-* verb is accompanied by a dative with ergative function.

In the Petersburg ms. of the Suv there is an ex. in which a non-relative *-tXl-* verb is accompanied by such a dative: *InçA kaltı ulug ı ıgaç küçlüg katıg yelkä tokıtılıp kamılmış tæg tüşdilär kamıldılar* (Suv 625,14) 'They were thrown down and fell, just as if a great tree₂ were hit by a strong and hard wind and were felled'. The other Suv ms. for the passage quoted by Röhrborn, 1972: 74 has *tokıtıp* and can, for other reasons as well, be taken to reflect an earlier stage of the language. With passive *-(X)t-* verbs, the regular ergative expression is the dative. In a later version, the passive *-(X)t-* was replaced by the more explicitly morphologically passive *-tXl-*, without changing the construction. Language change here took place between one scribe and another.

It can also otherwise be shown that this is in fact a passage from one formation to another. Thus *öğitmiş alkatmış* has an early attestation, but *öğitilmiş alkaılmuş* (q.v. under *alka-tıl-* above) turns up in a very late text with just the same sense and use. In UigPañc 207 we have *alkoka sävitir taplatır*, in BT III 578 *burxanlar üzä säviñilmiş taplatılmış. yeti änüklärinä ägirtip kavzaıp . . . yatur* (Suv 609,19) represents the older construction, *terin kuvrag üzä kurşaıtu kavzaıtu . . .* (U II 30,30) a later one. *-(X)l-*, though, lived through the whole history of Old Turkic.

7.41 The transitive passive formative *-sXk-*

The verbs *al-sık-* and *kun-suk-*, both 'to be robbed of something', have a special status within this formation: They both govern the accusative of the entity the subject gets robbed of. This is not the behaviour of a passive verb: *al-sık-* and *kun-suk-* are closer to the permissive causative of the type 'to get one's car stolen'. We deal with *-sXk-* here and not among the causatives because most of the members of the formation do behave like passives. First, then, these two:

al-sık- appears in Adams 25: *amtı ol bitiglärni bögim yaman kayuta kodup unıtdı. kişikä mu alsıkdı? mini "alyuk s(ä)n" tep enç kılmadın turur.* 'Now my master has misplaced those documents somewhere and forgotten (where. Or) did he let somebody take (them)? He keeps pestering me by saying "You took them"'.³⁹⁸ DLT fol. 127 has *ol tavarın alsıktı* 'He was plundered, dep-

398 I think the translation "ist [der Freibrief] von jemandem gestohlen worden?" in the *UW* entry for the verb is incorrect. The subject of the preceding as well as of the following verb is the master; it is unlikely that a sentence with a different subject should appear between the two,

rived of his property” with the property in the accusative. Instances in QB 2726, 2803 (not mentioned in the *EDPT*) and 4119 all have direct objects, one’s head in the first and third, *nāḡ* ‘something’ in the second.

kun-suk- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. We have *yagı y(a)vlak āgır-tiṅā adasıṅa, azu ymā y(a)vlak kişikā basutıp ädin tavarın ärdinisın kunsuk-sar, . . .* (DhāSū 18) “oder wenn man durch Bösewichter überfallen wird und seiner Habe und Kleinodien beraubt wird, . . .”.³⁹⁹ *kun-* governs the stolen possessions as direct objects; *kunsuk-* gets the sufferer of the theft as subject but retains this object. *kun-uş-* (section 7.1) also retains the object of *kun-* while adding the mutual sufferers of the theft.

ut-suk- behaves just like these two verbs in the DLT, although Uigur evidence is characteristic of a passive verb: *ol yarmakın⁴⁰⁰ utsuktı* ‘He lost his money at wagering’. It seems worthwhile to compare this with the structure of the Arabic sentence which serves as gloss: *annahı qūmıra darāhima fı ‘l-la‘ibi*. Lane’s dictionary gives an ex. of doubly tr. *qamara: qamartuhu ‘l-māla* translated “I contended with him in a game of hazard for the property” with the optional additional content “and overcame him”. *qāmırāhu* “he contended with him for stakes or wagers, laid by both to be taken by the winner” evidently also retained its *accusativus rei* when the *accusativus personae* was transformed into a nominative: The result is Kāš-gari’s sentence. This is also how the Turkic sentence is structured. If, now, the entity the loser has lost remains unmentioned, what remains is a passive sentence pure and simple:

ut-suk- to be defeated, to be the loser’ is attested in Ht VII 1802 as *bo ymā aṅsız uyađıp utsukup özin bilindi* “Und dieser hat sich sehr geschämt und sich als besiegt erklärt” and in TT II B83, as *bo yok tözlüg öpkā nızbanı ey[in] utzuxup . . .* “Wenn infolge dieser auf Nichts-gebauten (beruhenden) Zorn-Leidenschaft [die Lebewesen] besiegt werden und . . .” (both mentioned in the *EDPT*). Further: *anı ol utsukguçı bramanka körkitip* (Ht IV 1671) translated as “besiegter Brahmane” and *ya t[öz]ünüm yadta utsukup kul bol[duṅ]* (*ibid.*

when the subject is explicit neither in it nor in the third sentence. Subjects of finite -sXk- verbs are, moreover, always living creatures with a will of their own.

399 A footn. asks: “Liegt bei *ädin* . . . der Instr. vor?” To take *ädin tavarın ärdinisın* to be instrumentals would be quite unjustified, as the instrumental is not found in Old Turkic in any function compatible with this context. Cf. the DLT’s *kun-uş-*, which also governs *tavar* as direct object.

400 DankKelly write *yarmāq* without comment and the *EDPT* *yarma:kın* and the *EDPT* is right: Very clearly visible under the *qāf* are two *kasras* for *tanwin*. They must have been overlooked by DankKelly, who note such things even when they take them to be added by the second hand. *darāhim* has both a *ḍamma* and a *fatha* at the end, but the sentence is correct only if it has a *fatha* (for ‘accusative’).

1717) “. . . von einem Ausländer wurdest du besiegt . . .”. Three instances of *utsukmaksız* are mentioned in section 3.329.

None of the other *-sXk-* verbs are attested in tr. constructions. We list them in alphabetical order:

ar-sık- ‘to be deceived, tricked’ is documented in the *UW* entry with three ETŞ exs., in the *EDPT* with DLT, QB and Middle Turkic material. Also *azagların nomunta / arsızmanlar tözünlär ä!* “Durch die Lehre von Irrlehrern laßt euch nicht betrügen, o Edle!” (BT XIII 15,24); *az nızvanıka ǵrsıkıp / ayıǵ kılınç üküş kılımız* ‘getting deceived by the vice of greed we committed lots of evil deeds’ (*ibid.* 16,39); *YÄNÄ arsızdukta ymä ter* (unpubl. ms. Stockh H3 b 5 quoted in *UW* 242 a s.v. *aşan-* par. 2). *UW* 278 b s.v. *avıçga* par A,2 suggests completing M III 11,15₁ (text 5) as *avıçga kurtgaka ǵrsı(k)maz* “[der Tod] läßt sich von Greisen und Greisinnen nicht betrügen”.

(*bas-sık-* is attested only in Qarakhanid Turkic; its Uigur counterpart is *bas-tık-* (section 7.24). DLT fol. 3.26 has *kışı yagıka basıktı* “The people were attacked at night by the enemy”, adding that *basık-* comes from *bassık-*. In the QB, the choice between *basık-* and *bassık-* follows the demands of the metre, *bassık-* in couplet 679, *basık-* 5145 (*ölümkä basıkma kälir algalı*) and 5196 (*havaka basıkma köñül tut tırig*). In view of this distribution, Kāšgarī’s statement and the meaning of this verb, it is excluded that one of the forms should be an *-(X)k-* verb.)

bil-sık- ‘to be known’ corresponds to Skt. *jñāta* in TT VIII E7. An ex. not mentioned in the *EDPT* appears in *bilsikmiş ädgülük*⁴⁰¹ *bursañ kuvrag* (BT XIII 38,5). *ol är bilsikti* “The man was recognised and his hidden affair became known” (DLT fol. 15) accords with the general Old Turkic practice of allowing only living subjects for *-sXk-* verbs; another ex., in DLT fol. 380-81 is aberrant in this respect. *bil-il-*, q.v. among the *-(X)l-* verbs, does not get human subjects.

(*busuk-* in *är busuktu* “The man was caught in an ambush” of DLT fol. 326 may also belong to this formation and not be formed with *-(X)k-* of section 7.24: This is made likely by the meaning; the double °s-s° is simplified also in *bas-sık-*. *bus-* and *bus-ug* are found in Qarakhanid as quoted in the *EDPT*, *busug* additionally in QB 5414 and 6271.)

çal-sık- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from TT V B29: *tört türlüg ş(ı)mnularka çalsıkma bastıkma* ‘He is not prone to surprise attacks₂ by the four classes of devils’. Attested also in *sezikkä çalsıkmaşlarka . . .* (ETŞ 10,155) ‘to those struck by doubts’.

401 The ed. writes ‘*ädgölüg*’, translating ‘gut’. That would have been just *ädgü*, however. *ädgölük* should here be ‘serving the good’.

kuy-suk- is a hap. in Ht V2 a14, clear on the facts.: [...] *yaṇa kuysukup suvda* [ti]tikti 'The elephant(s) bolted and drowned in the water'.⁴⁰² Cf. *at kuydı* 'The horse bolted' in DLT fol. 553 and, for the vowel, the modern cognates quoted in the *EDPT*. The above translation fits the Chin. original. *kuy-* would be the only intr. base of a -sXk- verb but is not, in fact, attested in Old Turkic proper. It is unlikely that *yaṇa* should be the direct object (as with *kunsuk-*) and that the subject should have been lost in the lacuna, as the elephants are the subject of the drowning.

(*soy-suk-* is a hap. in *är soysukdı* 'The man was stripped of his wealth', DLT fol. 15. The DLT's *soy-uk-* is a synonym.)

tut-suk- is in the *EDPT* quoted from *ogrı ogurlasar tutsuksar* (TT VI 110) 'if a thief steals and is caught' and *är yagıka tutsukdı* 'The man was captured by the enemy', in the *DTS* also in a Suv ex. of a dove getting caught by a falcon. *tut-ul-* is much more common and, e.g. in USp 45,12, Suv 123,3, ETŞ 10,185 or BT XIII 12,175 has living subjects like *tutsuk-*. The difference appears to be that *tutsuk-* is inchoative and denotes point aspect whereas *tutul-* is durative.

(*tuy-suk-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 529: *är tuysukdı*, translated 'The man realised that he was being deceived'. This fits in well among the -sXk- verbs semantically (cf. especially *arsık-*) but not as far as participant structure is concerned; the semantic content of 'being deceived' is not even in the base.)

ur-suk- 'to get hit' is found in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, in the latter especially under *oqın ursuq-*: The phrase *okın ursuk-* is, in all, attested in Suv 621,9, 623,17 and 632,13, Warnke 318 and BuddhUig II 139. Qarakhanid Turkic has *ursuk-* outside this phrase, in QB 679 (*urayın tegüçi özi ursukar / basayın tegüçi özi bassıkar*) and the DLT.

(*yar-sık-* is a hap. in DLT fol. 488: *är ogl(ı)ndın yarsıkdı* 'The man got separated from his son'. Cf. the different meaning of *yar-il-*.)

(*yet-sik-* from 2 *yet-* is attested in DLT fols. 15 and 488 from *kaçgın är yetsikti* 'The fleeing man was caught up with' and *är yetsikti* translated 'The man reached senility'. This last instance connects with some uses of *yet-* and *yet-il-* quoted under 2 *yet-il-* above: *yulumız yaşımız yetti* and *yaş / karılık /üd yetil-*. Concerning the first instance, note that *yet-* gets its object in the dative, not the accusative.

yint-sik- 'to be found out, to be discovered': *yintsikmätin şınnularka* 'without being found out by the devils' (ETŞ 9,62). *yintsikmäksiz yeg mänı* (ETŞ 9,62) 'the undiscovered supreme happiness' belongs to section 3.329. In TT III 41 (= Poth 21) there is another ex. in fragmentary context:] üzä yintäm tuıçı yintsikü

⁴⁰² *titik-* 'to drown' appears also in *kälir ärkän yolta yaṇa titikip ölti* (*ibid.* 13 a19); both exs. are corroborated by the Chin. original. I know of no etymology for this verb.

yertin[. ⁴⁰³ *yind-* or *yint-* is found in ETŞ 13,26 and the DLT. *UW* 64 a bottom translates *yintip istāp* (HtPar 134,3) as “suchen²”. What is spelled like this verb in BT VIII B 154 appears to have been *utmuş ye(g)ādmiş* (the common biverb) with the *K* omitted inadvertently.

Even if we were sure that the TT III ex. of *yintsik-* is an instance of a vowel converb, this would not be too dependable evidence as to what the converb vowel is: The text is by no means free from errors. Otherwise, aorist forms of this formation are attested from Qarakhanid Turkic: The DLT has *alsıkar*, *arsıkar*, *basıkar*, *bılsikār*, *tutsukar*, *ursukar*, *utsukar*, *yarsıkar* and *yetsikār* and perhaps some others. We also find *alsıkar* in QB 2726 and 4119, *arsıkar* in QB 2726 and 3618, *bassıkar* in QB 679 and *ursukar* *ibid.*

-(*X*)*z-* is not a common formative; nevertheless, several -*sXk-* verbs have -*Xz-* cognates: *tut-uz* and *ut-uz-* and, related to the DLT hap., *tuy-uz-*. All the bases of -*sXk-* verbs are simple, consist of one syllable and end in a consonant; this is the case also with practically all of the -(*X*)*z-* verbs. -*sXk-* is therefore likely to be a combination of -(*X*)*z-* with -(*X*)*k-*. This origin can also explain the functioning of the formation as enabling double government. The form *utzuxup* of Manichaean TT II B may therefore have retained the sibilant as it originally was, i.e. voiced. The fact that the sibilant is generally unvoiced is, of course, a problem for this etymology of the formative. The only other suffix which starts with /*z*/ is the third person imperative suffix, and in that the *z* is generally retained in Brāhmī sources. This is now -*s°* in the Turkic languages,⁴⁰⁴ and had become so already in Qarakhanid Turkic. /*s*/ and /*z*/ may, further, have been in complementary distribution in this position, /*s*/ replacing /*z*/ after /*r l n*/.⁴⁰⁵ Excluding the verbs attested only in Qarakhanid Turkic from this argumentation, we find that *alsık-*, *kunsuk-*, *arsık-*, *bılsık-*, *çalsık-* and *ursuk-* may have demanded /*s*/ after the base by this phonological rule. We are left with *utsuk-* and *tutsuk-*, which we expect to have originally shown [z].

-*sXk-* may have been created during the history of Old Turkic. The runic sources do not have it at all;⁴⁰⁶ there are two or three instances in Manichaean texts:

403 Clark's conjecture *yirtin[çü* is not justified by the context; *yirtin* is at the end of the line and could also be the ablative of *yer*, e.g. The word which interests us could be a converb or possibly a -*gU* form with omitted velar or simplified geminate; as listed by Clark (p. 162), the text has a number of errors. The context is too fragmentary for a choice to be made between these forms. The text is in Manichaean script, which means that *yintsik-* cannot be a misreading (as the BT VIII B 154 ex. mentioned here).

404 Except where it has been changed back to -*z°* again, e.g. intervocally.

405 The behaviour of the dentals and the velars in these surroundings has not been wholly clarified as yet.

406 Cf. *ar-ıl-* in Runic Turkic as against *ar-sık-* in Uigur.

One is the *ut-zux*- mentioned above and the other appears in a late (and syncretistic) Manichaean text, the Pothi Book. A third ex. in M III text 5 was hypothetically reconstituted. Some Buddhistic texts, e.g. the Maitr or the story collection of U III and IV, do not seem to have the formation either.

-sXk- is not syntagmatically compatible with any verbal formative: It is not added to any and is not expanded by any. In this, -sXk- also differs from e.g. -(X)l- or -(X)tXl-.

This incompatibility should in some way be connected with the fact that -sXk- verbs typically describe a very particular class of actions: With nearly all instances of -sXk- verbs, the subject becomes the victim of some point action (occasionally with respect to some possession of his). This action sometimes has an intentional origin, though the agent-source for it need not be mentioned. The configuration of participants being thus fully specified by the presence of -sXk-, no slots are open for determination by other diathesis morphemes. All subject-victims of finite -sXk- verbs are living beings; ultimate objects which get stolen, taken etc. are typically not. Such creatures as the death angel of M III text 5 (s.v. *arsik*-above) need not, of course, be excluded from the set of 'living beings', be it only because the sentence is meant metaphorically. All the above does not hold for -mAksXz derivatives from -sXk- verbs as *yintsikmäksiz yeg māṇi* (ETŞ 9). The subject is a living being neither in this last instance, nor in *utsukmaksiz ulug yanturdaçi* (U II 58,3₁) "unbesieglische, große, abwehrende [Formel]". *bilsikmiş ädgülük bursan kuvrag* (BT XIII 38,5) does not imply that the entity referred to by the kernel undergoes any evil; nor can it be called 'a living being' in the strict sense. *bil-sik*- may, however, be a bit untypical in any case: *bil-il*- being in use only for non-human entities, the domain left over for *bilsik*- may possibly be a little wider than for the other -sXk- verbs. These, at any rate, are the only exceptions to the above semantic description.⁴⁰⁷

-sXk- verbs do not, of course, have to be accompanied by any nominals referring to participants, or these participants can be retrieved from the context. The subject often appears with the verb, as in the TT VI sentence quoted under *tut-suk*-, or the Ht VII 1802 sentence quoted under *ut-suk*-. The ultimate object appears with accusative suffix, as in the DhāSū sentence quoted under *kun-suk*-, or in the stem form, as *yaṇa* in the Ht V sentence quoted there. It can also be retrievable from the context, as *bitiglār* and the sentence *kişikā mu alsıktı?* (q.v.

⁴⁰⁷ *nāṇ bilsikmiş k(i)şi yalṇuk bolguluk ürmüz* "Nicht soll er ein bekanntgewordener Mensch sein" (TT VIII E7) at first looks like another exception, in that the content of *bilsik*- in it does not seem to be negative. When one reads the context, however, one sees that it is not: The monk "möge keine Verehrung begehren", "möge Abgeschiedenheit erstreben", "möge sich durchaus nicht überall anstrengen", "nicht auf andere sich stützend möge er leben", "mit der Lehre möge man nicht Handel treiben" etc. In this context, 'to be known' has negative connotations.

under *al-sık-* above). Sentences with *-sXk-* verbs can, in addition, be accompanied by representatives of other functions; e.g. the instrumental *ok+ın* ‘with an arrow’ found a number of times with *ur-suk-* ‘to get hit’.

Particularly common with *-sXk-* verbs is the dative referring to the instigator of the action. The sentence with *alsık-* and dative was just quoted. *az nızvanıka arsıkıp...* (BT XIII 16,39), *körümkä arsıkıp...* (ETS 10,74), *sezikkä çalsıkmuş-lar* (ibid. 155) are other examples. Not all datives accompanying a *-sXk-* form have this function, of course: In *okın yüräkimkä*⁴⁰⁸ *ursukmuş tąg sıkılur män ämgä-kin* (Suv 621,9) there is a local dative. In two cases there is a possibly ablatival locative marking the source of the action: *azaglarnıñ nomınta arsıkmanlar* (BT XIII 15,24) and *yadta utsukup kü bol[du]* (Ht IV 1717), both quoted above with their editors’ translations. Or should we translate *yadta* as ‘in foreign / enemy country’?

All attested bases of *-sXk-* verbs are transitive. *-sXk-* does not, however, always form their passive in the sense that, whatever was the object of the base becomes the subject of the derivate. With the derivatives of *al-*, *kun-* and *ut-*, the object of the ‘taking’, the ‘stealing’ and the ‘winning’ remains an object with the derivatives as well: The new subject is the LOSER, who can only have had an oblique status in the sentence with the simple verb. Because of one sentence with *alsık-*, one with *kunsuk-* and one DLT ex. with *utsuk-*, ‘the agent to whose detriment something happens’ has to be introduced into the participant structure.

Verbs formed with *-sXk-* and with *-tXz-* are similar as to the structure of the group of participants. Both sets are basically passives which can govern the accusative of the action’s ultimate object. There appears to be the semantic difference that the subjects of *-sXk-* verbs are not blamed by the speaker for the misfortune which befalls them, while the subjects of *-tXz-* verbs are. This leaves these latter a sort of agential status; *-tXz-* verbs are dealt with in the next section.

7.42 The causative-passive formative *-tXz-*

al-tız- is in the *EDPT* s.v. *altuz-* quoted from an Orkhon Turkic ex. and from the DLT fol. 312. *alduz-* is the form the verb has in the DLT, there quoted as Oguz: *ol tavar alduzdı* ‘He was robbed₂ of some property’. This is how Kāšgārī’s *annahu qad ħuriba mālahu wa-suliba* should be translated. By writing “lit[erally] ‘he let his property be taken’”, Clauson allows his preconception about what *altuz-* ‘should have’ signified to influence his interpretation. Equally misleading is DankKelly’s “He [let his property be taken; it was] plundered or stolen”: The Arabic construction is discussed and documented e.g. in Recken-

408 This is Gabain’s version; Malov writes *yüräkiñä* with third person possessive suffix.

dorf, 1921: 90, par. 51.5. The runic ex. of KT E38 occurs in a fragmentary passage and could be understood either way. It cannot be read as 'altuz-' as done in the *EDPT*, in spite of the shape the verb has in the DLT: $\dot{L}\dot{T}Z\ D^I$ can, as stated in footn. 482 below, only be read as *altuz-* (or possibly *aldız-*). Attested also in MaitrH X2 b3: *Maytiri bodis(a)vt nızvanılıg barslarka poo altızmış kamag beş ajun tnl(i)glarıg sävā amrayu . . .* "die Wesen . . ., die sich von den Tigern der Leidenschaft die Seele rauben ließen . . .". The creatures of the five types of existence are clearly the sufferers of the soul-robbery but may not be free from blame. The tigers are metaphors for the *kleśas*. The Sängim ms. of the Maitr has *yäkläriḡ barslarıḡ* instead of *barslarka* of the Hami version, no doubt wrongly.⁴⁰⁹ As distinct from the DLT's Oguz *al-duz-*, therefore, Old Turkic *al-tuz-* may really have signified 'to get oneself robbed of something'; the sufferer must have been aware to what his attachment to *nızvanı*, i.e. vice, would lead, but can still be considered a victim. *al-sık-* means nearly the same, but shifts responsibility away from the sufferer.

ar-tuz- 'to get oneself deceived' has all of its exs. in the *UW* entry. All of them are Manichaean: Runic Turkic used *ar-tur-* (discussed below) instead, while Buddhist and Qarakhanid Turkic in its stead had *ar-sık-*; *arsık-* may also have appeared in one Manichaean text. *arsık-* (discussed in section 7.41 above) is not just a passive; cf. the following similarities: *nızvanıka ąrsıkıp* (BT XIII 16,39), *süçig savinā yımşak aḡsınā arturup* (KT S6 and BQ N5) and *ąrt(i)zmaḡlar az yäkkä* (M III 30,8-9₁, text 12) or *täḡriçi m(ä)n nomçı m(ä)n tegmäkä artızıp . . .* (Chuast 135-6).

bil-tiz- appears in TT VI 355 (not 335 as written in the *EDPT* entry *bildüz-*), as *biltizmädin tuyuzmadın tınlıḡlarka asıḡ tusu kılı yoriyur ärtılär* "... pflegten sie, ohne sich zu erkennen zu geben (Hend.), den Lebewesen Vorteile zu bringen". This wording actually appears only in four among eight mss. extant for the passage, including one published by Oda in 1983: Three others have *biltür-*, one *biltüz-* (with rounding not authentic in Uigur). Four among the mss. add *ad(i)naguka* before this, changing the meaning to either 'making the

409 In BT IX p. 103 this is translated literally as "so und noch viel mehr liebt . . . Maitreya die Leidenschafts-Dämonen und -Tiger und sämtliche, der Lebenskraft beraubte Lebewesen . . .", which makes no sense. The *UW* entry for *altuz-* contains solely this passage. It translates *ad sensum* as "... die . . . Lebewesen (Akk.), die sich von den Kleśa-Dämonen und -Tigern die Seele rauben ließen". We deal with metaphorical +IXg in section 2.91 H above. Looking through exs. quoted there, one finds nothing unusual about rapacious tigers being used as a metaphor for the *kleśas*. The demons do not fit into this metaphor, and show that the copyist of that ms. wrongly understood the text as \dot{S} . Tekin translates it. Nor is there ever anywhere in Old Turkic an agentive accusative. Röhrborn's translation would therefore have been correct for the Hami version but is too free as far as the text quoted in the *UW* is concerned.

matter / themselves known to others' or 'letting others know of the matter / of themselves'. *tuyuz-* is replaced by *uktur-* in at least three among the mss.; both *tuyuz-* 'to make someone aware of something' and *uktur-* (discussed among the *-tUr-* verbs) are real causatives with no passive component in their meaning. Taking *biltiz-* and either of these verbs to be parallel in function, one comes to the translation 'making (it) known₂ to nobody' (against the eds.' passive interpretation). This view gets support from DLT fol. 368 *bildüz-* "to inform someone of a matter" (said to be Oguz and not in use "by the Turks"). Still, 'to inform' is *bil-tür-* in Uigur (as also in Qarakhanid), and 'keeping something unknown' demands some care which 'not to inform' does not.

bul-duz- in DLT fol. 368 is a hap. in *bulduzdı nāñni* "He caused him to find the thing".

ut-uz- 'to give up, lose' is found in IrqB (runic) and TT VIII (Brāhmī), once each as quoted in the *EDPT*, and then in Middle Turkic. From this comes the hap. in] *turkaru utuzmaks(i)z ol* [in TT X 286 in fragmentary context. Both the IrqB and the TT VIII C exs. govern the nominals referring to what one loses (or does not lose) in the accusative. *ut-uz-* this has both the meaning and the function of *ut-suk-* in the DLT as described in section 7.41 above. The sentence *ol yarmakın utsuktı* refers to a loss at gambling or wagering just as the IrqB ex. of *ut-uz-* does. Note that *-sXk-* was taken to have *-(X)z-* as first element. *utuzmaksız* must have had about the same significance as *utsukmaksız* (U II 50, 51 and 58), corresponding to Skt. *aparājita*. The behaviour of *utuz-* would be quite aberrant among *-Xz-* verbs and can be explained by assuming that it comes from a simplification of **ut-tuz-*.

-tXz- is no doubt a combination of *-(X)t-* and *-(X)z-*. Its aorist vowel is /U/. All five bases are simple single syllable verbs. Some exs. for this formative in Middle and Modern Turkic are given by Tekin, 1969: 72. Both T. Tekin and Amanžolov and perhaps others consider *-tXz-* to be a variant of *-tUr-*. However, the two formatives have only one of their three phonemes in common, since /U/ and /X/ are distinct archphonemes; there is also a clear phonemic opposition between /t/ and /z/ in Old Turkic. Most important, the two formatives have quite different meanings. The shape *-dUz-* which Kāšgarī presents the formative in is apparently really connected with the fact that he knew it only from Oguz: The dialect he was referring to had apparently changed original /X/ to /U/ or, rather, had retained Proto-Turkic /U/ and not changed it to /X/ as we find it in Old Turkic. The DLT mentions three among the four verbs and says about two of them that they are Oguz. This may in fact have been meant for all three, as the lemma with *bildüz-*, in which the statement about Oguz does occur, directly follows upon that for *bulduz-*. Note that the DLT spells the dental as *dāl* and not as *dhāl* in all instances.

-tXz- verbs are quite rare, but we still have Orkhon and ms. runic, Manichaean, Buddhist and DLT evidence for them. Leaving the last-mentioned evidence aside (all DLT exs. are after all grammarian's inventions and not verse quotations and the like) we are left with 9 exs. for the whole formation, only six of them in intelligible context. Two among these six show ms. variation and one gets the impression that the functioning of the formation may not really have been known to the scribes. It seems noteworthy that the Hami ms. of the Maitr, sometimes considered to show a later language than the Sängim ms., is better as far as the sentence with *altüz-* is concerned.

The bases of all -tXz- verbs (as the bases of the -sXk- verbs) are tr. *al-* and *ut-* are, however, trivalent where *ar-*, *bil-* and *bul-* are bivalent. From this it follows that *altüz-* and *utuz-* (like *alsık-* and *kunsuk-*) remain tr. even when they are passive. Old Turkic -tXz- verbs can govern the causee-agent in the dative case: *barslarka buu altızmuş . . . tnl(i)glar* (Maitr) like *ar(i)zmanlar az yäkkä* (M III text 12) like *adinaguka biltizmädin* (TT VI). The DLT has the same dative in *ol maña iş bildüzdi*. Kāšgarī simplifies the function of this formative (which he says he did not use) by making *bildüz-* and *bulduz-* into plain causatives on the one hand, and by freeing the agent of *alduz-* from all responsibility on the other. Exs. of *altüz-* with accusative have already been quoted; *ut(t)uz-* is attested with accusative in IrqB XXIX and TT VIII C5.

Four of the -tXz- verbs have counterparts in -sXk-; considering *yint-* not to be semantically too far from *bul-*, we might say that there are -sXk- counterparts for all of them.

Most -tXz- verbs also have counterparts in -tUr- where, however, *ar-tur-* is a dialect alternant of *ar-tüz-*. -tXz- verbs are, by grammatical meaning, between the -sXk- formation and the causatives.

-tXz- verbs are not expanded by any formatives.

7.5 Causative verbs

There are in Old Turkic a number of formatives able to denote the causation of events or actions whose subjects differ from the instigators. Four of them *-(X)t-*, *-(U)r-*, *-gUr-* and *-(X)z-* are simple; others were compounded prehistorically; *-tUr-*, e.g., no doubt from *-(X)t-* and *-Ur-*. Several formatives ending in /r/ arose from the addition of *-(U)r-* to bases ending in vowels, which were then elided from the bases but retained in the causative stems. The behaviour of the various causative formatives has to be observed separately before a functional grouping can be suggested for them.

Causative formatives can, in principle, be added both to intr. and to tr. bases.

Causative verbs derived from tr. bases can allot three participant tasks: the INSTIGATOR, the SUBJECT and the (ultimate) OBJECT. In some formations and with some derivatives, the instigator and the (ultimate) object can be identical. We then get a sort of triggered passive, whose functions have to get delimited as against the passive in the strict sense. This last domain will be dealt with last, and we start with the ^o*r*- formations.

Together with a number of causative formatives, particularly *-Ur-* and *-(X)t-*, we have listings of petrified converbs. With this term I mean adverbs derived from (in this case causative) verbs with semantic developments of their own and usually no causative meaning.

7.51 *-(U)r-*: LEXICAL MATERIAL

aç-ur- 'to starve (tr.)' is in the *UW* quoted from one Uyğur ex., in the *EDPT* form the DLT. An instance in QB 6365 is merely a conjecture in a passage which appears only in the (late) ms. A. See the *EDPT* for Orkhon Turkic, Qarakhanid and later evidence for *aç-* 'to be hungry' (which has a long vowel), the *UW* entry *aç-* (I) for Uigur instances. Exs. for this *aç-* to be added to the *UW* entry occur in TuoLuoNi 143 and ShōAgon 1,63.

(*adır-* 'to separate' could possibly have belonged into this section and not into section 6.3, where it is discussed at present. It has many cognates but no attested base.)

art-ur- 'to add on, make more' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the DLT, the QB, Middle Turkic etc., in the *UW* entry from one dubious Suv instance. A clear ex. occurs in *ädräm işin arturup azk(i)ya* "Vermehrt die Tugend-Dinge, (wenn auch nur) ein bißchen" (BT XIII 60,24). Cf. the petrified converb *arturu* below. An instance of *arturur* not mentioned in the *EDPT* appears in QB 1506.

aş-ur- is, in the *EDPT* quoted only from the XIVth century on; but the *EDPT* also has the DLT's *aşr-ul-* 'to be carried over something' (in the DLT's ex. 'a pass'). Possibly attested in *bäg yutuzug aşurup adırsar* (Maitr 51+116+174 r4, also quoted in *UW* 53 b s.v. *adır*-⁴¹⁰) 'if a husband has his wife by abduction and by separating her (from her family) . . .'. For the meaning, cf. *aşır-* 'to snatch away' in Ottoman. See the petrified converb *aşru* below.

bas-ur- 'to press something onto something else, to weigh down', documented in the *EDPT*. Cf. *basur-ok* in section 3.102.

410 The translation there, "wenn der Mann die Gattin erhebt(?) und verstößt . . .", is unacceptable: Under no circumstances can *aşur-* signify "erhebt", and I don't think this makes sense even within Röhrborn's own translation. This being the only instance in *adır-* par. 5, this par. should probably be deleted. The *UW* does not have any entry *aşur-*, which can be taken to mean that the author has already rejected his interpretation.

bat-ur- 'to cause to sink or go down into something'. Exs. in the *EDPT*; additional ones in Höllen 36, BT XIII 29,12 and Ernte 38: *urugin yerkā bačurup* "das Saatgut versenken sie in die Erde". *ärdäm batur-* is 'to conceal one's virtues', i.e. 'to behave humbly': We find *ärdämin baturup* in TT VI 352,⁴¹¹ and *(ä)rd(ä)m(i)g b(a)turm(i)š* in YE 29,3. The biverb *yašur- batur-* is attested in Maitr 70 v31, 176 r16 and 202 r20 and BT XIII 13,125; see *yaš-ur-* below for further exs. The Maitr 220 r20 ex. is about 'concealing one's sins': *bat-* is always concrete, *batur-* often not.

biš-ur- 'to cook (tr.), to cook up; to bring to maturity, physically or spiritually'. Exs. in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. Also: *aš bišuru'ñlar* (ShōAgon 1,275); *ola bišurmuş munı tąg ugramuş aşımın aš[anlar* (BT XIII 3,43-4) 'Eat my meal which (I) cooked to tenderness and especially prepared in this manner'; *bišur-daçı aš otı* "das verdauende Speise-Feuer (i.e. das Körperfeuer, das die Speisen verdaut)" (Suv 588,11, quoted and translated in *UW* 239 b). The same fire is in TT VIII M22 called *aš büš(ü)rdäci ot* (cf. translation in *UW* 238 a). Spelled as *büşär-* which, in an Indian script, means that the diacritic for U was forgotten. Ms. Mz 648 ([T II] S19) + IM 8 II, 2nd story, a v2 is in SktUigBil given as *kalva birlä bišurmuş* "mit Gemüse gekocht (od. viell. "vergoren"?". *altun bišurdaçı sımık ot* (BuddhUig I 382) is apparently 'mercuric acid which oxidizes gold'.⁴¹² Metaphorically then *ol säniñ ädgülük yultızın bišurup burxan kutın buldurgay* (BuddhUig II 165) and *ädgülük yultızın бүтүркәлir bišurkalır üçün* (*ibid.* 551). With the meaning 'to exercise' which it has in Töpfer 19 and 26, *biš-ur-* reaches the base of the meaning of *bišr-un-*: *baxşı(sın)da boşgunmuş bilig ädgüti bišur-*; this *also* connects with the following instance: *äšitmiş sözini bišurdı uzun* "he reflected for a long time on the words that he had heard" (QB 4883). *tözün yolug bišurup* . . . of MaitrH XVI 13 a20 corresponds to *bišurunup* in Maitr 162 r9 (the parallel ms.).

bok-ur- 'to restrict, reduce' is attested with *qäf* in DLT fol. 310. The ex. is *ol at tägirindä bokurdı* "He lowered the price of the horse (or other, as a favor, or for another reason). The same for anything that you lower from its place". In the *DTS* s.v. '*boyur-*' we find two Uigur exs. which must be assigned to the same verb: *korkmak ürkmäk köñüllärin bokururlar* (Suv 291,5) 'They reduce their feelings of fear₂' and *anataraş ayıg kılınçig burxanların yarlıgı yavalturur*

411 Instead of this phrase of the London scroll, the fr. of the text published as USp 90 writes *ärdäm-läriğ bačurup*. This is mistakenly mentioned as '*bedürüp*' in *DTS*; the entry '*bedür-(?)*' there should be cancelled. Instead of *ärdämin*, other mss. of this text quoted by Oda in various publications have *ärdämlärin*, *ädrämlärin*, *är]dämlärin* or *ä]drämlärin*.

412 Not "Gold erzeugendes Quecksilber" of the ed., which leaves *ot* untranslated and attributes unexplained powers to mercury. The expression is a simile for the showing up of mendacious thoughts.

bokurur (Suv 507,9) ‘It is the Buddhas’ precepts which subdue and reduce the *ānantarya* sins’.] *bokurup s* [(UigPañc 5) should also be this verb. Further exs.: *az / övkä nızvanı bokurup turgurmazlar* (BuddhUig I 335 and 337); *igıd sakınç-nıñ yıldıızı yokın bilmiş üçün BİLİGSİZ BİLİGig bokururlar* (*ibid.* 339) and *üç agu köñülüg bokurgalı tıdgalı arıtgalı katıglarıñlar* (UigFalt 96). *UW* 194 a s.v. *arıt-* par. 6 translates this verb as “erdrücken” and transcribes it as *bogur-*. This transcription is against DLT evidence, and misleading if the verb is thus considered to be a derivate of *bog-* ‘to choke, to strangle’: *bog-* is always tr., as documented in the *EDPT* and as found in modern languages; cf. also *bog-ok* and *bog-um* above. There is, on the other hand, an intransitive verb *bok-*, whose semantics correspond to those of *bok-ur-*. It is quoted in two biverbs with *amrıl-* in the *DTS* s.v. ‘*boy-* II’, one from Suv and the other from the post-Uigur Buyan Ävirmäk. In his review of the *UW*, Zieme showed that another instance of the biverb *bok- amrıl-* (which he spelled ‘*bog-*’ *amrıl-*) should be read in ETŞ 25,4. We also have *üç türlüg adalar bokup amrılıp . . .* in ShōAv 270 (still spelled as ‘*bogup amrılıp*’ by Laut and Röhrborn in 1988), *yagı yavlak bokup amrılıp* in BT XIII 46,27 and] *bokup kılınç arızun ibid.* 13,28. The transcription is ‘*bog-*’, and Zieme’s translation and explanations make clear that he takes this to be the verb “erwürgen”. I find confusion between the two verbs impossible both syntactically and semantically.

(*boşgur-* ‘to instruct’. Base not attested but see *boşgun-* (section 7.21), where other cognates are listed. *EDPT* and *DTS*; attested also in ETŞ 13,123, Ht V 10 a 9 (quoted and reinterpreted in *UW* 230 a s.v. *asığlıg* A,2) and X 681, UigSukh 19, BT XIII 46,39, Maitr 136 v 12 and *bo nom ärdinig tutar boşgurur okıyur sözläyür* (Warnke 767).)

bök-ür- ‘to satiate’. Hap. in Suv 558,16-18, quoted in the n. to BT XIII 15,38: *yesär ymä yänä artokrak aş içgü, tatıgın çivgin*⁴¹³ *bökürü bolmazlar* ‘Even if they eat a lot and drink a lot, they are unable to get satiated with wholesome food₂.’ Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Instead of it, DLT fol. 420 has *bök-üt-*, which also takes the instrumental of what one is satiated with: One ex. sentence is *ol mäni tavarın bökütti*, translated “He satiated me with money”. Cf. also [b] *ógóvrvr* “zum Erbrechen ekeln” in the Codex Comanicus. *bök-* appears frequently in the Yenisei inscs., of which some are quoted in the *DTS* entry.⁴¹⁴

413 Written as *çivägin* in one of the two mss. in which the sentence is attested. I take this to be the instrumental of an otherwise unknown noun *çivig*; it would be related to (but not identical with) the adjective *çivgin aş* “food that is wholesome and fattening” in DLT fol. 222 (also in the entry for *kävgin aş*). The second vowel of *tatıg* belongs to the base and is not syncopated; the second vowel of *çivig* is.

414 The QB instance mentioned there appears in the late A ms. of couplet 1772; it should be *bäk+ü-* p, q.v. among the +*U-* verbs above. As Tezcan has shown on p. 37 of his review of the Indexs,

DLT fol. 273 defines (and documents) *bök-* as “to be filled to nausea, to be fed up and have had one’s fill, to skulk”. In both sources, *bök-* is intr.; it governs the ablative of food but the dative of everything else including *tavar*, *ädgü*, *ogul*, *tänridäki kün* and *yerdäki elim*. There is an Uigur ex. in Scharl 24: *biligsiz [bilig]lig karanı tüntä böküp yaşıp* ... ‘in the dark night of ignorance (I) skulk and hide’ (a metaphor).⁴¹⁵

buş-ur- ‘to vex, make nervous’. *EDPT* and *DTS* have this from *Suv*, *DLT* and *QB* 794. Add *ig ämgäk artok buşurur ämgätür* (BT XIII 8,24). In *Suv* 367,38, the text should read *üzüksüz ägirä sıkıp buşurur* ‘(they) uninterruptedly encircle and constrict and vex (them)’, not ‘*busuyur*’. *sık-* *buşur-* is the causative of *sıkıl-buş-* as documented in exs. from *Warnke* 491 and *Heilk* I 1-5. While the 22 *QB* exs. and the *DLT* use *buş-* in the sense of ‘to be annoyed, irritated’, the Uigur exs. of *buş-* mainly denote shortness of breath; this concrete meaning should be the original one. Not mentioned in the dictionaries is *tın alu umatın buşsar* (*Heilk* II 5,16). In *TT VIII* I 6, *uzatı kurımak isirkänmək buşmaklıg bolur* does not signify “Erregtheit” but ‘shortness of breath, asthma’. Cf. *tın buşgak* ‘asthma(tic)’ in section 3.327. The *DTS* has an ex. of the biverb *buş- buşrul-* with the meaning ‘to be annoyed’. Otherwise, ‘to be annoyed’ is not *buş-* but *buşur-ul-* (discussed among the *-(X)l-* verbs). With *sıkıl-*, the concrete sense is, after all, also the original one.

büt-ür- ‘to complete, carry out, accomplish’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially s.v. *bütürmək*. Further exs. appear in *ETŞ* 9,22, 13,64, 104, 130 (with *bütKär-*), 160 and 16,64 and 80, *AbitAnk* 77, *TuoLuoNi* 20, 50, 51, 169 and 172, *Suv* 218,3 and 10, 602,12, 17 and 20 and 694,1, *BuddhUig* II 46, 286 and 550 (*ät’özintäki başların bütür-* ‘to heal the wounds on his body’), *UigFalt* 75-6, *BT VII* B47 and O9, *BT VIII* A57, 289, 466 and *Anh.* 2-3,27, *UigTot* 167, 208, 251, 896 and 1340, *Weih* 10, *InscrOuig* II 16, *HtPar* 131,1 and V6 b15, *Maitr* 52 v3, 83 r19, 119 v4 and 223 v2 and elsewhere. *Brähmī* exs. occur in ms. *Mz* 648 ([*T II*] S19) ~ *IM* 8 II, 2nd text, v 1 (*SktUigBil*) and *ĀtSū* 1 v3 and 5. See the petrified converb *bütürü*. The imperative *Bütür* is used as proper name in *BT*

bök- does appear in *QB* 1286, and lives on to this day in Tuvan. Tezcan also rightly rejects the *EDPT* suggestion to read the Yenisei verbs as ‘*äv+ük-*’: The vowel of *+(X)k-* would at this period here have been /i/ even after a labial consonant, the meaning doesn’t fit and such a verb has not turned up anywhere else.

415 The tr. verb of *BT XIII* 15,38, which *Zieme* would like to read as *bök-*, is probably *bög-*. Understanding *är* in a collective sense: *çıgşın ügrü buşlık / çıgay ärig bögünlär* ‘Alms of noodle broth: Assemble poor people (sc. for it)’. *bög-* is used with human objects e.g. in the *DLT*, *bäg süşin bögdi*. In view of the use and meaning of *bökür-* and in view of the *Scharl* instance, *bök-* would definitely be intr. in Uigur. Note also that *Kāşgarī* defines *bök-* with a rather negative content; the Yenisei instances, being negated, do not disprove this last point.

XIII 12,75, as *Bütür T(ä)ñrim* in an unpubl. text quoted in BT XIII p. 70 and, misinterpreted by the ed., in Acte 17. The latter should be understood as *körüp*⁴¹⁶ *olorguçi inim Bütür*. Cf. *büt-Kär*- below.

(*çaşur*- ‘to delate’ is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, sometimes together with *bulga*- or *yoña*-. An additional ex. in BuddhKat 12, in Tibetan script, shows that the second vowel was a /u/. *çaşut* ‘calumny’ (section 3.108 above) probably comes from *çaşur*-, but *çaşı* (section 3.118) from the unattested base.)

çom-ur- and/or *çöm-ür*- is/are documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. A further ex. occurs in Höllen 103. The harmony is not explicit in any of the Old Turkic forms; the DLT distinguishes between *çom*- ‘to dive, sink in the water’ and *çöm*- ‘to dive or sink deeply’ both in base and derivatives.

ärt-ür- ‘to let something pass or cause to pass, to pass off, etc.’. *EDPT* and *DTS*.⁴¹⁷ Add *ämgäklig tüntin ärtürdäçi* (ETŞ 10,27), *y(a)rok b(ä)lgüsin ärtürmädin* (ms. T III MQ 62 = U 5088 l.4 quoted in the n. to ManTüTex 438), *tükäl sözlöp ärtürgäli bolmaz* “kann man . . . vollkommen überhaupt nicht sagen“ (TuoLuoNi 165). *yul ärtür*-. (Ht VII 7 b26 and TuoLuoNi 122 + 125) is ‘to let a year pass’. The Maitr has this verb in 41 r10, 202 v7 (days and nights), 7 r21 (days of *dhyāna*) and 103 v7 (*yoksuz üd*). In Maitr 65 r11 and 227 r11, the object ‘time’ appears to be understood. Further exs. in ETŞ 12,49 and 13,29, BT III 593 and 600 (wrongly analysed as ‘*är-tür*’) and in the ms. T III TV 68.505 v in the n. to BT III 57.

eşt-ür- ‘to let somebody hear something, to tell or inform’. Comes from **äsid-ür*-, but the variant with initial /e/ is thrice as common as the one with /ä/: The vowel appears to have been fronted by ‘Umlaut’ from the (syncopated) /i/. By the *EDPT* (s.v. ‘*ëşidtür*’) and the *DTS* quoted only from DLT and QB. *äsid-tür*-(q.v. in section 7.57) is a different verb. *eştür*- occurs in M III 10,7₃ (text 5), Maitr 19 r19, 81 r26, 82 v31, 83 r8 and 137 r17, Brāhmī ms. Mz 648 ([T II] S19) ~ IM 8 II, 3rd story b v5 in SktUigBil, Ht V 11 b9-10 and 13 b2 and HamTouen 5,68 and 6,2; cf. *eştr-üş*- in TT I A56. *äştür*- occurs in DreiPrinz 74, HamTouen 5,28, BuddhUig II 193,⁴¹⁸ and QB 5022. The three (Manichaean) HamTouen exs. all have *ögrünçü* as object; BT V 11,204, which contains practically the same text, should also be understood as *ögrünçü äştrügli*. The DLT has both /e/ and /ä/ in one instance, while another instance has only a second hand /e/. The M

416 Not ‘*küyüp*’, which would have been *kö-p* or *küd-üp* if the ed. intended them to be from *kö*- or from *küd*-.

417 The verb quoted in the *DTS* from KT E40 is, however, written with I in the first syllable and belongs to *er-tür*-. There are two exs. of *ärt-ür*-(spelled thus) in the runic inscriptions.

418 *kulgakların toyu tuşup äşidürmä*-(thus), about preventing people from hearing by stopping their ears. This is by no means the same thing as ‘(not) telling’, and the instance may contain a different verb. Whether it is a simplification of *äsid-tür*- is an open question.

III ex. is a biverb with *tuy-uz-*. *äsid-* is common in Orkhon Turkic, *eşid-* in Uigur.

iç-ür- 'to give someone something to drink'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Additional exs. in BT II 468, BT XIII 13,72, TuoLuoNi 104 and 128, Ernte 69, Ht IV 793, ZiemeSklav III 30 and frequently in the QB.

kaç-ur- 'to put to flight, drive away'. By *EDPT* and *DTS* quoted only from DLT and QB 3912. Found also in ETŞ 10,235.⁴¹⁹

(*kavir-* 'to collect, bring together' is frequently attested in Uigur in its petrified converb form *kavıra*.⁴²⁰ Finite forms are *kavırsar* in UigTot 531 and what the DLT has. *kaviş-* 'to come together, be united' being an intr. cognate, the common base should have been intr. **kavı-*. The meaning of *kaviş-* is also the reason why *kavir-* does not belong to the group of problematical verbs discussed in section 6.3. *kavıt* (section 3.108) comes from *kavir-*. See *kaviş-* in section 7.1.)

kavş-ur- 'to bring together', often used when describing a religious gesture of the hands. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in Tug 44, six times in BuddhUig II (e.g. in 85), TuoLuoNi 11, CYK 51, BT VII A 596, 663, 671 and 717, BT VIII B 38, Ht IV 688-9 and 1568, V 2 b 10-11 and X 224, 608 and 737, SuvZieme 692,17, BuddhUig I 106-7 etc. There are 24 exs. in Maitr, 6 among them in the unsynopated variant *kavişur-*. Maitr 187 r 17 should, no doubt, also be completed as *kavişu[rup]*. Particularly late texts have the variant *kabşur-*, e.g. UigTot 1057 and Abhi 1919 (*adıra kabşuru* as antonyms). Cf. the late and rare *kaviş-tur-*.

käç-ür- 'to cause to pass, to help or make cross over'. *DTS* and *EDPT*. Add *käçürür* from BT I D (229) and ETŞ 11,62. BT XIII 13,99 and AbitAnk 18 exs. have time as object, whereas one in Maitr 159 v 29 refers to transfer over the sea of *saṃsāra*.

käd-ür- signifies 'to dress someone (dative) in a garment (accus.)' in Maitr 21 r 2 and 120 v 2 (not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*) and in the DLT. The second verb in *oglumka ton etip kätüräyin* (Maitr 120 r 27) has to be a derivate of *käd-*. It is either one of the rare cases of the confusion of dentals which occurs in this text or a simplification of otherwise unattested **käd-tür-*. Used also in M III 16,3, 6, 9 and 11 (text 8), where each time a different *bilig* (accus.) is 'conferred upon' a different god (*üzä* phrases). The context of these is strongly reminiscent of the four Manichaean passages containing the verb *käd-il-* (q.v.).

419 The verb read as *kaçurtunuz* in M III 48,1₂ is better taken to be *käçürtünüz* with the ed. of TT III 51 (a reedition of the same text). In the Manichaean writing system, back and front vowel /k/ differ only in a pair of dots; *käçür-* fits the context better.

420 Cf. also *kavırasınça* in UigTot 2, 23, 25 etc., BT VIII A 110 and elsewhere.

käl-ür- ‘to bring’. In ŞUE3 we read $K^2L^2R^2T^2M$ and *ibid.* $S\ 3\ K^2L^2I\ R^2T^2M$. There is no doubt concerning the meaning of these words, and rounded vowels following unrounded ones are always written out in this rather long inscr. The same holds of $K^2L^2R^2T^2I$ in YE 28,1, *on ay eltdi ögüm . . . kälirti* ‘Ten (lunar) months my mother carried me and (then) brough me forth’. This causative should be connected with the fact that *käl-* has an *i* in its converb and aorist: As shown in Erdal, 1979 a: 112-114, the original base may have been **käli-*. The normal *kälür-* may be secondary. For it, see the *EDPT* and the *DTS*; further exs. e.g. in ETŞ 11,3, Ht VII 2 a 4 and 13 a 20, InscrOug II 5 and IV 42, BT VIII Anh. 2-3,18, ManTüTex 9,143, Hochzeit 19, Ernte 69, ZiemeSkav I 13, ShōAv 322,⁴²¹ ManMon 63, BT XIII 10,11, HamTouen 5,21, 21,8, 27,9, 29,20, 35,5 and 7 and Maitr 192 v 4 and 157 v 13. Cf. *käl-tür-*.

keç-ür- ‘to delay something’ is in the *EDPT* quoted from several USp instances and from the DLT. Also found in U III 29,11 (*keçürmädin idguluk ol*) and BuddhUig II 214 (*keçürmädin tärk tavrak bergäy mü sän?*), with a form signifying ‘without delay’. Cf. for this also *keçmädin* (most recent ex. in AmitIst 34). *keç-* is homophonous with *keç* ‘late’.

keñü-r- ‘to enlarge; to spread open, i.e. explain’. *EDPT*, also from DLT and QB. The Uigur exs. quoted there are all from the converb *keñürü*, q.v. among the petrified converbs below. Attested also in UigTot 1293 as *keñürsär* and in ÄgFrag (1) B 26 as *ädgüti keñürüp yađıp nom padakññ yörugin* “wer trefflich ausbreitet₂ die Deutung der Lehr-Verse”. *keñürü yorı-* in Ht V 1 b 5 (*kamag on bölök şastr yaratdı; amtı barça keñürü yorıyur*) does not contain the petrified converb *keñürü*; *yorı-* is here the durative auxiliary. In *t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi burxan . . . utlısın tüşin keñirü* (thus?!) *y(a)rılıkadı* (Maitr 25 r 4) *yarlıka-* is the honorific auxiliary. In Ht VII 1 a 10, [*nom*] *keñürmiş bavan* is the name of a monastery to be built. Cf. *keñ+ü-* (section 5.41) and *keñür-ül-* above, *keñür-t-* below.

kıs-ur- ‘to shorten, abbreviate’. In the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and the QB. Attested also in Warnke 302: *Şakimuni burxan yänä uzun yaşın körkitü y(a)r-lıkamadın yaşaguluk yaşın kısırup kışga kılıp . . .* “das zu lebende Leben verkürzt (Hend.)”. The base of this can hardly be *kıs-* ‘to pinch, squeeze, compress, reduce’, which gave *kısıg* ‘confinement’, *kısıl* ‘gorge’, *kışgaç* ‘pincers’ and *kısıl-* ‘to be or get squeezed’; there might have been another **kıs-* ‘to be short’, which also could have served as base to *kışga* ‘short’.

(*kikşür-* ‘to incite to mutual enmity’ must have had *-(X)ş-* before the causative formative. The KP ex. quoted in the *EDPT* is quite dubious, as the facs. shows. The verb in KT E 6 is written in Thomsen’s edition with *ñ* as second consonant,

421 The object is not “Speisen”, as appears in the translation of the Laut and Röhrborn reedition, but the invited guests.

but it appears from the Finnish Atlas and from other sources that this letter was uncertain; runic K² and η are rather similar. Cf. n. 196 in vol. 2 for a further possibility. The Chuast instance is the best evidence for this verb. The development to *kikşür-* in the DLT is regular: Cf. the passage of *yapşur-* to *yapçur-* there. *kikşür-* is probably related to *kiKinç* 'answer' (q.v. in section 3.104); both may be metaphorical derivatives from the DLT's *kik-* 'to whet' (with -(X)s-expansion in the present verb).

kop-ur- 'to raise' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and the QB. Attested also in SP 40 (with the name of the *sūtra* as object lost in a lacuna) and, as *kopurzun*, in ms. U 305 v 10 quoted in Zieme, 1969: 204. The instances of QB 1390, 3369, 4271 and 6245 are not mentioned in the *EDPT* either.

köç-ür- 'to cause to migrate' is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the IrqB and then from the DLT on. It is attested also in *elig uluşug köçürüp* . . . (Ht V 6 a 8).

köl-ür-, literally 'to cause to harness', signifies 'to ride a vehicle' in the Uigur exs. in which we have it. The facs. is best visible in BT VII A 693: *yavız körümläriğ arıtp ketärip üzäliksiz kölüñükä kölürüp . . . barmakımız bolzun* " . . . auf die höchste *Yāna* steigen . . . ". Then BT XIII 27,24: *kölökünüzni kükrätü çıkraçu kölürüp kök t(ä)ñrikä agtınñ, t(ä)ñrim!* 'Ride your . . . vehicle and rise into the sky, my god!'. Similar to these is ms. T III TV 59 (U 4313) 1-8 quoted in the n. to Hochzeit 13: *ulug kölökkä kölündäçilärñ arasına twg-* 'to be born among those who ride the Great Vehicle'. Cf., on the other hand, the ShōAgon ex. quoted under *köl-ün-* above, which gives this verb as synonym of *mün-* 'to mount'. Whether any instance read as *kölün-* is in fact *kölür-* or *vice versa* is still, I think, open. 'having an animal harnessed to a cart' and 'riding a cart' being contiguous events, the meaning of *kölür-* can be explained by metonymy.

köñ-ür- 'to burn (tr.)' appears in the *EDPT* under '*küñür-*', in the *DTS* under *köjür-* and *könür-*. An ex. from M III 23,4₂ (text 8), not mentioned by either dictionary, is read as *küy'ürgäi* by Le Coq but as *kön'ür-* in ManErz II 4; shouldn't this be *köynür-* or *könyür-*? /ñ/ became /y/ in some Turkic dialects and /n/ in others, and lived on as /yn/ e.g. in Oguz. The biverb *ört+ä-köy-ür-*, quoted in the *DTS* from Suv and U III, is attested also in Maitr 172 r 18, 172 v 2 = 225 r 12 and 201 v 12, respectively accompanied by *burnaç osuglug*, *kovuk sögüt osuglug* and *kurug kamyşça*, and in ShōAgon 1,39. Further exs. of *köyür-* appear in Suv 544,17-18 (quoted in Schulz, 1978: 72) and 591,17 (quoted in UW 237 a as '*küyür-*'), HtPek 30 b 10,⁴²² BuddhUig II 126, 357, 364 and 392⁴²³ and

422 *anın ara Bimbasarı elig xan ordusunda ok ot köyürdilər* 'In the meantime, they set up a fire in king Bimbasāra's palace'. Schulz, 1978: 72, who quotes this, mistakenly reads '*köyün-*'; such a verb does not appear to be found in Old Turkic, however, and would, to accord with Schulz's translation, have to have a plural subject.

423 Should probably be *olarnñ saçmıx xwalarn köyürmiş tüsüglärin . . . bālgürtdi* instead of s'cmys

Genzan D v7: *oglanların özgurgalı kutgargalı kim ol örtänü turur ootka köyür-mägäli* is interesting because it has the agentive dative. In his 1988 reedition, Röhrborn (who transcribes 'küyür-' again) translates: "seine Söhne ... zu retten₂, um sie nicht in diesem lodernden Feuer verbrennen zu lassen". The exs. in Maitr 62 v3 and 83 v15 appear in fragmentary context.

(*kötür-* 'to raise, lift up, bear (also metaphorically), carry away' is excellently attested in all forms of Old Turkic from the Orkhon inscs. on. Only some of the exs. are listed in the *DTS* (q.v. especially under *kötürmāk*) and the *EDPT*, but we will not, in this case, mention much additional ones: The base of *kötür-* not being found in Old Turkic, the derivate does not have much value for our purposes. *kötgi*, *kötü* and *kötüt-* (all dealt with in the present work) come from the same base, however, and this base lives on in Yakut and in the Azeri speech area.⁴²⁴ The second vowel of *kötür-* is rounded already in Orkhon Turkic; *kötir-gülük ayıg kılınç* in U III 89,17 (visible on the facs.) is probably just an error. GO-DUR-RUR, an instance in Tib. script, is found in BuddhKat 42.⁴²⁵ In *arak-şazlarını kötürüp avış tamuka baturgıl* (BT XIII 29,12), the verb probably means 'to take away, remove, carry off' and not "erheben" as translated: Cf. the Middle Turkic and Ottoman uses quoted in the *EDPT* entry and Uigur phrases like *kötürü elt-* and *kötürü al-*. Cf. also *kötür-mä* and *kötr-üm* and *kötr-ül-*.)

öç-ür- 'to extinguish a fire; suppress passions etc.'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Appears also in M III 29,11-12₃ (text 12; *suk otın öçürür* 'He suppresses his fire of greed'), ETŞ 10,173 and 13,129, BuddhStab III 3, Ht V4 a12, Warnke 579, BT VII A276 (with *amırtgur-*), ShōKenkyū II 12, BT XIII 12,41, 28,5 and 51,3, in two Suv exs. quoted in the introduction to BT XIII 13, in Maitr 128 r15, 148 r28 and 219 r7 and elsewhere.

öl-ür- 'to kill'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Attested also in M I 7,1 (TeilBuch), about 70 times in Maitr, BT VIII A 101 and 415, UigTot 105, ms. T III 86-64 (U1000) v10 quoted in the introduction to Rāma, UigPañc 8, 57, 64 and 92, 'YO-LUD 'YU-LYUR-MA-SA in Tib. script for *ölüt ölürmäsä(r)* in BuddhKat 11 and *özlüg ölür-* in LautHöllen 9-10, 12, 33 and 36.

(*öñ-ür-* is a problematical hap. of TT I quoted in the *EDPT*. It has been connected with *ün-* 'to dig a hole in something, hollow it out' (DLT, Codex Comanicus

kwywnmys qw 'l'ryn twytswk l'ryn: N and R can look similar; the word in question is written above the line and should (by meaning) be inserted there.

424 Yak. *köt-* 'to fly (up), to skip or jump'; *göt-* 'to lift up' as quoted in the Radloff dictionary from the Azeri area and in the *Derleme Sözlüğü* from Samsun and Kars (north east Anatolia). Cf. Yak. *götöx-* 'to lift' and *götük-* 'to bring' (Ankara area, *Derleme Sözlüğü* again).

425 The passage is discussed along with *iyinç* in section 3.104 above. Similar to *basın(ç) i(yi)n(ç) kötür-*, as should be read there, we find in M III 37,14: *üküş t[ür]lüg [iy]inç basınç k[öt]ür-*.

etc.); the context perhaps goes better with *öñ-* 'to approach stealthily and with evil motives', which appears in QB 4265: See Tezcan's review of the QB Indeks. Cf. also n. 450 in vol. 1.)

öt-ür- 'to pierce something' is, by the *EDPT* ('2 *ötür-*') and the *DTS* quoted only from the *DLT*. We have it also in ms. fr. T II S32 a ~ 58 v 12 (the story about the piercer of pearls known also from Sogdian, quoted in the n. to UigPañc 18) as *ārdini ötürgüçi ār. öt-* 'to go through' is, in addition to the exs. given by *EDPT* and *DTS*, found also e.g. in BT I D (284). The meanings of 'to make something go through' and 'to pierce' are contiguous. *öt(ü)rü*, a petrified converb, is discussed in section 7.512. *öt-gür-*, a cognate from a different causative formation, practically always has a rather metaphorical significance.

saş-ur- 'to mix up a succession, turn or order' appears in two Uigur exs. quoted by the *EDPT* s.v. '*seşür-*': *saş-* was unknown to Clauson. As the variations *saş-maksız* ~ *şaşmaksız* (section 3.329) and *saşımsız* ~ *şaşımsız* (section 3.106; all four supported by alliteration) show, the first sibilant was sporadically assimilated to the second: Initial /s/ and /ş/ do not alliterate when no other sibilant is around to influence them. Cf. also *şaşut* (quoted in the *DTS* from the QB) and *şaşutsuz* (section 3.108). *kāzıglārin şaşurmadın* (UigTot 152) is very similar to the ex. quoted in the *EDPT* from Suv 590,7, and got translated as "ohne die Reihen zu verwirren". The *DLT* ex. written as *şaşurmak* with *qāf* better fits *sāş-(ür-)* in content, and an ex. in QB 6616 can be read with both back and front vowels. The QB Indeks assigns to this the meaning 'to mix up'; Tezcan's review of the Indeks gives (like Kāşgārī) to this verb the meaning of *sāş-ür-* while retaining back vocalism. The *DLT* instance is an error or at least a problem. The one in QB 6616, however, can either be read as *şaşurdum* and translated as 'I placed in a row the words (of verse), mixing them up' or read as *sāş-ür-* and given the meaning appropriate for *that*: Both meanings fit.

sig-ur- has, first of all, the concrete meaning 'to fit something into something else, to introduce'. Beside the *DLT* ex. (quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. *siğur-*) this is attested in *üt(ı)yātā kök kalığı siğurur* (ETŞ 12,45), *alkoları birkā siğurur; birni alkoka kigürmək antag ok ürür* (ETŞ 9,45) and *ymā qk yok antag yeg yarmā [öz ā]tözümün siğurguça* (Warnke 50) "es gibt keine Spalte, die meinem Körper paßt" or better, 'into which to press my body'. When the agent is also the receptacle, we get the meanings 'to admit into one's heart, give refuge, embrace'; this is a metaphorical meaning closely related to *sig-in-* (q.v. above). Here belong the two Manichaean exs. in the *EDPT* quoted under '*sikur-*', better translated in Pothi 100 and 159 respectively. Here also Maitr 33 v3: *ol āt'özlüg kovukum içintā kamag beş ajun tın(ı)g[ları]n siğurayın ürti* 'I wish I could give refuge ...'. In this semantic domain is also an ex. in ShōAv 244, which I quote with Röhrborn's translation; it contains a chain metaphor: *kōni*

nomlug m(a)xasumudar ulug taloy ögüzüg köñüllüg kölindä sıguru içgärü “Der . . . den Mahāsamudra, den großen Ozean₂ des wahren Dharma, in den See des Herzens eingießt₂”.⁴²⁶ This sentence aims at illustrating the introduction of *dharma* into the mind. *üdsüz kolosuz sıgurmak* (Maitr 32 r1) refers to ‘inopportune introduction’, i.e. of harmful thought into people’s mind through flattery, etc. *köñül* is the target also in *üşittim, köñülkä sıgurđum anı* of QB 3860. Being in Arabic script, this ex. shows clearly that Clauson was wrong in his etymology. Cf. *bo yörügüg üşidsärlär sıgurgalı alpırkagaylar* ‘When they hear this definition, they will find it difficult to admit’ (BT I B (140)). The affective meaning is, in DLT fol. 271, attested also for the base: *bo söz köñülkä sıgıdı* signifies “These words touched the heart” (against the *EDPT*). Similarly in *elig köñliñä sıgıdı ärsä tapug / ülig berdi dävlät açıldı kapug* (QB 1607). Without *köñül*, *sıgur-* then also refers to the gracious acceding, on the part of the subject, to prayers, requests or imprecations: *küşüşümüz ol; sıgurup alı yarlıkazun* (Ht VII 2026-7), *ötünür biz . . . bo bitigtä körüp ötüğümüzni, sıgurup . . .* (BT I A₂38), *ötüğümüzni sıguru y(a)rlıkazun* (InscrOuig II 15), *Viçitaseni açarı bo ötügin sıgurmadı* (Ht IV 1105), *anın ötüñür m(ä)n sıguru yarlıkazun bo mänin ötüğki(y)ämin* (BuddhUig II 282).

siñ-ür- is a variant attested in KP 17,3, Heilk I 153, Suv 475,9, BT VII A 430 and 444 and UigTot 783 and 785, while U IV A 19 and 175, Maitr 8 r21, Ernte 24 and 25, Ht IV 75 and V 8 a9, BT VII A 105 a, 118 and 463 have *siñir-*. Three Suv instances of *siñir-t-* should be added to the second form. The second vowel in the much more common *siñir-* is, in Erdal, 1979 b: 102-3, explained as belonging to the original stem **siñi-*. A Mo. cognate with such a final vowel is also mentioned there. *simür-* ‘to swallow in a single gulp’ is unlikely to be related to this. The original form of *simür-* (DLT ff.) appears in one Maitr passage together with *siñir-*: *kaltı Çax(n)u ärji Gän ögüz suvin siñirürçä alko şastar bilgä bilig simridi boşguntı* (Maitr 8 r23) ‘He gulped down and learned all the treatises of knowledge as the řşi Jahnu swallowed the water of the river Ganges’. *simri-* can’t be a variant of *siñir-* (a derivate!) but must be related to *šimi-* in Mo., Secret History and elsewhere. *simir-ür+çä* in Maitr 119 r7 leads to the later *simür-*. In Ht V 8 a9, *siñir-* and *içgär-* (q.v. among the +gAr- verbs) are used together. *ago siñür-* of SuvDrog 475,9 reminds one of *ago siñürmək* in UigTot 783; Maue’s translation tacitly leaves the verb of the former instance untranslated.

sök-ür- ‘to make someone kneel in one’s presence’ is documented in the *EDPT*. It

426 This translation is a bit too free, as *sıgur- içgär-* does not actually signify ‘to pour in’ but just ‘to introduce’: Röhrborn went beyond the text in extending the metaphor to the verb. Note also that the (admittedly difficult) possessive suffix of *kölindä* has remained untranslated.

is attested several times in the Orkhon inscs. and only there. The DLT counterpart of *sökür-* is *sök-it-*. The meaning 'to cause to kneel' does not appear to be found in Buddhist or Manichaean texts. *sök-* and *çök-* are discussed under *sök-it-*, and cf. *sök-üd-* (section 7.23).

sug-ur- 'to drain off (tr.)'. By the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT on. Attested also in *näçä bar suvı ymä, sugurgay ärdi* (UigSukh 29) 'However much water there should be, he would drain it off'. Maitr 12 v 17 has it in metaphorical use: *altm[ış] yaşka tägi küç küsün ät kan üstälü ükliyü turdı, yetmişä inaru yüz y(e)girmi yaşka tägi kün küniñä sän karımaklag* (for /+lıg/) *suk yäk sora sora sugurduñ. sug-* is a hap. in the DLT, but cf. *sug-ul-* and *sug-un-* above, *sug-tur-* below.

tamt-ur- 'to set afire, kindle' is a derivate of the simplex *tamut-* 'to be set afire, to blaze up' and must be unrelated to *tamga* 'seal, stamp' (discussed in section 3.323). A verb "*tam-* sich entzünden", which appears in the TT VIII index and has from there been quoted by other scholars, is a ghost: *tamtu* and *tamtuk* are discussed in section 3.114. *DTS* s.v. *tamdur-* and *tamtur-* I and *EDPT*. The *EDPT* lemma is '*tamdur-*'; Clauson calls the DLT's *tamturdı* an error, changing it to '*tamdurdı*'. Among the exs. of the *EDPT*, however, only the one from Yetikän Sudur (TT VII 40) has D as opposed to six mostly earlier instances with T. Add also *tamturdumuz* in Maitr 450 r 5 vs. the exceedingly late CYK 50 with *tamdurmuş*. Cf. also *tamt-ul-* above. The base appears in the *EDPT* under '*tamid-*', quoting an ex. with *ot* 'fire' as subject. Further exs. of *tamut-*: *kaltı kurug kovuk sögüt özanıntä ört tamutmuş tag* (UigSün 19) 'as if a flame had been kindled in the heart of a dry hollow tree (we blaze with the flame of repentance)'; *t(ä)ñrim . . . öçgüm bar ärsär tamutgay*⁴²⁷ (ZiemeSklav III 21) 'My lord . . . if I am destined to be extinguished, he will be set afire (metaphorically)'; *kaltı başta tamutmuş ot ok tag* (ShōAgon 1,231) 'just like the fire⁴²⁸ set ablaze on (one's) head'. (*takşur-* 'to compose verses' was probably pronounced as *taxşur-* in Old Turkic: /s/ spirantised adjacent stops appearing before it and created special allophones. *EDPT* s.v. *takşur-* and *DTS* s.v. *tayşur-*; all the exs. are spelled as written in the *DTS*, but Clauson is right from the etymological point of view: A connection with *tak-* 'to fasten, attach' seems plausible semantically; *koş-*, another verb used for denoting the writing of verses, has a similar basic meaning. The rather common *takşut* 'verse' is discussed in section 3.108; it probably comes from *takşur-*. Exs. of *takşur-* not found in the *EDPT* occur in BT I A₁10 and A₂45, Maitr 32 r 4 (*takşut sav takşur-*), BT VIII B 30 and BT XIII 3,76.)

427 The ed. translates this verb and the form *tirilgäy* appearing earlier in this sentence as tr., which is misleading.

428 The eds. reading '*oot-uy*' gives no sense in the context.

tapş-ur-, *EDPT*. Beside the DLT attested twice in a contract published in USp: in the phrase *tapşurup ber-*, apparently ‘to hand over personally’. The DLT gives this verb as *tapçur-* but is aware that /ç/ here comes from /ş/: This is a case of progressive assimilation, with the stopping of air getting continued into the palatal domain. In Uigur, this verb may have been pronounced as *taşgur-* with regressive assimilation. The DLT ex. has a son getting entrusted to his mother; with this content, *tapşur-* can very well be the causative of *tap-iş-* ‘to find one another’.

tat-ur- ‘to make someone taste or eat something’ quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT and from later texts. Appears also in the text published in the n. to TT VII 6 and again as ETŞ 17. This is correctly written as *tatur-* in the former, but wrongly appears as ‘*tatut-*’ in ETŞ 17,20. Retrtranslated in *UW* 62 s.v. *agat*. ManMon 77 is in *UW* 252 b read as *atlarka yezgü taturzun* and translated as “er soll die Pferde mit Futter(?) füttern!”; the ed. wrote ‘*katur-*’, which makes no sense in this context. DLT ff. had a verb *tatı-t-* ‘to make tasty’, dealt with in the *EDPT*. That is clearly something else: *tat-* ‘to taste’ is tr., while *tatı-* ‘to be tasty’ is intr.

täg-ür- ‘to bring, convey’. In addition to the exs. of the *EDPT*, this verb appears in BT II 15, ThreeLett 64, ManMon 53, ETŞ 10,53 and 77, USp 12,8 (twice), Ht V 14 a10 and 15 a19-20 and X662, 1072, 1085 and 1115, Shō II b10, ShōKenkyū III 32, ManTüTex 120 and 595, BuyKäl 9, BodhiAvaKomm 20 and 32, Ernte 29, BT VII A 328-9, 434 and 735, BT VIII A 69, Suv 276,4, UigTot 485, 1424 and 1430, Maitr 150 r4, 135 r17, 106 v4, 65 r8, 6 r12, 5 v10, 91 r14, 5 v28, 126 r13 and 2 v29 and BT XIII 18,26. BT XIII 12,015, 12,017, 46,1 and ms. T III M 115 (U 3204) v1-6 have the phrase *utlı sävinç tägür-* ‘to show gratitude’. (*tägsür-* ‘to alter, change (tr.)’. Semantically closer to *tägsil-* (q.v. among the -(X)l- verbs, also for the base) than to *täg-iş-* (also discussed above). Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in TT V A 89, TT VIII L 14 and 20, BT II 1175, ms. TM 151 (U 128 a) v(?) 5 quoted in the n. to ManTüTex 574, BT VII A 169, UigTot 612, 851 and 912, Ht V 6 b11 and VII 8 a4, BuddhUig II 255 (*körkin tägsür-* as in the Manichaean fr. TM 151 mentioned, and elsewhere), Suv 592,2 (quoted in *UW* 237 b), Zerst 10 and Maitr 61 v13 (*mānzin tägsür-*). A meaning ‘change (tr.), exchange, give and take something in exchange’ occurs in Maitr 170 r21, e.g., best translated in *UW* 90 a bottom, and HamTouen 22,14 and 15. Cf. *tägsür-üs-* in section 7.1.)

tod-ur- ‘to satiate, fill the stomach’ is, in the *EDPT*, listed in the lemma of *tod-gur-*, its synonym. Qarakhanid Turkic has both derivatives, and Kāšgārī maintains that *todur-* comes from *todgur-*. QB exs. of *todur-* not mentioned by the *EDPT* occur in couplets 2976, 2982, 3350, 3923, 5513 and 6371. *todgur-* is otherwise attested thrice in Suv; *todur-*, on the other hand, in a Manichaean

text and thrice in Maitr: *suk otın öçürür, toduru umaz* (M III 29,12₃, text 12, Manichaean script) 'He suppresses the fire of greed but is unable to satiate it'; *tü türlüg aşın içgün tañçun todurdı kanturdı* (Maitr 21 r8 + MaitrH III 8 a3); *anı... bilgä biligin ögrünçün todurtum [kantur]dum* (Maitr 21 r10) and *boşlayu yorıp karan* (for /karın/) *toduru* ... (Maitr 131 v12). The Suv 606,3 instance of *todgur-* has that in a biverb with *kantur-*, in practically the same context as the Maitr 21 r8 ex. of *todur-*.

tog-ur- 'to cross over, traverse'. As a verb, this appears in *käçinçsiz täriñ taloy ögüz suvın togurup* ... (ms. fr. TM 269 quoted in the footn. to the n. to TT VI 115) and *oñra akdaçı nızvanılığ ögüz suvın togurup* ... (UigFalt 24), to be translated as 'crossing the waters of the *kleša* river flowing in between'. Cf. also the petrified converb *toguru* discussed in section 7.512. By meaning, the verb *togur-* in DLT fol. 309 appears to be a back-formation from this converb. *tog-* is found only in the runic inscrs. and only in the form *toga*.⁴²⁹

twg-ur- 'to give birth; to engender, cause to exist'. *EDPT*; found also in BT III 459,⁴³⁰ UigTot 574, 846-7 and 1124, ms. T II M 6 (U 4680) 21-25 in the n. to UigTot 109, BuddhUig II 369, ShōKenkyū II 32, Abhi 47, 86, 121 etc., BT XIII 12,85 and on l.69 of a fr. quoted in the n. to BT XIII 13,98-99 and Maitr 58 r30 and 152 v4.

tomur- 'to bleed (intr.)', *EDPT*: Quoted thrice from Heilk I and from DLT with reference to nose bleeding. This is probably a rounding of **tam-ur-* 'to drip'; it would be caused by the /m/, supported by the rounded second vowel. Note that some of the DLT exs. are actually spelled with *fatha*. Cf. *tam-ız-* below.

toñ-ur- 'to freeze (tr.)' is a hap. in Ernte II 2, used together with *üşüt-* (from *üşi-*). The base is found in the IrqB but not in Uigur proper.

(*tötür-* appears in DLT fol. 306: *ol añar ut tötürdi* 'He set the dog on him to catch him'. Kāšgārī adds: "One may say *tötgürdi*". As the infinitive also shows, this lexeme has front vowels; it should therefore not be connected with *tut-*, as suggested in the *EDPT*. It is probably connected with *tötüş-*, q.v. among the *-(X)š-* verbs.)

(*tur-ur-u kođu y(a)rıkamışlar* is very clear on the facs. of Rāma 31, and has *törü* as object: "(Sie haben das) Gesetz aufstellen lassen und festzulegen geruht". Since no other ex. of such a causative has come up and since *tur-gur-* (discussed below) is so common, the Q may just have been inadvertently omitted: This short text has many other omissions and errors.)

tüş-ür- 'to drop, let somebody come down or dismount, force down, bring to fall, fell'. The YE 28,3 sentence quoted in the *EDPT* should read *iniñizkă eçñizkă*

429 See *EDPT* 465 a. *twga* in M III 23,9₂ (text 8) can either be from this or from *twg-* 'to be born'.

430 In the n. to BT I D (216), the verb of this passage is wrongly quoted as *'twgut-*'.

in(i)gän yüki I L²Z tüşürtünüz ‘You brought your elder and younger brothers a female camel’s load of I L²Z’. Exs. not mentioned by the *EDPT* occur in *ETŞ* 11,83, *Ht* V 9 a 14, *Maitr* 82 r 28, *Shō* VII b 6, *Wettkampf* 61 (with *ahñadtur-*) and *QB* 2370. *uçuz onay tugurur tüşürür* in *TuoLuoNi* 106 does not signify just “gebären”, as the ed. writes, but refers to the removal of the child or foetus by birth or by *abortion*.⁴³¹

uç-ur- ‘to make something fly’. In *EDPT* and *DTS* quoted only from *TT* VIII A, *QB* and *DLT*; in the first, the *Skt.* original means something slightly different. Attested also in *ManTürkGed* r 5, *BT* III 224 and *Ht* VII 4 b 25. The phrase *könül uçur-* used in *HtPar* 30 r 10-11 and in the *Brāhmī* ms. *Mz* 652 (*T* II S 19 b) of *SktUigBil* may possibly have signified something like ‘to exhilarate’. Similar is *közüg sakınçığ könülüg uçruldur-* in *BuddhUig* II 82.

yap-ur- ‘to level the ground’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the *DLT*. Attested also in *Ernte* 39, same meaning. *yap-* is rare in Old Turkic but appears, basically, to have denoted the sticking together of surfaces by mud.

yafş-ur- is written with *F* in *TT* III 128, which should be followed: /s/ spirantizes stops preceding it: Cf. *yavşuru* / *yapşuru* / in *ShōAgon* 1,365, with [f], allophone of /p/, spelled as *V. yafş-ur-* ‘to stick or fasten something onto something else’ is the causative of *yap-ış-* ‘to stick or adhere to something’. The *DLT* has *yap-çur-*, in which the beginning of the second syllable is strengthened and the [p] can be retained. See the *EDPT* for this and for *Uigur* evidence. Exs. not mentioned there occur in *Maitr* 51 r 5, 54 r 4 and 83 r 15 and *Ht* V 14 a 25.

yaş-ur- ‘to conceal’ appears (except in the *DLT*) mainly in biverbs. *Suv* exs. quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* have *yaşur- batur- ürt- kizlä-* and twice *kizlä- yaşur-*. Not mentioned there we have *b(ä)krü kizlä yaşurgıl, adın kişi körmä-zün* (*M* III 29,1₂, text 12), *ürt- kizlä- yaşur- batur-* (*ETŞ* 18,42), *yaşuru baturu kizlä-* (*Suv* 107,14), *yaşuru baturu* as quoted s.v. *bat-ur-*, and *yaşuru igiđürdi* in *ShōAgon* 2, p. 194,3.

yet-ür- ~ *et-ür-* ‘to lose’ is, by the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, quoted only from the *DLT* and the *QB*.⁴³² Attested also in *M* III 17,13₂ (text 8): *birök ol kişi ögin könülin içgınsar ötrü anıñ b(ä)lgüsi antag bolur: s(ä)rinmäk biligin yetürür. etürmädäçi* in *BT* II 718 has the same meaning, as also *yetürgäy* in *BuddhBio* 24, *etürsär m(ä)n* in *Warnke* 243 and *agıtmayın etürmäyin ibid.* 266 and *KP* 77,4.⁴³³ There also is a *-dUr-* derivate from the same base, and it has the same meaning.

431 Cf. (*çocuk*) *düşürmek* ‘to lose or get rid of the foetus, either naturally or by abortion’ in Republican Turkish. One of the dangers for the mother is, of course, that she is unable to get rid of a dead foetus. Note that the following sentence of the text says that one is quickly to throw a stillborn child into water.

432 The *EDPT* also mentions “I E7, II E7”; those are exs. of *yetrü*, which belongs elsewhere.

433 Thus according to Tezcan in his review of *BT* VII in *TDAYB* 1978-79 (1981): 304. Hamilton, the

(*yinçür-* is mostly attested in the petrified converb *yinçürü* discussed below. I take it to be related to *yinçgä* 'fine, delicate, polite' (discussed in section 3.323), whose base is not attested: The meaning 'politely' seems quite appropriate for *yinçürü* in the context in which we find it. A non-petrified converb occurs in *yinçürü adıra biltäçi* (Suv 594,15), which corresponds to "wer genau überlegt" in the German translation of the Chinese original. *yinçür-* here reminds one of *yinçgä+lä-* 'to be meticulous about something', Republican Turkish *incele-* 'to study, analyse'. Thus also] *yinçürmək isdämäk yörü*[g of Nyūabi (7) v7, where the biverb could signify 'to investigate'. *yinçr-ün-*, a derivate from the present verb apparently signifying 'to do obeisance' like *yinçürü*, is a hap. in QB 5805.)

(1 *yogur-* 'to knead'; originally perhaps 'to condense, thicken (tr.)' if it is related to *yogrut* and *yogun*. See *yogrut* 'yogurt' (and its rare variants *yorgut* and *yorgurt*) in section 3.108, the cognate *yogun* 'thick, massive, dense' in section 3.107. See the *EDPT* under '*yuğur-*' and *DTS* under *joyur-*. *yog-* 'to thicken, curdle, clot (intr.)' is mentioned by the Republican Turkish dictionaries of Radloff and Samy-Bey. *yogur-* was apparently felt to be a simple verb, as its *-U* derivate would otherwise have been '*yogut*'.⁴³⁴ To the dictionaries' exs. add *tiğig yogurup*... "knēten" (TuoLuoNi 129).)

(*yoñşur-* 'to incite people to mutual false accusations' appears only in KTE6//BQ E7, in parallelism with *kikşür-* (q.v. above). Interpreted correctly in the *DTS* under '*joñaşur-*'; the *EDPT* has a weaker etymology. V. Thomsen already got the meaning more or less correctly, although a narrow vowel after /ŋ/ is unacceptable: It is derived from Vámbéry's version of the base verb; his only source, in turn, was an obsolete version of QB. *yoñä-* (q.v. in the *EDPT*) is well-known from DLT and QB and appears in TT IV A 71 in a biverb with *çaşur-*. The same biverb also gave *çaşut yoñä-g* (section 3.101). Our direct base **yoñä-ş-* is not attested; *yoñarışmak* a hap. cognate if not a mistake, is quoted under *ayıgla-ş-* above. The unsyncopated form serving as lemma to the *DTS* would be just as correct a reading; I assume the verb was syncopated, as all other *-Ur-* verb stems have exactly two syllables. There is no reason to assume an exception, and /A/ also does get syncopated.)

yöläş-ür- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* but appears in Maitr 38 r 15, 19 and 23: *sumer [tag]k[a / taloy ögüz suvñä / tözün maytriniñ bilgä biliginä yöläşürgäli bolmaz* 'X cannot be compared to Y'. In later texts, this verb is replaced by *yöläş-tür-*, q.v. below. The petrified converb *yöläşürü* is discussed in section 7.512 and the derivate *yöläşür-üg* in section 3.101. See *yölä-ş-* 'to resemble' above.

ed. of the most recent (and best) edition of KP, follows him in his glossary of HamTouen (which includes the material of KP as well).

434 See the section on *-U* for details.

yüd-ür- 'to load' is attested in *bitiglärig alıp* [...] *kaırka yüdürti* (Ht V2 a 19; cf. facs.) and *agır yüklär yüdürüp tartuturlar* (Maitr 182 v8), and in DLT and QB as quoted in the *EDPT*. See *yüd-tür-* for details.

PETRIFIED CONVERBS

Quite a number of adverbial terms are etymologically related to verbal bases and have, moreover, the shape *-Ur-U*. Since vowel converbs from simple bases or from ones derived by other formatives have similar tasks, we connect the lexemes of the following list to the *-(U)r-* formation: Many but not all of them have related *-(U)r-* verbs. They do not generally have causative meaning; this holds true also for petrified converbs related to other causative formatives. In some cases, petrified converbs here appear to be older than finite *-(U)r-* verbs; one reason for this may be that, having gotten separated from the verbal system, analogy no longer applied to them. Here they are, then:

akru 'gently, slowly' probably comes from an unattested *-Ur-* derivate from *ak-* 'to flow', as the *UW* reaffirms; *akruş* (discussed among the *-(X)s* nominals above) clearly also comes from this hypothetical *-Ur-* verb. Quite as common (if apparently not as old as *akru*) is the variant *akuru*. See Uigur exs. in the *UW* entry, Qarakhanid and Middle Turkic evidence in the *EDPT*. Exs. not mentioned in either occur in BT XIII 2,34 (fragmentary context) and Ht V 15 b 13 (*akru käl-*). The Maitr 15 r 8 instance mentioned as "Ohne Kont." by Röhrborn has its full context in the Hami ms., MaitrGeng 1 a 7: *akru akru manlayu ayagka tägimlig Maytri*, ... The attested causative of *ak-* is *akit-*, discussed among the *-(X)t-* verbs below. As shown there, petrified converbs connected with the *-(X)t-* formation all come from stems ending in /A/ or /I/ but not consonants; their distribution thus differs from that of the verbal formation itself.

(*amru* 'constantly, continuously, without interruption' is adequately discussed in the *UW*. The variants *amuru* and *amuru* are rare and probably due to secondary anaptyxis. Cf. *amrıl-* among the *-(X)l-* verbs, where other cognates are also mentioned. Neither the base nor a related *-(U)r-* verb are attested.⁴³⁵)

(*arkuru* 'crosswise, across', may be related to *arkuk* 'obstinate, refractory' in the DLT and the QB. Only if it is can it be from an unattested *-Ur-* verb and belong into this section. The semantic connection with the DLT hap. *arkuçı* 'go-between' seems even more tenuous to me. See the *UW* for exs.; the lexeme lived on into Middle Turkic, for which see the *EDPT*.)

art-ur-u 'exceedingly' appears in BT I C (9) and in the following: *arturu uz etilmiş*

⁴³⁵ The *EDPT* is wrong in stating that it is peculiar to Buddhist texts.

yaratılmış (ShōAv 107) ‘exceedingly well adorned’;⁴³⁶ *alko el bodun açıp körüp arturu sävinişip* ... (InscrOuig II 6); *arturu birdäm kavruldı* (BT XIII 3,64) and *arturu* (“sehr”, spelled as *ärtürü* by the eds.) *yokurkanıp* ... (TuoLuoNi 361). The phoneme sequence /är/ is sometimes spelled as *ar* in word-initial position, but this does not appear to have been the case here: Beside being supported by alliteration, the meaning of *arturu* also accords perfectly with *art-ur-* ‘to add on, make more’ and not at all with *ärt-ür-* ‘to allow or cause something to pass’. I am not sure *UW* 262 b is wrong about reading *ärtürü kızlāmış* ... *nom tözi* in ETŞ 13,142 and translating “... die man wieder (?) verborgen hat”; reading *arturu* and translating ‘which one has quite hidden’ is, however, I think, just as good.

(*aşru* ‘exceedingly’ is attested in QB 1766 (the only ex. mentioned in the *EDPT*), 4040, 5038 and 6191. By content, it only appears to be connected more with *as-* ‘to increase (tr.)’ than with *aş-*. Nor does the only (questionable) ex. of the verb in Uigur quite fit with that meaning. This *aşru* was, however, borrowed into Preclassical Mo. (cf. Poppe in *AOH* 36 (1982): 405-411), where it appears as *asuru*. The instance in InscrOuig IV 49 must be a re-borrowing, also written as *asuru*: That text has quite a number of Mo. loans.⁴³⁷ Çagatay, Coman and Harezmi Turkic *asru* probably also come from Mo. Not, however, Ottoman *aşırı* and Tkm. *āşırn*, with long first vowel as in *āş-*: These come from Turkic *aş(u)ru*.)

bäkrü ~ *bäkürü* ‘firmly’ is documented in *DTS* s.vv. ‘*begrü*’, ‘*bekrü*’ and ‘*bekür-*’ and in the *EDPT*; add *bäkrü ba-* from ManTüTex 462 and *b(ä)kürü tu[t-(?)* in Halén G r1. *bäk+ü-* is discussed in section 5.41. Its finite causative is *bäkü-t-* (q.v. below). **bäkür-* is not attested, but *bäkürt-* (discussed among the *-(X)t-* verbs) may come from it if it really existed. A petrified converb from *bäküt-* appears to have been excluded for the reason given under *akru* (another petrified *-(U)r-* converb).

büt-ür-ü ‘completely, thoroughly’ can be found in the *DTS* s.vv. *bütrü* and *bütürü* and in the *EDPT*. Appears, in addition, in *bütürü yarot-* in Ht IV 1239 and X398 and *bütürü eṭ-* in ETŞ 13,104. *büt-ür-* is well attested.

(*kövrü turuk ätözlüg* in BT XIII 1,7 is translated as “mit einem schwachen, mage-

436 The *a* (not *ä*) is supported by the systematic alliteration. The ed. wrote *a*, which the *UW* entry (216 a) calls a “Fehlinterpretation”. In his rec edition of this same text, Röhrborn comes back to Shōgaito’s reading. Some of the other exs. of *arturu* were unknown when the 3rd fascicle of the *UW* appeared.

437 I see no reason to follow *UW* 236 b, where this *asuru* is considered to be a “Lesefehler für *aşunu*?”. The *UW* does not, however, appear to mention it either under *aşnu* (for which no three-syllable variant is mentioned at all), or under *aşun-*. Meaningwise, both *asuru* and *aşnu* are possible, and an examination of the stone may lead to a decision.

ren Körper” and convincingly explained as a rounded petrified converb from **käv-ür-*. As usual with petrified converbs, there is no causative meaning in this. *käv-* is tr.)

keñü-r-ü ‘widely, openly, in detail etc.’ comes from *keñü-r-* (q.v. in section 7.511). *keñürü sözlä-* appears in UigPañc 21, TT V B 22, U III 59,2₂, USp 102 b 13, Maitr 81 r 9, TuoLuoNi 227, *keñürü ukut-* BT III 529, *keñürü aç-* HtPek 81 b 8 *apud* UW 240 b, *keñürü ay-* HtPar 4,24 *apud* UW 244 a, *keñürü yad-* Ht VII 2008 and 12 a 23 and X 412-3, BT II 1033, SuvGeng 599,9, *keñürü yadıl-* BT I D (59), BT III 125, HtPar 21 v 21, BuyKäl 29, *keñürü bil-* UigTot 1293 and *keñürü nomla-* in DvaKol 105 and Suv 583,20 (in the n. to ManTüTex 393): All main verbs are of saying and thinking. *keñürü id-* in BT II 980 is ‘to let one roam freely’. The context is fragmentary in Maitr 20 r 4, Ht X 857 and TuoLuoNi 208. *keñürü asıg kılur* (BT XIII 24,4) shows the petrified converb as a real adverb, and a predicative-adjectival ex. in the QB is quoted in the EDPT entry *ké:ñür-*. The latest texts have real nominalisations: *keñürüsinçä* in U II 41,22 (Uşnişa Viçay) and BT VIII A 292, *keñürüni tapla-* in BT VII A 447.

(*kwdur-u* ‘vigorously, attentively, excessively’, also ‘very, extremely, a lot’. DLT fol. 307 has a verb *kwdur-* “to exert oneself, do one’s utmost in a matter” spelled with *dāl*, not *dhāl* (as *kadır-* or *todur-*) or *tā* (as *kutur-* “to go beyond one’s measure” etc.). This may really be the base of *kwduru* as suggested in the EDPT,⁴³⁸ but it can also be a back-formation. Exs. for *kwduru* are given by the EDPT. Additional ones: *kwduru uk-* (Maitr 19 v 16 and 96 r 5), *kwduru kolola-* (Maitr 48 r 6 together with *ädgüti eşid*, and 151 + 41 r 6), *kwduru içanu saklanu* (Three Lett 45), *kwduru adkanmak yapşınmak* (Suv 109,14),⁴³⁹ *ayı kwdru yalvartın* (thus syncopated, BT XIII 12,126), *kwduru b[u]san-* (BT XIII 49,6), *kwduru kololap tınlagıl* (U III 79,9-10₂), *kwduru [ärti]ñü sakınu kololan* (HamTouen 1,8). *kwduru* does not belong here if *kwdur-* is a simplex.)

ötrü ~ *ötürü* comes from an *-Ur-* causative of *öt-* ‘to go through, pass through, pass off’ but not directly from *öt-ür-* ‘to pierce’ as attested: It must have been formed prehistorically, when *ötür-* had a wider meaning, or perhaps derived directly from the base with a composite element *-(U)rU*. That its creation is prehistorical follows also from the fact that it is further removed from verbal status than many petrified converbs in serving as postposition or conjunction:

438 The ms. has thrice *dāl* not *dhāl*, but Clauson may be right in emending the text on the basis of the fact that the lemma appears between *kadır-* and *kädür-*. Any conclusions concerning the existence of a third non-nasal dental phoneme would in any case be unwarranted.

439 UW 265 a quotes this, spelling it as ‘*kuturu*’ and translating “in übertriebener Weise”. It also writes ‘*atkanmak*’; *adkan-* is discussed among the *-(X)n-* verbs.

We find *anta ötrü* already in runic inscriptions. As a postposition governing the locative-ablative it signifies 'because of, upon'; as a conjunction or sentence adverb it could be translated as 'thereupon'. Exs. in the *DTS* s.vv. *ötrü* and *ötürü* and in the *EDPT*; ManTüTex 618 and the n. thereto have some additional ones. It appears also thrice in Tib. script, in BuddhKat 9, 28 and 30. Adding these to three Brāhmī instances we find that, in five among six exs., the final syllable is spelled with *ö* and not *ü*. This no doubt corresponds to a phonetic reality, but I would not jump to any conclusions concerning the phonemic appurtenance of the converb vowel of the *-Ur-* formation.

siguru+k(i)ya is a hap. in TuoLuoNi 89 (2 parallel mss.): *yinçgäki(y)ä üjik üzä siguruk(i)ya bitip* . . . According to the n., this does not correspond to the Chin. original; the ed.'s translation is therefore hypothetical: "mit feinsten Buchstaben wie gedruckt schreiben". Considering the meanings given above for *sigur-*, the most likely translation seems to me to be 'writing (the *dhāraṇī*) with the finest characters and fitting it into an exceedingly small space'.

täg-ür-ü is attested as a postposition signifying 'till, up to' in BT VIII A 69 (*sünükä yilikkä tägürü*) and 108 and Suv 276,4 (*muṇa tägürü*) quoted in the n. thereto. The *EDPT* or the *DTS* have no such entry. *täg-ür-* is a well attested causative; *tägürü*, however, has no causative meaning (as usual with petrified converbs).

(*tärtrü* ~ *tätrü* 'opposing(ly), the wrong way around, inverted, crosswise' should not be confused with *tetrü*, which has a very different meaning. A finite *-ür-*verb related to *tä(r)trü* is not attested, but *tätrül-* 'to be perverted, to be irrationally obstinate' should come from it. *tärtrü* is the rarer variant but appears to be earlier: We find it in IrqB XXXIX, Chuast 135 and M II 11,16 (text 4).⁴⁴⁰ *tätrü* appears in Maitr 182 r 24, TT IV A 74, TT VI 331, TT VII 40,37 (Yetikān Sudur) and TT VIII O 2 (Brāhmī) in a binome with *tärs*; the /r/ in *tärs* may have helped in the elimination of one of the /r/s in *tärtrü*. A further ex. of *tärs tätrü* is mentioned under *tätrül-* which, itself, often appears in a biverb with *tärs+ik-*. There even is an expansion *tärsikdūr- tätrüldür-*. *tätrü* appears by itself in Suv 630,18 (quoted in the *DTS*), M II 12,1₂ (text 5; Manichaean!) and, not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, BT XIII 27,15 and Abhi B 53 b 11 (= 5466, quoted in the n. to TT VKud 14). The DLT distinguishes clearly between *tätrü* 'inverted' and *tetrü* (next entry), as does the QB: *tätrü* (not '*tetrü*' as written in the *EDPT*) is written in QB 536, 1670 (only ms. C *tetrü* against AB), 1902, 1984

440 It may also be a characteristic of a Manichaean dialect, if such a thing can be proven to have existed. There is no particular reason to believe that the IrqB is Manichaean, at any rate. Note, on the other hand, that the first /r/ in the causative of *kurtgar-* discussed further on is also peculiar to Manichaean texts. There I (also) take it to be a case of retention rather than addition.

(C alone wrong again) and 5507. *tātrü* was also borrowed into Preclassical Mo., where it appears with an additional vowel after the /t/ and the meaning ‘but, however, on the other hand, on the contrary, inversely, incorrectly’.)

(*tetrü* ‘clearly, correctly, attentively’ and the lexeme of the previous entry were confused both in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*, but got unraveled by Kudara in his reedition of TT V B. In TT V B 13 we find the binome *tetrü çingaru* of which Kudara gives the Chin. equivalent in a n. It was also he who suggested connecting *tā(r)trü* with *tātrül-* but *tetrü* with *tetig* (q.v. among the *-(X)g* lexemes above). *tetil-* ‘to become clever’ in DLT fol. 329 is another cognate. *tet-* ‘to oppose’ and *tetin-* ‘to dare to do something’, however, are semantically too far away. Here belong all the instances in the *EDPT* entry of the sequences *tetrü uk-* / *kör-* / *sakin-* / *bak-*. We can add *tetrü köni uk-* (BT I A₂17f.) ‘to understand clearly and correctly’, *tetrü tınla* (Genzan C v3), *tetrü kör-* (Ht X738 and Suv 612,16 as quoted in the n. to Ht V70) and *tetrü üç kata kaya körüp* (TuoLuoNi 357) ‘he looked attentively back three times’.⁴⁴¹ The *EDPT* also quotes two DLT exs. with *tetrü bak-* and one from QB with *tetrü kör-*.)

tog-(u)r-u ‘straight, straightforward’. *EDPT* and *DTS*, not quoted before the (late) economical documents. There it is common in the phrase *tog(u)ru tum-litu sat-*. Additional exs. are *toguru satdım* (FenTen II 3) and *toguru [tuml]ıtu sat-* (UigLand 4). An explanation for it is offered in the n. to ActeOuig 3, where the text has a mutilated version of the formula. *tog-ur-* ‘to cross over, traverse’ is discussed above. In the following instance, *toguru* is well on the way to petrification: *toguru kaç[üräy]in . . . tnl(ı)gları t(ä)ñrim* (UigSukh 16) “Hinüber-gelangen (Hend.) lassen will ich . . . die . . . Lebewesen, mein Gott!” *togur-* not being a causative, however, what we here have is not a biverb as translated.⁴⁴² We should rather translate it as an adverbial ‘across’. Postpositional *toguru* is attested very early, in ŞU E1 and S5: *eki yañıka kün toguru sünüşdüm* ‘On the second day of the month I fought throughout the day’.⁴⁴³ The shift of postpositional *togru* to the meaning ‘straight towards’ is well documented in Middle

441 Not “Er blickte genau dreimal zurück” as translated by the eds. As the meaning and use of all its other exs. show, *tetrü* has to qualify the glance itself.

442 Some morphemes can, in Turkic languages, apply to two or more words in common. This is not the case with the causative or any other voice formatives, not, at any rate, in Old Turkic. The difference between morphemes which do and those which do not behave in this way is one between different degrees of morpho-syntactic juncture. These have not yet been investigated for Old Turkic.

443 The phrase *kün twg-* for the rising of the sun is common, whence the accepted translation of *kün toguru* as ‘at dawn’. Cf. *EDPT* 472 b under *tugur-* “to give birth”, who translates the sentence as “I started the battle at sunrise on the second day of the month”. The confusion is, of course, due to the fact that *togur-* and *twgur-* look identical in runic writing. A petrified converb of *twgur-* ‘to give birth’ is nowhere in sight. We understand from the context of the inscription that its author

Turkic, but cf. the mss. of QB 2550. Equally Middle Turkic *togru* 'true' reminds us of the legal use we started out with.

(*ükşürü* has *ük-* ~ *yük-* < *hük-* 'to heap up' as ultimate base. Cognates are *üküş*, Qarakhanid *ükül-*, *ükün-* etc., but a *-(X)ş-* derivate from this base is not attested. The verbs *kikşür-*, *takşur-* and *yoşsur-* discussed earlier in this section are similar cases. In Ht X 742 = HtKZ I r 3, *adakin adak üzä ükşürü urup* . . . is by Kudara and Zieme translated over-literally as "das (linke) Bein auf das (rechte) aufstapelnd legte". Adverbial is also *ükşürü ötüntün* (Genzan C v2) 'you begged repeatedly'. 'repetition' can be iconically expressed by repetition, whence we get *ikşürü ikşürü aş üläyü* (ShōAv 208), in Laut's translation "wiederholt₂ Speise verteilten". The reason for the unrounding is unclear; it may be a reflex of a lost initial /y/. Further unrounded is *üstürti kudi xua çäçäk-läriğ ikşirü ikşirü yagıtıldar* (BT III 550). In a binome with *yana* 'again', *ükşürü yana ayagka çiltäğkä täğdim* (Ht V 12 b23). A probably adnominal use is attested in *bo ükşürü ötügümin bütürü y(a)rıkka[zun]* (Ht V 310) 'May he deign to fulfill this repeated prayer of mine'.⁴⁴⁴ Definitely adnominal is *mäniñ ükşürü [a]yig kılınçım* 'my repeated(ly) evil deeds' (Ht V 10 a22). *agturup bilgä biliglig kün t(ä)ñri yarotdı ükşürü karañğularığ* (HtPar 208,3) is in UW 76 b translated as "Er ließ die Weisheitssonne aufsteigen und überdeckte die Finsternisse mit Glanz". I don't think *ükşürü* should be connected with *yarot-*, however, but rather with *karañğular.*)

yagru ~ *yaguru* 'near; recently' comes from an unattested *-(U)r-* causative of *yagu-* 'to be near, to be imminent, to approach'.⁴⁴⁵ The runic exs. are spelled as Y¹G¹R¹W, which should be read as *yagru*.⁴⁴⁶ *yagru* is also the variant of the DLT. Uigur generally has *yaguru*. Most exs. are adverbial: *yagru kon-* (KT S5), *yagru bar-* (BQ N6), *yagru yori-* (DLT), *yaguru käl-* (U III 63,18) and *yaguru yakın käl-* (U III 84,16). Similar to the last pair, *yagu-k yak-in* is a

had no reason to single out the *start* of the battle. Whether *sünüş-* could be inchoative is another question in need of investigation.

444 This reminds one of the Genzan instance. I follow UW 167 a bottom in assuming (against the ed.) that nothing stood after *ükşürü* in the worn-out edge of the leaf. If there is enough space, one could reconstruct *ükşürü [aymuş] ötügüm*. The EDPT wrongly makes this ex. into '*ükşürü[g]*'; the entry (p. 119) for this lemma should be cancelled.

445 This verb is a simplex, by no means to be connected with *yak-* in spite of their similar meanings. Clauson thought *yagru* was "apparently a Directive f. in *-ru-*"; but the suffixes with such a meaning have the forms *+gArU* and *+rA* only. He was even ready to accept the view that *yagru* comes from '*yakru*', although Kāşgarī had made this suggestion for his obviously impossible Arabic etymology: Runic evidence, to say the least, speaks against this. Nor is an appropriate nominal **yag* (thought up as an alternative in the EDPT) found anywhere.

446 Thomsen's text is wrong in KT S5. I take it that rounded vowels appearing after unrounded ones are always explicit in the KT and BQ inscriptions (following Meyer, 1965-6).

common binome. Adnominal is *yaguru yerdä üddä* (Maitr 7 r16), which naturally led to *yagrudaki ot* (HamTouen 29,19-20). The sentence adverb *yaguru* ‘recently’ (HtPar 118,4 quoted in UW 74 b and Ht V314) served as base to *yaguru+k(i)ya* (q.v. in section 2.13). In section 6.3 we quote a hap. *yagu-r-* from BT III; being intr., we take it to be a back-form from *yaguru* and not its base. Since the petrified converbs listed here have no causative meaning, couldn’t they be from *-(I)r-/-(X)r-* as dealt with in section 6.3 instead of the origin we have taken them to have? We think not. Beside the fact that many such converbs have living *-(U)r-* cognates, we note that petrified converbs from *-(X)t-* and *-tUr-* verbs equally lose causative content.

yaş-ur-u ~ *yaşru* ‘secretly, furtively’ has the well-attested base *yaş-ur-*. See the EDPT s.v. *yaşru*: Appears also in *yaşru batutlug uvut yini* (MaitrGeng 5 a21), which reminds one of the biverb *yaşur- batur-*. As *yaşuruki iş* (TT I 217) shows, it needs the suffix *+kI* to become adnominal. In *yaşruki(y)a köñlin sezik ayutdı* (MaitrGeng 12 a17), on the other hand, the whole expression *yaşruki(y)a köñlin* is adverbial.

yetrü id- ‘to dismiss and/or lose’ in KT and BQ E7 is from *yet-ür-* ‘to lose’. Both exs. are written Y²I T²R²W. The word in the expression *aña otoy yettürü* in TT VIII L25 may belong here and should be translated ‘subtracting 30 from that’.⁴⁴⁷

(*yiñçür-ü* ‘in veneration’ is a petrified converb from *yiñçür-* (discussed above). The exs. *yiñçürü kololayu sakıngu ol* (UigKan 233) and *ikinti kololamakıg [örütip] / inanu yiñçürü yükün-* (UigKan 79) form a link to the meaning of *yiñçür-* itself. Appears equally in Manichaean texts, e.g. *söküdüp yiñçürü*⁴⁴⁸ *öt[ün]ti* (TT II 1,35), and Buddhist ones, e.g. *yiñçürü köñlütä böğünsär* (BT XIII 35,9). Most common is the combination with *yükün-* or with *töpön yükün-*, attested in Pothi 230, 240⁴⁴⁹ and 282, U III 13,5₂, TT X272, at least six times in Suv, ManTüTex 8,121, HamTouen 1,51, UigTot 237, BuddhBio 19 and BuyKäl 2.)

yöläş-ür-ü is a petrified converb from *yöläşür-* (q.v. above). It occurs thrice in Manichaean texts: The EDPT has two exs. in postpositional use, signifying ‘like’; a third one appears in ManTüTex 13,355.

In Qarakhanid Turkic (and first there) was an adverbial ending *+rU* abstracted

447 Consonants to be taken as simple are often written double in Brāhmī: cf. *tuttup* on ls.11 and 15 of the same text. The translation of the passage in UW 140 b s.v. *ant*, “addiere 30 dazu und ziehe sie heraus!”(?) is less satisfactory: One does not add and take away by the same action. The EDPT s.v. *yétür-* also writes “adding...”.
 448 Wrongly spelled as *yiñçirlü*.
 449 The EDPT refers to this ex. twice: TT III 175 and TT IX 5 is the same place in the same ms.

from these forms. Thus the original petrified converb *tapa* 'towards' is changed to *taparu* in QB and DLT. In the phrase *kıṇru bakar*, Kāšgari changes *kıṇır* 'squinting' to *kıṇru*.⁴⁵⁰

As the spelling of *yagru* and *yetrü* shows, the vowel of the formative was already syncopated in the inscriptions. In this the petrified converbs differ from the verbal ones. In Uigur, however, the vowel is often retained even in the petrified converb, or reconstituted by analogy.⁴⁵¹

MORPHOLOGY

All -(U)r- verbs are bisyllabic. This appears to have been the central constraint on the type of bases to which it could be added. When it is added to bases of the shape (C)VCVC-, the second vowel of the base is usually syncopated: This happens in *ešt-ür-*, *kikšür-*, *tamt-ur-*, *takšur-*, *tapš-ur-*, *tägšür-*, *yafš-ur-* and *yonšur-* (the last under syncopation of a wide vowel), but not in *yöläšür-*. We find no expansions from bases ending in /n/ or /z/, and there is only one dubious hap. case of expansion from a base ending in /t/. Most bases end in consonants. -(U)r- is mostly used primarily, although found as second element in the common combination -tUr-. The only denominal base is *keṇ+ü-*. A few deverbal bases formed with -(X)s- are fused semantically and functionally; the normal and common causative expander of -(X)s- verbs is -tUr- (which does not cause any obscuring syncopations). -tUr- is added also to -(X)n- verbs etc.

Expansions of -(U)r- verbs are not too common: *eštür-*, *kaçur-*, *ölür-*, *tägšür-* and *twgur-* are found expanded with -(X)s-, *bışur-* with -(X)n-,⁴⁵² *buşur-*, *bütür-*, *keṇür-*, *kötür-*, *tüşür-*, *yapur-* and *yogur-* with -(X)l-; several double causatives end in -(U)r-t-. There are no formal limitations on expansion, then.

Most -(U)r- verbs have intr. bases. The bases of *basur-*, *eštür-*, *içür-*, *kädür-*, *kölür-*, *tatur-* and *yapur-* are tr. The (ultimate) objects of all these verbs are, however, food and drink, clothes, carts and drawing animals, mud, medicine or words; no -(U)r- verb therefore denotes an event or a process in which three participants are involved: The causee is not an agent in the fullest sense.

When dealing with all the causative morphemes together, we will find that the

450 Cf. also *kıṇırtı* with the adverbial formative +tl in one of the two mss. in Kuan 33. See the EDPT s.v. *kıṇır* and, on the other hand, the n. to U IV C128. *körmäk kıṇırmaq* "Sehen und Scheelblicken" in UigTöt 787 is the result of a similar verbalising development as in *kıṇru*: As its meaning is not causative, it is quite unlikely to be a causative derivate from an unattested base. This is an exceedingly late text.

451 The only petrified converb from a -tUr- verb is *yanturu*; as runic Y¹NTR¹W shows, the early inscrs. syncopated the formative vowel also there.

452 *kairun-* and *sıyrun-* have no bases attested in Old Turkic.

various formatives are to a certain extent in complementary distribution regarding the shape of their bases. If one wishes to get at differences of behaviour between verbs formed with the different formatives, one has to look for them when added to monosyllabic bases ending in consonants (but not /r/ or /l/). It is this complementary distribution which makes a separate syntactic treatment of the various causative formations unnecessary.

7.52 -Ar-: LEXICAL MATERIAL

agt-ar- 'to throw, turn or roll something over; to translate' appears in the *UW* entry *agtar-* (I). The base 1 *ag-ıl-* is discussed in the section on *-(X)t-*; see the cognate *agt-ıl-* above. The *UW* entry *agtar-* (II), which gives the translation "herumgewirbelt werden" for a single U II ex., should be cancelled as such: It refers to the petrified converb couple *agtaru tonıtaru*, and petrified converbs are known to lose their causative meaning. The DLT a number of times writes this verb as *axtar-* (documented in the *EDPT*). To explain this, I take /g/ to have been a fricative at least in back-vowel surroundings; in the cluster /gt/ this then became [xt]. Before /t/ and in back-vowel words, the opposition /g : k/ appears to have been neutralised. The common dotting of the velar in the Ht text is probably intended to reflect this same fact. The common meaning 'to translate' is, beside the exs. of the *UW*,⁴⁵³ found in *UigTot* 1005, *TuoLuoNi* 159, *BuddhLett* 18, and *HtPar* 130,21-22 as published with *HtKZ* II 18. The meaning given first above has only one ex.; near to it is *kertü nomın bilmädin / kirlig ät' özkä agtarıp / ...* (BT XIII 17,14), translated "man wird mit einem schmutzigen Körper herumgewirbelt". Never having met a comitative or instrumental dative, I suggest translating 'transfer it into a dirty body'; this also serves as semantic link to 'translating'. *agtaru* is discussed below as petrified converb. Cf. *agtar-ıl-*.

ämt-är- 'to divert something in a certain direction' is, before the XIVth century, attested only once, in TT III; see the *EDPT* for it. *ämt-* 'to lean in a certain direction so as to be about to fall over' is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT on; it appears also in BT I B (75)⁴⁵⁴ and *HtPek* 158 b8 as quoted and translated in *UW* 75 b s.v. *agtarıl-* par. 2. *Ht* V2 a6 and *Maitr* 101 v13 have the biverb *ämtmiş kamutmiş* 'fallen over'.

(*katar-*, quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, is attested also in QB 2290 and 6539. It must be a contraction of **kadt-ar-*: This follows from *kaytar-*, the Oguz form

453 The instance quoted there with the unexplained *siglum* Śricakra later appeared as *UigTot* 1006.

454 Ms. B is lost. Taking the Chin. version into consideration, one could read *inürkü inmüzkä ämit-mägülük ol* 'one should tend neither towards what goes down nor towards what does not go down'. But the passage has its problems.

given in the DLT and attested also later. *katar-* means 'to turn something back', *kadut-* 'to turn back (intr.)'.⁴⁵⁵ The Uigur converb *kataru* is discussed further on below.)

ket-är- 'to send or drive away, remove'. See the *EDPT* s.v. Quite a number of additional exs. are found in BT I and II and ETŞ; further, in Ht IV 1307, V 6 a 7, X 209 and 549, BT VII A 692, ms. Mz 724 v 29-35 quoted in the n. to Hochzeit 23-4, ATSS, ShōKenkyū II 14, Nest U 323,4, BT XIII 15,17, Bhaiṣ 7, Tuo-LuoNi 8, 76 and 195, Suv 248,16 quoted in *UW* 268 b, BuddhUig I 216-218 and so forth. The adverb *ōṇi* stresses the content of *ketär-* e.g. in Maitr 129 v 15 and 26 r 7 and BuddhUig II 269. Used in a biverb with *tarkar-* (discussed further on in this section) in TT VII 40,93 (Yetikän Sudur), USp 105 a 8-9, BT I B (3), D (207) and (269), BT II 875, U III 73,28, Ht X 169-70 and ShōAv 136, 248 and 279 (only the first mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*). The equally common biverb *ket- tar-ik-* (the base of *ketär- tarkar-*) is documented under *tar-ik-* in section 7.24. *ket-* has a voiceless dental in all early texts.⁴⁵⁶

(*kutgar-* 'to save'. *EDPT* s.v. *qurtğar-* and *DTS* s.vv. *qurtqar-*, *qutqar-*, *boşumaq qutqarmaq* and *ozyur-qutqar-*. The variant with an /r/ before the /t/ appears only in Manichaean texts: M II 9,7 (text 4), M III 31,3₃ (text 13) and 35,1₂ (text 16), HamTouen 8,13 and ms. TM 163 (U 139) r 7 quoted in the n. to ManTüTex 175. The ATSS list (no texts published!) gives an instance of *kutgar-* in one fr., an uncertain instance of *kurtgar-* in another. The first variant in the alternation *tärtrü ~ tätrü* (petrified converb of section 7.51) is also used only in Manichaean text (and in the IrqB!), so that this must be a real (dialect?) characteristic.⁴⁵⁷ The second velar must be /g/ and not /k/ because it disappears in the Oguz group of languages. Those languages in which it does not disappear let it lose its

455 The *EDPT* calls this the causative of '*ka:d-' which, it is presumed, was the original form of *kay-* 'to turn or tend towards, pay heed to' (exs. in the *EDPT*). This is impossible, however, because a passage from /d/ to /y/ is not attested at such an early date. The text USp 97 quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. *kadut-* is identical with ManMsFr, which should be preferred as source. The facs. shows that *kadut-* was not intended. *kadut-* is therefore attested in Qarakhanid Turkic, in Heilk II and InscrOuig I 49: *kayıtp barayın* in this last source does come from *kadut-*, in a text which also has *kaygu < kadgu*.

456 *kedhmäsär* in Brāhmī script in TT VIII K 12 is of no importance, as the same text also has *ket-mäsär* (same meaning) in l. 10; on the other hand, the dentals of *burxan kuti*, *ot* ('weed'), *kut* and *sögöt* are also transcribed with *dh*. *kedär kedmük* (not the fricative as noted by the *EDPT*) in the DLT may be the result of a hypercorrecting back-formation from *ketti*. The *EDPT* notes the aorist of the DLT as if it only had a *fatha*; according to DankKelly it has both *fatha* and *kasra* by the first hand.

457 According to what the *EDPT* gives, the /r/ is retained in Osm. and Az. but absent in all other languages including. Tkm. This might also speak for an east-west isogloss. The Manichaean texts which have the /r/ are not among those showing characteristics of great age.

voice by assimilation. A cognate to this verb is *kutrul- ~ kurtul-* ‘to attain salvation, to be saved’. I take the two to come from *kutur-* with syncopation of its second vowel. **kutr-ar-* would then have given *kutg-ar-* by dissimilation of /r/, a universal process in the world’s languages. A similar case of dissimilation must have been **ol(o)r-ur-t-* > *olgurt-* ‘to seat’, from *olor-* ‘to sit’. The paradigmatic relationship with *kurtul-* is visible also in biverbs: *boşwn- kurtul-* has its tr. counterpart in *boşw- kutgar-*, *oz- kutrul-* in *ozKur- kutgar-*. Exs. of *kutgar-* not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* appear e.g. in Maitr 228 r 2, ETŞ 9,21, and 20,195, UigFalt 72, Weih 6, Ht X 661; exs. for the biverb *ozKur- kutgar-* appear under *oz-Kur-*.)

(*oñar-* signifies ‘to make or do something right, correctly, rightfully or well, to succeed, to be right in something’; also ‘to fathom, to comprehend’. The connection with *oñ* ‘right’ assumed in the *EDPT* entry⁴⁵⁸ is difficult to uphold: A +*KAr-* derivate from *oñ* would have retained the velar, as *tāñ+Kār-* shows; an +(A)*r-* derivate would have been intr. and signified ‘to be or become what the base nominal denotes’.⁴⁵⁹ I take *oñar-* to come from the base of *oñul-* ‘to recover (intr.)’; see that in section 7.31 also for the base. The Suv ex. quoted in the *EDPT* belongs to the semantic domain of the first translations suggested above. So do the QB instances; the ones in couplets 205, 1643, 1813, 1842, 1967, 2222 and 5507 are not mentioned in the QB. *ayturulmuş üt ärigig adırılıg oñarıp / ... iş kılıñlar* (ETŞ 13,167) could perhaps also be accommodated with this meaning. The other Uigur exs. clearly have the latter meanings listed above: *tuya oñaru yarlıka-* (BT II 271), *tuyup bilip oñargu ol* (BT I D (252)), *tözüg uksar oñarsar ...* (*ibid.* B (95)), *tuyguluk oñarguluk* (ETŞ 15,64), *yörüg-[ärin kalı]sızın ukdum oñardım* (BT VIII A 185), *iğäsiz kurugın oñarsar* ‘if one perceives the derelict voidness of the ...’ (UigKan 26). Ms. Ch/U 7555 v 4 in ĀgFrag (1) p. 272 has: *barçanı koşup kılmuş m(ä)n, munı bir yolu sakınıp ma umaz m(ä)n, oñarıp ma umaz m(ä)n*. If *sakın-* and *oñar-* are to have similar meanings and (negated) form a climax, *oñar-* should here also signify ‘to comprehend’ and not “verbessern”.⁴⁶⁰ *oñargalı bolmaz* (HtPar 16 r 5) may also sig-

458 It tacitly changes the last word in the quotation from QB 1989; it should read *işin*. I don’t think the verb is attested in the DLT at all, in spite of a statement in this entry: The passage quoted there has an unintelligible ‘NK’KAY° in nominal or adnominal function.

459 *oñ* usually signifies ‘right’ as the opposite of ‘left’, more rarely as the opposite of ‘wrong’. Even in the latter meaning, it is not easily accommodated with *oñar-*: In that meaning it denotes the entity which is right and not the person who is right. There is no reason to think that a parallelism with English ‘to be right’ holds.

460 I think this difficult text can be understood better if both this sentence and the one following it (both followed by the words *tep turur* ‘he keeps on saying’) are taken to have been uttered by the *idok kut* and only reported by the writer of the letter. The *idok kut* may have complained that he

nify 'to comprehend', if we take it to be similar to *tüpKärgäli bolmaz tözin tüpin* (HtPar 14 v15) and *könülkä inçıp ötKürgäli bolmaz* (HtPar 16 r2); the three passages are quoted in the n. to Ht VII 1870. A further ex. appears in fragmentary context in BT XIII 35,13. *onKargalı bolmagu* "nicht heilen könnend" in BT XIII 1,86 is damaged; if read correctly, it might be a different verb to be analysed e.g. as *on+Kar-*.⁴⁶¹

tägl-är- 'to blind' is discussed in the *EDPT*. An ex. not mentioned there occurs in Maitr 173 r17: *amarı kaz[gukın] közlärin täglärürlär, amarıları tämirliğ tırnakın bir ikintiškä tarmaşurlar*. A Warnke 319 verb must have received one L hook by mistake, and be an instance of *täglär-*: *birök tınl(ı)gların ämgäk tolgak täginmiş[lärin] körmış üdtä . . . bi bıçgu üzä közin täglälmış [. . .] täg bolup . . . mänikä tägürgäli küsüyü y(a)rlıkarlar* 'When they once have seen that creatures undergo suffering₂, they get as if somebody had blinded them with knives₂ and . . . they graciously wish to lead them to happiness'. I am now told by P. Zieme that a parallel ms. of this text here actually has *täglärmış*. The simple base *tägil-* 'to be blinded' is always used with *köz* in the absolute case, served as base for *tägl-ök* 'blind' (q.v. in section 3.102) and probably had no connection with *täg-*. The *EDPT* confused this *tägil-* with *täg-il-*, an *-(X)l-* verb discussed above; see that for details.⁴⁶²

tärt-är- 'to make somebody sweat' is in the *EDPT* quoted only from TT VIII M35: *uzatı tärtärmış kärgäk* 'One must make him sweat extensively'. *tärit-* 'to sweat' is documented in the *EDPT*: Additional exs. of it are found in Heilk II 3,31 and 187; also in *işlärig ätözi tärtinginçä işlägülük ol* (BT VIII A77), where the Tib. original says "und den Schweiß ausbrechen lassende Arbeiten verrichtet". A further ex. is *titrämäkim teritmäkim* (thus!?) *ärtinü asıldı* (HtPek 48 r2-5) "Mein Zittern und Schwitzen hat sich sehr vermehrt". *tärit-* is no doubt connected with *tär* 'sweat', but the derivation is obscure; being intr. (and not passive either), it is improbable that it should be an *-(X)t-* causative. Moreover, its aorist form (found in Heilk II 3,31 and the DLT) has an /A/, unlike those of *-(X)t-* verbs but like those of the bases of the other verbs discussed in this section.

toñt-ar- 'to turn (upside) down (tr.)'. *EDPT* s.v. '*töñder-*', but it is clearly back-

was unable even to comprehend or to learn the texts unless they were put into verse. For *bir yolı* 'even' cf. some uses of Republican Turkish adverbial *bir*.

461 The ed.'s translation does not accord with the meaning of *onar-*. *onar-* is never spelled as *ongar-*, and the glossary to the work should have listed them separately.

462 '*täklärür*', as has been read in M I 11,6 (TeilBuch), is almost certainly to be emended to *ı(ä)ñrilär*. L hooks frequently get misplaced; transferring the one of this word to the first R, we get: *ol üdkä k(a)mag ı(ä)ñrilär m(ä)ñigü ögrünçülüg s(ä)vinçlig bolgaylar* 'Then all the gods will be eternally happy and joyous'.

vocalic in Runic, Uigur and Brāhmī scripts. An ex. not
töpön tonṭaru bir yolça eltü bardılar (Suv 8,3 as completed in
 ‘They held me down by the head and led me away (straight
 The verb in Tariat E 8 read as ‘*toqytyrtym*’ by Kljaštornyj and
 T. Tekin is probably another instance.⁴⁶³ The petrified con-
 tioned together with *agtaru* in section 7.522. The DLT w
töṇdār-, its base as *töṇüt-*; the front vowels may be due to
tön- ‘to return’. The same variant of the base is found alre
 quoted in the *DTS* entry) with *baş* ‘head’ as object, as in the
 a 18, on the other hand, still has the original back vowel
maduk ätözin ‘with unbent and unstooping body’. The e
 base appears in *ögirip sävinip tonṭmuş közi yügärü körti* ‘
 their downcast eyes began to face things’ in BQ E 2. The
 T¹WNGT¹MS², which means that the second vowel can’t
 written e.g. in the *EDPT*). Nor can the word have been ‘*to*
 e.g. writes) in view of the above evidence. The passage from
 one of the change which occurred in the shape of the *-(X)t-*
 appear to be that same change in case the verb can be cor
 QB *twnül-* (q.v. in the *EDPT*), “give up a matter, despair
 (*utar-* is, in Old Türkic, a hap. in HamTouen 11,5, spelled ‘W
yavlak yagig utargay siz, translated “Vous vaincrez le
 Perhaps it is rather a synonym of Yak. *utār-* ‘to drive off’. T
 “sans doute l’intensif en -^or- de *ut-* ‘vaincre’”, but we kno
 tive. *ut-* ‘to defeat’ is found also (but not only) in simila
türlüg ş(i)mnu süsin utup yegädip . . . (TT IV B 55) or *yag*
 For details see the petrified converb *utru* further on in thi
yumd-ar- ‘to bring together’ is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from th
 Uigur only has the form *yumdaru*, which appears as *yum*
 1077) and *yumdaru tuṭulur alko nomlar bir yükmäk*
 (AbhiKār 18a); here, *yumdaru tut-* corresponds to Skt. *sa*
 exs. of *yumdaru* are mentioned below as petrified converb
 QB 2996 is not mentioned in the *EDPT* either. *yumit-*
 assemble” (q.v. in the *EDPT*) is common, but only in DLT
 etc. The Codex Comanicus writes this verb as *yomdar-* a
 from the ultimate base as *yomuk-* (an error for *yomut-* if on

463 N¹G differs from K¹ only by a small vertical line which may, in this c
 furrow in the stone. We get: *(a)nta tonṭ(a)rt(i)m*, *k(a)n[ın . . .]* *(a)nta yo*
(a)nta (i)şg(ā)rt(i)m ‘There I overturned (the Türk state) and [took G
 annihilated, there I subdued the Türk nation’.

935 b); we may therefore be wrong with the /u/. The base **yum-* is not attested,⁴⁶⁴ but we list many derivatives from it under *yumgi* (section 3.110). One of them, we believe, is *yumurtga* ‘egg’, which is written with U in BuddhKat (Tib. script). Taking all modern cognates into consideration, /u/ seems a bit likelier.⁴⁶⁵

The following three verbs can also be called -Ar- verbs, although no immediate base is attested for two of them. All three appear to come from -Xk- derivatives (as discussed in section 7.24). A fourth such verb *could* be *könKär-*, with which I have dealt in section 7.53; its base *could* also be a verb formed with -(X)k-.

bütKär- ‘to complete, accomplish’ is practically a synonym of *büt-ür-*, with which it even appears as biverb in ETŞ 13,130. It presumably comes from **büt-ük-*. EDPT s.v. ‘*bütgür-*’. To his exs. add *bütKärür* (BT I D (172)), *bütKärıp* (ETŞ 16,22), *bütKärälim* (ETŞ 13,122), *paramutlarig bütKärıp* (ShōAv 237 and 337-8), *pudgul işlärig bütKärıp* (BT XIII 21,8), all visible on facss. The form with °ü° in the second syllable, which the EDPT takes to be basic, is attested only in USp 70,4.⁴⁶⁶

kısKar- is not mentioned in the EDPT; DTS once from Suv. Add *şımnı küçin kısKarı*... (ETŞ 13,111). The Suv ex. *adınların küçin küsünün kısKarıp kävip*... probably signifies ‘to reduce or control the strength₂ of others’. Röhrborn states in a review in CAJ 24 (1980): 156 that the verb is attested also in BT VII A 704, in a biverb with *käv-* again; cf. also the facs. As *bütKär-* and *bütür-* are causative cognates, so are *kısKar-* and *kıs-ur-*. On the analogy of the former, the base of *kısKar-* and *kısur-* could also have had an intr. use; cf. especially *kısur-* in section 7.51 and *kıs-ga* in section 3.323. *kısınç* in BT II 567 (where Le Coq’s transcription is unnecessarily questioned) probably comes from the unattested direct base of *kısKar-*, and should be analysed as *kıs-(i)k-(X)nç*. Here we have a parallelism with the verb of the next entry, for *kısınç* is similar to *tarkınç* from *tar-ık-*. Cf. also the formal parallelism between *kıs-ga* ‘short etc.’ and *tar-ka* ‘alone, lonely’.

tark-ar- ‘to drive away, remove’. The EDPT was led into a wrong translation by its erroneous etymology. See also the DTS. The form spelt as *trkärür* in M III 5,4₂ (text 1) should probably be read as *t(a)rkarur*, which differs from the former only by two dots on the K. *tarkarur* is found also in I.5,3₁ there. *tarkar-* appears in an additional eleven exs. in BT II, with objects like *alko ayıg* (Uig-

464 Not to be confused with *yüm-* ‘to close one’s eyes’.

465 Cf. on the other hand e.g. *özä* in the Codex Comanicus for Old Turkic *üzä*.

466 Not 70,6, as written in the EDPT. This is a late contract about which Radloff writes: “Dieses Schriftstück ist so verwischt, daß viele Wörter kaum entzifferbar sind”.

Falt 66), *bag çug* (TuoLuoNi 7), *nızvanı* (BT VII H20), *ilig ad[k]aklar* (BT VIII A307 etc.), *ürtüglär* (ShōKenkyū II 12). The biverb *keřär-tarkar-* is found e.g. in TT VII 40,93 and ShōAv 136; see *tar-ık-* for the common biverb *ket-tarik-*. Further exs. of *tarkar-* occur in BT VIII B35, 70, 135, 212, 214 etc., UigTot 88, 132 and 873, ManTüTex (13) 248 and 252 (*tarkarur*), Abhi 625, 635, 640 and elsewhere. Why the *EDPT* says that *tarkar-* “was in fact *tarğar-*” is not clear: Among the five Brāhmī exs., four write *tarkar-*; the only one which writes *targar-* (text A) also has *tayag*, *tutugsuz* and several times *bilkä*. In Manichaean script, two exs. of *tarkar-* quoted above (and spelled with Q) are not mentioned by the *EDPT*, and the *tarkar-* of Windgott is misquoted. Cf. *tark-ınc* in Toñ 22. *tar-ık-*, the base of *tarkar-*, is quoted in section 7.24.

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agtaru toñtaru ‘in somersaults’ qualifies the verb *tägzin-* in a hap. in U II 4,10.

Although the forms are those of two *-Ar-* verbs, there is no causative meaning here (as there is none in any of the petrified converbs of causatives). *agtalı toñtalı täg(z)in-* in Tug 48 has the same meaning. It appears to be a cross between *agtaru toñtaru* and the passive meaning of *agt-ıl-* (q.v. among *-(X)l-* verbs). Instead of these, the Suv has twice *agtarılu toñtarılu* with the same meaning: This last couple reminds one of the replacement of quasi-passives in *-(X)l-* by *-ıXl-* verbs. No finite verbs ‘*toñtal-*’ or ‘*toñtarıl-*’ are attested: This proves, I think, that the source of the last-mentioned two couples is in *agtaru toñtaru*. All three couples are mentioned in the *UW* under the respective stems of their first members; the exs. of *agtl-* are not “Lesefehler” for *agtal-*, however.

kataru appears as follows: *birök Yatıyadı* (read thus!) *azkı(y)a kařaru yanıp közüngünü bakmış ärsär*, ... (BuddhUig I 73) “Wenn Yajñadatta sich ein wenig zurückgezogen hätte und (dann) in den Spiegel geschaut hätte, ...”; *[ka]vıklayı saçılı, kařaru yanıp kälmyü* ... (Neujahr 30) “wie Kleie verstreut werdend, nicht umkehrend und zurückkommend ...”; *biri bädük bärğä üzä tüz töpürä uru elgimin* (*eligimin* in the Leningrad ms.) *kataru bap* ... (Suv 7,22 according to the Leningrad ms., which has a lacuna after *kataru*, and the Suv-Leg ms.) ‘One of them struck me with a great whip, twisted my hands backwards and bound them ...’.⁴⁶⁷ While the third ex. could have causative meaning as translated, the two instances of *kataru yan-* ‘to turn back (intr.)’ have it in petrified intr. use.

467 The conjectures ‘*meni*’ before *tüz* and ‘*iki*’ before *elgimin* are unnecessary both for grammar and the understanding.

utru 'opposite, facing, against' is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. It is often joined to verbs like *yori-* (ŞU S3), *tur-* (M III 22,9₂, text 8), *käl-* (TT I 96, 112, 113, 175, BT II 960 as *uturu*, AbitAnk 101), *bar-* (IrqB XLIII, U II 26,17, U III 70,5, ShōAv 147), *tut-* (Ht X724), *ötün-* (ShōAv 121). It is sometimes accompanied by *yüz* 'face', e.g. in *yüz utru käl-* (Maitr 164 r 18), *yüzümüz utru* (TT II 1,6), *yüzün utru tur-* (M III) etc. It was also nominalised, e.g. in *utruṇda asıg tusu yedärü kälti* (TT I 113) 'Advantages₂ have come towards you chasing (each other)'. Absolute usēs of *utru* can be found notably in the IrqB. The following instance looks as if it were not an ex. of the petrified converb but of a verb *utur-*: *uzaṭı anıṇ ıdıḡların uturu keṭärip . . .* (ETŞ 13,162) 'If one opposes at great length one's hamperings and drives them off . . .'. This need not be so, however, and we might have the same *utru* secondarily stretched. Yak. *utār-* 'to drive off' was above connected with the Old Turkic hap. *utar-*. Yak. *also* has a verb *utār-* 'to oppose', however, and that would regularly correspond to **ut-ur-*. Either of the two may be a back-formation from *utru* (which must have been very common indeed), unless one wishes to envisage a formative -Ar- originally differing in meaning from -Ur-. *utr-un-* (dealt with in section 7.21 above) and the DLT's *utruş-* (q.v. in the *EDPT*) could come from either. How all this connects with Mo. *učira-* 'to meet' is not clear.

yumdaru is a petrified converb in *b[a]rça yumdaru İÇTİN TAŞTIN iḡırır bölök bolsar ymä . . .* (Junshō B v6) where, together with *barça*, it signifies something like 'all in all'. It goes with numbers also e.g. in Abhi 622, 623 and 624. Further: *bo yumdaru iki samazlarka tayaklıḡ ärür: 'äṇ'ılki nıṇ samaz ikinti lıḡ samaz ärür* (Abhi 1959) "This (Abhidharmakośa) is based upon two compounds in all: first the *tatpuruṣa* compound and secondly the *bahuvrīhi* compound".

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The converb and aorist vowel of this formation is /U/. Thus we have, beside the petrified converbs just quoted, *täḡlärü sanç-* in KP LVIII 7, *täḡlärürlär* in Maitr 173 r 17, *keṭärürlär* in BT I D (284), *tonṭaru tık-* in M II 13,5 (text 5), *töpön tonṭaru* in Suv 8,3 (+ ms. T I 164 r 9), *kısKaru* (ETŞ 13,111), *tarkarur* (M III 5,4₂ and 5,3₁) etc.

All -Ar- verbs are bisyllabic. All are derived from one or two syllable bases, many of which are simple. Whether -Ar- could be added to bases ending in vowels cannot be determined: -Ar- and -Ur- become, of course, identical when they lose their vowel. Their converb and aorist vowel is also the same. In the previous section we listed a few -Ur- verbs added to vowel stems; they could also have been -Ar- derivatives. -Ar- and -Ur- verbs do not differ from the functional point of view either: Like -Ur-, -Ar- forms verbs with two and never with three participants: In

no instance is there a causee made to act upon a third entity. The vowel syncope in (C)VCVC- shaped bases, which we saw with *-Ur-*, is the rule here as well. Why *tamit-* should have been expanded with *-Ur-*, *ämit-*, on the other hand, with *-Ar-*, is not clear to me; unless *ämit-* originally had the shape **ämtä-* with the final vowel retained in the causative. Concerning *tar-ık-* and *tarkar-* we find the vowel /a/ again in the aorist *tarık-ar-*; cf., for this, Erdal, 1979 a: 117-118. The syntax of the formatives *-Ur-* and *-Ar-* will, at any rate, be dealt with together.

7.53 +gAr-: LEXICAL MATERIAL

and+gar- ‘to make somebody swear an oath’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT. *andg[ar-* with dotted N and Q in LetterTunHuang 9 is in fragmentary context.

(*aŋ+Kar-* is a hap. in ETS 13,143, in a passage best translated in *UW* 262 b s.v. ‘*aŋkak*’ par A,c. The entry in *UW* 163 states that it could be an error for *oŋar-*; this is especially unlikely since no certain ex. of *oŋar-* spelled as *oŋgar-* has appeared.⁴⁶⁸ See *aŋla-* ‘to understand’ in section 5.12 for the (possible) base *aŋ*. If it is not an error, *aŋKar-* could be ‘to understand’: This is the meaning in which the verb is quoted from modern languages).

(*asKar-* ‘to give profit; to help on the road to salvation’ is adequately discussed in the *UW* entry, except for its etymology: It can’t be an *+Ar-* derivate from *as-ıg* (q.v. in the *UW*) as *+(A)r-* (discussed in section 5.45 above) forms intr. verbs usually signifying ‘to be or become (the base)’. A derivation of the shape *as-(ı)k-ar-* is also unlikely: *asKar-* is semantically linked to the specific developments which *asıg* underwent in Uigur, in which *as-* ‘to augment’ did not participate. I therefore take it to be simplified from **asıg+Kar-*.)

(*at+gar-* ‘to make one or help one mount a horse’, DLT fol. 119. Also in later and modern sources (*EDPT*).)

baş+gar- is best attested in r63 of a colophon published in AbiShotan p. 76: *yanlok ägsük bolmuş ärsär özümnüñ başgarıp umayukum ärür* ‘If it turns out to be wrong or deficient, that is because I myself was unable to carry it out successfully’. A further instance, appearing in TT I 11 and quoted in the *EDPT*, is obscure. See the *EDPT* also for the etymological connection. Otherwise attested only from the XIVth century on, with the meanings ‘to show the way; to complete a task, settle a matter’. That the velar was /g/ can be inferred from the fact that it disappears in Ottoman *başar-*, whose meaning is identical with that of the Uigur ex. of the colophon.

468 See *oŋar-*, which can also signify ‘to understand’, in section 7.52. The reading of the ETS 13 passage in *UW* 36 b is now obsolete.

(*muṇ+kar-* ‘to cause distress’ is found only in the DLT and the QB as quoted in the *EDPT*. Spelled thus with Q. Related to *muṇ+uk-*.)

çin+gar- ‘to investigate something; according to the DLT, “to search out the root of a matter and determine the truth about it”. Spelled with *ghain* and not *qāf* in the DLT, which is why I take the velar to have been voiced in Old Turkic as well. The converb *çingaru* is discussed below. Other forms are *çingarıp adırtlap* (TT V B 76) and, not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, *yañlokin köntü[rüp] ornatıp çingarıp* . . . (Ht X 233), *töziñä tägi çingarıp* . . . (ShōKenkyū III 34), *KÖNGÜLni çingarzunlar* (BuddhUig I 125) and *tüz nom* . . . *tuta çingarguçı* (Warnke 620). The instances of U III 36,17 and 53,4₂ are wrongly spelled with °ng° = /ŋ/ by the editor; the facs. shows NQ in both cases. I am unable to check the facs. in TT X 459, where the edition has *çınaru*. *çin+ık-* ‘of news or a statement, to be confirmed, found genuine’ appears in the DLT etc. (*EDPT*).

ädgü+Kär- ‘to change to the better, to reform (tr.)’ has to be taken to exist because of U IV A 277: *uzun turkaru adın tınl(ı)glarıg adgüKärü katıglantı tavrantı* ‘He continuously strove to reform the other people’. As a noun in the directive case *ädgüKärü* could not have had a direct object; as a converb it is parallel to *kötürü* before it. Cf. further *ädgüKärü uzık(ı)ya üllädiñ* “hast du zum Guten trefflich Ratschläge erteilt” in BT XIII 12,141. The glossary takes this to be the directive of *ädgü*, but I don’t think that is quite as satisfactory by meaning. One of the DLT’s three uses for *ädgär-*, *ol yavuz nāñni ädgärdi* ‘He repaired the damaged article’, has a meaning closer to that of *ädgüKär-*: It may have come from *ädgüKär-* by syncope of the second vowel, making the two verbs coincide.

äd+gär- ‘to attach importance to something and pay attention to it’. *DTS* and *EDPT*. Found also in Manichaean script. The meaning of the M III exs. goes together with the second one given by the DLT.⁴⁶⁹ A further ex. is *ädgärmätin adın öñi iş küdüg sav sakınçlarıg* (BuddhUig II 57), not very satisfactorily translated as “beschäftigt”: By the context, the meaning is in fact the same as above. *äd+ık-* ‘to succeed in something’ no doubt has the same base but, to judge by meaning, *ädgär-* is not an -Ar- derivate from it.

iç+gär- ‘to introduce something into something else, to subdue, conquer (metaphorically as well)’. The /g/ is testified to by one Brāhmī and three runic exs. mentioned in the *EDPT*. Appears also in the (runic) Tariat 23 and 27. The biverb *tut-içgär-* occurs in BT II 363, 614, 745, 822 and 1337, *siñir-içgär-* in Ht

469 The *EDPT*’s source for Karaim apparently was Radloff I 844, q.v. The verb mentioned there must, however, be a derivate from *et-* ‘to make’. Another verb *etkerme* is mentioned by A. Mardkiewicz, *Karay Sez-Bitigi* (Karaimisches Wörterbuch), Łuck, 1935., translated “durchbohren, zerhacken”; this, in turn, should perhaps be connected with *ötgür-* ‘to pierce’ etc. in Old Turkic.

V 8 a 9, *sıgur- içgār-* in ShōAv 245, none of them in the *EDPT*. Still further exs. appear in ETŞ 10,80, Hazai 20, BT VII B 5 and 46, Maitr 65 v 3, BT XIII 20,20 and HamTouen 1,55. Related semantically and apparently also derivationally with *iç+ik-* ‘to enter, capitulate, submit (a.o. to a foreign ruler)’. Cf. the frequently occurring *içgārū* ‘inwards, the inside, interior’.

(*könKār-* DLT fol. 365. ‘to straighten (tr.); guide (someone) to the road; force someone to confess’. Probably syncopated from **köni+gār-* from *köni* ‘straight, upright’. In DLT fol. 627 there is a verb written thrice as *köndgür-*, once as *köndgār-* and twice with no vowel in the second syllable. In one of these vowelless instances, a second hand added an A. Fol. 628 adds the (further) derivate *köndgürt-* (written thus by the first hand). All of these are written as ‘*köndgār-*’ by DankKelly, but the evidence is in favour of *köndgür-*. This is probably a *-gUr-* derivate from *kön-it-*, or possibly from *kön-* with a parasitic stop. Cf. *gönder-* < **köndgār-* in South West Turkic. The *EDPT* confuses the two DLT verbs. As noted there, *könKār-* appears in a section for quadriliterals; it therefore cannot be read as ‘*könār-*’. *könKār-* could also come from **kön-(X)k-är-*: *kön-ük-* has not come up in Old Turkic but lives on in several modern languages. Cf. *kön-tül-* in section 7.31, where *kön-* and *kön-it-* are also discussed).

könül+Kār- ‘to reflect on something (in the accusative)’. It is attested only in Uigur script, whence the indeterminacy of the formative’s velar. *DTS* s.v. ‘*könül ker-*’ (i.e. two lexemes!) and *EDPT*. Additional exs. appear in Adams 36 (with *uk-*), BT II 648, Maitr 151 r 22, 152 r 27 and 43 r 2, UigTot 1054, 1072, 1079, 1179 etc., AbhiKār B 8, BT VIII Nachtr. 2-3,3 and 7.

kudı+Kar- is attested only in BodhiAvaKomm 5 (Uigur script) in the phrase *kudıKarmaklıg köñül*, translated as “ein Sinn des Erniedrigens”. The eds. want to reconstitute this form also in l.12. Cf. *kudıKar-tur-* below. Wrongly spelled with *o* by the eds.: As *kudı+kı* in Brāhmī script (TT VIII A 2) and Uzb. *kuyı* as quoted in the *EDPT* show, the base had a /u/. Clauson wrote *o* because of his erroneous etymology. *kudı* ‘down(wards)’ should not be confused with a lexeme meaning ‘strongly, very’, *kođı* in TT VIII A 4. See *kud-i* in section 3.118.

san+gar- is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from DLT fol. 361, where *ol anı kişidin san-gardı* (with *ghain*) is translated as “He considered him to be a person”. Appreciation is connoted especially in BuddhUig II 17: *sangarmaz ärti at küü bulunç alınç ağır ayagıg*, in UW 293a translated as “er legte keinen Wert auf...”. In a fragmentary passage in UigOn III C 2, the ed. thinks a form which looks rather like *sañsarmatın* may in fact be *sañgarmatın* and constitute a spelling variant for this verb.

taş+gar- ‘to bring out, give out, get out’. *DTS* and *EDPT*; the latter quotes a runic instance with voiced velar. Cf. also the *EDPT* s.v. *taşgaru*, and *taş+ık-* above.

Add *taşgarıp* from ETŞ 9,61, 10,227 and 13,62. *ridi taşgar-* (BuddhUig II 399, GuanJing 46-7) is 'to reveal supernatural powers'. Further *tartıp taşgarıp tın-l(i)glarig ünñür-* (Abhi 72).

tāṇ+Kār- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from DLT fol. 617, where it signifies "to balance one thing with another". Add *yöläştürgäli tāṇKärgäli* (BT I B (240)) and *tarıg tāṇärip* (thus!) *alsun* (Ernte 112). *KÜÇläriñä tāṇKärip* in ShōAv 284 is translated as "gemäß ihren je eigenen Kräften". Neither Uigur nor Arabic script help us determine whether the velar is voiced. Cf. the hap. *tāṇ+ik-* above.

tüp+Kār- 'to fathom a matter, get to its roots, understand it fully'. *tüp+ük-* 'to get completed', used only in late texts, was probably not the base for this, as the meanings are incompatible. For exs. see the *DTS* s.v. 'tözkär- tüpkär-' and the *EDPT*. Also ShōAv 339, BT I A₂ 12, B (238) and D (184), Ht IV 424 and 1090, V 13 a4 and VII 2 b3. Further: *ötKürmiş tüpKärmış* (Maitr 127 r24), *tüpKärü tuymış* (ETŞ 10,171), *inçgäläp tüpKärdi ulug [ış] küdüglärig* (HtPar 130,12), *tüpKärü kâz-* (HtPar 130,2) "gründlich durchwandern", *tüpKärü bilgäli max-ayan nomug* (HtPar 16 v19-21) "to fathom and know the teachings of Mahāyāna", *amrılmış KÖNGÜL üzä tüpKärsär . . .* (BuddhUig I 266).

tüz+Kār- and its derivatives are attested only in Uigur script and in the DLT, which makes the velar ambiguous. Cf. *tüzKäriñsiz* and *tüzKärgülüksüz* in section 3.12. It is proven in OdaRemarks 66 that these lexemes come from *tüz* 'level, even, equal' and not from *töz* 'origin'. The *EDPT* quotes the verb from M III and from the DLT. The M III instance belongs to *täz-gür-*, however, and not to this verb; see *-gUr-* below. The verb which the *EDPT* there quotes as *tüzgär-* and translates as "to guide" is by DankKelly translated as "to give (somebody) a gift". Its shape is shown to be *täzKür-* altered to *tüzKär-* in the perfect and to *tüzKür-* in the aorist and the infinitive. This surely does not belong here. I prefer the *EDPT* rendering of Arabic *ahdaytuhu*, not far from 'to help to escape'; cf. *täz-gür-* in section 7.54. What *tüzKärsär m(ä)n* in BuddhUig I 2 means is not clear to me. In the HtPar 199,16 passage quoted in UW 189-90, *arıglayu tüzKärgü* (spelled with *g* by Röhrborn) corresponds to a Chin. lexeme translated as "verfeinern". Seeing that *arig+la-* is 'to sift out, pick out the best' and *tüz+ük-* (among other things) 'to become harmonious', *tüzKär-* might, in the context, signify 'to make even, harmonize'. The nominal forms mentioned above signify 'unbettered, unsurpassable'.⁴⁷⁰

470 *an-uttara* (Skt.), which *tüzKäriñsiz* is intended to translate, is a possessive derivate signifying 'something which has nothing beyond, something concerning which there is nothing surpassing'. *tüzKäriñsiz* claims even greater excellence for the entity being so described, as it denotes 'something unequalled'. The n. to TT X96 confuses the meanings of *tüzKäriñsiz* and *tüpKäriñsiz*: *tüp+Kär-* ist not "den Gipfel erreichen", as written there: There is no reason why Old Turkic

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There is no reason to take *ıçgärü* 'inside, inner, inwards' and *taşgaru* 'outside, outer, outwards' to be petrified converbs of this formation. The directive is a real and lively case already in the inscs., and the two forms concerned are more common than *ıçgär-* and *taşgar-*. In the following, however, we have a dilemma:

birgärü has G in TT VIII C, a ms. in which velars are very carefully distinguished.

To the EDPT's exs.⁴⁷¹ add BT II 984 and 1325, BT III 61, 428, 913, 969, BT VIII A3 and ETŞ 9,45, 13,160 and 175, 16,5 and 20,44. The living causative of *bir+ik-* appears to be *biriktür-* (q.v. among the *-tUr-* verbs). *birgärü* could well be the directive of *bir*, were it not for the existence of *birgärt-* (clearly a *-(X)t-* verb) and for its paradigmatic connection with *bir+ik-* (to which we return below). It means 'to one place' or, if one prefers it, 'collecting at one place'. It *could* then also be a petrified converb.

çingarü has no directive meaning and can only be a converb; whether it is a 'petrified' one is not clear. It often appears in phrases like *çingarü kör-* 'to look closely' or *çingarü sakın-* 'to think deeply (also in LautHöllen 126). See *çin+gar-* above.

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It is clear that the velar of this formative was voiced from the earliest texts on: *ıçgär-* and *taşgar-* are spelled with G² and G¹ in the runic inscriptions.⁴⁷² *atgar-*, *başgar-*, *çingar-*, *üdgar-* and *sangar-* also had /g/. The only counter-evidence is Qarakhanid *munkar-*, which is several times written with /k/ in the sources. Further DLT support for /g/ appears in *and+gar-* ~ (with elision of the dental) *angar-* (q.v. above), *ot+gar-* 'to graze (an animal)' and *suv+gar-* 'to water (a horse etc.)'. It is highly likely, therefore, that the formative had the shape *+gAr-* in all verbs. This is not wholly beyond doubt, however: *tüzKär-* or *könülKär-* might be *tüzkär-* or *könülkär-*, e.g., as the opposition between /g/ and /k/ may get neutralised after what, in Old Turkic, behaves as a sonant. *çingar-* and *sangar-* speak against this, since /n/ is one of the sonants. Seeing that *munkar-* has a /k/, *tänKär-* and *añKar-* *could* also have one. A special behaviour around /ŋ/ is not noted from

should have confused bottom and peak or pinnacle. *tüzKärinçsiz* is not "unergründlich" (and should not be derived from *töz*), as its use shows.

471 U II 53,5₂, Utsuqmaqsız Darni, is quoted in a misleading way in the DTS: In the ms., the letters *kä* following the word are written separately and themselves followed by a lacuna; they could as well be the beginning of a new word.

472 Amanžolov, 1969: 60 is of the opinion that this affix is not found in runic texts. The first of these two verbs appears in BQ and the second in ŞU, however.

any other domain of Old Turkic grammar, however, and *mun̄kar-* better remains a lone Qarakhanid (but not Old Turkic) exception. Even if there is thus sufficient evidence that the formative did start with a voiced velar, it does not seem too likely that the directive should have emerged from petrified converbs of this formation.

A number of +gAr- verbs have a paradigmatic relationship with +(X)k- verbs, *andgar-* with *antık-* (*andık-*), *birgärü* / *birgärt-* with *birik-*, *mun̄kar-* with *munuk-*, *çungar-* with *çunuk-*, *içgär-* with *içik-*, *taşgar-* with *taşık-*, *tänKär-* with *tänik-* and *tüzKär-* with *tüzük-*.⁴⁷³ In view of the formal and semantic parallelisms, it seems likely that +gAr- comes from +(X)k+Ar-. The voicing of the velar cannot have been too early: *çikar-*, a variant of *taşgar-* appearing from QB and DLT on and the only form in some Turkic languages today, clearly goes back to **taşikar-* with a different syncope pattern. In Old Turkic, however, the vowel of +(X)k- was syncope away as the vowels of -VC- / +VC- suffixes when they become the first element in a combination. The first element vowels of the combinations -lXn-, -tUr- or -sXk-, e.g. got elided even when they appear after consonants. -tXl- (section 7.32), on the other hand, occasionally has the shape -XtXl- after consonants. The fact that +gAr- has no such variant may indicate a stronger juncture between the elements of the combination. As for the problem of the difference between the velars: The opposition /k/ : /g/ appears to be very weak after consonants in Old Turkic, if present at all.⁴⁷⁴ The phonology of Old Turkic has not yet been written, and this matter must also remain open for the time being. Note only that the change from *-zXk- to -sXk- involves the opposite process, devoicing.

Because of these phonological differences, the morphological relationship between +(X)k- and +gAr- is not as agglutinative as one is used to in many Turkic languages. This relationship is, however, real and clear enough for us to deal with +gAr- here and not among the denominal verbs: +gAr- verbs are -Ar- expansions of +(X)k- verbs. Note also that denominal formatives are either only intr. (as +Ar-, +Ad-, +U- etc.) or indifferent to the tr. : intr. distinction (as +A-, +lA- etc.); but none of them are consistently tr. By behaviour, therefore, +gAr- verbs accord with -Ar- and with -Ur- verbs, and their syntax is dealt with together with the syntax of those. In *birik-tür-* and the hap. legomena *ılıkdur-* (Suv), *tärsikdür-* (TuoLuoNi), *adaktur-* (twice TuoLuoNi, one passage), *kirikdür-* (Suv) and *uçukdur-* (CYK), +(X)k- verbs do resort to the 'normal' causative expansion of derived verbs: This happens only in late texts. Note that *biriktür-* replaces the

473 With *äd+ik-* vs. *äd+gär-* and *tüp+ük-* vs. *tüp+Kär-*, the semantic relationship between the lexemes as we have it in our texts does not admit the hypothesis that the +gAr- verb comes from the one ending in +(X)k-.

474 This opposition is well upheld after vowels, e.g. in *agı* 'treasure' : *akı* 'generous', *äg-* 'to bend' : *äk-* 'to sow'; I have not been able to find minimal pairs for postconsonantal position, however.

unattested source of *birgärü* and *birgärt-*. *birgärt-* is also the only attested expansion of a *+gAr-* verb.

Modern forms of this formation are listed in Schakir, 1933: 29.

7.54 *-gUr-*: LEXICAL MATERIAL

amurt-Kur- ‘to allay, to pacify, to stop’ is documented in the *UW*. We have it only from Uigur and only in Uigur script, which leaves the velar indeterminate; evidence does tend to indicate that it was voiced, though. See its intr. counterpart *amrıl-* in section 7.31 above for other cognates and unattested ultimate base. A verb *amurt-* (with rounding due to the /m/) ‘to quiet (an angry person, a refractory foal)’ appears in DLT fol. 630. Kāšgarī quotes it from verse, which shows that it was real enough. *amurt-* and *amurtKur-* had practically the same meaning and must have been dialect variants. An alternative phonetic explanation for the /t/ is offered under *körtKür-* below. Exs. of *amurtKur-* not mentioned in the *UW* entry occur in MaitrH Y 5 b 25 in Laut 1986: 199 (with variant ”M’RTQWR- to be added to the introduction of the entry), Ht V 10 a 12, InscrOuig V 11 and ShōAgon 1,32, 242, 246, 250, 262 and 310.

(*ar-gur-* ‘to tire out, exhaust’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT (also in verse). Found also in QB 5705.)

(*arın-Kur-* is attested only in AbiShotan r 21 and v 7, the latter quite visible in the facs. Not mentioned in any dictionary. ‘to cause to be or get pure’. In the first instance *arınKurmak* is used together with *kertgünç*, in the second in opposition to *kirikdür-* ‘to cause to get dirty’. See *arı-n-* ‘to purify oneself, be pure’ above; it is attested also in AbiShotan itself. This is the only *-gUr-* expansion of an *-(X)n-* verb, in a text from the early XIVth century. *-(X)n-* verbs are normally expanded with *-tUr-*.)

az-gur- ‘to lead astray’. Attested in Manichaean texts, the writing of which fixes the quality of the velar. An ex. not mentioned in the *EDPT* is found in Man-TüTex 6,98. Non-Manichaean is only *ayığ kılınç köñülümün azgurdı* (spelled with Q!) in Töpfer 66. Synonym of *az-ut-*.

ärgür- 1 ‘to melt, dissolve (tr.)’. The instance quoted by the *EDPT* from Windgott 46-7 belongs to the next entry. The one from Windgott 39-40 is damaged in the middle but the G is clear; it may possibly belong here. This verb is derived from *ärü-* ‘to melt (intr.)’ with the regular syncopation of its final vowel; cf. section 1.8 above. *yakrısın ärgüsüp sürşär. . .* (Heilk I 58) is probably a mistake for *ärgürüp*.⁴⁷⁵ Add *ärgürmiş kızıl bakır* ‘melted red(-hot) copper’ thrice in BT II,

475 See the facs. for the similarity between S and R in that ms. On the other hand, this may be the first ex. of the late formative *-KXz-*: Heilk I is, after all, a very late text.

ärgürmiş şopag [*altun* ‘melted gold₂’ (BT XIII 1,55), *ärgürmiş altun* (*ibid.* 5,59), *kurtik bir ärgürüp suv birlä içzün* (ms. T II Y 15.501 (U 3088) r 1, in the n. to UigTot 895), *sızgurgu ärgürgü* (BT III 966). *ärüyü sıza* is a biverb in Maitr 105 v 12, misunderstood in BT IX and not mentioned in the *EDPT* (which has *ärü-* only from the DLT on).

är-gür- 2 ‘to make something be’. Found in Windgott 46-7: *isigig ärgürür*⁴⁷⁶ *tarkarur* should be translated as ‘He brings the heat (and also) dissipates it’. *ärgürmäklig küç* in Laut 40 may also belong here, if it can signify ‘creative power’.

er-gür- ‘to do something in time, before it is too late’. The *EDPT* quotes it as finite verb from the DLT, but the Uigur exs. quoted there all belong to the petrified converb *ergürü* / *ürgürü* discussed below. Causative of *er-* ‘to reach’ in the sense of ‘making one’s actions catch up with reality’. Finite exs. are *kim k[a]yu bo b[ur]xan nomunta sansardın ozgalı kutrulgalı ergürmäsär*, ... ‘Wer in der Lehre dieses Buddha (d.h. Šākyamuni) nicht erreicht, aus dem Samsāra erlöst und befreit zu werden’ (Maitr 8 v 15 = BT IX 45,15₁), *iş küdügüg ergürü teginmägäy ärki m(ä)n* ‘I may not get around to finishing work₂ in time’ (Ht VII 2 b 22) and *akru kälip ergürmägäy* (Ht V 15 b 14), ‘will proceed slowly and be too late’. The n. to Abhi 118 b 11 in TermBuddh has shown that *ürgür-* is merely a variant of *ergür-*: *adkanu ürgürmätin* in Abhi 118 b 12 signifies absolutely the same as *adkanu ergürmätin* in 119 a 2. *ürgürü* is therefore not “prob. a misreading of *ergürü*”, as the *EDPT* writes. As Röhrborn adds, “das Suffix -gürscheint auch beim Verb *kirgür-* ‘hineinbringen’ häufig eine Rundung des Wurzelvokals zu bewirken”. We further have *ot am kılğalı ymä ürgürmädilär* (Ht X 992) “İlaç vermek için de vaktinde yetişemediler”, *öglüg kanlıg ıdoklarımızka ürgürmädimiz ädgüti tapıngalı* (ShōAv 23) ‘We did not have time enough to serve our deceased parents₂ well’. The n. to the Ht X ex. quotes *ürgür-* from many Turkic languages with this meaning. Cf. *ürgürmäkläşü* “im Wettlauf” in ShōAv 163, discussed with other -*mAkLAŞU* forms in section 7.102 above. All three exs. of this verb in DLT fol. 121 are spelled with *ḍamma* by the first hand, changed to *fatha* by a later hand. This means that the DLT also had *ürgür-*.

kız-gur- is, in the *EDPT*, quoted from the DLT, where it signifies ‘to inflict exemplary punishment’. A Brāhmī instance occurs in ms. Mz 648 ([T II] S 19) + IM 8 II part I, where *kızguralım* is used about punishing a woman who ate her son (text with Tib. parallel to be published by D. Maue). There is nothing exemplary about that punishment, and ‘exemplariness’ may not have been a semantic component of the lexeme in Old Turkic: It is not present in the derivate *kızgut* (very common, dealt with in section 3.108 above). 1 *kız-* ‘to be in trou-

476. Written thus and not ‘*ërgürer*’ as in the *EDPT*; see facs.

ble, to suffer from need' has turned up only in BT II 758: *ät'özläri koñüll[äri] tođup kanıp açmakları kızmakları ymä [ye]tip yokadıp . . .* "Ihre Körper und Herzen sollen satt werden₂ und ihr Hunger und ihre Not (?) sollen zum Ende kommen₂" (not mentioned in the *UW* s.vv. *ač-* (I) or *ačmak*). The *UW* entry *ač* has several exs. of the nominal couple *ač kız* translated "Hunger und Knappheit". The latter word (which leans on the DLT) may not quite hit the mark. While 1 *kız-* in any case denotes negative experiences, 2 *kız-* can describe 'the glowing of cheeks' as a sign of pleasure. The two bases must be distinct. The first two characters in *kızmak* are quite peculiar, however, and one would wish for another ex.

(*kigür-* 'to introduce, bring in' served as causative of *kir-* 'to enter'. It is unlikely, however, that it should actually have been derived from *kir-*: No elision of /r/ occurs with a number of -*gUr-* derivatives from bases ending in this phoneme, the most relevant instance being *tir-gür-*. A verb *kirgür-*, which has been read in *Suv* 46,7 could e.g. be a mistake for *kügür-* (discussed further on in this entry); cf. *kigür-* *ibid.* 47,1, at any rate. *kir-* (which had a long vowel) and *kigür-* could, however, come from the same unattested base; *kir-* (which has /U/ as converb and aorist vowel) would, in such a case, have to belong to the tentative °*r-* formation discussed in section 6.3. Exs. for *kigür-* appear in the *DTS* (also s.vv. *kigürmäk* and '*kigürsük*'⁴⁷⁷) and the *EDPT*. The perfect forms *kigürtüg* (KT E23 and BQ E19) and *kigürti* (KÇ 20) are the earliest exs., for some reason not mentioned in these dictionaries. Further exs. occur in BT I A₁4, BT II 243, ETŞ 9,46 and Ht V9 a 12, VII 1 b 13, X96 and 1113. At least part of the exs. quoted in the *EDPT* under '*kögür-*' (one of them a runic ms.) belong here as well, as their context makes probable. This variant with regressive rounding (as in *ergür-* ~ *ürgür-*) is further attested in *FamArch* 174, in the parallel ms. in U III 65,2₂ where the main ms. gives *kigür-* and in *Töpfer* 67. Cf. *kügürüştür-* among the -*tUr-* verbs.)

körtKür- 'to show, make manifest'. An ex. in Manichaean writing, in M III 39,3₂ (text 22), spells the second velar as K and not G; it is not wholly beyond doubt, though, as the same ms. also spells *sünük* 'bone' as *sünüg*. All the non-Uigur evidence quoted in the *EDPT* concerns different derivatives from *kör-*; *körtKür-* is therefore specifically Uigur. An ex. spelled *körKür-* in a Kuan ms. quoted in the *EDPT* is just erratic; the same text does show this lexeme with T elsewhere. We further have the aorist *körtKürür* in *ManTüTex* 13,246 and 253 and a stem *körtKürmä-* in ATSS XV a v2. Why *körtKürgüçi* in a fragmentary passage in *Maitr* 80 v9 should be an error for *kertgün-* (as the index to BT IX says) is not

477 The instance quoted there from *Chuast* ends in G and not K, as the facs. shows; this is Manichaean script!

clear. A variant *kötKür-* is attested in UigSukh 4 and in ms. C of Kuan; this simplification of the triple cluster is not surprising. '*kör-t-*' or '*kör-it-*' is not attested, and one is reminded of *amurtKur-*. The /t/ may be parasitic (but one wonders why *amurtKur-* is the only other ^o*r-gUr-* verb which may have been affected by a similar development). Under *koltgu+la-* above I mention several exs. for the process /lg/ > /ltg/; results of the process /rg/ > /rtg/ are, e.g., *çäkürkä* 'locust', which evolved a /t/ between /r/ and /k/ in many dialects and, in HamTouen 3,1', *ät'öz körtkin körtKürüp* instead of the usual *körk+in*. Cf. *körKit-* and *körtür-*.

(*odgur-* 'to wake someone up' is attested with voiced velar in Runic and Arabic script as documented in the *EDPT*. A base is not attested, but *odug* (section 3.101) and *odun-* (section 7.21 above) are common cognates. The QB uses *odul-*.⁴⁷⁸ Exs. not mentioned by the *EDPT* occur in Maitr 128 r24, 25 and 29, 129 v10 and 130 v7, ms. T I D 596 line 17 (*odgurur*) and the Suv ms. Mz597 r3-5 (*ötrü ol nomçı bilgälär ymä kim biziñ odgurmakımız küçintä ol ol uluşırlarka barıp . . .*, said to be preferable to the version of the Petersburg ms. in being closer to the original by meaning).)

oz-Kur- 'to save' is not attested in Runic or in Arabic script; the three exs. in Manichaean script (mentioned in the *EDPT*) spell it with K and not G. Uigur script exs. also generally dot their Qs in those mss. which distinguish back-vowel /k/ from /g/ by this means. The biverb *ozKur- kutgar-* is found in Suv 166,4-5, Warnke 313, Maitr 154 v14, Genzan D v5, ShōAv 68 and 86, GuanJing 50-51 and ms. T I D 616 (U 4861) 4-6 quoted in the n. to BT XIII 1,2. Further exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* can be found in U II 59,3₃, seven times in BT II (see the index), ETŞ 10,145, 13,131 and 14,28, BuddhUig II 409, Warnke 65, Maitr 5 v9 and 14 and 135 r17, BT VII M6, WarnkeFragm 65, ShōAv 53 and 56, SP7, BT XIII 1,76, 20,29 and 21,42 and 59 and MaitrH Y 7 a5-6 (in Laut, 1986: 107 footn. 2). It governs the ablative of what one is saved from.

öt-gür- is not attested in runic or in Manichaean script; we therefore do not know whether its velar was voiced or not. I take it to be voiced because the petrified converb *ötgürü* (discussed further on in this section) appears as *ötürü* in Republican Turkish. Only rarely does it signify 'to get something through (physically)'; *ötgürünçsüz* 'impenetrable' does come from this concrete meaning, however. Generally it means, metaphorically, 'to get to the bottom of a problem, understand it thoroughly' or 'to manage to explain'. It has these meanings even when used together with *topol-* 'to pierce' (q.v. under *topl-un-* above), as happens in Suv 279,9 and BT I D (170). *ötgür-* appears also in BT I B (139) and D (271), Maitr 127 r24 and 108 v1, BT II 103 and 1366 and ETŞ 9,40 and 91 and 16,40.

478 Attested not only in couplet 1215, as the *EDPT* writes, but also in 1142, 1177, 1273, 4551 and 6540.

Further *şastur nomug ötgürmiş* . . . *tözünlär* (ShōKenkyū II 9 = BT XIII 12,34), *alko nomlarig ötgürdäçi* (BT VIII Anh. 2+3, 4), *üç agılık nom ötgürmiş* (ZiemeSingqu r5). *sav ötgürdäçi ordu* (Ht X 426-7) is translated as “yazı işleri sarayı”; if this is the Bureau of Interpreters, *ötgür-* should here as well have its abstract sense. Cf. further *yarok yaşok ötgürürlär* (ShōAgon 2, p. 192,3) ‘make light penetrate’, i.e. ‘enlighten’. *öt-* appears in various sentence patterns and governs different case forms; with which of them *ötgür-* should be connected is not clear.

sär-gür- ‘to keep something still or as it is’. Spelled with G in TT VIII A 4. TT III, in Manichaean script, writes once K; that text, however, frequently confuses the velars, e.g. in *ämkäk*. To the EDPT’s exs.⁴⁷⁹ add *ıdgalı särgürgäli u-* (BT III 149, Ht IV 1123 and BT II 962), *üküş kalp üd üzä särgürü tutalım* (ETŞ 13,32), *ulug yeelig yagmurug särgürgäli bol-* (SuvZieme 694,3) and *k(ä)ntü özümün särgürü tutguluk küçki(y)äm* (Warnke 51).

sız-gur- ‘to melt (tr.)’. The EDPT attests this from DLT and Heilk I on. The two instances there quoted from Suv are in fact conjectures. Both exs. in QB 3384, 6158 and 6276 (none mentioned in the EDPT) and in DLT write the verb with *ghain*. Add *sızgurmuş kızıl bakır* (Maitr 72 r10 and 19 and 131 r25), *t(ä)mır sızgurgu ärgürgü tæg* (BT III 965), *sızgurmuş bışıg altun* (Suv 348,18 in UW 112 b) and *altunug sızguru särgürsär* (Suv 74,17). *alko ayıg kılınç-ların* . . . *sızgurup öçürüp* . . . (WarnkeFragm 58) is metaphorical.

tüz-gür- is ‘to put to flight’ only in ETŞ 10 (quoted below) and DreiPrinz 49: *yılanlar . . . mini kapap t(ä)zgürdilär*. It has an entry in the DTS but not in the EDPT. The ex. quoted there appears in M III 38,6₁ (text 20, completed in ZiemeTexterg II): *özlärin saklanu arıt[t] t(ä)zgürü tutzun[ar]*, by Zieme translated as “ihre Körper bewahrend, sollen sie sie durchaus fliehen lassen (d.h. sie vor Unkeuschheit behüten)”.⁴⁸⁰ Zieme takes *özlärin* to serve as anaphoric pronoun. The existence of the following ex. makes Le Coq’s translation as “sollen sie . . . flüchten” a bit more likely: *ätözin ketärü täzgürür bolur. năcä täzgürsär ymä ol kişil[är] amru yakın kälip* . . . (Ht X 549-50, a bit too freely translated as “kaç-”). *özlärin ~ üt’özin* appears to have served somewhat as reflexive pronoun, as ‘to keep (oneself) away’, with *tut-* something of a durative marker. In *yagularıg ırak täzgürü kaçurmak* (ETŞ 10,235), the two verbs signify ‘to keep away and put to flight’. The M III ex., in Manichaean script, spells the verb with G and not K.⁴⁸¹

479 The reference there to ‘U II 69,5 (ii)’ should read 69,1 (ii).

480 Only the EDPT wants to read the verb as *t(ü)zgürü* against orthographical practice, and assigns the instance to *tüz+Kär-* (a verb discussed among the *+gAr-* verbs in section 7.53).

481 This is a particularly old ms., which does not confuse the stops even a single time. It has two or

tir-gür- ‘to bring to life’. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* are]ölügüg *tirgürti* (BT VII O6) and *ölmüş üzütüg ölmäkdä tirgürmiş t(ä)ñrim* (b r 5-6 in a ms. quoted on p. 60 of ManTüTex.) A further ex. appears in QB 4717. The /g/ can be determined by the Chuast ex. quoted in the *EDPT*. T²I R²G²R²W̃ in KTE29 is hardly an ex. for this verb, as the *EDPT* writes;⁴⁸² rather of *tirig+gärü*. Cf. the common *tir-il-* above, also for the rare base. Another cognate is *tir-ig* (section 3.101).

tod-gur- ‘to satiate’ is a cognate and synonym of *tod-ur-*, q.v. in section 7.51. The DLT spells it with *ghain*, whence the /g/. Otherwise attested only in Suv 118,7 (q.v. in the *EDPT*), 605,2 and 606,3 (these two in Geng’s ed.; also quoted in UW 237 a and 239 a respectively).⁴⁸³ In view of the distribution of *todur-*, the distinction between the two appears to be one of dialect only.

tol-Kur- ‘to fill, to fulfill’, is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is attested only in Buddhist texts, while Manichaean and Qarakhanid ones have *tol-tur-* (q.v. below) instead. We don’t know what the velar was, as all exs. are in Uigur writing. Exs. for physical filling are *kapalalarta ras(a)yan tolKurmuş ärür* (Uig-Tot 427), *yertinçülärig tolKurup* (CYK 30) and *yertinçüg tolKurup* (BT VIII B44). The *pāramitās* are object of this verb in BuddhUig II 646, 648 and 649 and BuyKäl 9, *yeviglar* in ShōAv 338 (biverb with *toşgur-*) and BuddhUig II 260, *işlar* in ETŞ 16,36. Further exs. appear in BT I D (166), ETŞ 13,119 and 16,55 and UigTot 616.

toş-gur- ‘to fill; to fulfill, accomplish’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT; that spells the verb with *ghain*. Concrete exs. are *tarıg tsanlarig toşgurmak* (ShōAv 17), *toşgurup kudar susgak* (BT VII A332) ‘a ladle which one fills and with which one pours out’, *kök kalıkıg toşgurup* . . . ‘filling the sky₂ (with one’s words)’ (16 times in BT VII A), *lenxua çäçäk kötürü kirip kim anıñ ädgü yıdı yıpa[r]ı üzä ol pr(a)yan için bütürü toşgurup Samtso açarı ü[skin]tä çöküü olorup* . . . (Ht X722) and, also of fragrance filling a closed space, *kövräsi yer-din ünüp kälti, gausar cıntan yıdı üzä kamag Çetavan sänrämiğ toşgurdı* (Maitr 196 r30, in Sandel p. 379 translated as “mit dem Duft von Gosāra-Candana erfüllte er das ganze Jetavana-Kloster”). Further, *suv tamızımı nāçä azk(i)ya ärsär ymä* . . . *toşgurmuş täg ulug bädük edişlärig* (BT III 660) “Wie gering auch ein Wassertropfen sei, . . . bringt er doch . . . große Töpfe zum Überlaufen”.

three exs. of the archaic *kanyu*, which subsequently changed either to *kayu* (most of Uigur) or to *kanu*.

482 As Meyer, 1965-66 has shown, rounded vowels are not tacit in Orkhon spelling after unrounded ones. The parallel passage of the BQ inscr. (also in the *EDPT*) is damaged. The exs. in the short list in Tekin, 1968: 36 (headed “Rounded vowels occurring after unrounded ones are not marked only in the following examples:”) can all be refuted, excepting two in the Ongin inscr.

483 The Suv 605,2 ex. is wrongly quoted in the *DTS* under ‘*tutyur-*’, a lemma to be deleted.

Metaphorically of accomplishing a task, serving out a period of toil etc., we find *toşgur-* with the objects *ädgü yiltizlär* (Scharl 98), *yorık* (ETŞ 13,119 biverb *tolKur-toşgur-*) and *on oronlug yorıklar* (BT II 392, 612 and 690). Like *tolKur-*, *toşgur-* governs *şat paramut* (ETŞ 11,149), *paramutlıg yeväglär* (Ht X 648), *üç asankı altı paramut ädgü kılınç* (Maitr 118 v25), *üç asankı ämgük* (Maitr 8 r2) or just *üç asankılar* (ShōAv 218). Under *to-ş-* we quote the clause *asankı pramut-larımız tolup toşup* . . . of which expressions as the above are causatives. The Pfahl instance quoted in the *EDPT* under *tuşgur-* also belongs here.

tur-gur- ‘to raise, rouse, set up, arrange, bring forth’ has explicit /g/ in the runic sources, the DLT and Brāhmī TT VIII A, all quoted in the *EDPT* and, not mentioned there, QB 6644. Significant are also the BuddhKat exs. [DUR]-GUR-MA-SAR (14), DUR-GÜR-MAS (28) and DUR-GÜR-MA-Tİ (30), with *az almır köñül* and twice *öbkü köñül* respectively as objects: As shown on p. 301 of the paper, word-internal but syllable-initial /g/ and /k/ are carefully distinguished in this text. In view of all this, explicit /k/ in Pothi 166 and 468 (Manichaean script) seems insignificant, for that text often confuses the velars. Nor should much importance be attached to the dotting of the velar in Uigur script in late mss.: To judge by the glossary of BT IX, this does not occur even once among the 43 exs. of the Maitr (an early text). Other exs. not quoted in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* appear in BT I B (48) and (231) and D (186), BT II 281 and 807, ETŞ 10,261, 13,30 and 158, 20,126 and 22,13, Ht X 1094, Ernte 54, UigTot 906, CYK 76, ShōKenkyū II 20, InscrOuig IV 9, ms. T II Y 59, l.14, BuddhUig I 111,155 and 273 and II 43 and elsewhere. It often has the lexemes *sakınç*, *köñül*, *körüm* or *bilig* accompanied by some further specification as object, to refer to the induction of mental or emotional states.

tuş-gur- ‘to help to meet’ is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT, where it is spelled with *ghain*. The Pfahl instance quoted there should have been read as *toşgur-*; the two verbs have been confused by other scholars as well. Nor are *tuş-* ‘to meet’ and *to-ş-* easy to keep apart in Uigur script in any context. *ädgü üdkä koloka tuşgurdaçı* (UigOn III B r4) also belongs here. Some exs. of *tWşgur-* appearing in unclear or fragmentary contexts may also do so, of course. Mostly, however, the distinction can be kept up only by meaning.

(*üş-Kür-* is attested only in DLT fol. 121, and the evidence has been discussed under *üşkir-* in section 5.31 above. The sentence *ol utıg käyikkä üşKürdi* is translated as “He incited the dog against the game”, but *ut* could, in Old Turkic, also have been used as a collective. I take the verb to come from *üş-* ‘to surround something in a crowd’. *üşün-* and *üşüş-*, both discussed above, are cognates.)

yat-gur- ‘to lay somebody down or to make him lie down’. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* are found in BT III 290 and BT XIII 12,100. What has been read as

'*yatururlar*' in Maitr 82 v 13-14 may also be an instance of this verb: The first *w*, marked as uncertain, appears at the end of the line and may be a misreading for QW. A verb '*yatur-*' does not exist in Old Turkic. The DLT spells this verb with *ghain*.

yet-Kür- 'to make something available to somebody, help him reach it' does not appear in the *EDPT*. The *DTS* s.v. '*jitkür-*' quotes Suv 26,20: *ägsükin yetKürgäli ... d(a)rnini sözläp ...* is better translated as 'to utter the *dhāraṇī* ... so as to provide him with what he lacks' than as translated there. Further we have: *yintsikmäksiz yeg mänikā yetKürgü üçün* (ETŞ 9,62) 'in order to get creatures to reach undiscovered supreme happiness'; *uçıña kızıgıña tägi tolu tükäl yetKürü* (InscrOuig V 46) 'making it fully₂ reach its utmost₂'; *alko kamag buyanlarımın ... öglärim kañlarımka ... tüzü'kä yetKürü üläyü* (BuyKäl 5)⁴⁸⁴ 'providing all₂ my *punya* to all my ... , distributing it (among them) and ...'; *ogul kälın alıp korı yunlagı ävdin yätKürmädin asıgka tüşkä alıp ...* and *üç ölüg kötürmiştäki yunlag ävdin yätKürmädin asıgka tüşkä alıp ...* "getting wives for the sons / conducting three burial services could not be provided from the family resources and was borrowed at interest₂" (FamArch 177 and 182-3). Attested as *yetkir-* in the Codex Comanicus, but the *k* could there be the result of assimilation. As all early exs. are written in Uigur script, the voicedness of the velar cannot be determined. Comes from *yet-* 'to reach'.

(*yogur-* 2 'to cross the sea, a desert or a dangerous area, to pass a critical stretch of time'. Base not known but possibly related to *yol* 'way'. The fact that the latter has a long vowel e.g. in Tkm. would speak for such a connection, as the vowel of all CV- verbs was long. The velar is attested in runic script: *kök öñüg yoguru* (Toñ 15), *] öñüg yoguru ... kaçdim* (BQ SE), *yogurunçsuz ulug öñ körtüküg yogurup* (fr. TM 269 quoted in the footn. to the n. to TT VI 115), *ol ... yolug yoguru usar ...* (KP XXXIX 1), *anı yoguru usar ...* (*ibid.* 7), *taloyug yoguru kaçäyin* (ETŞ 16,20) and *yıl ärtürüp, ay yogurup* (TuoLuoNi 123 + 125) "Jahre verbringend, Monate durchstehend". For all this see Bang, 1917.⁴⁸⁵)

PETRIFIED CONVERBS AND MORPHOLOGY

ergürü / ürgürü 'in time, early' comes from *er-gür-* discussed above. The *EDPT* has exs. from TT I 171-3 and VII 28,2. The last mentioned instance reminds one of *ärtnü bāk katıg ugramıñ katıgıñmaklıg* [...] *ürkünü buyanta yaratan-*

484 The word dealt with here is left untranslated.

485 The *EDPT* has it all wrong: The converb forms are dealt with under *yokaru* 'upwards', the others under '*yokur-*'. The etymology offered for that is impossible for the reasons which Clauson himself gives. Beside, of course, the fact that there can be no doubt about the /g/.

daçı, ... (BT XIII 38,20). The facs. shows the reading to be correct. If one nevertheless takes N to be an error for R (the two often being similar in Uigur script) one gets: '(He) is one of particularly strong₂ and directed striving, [...] early in carrying out meritorious deeds.' For the TT I instance cf. the translation in *UW* 244 b.

ötgürü deserves the separate entry it is given in *EDPT* 54 a, q.v. for its meaning and use, and in the *DTS*. It is much more common than all the other forms of the verb, has developed a wide semantic field of its own, is used as adverb and postposition. Exs. not mentioned in those dictionaries occur 9 times in *Maitr* 151 and 152, *BT* II 143 and 1359, *BT* III 557, *ETŞ* 10,49 and perhaps in *UigKan* 341 and *LautHöllen* 117 (fragmentary contexts). Further exs. are *küçlüg täriñ kertgünç köñüllärindin ötgürü* "wegen dieses starken, tiefen Glaubens" (*ShōAv* 112) and *süzülmäklärindin ötgürü* "weil sie gläubig geworden waren" (*ibid.* 295).

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For 19 among the 26 verbs which we have in this formation, the velar of the formative is documented as /g/. With another six verbs there is nothing in the documentation which could tell us whether the velar was voiced or not. The only verb for which the only evidence we have is of K comes for *ozKur-* from TT III (Pothi). As shown in *Pothi* p. 162, however, that is a ms. which often confuses the velars in back-vowel words: Among others, *tamga*, *boşgut*, *tugum*, *bayagut*, *simtagsız* and suffixes like *-gInça*, *-gAll* and *-gU* are spelled with Q. Potthi even more frequently writes K for G in front vowel words. In two verbs in this section, *sär-gür-* and *tur-gur-*, Potthi writes K/Q against the evidence of all the other sources. The evidence of Potthi for *ozKur-* is therefore of no value, and the formative can be taken to have been consistently *-gUr-*. *-gUr-* cannot be shown to be compounded from anything, in particular *not* from *-(X)k-* and *-Ur-*. As shown earlier, *-(X)k-* verbs have other causative expanders. No *-gUr-* verbs have semantic parallels in *-(X)k-*.

Most *-gUr-* verbs consist of two syllables, but *amırtgur-* and the isolated *arın-gur-* have three. A great proportion of them come from stems ending in /r/ or /z/. Bases can be simple or derived. Expansions are *toşgur-t-*, *kigür-ül-* and, in the *DLT*, *argur-t-*. The converb and aorist vowel of this formation is always /U/.

-gUr- verbs have intr. bases and are thus, themselves, simple transitives. Their syntactic behaviour is practically identical to that of *-Ur-*, *-Ar-* and *+gAr-* verbs.

7.55 -Xz-: LEXICAL MATERIAL

äm-iz- 'to suckle' is in the *EDPT* s.v. '*emüz-*' quoted from DLT, Middle Turkic etc. The DLT rounding of the second vowel is due to the influence of /m/. Found also in Maitr 21 v11: *Ga]utami xatun . . . [. . .] sütin ämzip igidti* '... suckled (you) with her milk and reared (you)'. A further possible ex. in Suv 366,16 is obscure to me.

(*än-iz-* is a hap. in Ht IV 700, in *altun t(ä)ñri burxan ät['özin] kudi 'änizip töpösintäk[i] ärdini munçukug berd[i]* 'The golden divine Buddha bent his body down and gave (him) the jewel₂ which was on his head'. *än-* (a variant of *äg-* 'to bend'?) is discussed together with *än-it-* (section 7.56 below). This *may* be an error for *änit-*, and most of the direct object is in a lacuna. The ed. read '*äniş-*', which is inappropriate.)

ät-iz- 'to play an instrument, make music' is in the *EDPT* quoted only from two KP instances. Here (as in other cases) the verb is spelled with two initial *alif*, which is why Clauson has '*atiz-*' as lemma.⁴⁸⁶ Further exs. are *kay* (spelled *kıy*) *sayu bodun sayu borku ätizän* (ManManus v as interpreted correctly in ManErz I 34), another ex. spelled *atiz-* between KP LXVIII 1 and 2 (mentioned by Hamilton on p. 51 of his edition and visible on the facs.), *ätizgü ürgü tg labay* (BT III 988), *oyun ätizü turmuş* (ETS 20,8), *TÄNGRİLär kök kalıkta oyun ätizip . . .* (BuddhUig II 507), *oyun ätizip* (ibid. 364), *kopuzlı kışaklı ätüzüp* (thus Hochzeit 25; cf. *tavuşsuzın* in the same text), *biba 'äñizür* (BT VII A 604), *oyunçılar ikidin yorıp oyun ätizdilär* (Ht VII 4 b 19). It is common in Maitr: *beş türlü yinçgä oyun ätizü* (32 v3), *eşidü kanıncsız beş türlü yinçgä oyun ätizür-lär ärdi* (17 v3 = MaitrGeng 9 a 15), *kunxau ätizip* (4 r5), *o]yun 'ätizü* (101 r3), *ätizgülük oyunlar* (H X5 b4), *oyun ätiziñlär* (ibid. 13), *ätizmiş [oyun]larıntın* (ibid. 23) etc. *ät-* is found in *altun kövrüglär k(ä)ntün ätdilär* (Suv 183,19) and *tagda sıgun ätsär . . .* (BQ W5).⁴⁸⁷ Tuvin also uses *ät-* of the sounds of animals,⁴⁸⁸ which is also the semantic domain of *ätin+ä-*.

kork-iz- appears in BT XIII 25,4: *korkızur mudur kıltaçı* 'he who makes the frightening *mudrā*'. The n. thereto quotes the unpubl. fr. T I α (U 5396) l.1, *korkızur mudur kılı turur*. The base is *kork-* 'to fear'. See *korkınc* (section 3.104), n. 312 and *kork-* itself (discussed among the *-(X)k-* verbs in section

486 UW 70 a also spells an ex. of KP as '*atiz-*', translating it misleadingly as "[die Saiten] schlagen".

487 As interpreted correctly by Räsänen, 1947.

488 Cf. the source quoted in the *EDPT* under *öt-*. *öt-*, attested in the DLT but not in Old Turkic proper, is used only of the song of birds. *ät-* applies to roaring, bellowing etc. and, in the Suv ex. quoted, of drums. Note the unexplained variation *ör° / ür°* in the lexeme 'bread' (*EDPT* 60 a). Still, the two verbs can in no way be connected with what we know of Old Turkic variations and phonology and must be carefully distinguished.

7.24) on why this verb originally must have had the shape **korik-*. *korkız-* was derived from this at first unsynocopated stem, which explains the unrounded vowel of the formative. Cf. also *korkıt-*. *korkız-* is not in the *EDPT*.

tam-ız- 'to pour out drop by drop' is not attested before Heilk I and II, DLT and QB, all quoted in the *EDPT*. *tamuz-ım* 'drop' is discussed in section 3.106. *tam-* 'to drip' is first noted in Qarakhanid. Cf. also *tam-ga* 'seal' in section 3.323. All these are unrelated to *tamıt-* 'to be set afire, blaze up' discussed under *tamt-ur-* above; *tamıt-* must be a simplex. The DLT thrice spells *tamız-* as *tamuz-*.

tap-uz- 'to ask someone a riddle' appears only in the DLT (quoted in the *EDPT*); that source also has the derivatives *tapz-ug* 'riddle', *tapuz-gu* and (discussed in section 3.22) *tapuz-guk*. The rounding of the suffix vowel is due to the presence of the /p/; cf. *ämüz-* and *tamuz-* in the DLT. *tap-* 'to find' is a tr. verb.

tut-uz- 'to entrust something to someone; to instruct, enjoin, admonish'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter especially under *tutuzmaq*. *tutuz-* when accompanied by *urunçak* 'pledge' signifies 'to entrust'. It then has either one's son as object (in KP 25,5, QB 1483), or dear ones (e.g. U III 27,18) or one's body (Maitr 19 r7, 187 r7, 3 v10 and MaitrGeng 10 a21, BT III 20,5, BuddhUig II 288, U III 83,9). In U II 34,9 the object is a *mudrā* while, in economical texts (USp 88,18-19, ZiemeSkav I 7), *tutuz-* may just have signified 'to hand over'. Exs. of *tutuz-* in the sense of 'instructing' not mentioned in the *EDPT* appear in Ht VII 1 a11 and X32 and 85, BT VII B47, CYK 116, Suv 16,11, BruchGeb 12, BT II 959, BT XIII 27,16 and Yosipas 34 and 118. *tutuzgu nāṇ* is rightly reconstituted by DankKelly in DLT fol. 245, where the ms. omits the dot of the Z.⁴⁸⁹ *tut-* is tr.; cf. *tutdur-*.

tuy-uz- 'to make someone aware of something' has a tr. base. The ex. quoted in the *EDPT* from M III may have had a passive sense. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT*⁴⁹⁰ occur in Maitr 137 r17 (together with *eştür-*, an *-Ur-* causative, as in the M III ex.), 20 v6 and 35 v12.

tüt-üz 'to let something smoke; to fumigate something'. The *EDPT* is wrong in taking 'to emit smoke' to be '*tütä-*'.⁴⁹¹ U II 47,77 should not be read as '*tutuş-*',

489 The *EDPT* entry '*tuturğu-*' should be omitted.

490 The TT VI ex. mentioned there and quoted under '*bildüz-*' appears on 1.355 and not 335 as written, and not in all mss.

491 *tütär* in KP, the only ex. adduced for this, is better divided *tüt-är* than otherwise. *tütäk* 'spout' spelled TUTAK in DLT fol. 194, may be one of the numerous vowel errors of that source: All other documentation indicates a narrow vowel. *tütäk* could also come from **tüt-gäk*; cf. n. 463 in vol. 1. Note also that this lexeme has a long vowel in Tkm., whereas the verb has a short one there: There may have been an *+A-* derivative from *tüt* as onomatopoeic for the sound emitted from a reed pipe (unrelated to the verb denoting the emittance of smoke). As for the *-(X)t-* causative signifying 'to emit smoke (of fire)' in DLT fol. 415: Attested are *tütäti*, *tütitür*, *tütitmäk*, of which the first must be a simple error (for *tüt-it-*).

as done there, but as *küji tützüklärig tütüzüp* . . . CYK 51 also has *tützük tütüz-miş*. Cf. *tützük* in section 3.102.

ud-uz- 'to lead'. The base does not appear before QB (see the QB İndeks for exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT*) and DLT, but there is a common petrified converb *udu* from it. Cf. also the cognates *udun-* and *uduş-* above. Exs. of *ud-uz-* not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in ETŞ 9,64 (with *yet-* and *elt-*), Amitİst 65 (with *elt-*), HtPar 205,22 quoted in *UW* 293 a, CYK 59, Maħrn 137, Maitr 137 v15, UigTot 26, 27, 994 and 1015, Ht V9 a12, VII 4 a3 and 5 b11 and X95-6 and ShōAv 56 and 202.

MORPHOLOGY

All attested *-Xz-* verbs are bisyllabic, as all their bases end in consonants; these bases either have one syllable or, as in the case of **korık-*, have had their second vowel syncopated away. This may originally have been different: *yol tozumçı* 'highwayman', a hap. in Maitr, may come from a verb **to-z-* (related to *tod-*, *tol-*, *toş-* etc.): It is documented in section 2.75 above. Secondly, *ye-z-gü* 'animal fodder' in BT II 222 and ManMon 77 comes from *ye-* 'to eat' (said by Kāşğarī to be less polite than *aşa-*). **ye-z-* might have been 'to feed an animal', derived from tr. *ye-*. *-Xz-* is thus non-dominant and had the original form *-(X)z-*. The bases of *-(X)z-* verbs are simple at least synchronically. The formative is, however, used as second element in the combination *-tXz-* treated in section 7.42. We found that *-(U)r-* was also mostly used primarily although found as second element in *-tUr-*. The combination *-KXz-*, which is common in several modern dialects, does not appear in Old Turkic. Cf. *körgüz-* 'to show', *olturguz-* 'to seat', *särgiz-* 'to tame' and *örgüz-* 'to bring to the grazing ground' in the Codex Comanicus.

Nominal expansions from *-(X)z-* stems beside the ones just mentioned are *tüt-zük* and *tapzug*, *tamuzım*, *tapuzguk* and *uduzgak*. Verbal expansions are rare: We find *ät-iz-dür-*, *ät-iz-il-* and *uduşulmaksız*. *-sXk-* (section 7.41), however, probably contains *-(X)z-* as first element.

Exs. for this formative from Middle and Modern Turkic can be found in Tekin, 1969: 70-72, whose opinion about it is unacceptable: *-Xz-* differs from *-Ur-* both in its vowel and its consonant; we know of no synchronic rule within Old Turkic to replace /r/ by /z/, /U/ by /X/ (or vice versa). This seems hardly thinkable in the present case, since the two formatives have practically the same distribution. Already Bang, 1919: 16 was of the opinion that these two formatives are "besser als zwei ganz verschiedene Formantien aufzufassen".

The aorist and converb vowel of *-Xz-* verbs is always /U/. Petrified converbs do not appear to have come about here.

The bases *ät-*, *kork-*, *tam-*, *tüt-* and *ud-* are intr., while *äm-*, *tap-*, *tut-*, *tuy-*, *to-*

and *ye-* are tr. *utuz-* is taken to be from **ut-tuz-*; see section 7.42. With its high proportion of tr. bases, *-(X)z-* differs sharply from all the causative formatives ending in /r/. *tutuz-* is especially noteworthy in admitting humans as ultimate objects; for this there is not a single ex. among the /r/ causatives.

7.56 *-(X)t-*: LEXICAL MATERIAL

açıt- signifies 'to cause grief' and not "quälen" as translated in the *UW*. The only two Uigur exs. (in one text) use it together with *agri-t-*, which Röhrborn translates as biverb. *açıt-* (q.v. especially in the *UW* itself) signifies 'to grieve'. See *açıt-* in the *EDPT* for Qarakhanid and later exs., also in the original sense of 'making sour'. Add the QB 2579 and 6543 exs. to that entry. *açığ* also signifies either (physically) 'bitter' or 'grief, grievous, (metaphorical) bitter(ness)' but, in Old Turkic, never 'pain'.

(*adart-* 'to harm, to endanger' is no doubt connected with *ada* 'danger', but a verb **ada+r-* is not attested. See the *EDPT* for the runic exs., the *UW* for some in Uigur script. Additional exs. appear in BuddhUig II 373 as quoted in *UW* 269 b s.v. '*atkaç-*' and in SuvStockh 9. An ex. in UigKol 16-17 is similar to that in Suv 74,8 (which the *UW* entry for some reason lists as "Unklarer Kont[ext]"). Another ex. of nominal *adartmak* appears in Suv 145,12. Add, further, *kılınç adartmakın öçürmək*, the title of a section of the Suv in ms. T I D 125 (U 731) r5 as quoted in BT XIII p. 88).

1 *ag-ut-* 'to alter, to shift (tr.) away from, modify; leave off with'. *agut-* I in the *UW* has a correctly understood Manichaean ex., and the *DTS* is more or less right about this and about a runic and a Qarakhanid instance. Otherwise, practically all scholars dealing with this verb have erred in their interpretations. A Buddhist ex. appears in HamTouen 1,15: *özin başın ıdalap alkosın bermäk(k)ä agutmaz ärdi* 'He would give up his self and body and would not deflect anything he had from being given away'.⁴⁹² A further instance is probably found in Warnke 266, in *bokünki bo kertgünç kəñülümni agutmayın (y)etürmäyin* 'may I not alter or lose the faith which I (feel) today'. The *EDPT* may be right about translating the runic exs. as "rousing", i.e. attaching them to 2 *ag-ut-* but, in view of the use of *agut* in QB 1233 and 6312, 1 *ag-ut-* would be even more appropriate to the context: Note that the DLT's three exs. of 2 *ag-ut-* are all about physical upward movement. 'to make a new start with ...' would be perfect in the runic contexts.

(2 *ag-ut-* 'to raise' is attested in the DLT. The *EDPT* assigns a Chuast verb here,

492 Thus in Erdal, 1988: 253, where I discuss Hamilton's interpretation and the QB instances.

but I prefer the *UW*'s interpretation.⁴⁹³ *agt-un-* is a derivate of *this* verb and *ag-tur-* is a cognate.)

agirla-t- is in the *UW* quoted thrice: Once, in a biverb with *aya-t-*, it signifies 'to cause to respect'; it governs the person to be respected in the accusative and the persons to respect him in the dative. One instance of *ayatmış agırlatmış* and another of *agırlatmış* alone signify 'respected'. Tr. *agir+la-* also often appears with *aya-*.

agla-t- 'to leave (land) unoccupied' is in the *UW* quoted from a Maitr ex., in the *EDPT* from the DLT. Cf. the common petrified converb *aglatı* below. *agla-* '(of a place) to be or become unoccupied' is attested in DLT 558 (verse). Cf. *agla-k* above.

agri-t- 'to cause pain' in the *UW* (Uigur) and the *EDPT* (DLT and Middle Turkic). The form *agridı* in Suv 632,21, in the *UW* entry assigned to this verb, can better be understood as *agri-dı*: The three verbs in the series are probably impersonal sensation verbs and do not have "[Die Haare]" as subject.

agtar-t- 'to have something translated' is a hap. in UigKol 11 not mentioned in the *UW*: *türkçä ağırtıp t(a)vgaççasın türkçäsin tamgata oydurup* ... 'He had it translated into Turkic and had both the Chinese and the Turkic (version) carved on a printing-block'. *agt-ar-*, also 'to translate', is discussed in section 7.52.

ak-ut- 'to let something flow (away)'; has some special military meaning in the runic inscs. See the *EDPT* for Orkhon and Qarakhanid Turkic, the *UW* for Uigur: The HtPar 208,21 ex. only mentioned on p. 82 is actually quoted s.v. *adıncığ* par. A, *UW* 52 a. Exs. not mentioned in the *UW* occur five times in BuddhUig II (all with *kan* 'blood' as object), BT XIII 3,19 and TuoLuoNi 330 (both with *yaş* 'tears' as object, in the second case as conjecture). A Brāhmī ex. is quoted under *sark-ut-* below.

alka-t-muş 'praised' is common but attested only in Uigur, documented in the *UW*. Exs. not mentioned there appear in HamTouen 5,1, 2 and 6', BT XIII 39,2-3, ShōUigFrag 28 and, as a female proper name, HazaiAval 20.⁴⁹⁴

amra-t-muş 'loved' appears in a biverb with *sāvitmiş* once in Ht, quoted in the *UW*. A proper name *Amratmış Tāñrim* in Pfahl II 12 is not mentioned in any of the dictionaries. *amra-* and *sāv-* are a common biverb.

493 In his edition of the Chuast, Asmussen takes this to be a variant of *ak-ut-* and translates accordingly; see also his n. on p. 221. This is impossible, as Old Turkic /k/ does not have a voiced variant even between vowels (as far as we can tell from all our evidence).

494 '*alkıtu ögdi*' in QB 5610 cannot be an instance of this verb as it has the wrong form and the wrong meaning: 'to praise' is *alka-*, often used in a biverb with *ög-*; the form (attested in mss. BC with *yā* in the second syllable) is probably an error for *alkayu*. Medial Y and T are very similar in Arabic script.

ançola-t- ‘to cause to present tribute’ is a hap. in Ht quoted in the *UW*. It may have the ‘presenters’ as object in the accusative (and not the presents as translated in the *UW*): This follows mainly from the parallelism with *t[ap]ıntur-* and from the meaning. The reason may be that the dative case form was probably occupied by the target of the ‘presentation’, the receiver of tribute. See *anço+la-* above.

anu-t- ‘to prepare’ is documented in the *UW* (Uigur) and the *EDPT* (Qarakhanid). Not mentioned in either are *alko kärgäkligçä tapıg udug yeväglärin m(ä)n tüzü tükäl anutayın* (BuddhUig II 253), *yüz tapıgçı URllarına ymä YETİ ärdinilig kañlular anutıp ...* (*ibid.* 322) and *anı barça tükäl anutıp ...* (BT XIII 49,35).

apı-t- comes from *apı-* ‘to shield something or somebody’ attested in DLT fol. 555: *ol anı kişidän apıdı* ‘He hid it from the people. Also of anything that one conceals from another person’. The base appears to have had the concealing entity as subject, while the subject of *apı-t-* is the concealer. The ex. which DLT fol. 116 uses for this is identical to that used for *apı-*, but I don’t think one should ‘emend’ the dental away.⁴⁹⁵ The concealed or shielded thing can be one’s self: *ol özin mändin apıttı* in DLT fol. 111, similarly with *apıtan* in fol. 88. This is the construction found in Warnke 29: *k(ä)ntü özin apıtu yupaıu umadıñ* ‘ohne sich selbst verstecken und verbergen zu können’. Two further exs. of *apı-* have fragmentary contexts and may have either had the subject or others as the object of ‘shielding’ or ‘concealment’: *arig [küçläri] asılıp üstälip / aç kız [... al]ko adalartın / apıtu kölitü* [(BT XIII 58,44), with ‘lords and ladies’ as subject, may have had either the citizens as object or the lords and ladies themselves. In] *raxuya, apıtmış s(ä)n kök kalıkta* (ShōAgon 1,209), the object is the moon (as the sentence in the following line shows). *apıtlmaksız* (q.v. in section 3.329) comes from an unattested *-tXI-* derivative from the same base. *apı-g* is, in section 3.101, discussed as *abı-g*, which is how it is written in Brāhmī and Tib. script: /VpV/ appears to have been pronounced as [VbV]. The *EDPT* lists the verb as *abıt-* (which is phonetically correct). The *UW* has neither *abıt-* nor *apıt-* but, under *avıt-*, suggests reading *karaçu elin abutıp* (InscrOug II 27) as ‘*karaçu eltä abutıp*’ and translating it as “er versteckte sich im Karaçu-Land”.

495 This is what DankKelly do. They also change the first letter of the stem, (according to them) explicitly written thrice with A of the first hand, to o. Equally, they change thrice explicit *apı-* in fol. 555 to ‘*opi-*’, and *apıt-* in fol. 111 (twice explicit, once W by a later hand) to ‘*opıt-*’. *apıtan* should also have been read in fol. 88 although not vowelled in the ms. Their reason for all this may have been *upan-* in fol. 108, with the second vowel thrice by the second hand, the first vowel twice by the first and once by the second. The translation being ‘to hide (intr.)’, it seems that a confusion occurred between *apı-n-* and *yupa-n-*, which has a similar meaning. We see *apıt-* and *yupa-* as biverb in Warnke. Cf. *yupan-* among the *-(X)n-* verbs. The change in fol. 116 is especially unacceptable as the entry appears after *enät-*, *ayıt-* and *uyat-* and before *oñuk-* and *oñul-*.

Röhrborn is no doubt right about assigning the instance to the present verb, but the accusative should remain: In view of the ex. from BT XIII, the phrase should signify 'shielding his *karaçu* people'. The base is attested also in BT XIII 42,13: *raçaputıra tayzılarnı ymā apıyu uzun üdün küzädzün* 'May he shield the *rājaputra* princes and protect them for a long time'.⁴⁹⁶

arı-t- 'to clean, purify'. Documented in the *UW*; the *EDPT* has Qarakhanid exs. Add e.g. *süzmiş arıtmuş kirlig* (Schwitz 14) and 'A-RİD-HÂ-LE (= *arıtgalı*, with the *kleśas* as object) in BuddhKat 37. *arıtı* is a probable petrified converb from this verb.

arıgla-t- 'to get selected' or perhaps 'to get excerpted'. Hap. in Samanta 6 not mentioned in the *UW* (or the *EDPT*): *arıglatıp tamgaka intürüp yakdurup ülätmiş buyan* "... (dieses Werk) auswählen, auf Druckstöcke setzen ...", perhaps better translated as 'auslesen lassen'. See *arıg+la-* above.

arta-t- 'to damage, spoil, corrupt, destroy (physically or metaphorically)' is documented in the *EDPT* (runic and Qarakhanid) and the *UW* (Uigur). Another runic ex. is found in Tariat E5, a Buddhist one in TuoLuoNi 180: *buz-artat-* corresponds to one lexeme in the Chin. source.

aşa-t- 'to feed; to cause to enjoy' is documented in the *UW* (Uigur) and the *EDPT* (Qarakhanid and Middle Turkic).

(*avıt-* 'to comfort' appears once in Uigur (q.v. in the *UW*) and several times in the QB. The base is not attested but see *avın-* above, where other derivatives from *avın-* are mentioned. Cf. also *avıt-il-* above.)

aya-t- is attested only in Uigur, documented in the *UW*. One ex., a biverb with *agurla-t-*, signifies 'to make (some person) be revered or respected' (with respecters in the dative). Otherwise 'to be / get respected' (with respecters again in the dative).

ayıt- is primarily 'to make somebody say something', from *ay-* 'say, speak, declare, prescribe, prophesy, utter', amply documented in the *UW* and with runic exs. in the *EDPT*. As distinct from other *-Vt-* derivatives from consonant bases, the second vowel of *ayıt-* is always syncopated (19 times) in the QB before all suffixes starting with vowels. It follows that the base was **ayı-* < **ayX-*.⁴⁹⁷ See *ayı-k* in section 3.102 above and Erdal, 1979 a: 113-4. *ayıt-* ~ *ayt-* generally signifies 'to ask, to inquire about', the person being asked being referred to in the dative. See the *EDPT* and the *DTS* for some of the exs. for it. It is exceedingly common in all texts from the runic inscrs. on. Y¹T¹A in the Yenisei inscrs. is not a form of this verb but an interjection signifying 'alas',

496 The ed. reads '*apayu*' but the facs. is clear enough. He assigns the verb to *av-* in the index, but the converb of that would have been *ava*. /v/ and /p/ are distinct and opposed phonemes in Uigur.

497 That is also why the aorist of the base is *ayur* < **ayıyur* and not '*ay-ar*'.

appearing also in KP LVII 3 and perhaps XIX 6 (see also n. thereto). The *EDPT* may, on the other hand, be right in reading *ayıtayın* and not *añıtayın* in BQE 41.⁴⁹⁸ Uigur exs. of *ayıt*- will not be listed here; there are e.g. 25 of them in Maitr. *sezik* or *seziñ* *ay(i)t*- 'to give vent to one's doubts, ask for explanations' is discussed under *sezik* and *seziñ* respectively. *köñül ayıt*- 'to inquire about how somebody feels', a common phrase, is attested also in ShōAgon 1,10 (wrongly read as '*avıt*'). The biverb *ayıt- istä*- is discussed under *istä*- in section 5.13. See the derivatives *ayt-ıg* and *ayt-ıg*- above.

az-ıt- 'to lead astray' is Manichaean (like its synonym *az-gur*- discussed in section 7.54 above) and Muslim. Exs. from QB 2115, 3344 and 4194 do not appear in the *EDPT* entry. Used metaphorically, both *azgur*- and *azıt*- can have *ög* or *köñül* as object.

baça-t- 'to induce someone to fast' is a hap. mentioned by the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*: *arig baçatıp* in Suv 444,13 is comparable to *arig baçap* in Suv 524,13. Both are mentioned in *UW* 183 a s.v. *arig* par. A,f, where *arig* is translated as "ungebrochen, konsequent". Cf. also *arig baçak baça-* in a Manichaean text.

bak-ıt- 'to make someone look at something' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT. We also find it in BT VIII A 320 (a tantric text) in *alının . . . öz ätözkä bakiıp . . .* 'make one's forehead look at one's own self'. See *bak-ın*- above, also for the base and other cognates. The DLT's *bak-ur*- governs the shown entity as object and the looker-on in the dative, inversely from *bakıt*-. The Suv hap. *baktokla-* may have an unattested *-Ok* derivate from *bakıt*- as base.

baltur-t- is attested four times in Maitr, in all four exs. in a biverb with *igid*- 'to nourish, rear': } *sütün ämizip igidti balturtdı* (21 v11), *ätlig tärlig kanlıg ät' özümin igidti balturtı ärsär* (22 v7), *nomlug ät' özin igidtim bal[turtdum* (22 r16) and *ätlig kanlıg ät' özüñüz igidtäçi balturtdaçi atanız* (161 v25). MaitrH XVI 13 a5, the Hami version of the last ex., has *baltdurtdaçi* instead. All these instances could have been read with front vowels, but I take *balturt*- to come from *ba-l-tur*-, q.v. in section 7.57. A derivation from *belä*- 'to swaddle etc.' seems impossible.

bas-ıt- 'to (let oneself) be overwhelmed, oppressed, beaten, taken by surprise or overcome, to fall victim to' is used without explicit 'aggressor' in Tōñ 34 (*yälmä kargu ädgüti urgul, basıtma*) and QB 2369. The (usually explicit) aggressor appears in the dative. Only rarely is he a human agent like *yavlak kişikä* (DhāSū 18), *yat kişikä* (TT I 56-7) or *kişigkä* (QB 707). Grief, anxiety, illness and pain is more common: *ig agrıgka* (Suv 587,1-3), *busuş köñülüñä* (Suv

498 As can be seen in the Finnish Atlas and in Thomsen's unpublished materials, the *ñ* is uncertain: It could be a misreading of an effaced *Y*¹, with which it has the sideward arc in common. Neither '*añıt*-' nor any lexeme which can be shown to be related ever appeared.

- 635,1), *busuşka* (Suv 641,9), *sakınçka busuşka* (HtPek 96 b 8 quoted in UW 234 a-b). Note also *yavız kılınçka basıtmış m(ä)n* in ShōKenkyū III 29. Particularly the instance with *ig agrig* makes it unlikely that the subject should have had a part in his own suffering; we need not give up the notion, however, that the Toñ ex. implies responsibility for the subject if he should fall victim to a surprise attack. The expansions *bast-ık-* and *bas-ıtl-* discussed above are not very different as far as meaning is concerned; see them in sections 7.24 and 7.32 respectively. With them, however, the enemy is never a real being one can defend oneself against, and the subject never appears to be responsible. Their aggressors are mostly in the dative too, but twice appear as *üzä* phrases. In particular, *ig agrig üzä bastıkmak* (TT VII 40,134) can hardly be very different from *ig agrıgka basıtıp* ... *yaturlar* (Suv; both texts late). *basıntur-* is also accompanied by aggressive agents in the dative, but may have had a slightly different meaning.
- bayu-t-muş* 'enrichened' is a proper name in Pfahl I 17; the *DTS* quotes this through the reedition in USp 26. The *EDPT*, however, has *bayut-* only from DLT and QB. Cf. *bayu-* in section 5.41 above.
- bädizä-t-* 'to have something ornamented'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, from Orkhon Turkic on. Add *Çunti bođıs(a)vıtnıŋ soo bäsätgü nomı* "die Lehre über das Malen der Gestalt des ... Bodh. Cuñđi" (ms. Mz 724 v 29-35 quoted in the n. to Hochzeit 23-4). The variant *bäzä-* of the base *bädiz+ä-* (discussed among the *+A-* verbs) is found only from Qaraghanid Turkic on.
- bädü-t-* 'to make something or someone grow, to increase (tr.), to rear'. The *EDPT* quotes this once from TT I, from DLT and QB, but the first mentioned is dubious: It may possibly be an instance of *bädü-*. *bädüt-* has been read also in Ht X 1173. Add also *yemiğ içimiğ bädütmäk* 'to increase food and drink' (ShōAv 19) and *ogulın kızın* (better thus!) *igidiü umagu ämgäkin bädüü* 'bringing up one's children in grief about not being able to care for them' (Ernte 52).
- bäklä-t-* 'to have a thing or a person fastened or locked up'. By *EDPT* and *DTS* quoted only from the DLT. Found also in *kapıgın bäk bäkälätip* ... (BT III 264 and 320) and *kañı elig bägiğ kınlıkta bäkälätip* ... (Maitr 58 v 19). See *bäk+lä-* above.
- bäkü-t-* 'to fix, take firm hold' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and the QB. Three QB exs. are not mentioned there: In couplets 1580 and 1855 ms. B alone has /i/ for second vowel, which both ed. and Indeks for some reason adopt. (B changes *ü* to *i* also in *bäk+ü-*). DLT fol. 420 has *bäkütti bäkütür bäkütmäk*. *bäkürt-* (discussed next) is a sort of alternative to this verb. In QB 794, the text wrongly has *bärkitip* with A: The better mss. BC write *bärkütüp*. Cf. *bä(r)k+ü-* in section 5.41.
- (*bäkürt-* is found only in Maitr 226 v 3-4, in *kop kamag ayıg y(a)vlak törüläriğ bäkürtdäçi bütürdäçi ırtamış köñül köküz ärür*, in BT IX 263 translated as "Das

verdorbene Herz und der Sinn sind es, die alle bösen und üblen Dinge *befestigen und vervollständigen". In spite of this translation, the word appears in the index as *p'lkwrtd'cy* "zum Vorschein bringend".⁴⁹⁹ It is in fact possible that an L was inadvertently omitted and that this is another ex. of the very common *bälgürt-*, but the *lectio difficilior* of the ms. cannot be excluded. *bäkürt-* appears also in ms. B of QB 1892 (while the other mss. have other less acceptable verbs). A verb **bäkür-* is not attested but its petrified converb *bäk(ü)rü* is very common: See it at the end of section 7.51. Another explanation for *bäkürt-* would be that it came from *bärk+ü-t-* by metathesis.)

bälgür-t- 'make manifest, display, bring forth' is quoted with a few of the exs. in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. Most common, among the additional exs., is the phrase *ät'öz bälgürt-* (e.g. Maitr 169 r2, 148 v2, 4 r5, 60 r6, 106 v8, UigTot 1173) corresponding to the Buddhist term *bälgürtmä ät'öz* (section 3.109). Another common object is *körk* (Maitr 4 r1, TuoLuoNi 49 and 206, BuddhUig II 198). Some of the attested biverbs are *aç- bälgürt-* (q.v. in the *DTS*), *bälgürt-üntür-* (UigTot 1392), *körkit- bälgürt-* (Suv 697,8). The converb of this verb is *bälgürti* (quoted in the *EDPT*), the aorist *bälgürtir* (e.g. in Maitr 101 r21, v16 and 21, 165 r3, 12, 14, 15, 21, 148 r30 and v2); this must, by analogy, have caused the form *bälgürtip* (instead of *bälgürtüp*) in Maitr 4 r1 and 106 v8. In late texts, of course, (e.g. Suv 697,8) the aorist is *bälgürtür*.

bäliñlä-t- 'to put into panic' is mentioned neither in the *EDPT* nor in the *DTS*. We have *yalñuk[ları]g ürkit[gäl]ir bäliñlätgälir ü[çün]* (Maitr 101 r18) and *adkantaçı biliglär ärkäçläñip ürkitgäli bäliñlätgäli ugay* (HtPek H1 b5-9 quoted in footn. 62 in TermBuddh).⁵⁰⁰ See *bäliñ+lä-* above, where we also mention the biverb with *ürk-*.

mäñilä-t- 'to make someone happy' is a hap. in Suv quoted in the *DTS*; not in the *EDPT*. Cf. *mäñi+lä-* above.

mäñ(i)zä-t- 'to compare, liken'. *EDPT*⁵⁰¹ s.v. *beñzet-* and *DTS* s.vv. '*meñizät-*' and '*meñzät-*'. Appears also in Ht VII 2108 and 11 b26-27 (biverb with *ogşat-*) and in Maitr 38 r13. See below for the petrified converb *mäñzäti*. *mäñz+ä-* 'to resemble' is attested only from DLT and QB on.

bişur-t- 'to have something cooked' is found in BT II 228. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. See *biş-ur-* in section 7.51.

499 The reading is changed tacitly and the entry refers to recto instead of verso.

500 "in Wallung kommen und erschreckt₂ werden" does not correspond to the Chin. text, which Röhrborn translates as "das Erschreckt-Werden-Können durch die Aufwallung des Bewußtseins". In Uigur, *biliglär* is the subject of all three verbs; in Chin., however, only of "Aufwallung" within the agentive phrase of a passive expression. The correct translation of the Uigur text which also corresponds to what the Chin. signifies is 'erschrecken₂ (tr.)'.

501 The reference to HTs 1889-90 should read 1989-90.

(*birgärt-* ‘to unite’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT*. The *DTS* has a Suv ex. s.v. *birgärt-* I. Another Suv ex. quoted there under *birkärtmāk* (thus) appears also in *UW* 281 b (bottom). What the *DTS* quotes from Heilk I 70 (not 10, as written there) as *birgärtä tökgü* is probably a mistake, e.g. for *birgärün* (instrumental of the petrified converb). A further ex., a biverb with *yığ-* in *HtPar* 143,13, is quoted in *UW* 199 b. ‘*birkitsär*’ in *BT* I B (52) should perhaps be read as *bir-g(ä)rtsär*.⁵⁰² Further exs. appear in *ShōAgon* 1,314 and *BT* III 926 (both as *birgärtip*) and *Ht* V 6 a2 (*birgärti*). The base must have had the shape **bir-gär-*. What we have instead is an adverb *birgärü*, which may be a directive from *bir* ‘one’. We discuss it under the petrified converbs of section 7.53, however, under the assumption that it comes from the base of *birgärt-*.)

biti-t- ‘to have something written’ is documented in *EDPT* and *DTS* and appears also in *U* II 80,63 (*Üdrät*), *Ht* IV 773 (*bitig bitit-*) and *V* 7 a6, *Maitr* 3 v20, 27 r4, 200 v12, 1 r12 (*nom bititgäli ötün-*), 1 v3 (*nom bitigig bititü tugin-*) and 1 r17 (*nom bitig bitit-*), *ShōUigFrag* 27, *BT* XIII 12,02, frequently in *TuoLuoNi*. ‘*bititü tädä yadmaz*’ in *HazaiAval* 13 should probably be read as *bititü tugin-d(i)miz*.⁵⁰³

boşu-t- ‘to have somebody freed or something released’ is, in *Uigur*, found only in Suv: The *DTS* has one ex. in 117,22: *olarnı barça . . . ämgäklärintin boşutup . . .*, with the person getting rid of something (abl.) in the accusative. An ex. in Suv 638,7 has the person getting rid as subject and what he gets rid of in the accusative case: *ançak(t)ya boşutzun ulug elig bağ busuşın*. The QB exs. signify ‘to help somebody open his bowels’: *özi katmış, ämdi boşutgu kārāk* (1059) ‘He is constipated and must be given a purgative’ and *özini boşutgu* (6010) ‘He should be given a purgative’. This use connects with the DLT’s *anıñ özi boşudı* (also with *öz*) ‘His bowels were opened’, *bo ot karın boşatgan* ‘This drug purges the stomach’. We spell this last with *a* in the second syllable although the ms. shows a second-hand *damma*, because all other six instances of this verb in the DLT are written with *fatha* of the first hand there. See irregularly tr. *boşw-* in section 5.41. The form quoted in the *EDPT* entry from *USp* 125 reads *boşudu*, not ‘*boşut(t)u*’, to which it is arbitrarily changed by Clauson; it could be an erratic or misread perfect form of *boşw-* (which fits the context better).

(*boşgutup* is a hap. in *TT* VIII K quoted in the *EDPT* and also in *Maue*, 1984: 93 footn. 16. It is likely to be a misreading or error for *boşgunup* (not *boşgurup*), which also has a more appropriate meaning. What has been read as this verb in

502 The ms. is lost and the original transcription has *birgärt-*; the translation, presumably based on the Chin. original, fits this verb well.

503 After starting to write *tägdimiz*, the scribe started again from the middle of the word.

- Maitr 162 r27 (= BT 141,27) is in fragmentary context and could also be *boş-guts[uz]*; but the *t* and *s* are uncertain as well.)
- bödi-t-* 'to make dance (a person or one's feet)' is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT. In Ht VII 5 b5 *bödigin böditip* is parallel to *oyun oynatıp* and BuddhUig II 90 has *urılarig kızlarig sürügin toyın böditip* UW 46 a quotes another Ht ex. of *bödi-t-*, in which the subject is 'the dancers' and the object *adakların* 'their feet'. For the vowel of the base see *bödi-g* above, and the *EDPT* on *bödi-*. Instances of the base not quoted there appear in BT VII B2 and 13.
- bulga-t-muşlar* 'the confused ones' is a hap. in v9 of a ms. quoted in footn. 3 of ChuastBeitr. Cf. *bulga-l-* above.
- bütür-t-* 'to get something completed and perfected' is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* (like *bulgat-* just mentioned). We have it in *yeväglärin bütürtüp* ... (BuddhUig II 324) and *on kuen bir çır kulturup bütürtdi*, about having a book prepared (Warnke 107). *büt-ür-* is exceedingly common.
- (*çaylat-* 'to have respected' has no attested *+la-* base and is not mentioned in the dictionaries. Hap. in BT XIII 38,46, in a rather fragmentary context. Chin. *zhai* 'to respect' is attested in Ht X 388 in the phrase *çay kıl-*, presumably equivalent to **çay+la-*.)
- çıkra-t-* 'to cause to emit a grating sound' appears in LautHöllen 55 (passage previously edited in the n. to TT III 5) with *tışlärin* 'his teeth' as object, and in BT XIII 27,24 (quoted s.v. *köl-ür-* above) with *kölökünüzni* 'your vehicle' as object. The *EDPT* quotes the DLT, which has 'door', 'pen' and, in particular, 'teeth' (human and camel). See *çıkra-* in section 5.32.
- çınra-t-* 'to cause to jingle or to rattle' has an early finite attestation only in the DLT, but we find *çınratgu* 'bell' in KP (quoted in the *EDPT*) and in a Ht ms. (quoted in UW 40 a under *açarı* par. B). A further ex. in ShōAv 132 is translated as "Rasselstab"; the other two exs. may perhaps also have signified 'rattle'. *çınra-* belongs to the same class as *çıkra-* and *çokra-*.
- çokra-t-* 'to boil (tr.)', *EDPT* and *DTS*. *çokratmış* in TT X (quoted in the *DTS*) is marked as uncertain in the text. Otherwise found only a number of times in the late Heilk I and in the DLT. See *çokra-* in section 5.32.
- çök-üt-* ~ *çök-it-* *EDPT* and *DTS*; the latter also s.v. '*çökät-*', which has been read once in Suv and must be a mistake for *çöküt-*. Some of the exs. not mentioned there are *ayasın kavşurup çökiñü olorup* (BuddhUig II 247), *Odon xan ... bodunu bokuñı birlä çökiñü olo[r]up* (Ht V 11 a3), *tözünlärniñ üskintä tört ulugumın çökiñip* (ShōKenkyū III 35), *tizlärin çökiñip ayal[arın] kavşurup* (Ht X 607) and *Samtso açarı ü[skin]tä çökiñü olorup* (*ibid.* 723), which are also typical of the exs. which the dictionaries do quote. Attested further e.g. in BT II 1282 and Ht IV 688-9. The earlier variant with /ü/ in the second syllable appears

only in U III 28,12,⁵⁰⁴ U IV C106, and USp 101,7. *tizin çökiṭip* of TT VI O11 appears in three mss. while another lacks the phrase altogether and a fifth one has *söküdüp*; see *sök-üd-* in section 7.23. See Erdal, 1979: 153 and 155 for the vowel alternation. Analogy from *söküd-* may be the reason why practically all exs. of the present verb are spelled with D, and one or two with T are among the latest ones. *sök-it-* is discussed further on in this section. Both *çöküt-* and *söküd-* denote ‘kneeling’, with or without explicit ‘knee(s)’.

çugla-t- ‘to have something tied up and made into a parcel’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT. It appears also in Ernte 72, in *çiṇṇā kaṇḷi birlā yigdurup çuglaṭip* ... These causative forms cannot be translated as “häuft man sie zusammen” as done there, nor are the two verbs a biverb: The present one refers to the tying down of the heaped-up bundles onto the cart. See *çug+la-* above.

āgir-t- ‘to let or get (oneself) surrounded and encircled, to be enclosed’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; the latter also s.v. ‘*ikirt-*’, a misreading of two Suv instances of the variant *āṇir-t-*. This variant appears also in Suv 619,3, not mentioned by the dictionaries: *körmiṣṭā . . . aç barsıg āmgäkkā āṇirtip ānūkin yegāli kıl(in)mıṣın* ... ‘having seen that the hungry tigress was (as if) besieged by hunger and about to eat her cub, . . .’. P. Zieme has suggested reading TT VII 40,57 as *agır ig agrig üzā [ā]girtip ol ig[intin] agrıgıntun [ōṇād]gāli kūsāsār . . .*; *āṇirtip* could also have stood there. The base *āgir-* ~ *āṇir-* is discussed in section 6.3; it is tr. *āgsü-t-* ‘to diminish (tr.), reduce’. Exs. in the *EDPT*. A common cognate is *āgsü-k*.

āmgä-t- ‘to make someone suffer’. *EDPT*; common verb. Found also in ETŞ 13,145, LautHöllen 30 (*āmgäkläriḡ āmgät-*), BT XIII 8,24 (quoted under *buṣ-ur-* above), Maitr 202 v16 and 182 v5 (both *āmgätirlār*). TT VIII O, from which the verb is quoted in the *EDPT*, is a ms. of TT VI. The verb in question, *āmgätür*, appears also in ms. BVN 6 r5 but is absent from six other mss. of the passage including l.62 of the London scroll. There also are several exs. of *āmgätmäksiz* (section 3.329). ShōKenkyū II 31 was read as ‘*āmgätip*’; as the facs. shows and as accords well with the sense, the reedition in BT XIII 12,83 is right in reading *āmgänip* instead. Both *āmgä-n-* and *āmgä-k* are common.

āmlä-t- is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT, where it means “to have somebody treated with medicine”. Attested also as *muntag āmgäkin āmlätdi[ḡ]* (BT XIII 12,132) ‘Going to all that trouble you have had (me) treated’. The ed.’s translation “hast du geheilt” is wrong, as the parent does not treat the child himself but (according to the context) gets doctors. “heilen” would have been *ām+lä-*, discussed above. A further ex. probably appears in ShōAgon 1,365 (there

504 With D tacitly changed to *t* in the *EDPT*.

transcribed *qmlatmış*) but the context is not clear to me. Then in ManMon 106-7: *sagan ügälär igläsär . . . ämlätgüçi y[um]uş bolzun. otaçı okıp k(ä)lürüp otın ämin iş ayguçlarda b(ä)k tutup alıp uz ämlätzün* (transcription of GeistDrog) 'If the *sagan ügäs* should fall ill, he (the 'YWRX'NY ZM'STYK?) must serve as . . . errand to get them treated.⁵⁰⁵ He must call and bring a doctor, make sure he procures and gets their medicinal plants and drugs from the overseers and get them treated well.'

(*äñ-it-* 'to bow, to bend one's body or one's head forward'. *äñ-* 'to bend' is apparently a variant of *äg-* (tr.). It has one's fingers as objects thrice in TT VA, but is intr. in the Codex Comanicus, in Altai dialects and in Qırghız. *äñit-* is frequently spelled with two initial *alifs* but has front vocalism in Brāhmī writing (TT VIII G). *adakınta äñitgäli yüküngäli tägim är-* (Maitr 38 v8), *äñitmädük toñtmaduk ät'özin* (MaitrGeng 5 a18), *yüküngülük 'äñitgülük yeg üstünki baxşı* (BT VIII B219) etc. all show front K in the suffix. The aberrant spelling of *äñit-tür-* is therefore just an error. Exs. of *äñit-* not mentioned in the EDPT occur also in SuvStockh 46 (*töpömin 'äñitip* "beuge ich . . . meinen Scheitel . . ."), Warnke 496 (*särinip katıglap . . . yukünüp 'äñitip*), Ht IV 395 ('*äñitip*), UigTot 245 ('*äñitür m(ä)n*), BT VIII Nachtr. 1,9 ('*äñitür*), Suv 419,15 (*kamagka . . . ayaguluk äñitgülük*, in UW 291 b translated "einer, den alle verehren und vor dem sich alle verneigen müssen") and BuddhUig II 505 ('*äñitütur-*). A phrase *äñitä ät'özin* appears in U III 12,16 and 38,28, BT III 986, BT XIII 25,10, BT VIII B37, BuddhUig II 413 (*äñitü ätözin!*) and Maitr 141 r12, 90 r9, 17 r3, 13 r28.⁵⁰⁶ If this verb really belongs to the present formation, the converb vowel /A/ is irregular; nor is the meaning easy to accommodate with the usual functions of *-(X)t-*. By meaning it might belong to the formation *-(X)d-* discussed in section 7.23, but texts which do not confuse the dentals write it with T. Cf. *äñ-iz-* above.)

505 Zieme in GeistDrog confuses the person *in charge* of the treatment with the doctor(s). "Dienst" is too general a term for *yumuş*: The person in charge of treatment fetches doctor and medicine but need not know much about the subject himself. Again, the translation "heilen" for *ämlät-t-* is inappropriate. Nor can I see any "Widerspruch" between this passage and I.123: The fact that the doctors have to be on guard duty in the monastery does not signify that there is no need to summon them (presumably by the 'YWRX'NY ZM'STYK) to a person who becomes ill: Such a monastery would presumably be a large institution.

506 Similar phrases are *tikä kulgakın* (Höllen 93 and TT X30), *yinçürü töpün* (16 exs. mentioned under the petrified converb *yinçürü* in section 7.512 above), *titräyü ünin* (Maitr 11 r8), *titräyü (kamşayu) ät'özin* (MaitrGeng 2 b19-20 and 4 b11-12), *yaşru köñlin* (ibid. 6 a1), *külçirä yüzin* (all six Uigur exs. mentioned in the EDPT under *külçir-*) and *tälmirä közin* (Suv 637,9, Maitr fr. 105 and QB 6634). In seven among these, the kernel is a noun denoting a part of the body or the body itself. *ün* 'voice', the only exception, is just as natural a part of a person. The phrase is always put to adverbial use. Among the verbs there are both tr. and intr. ones.

äsür-t- 'to intoxicate or make drunk' has an intr. base, q.v. in the *EDPT*. The *EDPT* has *äsürt-* from the DLT and the QB on. Not mentioned there is an ex. in QB 6139, and the clause *yañalarka bor içürüp äsürtüp* in Ht IV 793.

ävdi-t- 'to have something gathered' has been read in *anta yänä kayu* [...] *mİş nomlarıg ävdi tip* ... 'then, again, he let any texts which were [...] get collected and ... (Warnke 104) and *bo* ... *nomlarıg ävdi tip alıp* ... 'he had these ... texts gathered, took them and ...' (*ibid.* 139) and nowhere else. *ävdi-* is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* either, but see Qarakhanid *ävdi-*, *ävdi-* and *ävdin-* quoted there. An Uigur ex. of *ävdi-mä* is discussed above. Finite exs. of *ävdi-* in Uigur are quoted in *EDPT* 42 b under 'E idi:-'. *ävdi ti yıgdı tärin* ... *nomlarıg* of HtPar 130,11 is in HtFragm translated as a biverb "er sammelte₂"; in view of the perfect forms *tilädi*, *istädi*, *nomladı* etc. with D in the same passage, it could also be a converb *ävdi-t-i*.

ävır-t- is not in the *EDPT*. The form *ävır tınız* quoted in the *DTS* from Suv seems rather to be the perfect of *ävır-* in a sentence very similar to the one quoted below from TT VI 455. What was thought to be '*ävirtsär*' in Ht VII 1994 has in Junshō p. 20 been shown to be a misreading of *ny(a)yanusarı* (the name of a *śāstra*). In section 3.32 above we quote two real exs. of *ävır-t-* from Suv 163,18 and 181,17 respectively: *burxanlarka nom tilgänin ävir tğäli ötüğçi bol-* and *burxanlarıg nom tilgänin ävir tğükä* ... *ötüğçi bol-*. This is the causative of *nom tilgänin* (or *nomlug tilgän*) *ävır tğäy*, as written in four among eight mss. in TT VI 455 (including B7 in OdaUigh), translated "das Rad der Lehre drehen (und allen Wesen Vorteile bringen)". *ävır-t-* is further used in the colophons of BT II (114) + Warnke (r5), as, respectively, *ögi kañ kutluglar üçün* and *[bo] iki kutluglar üçün ävir tğäli ötünmiş ötüğçinä*. Warnke translates "auf die Bitte des ... für ... (Punya) zuzuwenden", while BT II has something equivalent to 'to dedicate it to ...'. It should be considered whether *nom tilgänin* is not to be understood as elliptic object here as well. A further possibility would be to take the verb to signify "to have (the present text) translated for the benefit of the souls of ...": *ävır-* is well attested as 'to translate'.

edär-t- is a hap. in BT III 193 not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *äyriğ sarsıg bramanlarıg edär tı idular* 'They sent the repulsive and disgusting brahmans to pursue (her)'. The cognates *edär-t+çi* and *edär-iş-* are discussed above. The base *edär-* 'to follow' appears to have been a simplex. As Kaz. *iär-* "folgen", Tob. Krm. *iär-* "erreichen" and Sagay *ezärä* "in einer Reihe" show, the dental was /d/ in spite of spellings with T in Warnke 678, AmitIst 102, TT I 113, TuoLuoNi 270 and 341 and TT VIII F3 (Brāhmī). Concerning this last ex., cf. *adırtla-* spelled with two T's in F4. Most exs. do spell the verb with D. In Ht V 5 a 19, Warnke 678, AmitIst 102, TT I 113, TuoLuoNi 270 and 341 and TT VIII F3, the verb has a y before the vowel: We interpret this alternation as a reflex of

an original **h*. The aorist of this base is *edärür* in Suv 364,14 and 20, the converb (y)*edärü* in Ht V 5 a 19, Suv 600,3 and 4, BT III 164, TT I 113 (misunderstood) and TT VIII F3 (read with I in the second syllable).

edilä-t- 'to let somebody own something' is attested in UigSteu A 24 and, with the *d* in a lacuna, *ibid.* 13. The *EDPT* under '**iktü:let-*' quotes the passage of l.24 from its previous ed. in USp 88 and quite misinterprets it; a lemma as postulated (and mistranscribed) in the *EDPT* does not exist. The passages have *biziñ kut* "Unsere Majestät" as subject, the *Muruluk* monastery with adjoined land as object and the monks of the monastery as implicit (new) owners. *edi+lä-* 'to own' is discussed among the *+lA-* verbs above.

elsirä-t- 'to dispossess someone of his realm' is in the *EDPT* quoted from several Orkhon Turkic instances. See *el+sirä-* in section 5.5.

ençsirä-t- 'to make somebody insecure or uneasy' is in the *EDPT* quoted with two Uigur exs., and found also in ETŞ 13,145 and BT XIII 16,14. See *enç+sirä-* in section 5.5.

er-it-miş 'loathed, despised' from *yer-* ~ *er-* 'to loathe' appears in *bo muntag beş çöpik bulganyuk eritmiş kışta öztä yašta* (Maitr 9 v 8 = MaitrGeng 1 b 11). The BT IX index translates the verb as "verfault sein", implying a connection with (y)*iri-* ~ (y)*irü-* 'to rot'. That, however, has a rounded vowel in the second syllable of the Uigur exs., and the causative of an intr. verb does not fit the context; all Uigur evidence for the verb 'to rot' appears with the *y*. For semantic and etymological connections cf. *er-in-* among the *-(X)n-* verbs and *yeringiç* in section 3.311. *är işkä yeritti* in DLT fol. 423 has the 'loather' as subject: A literal translation would be 'The man was repulsed by the work'. Cf. *er-itil-miş* in section 7.32.

erinçkä-t- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* and *DTS* but is a hap. in Warnke 235: *yinçürü töpön yükünüp [ön]rä kılmuş kılınçlarıç erinçkätü kşanti kılgañ küsägülük* ... The verb in question is not translated by the ed., but should signify 'to evoke compassion (for oneself)'. *erinçkä-* is discussed in section 5.2 above.

et-it- 'to have something erected'. Attested twice in ŞU, and in Tariat S6; the last is not mentioned in the dictionaries. In all three cases *örğin* ... *etiüdim*; the two inscrs. are related and also otherwise show some overlapping subject matter and phraseology. Uigur and the DLT have *et-dür-* with the same meaning while a Manichaean text has *et-ür-* instead; see both in the next section.

ıra-t- 'to remove, put at a distance; permit to roam'. The three exs. quoted in the *EDPT* from DLT and QB are all written *yırat-*, and cf. *yıraş-* in QB 5659. We further have *ot üm yıratmış k(ä)rgäk* (Heilk II 3,159). Suv 401,1 (quoted in the n. to UigTot 233), however, writes *ıraçalım*. *ıratu* should probably also be read in BT II 288 instead of the unaccountable '*ävrütü*' favoured by the ed.: The text

also writes *ırak* and not *yırak* for 'far'. In addition to the dictionaries' exs., *ıra-* is found also in BT III 174, Warnke 677 and AmitIst 19.

ilgü-t- does not appear in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It should be read in Manichaean ZiemeTexterg I 37, in]K/I ilg[ü]tzün tep [, in unintelligible context. This is a cognate of *ilgü-r-* (section 6.3), together with which an ex. for the base is mentioned, and *ilgü-n-*, qq.v. A variant with initial *y* appears in *ulus känd bāzāndi kōñül yilgütür* (QB 3104), *etinmiş kälın tąg kōñül yilgütür* (QB 3540) and *bāzānmiş kälın tąg kōñül yilgütür* (QB 3567). In view of *kōñül yilgü-* and *kōñül yilgü-r-* quoted above, (y)*ilgüt-* appears to have signified 'to activate', with *kōñül* as object perhaps 'to make it beat harder'. Cf. also *ilgün-dür-*.

irklä-t- 'to help someone tread on something' has no doubt been correctly reconstituted in *beş ajunug irkl[ä]t[i]p* . . . in TT III 47. The *EDPT* otherwise quotes the verb only from the DLT, where it has the shape *iklät-*. The *EDPT* has suggested reading a verb appearing in KP 65,5 as *irklä-*; otherwise, the base is attested in BT II 617, 691, 841, 1079 and 1332 and in the DLT (again as *iklät-*). /r/ is often elided in triple clusters. *irklä-* cannot be shown to be derived, against Tekin, 1986: 158: The DLT's 'äkläs-' is isolated and should be emended; the original meaning of *äz-* appears to have been 'to slit, gash, incise, furrow' and not as stated there (there is no early evidence for the meaning 'to crush'). The DLT's *äz-ig*, *äzil-*, *äzit-* and *äztür-* all refer to lengthwise scratching of the skin.

isi-t- 'to heat something' is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. It appears also in Heilk II,1 102 and Maitr 152 v25. See *isi-g* in section 3.101 for (intr.) base and cognates.

istä-t- 'to have someone or something sought' is in the *DTS* and the *EDPT* quoted from Suv and the DLT. It is found also in BT III 565 and Warnke 97 (biverb with *ilät-*). The tr. *istä-* is discussed in section 5.13.

işlä-t- 'to let something function; make somebody do something; to put to work, put to use etc.'. *EDPT*⁵⁰⁷ and *DTS*, the latter also s.vv. *yorit-işlät-*, '*işlätgölüg*' and others. Further exs. occur in BuddhKat 36, BuddhUig II 549, Ht V 8 a17, IV 1014 and VII 10 a26 and 12 b18, ManMon 5, 20, 38 and 102, HamTouen 23,19, Maitr 157 r24 and 27, 62 v15, 73 r26 and 177 r12, Abhi 1070-71 and 1080, ShōAgon 1,149, ShōAv 286 and elsewhere. *iş+lä-* is both tr. and intr.; *işlät-* governs both animate and inanimate objects.

kagansıra-t- 'to deprive a people of its *kagan*' is quoted in the *EDPT*. Both it and *kagan+sıra-* (q.v. in section 5.5 above) are found only in Orkhon Turkic.

kali-t- 'to raise into the air' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and from KP: *kalıu eltdi* (KP LII 3) should, however, be the vowel converb rather than the perfect. Cf. *kaldur-* below. *kali-* 'to rise into the air' is, beside what the *EDPT*

507 The reference to USp 82,28 should be changed to 88,29.

has, attested also in Ht V3 b14. *sögüt turkında idiz kök [kalık]da kalı-* (Maitr 197 r8) is 'to rise up into the air as high as a tree' and not as translated by the ed. ManTürkGed 8 should have been read as *k(a)ra kuzguntäg . . . kal'ıy(i)n*; cf. *yoriy(i)n* in the previous l. for the shape of the suffix.

kam-ıt-muş 'knocked down' is attested in MaitrGeng 9 b9, Maitr 101 v13 (*yem-ri[l]miş, amarı 'ämitmiş kamutmuş y(a)ylak* (i.e. /yaylık/) *kışlık aşlık k(a)znak-ları*) and Ht V2 a5 ([*ä*] *mitmiş kamutmuş [käd]girmiş artamış yok*). The EDPT quotes the verb from two QB couplets, in which it is also associated with *ämit-* (an intr. verb, apparently a simplex). Clauson's translation of these is unlikely and awkward, as he takes the verb to be a double causative. Cf. *kam-* 'to strike down' in the EDPT and *kam-ıl-* 'to be struck down, fall to the ground' in section 7.31 above. Uigur may not have had any finite forms of *kam-ıt-*.

kamşa-t- 'to make something or someone waver or shake' is documented in the EDPT from runic and Manichaean texts. It appears also in Maitr 128 v30 in a biverb with *täprä-t-*.

kan-ıt- appears to have been the purely grammatical causative of *kan-*, whereas *kan-tur-* (q.v. below), which is much better attested, has the more lexical meaning 'to satiate, to satisfy (physically, directly)'. *kan(i)rdınız* is correctly translated in HamTouen 23,9 as "vous (nous) avez fait bien plaisir". In the DLT (q.v. in the EDPT) it signifies 'to make cheerful'.

karar-t- 'to blacken, to darken (tr.)' is by the EDPT and the DTS quoted only from DLT and QB. Attested also in BT III 47 and 50. Add also *ot yarokın t(ä)ñri yarokın karartzun* (UigSukh 50) 'May (that light) outshine the brightness of fire and the brightness of the sky (i.e. make them appear as dark)'. The BT III exs. signify 'to dim'.

karga-t-muş kün 'accursed day' appears in TT VIII P35 and 39. The EDPT only quotes the DLT, where it signifies 'to have something cursed'. *karga-* is tr.

kavza-t- 'to surround oneself with, to be surrounded'. EDPT s.v. *kavzat-* and DTS s.vv. *qavsat-* and 'egirt- qavşat-' quote it several times from Suv and from TT VIII F5, where it is spelled with Z. The very common spelling with S may not be due to the confusion of sibilants in all cases: Cf. the shape *kabsa-* which the base shows in DLT fols. 88, 233 and 569. One is reminded of the passage of the 3rd person imperative suffix from *-zUn* to *-sUn*. Exs. of *kavzat-* not mentioned in the dictionaries occur in Ht VII 7 a16 (*t(ä)rkän [teg]in t(ä)ñrim Samtso açarı [ikä]gü birlä bardı. bağlär [üz]ä kavzatıp . . .*) and ShōKenkyū III 12. Cf. *kavzat-ıglıg* (section 3.119) and *kavza-tıl-* (section 7.32) above. *kavza-* 'to surround' may well be a simplex. The EDPT entries *kapsa:-* and *kavza:-* should be united, as the lemmata are synonymous variants; there is no reason to take the DLT labial stop to have been unvoiced. Three further exs. of *kavza-* appear in BT XIII. BuddhUig II 353 should (according to Zieme, personal

communication, against the ed.) be read as *kavzayu tägirmiläyü*, a biverb. The Suv 490,15 ex. of *kavzat-* is best translated in *UW* 202 b top where, for some reason, it is transcribed as '*kavšatu*'.

kay-ıt- is attested in *bo savag* (i.e. /savıg/) *äşidip tini[n] kerü kaytı tartap* (i.e. /tar-tıp/) . . . *yanıp bardı* 'When he heard these words he pulled his reins in backward direction and . . . rode back' in ManManus v3. This is the reading of the USp edition of the text, well visible on the facs., against Le Coq's version (which does not make any sense either). The *EDPT* accepts the present reading, but its interpretation of the word is refuted in n. 455 above. See the *EDPT* for exs. of *kay-* 'to turn or tend towards something; to pay respect'; particularly similar to the present context is *kerü kaydı* 'He turned back' and *nälük . . . kerü körüp kaymadın* 'Why did you not pay heed and turn back?' in DLT fol. 553. Cf. also *yañalar bägi . . . tägzinü kadrılı kayıp . . .* 'the lord of the elephants . . . twisted back around and . . .' (MaitrGeng 7 a5). Further exs. of *kay-* not mentioned in the *EDPT* are *t(ä)ñridäm közin bärü kayıp . . .* "(Sie mögen sich) mit göttlichem Auge hierher wenden" (Maitr 1 v25) and *Ärnem elig sukañçık körtlä közin kayıp . . .* "le roi Arañemi, tournant (vers eux) ses beaux yeux doux, . . ." (HamTouen 1,43). These are a link to the phrase *kaya bak-/kör-* listed separately in *EDPT* 675 a.

kayına-t- 'to boil (tr.)'. The *EDPT* has it only from the DLT on; *kayınaıp* also appears seven times in Heilk II,1 (see the index thereto). A stem *kayna-* appears, according to the *EDPT*, only from texts of the XIIIth century on, but is nevertheless the original shape of what appears in Uigur and Qarakhanid Turkic as *kayın-*: See Erdal, 1979 a: 115, and *kayın-tur-* below.

kälür-t- is in the *EDPT* quoted once from U III.⁵⁰⁸ It is used also in *yag alıp kälürtüp* (Ernte 64), *Xuitex açarıg kälürtüp . . . bo savlarıg sözlädi* (Ht X559), *käntüsi tiktürmiş kraja kälürtüp körkitti* 'He had brought the clothes which he had had sewn and showed them' (HtPar 4 r 14-17) and *t(ä)rkın şoo an[tın] algalı ıdıp yog şastr[ı]g kälürtüdi* 'He had the Yogäcäryabhümiśāstra brought, sending somebody to get it speedily from Chang An' (HtPar 119,16 quoted in *UW* 86 a s.v. *al-* par. 3,a). 'to have something or somebody brought': *käl-ür-* is tr., *kälürt-* in all exs. a double causative without explicit intermediate agent.

kärgüklä-t-gäli is a hap. in ETŞ 11,58, not mentioned in the dictionaries. 'to make one need something'. See *kärgäk+lä-* 'to need' among the +*IA-* verbs.

keñä-t- should signify 'to give counsel', seeing that *keñ+ä-* (q.v. among the +*A-* verbs) signifies 'to seek somebody's counsel'; cf. also *keñä-ş-*. *keñät-* appears in BT II 940, *nätägin k(ä)ntü özüm keñätgäli boşungalı ugay biz?* 'How will we be

508 Clauson writes '*kälürtip*', but both edition and facs. have *kälürtüp*.

able to counsel ourselves so as to get free?⁵⁰⁹ The proper name *El K(e)ñätmiş Sañun* (Pfahl I 17) probably also comes from this verb: The text has 'kik^o' but cf. the facs.

keñür-t- is specific to Ht, appearing in IV 1735 and VII 2 b 1, 3 a 14 and 23, 7 b 8, 15 a 24 and 20 b 5 (= 1976, the only ex. mentioned in the *EDPT*). It also appears to have been repeated in the colophons for all the books of the work, as *Gentsung vapşı atl(i)g nomçı açarı keñürtmiş* 'the law master named Yentsung elaborated upon it'; we have it for the VIIth (= 23 b 20 = 2153) and the IXth (in p. 10 of Tezcan's ed. of the Xth). The other exs. also have the doctrine, texts of the doctrine or metaphorical reference to the doctrine as object, and can also be translated as 'to propagate'.⁵¹⁰ This is in fact a synonym for the obsolescent *keñü-r-*, which had a revival in late texts but was in 'classical' Uigur mainly represented by the petrified converb *keñürü*; see both in section 7.51 above.

kır-t-muş 'shaved off' appears in ms. T I D 596 r 11, in the n. to TT VII 22: *saçı kırt kırtmış ürsä[r]*, ... 'if his hair is shaved off short'. Arat writes the second and third words quoted as one word, but *kırt* must in fact be the *-(U)t* derivate from *kır-* discussed in section 3.108. *kır-ıl-* is the normal finite passive of *kır-*, but *-(X)t-* is appropriate for the perfect participle; the hair's 'bearer' can, moreover, be taken to have initiated the shaving. *kırtış* 'surface' may possibly, in some way, come from *kırt-*.

kızart-t-muş 'red-hot' appears at least fifteen times in Maitr and in Höllen 33 and qualifies *tämür* or *tämürlig*, *kızıl bakır* or *kızıl bakırlıg*, *örtlüg tämir* or *esiç*. The *EDPT* quotes none of these but has one Uigur ex. of *kızartmış*, and the morphologically varied DLT and QB evidence. Exs. from QB 3977, 4117, 4868, 5119, 5779 and 6002 should be added to the entry. All these QB exs. and the ones quoted in the *EDPT* signify 'to make somebody's face glow from pleasure'.

komu-t- 'to inspire, arouse, fill with yearning' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and QB. Attested also in *mānikā komuṭu ilişālim* 'let us arouse and collectively engage in ... happiness' (ETŞ 13,72). Intr. *komu-* is found in BT III 428, beside the Qarakhanid exs. mentioned in the *EDPT*.

kork-ut ~ kork-ut- 'to frighten'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter under *ürkitmämäk qorqüt mamaq*. Appears also in ETŞ 13,111 and 15,42 (*korkıtur*), Maitr 113 r 6 and 199 r 11, Profan p. 282, BT VII A 413 (*korkıtu tur-*) and BT XIII 33,9. The exs. of Chuast and Suv are biverbs with *ürkit-*. ChuastBeitr ms. U also writes

509 The context demands a rhetorical question and not 'irgendwie ...'. The singular *özüm* was probably overlooked when copying the text from a source in which only a single confessor was provided for.

510 I am at a loss for an appropriate English term; what is meant is the whole activity of a 'teacher'.

korkıt(tı)m(i)z ürkit(tı)m(i)z ärsär. For the second vowel, which is unrounded in Uigur, cf. especially *korkınç* in section 3.104 and *korkız-* in section 7.55. *kotur-t-* 'to have (a text) copied' is in the *DTS* quoted from Suv 18,23: ... *atl(tı)g nom ärdinig tavrati bititgil. ... ol nom ärdini yana bo tägrä adın yerdä yok. yalañuz mänin ävimtä ök bar ärür. anı alıp koturtgil tep tedi* "... It exists only in my house. Take it and have it copied" he said.' Further exs. appear in Tuo-LuoNi 213 = 216, 234 and 379. Cf. *kotur-* < *kod-tur-* among the *-tUr-* verbs below.

kov-it- 'to get chased' appears in Maitr 5 r25-6: *bir kuşlagu kuşka kovitmuş kökürçgün munka tarka t[ä]gip Şariputrı arxantnıñ köligäşiñä sıgıntı* "Eine von einem Jagdvogel verfolgte Taube hatte sich in der Not (Hend.) in den Schatten des Arhat Śāriputra gedrückt". The verb in *üç kökürçgän atayı laçınka kavitur ärkän* ... in Suv 620,20-21 is either an error or a mistake for *kovit-*: The scenes in the two passages are identical; '*kavit-*' can't be connected with the base of *kaviş-* and *kavır-* because of its meaning. It can't come from *kap-* 'to grasp, snatch' as there is a phonemic opposition between /p/ and /v/, and is unlikely to be an error for '*kap-it-*' as such a verb is not attested. The first ex. is not mentioned in the *EDPT* and the second is given a quite aberrant interpretation on p. 582.⁵¹¹ The *EDPT* quotes *kov-* 'to chase, pursue etc.' from the *DLT* and the *QB* on. Closest to the Uigur exs. is the phrase *laçın kuş kovar täg* in *QB* 2381, probably 'as when a falcon hunts a bird'.

köli-t- 'to shade, screen, guard' or, metaphorically, 'to put into the shade'. The *EDPT* quotes the *KP* ex., which has what is screened as direct object. Similarly in *BT* XIII 27,28 of a god to screen the plants, *ı tarıglarıg*. Grammatically similar but as a metaphor in *BT* XIII 58,44, *aç kız [. . . al]ko adalartın / apıtu kölitü* [. In *UigSukh* 49 and 70 and *ETŞ* 10,34, where the verb signifies 'to put into the shade', the direct object is the glaring entity, *kün çoğı* in *ETŞ*, *kün yarokı* and *ay yarokı* in *UigSukh* 49 (parallel to the sentence quoted under *karar-t-* above).⁵¹² The base is, in Old Turkic, used only in *TT* VIII D38, and there translates Skt. *paripālita* 'shielded, screened, guarded': This shows it to have been intr. The *DLT*'s *köli-* 'to bury a corpse' and *kölit-* 'to have a corpse buried' have some semantic connection with the Uigur verbs; they belong to a different dialect, however, and cannot, in this case, be used for explaining anything about Uigur usage. Cf. also *köli-k* and *köli-gä* above.

köpir-t- 'to make a liquid froth'. *EDPT* under *köpürt-* from *DLT* and *QB* on. In

511 Unacceptable for the reasons mentioned is the translation of the clause in *UW* 259 a s.v. *atay* par. A,b.

512 The *ETŞ* instance is part of an extended metaphor in a passage quoted on p. 147 as an example for metaphorical *+IXg*.

QB 2382, two of the mss. have *köpirtür* and the third a corrupt form.⁵¹³ Add *köpirtü yaşartu udaçı* from ETŞ 10,37 (a metaphorical passage which also has a form of *kölit*). Cf. *köpir*- in section 6.3 and *köpi*k in section 3.102.

(*körKit*- ‘to show, display, evidence, come up with, let experience’ has a rounded second vowel only in Maitr 83 r12, UigTot 36 and in some mss. in the QB. The only QB instance in which all three mss. have U there occurs in couplet 659. The *EDPT* gives consistently *körgüt*- for the DLT; as DankKelly show, however, that is the variant of the second hand: The first hand always writes I. The second velar is explicitly K (Manichaean letters) in TT III 56 and 58 and, damaged, 127, but G in 73; this preponderance of K does not mean much, as the text in fact confuses the velars. Nor is the spelling ‘*körgit*’ of *UW* (passim) and *EDPT* justified. The verb clearly comes from *kör*- ‘to see’, but can be explained either as *kör*-(*X*)*k*-*It*- or *körk*+*i*-*t*-. We don’t have an -(*X*)*k*- derivate (section 7.24) from *kör*-, however, and the Old Turkic causative from -(*X*)*k*- verbs is formed with -*Ar*- (as *bütKär*-, *kısKar*- and *tarkar*-). Taking it to come from an unattested +*I*- derivate from *körk* ‘appearance, shape etc.’ seems preferable (like *öl*+*i*-*t*-, *sämri*-*t*-, *yavri*-*t*-, *ükli*-*t*-, *yaltri*-*t*-, *soç*+*i*-*t*-, *yagr*+*i*-*t*-, *yıd*+*i*-*t*- and *üz*+*i*-*t*-). Exs. of *körKit*- not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* appear in ETŞ 9,26, 10,12 and 76, 19,9, 20,107 etc., Pfahl II 25 (read with *ä* in the second syllable), Maitr 58 r26, 175 v13 and 202 r9 (*körKitirlär ayurlar ärdi* in *UW* 227 b translated as “sie haben prophezeit₂”), BT VII B 117, BuddhUig I 75, ShōAv 330 (*körKitü y(a)rlıka*-), BT VIII A 410 and 420, B 43 and Anh. 2+3,11, 12 and 21, UigTot 335, 517, 587, 590 and 847 (*ukıtur körKitür*), Ht V 10 a8, Suv 267,22 (quoted in *UW* 248 b), 389,7 (*körKitürlär*) and 600,13 and elsewhere. Cf. *kört*-*Kür*- and *kör*-*tür*-.

köşi-*t*- ‘to use something for the obstruction of sunlight; to hide something away from sight’. The second meaning occurs in Suv 693,2 and TuoLuoNi 131. Another ex. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* occurs in BT III 107. Cf. *köşit*-*il*- above, also for the meaning of *köşi*-; I know of this latter only as a hap. in the DLT, but *köşi*-*gä* and *köşi*-*k* are more common.

(*kötüt*-*miş* ‘high, eminent’, is not mentioned in the dictionaries but appears in *kötütmiş çoğlug* ‘he of the eminent blaze’ (ETŞ 10,279), *küväñçi kötütmiş täñrilär* (BT III 996), *kötütmiş arslanlıg ordo* (*ibid.* 997) and *kötütmiş yeg [y]origlig* ‘he of the high and superior gait’ (BT XIII 27,24). A clear finite ex. of this verb occurs in Ht V 7 a12: *olar antag ötün[dü]kdä ötrü Vayşıravanı m(a)xaraç [ön]düñintäki yer kötütü inça k(a)ltu ämig täg...* ‘After they thus presented their wish, the earth to the east of Vaiśravaṇa lifted up just like a breast’. Also in Suv 595,15, where *burunı wvişip kötüsär* corresponds to a Chin. phrase

513 The *EDPT* has “*köpirtür* (sic)”, which is wrong.

translated as “wenn der Nasenrücken sich biegt”: The Uigur translator must have been thinking of the convex aspect of such a curvature. *kötüt-* appears to be a near-synonym of the hap. *kötgi+r-* (section 5.45) which comes from *kötgi* ‘swelling, protrusion, hillock, mound’ (section 3.110). Their base is not found in Old Turkic, but Yak. has intr. *köt-* ‘to fly up, skip, jump’ while Azeri shows tr. *göt-* ‘to lift up’; see n. 424 above for sources and derivatives. Since *kötüt-* is not tr. and since it is mostly used as perfect participle, it should come from a tr. base; *kötür-* ‘to raise, lift up, bear, carry away’, on the other hand, is clearly a -Ur- derivative from an intr. base. Exceptionally, the base may have been both tr. and intr. in the protolanguage.⁵¹⁴)

kuri-t- ‘to dry (tr.)’ is in the *EDPT* quoted thrice from Heilk I, from DLT and QB. It is attested also thrice in UigTot 491-493.

kuvra-t- ‘to collect, assemble (tr.)’ is in the *EDPT* quoted from runic, Manichaean and Buddhist sources but not from Qarakhanid. Exs. from BT II 145, Ht V5 b26 and Maitr 79 r1 and 5 and 96 v4 are not mentioned in the *EDPT*. The ex. mentioned last (*kuratır*) and the ones in Suv 134,18 and 137,4 have the shape *kurat-*. The Maitr 79 exs. are reedited in Laut, 1986: 202; the subject in them is the sinner and not the sins (as would follow from Laut’s translation). *kuvra-g* and *kuvra-n-* are cognates, and see intr. *kuvra-* in the *EDPT*.

küçsirä-t- ‘to weaken (tr.)’ appears in Suv as quoted in the *DTS* under ‘*kev- küçsirät-*’ and under *küçsirätmäk*, and in ETŞ 10,125. Not in the *EDPT*. See *küç-+sirä-* in section 5.5; it sometimes appears in a biverb with *kävil-*.

kükrä-t- ‘to cause to thunder or roar’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It appears in BT XIII 27,24 in a biverb with *çıkra-t-* quoted above under *köl-ür-*. See *kükrä-* in section 5.32 above.

kürä-t- is in the DLT translated as ‘to incite (someone else’s slave) to run away’. In Maitr 80 r4, *ol ok kişi[. . .] eşilärin kürätip yazınsar*, it is ‘to seduce somebody else’s wife to adultery’. In QB 6526, 6541 and 6536 (all three in the ode) it signifies ‘to let (a bird one was trying to catch etc.) get away’. A further ex. appears in fragmentary context in TT VIII A8. The *EDPT* mentions only one of the QB exs. and the DLT. See *kür+ä-*, *kürä-g* etc. above.

nomla-t- ‘to let somebody preach something’ appears in ShōAv 57 and 325 with *bo sudur ärdini+g* as object, in TT VI 53 (4 among 7 mss.; cf. TT VI New 4,9 and n.) with *bo nom bitig+ig* as object. Only the latter is mentioned in the *DTS*, none in the *EDPT*. See *nom+la-* above; its passives are *nomla-l-* and *nomla-tıl-*.

514 Quite a different verb, *kwti-t-* ‘to make something smell pleasantly’, may have stood in Windgott 37: [ta](t)(i)gl(i)g ädgü yid tützük urur kwt[i]tir; a bit of the upper end of the second T seems visible: ‘He puts up incense sticks of pleasant₂ smells and makes them emit (their) fragrance’. But the reading is quite dubious and there is no other ex. of this causative. See *kwti-* on p. 483.

ogşa-t- ‘to compare’. *EDPT* s.vv. ‘*oxşat-*, *oxşatğuluksuz*, *oxşatıgsız*’ and ‘*oxşati*’ (petrified converb discussed below). Other derivatives from *ogşat-* are *ogşatıgsız* and *ogşatınçsız*, discussed above in section 3.12 together with further exs. of *ogşatguluksuz*. *ogşatsar yqlaşfürsär* in *Suv* 156,10 and finite exs. in *Maitr* 38 r 17 and 127 v 23 are not mentioned in the *EDPT*. The base is written as *ogşa-* in *Windgott* 50 in Manichaean writing, which distinguishes between back and front-vowel /g/ on the one hand, between voiced and voiceless velar consonant phonemes on the other. Before /ş/, this /g/ appears to have been pronounced as a fricative and not as a stop: Four times *oHşati* in Brāhmī writing are quoted below, and ms. *Mz* 647 e A 8 (Brāhmī) in n. 15 to *Maue*, 1984: 93 has *oHşamaz*. *Maue*, 1984 shows how H is often also used for phones belonging to /g/. The velar here appears to have been a voiced velar fricative, [ɣ]. *ogşa-* should constitute a minimal pair with *oxşa-* ‘to caress’. In Qarakhanid Turkic, however, the opposition was suppressed, as voice assimilation set in: In the *DLT* and the *QB* both verbs appear as *oxşa-*.

okı-t- ‘to have someone call out or recite something, have someone summoned’ is sometimes impossible to distinguish from *uk-ut-*, but there is no problem concerning the exs. quoted in the *EDPT*. The *TT* VI 52 instance appears only in 4 among 7 mss. In *TT* VI 74, only one among 7 mss. has this, while the rest have *okı-* instead; it should probably not be in the text. A number of *ETŞ* exs. are open to doubt. Add *okıtdağı sözlädäçi* from *BT* II 1311. *okıtu İnçA tep sözlädilär* in *ShōAv* 148 does not signify “rezitieren . . .” but ‘had them called and said thus:’. *bitigüçi vapşıka okıtdı* (*Ht* X 605) is ‘he had it recited by the learned scribe’ but *bitkäçini okıtp* (*TuoLuoNi* 377) ‘to have a scribe called’. *konşi im bodis(a)tvıg . . . okıtsar* (*ibid.* 238) should have been translated as ‘if he gets bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara evoked’ and not as translated.

(*olgurt-* ‘to seat’ may have come from **ol(o)r-ur-t-* by /r/ dissimilation: Since *olor-* ‘to sit’ cannot be shown to be derived, I prefer this account to the hypothesis that there was a *-gUr-* verb underlying *olgurt-*.⁵¹⁵ Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in *Höllen* 139, *KPZieme* 6, *Maitr* 170 r 2 and 9, *UigTot* 130, *Ht* VII 1 b 17 and 4 b 9, *HtPar* 45,4 quoted in a n. to *Ht* VII 1859, *HtPar* 4 r 2-4, ms. *Mz* 713 (*T* II Y 58) 23 quoted in the n. to *UigSteu* B 8 (strangely enough translated as “sie ließen sich . . . nieder”), *Ht* V 7 a 20 and *ShōAv* 208. It can also mean ‘to cause to sit’ or, as in *HtPar* 45,4, ‘to make reside’.

olor-t- is attested in the phrase *kagan olort-* ‘to enthrone as *kagan*’, causative of

515 *oldwr-* ~ *oltwr-* ‘to sit’ in Qarakhanid and Middle Turkic is *not* a *-tUr-* causative but a variant of *olor-* itself; I agree with the explanation in *EDPT* 150 b top. We already have *oltrup* in *M* II 11,13 (text 4), which also shows how the dental could have been introduced when the second vowel of *olor-* was syncopated. Cf. n. 324 in vol. 1.

kagan olor- ‘to be enthroned’. The *EDPT* has the (runic) exs. The second vowel of *olor-* is /o/ in Brāhmī in TT VIII B16 and C12 and ĀṭSū 4 v c (‘emended’ by the eds.) and cf. Yak. *olor-* and Chuv. *lar-*.

oñar-t- is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is a hap. in ETŞ 12,53 signifying ‘to make somebody comprehend’. See *oñar-* in section 7.52.

orna-t- ‘to settle something, put it to where it belongs, put something right’. Cognates are mentioned under intr. *orn+a-*, q.v. above. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter also s.v. *turyurmaq ornatmaq*. *turyur- ornat-* is found also in BT III 417. Appears also in BT I A₂39 and D (186), BT II 863, ETŞ 14,24, BT XIII 58,6, Ht IV 1135 and X 153 and 233, BT VIII A 308, CYK 23 and 28, BuddhUig II 123, Warnke 140 and r64 in the colophon quoted in AbiShotan p. 76. DvaKol II r1 and v8 has a N.Pr. *El Ornatmış*.

otla-t- is a not quite certain hap. in Maitr 201 r28 (BT IX 251,28₁): *otun anızın yulkıka otlat(t)ımız*; the ms. has only one T and the second one is added for the construction. See *ot+la-* (DLT) above also for another Uigur cognate.

oyna-t- ‘to make (somebody, people) dance’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT on. It is attested also in *tokuz bag oyun ütüzdürti. baçınlig bödiğin böditip ulatı kamag mıñ beş yüz türlüg oyun oyn[a]tıp* . . . (Ht VII 5 b7) “. . . in all they had fifteen hundred different sorts of dances done”.⁵¹⁶

ög-üt-miş ~ *ög-it-miş* ‘one who has deserved praise’ is documented in the *EDPT* and in the *DTS* s.vv. *ögüt-* and *ögüt-*. See Erdal, 1979: 152 ff. for the alternation in the formative. Further exs. of *ögüt-miş* occur in Maitr 81 r6 and 122 r5, Nest U 323, ATSS, HamTouen 5,17, 19 and 22. See *ög-(i)til-* (section 7.32) above and *ög-* ‘to praise’ in the *EDPT*.

ögir-t- ‘to give joy’ is not in the *EDPT* and is quoted in the *DTS* with one Suv ex. Add *ögirtgülik* (ETŞ 10,141), *ögirtür* (ETŞ 15,45), *k(ä)ntü özlärin ögirtü turup sävintürüp* (SuvGeng 598,20). U II 63,5₁ (Utsukmaksız Darni) should be read as *ögirtä[çi]*.⁵¹⁷ *ögir-* is intr.

(*ögrät-* ‘to accustom, instruct or train a person, to tame or train an animal’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT and the QB on (where it rather signifies ‘to teach’). Add *atlar yañalarig turgurdaçi ögrätdäçi ärtimiz* (Maitr 110 r3), in *UW* 253 a translated as “wir waren Züchter und Dompteure von Pferden und Elefanten”; *baxsıñ ögrätmiş . . . yañlarig* (thus UigTot 135) “vom Guru gelehrten . . . Weisen”; *at ögrättilär, alp äränlärig kuvratdılar* (Ht V 5 b25) “trainierten sie die Pferde” und *ujik akşar tözlüg üzä adınka ögrätsär* (Buddh-

516 This is Arlotto’s translation. The persons who are the agents of these verbs are mentioned in 5 a26-b1. The translation in *UW* 146 a, “insgesamt führten sie 1500 verschiedene Tänze auf” is wrong, as it takes the dancers to be the subjects; in that case the verb would have been *oyna-*.

517 And not as ‘*ögirün-*’ with the ed., nor ‘*ögrün-*’ with the *EDPT*: See the facts.

Uig I 377) "... den anderen beibringt". The base is not attested, but see *ögrän-* among the *-(X)n-* verbs for the likely etymology. *ögrät-in-* and *ögrät-ig* are common derivatives.)

ögsirä-t- 'to make somebody unconscious' is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is a hap. in TuoLuoNi 288, in a biverb with *ünsira-t-*: *tañçgayur ögsirätürünsiraatur yığla[tur] sıgtaatur*. See *ög+sirä-* in section 5.5.

öli-t- 'to wet, to moisten' comes from *öl+i-* (section 5.42). *EDPT* and *DTS* quote it only from the *DLT*. Found also in BT III 558, HtPek 74 b 7-9 (with *yagmurla-*) and *luu bağlari yıd(l)g yıparlag* (i.e. /yıparlıg/) *suv(ı)n yerig ölitü saçarlar ardi* (MaitrGeng 9 a 8). *ölitip ootlug oprılarıg yalın üzä köyürmişig* "befeuchtete er die Feuer-Gruben, das in Flammen Brennende" of HtPar 131 r 2 corresponds to *ölitdi* [... *mı*]sig of the fr. with which it is edited in HtFragm II 24.⁵¹⁸

ölür-t- is in the *EDPT* quoted from two Suv exs., where it signifies 'to get somebody killed'.⁵¹⁹ Suv 8,11 has *täk s(ä)n munça munça tınl(ı)glarıg ölürtmişkä* 'just because you have put to death so many creatures...'. There is a non-immixtive in Ht IV 573: *bizni üçün üküş kişi ölürtgümüz ol* 'Because of ourselves we will inevitably get many people killed (sc. by not hindering the lion from killing them)'. M III 25,12₃ (text 9) should probably read *yäklärkä qlürtmäyin* 'Let me not get killed by the demons!'. The potential cause of this instance is the victim himself. *öl-ür-* 'to kill' and 'to cause to die' is discussed above.

ör-it- 'to raise, to arouse, to bring up'. There are dozens of exs. in which the verb has this form, versus five late ones in which it has been read as *ört-*: *küsüs örtgil bulgalı*... (ShöAgon 1,147), *t(ä)rs körüm örtüm ärsär* (U II 85,26 with question mark under the *t*; original now apparently lost), *çaydi örtmäkdin* "durch das errichten eines *Caityas*" (CYK 32), *biz kuluqlarıg iç ordoñuzta örtiñ* (BT III 1105) and *körmäk bilmäklig bulut örtüp* "er läßt die Wolke des Sehens und Wissens... aufziehen" (ETŞ 10,33 with facs. against the ed.; translation from UW 79 b s.v. *akaş*). The n. to CYK 32 may be right (in spite of the two prose exs. mentioned first) in attributing the syncopation to the metre,⁵²⁰ but cf. *ör-k* from the *-(O)k* formation. In polysyllables the loss of the vowel of *-(X)t-* ~

518 In HtPar, Zieme and Kudara's *ölitdi* should be *ölitip* by Gabain's old transcription quoted in Mayer and Röhrborn, 1986: 119. Their translation "indem er die Feuer-Gruben befeuchtete, wo [die Wesen] durch Flammen verbrennen" may be the 'easier' one but just cannot arbitrarily be read into the text: There are two grammatical objects with a common referent; to write "(es) sei noch bemerkt, daß wir nicht von "zwei Objekten" ausgehen" will not do. Case congruence is, of course, to be expected in apposition, but such apposition is (to my knowledge) never a local complement. The Brāhmī ex. quoted by the authors shows *parallel* apposition and thus disproves their point.

519 'bizni', which Clauson brings as the object of the Suv 7,3 ex., is actually a conjecture in a lacuna.

520 The lack of harmony in BT III *örtiñ* instead of the regular imperative **örtiñ* speaks for *ad hoc* syncopation. Cf. also Erdal, 1986.

-(I)t- after /r/ always takes place. Maitr 63 r22 and 59 v4 and 6 have a variant *örüt-*. Most of the attested exs. of *örit-* denote the induced appearance of a mental state, as in the U II ex. quoted. Most common is *könül örit-*, with *könül* marked by a Chin. ideogram in BuddhUig I 250. Further exs. of this not noted in the dictionaries can be found in Suv 141,18, BT VII A 15 and 391, BT VIII A 109 and 372, CYK 47, ShōAv 215 and at least 11 times in Maitr. There also is *küsüş örit-* (Maitr 190 r2, ShōAv 297 and 324, AbitAnk 39), *bilig örit-* (Maitr 33 v28 and 217 r1 and ShōKenkyū II 14), *dyan örit-* (Maitr 148 r29, UigTot 1175 and BT VIII A 375), *küni örit-* (Maitr 59 v9 and 217 r4) and *sakinç örit-* (Maitr 216 v13), with the first element always getting further qualified. Further exs. in the ETŞ and elsewhere.

(*örlät-* ‘to annoy etc.’ is presumably an -(X)t- verb, but the semantic connection with *örlä-* (discussed among the +lA- verbs) and with its derivate *örlä-n-* is hard to find. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* appear in U III 81,26, ManTüTex 385, Maitr 82 r30 and TuoLuoNi 190. TuoLuoNi 187, however, should probably be emended to read *örlätil-* (a verb documented above among the -(X)l- verbs), in parallel with *adak-* and *bulgañl-*. A biverb *örlätidi bulgañ* is attested elsewhere.)

saç-ut- is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT and the QB. There it has exs. like *ol anñ meñisin saçıttı* (DLT fol. 415) “He beat him until he scattered his brain” and *saçıttı közin* (QB 4845) “scattered their eyes”. A similar ex. occurs in LautHöllen 90:]lArIn sokup t[öpöläri]n tälä meyi[lär]in saçıttı b[. . .], with the same object as in the DLT. The difference between *saç-* (q.v. in the *EDPT*) and *saçıt-* appears to be in the specific domain of the latter’s objects; the victim’s person may have been conceived of as the intermediate subject of *saçıt-*.

saçra-t- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT, where it signifies ‘to accidentally splash, spatter or scatter (tr.)’. Found also in *vıjır tumsuklug kuşlar kargalar kälip töpörä sokup karakımıznu saçraturlar* ‘. . . thrust (their beaks) onto (our) heads and make our eyeballs spirt out’ (Maitr 203 r5). The sentence is strikingly similar to the LautHöllen ex. of *saçıt-* in form and to the QB ex. of *saçıt-* in content. *saçra-* is quoted above in section 5.31 from Maitr with ‘eyes’ as subject, etc.

sañç-ut- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from TT I 67, where it signifies “to be routed”. The same meaning is found in Ht IV 783 and V 6 a3, while *sünün yüräkrä san[çı]tmuş osuglug bolup* . . . (Maitr 33 r8) is about being ‘as if pierced in one’s heart with a lance’.⁵²¹

sark-ut- ‘to pour down drop by drop, to drip-dry’ etc. is in the *EDPT* quoted from

521 The translation in BT IX 102,8, wrongly writes “wie einer, der . . . sticht”, but that would have been *sañç-*.

the DLT on. Also in ms. Mz 652 (T II S19 b) edited in SktUigBil: *yogtosı[n-da]kı suvin [sa]rkıtu akıttı arslan*, in the ed.'s translation of the Skt. original, "schüttelte der dann eilends das Mähnenwasser in Tropfen ab, der Mähne". This ex. is in Brāhmī script.

(*sars-ıt-* 'to ill-use somebody and treat him harshly' is quoted by the *EDPT* from the DLT. See p. 535 for the base. *sarsıt-* becomes *sasıt-* in QB 4756 (identified correctly in Tezcan's review of the QB İndeks). See *sars-ıg* above. Both Uigur exs. of *sars-* have it in a biverb with *sōk-*, and *sarsıg* is also often used of ill language.)

sasıt- 'to cause to stink' is a TTX hap. quoted in the *EDPT*. Otherwise attested in Middle Turkic: The QB instance of the *EDPT* belongs to *sarsıt-*. The TTX ex. is a biverb with *yıdı-t-*, as *sasıt-* and *yıdı-* appear together in Maitr 174 r 19 and v 9 and 74 r 9. Cf. *sasıt-g* above. If *sas* 'vapour' in the Codex Comanicus is correct and old, *sasıt-* would be an *+I-* derivate from it.

saş-ıt- 'to confuse, mix up', not mentioned in the *EDPT*, appears only in Ht VII 15 a 8 and 16 a 13. The first passage is quoted in the *UW* entry for *arkalaş-*, but the present verb is there misread as '*sasıt-*' and translated as "stinken lassen".⁵²² I would change the *UW* 197 b translation to read "gelangten sie dazu, daß sie die Wurzel der Lehre, die 'einen Geschmack hat' in Verwirrung brachten". The other ex.: (One cannot say that it equals the Sanskrit version:) *t(ā)k kutluglar bilgālār [ter]miş yığılmış ānātkākçāsintā [yok] ançak(t)ya saşıtmuş* 'Only in the Skt. version, which accumulated after having been arranged by blessed and wise persons, are there no confusions at all'. Cf. *saşur-* above. *saş-* is tr.; I take the first ex. of *saşıt-* to be doubly causative, the second quasi-passive. *saş-ur-* has a more limited sense.

sāmri-t- 'to fatten (tr.)' is discussed in the *EDPT*. The exs. in QB 1912, 5841 and 6389 are not mentioned there. One rendering of the IrqB XVI ex. (the only not Qarakhanid one) which has not been suggested is: '(Somebody) fattened a lean horse, then remembered his place and went (there) in a run'.

sāv-ıt- 'to be loved, to make oneself loved'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. An additional ex. appears in Ht VII 1782 and a Ht ex. of *sāvitmiş amratmış* is quoted in the *UW* entry for the latter. Further, PançFrag 207, *alkoka sāvitir taplatır* 'He is (or: makes himself) loved and appreciated by everybody'. Common also in the QB. The QB name of Venus, *Sāvit*, is an imperative name from this verb attested also in UigOn II.

sekri-t- "to make (one's horse) jump over (something), to skip a line in reading" is attested in DLT fol. 430 with A in the first syllable, with explicit I only after the R in two instances, before it in one instance and both before and after it in a

522 Arlotto's translation is also unacceptable, but he at least gets the meaning of this verb right.

fourth instance. For this last cf. the spelling of the base as *sekiri-* in Maitr 33 v 18 (< *sekiz*), but note that *sekrit-* is included in a section of bisyllabic verbs. *sekri-* is discussed in section 5.42 above. In a different entry in DLT fol. 631 there is a verb thrice spelled as *säkirt-* (note that *sekrit-* also has an *ä* in the first syllable in the DLT) and translated “to make the horse (or other) gallop”. This is attested twice in Profan p. 282: as *yarıklanıp sekirtmāk* translated as “sich rüsten und angreifen” and as *kādKirip tūgip sekirtmāk* translated as “vorwärtsstürmen und angreifen”. The two verbs *should* probably be related but may have split at an early date. This verb appears also in QB 2381 (*säkirtip çärig sürsä*) and 2383 (*säkirtür ya öldrür ya urşu ölü*), spelled as *sekirt-* twice in ms. B. A similar split occurred with *yori-t-*, q.v. for details.

şıgta-t- ‘to cause to weep’ is quoted in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* only from the DLT on. Attested also in QB 6126 and in TuoLuoNi 289 = 308 (3 mss.). In this latter ex. (by the eds. wrongly written with *q*) *şıgta-t-* is used in a biverb with *yıglat-*, as *şıgta-* often appears with *yıgla-*. *şıg(ı)t+a-* is discussed in section 5.11.

sızla-t- ‘to cause smarting’. To the *EDPT*’s exs. add *nızwani sınıg süñüküg sızlatur* (ShōKenkyū III 16). *sızla-* is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT on, but *sızla-g* (q.v. in section 3.101) appears also in Uigur.

sili-t- is a hap. in Maitr 139 v 11: *Şodanı yäk . . . balıkag* (i.e. /balıkıg/) *tetrü körür. nāçā balık içintā taştın tañsız tapsız äd t(a)varlar bar ärsär alko aritur silitür.* Tekin translates “räumt er weg und reinigt gänzlich”, Röhrborn (UW 193 a) “reinigt und putzt alles”. That, however, would have been *arı- sili-*. Şodhana, in fact, just carries out the inspection (*tetrü kör-*) and ‘has everything cleaned up and wiped’. Cf. *sili-g* for the biverb with *arı-g*; the base *sili-* is also discussed there.

şinir-t- is not in the *EDPT*. The *DTS* has an ex. from Suv and another two appear in Suv 617,6 (*kün tññri Raxuka şinirtmiş tåg yaroksuz yaşoksuz . . . boldı*, misread or miswritten as SYKYRT°) and 641,6 (*ät’ özi . . . rakşazka opa şinirtü tükätmiş*). All three signify ‘to get swallowed’ and govern the swallower in the dative, the swallowed in the nominative. This appears to be the only ‘passive’ of *şin-ür- ~ şinir-*, discussed in section 7.51.

sogi-t- ‘to cool or chill’. *EDPT* and *DTS* from a few Manichaean, Buddhist and medical texts. *sogi-* is intr.

sola-t- ‘to have one thing fastened to another’. Hap. in Pfahl I. *so+la-* ‘to fasten with chains’ is in section 5.12.

sök-it- ‘to have something ripped to pieces’ is a hap. in Suv quoted in the *EDPT*; *sök-* is tr.

sök-it- ‘to make somebody kneel’ probably stood in the source of DLT fol. 420;

beside Windgott, found in ShōAgon 2 p. 191,6₂ and twice in Maitr; Mo. and Chuv. cognates also prove its originality.

talula-t- is a hap. in HtPar 152,24 quoted in UW 287 b: *anta ötrü iş başçı bağlärkä yeg adrok oronug talulatgali ayn*, translated “danach ließ er die die Arbeit leitenden Begs den besten² Platz auswählen (mit Hilfe der Geomantik)”. Seeing that those *bägs* are not geomancers, we should rather translate *ay-* literally: ‘He told the *bägs* who were in charge of the work to get the most suitable place chosen (by geomancers)’. *talu+la-* is tr. and this is a double causative with the ultimate object in the accusative (as usual).

tanukla-t- DTS; not in the EDPT. ‘to prove something to somebody’. Hap. in Suv in a biverb with *bil-tür-*. See *tanuk+la-* ‘to give evidence’ above, *tanuklat-dur-* below.

tañla-t- ‘to astonish’, by the EDPT and the DTS quoted only from the DLT. Attested also in BT III 368. See 2 *tañ+la-* above.

tapla-t- is in the EDPT quoted only from DLT fol. 434, where it signifies ‘to make somebody content with (a matter)’. The only interpretable Uigur ex., in Pañc-Frag 207, has the passive sense of ‘to be approved, appreciated’: See *sāv-it-* above, with which it appears in a biverb. We also have] *taplatıp* [in Ht IV 1436. The base is the tr. *tap+la-*. Cf. *taplañur-* in section 7.57.

tart-ut- is a hap. in Maitr 182 v8-9: (In the *avīci* hell) *k(ä)ntü ät'özlärintäki kadışın kañlılarka koşup ağır yüklär yüdürüp tartıurlar*. Because of the tr. verbs *koşup* and *yüdürüp* and because of the wider context, I take *tartıt-* not to be a passive but a double causative: ‘They (the demons?) harness them to wagons with straps which they have on their bodies, load heavy loads on them and let them pull them’. From such an ex., however, one can see how it came about that the -(X)t- causative became a passive.

(*tavrat-* ‘to hustle or urge someone to do something’ has no attested base, but cf. *tavran-* among the -(X)n- verbs. The petrified converb *tavratı* is dealt with further on in this section. Exs. of *tavrat-* not mentioned in the EDPT occur in Suv 10,10, in ManTüTex (13) 382 and in several exs. in the n. thereto, in BT VII A 278 (with *yorit-*) and K 5, in Ht VII 5 a3 and 4-5. *tavratdınız buyanka* (BT XIII 19,33) is not “Ihr habt gestrebt nach *Puñya*” but ‘You urged (others) towards *puñya*’. As completed by SuvLeg ms. T I 164 r 11, Suv 8,3 is *añçulayu tavrañu eltür ärkän...*)

tay-ıt- ‘to make slip down’ is in the EDPT quoted from the DLT. Maitr 84 v8 has a metaphorical ex.: *baçaK olormuş tınl(ı)glarig ç(a)xşaputların tayıtsarlar* ‘if they encourage... to slip away from their precepts’. *tay-* is intr., and cf. *tay-ig* ‘slippery’ in DLT and QB 670 and 5231.

tägür-t- ‘to have something delivered, handed out (by somebody)’. The USp ex. quoted in the EDPT entry with a special meaning reappears in UigSteu A 9.

Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in MaitrGeng 6 b 8 and Ht VII 12 b 11: *agır ayamakın azk(t)ya äd t(a)v(a)r* (Arlotto: ‘tar’) *tägirtü idu tägi[nti]m(i)z*. If *tägirtü* has correctly been read with I, it reminds one of the three exs. of *tägir-* for *täg-ür-* which appear in ManTüTex; that, in turn, would be connected with the fact that the converb and aorist vowel of *täg-* is /i/.

täp-it- ‘to have something trampled on’ is a hap. in Ht quoted in the *EDPT*. *täp-* is tr.; cf. *täp-tür-* below.

täprä-t- ‘to stir, move or shake something’. Exs. not mentioned by the *EDPT* are found in ATSS, Maitr 128 r 27 and v 1, 30 and 31, ms. T III 84-61 (Mz 671 = Ehlers 188) v 35 (with *kemi* as object) and Maitr 201 v 7 (with *yellär* as subject). The ‘mover of threefold earth’ is referred to in ZiemeTärä 18 d and BT VIII B 179. ‘shaking a bell’ is *çaṇ täprät-*, in BT VII A 593 and 725 and UigTot 1326. *t(ä)ṇridäm oyun [bädizi]n / täprät-* (UigKan 203) is (for some reason) translated as “playing heavenly music”. *köñül täprät-* (Maitr 77 v 3, BuddhUig II 22, Uig-Falt 55) is ‘to perturb the heart’; in the last mentioned ex. we learn that its opposite is *köñülüg amurtgur-*. See *täprä-n-*, where the base is also mentioned.

tärklä-t- ‘to quicken, speed on, expediate’ comes from *tärk+lä-*, q.v. above. *tärklät-* is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* but appears in ManTüTex (13) 300 and HamTouen 5,41 and, distorted, 6,14. The last two were misunderstood by the ed., but a n. to the first-mentioned refers to these exs.

te-t- ‘to be said to be, to be called, to be considered’ is an exceedingly common verb in all types of Uigur texts but appears nowhere else. It governs predicative nominals in the unmarked case-form and often comes close to being a copula. *te-* is the (tr.) quoting verb.

tünsira-t- is a hap. in TuoLuoNi 88 in a passage quoted above s.v. *ögsirä-t-*. A parallel ms. has ‘*tünçsirat-*’ instead, but *tünsirat-* is more likely in view of the fact that *tün+sıra-* (q.v. above, section 5.5) also appears several times with *ögsirä-*. *tigrä-t-* ‘to make something clatter’ or, more generally perhaps, ‘resound’. The *EDPT* entry quotes the verb from the IrqB and the DLT, in both of which its object is one’s horse. DankKelly give the translation “to make one’s horse run with a clatter”, according to which the hitherto accepted translation of the IrqB instance should be corrected. An additional ex. is *ol üdün sıgtaşıp yerig tigrät-dilär* ‘Then they made the earth resound with their collective weeping’ (Ht X1066). *tigrä-* and its cognates are discussed in section 5.32.

tilä-t- ‘to have something sought, etc.’ is in the *EDPT* quoted from USp 88 and the DLT. We further have *nomların tilätip istätip...* (Warnke 97). A further biverb with *istät-* appears in BT III 565, reinterpreted in UW 151 a par. A, a. *asıgıg tilätmäkin ulatı tusug ymü* (ShōAgon 2, p. 195,5₂) shows a word order that would have been normal for Sanskrit, and can be translated as ‘by having profit₂ sought’. In NesTex T II B 28 (U 4910) 7, *s(ä)n ürür s(ä)n alko yok bol-*

muşlarıg til(ä)tdäçi 'You are the one who gets all the lost ones sought'.⁵²⁵ See *tilä-n-*, where other cognates are also mentioned.

titrät-t- 'to make something or someone shake or tremble' is in the *EDPT* quoted from a Manichaean and a Buddhist source. It appears also in *tagag* (i.e. /tagig/) *ıgıg* (i.e. *yıgıg*) *titrätü* in Rāma 8.

tokı-t- 'to have something beaten, beaten out, knocked in etc.' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the Orkhon inscs. on, where it applies to "memorial stones". Clauson translates "driven (into the ground)", but 'hewn' or even 'incised' seems just as possible. The same object, at any rate, is found with *tokudım* also in Tariat W2. In the TT VIII ex. quoted in the *EDPT* it has the passive sense 'to get knocked down'. A further passive ex. of *tokı-* is quoted under *taral-* among the *-(X)l-* verbs, but it signifies 'to get beaten with a stick'. An additional ex. quoted by Röhrborn, 1972, n. 25 also has this passive meaning. *tokı-* is discussed in section 5.3.

tolga-t- appears from BQ and IrqB on together with *ämgä-t-*; the biverb means 'to cause suffering'. This relates with the meaning of *ämgä-k tolga-g* (q.v. under *tolgag* in section 3.101 above) and *amgän- tolgan-* (discussed under *tolga-n-* above). *tolga-* 'to wrap around' is in the *EDPT* quoted from DLT, Middle Turkic and modern languages. We also find it in a biverb with *yörgä-* in Maitr 198 v2 and 203 r7 signifying 'to wrap around': in the first case of the swaddling of babies, in the second of fiery nets and bonds being used for wrapping up creatures in hell. The passage from this to 'suffering' goes over 'writhing' (the meaning of *tolgan-* when used by itself), and 'colic, pangs' (the meaning of *tolgag* by itself). One possible ex. of *tolgat-* by itself is quoted under *tolga-n-* above. Another one appears in continuation to that passage, in both mss. of BT XIII 12,85: *tokuz ay on kün kötürüp tolgatu twgurtuñuzlar*. The translation "neun Monate und zehn Tage habt Ihr uns getragen und unter Qualen geboren" is not explicit about the fact that it is the baby which is said to be made to 'writhe in pain'.

toşgur-t- is mentioned neither in *EDPT* nor *DTS*, but appears in *burxanlarıg . . . alu p(a)ramıtarıg toşgurtguka ötügçi bol-* 'to beg the Buddhas to get (our) six *pāramitās* accomplished' (Suv 181,17). This is triple causation: Under *to-ş-* we quote an ex. with 'our (group of) *pāramitās*' as subject; under *toş-gur-* (section 7.54) we have exs. with the *pāramitās* as object. *toşgurt-* refers to the Buddhas who are to make us accomplish our *pāramitās*, and we hope to get them to do that by begging them to.

525 The ed. writes "unklar" and translates it as "Erlöser o.ä.". He may have thought that it could be haplographic for *tirilt-*, but such a verb is quoted in the *EDPT* s.v. *tirgür-* only from the XVth century on.

mak (Suv 362,20) probably also belong here and not to *oki-t*. Further exs. appear in TekinSingku v2, Ht X37, UigTot 588, 590 and 847, ETŞ 15,92, CYK 12, frequently in the Maitr and BuddhUig I, AbitAnk 21 and 23, ShōAv 116 and often elsewhere. *uk-* 'to understand' is tr.

ula-t- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT but is found also in QB 5604. See further on in this section for the petrified converb *ulati*. *ula-* is tr.

(*umugsirat-* is a hap. in TuoLuoNi discussed among the *+sIrA-* verbs although no *+sIrA-* base for it is attested. 'to make one lose hope'.)

(*urugsirat-* is a hap. in KT discussed among the *+sIrA-* verbs although no *+sIrA-* base for it is attested. 'to deprive someone of progeny'.)

(*uvşat-* 'to crumble (tr.)' has no attested base. See *uvşak* (section 3.102), also for other cognates. The *EDPT* has *uvşat-* from one Suv ex. and from DLT, QB etc. Another Suv ex. is mentioned in the *DTS* under '*uşatuş-*': This should in fact have been read as *kog kıçmuk* (thus!) *täg uşatu şıp* . . . (Suv 113,22) 'crumbling and breaking (them, the mountains₂) to dust'. Another ex. appears in Suv 370,4. Add also *yinçgä uvşatıp* (Maitr 123 v24), *ulug tagıg uşat[daçı]* (BT VIII B106) and *ulug ugakta uvşatu sokarlar* (LautHöllen 133) 'They crumble and crush them in a big mortar'.)

uza-t- signifies 'to see somebody off' in the two pre-Qarakhanid exs. quoted in the *EDPT*; this meaning is found also in the QB. In DLT and sometimes also in QB it means 'to lengthen'. An additional ex., *uzatmagu* [in fr. M 865 v6, is quoted in the n. to ManTüTex 375. *uzatu* is a petrified converb discussed below.

üdrä-t- 'to increase (tr.), multiply (tr.), increase the yield' is attested in the DLT, the base both in the QB and the DLT. The proper name of U II 77,21 and 78,40 should also be read as *Üdrät*; it is one of the common class of proper names of imperative form. *Üdrätmiş* is also a N. Pr. (Schlangenzauber).

ükli-t- 'to increase (tr.)', *EDPT* and *DTS*. Additional exs. in ETŞ 10,37 (*üklitü*) and 93 and 15,24, BT III 453, ShōAgon 1,59 (the biverb *üklit- as-*), U IV A270-1 (same biverb), InscrOuig IV 22, Warnke, colophon r3 (*Üklit T(ä)ñrim*), Ht V 16 a22 (*upasanç El Üklitmiş*), DvaKol I r3 (*Y(a)rp* [. . .] *Üklitmiş tutuñ*), BT VIII A374 (biverb with *törüt-*), UigTot 573, BT VII A741, Ht IV 1747 and elsewhere. See *ükli-* in section 5.42.

ülä-t- 'to have something divided and distributed' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT. It is attested also in Samanta 6 as *arka kamag tınl(ı)glarka* . . . *ülätmiş buyan küçintä* . . . "Kraft des Verdienstes, daß ich . . . verteilen lassen habe,

. . . .⁵²⁶

526 The word which appears in *EDPT* 133 a under '*ölüt-*', is there said to be '*öt-*' but has by others been interpreted as '*ülüt-*' is best read as *täñri öl temiş* 'Heavens is said to have said "Die!"'. *öt-* does not, moreover, ever show the meaning it is said to have by Clauson in this case.

ürk-üt- ~ ürk-it- ‘to startle or scare away’. $\ddot{W} R^2 K^2 T^2 T^2 \eta$ of IrqB XXI has to be read as *ürküttün*; had it been ‘*ürkittin*’, the second vowel would have been explicit. *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter s.v. *ürkitmämäk*; also in Maitr 225 v15. Further exs. are mentioned under *korkut-* and *bäliñlät-* above. See *kork-ut- ~ kork-it-* for the alternation.

üş-i-t- ‘to chill, to expose to cold’ has the second syllable with a *kasra* of the first hand in DLT fol. 113; the second hand added a *kasra* in one other instance, a *ḍamma* in two further ones. Ernte 24 and Ernte II 2 both have *üşüt-* with this meaning; the first of these was first translated correctly in *UW* 81 b top. The Ernte II ex. appears together with *toñ-ur-*, which corroborates this interpretation.

yag-it- ‘to let it rain (of rain, tears, jewels, flowers etc.)’. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* are found in ETŞ 10,34, BT III 551, Suv 170,16, ShōAgon 1,129, BT VII A174, BT VIII A459, BT XIII 15,35, 19,53 and 27,20 and 26, Maitr 145 r15, 139 v3 and 15, 18 v8 and 192 r5, MaitrH XVI 10 b7 (*yagıtır* ms.; publ. text wrong), USp 102,23, SuvStockh 32 and HtPar 130,25 = HtFragm II 21. Many have *yagmur* as object.

yagu-t- ‘to bring something near, attract’. *EDPT* (which quotes hardly any of the numerous QB exs.) and *DTS*. *aç kız ig kegän yağı yavlak adası yagutmalım* (Suv 397,18) is spelled correctly in the *DTS*, but *UW* 44 a writes ‘*yakut-*’. *yagu-* etc. have /g/ in Qarakhanid Turkic; there is no connection between this and *yak-*.

(*yakçirt-* ‘to rouse’ has no direct base attested but may come from a *-çIr-* derivate (section 6.3) of *yak-*. The *EDPT* quotes a Suv ex. of this verb; another one appears in Ht V3 a8: *anı [ü]çün aşnuça [sa]g süt kudup ät'öz[in] yakçirtmış k(ü)rgäk. anta [ken] kántik tokısar odunur* (Ht V3 a8) ‘Therefore one should first pour some pure milk and rouse his body. If one then rings a bell (< Sogd. *knt'yk* < Skt. *ghañṭikā*; P. Zieme) he will wake up’.)

yalga-t- ‘to make someone lick something’. Beside the DLT attested only in USp 102 a = TuoLuoNi 403: *yalga-* is tr.

yalına-t- ‘to put something to flames’ is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It appears in UigTot 89 and 599 and BT III 276. *yalın+a-* is an intr. verb discussed above.

yalk-it- is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* but appears in Ernte 65: *yag-hg takçañ kıldurup yalkıtu yedüräyin sizlärkä* ‘I’ll have a fatty *takçañ* prepared and give you to eat of it until you have had your fill’. We find twice *yalk-* in Suv and *yalkık-* in ETŞ. The collocation with *yag* is not a coincidence: The DLT has the ex. sentence *ol yagka yalkdı* ‘He got sick to his stomach from the oil’ and quotes a proverb starting *yalksa yemä yag ädgü...* ‘Butter, though it causes indigestion, is better (than plain salted food)...’. The ed. translates

“schlecken lassend”, taking it to be “eine Form für *yalyat*.” although *yalgaṭur* appears several lines further on.

yaltri-t ‘to illuminate; to make something shine’. *EDPT* and *DTS*; attested also in BT I D (153), ETŞ 9,53, 11,51 and 13,87, Maitr 165 v8 and 130 r7, Ht VII 4 b26 and X61, Weih 3, BT VIII B41 and 57 and B165. See intr. *yaltri-* in section 5.42.

yaṅkur-t ‘to let something echo or resound’ comes from *yaṅku+r-* ‘to resound’ (section 5.45). *EDPT* and *DTS*, the latter s.vv. ‘*janqurt-*’ and ‘*jaṅyurt-*’.⁵²⁷ Exs. not mentioned in the dictionaries occur in Ht VII 16 a2, SuvStockh 33 and Maitr 55 r24, 140 r6, 145 v4. MaitrH X5 a5 is by Laut wrongly translated as if it were a relative form. *külüsmäk . . . ünüg kök kalık yaṅkurdı* (Maitr 18 v12) may belong here in view of its having an object, in spite of the simple (or simplified) dental.

yap-ut-i bertim ‘I graciously had . . . built’, a hap. in ŞU quoted in the *EDPT*. *yap-* is tr.

yara-t- ‘to create, arrange, bring into a particular state etc.’ is semantically not too close to *yara-* ‘to be useful or suitable’. A runic ex. not mentioned in the *EDPT* is *b(ä)lgüs(i)n bit(i)gin bo urtı bo y(a)r(a)tdı* (Tes 20) ‘This is what he incised and created as his mark and his testament’. Particularly common is the biverb *et-yarat-*, attested also in Maitr 138 v4, 31 r13, 21 r4, 184 r2, 37 r4 and 8, 126 r4, 159 v10 and 104 v14, Weih 10, Suv 694,1, Ht V1 b2 etc. Still further exs. can be found e.g. in Rāma 12 and 23, ATSS, Ht X275-6 and 1122, BT VIII A493, CYK 127, Ht V1 b4, EhlersNotab 15 and 19, HamTouen 5,9 (*yaṅı tǎnrilik yaratır*) and 15,7 and dozens of times in Maitr.

yarat-ut- ‘to have something erected, fitted up’ is in the *EDPT* quoted only from three ŞU instances which have *örgin*, *bälgü* or *bitig* as object. The verb is attested also in Tariat W 1, 2 and 3 with the same objects (but by no means the same wording): The two inscs. ‘speak in the name of’ the same ruler. *yaratut-* is the only verb in which -(X)t- is added to a polysyllabic consonant stem (other than °r-), the only one of more than two syllables in which it appears in its full form; other sources use *yarat-dur-* for this content.

yarlıka-t- is a hap. in UigTot 1304, not in the *EDPT* or *DTS*: *burxanlarig . . . yarlıkaṭıp* “die . . . Buddhas erscheinen lassen”. Cf. *buyur-* ‘to come’ in Ottonian. *yarlıka-* is tr. but would here have an elliptic object.

yaro-t- ‘to illuminate; to let shine’ or, metaphorically, ‘to enlighten’. See *yaro-k* for the second vowel. *EDPT* and *DTS*; additional exs. occur in Ht VII 1980,

527 ‘*yaṅkurtur*’ of TT IX 84, quoted in the *EDPT* entry, should be *yaṅkurtur*. The *DTS* writes ‘*jaṅyurtur*’. Clark (Poethi 470) is no doubt right about the ms. now having *yaṅkurtu*, but the final R must have gotten damaged only after the first edition.

UigSukh 41, BT I B (104), Kuan 199 (*yarotır*) and 200 (*yarotı berzün*), ETŞ 20,11, Buddhāv H 92 and 120, BuddhUig I 10 and 256 and II 76 and 349, Warnke 607, Ht IV 209, V1 b 14, 8 b 16 and 10 a 5, VII 15 b 25 and 16 b 17, X398 and HtPek 74 b 7-9, BT XIII 30,3 and 58,10 and Maitr 164 v 4, 183 r 24.

yaşa-t- 'to let somebody live'. *DTS*; not in the *EDPT*: Attested only once in Utsukmaksız Darni and in QB 6548. See intr. *yaş+a-* above.

yaşar-t- 'to make green and/or moist'. In the *EDPT* only from the DLT; appears also in ETŞ 10,37 as *yaşartı*. See *yaş+ar-* in section 5.45 above.

yašo-t- is practically always used in a biverb with *yaro-t-* and the meaning of the couple does not seem to differ significantly from that of the latter verb by itself. In Ht IV 1431 we find *yaşotgu* without *yarot-*. For exs. see the *DTS* s.v. '*jarut-*' and the *EDPT*. Add *kamag elig uluşug yarotu yaşotu yarlıkadı* (ShōAv 204); the same biverb in Maitr 153 v 21. See *yašo-k* among the *-(O)k* lexemes for the second vowel.

yavri-t- 'to weaken somebody, cause his condition to deteriorate' is attested in the BQ inscr. and in DLT and QB but not in Uigur. An ex. of QB 6389 is not mentioned in the *EDPT*. See *yavri-* (intr.) in section 5.42.

yayı-t- 'to be shaken, to be moved by something'. See *yayı-l-*, for the base as well. The *EDPT* wrongly changes the TT VIII instance to '*yayıl-*', q.v. there.⁵²⁸ Further exs. are *yayıtu ayıglıKka* 'perturbed by the evil one' and *yalinka çoğka yayıtu* (Neujahr 33) 'moved by glory₂'.

yet-it- 'to cause to arrive' is a hap. in Suv 481,16 not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *anta ötrü ol kuvrag arasında ärigmä Kondini atlıg braman tññri tññrisi burxannıñ küü kälüg ädrämlig küçi üzä yetitmäkiña ol Sarasvatı atlıg tññri kızın ögä şlok takşutın inça tep tedi* 'When Buddha, the god of gods, used his ability₂ of magical appearance to make the divine maiden Sarasvatı arrive, the brahman named Kaundinya who was in that assembly thereupon praised her, speaking the following verse₂'.⁵²⁹ The base is intr.

yevä-t- 'to provide somebody with something, to supply something'. *EDPT* s.v. *yivit-*; a number of additional exs. appear in the n. to TT V B 103. In a Maitr passage quoted under *yevä-g* (and not mentioned in the *EDPT*) two mss. have

528 Clauson thinks *yayıtmagay* is here "prob. a scribal error" for '*ya:yılma:zun*', but the *-(X)t-* form often has passive meaning. The German translation of the Skt. text is also misleading: 'erschüttern' is tr., whereas Skt. *vyath-* means something like (intr.) 'to waver'; the form is, moreover, the medio-passive optative.

529 Schulz, 1978, who quotes the sentence, wrongly translates it as "Weil der Göttergott Buddha . . . seinen (des Brahmanen) Verstand geschärft hatte, . . .". 'Verstand' is not in the text, however; *yüit-* 'to sharpen', not attested before the Atabatu 'l-Haqäyiq, is derived from a back-formation from *yüig*, a late secondary form of the unanalysable *yüi* 'sharp'. The At. instance does have 'mind' as object. Nor could the *küü kälüg ädrämlig küç* be used to sharpen minds.

yevit- and *yevät-* respectively. See *yeväg* above for the phonemes of these lexemes and of *yevil-* and *yevin-* and for why the second syllable may have had an alternating vowel. *yeväti* in BT I A₂24 governs the dative and signifies 'in addition to'.

yıdı-t- 'to make (something) stink' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the IrqB and from one Uigur instance. See *yıd+ı-* in section 5.42.

yılı-t- 'to warm something' is in the *EDPT* quoted once from Heilk I and from the DLT. Cf. the cognates *yılı-g* and *yılı-n-* above; the base and *yılı-r-* appear in the DLT.

yogla-t- 'to have a funeral feast celebrated for someone' is in the *EDPT* quoted only from runic Turkic. *yog+la-* 'to hold a funeral feast' is tr.

yola-t- 'to bring through'. Not in the *EDPT*; the *DTS* quotes *kulgaklarında bo tütrüm târiñ yörüglüg nom eliginiñ târiñ yörügi birk(i)yä yolatguça ärsär, . . .* (Suv) 'If one could just make the purport of . . . get through their ears, . . .'. Cf. the hapax *yolatmaksız* in section 3.329 above. See intr. *yol+a-* above.

yori-t- 'to make people walk, water flow etc.'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. Appears also in ETŞ 9,84, HamTouen 14,9, BT VII A278 (biverb with *tavrat-*), ShōAv 288 (of water) and Maitr 139 r14 and 164 r32. An ex. in Töpfer 42 was misunderstood by the ed.: *bir üdün Utarı ırı kañlita olorup beş yüz braman urılar birlä kapıg-dın ünär ärdi. altun tayak altun olorçuk asnu yoritur ärdilär* signifies 'having hung their golden staffs and golden seats onto themselves (or onto the cart) they used to make it go (or to lead it)'.⁵³⁰ *yort-* 'to trot, amble' is likely to be a syncopated special use of this verb, because its aorist in Maitr 36 r3, 140 v2 and 224 r16 is *yortur* and not 'yortar'.⁵³¹ *tañ ata yortalım / Budraç kanın irtälim* in DLT fol. 600, translated "We'll set out at the break of dawn, and . . .", reminds us of instances hitherto read as *yorit-* in KT S4 and 6. In *sü yorit-* in Toñ 25 and 35 there is an explicit second vowel in the base. In what I think must be *yort-*, however, there is no such vowel: *bunça yerkä tägi yortdum* (KT S4) and *Tavgaç bodun . . . ädgü alp kişig yortmaz ärmış* (KT S6) would otherwise, according to the rules of the Orkhon inscs., have been spelled with explicit I. *yort-* 'to ride' therefore appears to have split off at an early date from *yorit-*, with 'horse'

530 Ehlers translates "Einen goldenen Stab und einen goldenen Sitz führten sie vor sich her", but *yori-t-* cannot be used of staffs and seats which cannot move forward on their own (*yori-*). *aşnu*, as Ehlers understood the word before *yori-t-*, does not signify "vor sich her". *aşnu yorit-* would have been 'to make someone walk or something advance before'. *aşnu* (q.v. in section 7.212) probably had only temporal meaning.

531 These three are not mentioned in the *EDPT*. The translation of two of them as "etwas gewöhnlich tun" in the BT IX glossary is wrong. The *EDPT* does not mark *yort-* as derived, connecting it with a Mo. verb, but this latter would be a regular cognate of *yorit-* as well. The fact that DLT fol. 632 explicitly gives *yortur* (with *wāw*) as alternative aorist form also speaks for my derivation.

PETRIFIED CONVERBS

aglatı 'especially, particularly' is presumably connected with *agla-t-* 'to leave unoccupied' (q.v. above): Cf. English *let alone* as conjunction and the etymology of 'particularly'. Most exs. appear in the *UW* entry; not mentioned in the *EDPT*. Usually associated with *art-ok* or *tak-ı*. Exs. of *aglatı takı* of BT XIII 42,14⁵³² and ShōAv 205 should be added to what the *UW* has. Note that *agla-k* (an *-(O)k* adjective) can also signify "einmalig, einzigartig" (*UW*).

arıtı 'quite' comes from *arıt-t-* 'to clean purify': Cf. the extended meanings of English *purely*. Attested only in Uigur. Exs. not mentioned in the *UW* occur in BT XIII 26,8 and UigKan 299.

māñzāti is not given a special entry by the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is used with the dative to signify 'similar to, like': *taglarka māñzāti* (Ht VII 1989), *muñar māñzāti* (M I 23,27, Gebet). *muñar māñzätü* (thus) is called a stock phrase by the *EDPT* s.v. *benzet-* and is very common in the QB. Cf. *māñ(i)zā-t-* 'to compare, liken'.

ogşatı has the same meaning and use as *māñzāti*. See *ogşa-t-* 'to compare' above for the quality of the velar; *ogşatı* is spelled with Brāhmī H in TT VIII D 4 and 34 and G 71 and in ms. Mz 647f. B 8 quoted in n. 15 to Maue, 1984: 93. Exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* under *oxşatı* or the *DTS* under *oqşatı* occur in U III 24,10₁ and 75,12 and BT III 117.

tavratı 'quickly, suddenly' has an entry in the *DTS* but not in the *EDPT*. Some further exs. occur in Ht V 12 b 5 and HtPar 39 v 14, in ms. Mz 652 (T II S 19 b) in SktUigBil and, together with *tärkin* (an instrumental form) in BT I A₁3 and Suv 406,10. In BT XIII 28,31, on the other hand, *tavrak* is used adverbially. *tavrat-* and *tavran-* are both used a lot, but their common base was no longer in use.

tumlitu is used in the phrase *tog(u)ru tumlitu sat-* in USp 55,6, 57,8, 61,5, 107,3, 109,3 and 110,4, UigLand 4 and perhaps elsewhere, always in economical documents and with the meaning 'to sell outright and irrevocably'. The dental is in practically all exs. spelled with D. Both this and the fact that the converb vowel is /u/ and not /i/ show that this lexeme got petrified at a late date: See Erdal, 1979 for the change in this vowel. The semantic relationship with *tumli-t-* 'to chill' is not opaque but goes over 'rigid'. Instead of this phrase,

532 *aglatı takı bo buyan küçintä kim ... atam ... anam ... birlä ... burxan bālgürzünlär* is a cleft sentence: 'It is especially₂ by force of this *punya* that I wish my father ... together with my mother and ... should be born ... as ... Buddhas'. The ed.'s translation does not reflect the sentence's structure. Nor can *arşan bilgä täñri elig* be part of the names and titles of the *ıdok kut*, for they appear before the word *atam* and are qualified by *ol*. The correct translation of the phrase is 'that lion, the wise and divine king, (i.e.) my father the *ıdok kut* Kirāşiz'.

Acte 3 has been read as *toġu[ru] tum[l]ug saŋ-*; the n. thereto is, in any case, the most extensive discussion of this phrase.

tükäti ‘completely’ is very common. See the *EDPT* and the *DTS* for some of the exs. Many additional ones appear in Maitr and elsewhere. Cf. *tükät-* above.

ulati is common in all Uigur texts (and appears once in a runic ms.) but was not in use in runic inscrs. nor in Qarakhanid. Moerlose, 1986 describes its meaning and use as a conjunction in adnominal position. The inscrs. have *ulayu*, which does not reappear elsewhere. *EDPT* and *DTS* have only a fraction of the exs. of *ulati*; noteworthy is the ex. in Tib. script which appears in TibStud. *ula-* is common from the earliest texts on but we have only two Qarakhanid instances of *ula-t-*. Since Qarakhanid Turkic does not have this petrified converb so often met with in Uigur, the possibility exists that *ulati* was derived directly from *ula-* as deverbal adverb in *-tI*.

uzati ‘for a long time’ is related to *uza-t-* ‘to see somebody off’ but not directly connected with it semantically: *uza-* does mostly apply to time being drawn out, and one of the prehistoric meanings of *uzat-* must have covered that domain as well. Exs. of *uzati* in *EDPT* 282 b and *DTS*, the latter especially under *ürük uzati*. The last mentioned couple appears also in GuanJing 15. Other exs. not mentioned in the dictionaries occur in Maitr 82 r2, KP XXXI 1-2, AmitIst 104, BT XIII 49,80, BuddhKat 31 (Tibetan script!), a number of times in BT I and II and ETS, in Neujahr 80 and elsewhere. In M I 9,3 (TeilBuch) it is mistakenly written as *uziti*.

(*yaŋırtı* ‘afresh, anew’ is hardly akin to pronominal and other local-case forms which end similarly; however, the base is in the *EDPT* first quoted from the XVth century: It is an *-(X)t-* causative from an *+(A)r-* derivate of *yaŋı*. *yaŋırtı* is attested only in Uigur; exs. not mentioned in the *EDPT* occur in Ht VII 2155, BT I A₂ 45 and B (113), Suv 637,17 (with *yana*), HtPar 12 r21, Suv 141,18, BT XIII 48,4, 53,5 and 54,4, HamTouen 12,7 and BuddhUig I 294. The second word in *olar yaŋırtıkan yok ürmäz; öñrädinbärü kqñül tözindä yok ärür* (BuddhUig I 227) ‘It is not from recent times that they are nonexistent; they do not exist in the root of consciousness from earlier on’ probably contains another instance, together with the element *kan* discussed in section 2.21. BuddhUig I is a late text, which explains the /u/ instead of /ı/ after the dental.)

Not obviously related to the petrified converbs in *-tI* are the *+tI* expansions of *+lA* adverbs discussed in part IV. The adverb *tı* ‘firm’, attested e.g. in Ht VII 13 a24 and in such collocations as *ädgü tı, üküş tı, ulug tı, katıg tı, tı yavlak*, perhaps *otguratı* (< *otgurak tı?*), also has a different origin. Thirdly, there exist traces of an old case suffix *+dI*, to be discussed elsewhere. The real petrified converbs ending in *-tI* are all added, it turns out, to bases ending in vowels. But after all, most *-(X)t-* verbs have vowel bases.

MORPHOLOGY

As shown in Erdal, 1979, the converb and aorist vowel of this formative changed from /I/ to /U/ in the course of the use of Old Turkic. More or less parallelly, the shape of the formative itself changed from -(X)t- to -(I)t- (as shown in the same paper). In 84 % of all -(X)t- verbs, however, the formative loses its initial vowel because it is added to bases ending in vowels or to polysyllabic bases ending in /r/. With one-syllable verbs ending in /r/, the formative vowel is usually retained but may also get syncopated: See *kirt-*, *örüt-* and *turüt-* above (the second being more solid than the other two).

-(X)t- appears as first element in the combinations -tXl-, -tUr- and -tXz-; it is expanded with -tUr- (at least ten verbs), -Xs- (four verbs), -Xn- (four verbs), -Xk- (two verbs) and -Xl- (six verbs). As expander, however, it is not versatile at all: We find it expanding the causatives *biş-ur-*, *büt-ür-*, *käl-ür-*, *keñür-*, **olgur-*, *öl-ür-*, *sinir-* and *täg-ür-*; the synchronically simple *yarat-*, *toş-gur-*, *agt-ar-*, *kotur-* and *turul-tur-*. It does not expand the members of any other class of deverbal verbs but leaves that task to -tUr-. Nor does it appear as second element in any combination of formatives.

All the petrified converbs I have found here are derived from bases ending in °A- or °I-. Looking at the petrified converbs ending in -(U)r-U listed in section 7.512, we find that their bases end either in consonants or in °U-. None of the petrified converbs formed with -Ar-U, +gAr-U or -gUr-U has a base ending in a vowel. There is, then, a complementary distribution⁵³³ along similar lines as with the living causative verbs: Those are discussed a bit further on. The difference between the two areas concerns only °U- bases, as *yagu-t-* and *bäkü-t-* on the one hand, *yagu-ru* and *bäkü-rü* on the other.⁵³⁴ This complementary distribution makes the whole set of petrified converbs into a grammatical category of deverbal adverbs, an independent entity.

7.57 -tUr-: LEXICAL MATERIAL

We deal with the listing of this formation in a manner different from that of other formations: We give the -tUr- derivatives from the various deverbal verbs in separate lists. First, then, come the -tUr- verbs derived from simple or denominal bases; then the causatives of cooperative-reciprocals, of medial-reflexives, of passives and of causatives. The grouping is not quite as in the respective sections above: +lAn- verbs are listed together with -(X)n- verbs while *kudıKar-tur-* is together with the derivatives from simple and denominal bases.

533 None of the bases of petrified converbs appears to end in /O/.

534 Cf. also *ak-ıt-* and *ak(u)ru* 'gently, quietly'. 'ak-ur-' would also have been theoretically possible; note that the EDPT takes *akru* to be a simplex and rejects all etymologies for it.

aç-tur- ‘to order something to be opened’ does not appear in the *UW*; the *EDPT* quotes it only from the DLT. Found in InscrOuig II 7 with *bitig* as direct object. *aç-* is tr.

adak-tur- ‘to bring someone into trouble’ is attested in TuoLuoNi 321 and 342, mentioned neither in the *EDPT* nor in the *UW*. The first ex. has it together with *öl-ür-*, the second with *umugsıra-t-*; this latter has the ‘troubles’ (*ada tudalar*) as subject. See *ada+k-* above in section 5.44; it is intr.

ag-tur- ‘to raise, to cause to rise’ comes from an intr. base. See the *EDPT* for the Toñ ex., the *UW* for Uigur evidence. The velar may have gotten devoiced to [x]: Cf. the dotting evidence mentioned in the *UW* entry.⁵³⁵ Exs. mentioned in neither dictionary occur in UigTot 797, TuoLuoNi 362, AbitAnk 87 and UigKan 12 (the last two exs. together with *endür-*). Spelled with T from Toñ on.

al-tur- ‘to have something taken’ is not in the *UW* and the *EDPT* quotes it from the DLT and from Middle Turkic. Found also as *bitkäçilärkä kşanti kılğuluk [nom bitig] talulap alturup* ... (Warnke 102) and as *satgın alturup* ‘causing to buy’ in fragmentary context in UigSteu A4. The DLT ex. governs *yarmak* as ultimate object.

alḡad-tur- ‘to overcome’ appears in the *UW* as ‘*al(ı)ḡadtur-*’ and in the *EDPT* as ‘*alaḡadtur-*’, but none of the exs. has a vowel after *aP*. *alḡ+ad-* (discussed in section 5.43) does not have such a vowel either. Further exs.: *ıncıp ötrü bir är üt yemâz bor içmâz, yağı [w]rm(ı)zt teginig tüşürti alḡadturtı* (Wettkampf 62) ‘Here, then, is a man who does not eat meat and does not drink wine, and he felled and overcame the fiendish prince Ormızt’;⁵³⁶ *sezik köñülüğ katıgılanmak küçindä* ‘AL-ḤAD-DUR-LÄR in Tib.-script BuddhKat 39 is correctly translated as “Den Zweifel (skt. *vicikitsā*) entmachtet man kraft Bemühung (skt. *vīrya*)”’.⁵³⁷

535 What is quoted as ‘*tirgüklüg*’ from a HtPar sentence in *UW* 76 b, par. 2 of the entry should better be interpreted as *tirgüklük* ‘system of pillars’.

536 The eds. of this text also introduce their ‘(i)’ into this verb. Their translation “Dann (wird) jeder (sagen:) ‘(Der Gott), der Fleisch nicht ißt und Wein nicht trinkt, hat den Feind Ormızt zu Fall gebracht und besiegt!’” is impossible: It interpolates two lexemes which are not there; even joining *bir är* to *birär* (as they do) one does not get “jeder” but the distributive ‘je einer’ (which does not fit); asyndetic relative clauses (as implied by the translation) do not occur in Old Turkic, asyndetic coordination does.

537 *alḡadtururlar* was by haplology syncopated to *alḡadturlar* as, in 1.35 of that text, *olur < olorur. kötürür* and *berür*, the aorists of the front-vowel *kötür-* and *ber-*, are not syncopated: /r/ may have had a tongue-tip allophone when adjacent to front vowels. One might have thought of an (unattested) verb ‘*alḡad-(ı)t-*’; as *işlätür* in 1.36 shows, however, the aorist vowel of -(X)t- verbs is /i/ in this text. Moriyasu’s reading as ‘*alkıturlar*’ is unacceptable because it has the wrong aorist vowel, because such a verb is nowhere attested, because *alk-* is already tr. and because the nasal is not explained.

ar-tur- 'to let oneself be deceived' with the dative of what one lets oneself get deceived by appears only in parallel passages in KT and BQ inscs. Quoted in the *EDPT* under 1 *artur-* (2 *artur-* being the *-Ur-* causative from *art-*).⁵³⁸

as-dur- 1 'to have something suspended, hung up' is in the *UW* quoted from a single Suv ex., in the *EDPT* from the DLT (and Middle Turkic). Neither ex. mentions the intermediate agent. *as-* 'to suspend' is tr.

as-dur- 2 'to cause to bring about an increase' is a hap. in Suv quoted in the *UW*: a biverb with *ükli-t-tür-* as *as-* is often used with *ükli-t-* in a biverb signifying 'to increase (tr.)'. Only the ultimate object is explicit.

at-dur- 'to have something (e.g. an arrow) shot (at something)' is in the *UW* under *aṭtur-* quoted from a single InscrOuig ex., in the *EDPT* from the DLT etc. *at-* is tr.

ber-tür- 'to make somebody give something, to let something be given'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. In the TT VI instance, the main ms. has *bertrürlär* with syncopated second syllable, unlike the printed text. Further exs. occur in ThreeLett 66, UigSteu B 16, Ht IV 603 (*ağıçılarka ayıp üküş altun bertürüp* . . . 'He told the treasurers to give (him) a lot of gilders (and had him banished)') and VII 5 a 9 and InscrOuig I 32, III 5, 30 and 50 and IV 1.

biç-tür- 'to have something cut'. *EDPT* and *DTS* from Suv and DLT. Attested also in BT I D (62): *öz ätin biçturdı*. The Suv ex. has 'other people's heads' as object. An ex. in BuddhUig II 577 appears to have permissive content: *altı yollarta tägzinip adrok adrok ätözlär tägindüktü adınlar üzä biçturup, azuça ärsär ymä kart baş bolup, asıgız nüçä täg kanım akdı*.

bil-tür- 'to make a thing known, to inform someone'. *EDPT* and *DTS*. *b[i]ltürü y(a)rlıka-* fits the context best in Ht VII 12 a 1, instead of '*kältür-*' of the eds.: The second letter is, according to P. Zieme (personal communication) in a lacuna; B and K can be easily confused in this position. See *uk-tur-* below for another ex. Found also in BT I B (21), HtPar 183,4 as quoted in *UW* 265 b top, Ht VII 13 b 4 and X 417 and HtPar 208,20 as quoted in *UW* 52 a top, BuddhUig I 382 and Suv 388,17. Governs the accusative of the information and the dative of the person to be informed.

mün-tür- is attested in BT XIII 1,74 (*uçanızka arkanızka müntürüp* . . .) and 4,5 (*tosin yanaka müntürüp* . . .) and DLT fol. 365 (*ol maṇa at müntürdi*): 'to make or help someone mount (a horse etc.)'. The base is attested as *bin-* in Orkhon Turkic, as *min-* in the IrqB and as *mün-* in Uigur and Qarakhanid. Several scholars (including the *EDPT*) read '*bintürä*' in Toñ 25 and assign the form to the verb discussed here. This is quite unlikely as the second vowel is not written

538 This meaning and attestation makes '[*artu*]rup' in ÄgFrag (1) E 6 a dubious conjecture for Chin. 'to deceive', beside the fact that *ar-* is tr. by itself. [*azgu*]rup (a *-gUr-* verb) would be better.

out and cannot therefore be rounded, and the converb vowel of this formation is not /A/. Read perhaps *ävin terä* instead. *bin-* etc. governs the horse (or whatever) as direct object; *mündür-* retains this government in the DLT but governs the beast in the dative in our two Uigur exs.

birik-dür- 'to unite, bring to agreement etc.' comes from *bir+ik-* (q.v. in section 5.44). *DTS* only from QB 4280; not mentioned in the *EDPT*. Further exs. in BT I D (164) and (282), ETŞ 13,97 and AbiShotan r8. In BT VII A 688 the text should read *al altag* (the eds.' suggestion for ATLQ) *bilgä (bilig)ig bir(i)kdürmäkimiz bolzun* and not '*bärkdür-*'; cf. the facs. Practically all Uigur exs. are spelled with D and not T in the formative.

bul-tur- 'to let or help find (something)' is in Uigur spelled both with D and with T; it is not attested in runic or in Qarakhanid texts. Beside the *EDPT*'s exs. we find it in ETŞ 10,115, TuoLuoNi 54 = 62, BT VIII A 121, BT XIII 15,40, 20,37, 43,18 and 47,26, UigTot 607, Abhi 1081 (with the intended 'finder' in the dative), Junshō C v1, ShōAgon 3, p. 203,7, BuddhUig II 127, 165, 375 and 622 and HtPek 33 a9-11.

mun-tur- 'to make somebody mad' is a hap. in M III q.v. in the *EDPT*; written with T. The intr. base appears there under *bun-*.

muṇad-tur- is found in *Badari bramanta ulatı ulug bilgälärig nom bilgä bilig ugrınta muṇadturtı* (Maitr 8 r30) 'He amazed the great sages, with the brahmin *Bādhari* foremost among them, in the domain of erudition'. *buṇ+ad-* (q.v. above) signifies 'to be surprised' only together with *adın-* or with *taṇla-*; by itself it signifies 'to be in trouble, to be worried'. This second meaning is reflected by the use of *muṇadtur-* in QB 3995 and 1264. Only the last-mentioned ex. is found in the *EDPT*. All exs. have T in the formative.

çız-dur- is a hap. in TT VII 26 quoted in the *EDPT*. 'to have something drawn', with the drawing in the accusative. Cf. *çız-ig* and *çız-un-* above.

ädäd-tür- 'to get something to materialise' is a hap. in BT III 77 mentioned neither in the *EDPT* nor in the *DTS*. *äd+äd-* (q.v. above) is attested only twice.

äsid-tür- 'to let somebody hear (something)' should not be confused with *ešt-ür-* although the two verbs appear to have the same meaning, have the same etymology and DLT fol. 118 took the latter to come from the former: Both *-Ur-* and *-tUr-* derivates from *äsid-* are, in principle, possible, and the language may have hesitated between them. The *EDPT*, however, treats them as if they were one verb. *äsidtür-* is attested in M III 28,9₁ (text 9), U II 43,16 and 49,24 and BT VII A 779, *ešidtür-* in U I 6,3 (Magier, the only ex. mentioned in the *EDPT*), BT VIII A 81 and InscrOuig IV 27: The base had the shape *äsid-*, and its regular *-tUr-* causative has a better and earlier attestation than the one with *e°*. With *ešt-il-* and *ešt-ür-* (discussed above), documentation favours

eşid-. This shows that fronting to a certain degree correlates with syncope in conjunction with 'Umlaut'.

en-tür- 'to bring somebody or something down'. *EDPT*; the ex. from M III 30,4₂ (text 13) should, however, rather be read as *iyintür-* (q.v. below) and the KP ex. as *y(e)tür-* 'to lose' (as proposed by Tezcan in *TDAYB* 1978-9 (1981): 304). Add *üstünki yeelig altın endürüp ...* (UigTot 1060) and *y(e)g(i)rmi kata kəñül eyin agdurguluk endürgül[ük] ol* (AbitAnk 87). The meaning of the verb in the following two exs. is late, and may possibly have been influenced by Chin. *yin*; cf. the n. to BT VII B 124 which Zieme retracts in BT XIII: *arig uz bititiþ ... tamgaka endürüp ...* (BT XIII 20,65) 'I had it written clearly and masterly and engraved on a printing block'; *ariglatup tamgaka entürüp yakdurup ülät-* (Samanta 6) 'having it excerpted, engraved on a printing block, printed and distributed'. The verb in *antsang ... koşugka entürmiş şlok takşut nom* (ETŞ 16,11, reading corrected in UigKan p. 66), *takşutka entürü täğintim* (ETŞ 19,14) and *jalıp koşugka entürm[iş ...] bölöküg ...* (BuddhStab III 3) signifies 'to reduce to (verse)'.

er-tür- is found in KT E40. In the passage preceding this, the Türk forces are described as being in unexpected difficulties. The sentence *Kül teginig az ärin ertürü* I T¹M Z. *ulug süñüş süñüşmiş* follows, the perfect form representing (in some way) *id-dımız*. This must mean 'we sent him with a few men to get there'.⁵³⁹ For similar instances of verbs of causation used redundantly with a causative morpheme of a connected verb cf. *ber-tür-* with *ay-* earlier in this section, *külturgalı ... ay-* in Suv 551,11 as quoted and translated in *UW* 287 b under *ay-* par. 1,d and *kolturgalı id-* below in this section. The other instances in the *EDPT* s.v. '1 *értür-*' belong to *ärt-ür-* (q.v.). A dubious further ex. may appear in Ulankom 4, read as *TitImta sülätip Çwñkä çärig id(t)ım. Yarganta ertürü todum* (D in the last word even more uncertain).

et-dür- 'to have something done or constructed' is in the *EDPT* quoted from one of several mss. in TT IV A 46, from the DLT and from Middle Turkic. Add *uz etdürmiş ärdi* (Ht VII 1 a 13), *änätkäkdäki yañça etdürti* 'He had it constructed in the Indian style' (*ibid.* 14 a 3), *ayı körklä st[up] etdürti* (Ht X A 8), *istup çaydı ettürmäk* (CYK 22) and a similar ex. *ibid.* 60, *elig bağ ... ulug balık etdürüp ...* (Ht V 6 b 12), *bara ettürmäk* (InscrOuig I 22), *aşnukı biziñ etdürğüçi stup* "in unserem früher zu errichtenden (?) Stüpa" (BT XIII 38,45). Verbs in ManMon 11, 87 and 90 spelt *etür-* should probably be read as *et(d)ür-*, as the *UW* writes and translates the third mentioned ex. in 223 a-b. The other two are *bag [bor-luk] yer suv kak temäzün, uz et(d)ürzün* 'he must have the vineyards₂ and

539 A semantic parallel to this: Republican Turkish *yetiş-* can also signify 'to arrive to the help of somebody' and comes from *yet-* 'to reach'.

(other) land₂ cultivated well, irrespective of whether they are dry' and *bag borluk yer suv iki iş ayguçlar uz et(d)ürüp* . . . (rest of the sentence quoted and interpreted in UigPacht p. 216) 'the two overseers must get the vineyards₂ and other land₂ cultivated well'. A verb *et-ür-* is, of course, a possibility but has not yet turned up in any other source: This could either be a dialect characteristic of ManMon (we have no ex. of *etdür-* in any Manichaean text) or an orthographical matter. The inscriptional counterpart of *etdür-* is *et-it-* (q.v. in the previous section).

id-tur- is mentioned neither in the *DTS* nor in the *EDPT*. It signifies 'to have (something) sent' in *näçä aş bar ärsür anı barça bärü idturu y(a)rıkazun* (SuvGeng 605,8) ' . . . whatever food there is, may he be so kind as to have it all sent here'. In ShōAgon 1,217 it rather means 'to cause to release', in accordance with the meaning of *id-* e.g. in *alkonı ölürgäy bir tirig idmagaylar* (TT II,1 17): *söz[läp arvış savış] şlokug udi kim raxu asurika*⁵⁴⁰ *idturgalı ay t(ä)ñrig* 'Pronouncing the incantational and exorcistic verse he was able to make the *asura* Rāhu let go the moon'.

ılık-dur- 'to pollute' is not mentioned in the *EDPT*. This is a hap. in the Petersburg ms. of Suv quoted in the *DTS*, and in *UW* 190 b under *arıgsız* par. A,b,1. The base *ıl+ık-* (discussed in section 5.44) has appeared only in Qarakhanid and is intr. *ılt-*, the variant of ms. Mz 762 (T III M56-25) as quoted by Ehlers, is hardly to be attributed to the archetype.

igid-tür- 'to have a child nourished and reared' is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It is a hap. in ShōAgon 2, p. 194,3. The base is tr.

kaldur- is attested in three exceedingly late Uigur texts: *kaldurmuş tąg bolmak* . . . *könül turgurur* (UigTot 905) 'one evokes a sensation as if someone lifted one off'. This comes from *kalı-* under syncopation of the °ı-, with meaning and origin like the DLT and KP verb *kalı-t-* (previous section). 'to lift off' becomes 'to carry off' in InscrOuig II 13: *yagımız . . . atayımız Öñ Tegin Bäkini kalduru kiñmiş adası* 'danger que notre ennemi . . . s'en aille en emportant votre enfant chérie Öñ Tegin Bäki'. This, in turn, becomes 'to take away' in an economical document quoted in the *EDPT* under *kaltur-*. There should have been two entries there, for the DLT's verb with this shape comes from *kal-* 'to stay'. Some Middle Turkic texts and the Oguz languages today have *kaldur- > kaldır-* 'to lift, raise, kidnap'. *kan-tur-* 'to satisfy, satiate' is a pretty common verb; see the *EDPT* and the *DTS*,

540 This passage is quoted in the n. to ÄgFrag (1) F5-8, which contains the same text but has *tıldür-* instead of *idtur-*. Another difference is that the Kudara-Zieme text has [*asuri*]ın, the Shōgaito text *asurka*. Kudara and Zieme quote Shōgaito's text as an ablative, about which P. Zieme informs me that "-ın ist die wahrscheinlichere Lesung". The *UW* transcribes *asuri* (back-vowel dative!) as *asure*, presumably because of the spelling of the word in Tokharian. Röhrborn admits that he does that "trotz des Brāhmī-Belegs . . . a su ri"; Brāhmī I can also transcribe *hl*.

the latter especially under *qanturmaq*. Appears also eight times in the ETŞ (only once with D). Further, Maitr 119 v 4 and 35 v 10, BT XIII 1,98, TuoLuoNi 51 and ShōAv 52 all have *küsüş* 'wish, desire' as object. Two biverbs with *tod-ur-* are quoted in the entry for that verb above, and there also is a biverb *todgur-kantur-*. Add also *kanturdaçı* in BT VII M13, *kanturuñ* in MaitrH XI 4 b25, *kanturgalı* in Ht VII 5b18, *KÖNGÜLümin kançurup* ... (BuddhUig II 433) etc. There is an imperative name *Kantur sañun* in ZiemeSklav II 1, a proper name *Kanturmuş* in UigLand 22.

kayın-tur- 'to boil something'. Common, especially in Heilk II. An ex. not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* is quoted in the n. to UigTöt 895. *kayın-* is a simplex; see *kayına-t-*.

käl-tür- 'to have or let somebody come; bring'. *DTS* (also s.v. '*keldür-*') and the *EDPT*. There are 12 exs. in the QB and 8 in the DLT. According to V. Thomsen found also in Toñ 53 and 54, but this is dubious. *kältür-* is used also in *tay(a)ñu yarlıgı* (L hook misplaced, giving *yalrıgı*) *kältürdi* (HamTouen 18,6). *käl-tür-* (q.v. above) is very common from the inscrrs. on all the way to the latest Uigur, but is not found in the DLT or the QB. This means that the Khotan dialect, in which HamTouen 18 must have been written, had this particular isogloss in common with Qarakhanid.

käs-tür- 'to get something cut' is by the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT. We also have *elig* [*bäg ko*] *buñın kästürmiş* [*ärtü*] (Ht IV 978).

kıl-tur- 'to cause or let somebody (dative) do or make something, to get something (direct object) done'. *EDPT* and *DTS* quote this from Suv, USp and DLT. Found also in BT II 1066, ManMon 45 and 69, CYK 78, ShōKenkyū III 31, Ernte 65 and 74, Ht X 85 and 98, Ht VII 7 b22 and 14 a4 and 11, Warnke 103 and Suv 551,11.

kın-tur- 'to arouse an urge in someone'. *EDPT* from TT V B and Ht and then Middle Turkic. The exs. in Ht and Maitr have T, the one in TT V B (tacitly changed in the *EDPT*) and an additional one in ETŞ 15,43 D. Maitr 20 v10 reads *barıp k[uvra]gag* (i.e. /kuvragı/) *kınturuñ* 'Go and arouse the community!', with those who are to develop a longing towards buddhahood referred to in the accusative.⁵⁴¹

kıs-dur- 'to have something squeezed' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT. It has been reconstructed in BT XIII 5,75: *başların kăsdürü*, ... [*tı*] *şın* ... *tart-duru*, *kısd[ur]u* ... Both this and the DLT ex. are about torture. *kıs-* 'to compress, squeeze, pinch' is in this physical sense attested in the DLT. The QB has

541 The translation "strengt euch an!" in BT IX 68,10₁ is wholly unfounded. The n. thereto refers to TT V B19 (which has the correct translation) and otherwise makes some quite imaginary and unacceptable etymological suggestions.

metaphorical instances, and the inscrs. (quoted in the *EDPT* entry for *kıs-*) use it with a predicative noun in a sense which is still not wholly clear. There may have been a different, intr., verb **kıs-*, for which see *kıs-ur-* above. Cf. *kıs-il-*, *kıs-il*, *kıs-ga*, *kısKınç*, *kıs-guç* etc.⁵⁴²

kirik-dür- 'to soil something' comes from intr. *kir+ik-* (section 5.44). A Suv ex. is mentioned in the *DTS* but not in the *EDPT*. Still further exs. are *arığ yorigığ kirikdürüp* ... (Tenri A III) and *yolug kirikdördäçi toyın* (ÄgFrag (1) B 13 and 17). In AbiShotan v6, *kirikdür-* is used in opposition to *arın-gur-*.

kod-tur- appears in two passages in Suv with different meaning; these are quoted by the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. The passage around 17,9 is about somebody unable to find a certain book. Finally, *Suvastık sı all(ı)g säñrämtä tapışıp ötrü kođdurup altı*. This means 'to copy': It appears with dentals simplified to *kotur-* in Suv 18,23 and in SuvCaitya 33,19 (wrongly spelled as '*kodur-*' there): *aktarıp öz eligin koturu täğintim* '... copied with my own hand'. Cf. *kotur-t-* in the previous section and the modern exs. with this meaning mentioned in the n. to TuoLuoNi 213. That n. mentions a further ex. in HtPek 93 b3. In Suv 181,1-2, on the other hand, *kod-tur-* signifies 'to do away with': *yavlak kılınçlarığ kođdrup alko ađgü törölärtä yaratınıp* ... refers to the agent's evil deeds. In *el xan körüp b(ä)lgülüg öz el içindä bođunun yavlak kılınç kılmakın arıtı kođturmasar tıdmasar* (SuvStockh 54), the king may 'not do away at all' with the evil deeds of his nation. We have a similar meaning, this time with simplified dental cluster, in QB 117: *sävinçin tolu tut sakınçın kotur* 'keep his joy full and do away with his care'. Also *esizläрни tutma elinçin kotur* (QB. 1455) 'do not support disruptive people but drive them from your realm'. Both meanings of *kodtur-* are semantically specialised, then.

kol-tur- 'to have someone ask or beg for something' is in the *EDPT* quoted from DLT and Rabğüzi. Also found in TuoLuoNi 354: *sañğıst(a)v(ı)rı şı açarı bıř kiçigk(i)yä şabini kayçu çiu atl(ı)g balıkta bakır kolturgalı ıddı* "... schickte ... um das Kupfergeld (zurück) zu erbitten". The causative meaning is contained in *ıd-* as well, as with *er-türü ıd-* quoted in the entry earlier in this section.

542 The n. to the BT XIII passage confuses the adjective *yası* 'flat', applied to movable entities, with *yazı* 'open ground, a large plain', which applies to terrain. It must be realised that /s/ and /z/ are distinct phonemes throughout Old Turkic, although overlapping in certain surroundings and frequently spelled indiscriminately in relatively late Uigur texts (e.g. here, where *yası* was written as *yaşı*). The DLT (quoted in the *EDPT*) does distinguish between the two lexemes. (*yas-* and *yaz-* 'to untie, loosen' appear to be the same verb in the DLT, but that is the result of a recent split to be discussed elsewhere.) *yazı* appears in the KT, BQ and Toñ inscrs. with /z/, *yası* in the ŞU and Tariat inscrs. with /s/. *yası* lives on in Turkic languages with /s/ to this day. It appears in *yası ban* attested here and as quoted in the n. to this passage from Suv 477,13-17 and from an unpublished fr. *keñ yazı* ... *oron* (Suv 574,16-19), on the other hand, contains the lexeme *yazı*, as the content of the Chin. original shows. *yazı* is found also in TT V A 123 and TT VII 42,8.

kon-tur- 'to settle (people somewhere)' is in the *EDPT* quoted from Orkhon Turkic, the IrqB, the DLT and Middle Turkic. *kon-* governs the accusative in Orkhon Turkic but the dative (or even the locative, rarely) later.

koş-dur- appears in *udlar koşdurup* ... 'having the oxen harnessed, ...' in Ernte 75 and in similar phrases in Ernte II 34 and 38. *EDPT* and *DTS* do not have this verb. *koş-* is tr.

kögäd-dür- 'to praise something, embellish it in words': *EDPT* s.v. '*kökädtür-*' (implied derivation from *kök* 'sky; blue'), *DTS* s.v. '*kügädtür-*' (implied derivation from *kü* 'fame') quote two exs. from Suv. A further ex. from HtPek 79 b2 is quoted in *UW* 251 a and translated as "preisen". In the versified Suv paraphrase in BT XIII 13,66, the instance of Suv 135,12 is written with V, as *kövädtürüp*. As the ed. notes, this means that the verb had /g/ and not /k/ as its second consonant. The derivation from *kög* 'melody', which he suggests, is made possible by the use of this noun in M II 8,19 (text 3) to refer to a hymn of praise. Still, deriving it from *körk+äd-* 'to be or become beautiful' (q.v. in section 5.43) seems much more likely in view of the meaning, because +*Ad-* usually signifies 'to be or become the content of the base' and as an +*Ad-* derivative from *kög* is not known. The other etymologies seem even less likely. See *körk+äd-* for the phonetics.

kön-tür- 'to straighten'; metaphorically, 'to guide, direct'. *EDPT* and *DTS* from Suv and then from QB on, the former with T, the latter with (assimilated) D. Add *yanlokın köntü[rüp]* 'correcting his mistake' (Ht X232), *uçanı köndürüp* 'straightening the back' (and not quite as translated, UigTot 1017) and *yerig köntürüp* 'flattening the ground' (ManMon 88).

köy-dür- 'to burn something' is attested in TT VII 23 and the DLT as quoted in the *EDPT* under **kündür-*.⁵⁴³ The normal and early verb for this content is *köñ-ür-*, q.v. above in section 7.51.

kör-tür- is quoted in the *EDPT* from the DLT, in the *DTS* also from M III 5,14 (text 1) in a fragmentary and obscure passage. It apparently signified 'to urge to see', whereas the common *körtKür-* and *körKüt-* were 'to show, display, make manifest etc.': The former thus implied influence on the seer, the latter on the object.

kud-tur- 'to have something poured out, to have metal cast'. The last mentioned meaning is attested in TuoLuoNi 169, *şopaK altun üzä burxanların körkin kuḍdurup* ... Further: *süçig çivş(a)gun içgüläriḡ süzüp särmäp kudturup* (BuddhUig II 90, wrongly translated as "setzen") and *toyın sözlämiş [sag] süt kudturup* ... (Ht V3 a 15) 'having the pure milk which the monk talked about poured out and ...'. What the monk said about pure milk to be poured out is

543 Clauson for some reason mentions M I 18,1-2, although the verb appearing there is *kayür-*.

quoted under *yakçirt-* in the previous section. *kud-* is tr. What the *EDPT* under 1 *kutur-* quotes from the DLT comes from this verb under simplification of the dentals; what is there quoted from the QB belongs to *kod-tur-* > *kotur-*.

kudīKar-tur- 'to cause something to be disparaged' is found in Suv 135,12⁵⁴⁴ and in the versified paraphrase of that passage in BT XIII 13,67. The *EDPT*'s etymology for this is impossible; cf. *kudī+Kar-* in section 7.53 above.

kutad-tur- 'to give good fortune etc.' is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, but appears in ETŞ 10,69, BT VII A 12, 300, 367, 377-8, 586 and 751 and I 4 and 20, BT VIII A 68, 331 and 332 and B 48, Maitr 155 v7, UigTot 145 and 143 and ShōAv 320 (quoted s.v. *kutsira-* above). *köz kaçığılarig kutadurdaçı* in ETŞ 10,194 is probably an instance of this same verb, with one dental omitted; an *-Ur-* derivate from *kutad-* is not otherwise attested. See *kut+ad-* in section 5.43 above.

küḍ-dür- 'to detain, cause to wait' is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. It appears in Ht IV 1187 and ShōAgon 1,285.

küzäd-dür- is not mentioned in the *EDPT*. It is in the *DTS* quoted from Suv 180,17, and there is an identical phrase in Suv 180,21: 'āṇyü burxan kutin küzäddürmāk buyan ädgü kılınç is 'the meritorious deed₂ of bringing about special consideration for buddhadom'. Then there is *k(ä)ntü on ädgü kılınç küzäddürtüm, poşıl(ı)g yagış turgurdum* (Maitr 45 v4) 'I myself had the ten (sorts of) good deeds (or 'commandments') kept, had the offering of charity presented'. *küzäd-* (discussed on p. 491) appears to be a simplex. Cf. *küzäd-il-* for cognates.

oy-tur- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the DLT. It means 'to have hollowed out' in *oyturup karaklarıṇı* (BT XIII 5,128) and *başların bıçturu karakların oyturu tārılārın soyturu . . .* (Suv 235,7); *oy-* was often used of gouging out the eyes. A meaning 'to have engraved, carved' appears in *t(a)vgaççasın türķçäsın tamgata oydurup mın vuu yakdurup* (UigKol 13) "seine chin. und seine tü. [Version] auf einen Blockdruck schneiden lassen, 100 Amulette abziehen lassen, . . .", *tamga[ta] oydurup* (BT XIII 46,7), *tamgasın ärtä uz oyturup* (48,4), *tamgasın oyturgalı* (49,33) and *yarırtı tamgasın oyturup* (53,5). *oy-* is tr.

ö-dür- 'to remind somebody of something' is by the *EDPT* quoted with this meaning from the DLT. Found also in BT III 566, and 531: *ödürür män sizlärni, toyınlar a!* The ed.'s suggestion to read 'ütür-' and consider this a derivate of *üt* 'advice' does not seem likely as there is no formative '+Ur-'.⁵⁴⁴

önäd-dür- 'to cure someone' is spelled with °TD° in all its Buddhist, Manichaean and Christian exs.; it is not attested in runic or Muslim sources. The *EDPT* has

544 This and another three words here make the line longer than the others and are by the eds. put into square brackets; they were apparently added in the margin or between the lines.

four exs. from Suv, the *DTS* has an additional one and a sixth one appears in 603,4. Further, *igliglärig ö[η]äddtürti* in ms. TM 155 r3 quoted in the n. to ManTüTex 458 and *igliglärig kartka bal(ı)glarig igindä agriginta öñäddürtäçi* in NesTex ms. T II B 28 (U 4910) 11. M III 24,7-10₄ (text 9) should read *uz ootaçi siz. ädgü öglilärig öñäddrügli siz . . . amti öñäddürün mänin başımın* '... cure now my wound'.⁵⁴⁵ In Heilk I 14 we find the sentence *ençsiz bolmakıg, alko yeel igig öñätür*. This appears to have been syncopated from *öñädtürür*: Cf. *alñatur* < *alñadturur* in BuddhKat 39 and *olur* < *olorur* *ibid.* 35. *öñädtür-* either governs the illnesses in the accusative or the patients in the accusative with the illnesses in the ablative (and ablatival +*dA*). See *öñ+äd-* 'to recover' in section 5.43.

ör-tür- is in the *EDPT* quoted from TeilBuch (M I), *ıg yañı yerdän temin örtürürçä* ... 'Just as one makes plants rise from the fresh earth'. Clear on the face; otherwise the verb for growing plants is *ün-tür-*: *täñri ot ündürdi* in the DLT. *örtür-* in *bulut örtürüp yagmur yagıtıp* ... (ShōAgon 1,129) 'made the clouds rise and the rain come down', on the other hand, is in accord with what we otherwise know about the use of these verbs. *ör-* 'to rise' is intr.

sal-tur- 'to have something thrown somewhere etc.' is in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* quoted from TT VII 25 (°LD°) and USp (a letter; °LT°) and the DLT.

sı-tur- 'to have something broken', *EDPT* and *DTS*, from Suv (quoted under *soy-tur-* below) and the DLT. The words *sıtu ru çaxşapat* in TUO XXXIII may possibly in some way belong here too, seeing that *çaxşapat sı-* is 'to break a commandment'. Beyond doubt is *[bil]ikin yotasın sıtu ru* 'getting his wrists and thighs broken' in BT XIII 5,79. *sı-* is tr.

silk-tür- is a hap. in U III quoted in the *EDPT*. 'to have something (a bell in this case) shaken'. *silk-* is tr.

sok-tur- is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT, which has an ex. about 'having pepper ground'. We further have the exs. *tämürçikä barıp orgak sokdurup* ... (Ernte 57) 'goes to the blacksmith and has the sickle beaten' (similarly in Ernte II 18) and *baxşıka sokdurmak* (BT VIII A 155) 'to get beaten by one's guru'.

soy-tur- 'to have somebody stripped or flayed'. The Manichaean text quoted in the *EDPT* has D, but T appears in the following two, not mentioned there: *tärlärin soyturu sünükklärin sıtu ru* (Suv 235,8) 'having their skins flayed and their bones broken ...' and *] kurtışın soyturgalı* [(unpublished ms. in the n. to BT XIII 12,01). *soy-* is tr.

sön-tür- 'to let something (especially evil influences) die out'. *EDPT* s.v. *söndür-*

545 And not "Jetzt veranlasse Du meinen Kopf zum Lernen!": The ed. had read the verb as *örg°* instead of *öñ°*. The second instance is spelled as *örgädtürün* but in fact has °TD° and not °DT°: The D is added on top of the T.

(although all the exs. have T) and *DTS*. Appears in Heilk II C, Suv and, as a weaker variant in several mss. in a passage in TT VI.

sür-tür- 'to have somebody banished or animals driven somewhere'. In the *EDPT* under 1 *sürtür-* quoted from the DLT. Add *agıçılarka ayıp üküş altun bertürüp elintä taştın sürtürdi* (Ht IV 603) '... and had him driven away outside his realm', *buyruk[lar]ın bağların atl(ı)ğın yüzlüğün barça sürtürdi kuz[tın] yınak ıddı* (Ht V 5 a14) 'He had all his generals, *bägs* and notables₂ (who were in Taxila) banished and sent them to the north' and *mıñ irk Talaska sürtürdüm ärdi* (ZiemeSklav III 6). Read thus (cf. facs.), the last sentence signifies 'I had a thousand rams driven to Talas'; the DLT ex. for *sürtür-* concerns the driving of sheep. The passage is purely economical: *algum bar* of the following l. is 'I have a debt to collect'.

täp-tür-, not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* from earlier than the 15th century, appears in Ernte 75: *udlar koşdurup turmadın tuçtı täptürüp* ... 'one harnesses oxen ... and has them uninterrupted₂ trample on (the cereal)'. *ol kapıg kaşın[ta a]smuş sezik bitigig [en]dürüp täptürdi* is read in Ht IV 1498 and translated "den Irrbrief, der an der Seite der Tür hing, ließ er herunternehmen und vernichten". *täptür-* can hardly have been "vernichten", since *täp-* is just 'to kick'; cf. also DLT *täp-ig* 'a kick' and *täp-ök* 'a football'. 'kick it (away)' therefore seems to be the translation most appropriate to the text. This instance differs from the first also in governing the ultimate object (like *täp-it-* and *irklät-*) and not the intermediate subject.

tärsik-dür- and *tätrüldür-* 'to lead astray' are attested as a biverb in TuoLuoNi 343, as *t(ä)rsikdürmäz tätrüldürmäz*. Both are hap. legomena. *tärs tätrü* is used as a binome and there is a hap. *tärsikmäk tätrülmäk*. +*Xk-* forms intr. verbs.

te-dür- 'to arrange for something to be said' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT. We also have *amtıkı eligimiz kutı* ... *nomug ukıtdaçı süü yaratı tedürtilär* 'His Highness our present king ... composed a preface to explain the ... doctrine and had it recited' (honorific plural; Ht VII 15 b25). *te-* is tr., *te-t-* passive.

(*ter-tür-* 'to have a group assembled', not in the dictionaries. Dubious hap. in BT I B (46).)

tın-tur- 'to let somebody or something (in Ernte 26 a field) rest', also with *arok* 'exhaustion' as direct object. To the *EDPT*'s exs. add *tındurur* (ETŞ 15,44), *arokın tınturgalı sakınmışın biltürdi* (BT I B (21)) and *tındurmuş tın tarıglag yerlär* (Ernte 26) 'uncultivated agricultural land which had been allowed to rest'. The base is intr.

tik-tür- 'to have something sewn' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the DLT. Attested also in *üvirmiş kamag nomlar on bölök, tiktürmiş çikin şö iki yüz* (Ht VII 8 b19) 'The works which he had translated were all together ten classes, the silk images which he had had sewn two hundred'; *ol [kra]jalar agdukiña xan*

- [...] *lup kântüsi tiktürmiş kraja kälürtüp körkitti* (HtPar 4r (= 159) 15) 'Since those monks' clothes had deteriorated, the king [...]ed, had brought monks' clothing which he had had sewn himself, and showed (it to them)'. *tik-* is tr.
- tit-dür-* is a hap. in ÄgFrag (1) F8, not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *udi kim [raxu asuri]tun titdürgäli ay t(ä)ñrig* "er konnte veranlassen, daß vom [Asura Rāhu] freigegeben wird der Mond". See *id-tur-* above: That is what the parallel text in ShōAgon has instead of *titdür-*. *tit-* 'to renounce, give up' is tr.
- tol-tur-* 'to fill' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the *DLT*, Middle Turkic, etc. We also find it in *ymä tolturun ol m(ä)ñlög bar(ı)mlık agılıñızka* (M III 11,2, text 6) 'And fill up that eternal storehouse and treasury of yours (with those alms)'. Unlike European languages, *toltur-* can govern the substance filled into a receptacle as direct object and the receptacle in the dative. *tol-gur-* (q.v. in section 7.54) may not have been used in this construction and is, moreover, attested only in Buddhist texts.
- tut-dur-* has 'a thief' as object in *DLT* fol. 353. In Uigur, however, it means 'to have something kept' or 'upheld', twice with *nom* as object: *täğintürgü tutdurgu üçün köni nom nomlalm* (ETŞ 13,96) 'Let us teach the true doctrine in order to make people attain it and keep it'; according to Zieme in *JA* 269 (1981): 390-1 n. 36, *arığ idok nomug şazın[ıg] boşgunsar tudursar* is to be read in TT VII 40,18-19 (Yetikān Sudur) instead of what is printed there. A further ex. appears in Warnke 98, with *at bitiglär* 'indices' as object. See *tutur-* in the *EDPT* for Kāśgarī about this verb, and cf. *tutr-uk* above.⁵⁴⁶
- tuy-tur-* 'to make somebody sense something' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the *DLT* and from *USp*. 59. It is found also in *çın KÖNGÜLin semäksiz üzä tuytur-daçı ärür* (BuddhUig I 275), *burxanlar baxşılar tuymaduk tınlaglarını (= /tınlıglarını/) bo KÖNGÜLin tuydurgalı üküş tälüm nomlar nomlasar ...* (*ibid.* 122) and in a further ex. from this text quoted under *tanuklatdur-* below. In the second-mentioned ex., *KÖNGÜLin* is in the instrumental case.
- tül-tür-* 'to beat' is in the *EDPT* quoted from M II 11,13 (text 4) but misunderstood: *yäklär ... tüş üzä oltrup tültürür* 'The demons ... sit on one's chest and beat it'. Attested also in *takı ymä Kantarı gantarvılar t(ä)ñridäm kövrügläriğ tültürdi* (Maitr 18 v10) and *tämirlig çomakın bärgän tokıyurlar tültürürlär* (Maitr 82 r24) 'They beat them with iron cudgels and whips'. Similarly, U III 11,7 should be completed as *nomlug kö[vrügü]g tültürüp kurtruldaçı tınl(ı)glarığ y[av]/[a]k agar ayığ kılınçl(ı)g uvlarıntın udgurup ...* 'I wish to beat the drum of *dharma* and arouse the creatures to be saved from their bad and heavy

546 *yollarıg tututruñ* (ThreeLett 20) and *yolug yana tututurgay siz* (*ibid.* 38) should probably be read as *tutu tur-* (for *tuta tur-*) 'stand and hold' and do not belong here at all. 'tutuyup' in ZweiFrag 2 should best be interpreted as *tut(a) turup*, as shown in Hitch, 1987.

sleep of evil deeds' (a double metaphor string). Cf. *tültr-ün-* above. *tüldür-* should be read also in DLT fol. 354, although DankKelly write '*taldur-*'; the second-hand *damma* can be trusted in this case: *atlıg anı tüldürdi* "The horseman knocked into him". This meaning is similar enough to be related, and the different dialect can account for the divergent meaning; there is no infinitive to show frontness. The lemma for *tül-* in DLT fol. 275 does not have any infinitive either: *är topiknu adrı bilä tülđi*, with first hand *damma* in the first syllable. DankKelly nevertheless change this (as well) to '*taldı*' because of the subsequent lemma (which also involves a game). The semantic similarity to the Uigur verb seems to justify the separation into two verbs (but not the alteration of the following *taldı talar talmak* to *tü*). The semantic relationship between *tül-* and *tültür-* is not one of causation, unless one considers the sticks and cudgels to be implicit intermediate subjects. *tül-ük* 'violence, vigour', appears to be a cognate.

uk-tur- 'to make somebody understand' and / or 'to get something understood'; *EDPT* and *DTS*. Two of the exs. are biverbs with *bil-tür-* (q.v. above). In Suv 386,17 we find a further ex. of this biverb not mentioned in the dictionaries. *bil-uk-* is, among other places, found in UigTot 243 and 246; cf. the biverb *bilil-ukul-* under *bil-il-* above.

unit-dur- 'to make someone forget; to get something forgotten' is not mentioned in the *EDPT*. A Suv ex. is quoted in the *DTS*. Add *bilmäkig unitdurup ögrätin-mäk* (UigTot 618).

ur-tur- 'to have something put somewhere' is in the *EDPT* quoted from Orkhon Turkic and Uigur, in both cases governing the ultimate object.

ün-tür- 'to cause something to rise' and adjacent meanings like 'to lift up, get something out, bring forth, display, let out, help out, uproot, remove, bring up, raise a sum' is an exceedingly common verb only partly documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*: Further exs. occur in Maitr.102 r5, 66 v3, 182 v12, 51 r6, 83 v2, 182 r16, 52 v5 and 130 v6, HtPek 33 a9-11, Ht V 8 b11 and VII 7 b3, ShōKenkyū III 25, BuddhUig II 223, ĀṭSū 1 r2, UigPacht L 18, HtPar 220,10 quoted in *UW* 52 a under *adıncıg* par. A, UigTot 765, 789, 818, 1048, 616, 1306, 1307 and 1392, Ht X 1099, BT XIII 13,69, 19,104, 51,26 and 58,5, Abhi 73 and 1105, TuoLuoNi 401, BT VII A 609 = 613, 619 and 670 and B2 and 95, ShōAgon 2, p. 191 l.6, BT VIII B 40, Suv 29,21-22, BT III 100, FamArch 83, 176 and 199, ETŞ 11,16, 13,11 and 131 and 17,12, HamTouen 35,6 and 28,13. The last-mentioned ex. spells the verb as *yüntürün*, with *y°* as the base is spelled in a runic ms. quoted in the *EDPT* under *ün-*. BuddhKat 32 (Tib. script) also has the verb as *yüntrüp*. These are indicative of original initial /h/, possibly pronounced but in any case left unexpressed by the writers of Orkhon Turkic. In *bwlčwka taṇ üntürü tägdimiz* in Toñ 35, *taṇ* must be a temporal absolute, a

use found often with *tün* 'night'. The sentence probably signifies 'We reached B., having made the soldiers⁵⁴⁷ get up at dawn'.

üz-tür- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from the *DLT*, where it denotes the 'breaking' of a rope. Ht IV 357 has the phrase *vakpadi baxşınıñ asurılar pryanunta turup maytri bodıs(a)tvnıñ burxan kutın bulgusın küdüp sezikin üztürgäli ugramış oron* 'the place where master V. remains in the *asuras*' cell to wait for *bodhisattva* Maitreya to find buddhahood so as to have (him) solve his (the *baxşı*'s) doubts'; here, 'Maitreya' is deleted from its appearance as intermediate subject because it already serves as subject of *bul-*. In Ht IV 845, read *ellig bodunlugka ymä ölüü ölärmä[kig] üztürmiş ärdi* instead of the ed.'s '*ölärmä[k-tin]*': 'He had made those belonging to the state and the nation stop killing'. In this third ex., *üz-tür-* signifies 'to cause to stop'. *üz-* is tr.

yad-tur- 'to get something spread (by somebody else, in the dative)' is in the *EDPT* quoted from Chuast and the *DLT*. The latter has 'bedding' as ultimate object, the former 'the doctrine'. *yad-* is tr.

yag-tur- 'to make it rain (rain or something else)' is in the *EDPT* quoted from the *DLT*, Middle Turkic etc. Found also in Maitr 183 v 18. The usual Uigur causative of *yag-* is *yag-ıt-*, q.v. in the previous section.

yak-tur- was misunderstood before Zieme in BuddhStab n. 51 determined that it signifies 'to have (something) printed'. One instance is quoted under *oy-tur-* earlier in this section; its object is *vuu* 'amulet'. Otherwise attested with *nom* as object in BT XIII 41,17, 42,22, 46,7, 47,11 and 49,77, and with *küen* ~ *küön* as object in TT VI colophon III, TT VII 40,121 (Yetikän Sudur), Hazai 66 and BT XIII 42,3, 47,10. Cf. also UigOn II p. 82 n. 10. Spelled both with T and D. The *EDPT* should have connected the TT VII ex. (the only Uigur instance which it knows) with the *DLT* verb mentioned in its entry 2 *yaktur-*, not the one mentioned in the entry 3 *yaktur-*: The base is *yak-* 'to come into or be in contact'.

yan-tur- 'to turn back (tr.), bring back, avert'. *EDPT* (first entry s.v.) and *DTS*. An ex. from M III 10,7₁ (text 4) is not quoted by the dictionaries. The two exs. from TT X are only partly preserved and uncertain. Further exs. occur in Maitr 71 r 24 and 74 r 18, DreiPrinz 61, Ht V 8 a 19 and Warnke 610; common in the QB. The patient can return from something, as in *sansartın yandurup* (UigTot 588) and *oot ... yaromaktın yandurmak* (UigTot 785) "vom Aufleuchten abwenden" or to something, as in *tunl(ı)glarig ayıg kıl[ınç]dın ävirip buyanka yanturdı* (HtPar 131 r 2 quoted in Mayer and Röhrborn, 1986: 119). The meaning 'to avert' is attested e.g. in U II 51,5 and in *ş(ı)mnulug yağı[g ... dAç]I yanturdaçılar* (BT VIII Anh. 2-3,29). Only an instance in USp and two in Uig-

547 Causatives with 'the army' as 'understood' object can be found, among other places, in Toñ 15, 25 and 27.

Tot are spelled with ND instead of NT. See the petrified converb *yanturu* below. *yan-* is intr.

yañıl-tur- 'to make somebody go wrong' is in the *DTS* (but not in the *EDPT*) quoted once from Suv, where it governs the erring creatures in the accusative. Found also in *tayanguluk yolı yañılturur, ıgıd sakınç üzü biltürür* (BuddhUig I 381), where a further syntactic slot is occupied by the accusative. *yañıl-* should (as far as we know) be a simplex.

yaval-tur- to subdue, make docile, tame'. See the *EDPT* s.v. Another ex. is found in the *DTS* under *turultur- yavaltur-*, and others in BT I B (30) (*könülüg yavalturmuş*) and (32), D (336) (*könülüg yavalturgalı . . .*) and F (37), ETŞ 9,81, 10,17 and 253, Buddhāv H 107 and the Abhi ex. quoted in the n. thereto, Maitr 171 r 8, UigFalt 54 (with *turuldur-*), BT VIII B 42, BuddhUig II 42 (*ayıg sakınçlarıg yavaltur-*), ShōAgon 1,337, 13 (*yavaltursar köñülin*), 22, 35, 38 etc. and 2, p. 194,10₂ and BT XIII 4,11, 5,222 and 25,17. The *EDPT* and the *DTS* have three Old Turkic exs. of the base, one in Brāhmī script. All three have the form *yavalmış* 'soft tempered, gentle minded', and *yavalmış* is also what we find in Sitātap 132 (with *amrılmış*, quoted in the *UW* under this latter), BT II 1260 and MajitrGeng 7 b 29. In ShōAgon 1, p. 157, 5-6, however, we find the phrase *çın kertü turulmak yavalmakta yavaldurtaçı*, with the base in a form other than with *-mış* and in the common biverb with *turul-*. A converb form is found in HtPar 29 r 2-4: *nomlug yarlıgı takı nāñ tāgmāzkān inçıp bütä yavalu tükāmişlār ārdi* 'Although his *dharma*-teaching had not yet reached them at all, they were so perfectly mature and gentle minded'. Further forms of *yaval-* appear in the *DLT*; the *EDPT* 'emends' their vowels. The MaitrGeng ex. predicates *yaval-* upon wild animals,⁵⁴⁸ but the others refer to persons.

(*yäl-tür-* in Toñ 54, mentioned in the *EDPT*, is dubious and may also be *käl-tür-*.) *ye-tür-* 'to give someone (dative) something (accusative) to eat'. *EDPT* and *DTS*, neither of which, however, noticed an ex. in U III 65,6₂. Further exs. in *aşıg tatıgıg tığşürmätin bın töröçä yetürsär . . .* (Suv 592,2), in *UW* 237 b translated as "wenn man die Speisen und ihre Geschmacksarten . . . nicht verwechselt und . . . verabreicht" and *yedüräyin sizlärkä* (Ernte 66).

yer-tür- appears in Genzan D v 10, read and interpreted correctly in *UW* 287 b:

548 With the *figura etymologica* *yavalmış yavaş*. *yavaş* may not contain *-Xş*, which is a dominant formative and in Old Turkic not added to derived verbs; nor is *yaval-* necessarily derived. Tezcan, in his review of the QB İndeks, would like a verb in QB 2409 to be understood as 'yava-r' "yumuşatır, uysallaştırır", but the form is found only in one ms. where the other two have *yıgar*. In fact, the line as constructed by Arat is not found in any of the mss. The relationship between *yaval-* and *yavaş* reminds one of *sögül-* and *sögüş* (Oguz), the base of *balık-* and *baş* 'wound' (see *balık-* in section 7.24) and so forth. The matter is further complicated by the lexeme *yaval*, discussed in section 3.113.

āṇāyü üzä [an]ın yavızın yertürgäli aymak, kop adasın tudasın sözlämäk 'in particular, to demand (from them) to despise its evil aspects and to tell (them) all about its dangers₂'. Causation is, as elsewhere, co-denoted by ay- and -tUr-. The DLT's yer-tür- 'to cause to split (tr.)', which has an entry in the EDPT, is a different verb. yer- ~ er- 'to despise, criticise etc.' is tr.; the Genzan yertür- governs the ultimate object in the accusative.

1 yet-dür- ~ et-dür- 'to allow something to get lost', i.e. 'to lose it'; 'to cause to disappear'. DTS under 'yittür-'; not an entry in the EDPT, which mentions it as a variant of 'yitür-'. Found in Suv in a biverb with içgün- and in the DLT. Further exs.: ötrü kamagun bir yanlıg ulug ünin sıgtaştılar kal boltılar busuşka, "yettürtümüz teginig" tep (Suv 634,21), ög ettürmək 'to lose one's mind' (Kud-Gojüni B 13), ärdinisin ettürmiş sarıavaxı täg (BT III 168) and ölürürlär ettürürlär (ibid. 312). The n. to ç(a)xşap(a)tıg ettürmək (Tenri A VI) discusses the verb along the same lines as done here and adds exs. from Abhi 2363 and 2520. These are both biverbs with unut- 'to forget' and have sūtras as objects. yet-ür- ~ et-ür- (same alternation as here!) has the same meaning.

yığ-tur- 'to cause to heap up, order to be collected' is in the EDPT quoted from the DLT, which has ol añar tarıg yıgturdı. Similarly in Ernte 72-77: bugday adakın ... kanlı, birlä yıgdurup ... täptürüp tozgurup oıra yıgdurup ... In Ht X616 it applies to persons: kamag kuvrag[ıg anta] yıgturdı. In ManMon 66 to 'flour': t(ä)ñrilär nwdmäkä / barsar eşmiş minin öñi yıgturzun 'When their majesties go to a reception (I follow P. Zieme's personal suggestion to interpret the word as a loan from Sogd. nwyōm' "Einladung"), he must get the poured-out flour collected elsewhere'. Further exs. appear in Warnke 74 (lovudi xan ... toyınlarig dıntarlarig yıgturup kälürüp ...) and 120 (quoted under yarat-tur- below). yığ- is tr.

yokad-tur- 'to annihilate'. Both the EDPT and the DTS emend tacitly, as the verb is written with TD in their three instances. Additional exs.: Maitr 175 r4 spelled with DT, BT III 109 TD but 313 DT, BT I D (253) DT, parallel text in B (224) TD and D (263) also TD, ZiemeTārā 16 d DT, BT VIII M 2 TT, ShōAgon 1,178 TD and in HamTouen 3,17 the verb is spelled with °DT°. The annihilated entities are of all sorts. See yok+ad- in section 5.43.

yüd-tür- is attested in Suv 604,8 (üküş tälīm kaplarta kwlğuklarta ol yañalarka küçi yetmişçä suv yüddürüp ...) and 605,12 (ol yañalarka kümän aş yüddürüp). The earlier verb signifying 'to load', however, was yütür-: It appears in U I 8,2 (Magier), tacitly changed in the EDPT quotation to 'yüdür-', and in HtPar 134,7, explicitly changed in the UW quotation under at par. A,1 (252 b) to 'yüddür-'. The word in IrqB XXIV written 'yütürük' in Thomsen's text in fact reads Y²W²T²W²R²P (passage quoted in the EDPT under 'yütürük'): See Erdal, 1978; this must also be an instance of the present verb. yütür- cannot, at

such an early date, have resulted from a simplification of *yüdtür-*, as no such thing happens to any other *-tUr-* derivate from a *°d-* base. Rather, it should come from the base which *yüd-* (section 7.23) and *yük* (section 3.102) have in common. Qarakhanid Turkic has *yüd-ür-*, attested also in the early Uigur Maitr and once in Ht. *yüd-* is 'to load something on oneself or on one's own pack animal' whereas *yütür-*, replaced by the regular and transparent *yüd-ür-* and *yüd-tür-*, is 'to have something loaded'.

-tUr- derivates from cooperative-reciprocal bases

(*aralaşturu* appears in BuddhUig II 72 but is not mentioned in the UW: ... *ärdinilär üzä aralaşturu eṭ-* may signify 'to fashion ... by arranging ... miscellaneous jewels in gaps' or perhaps 'alternatingly'. A base **aralaş-* is not found, but a *-tUr-* derivate from it would no doubt be transparent about *ara*.)

aşlaş-tur- is a hap. in ETŞ 11,3, q.v. in the UW. 'to join (tr.)'. Cf. *aşla-ş-* in section 7.1.⁵⁴⁹

edäriş-tür- 'to make a group of people follow (someone) collectively' is a hap. in ShōAv 202, not mentioned in the EDPT or the DTS: *bayagutlar, irjilär eligi t(ä)ṇri burxanığ burxan kuvragı birlä edäriştürü ... uduzup balıkka kigürdilər*. See *edär-iş-* above.

ırla-ştur- 'to make people sing collectively' is a hap. in Ernte 69 not mentioned in the EDPT or the DTS: *ırlaşduru içüräyin sizlärkä*. No *-(X)ş-* derivate from *yır+la-* ~ *ır+la-* is attested.

iliş-tür- 'to bring things into mutual connection or engagement' is a hap. in BT XIII 1,106 not mentioned in the EDPT or the DTS: *ıgüg / iliştürüp solasturup urmıſta* cannot be translated as "beim Verhaftet- und Verkettet-Sein". 'when one places [...] into mutual attachments and bonds' should be preferable. See *il-iş-* above.

kaşı-tur- 'to let or make two substances mix' is not in the EDPT; the DTS quotes an ex. from Heilk I. Found also in *azkı(y)a ärsär ymä yanlok adkanıp köñülkä kaşırturmamıſ k(ä)rgäk* 'One must not attach oneself even to a little bit of wrong nor allow it to mix with (one's) mind' (BuddhUig I 229) and *üç kaşıdurmak* 'three mixings' (UigTot 4 and 13). See *kat-iş-*, also for this last-mentioned expression; further on in the same passage, *kat-iş-* itself is (curiously enough) used for the same content.

kaviş-tur- 'to unite' is in the EDPT quoted from the QB on. It appears also in *baxşı ultag basuſçıların kavişdrup ...* (BT VIII A 223) and in the biverb *kaviş-*

549 There is no reason to doubt Arat's interpretation, as the UW appears to do.

- dur- körüsdür-* in UigTot 398.⁵⁵⁰ This is a late and rare replacement for *kav(ı)ş-ur-* (common, discussed above). *kavış-* is hardly analysable.
- kayvılan-ıstur-* 'to bring into mutual compliance' appears in BuddhUig I 14: *tözki tugmaksız KÖNGÜL töziñä kayvılanıstursar*, translated as "wenn man zur Natur des ursprünglichen, ungeborenen Bewußtseins *hinneigt". UigTot 634-5 has a syncopated variant: *üstünki tın yeel birlä altınki yeel tın ikigüni kavlanısdurup bışrunmak* "vereinigt man den oberen Atem-Wind und den unteren Atem-Wind, diese beiden, ...". *kayvılan-* (q.v. in section 7.21) also has a variant *kavlan-* in UigTot. None of these is mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*.
- kügür-üstür-* is a hap. in BuddhUig II 80 not mentioned in the dictionaries: *kök vayduri kümüş altunta ulatı ÄRDİNİlär üzä kügürüstürüp etmiş* signifies 'fashioned with inlaid blue *vaidūrya*, silver, gold and all sorts of other jewels'. *kügür-* is a variant of *kigür-*, discussed in section 7.54. No related *-(X)ş-* verb is attested. The ed.'s translation of the BuddhUig II derivate is unjustified.
- kiriş-tür-* is a hap. in Ht IV 1325; not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *tözin kırıştürmāk* translates the Chin. name of a *sāstra*, by Toalster given as *hui zōng* "Vereinbarung der Schulen". The Uigur title was more allusive, for it signifies 'the attainment of mutual permeation through principle'. Cf. *kir-iş-* above.
- körüş-dür-* is a hap. in UigTot 398, not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: ... *yaratıgı bir ikindikä kavışdursar körüşdürsär*, translated "... miteinander zusammenstellt und vergleicht ...". Cf. the biverb *körüşüp kavışıp* in Hazai 78. *kör-üş-* is quite common.
- ogşaş-tur-* is a hap. in ShōAgon 1,144: [*kertgünçlüg*] *bilgä biligligig bir ikintiškä ogşaştursar* ... 'If one makes faith and wisdom resemble one another'. *ogşaş-* is also a hap., and signifies 'to resemble one another'. The ed. wrote 'bir ikintisin' (which would be a hap.), but P. Zieme informs me that this "ist eindeutig *bir ikintiškä* zu lesen".
- sokuş-tur-* 'to cause or help one party meet with another'. Hap. in Maitr 132 r 15, not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *köp kalın tınl(ı)glarka tözün maytri bodıs(a)vt birlä sokuşturgalı üçün*, in BT IX 81 translated as "um viele, massenhafte Lebewesen mit dem edlen B.M. zusammentreffen zu lassen". See *sok-uş-* above.
- solaş-tur-* 'to bind things to one another' is a hap. in BT XIII 1 quoted under *iliş-tür-* above. *sola-ş-* is also a hap.

550 In 'kavışturup' in Maitr 187 r17 in BT IX 239, the 'r' is marked as uncertain and is probably wrong: *kavışur[up]* would be possible as well and much more likely. As stated under *kavş-ur-* above, the Maitr does not syncopate the second vowel, and *kavıştur-* would not turn up in such an early text.

sözläs-tür-älim 'Let's have (them) discuss the matter' is a hap. in Ht IV 1418, not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *sözlä-ş-* is quite common.

sürtüs-tür- 'to make two things rub together' is a hap. in Heilk I quoted in the *EDPT*. *sürt-üş-* is attested in the *DLT* and Middle Turkic.

toylaş-tur-u in *Ernte* 62 should perhaps best be translated as 'giving a party'. The word is written beside the last three words of the sentence to be read as *torma tög sämiz erkäç alıp tañusok*⁵⁵¹ *kılayın sizlärkä*, probably signifying 'I'll take (or: 'buy') a he-goat as fat as a sacrificial one and prepare it wonderfully for you'. The ed. translates *toylaşturu* as "ein Festmahl veranstalten lassend" and puts it after *alıp*; it might also have been meant to stand before *kılayın*. My translation is justified by the meanings of *toy+la-* ('to form a large gathering of people') and *toyla-ş-* ('to gather (intr.) together, to assemble (intr.)'), both discussed above. Such gatherings could, of course, on occasion, be feasts; cf. *toylaş- içiş-* in *InscrUig* I 47. *töläştürü* is another possible reading; that would connect with *töl+ä-* 'to pay a debt'.

yaraş-tur- 'to make various things agree or fit' is in the *EDPT* quoted from *USp* 44 and the *QB*. Further exs. appear in *BuddhUig* II 122 (quoted under *tölt+ä-* above), *UigTot* 3, 9, 11 and 12-13 and *QB* 3726. See *yara-ş-* above.

yöläs-tür- 'to compare'. *EDPT* under '*yöleştürüg*' and '*yöleştürgülüksüz*' and *DTS*, especially under '*oqşat- yöläştür-*'. This biverb is found several times. Further exs. are *bo ultagın tiğkä yöläşdürmiş ärür* (*Abhi* 1105) 'This is why it gets compared to mud' and *alko türlüğ yöläşdürgülüklär* (*BT VIII B 232*) "alle Arten von Vergleichen". *yöläştür-* is otherwise attested in *TT VIII A* and a number of times in *Suv*. The practically obsolete *yöläs-ür-* (q.v. above) was replaced by *yöläştür-* in late *Uigur*.

-tUr- derives from medial-reflexive bases

1 *açın-tur-* is from *aç-in-* (discussed above). It is a hap. in ms. *T II Y* 15.501 (*U* 3088) v5 (quoted in the n. to *UigTot* 895) not mentioned in the *UW*, the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *bir oy kazıp beş kün kömgü k(ä)rgäk. birök içgäli sakınsar, açın-turup ...* "... muß man eine Grube graben und es fünf Tage eingraben. Wenn man daran denkt (better: 'beabsichtigt'), es zu trinken, dann muß man sie öffnen ...". Better would have been 'sie sich öffnen lassen', i.e. 'to have it opened for oneself'.

551 Spelled *TWNGWS'Q* inadvertently, and therefore by the ed. tentatively translated as "Schwein(?)". *tañ+sok* (section 2.93) in several instances has an anaptyctic /i/ between its two central consonants; in *BT XIII* 46,35 we find *tañusok* with regressive assimilation. *Ernte* is a layman's ms. with quite a number of errors.

2 *açın-dur-* is from *açı-n-* (q.v. above). It is a hap. in BuddhUig II 527, mentioned neither in the *UW* nor in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *açınduru ötünmâkim üzä siziñä* apparently signifies 'by praying to you, asking you to care (for me)'.

alkın-dur- 'to do away with' appears twice in *Suv*, in both instances in a biverb with *arı-t-*; see the *UW* entry for it. The common *alk-in-* is documented above.

aşan-tur- 'to invite to dinner' is attested in two Uigur exs. adequately dealt with in the *UW*. *aşanturgalı ötün-* in ShōAv 205 reminds one of *açınduru ötün-* quoted above. Cf. *aşa-t-* and *aşa-n-* above.

atlan-tur- 'to send someone on a ride' appears once in *KP* (q.v. in the *UW*) and not again before Middle Turkic (q.v. in the *EDPT*). Connected semantically with the meaning of *atlan-* listed in par. 3 of the *UW* entry for that verb. (The *EDPT* translation of *atlantur-* is more awkward.)

basın-tur- comes from the tr. use of *bas-in-* (q.v. above), which signifies 'to oppress'. When accompanied by the dative, it is its passive counterpart and signifies 'to get oppressed': We have *yäkkä içgäkkä basındur-* in TT VII 40,37 and *yat yagıka basıntur-* 'to get oppressed by the foreign enemy' in *Suv* 87,13-14 and *SuvStockh* 63. *yat yagıka basınmaguluk* in *Suv* 422,3 strikes one with its phraseological similarity: It could either be an error for *basınturma*^o or (seeing that it is closer to runic exs. of *basın-*) have preserved original usage. *bo yerdä munlugun i(yi)ñtürü basınduru yorıyur sizlär* (M III 30,3-5₂, text 13) shows that the passive sense is retained when the dative does not appear: 'You live here in distress and under oppression₂' can only be understood in the light of tr. *iyin-basin-*. *dyan sakınç küçindä nızvanılarig basınturmaz* (BuddhKat 43) has the accusative quite clear on the face, and the meaning is not passive: 'By the force of *dhyāna* (meditation) one prevents the lusts from oppressing one'. The tasks normally associated with *-(X)t-* when added to tr. bases are here assumed by *-tUr-*: *bas-in-* is an unusually common tr. *-(X)n-* verb which attained semantic independence, and *-tUr-* was the only possible causative formative for it.

bısrın-dur- is a hap. in *Suv* 88,6-7 in a sentence quoted and translated in *UW* 236 a top under '*aştır-* (I)'. 'to bring something to maturity', a meaning which would be associated with *bısr-un-* (q.v. above) by its etymology but not actually used with it: *bısr-un-* (presumably secondarily) signifies 'to assimilate a doctrine'.

bulgan-tur- is a hap. in BT XIII 13,88, not mentioned in the *EDPT*: *kön]güllärin bulganturdaçı* 'confusing (or: agitating) their minds'. See *bulga-n-* above.

burçın-tur-, possibly 'to trouble', is attested in *Suv* 136,11 and in the paraphrase of the passage, in BT XIII 13,88. The first reads *könüllärin karınların irintürdüm burçınturdum örlätidim...*, the second *tıdıg kıltaçı, burçınd[urup kön]güllärin bulganturdaçı.... burçıntur-* is certainly not an error for *busantur-*, as suggested in the *EDPT*: Cf. *burçın-* among the *-(X)n-* verbs. Zieme has shown that BT XIII 13 is quite dependent on the *Suv* text.

busan-tur- 'to make someone sorrowful' has appeared twice: *erintürgülük busa[n]turg(u)luk* is in the *EDPT* entry for the verb quoted from TT II B, and we find *busandurtaçı nızvanılar* in ETŞ 10,176. The other instance which the *EDPT* assigns to this verb in fact reads *burçintur-*. See *busan-* among the *-(X)n-* verbs.

buyan-la-ndur- should signify 'to help people accumulate meritorious deeds'. This is a hap. in ShōAv 321, as *bodunug bokunug yanduru yana buyanlandurgalı* used in parallelism with *kuşıramuş arıtmış elig uluşug kuşađturgalı*. Direct base not attested, but *buyan+la-* is.

çoglan-dur- 'to make something blaze or glow' is found only in BT III 442 and 459. Not in the dictionaries. *çog+lan-* is dealt with in section 5.6.

ärkäçlän-tür- 'to make something surge in waves' is found in HtPar 130,17 as quoted in the edition of HtFragm: *u[jık]larig ediz ärkäçläntürdi agızlıg [taloy]-ınta* "er ließ die ... Silben hoch emporwallen im Mund-Meer", an extended metaphor. The corresponding passage in HtFragm II 21 is completed as *ärkäç[läntürdi]*. See *ärkäç+län-* in section 5.6.

ärksin-tür- 'to give power over something' is in the *EDPT* quoted from two infinitive exs. in TT VIII A. Attested also in the phrase *koñüllüg täginmäk iyin ärksintürmiş üçün* in ShōAgon 1,360. *ärksin-* is discussed in section 7.2 although a direct *+sI-* base for it is not attested.

er-in-tür- 'to cause annoyance or distress'. In the *EDPT* documented in the series *ämgät- tolgat- erintür- busantur-* in the TT II B ex., *erintür- burçintur- örlät- ämgät-* in the Suv ex., *ämgät- erintür-* in the U II (Üdrät) and TT IV B (ms. F) exs. Found also in Maitr 81 v17, in *toyın şamnançlarka köñülin yerintür-däçilär* 'those who cause distress to monks and nuns'. This is the causative of the expression *köñli yerinti* (KP 68,5). See *er-in-* ~ *yer-in-*.

ilgün-dür- is a hap. in Abhi 1080, in a passage quoted in the n. to Hochzeit 19: *ymä avırda analarnıñ süçig taııghıg aş içgölärig işlätip ilgündürmäkläri ärsär ät'özin oğlıña buldurgu üçün*, by Zieme translated as "was das Anwenden und Wirkenlassen von süßer, schmackhafter Nahrung ... von Ammen betrifft, (so geschieht es), um seinen Sohn einen (kräftigen) Körper erlangen zu lassen". The Uigur sentence is meant as a free translation of Chin. *ru mu gan shan yong zi shen*, which Zieme renders with "man benutzt die süße Nahrung von Ammen, um den Körper gedeihen zu lassen". I take the object of *ışlät-* to be *aş içgölär*, the object of *ilgündür-* to be the baby: In view of the likely meaning of its base *ilgü-n-* and of cognates, *ilgündür-* should signify 'to get it invigorated'.

ilin-tür- 'to make somebody or something get entangled' is in the *EDPT* quoted from TT VIII A, in the *DTS* from Suv (this last ex. quoted and translated also in UW 263 b). There is another instance in Tenri A IX, in a biverb with *ba-*.

The Suv ex. is a biverb with *yapşintur-*, as *il-in-* (q.v. above) and *yapş-in-* are also often used together.

iyin-tür- should, I think, have stood in a biverb with *basin-tur-* in the M III text 13 instance quoted above under the last-mentioned verb. The text has *intür-*, which looks like the rather common *en-tür-* (also discussed above). The meaning does not accord with *entür-*, however, and this biverb is clearly connected with the biverb *iy-in- basin-*. This well-attested biverb, in turn, comes from the biverb *iy- bas-*. The meaning of *iyin-tür- basin-tur-* can hardly be distinguished from that of *basintur-* by itself.

kar-intur- 'to let something get mixed' is not mentioned by the dictionaries. It is a hap. in (Manichaean) ZiemeTexterg II 2, used together with *töküntür-* (q.v. below). *-(X)n-* base not attested, *kar-* only from the DLT on, but cf. *kar-ış-* (also for the base).

katıglan-tur- is discussed in the *EDPT*. Both exs. are Manichaean and signify 'to spur on to good deeds'. See the common *katıg+lan-* in section 5.6.

kertgün-tür- is a hap. in TuoLuoNi 383: *m[in]g kuön koturtup . . . xua çäç(ä)k üzä tapınıp udunup . . . muntata in(a)ru . . . ayguç bağ ävindäkilärkä ayıp artokrak kertgüntürdi* 'He had 1000 exs. copied . . . venerated₂ it with flowers . . . From then on, the lord governing (the city of Huaizhou) prescribed (it) to his household and had them have faith in (it).' *kertgün-tür-* 'to cause (somebody) to believe in (something)' was misunderstood by the eds., who failed to realise that its object is the *sūtra* forming the substance of the text. See *kertgün-* in section 7.21.

kölün-dür- is a hap. in BuddhUig II 326, in *alko kargäklikçä tapıg udug yeväglärin büürtüp yarlıkançuçi KÖNGÜLLüg BODİSATVka ärdinilig kañlıka kölün-dürüp . . .* It means 'to have horses harnessed to a cart', in this case for the *bodhisattva*: Cf., four lines earlier: *BODİSATVka, kántü özlärinä, kızınä . . . tapıgçı KIZlarınä . . . kañlılar anuñup . . .* The ed. mistranslates here. See *köl-ün-*.

körklän-tür- is a hap. in BT III 459, not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. 'to make something beautiful'. See *körk+län-* in section 5.6.

közün-tür- 'to make something appear'. *DTS*; not in the *EDPT*. Found also in BT I D(155) (*körkin közüntürmäsär . . .*) and ETŞ 21,2 (*közündürüp*). The phrase *közüntürü körkittim* appears in Suv 368,5. Add also *öñlüg bälgülüg köligäg körkiñür közündürür* (Suv 53,19) 'He makes visible₂ the appearance possessing colour and characteristics'.

küçlän-tür- 'to strengthen (tr.)' is in the *DTS* (but not the *EDPT*) quoted once from Suv, with *küç* as object. The passage appears in Gabain, 1974: 298 l.4. Attested also as *nızvanıların küçlän-türüp* in BuddhUig I 7 and, as *°ndür-*, *ibid.* 11. *küç+län-* appears first in the DLT.

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iyin-tür- should, I think, have stood in a biverb with *basin-tur-* in the M III text 13 instance quoted above under the last-mentioned verb. The text has *intür-*, which looks like the rather common *en-tür-* (also discussed above). The meaning does not accord with *entür-*, however, and this biverb is clearly connected with the biverb *iy-in- bas-in-*. This well-attested biverb, in turn, comes from the biverb *iy- bas-*. The meaning of *iyin-tür- basin-tur-* can hardly be distinguished from that of *basintur-* by itself.

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(*odguraklandur-* has been read in BT VIII A 225. It was, I think, intended to have stood also *ibid.* 305, where one can read *odgurakl(a)ndur-*: The two translate the same Tib. term, and *-dUr-* would not have formed the causative of a *+lA-* verb. Neither a *+lA-* nor a *+lAn-* derivate from the very common *odgurak* is attested. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. ‘to engender evident truth’.)

odun-tur- ‘to wake up (tr.) or to keep awake (tr.)’. The Suv ex. *ođunduru sakınduru tāginip unıtduru tāginmāgāy biz* ‘We will venture to keep you awake and on your guard and . . .’ is mentioned by the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. Also found in *alko kamag tınlıgıarig alkonı barça tuyunturu odunturu y(a)rıkazunlar* (Warnke 395) “... zur Einsicht kommen zu lassen und zu erwecken”. The biverb *tuyun- odun-* is also attested: See the n. to the passage. *odun-* is discussed among the *-(X)n-* verbs, although its base dropped from use.

öglän-tür- ‘to help someone or some creature recover his or its senses’ is documented in the *EDPT* and the *DTS*. See *ög+län-* in section 5.6.

ötün-dür- is a hap. in BT VII A 387-8 not mentioned in the dictionaries: *anta basa yumışçı tıtsıka mantal ötündürüp* ‘Danach muß man durch den assistierenden Schüler ein Maṇḍala herbeibitten lassen’. ‘to have somebody beg for something’. A verb *ötündürül-* discussed in section 7.32 appears to come directly from *öt-ün-* (q.v. above) and not from this verb: *-dUrXl-* is the alternant of the composite passive formative *-tXl-* after *-(X)n-* verbs.

sakın-tur- signifies rather ‘to keep someone on his guard’ in the ex. quoted above under *odun-tur-*, but ‘to permit to think’ or perhaps ‘to instil (certain) thoughts’ in ms. Mz 673 v1-2 quoted in UigSteu p. 247, n. 57: *küni sakınç sakıntursar, tarka yerdäki mänışin artok ağırlamasar* cannot have signified ‘Wenn man Neid Gedanken denkt, wenn man die Freude des einsamen Ortes nicht genügend schätzt’. ‘denken’ would have been *sak-in-* (q.v. above); here, however, the monks are involved as causees.

saklan-tur- ‘to make someone take care of himself’ is a hap. in TeilBuch quoted in the *EDPT*. *sak+lan-* is common.

salın-tur- ‘to hang something out, up, down’ is in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* quoted twice, of one’s tongue and a veil respectively. We also have *ol uzun ıgaçta pralar salınturup* (Ht VII 4 b3), *yinçülüg toorlarig asarlar salındururlar* (BuddhUig II 122) and *adrok yinçgä tooglar pralar . . . asıp salındurup* [(Suv 81,9). The semantic specialisation of *sal-in-* (q.v. above) as compared to *sal-* is thus continued here.

sävin-tür- ‘to give joy’. *EDPT*; further exs. in a biverb with *ögirtür-* ~ *ögirttür-* occur in Maitr 52 v6, BT III 635 and 765 and BT VIII A 36; cf. *käntü ätözlärin ögirtü turup sävintürüp* . . . (SuvGeng 598,21). *sävintür-* is also found in Maitr 214 r6, 181 v11 and 129 r18 and is common in the QB. *säv-in-* (a semantic simplex) often appears with *ögir-*.

sugun-dur- 'to have somebody wash or rinse himself' appears in Suv 25,19 together with *yun-tur-*. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. See *sug-un-* above.

tapın-tur- 'to get someone to worship something or somebody' or 'to get oneself worshipped by somebody'. In the *EDPT* quoted twice from Uigur and from the QB. Not mentioned there are the exs. from ManMon 61 and QB 635. In TT VI together with *uduntur-*, which means that it comes from the common biverb *tap-in- ud-un-*. The TT VII 28 ex. spells the formative with D.

tatgan-dur-, not mentioned in the *EDPT*, appears in BuddhUig II 338: *d(a)rma udgaṭṭi idok BODĪSATVnṇ . . . sudurug tatganduru sukaṇṣinduru nomlamuṣin* " . . . , daß Dharmodgata, der heilige Bodhisattva, das . . . Sūtra predigt, indem er dessen angenehmen Geschmack schmecken läßt". *tatga-n-* (q.v. above) usually signifies 'to find a dish tasty', so that the ed.'s translation is roughly adequate as far as the first verb is concerned. If *sukaṇṣintur-* is read and interpreted correctly, it is probably related with *sukaṇṣig* over **suk+a-*. Both verbs are hap. legomena.

tayan-tur- appears in Ht VII 14 b15, in *burxanlar tanuklam[ış no]mug nomlamakıg āṣidmākkā tayanturup koṇülüg . . .* 'leaning heart and body towards listening to the preaching of the doctrine which the Buddhas had testified to' and has been read also in Weih 4. *taya-n-* is 'to lean (intr.)', *tayan-tur-* 'to lean (tr.)'.

tāgin-tür- 'to make someone experience something' is a hap. in *tapınça māñilār tāgintürdäçi* (ETŞ 10,113). This verb does not appear in the *EDPT*. Cf. the meaning of *täg-in-* (discussed above).

tāgzin-tür- 'to make something revolve, to cause something to move around something else'. *tāgzin-* (q.v. in section 7.21) has no attested base. The ex. quoted in the *EDPT* entry, a petrified converb from an economical text in USp, is discussed below. The *DTS* quotes from Suv 304,23-4, where we read *sansar içindä tāgzintürdäçi āmgäklig tāgzinç*. There are additional exs. in U IV A 228-9, ETŞ 9,23 and 92, 10,161 and 11,130, BT III 38 and 96 and BT VII A 111, 326, 601, 673 and 780.

tonan-dur- 'to clothe somebody' is a hap. in Suv quoted in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*. *tona-n-* is discussed among the *-(X)n-* verbs.

tök-üntür- 'to let something get spilled' is a hap. in ZiemeTexterg II 1, as *artatmazun, töküntürmāzün, karınturmazun*. Neither this nor *kar-ıntur-* have related *-(X)n-* verbs attested, and might possibly have been derived directly from *tök-* and *kar-*. *töküntür-* is not in the dictionaries.

tuyun-tur- 'to give awareness' is an Uigur hap. quoted under *odun-tur-* (together with which it is used) earlier in this section. Not in the dictionaries. *tuy-un-* (q.v. above) and *odun-* are also used together.

udun-tur- 'to make someone obey' is a hap. in TT VI in the biverb *tapıntururlar*

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udun-tur- 'to make someone obey' is a hap. in TT VI in the biverb *tapıntururlar*

uduntururlar, with aorist vowel misquoted in the *EDPT*. *ud-un-* (q.v. above) is always used together with *tap-in-*.

(*yalgantur-* is used in the three Uigur exs. from which it is quoted in the *DTS*⁵⁵² and the *EDPT* of females wickedly tempting men, in U IV D84 of a hare deceiving his friends, in Ht IV 578 of a lion benevolently approaching his hostile son. Except in the last-mentioned ex., it should signify 'to behave in a deceptive manner towards somebody' (with the target person in the dative in U III 54,12). The Arabic counterpart of *this* content is *kadhaba*, which I take to have stood in the original text in DLT fol. 493 as the translation of *yalgandur-*; the ms. has *kadhhaba* (with *šadda*), which gives a different meaning. A verb **yalgan-* is not attested but may, in some way, have been a cognate of *yalgan* 'a lie, a fraud, untruthful'. Whether they could come from *yalga-* 'to lick' is an open question; some exs. of *yalga-* do indicate that the connection is not impossible.⁵⁵³ The context of a further ex. in DreiPrinz 7-8 is unclear. In Ernte 70, "... *tep yalgaduru* is probably to be read as *yalg(a)nduru* and given the less negative meaning 'to entice, lure on',⁵⁵³ cf. the Ht IV instance.)

yapşın-tur- 'to let somebody get stuck'. Hap. in Suv in the phrase *ilintürmätin yapşinturmatin*, quoted by the *DTS* and in UW 262 b but not in the *EDPT*. See *yapşın-* / *yafşın-* among the *-(X)n-* verbs.

yaratın-dur- is a hap. in *ol tözinçä yaratındurtaçı köñül ärür* (BuddhUig I 271), not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *yarat-in-* 'to organise oneself etc.' is a common *-(X)n-* verb. "sich . . . organisiert", the ed.'s translation, suits this last verb and not its causative.

yetlin-tür- 'to make something vanish' appears in TT II B (quoted in the *EDPT*), where we find *yokadturur yetlintürür*. We also have *kaltı yelviçi äränlär . . . adruk adruk ädläriḡ bälḡürtüp anıḡ ara yänä yetlindürsär . . .* (BuddhUig II 458) and *ş(ı)mnu kanı alko savlarıḡ barça yetlindürüp közünmüz kultı* (*ibid.* 573), which are not mentioned in the *EDPT*. *yet-lin-* belongs to a formation discussed in section 7.22: As counterparts of what we found above we have it together with *közünmüz bol-*, e.g., and with *yokad-*.

yığın-tur- is not in the dictionaries. Hap. in HtPar 15 v12 (quoted in the n. to Ht VII 1936): *yakaların yığınturup . . .* 'drawing together their sleeves (as a Chin. way of greeting somebody)'. See 1 *yığ-in-*, the base.

yölän-tür- 'to prop up (with something)' is attested only in ShōAgon 1, which writes both this and its base *yölä-n-* (q.v. above) without initial *y°*: 1,34 has

⁵⁵² The reference there should be to U III, not U II.

⁵⁵³ This is not all that different from what the temptful ladies of the *avadānas* do. Zieme's "schlecken lassen" would have stood inside the quoted stretch and not after *tep*, and the causative of *yalga-* would have been (and is!) *yalga-t-*.

ädgükä öläntürmək 'to lean (tr.) on the Good' and 37 *birök yertinçüdäkilärig öläntürsär*. Not mentioned in the *EDPT*.

yun-tur- 'to make somebody wash (himself)' appears in Suv 25,19 in the biverb *yunturup sugundurup*, in which both verbs are hap. legomena. *yu-n-* 'to wash (intr.)' is common. *yuntur-* is not in the dictionaries.

yükün-tür- 'to make (people) bow to one, subdue them'. Attested in Orkhon Turkic and after that only in the XVth century. Appears in KT thrice and in BQ four times (damaged in some of these), always written with the N^hT ligature. The common *yükün-* is dealt with among the *-(X)n-* verbs.

yüzlän-tür- is a hap. in Suv 12,13, not mentioned in the dictionaries: *ol balık kapıgınça kigürüp bir bök içinā eltip tagdın yınak üzläntürdilär* (thus). *tagdın yınak körsär män ...* '... and made them face towards the north'. The eds.' version here is likely to be a mistake, as it appears at the beginning of the line (and may have been damaged) and as Y and ' can be very similar in this position; *yüz* 'face' and *yüz+län-* (section 5.6) never lack their *y°*.

tUr- derivatives from passive and anti-transitive verbs

akıl-tur- 'to dissipate (virtue, the doctrine, a text)' is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS* and in the *UW* quoted only from BuddhStab (used together with *ulal[tur-]*). Found also in *ädrämig akılturdaçı yadtaçı atl(i)g t(ä)ñri burxan kutıña* (Warnke 803) and *akıldurmak üzä* (Tenri AI). Only *ak-ıl-* (q.v. above) is used in the relevant extended sense, not *ak-* 'to flow'.

amrıl-tur- 'to calm (through meditation)' appears once in TT V B and then not before the XIVth century. Dealt with both in the *EDPT* and the *UW*. See section 7.31 for the etymologically difficult *amrıl-*.

bal-dür- is a hap. in ShōKenkyū III 13: *kavzatmış mäniñ özk(i)yäm, kararıg ayıg kıl(i)ınçım kaç yult[in] bärü baldurdı* 'O my beleaguered self, for how many years have my evil deeds tied it down!'. *ba-l-* is rather common; *baltur-t-*, attested several times in Maitr, has a positive sense.

esil-tür- 'to let (or make) something get less' is a hap. in BT VIII A 374, in *törütü ükliü esiltürmäyü* 'engendering, increasing and not letting get less'. Not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. *esiltür-* is the causative – permissive of *es-il-* 'to diminish (intr.)', and by no means synonymous with *es-* 'to reduce'.

katıl-tur- is a hap. in Tug 44 in a biverb with *kavşur-*. This is the causative of the biverb *katıl-kavış-* found in Suv. 'to have something mix or mingle'. Not in the *DTS* or the *EDPT*. *kat-il-* is common.

kädil-tür- is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*, but appears in BT VIII B 137-8: *v(a)jir kädiltürdäçi ulug kädiltürdäçi*, translated as "er ist der Vajra-Niederwerfende, der Grosse Niederwerfende". The ed. has a not quite acceptable etymology to

accord for this translation; this instance is likely to be the causative of *kād-il-* in the third use as discussed in the entry in section 7.31 above: Mo. *bayulya-* can also signify ‘to copy’. *kādiltür-* is therefore ‘to incarnate’; Buddha is the ‘Great Incarnator’. Chin. *jiang lin* points in the same direction but Skt. *veśa* (for *veśa*) is most suggestive of our explanation.

kurul-dur- ‘to destroy’ is not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Hap. in *ädgölärig kuruldurtaçılar üzä*, which corresponds to Skt. *guṇaghātibhir* ‘by the destroyers of virtues’ (Kinkashō śl. A,c). It comes from the metaphorical use of *kurul-*, a variant of *kur-l-*, discussed above.

kutruł-tur-daçı ‘bestower of salvation’ is a hap. in ETŞ 10,117 not mentioned in the dictionaries. *kutr-ul-* (section 7.31) is exceedingly common.

saçıl-tur- is a hap. in Suv, mentioned in the *DTS* but not the *EDPT*: *nomlarıg öñi saçılurmagu* ‘One should not let the prescriptions of the law get scattered about’. See *saç-il-* above.

säşil-tür-mädin ‘not letting it get unfastened’, hap. in ETŞ 11,123. Not in the dictionaries. See *säs-il-* above.

tartıl-tur- is a hap. in ShōKenkyū II 17, reedited as BT XIII 12,53: *tamurlıg yiltizlig kılınçımıznu tartılaturalım t(ä)rk üdün* ‘Let us soon allow our (evil)-deed roots₂ to get pulled out’.⁵⁵⁴ See *tart-ıl-* above.

tätrül-dür- is an Uigur hap. quoted above under *tärsik-dür-*, with which it appears in a biverb signifying ‘to lead astray’. *tätrül-* is discussed among the *-(X)l-* verbs.

turul-tur- ‘to tame, calm down (tr.), suppress, subdue’ comes from *tur-ul-* ‘to be calm, calm down’, a semantic simplex. This is why *turultur-* is relatively common. We find it in UigTot 313-4 of taming a wild horse (*toosın at*), in BT XIII 4,17-19 twice of subduing the heart of a wild elephant (*tosın yaña*). Other objects are ‘the body’ (UigFalt 54) and ‘the heart’ (Abhi B 24 b 10 quoted in the n. to Buddhāv H 107), ‘wild men’ (Suv 73,2, 84,4 and 187,8, with *toşın*) or others ‘hard to subdue’ (*alp turuldurguluk(lar)* in USp 59,20-1 and BT VIII B 9). The TT V B instance quoted in the *EDPT* is about the action of faith on the heart. I don’t think the instance in Ernte 88, where the object is something agricultural, fits into all this, but I have no constructive suggestion to make for it. The UigFalt, UigTot and Abhi exs. are biverbs with *yaval-tur-* (q.v. above), and *tur-ul-* is also used with *yaval-*.

⁵⁵⁴ Zieme translates *tamurlıg yiltizlig kılınçımız* as “unsere Ader- und Wurzel- (= all unsere?) Taten”. The *EDPT* quotes *tamur* as applying to plants from TT I and VIII and the translation ‘root’ for this lexeme from two sources of Middle Turkic. Here, *tamur yiltız tart-* serves as extended metaphor for the uprooting of bad *karma* (from Skt. root *kṛ*^o; *kıl-ınç* exact loan translation); hence the metaphorical *+IXg* applying to the binome. Shōgaito has an erroneous reading of the verb, while Zieme writes *tartultur-*; the facs. of ShōKenkyū shows (I think) that the second vowel I suggest cannot be excluded at least as far as that ms. is concerned.

tutul-tur- is in the *EDPT* quoted only from TT III, where the context is fragmentary. Attested also in *yeg yörüglär tep temişi ärsär kaltı yeg adrok yeg sukançığ tep yörüğ ol. bir yörügtä tuşuldurkalır üçün ol üküş tälüm yörügläriğ anın atamış ol yeg yörüglüg tep* (Abhi 1936) 'The phrase "the excellent meanings" means "fine and eminent". In order to contain those many meanings in one meaning, (Vasubandhu) has described it as "possessing excellent meanings".' and *çın kertü agamıñızlar yūkdiñizlär barça nom oronta tutuldurmuş ärmäz* (Junshō B v 17). 'to cause something to be held, caught or included'. See *tut-ul-* above.

(*uçr-uldur-* is a hap. in BuddhUig II 82 not mentioned in the dictionaries: *közüg sakınçığ köñülüg uçrulduru turur* "(Die Dekorationen) lassen den Blick, den Gedanken und das Gemüt fliegen". Base not attested, although *uç-ur-*, of course, is.)

(*ulal[-tur-* was reconstituted at a lacuna in BuddhStab, as quoted in the *UW* entry for *aķultur-*; this entry refers to what may be a further instance. *ula-l-* is common.)

-tUr- derives from causative verbs

bädüt-tür- is a hap. in TT IX (Pothi 277), quoted in the *EDPT*. Perhaps best translated as 'to inspire increase', but the context is, in any case, fragmentary. *bädüt-t-* appears to have been used about physical increasing etc., whereas the present context is spiritual.

bitit-dür- is a hap. in Ht VII 14 a 18: *bitkăçilär uluğı . . . çuu bağlıg suy läö [at]l(ı)g băgkă bititdürti* "They had it inscribed by the lord named Chu Sui-liang, who was . . .", i.e. the inscription containing "the prefaces to the Tripitaka's holy teaching which were written by the two emperors". The fact that the form is *bitit-dür-* and not *biti-t-* (q.v. above; common) may indicate that a further personage was included in the chain of causation.

äñit-tür- 'to make somebody bow' is spelled with two initial *alef*, the normal spelling for #*än*^o. This made the eds. and Clauson think it had back-vowels. It appears to have misled also the scribe of TT III 78, who (among many other errors) spelled the /ŋ/ as NQ (in Manichaean script, which distinguishes four velar phones!). 'äñitt[ü]rt[ü]ŋ[üz] appears in the *EDPT* under 'äñittir-', in the *DTS* under 'eñittir-'. Further exs. are *bärü äñittürmāk* (UigTot 797) "Niederwerfen"(!) and *t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi burxan üşkindä tägdüklärintä töpölärin 'äñit-türüp beş tilgänin yerkä tägürüp yinçürü töpön yükünüp . . .* 'When they reached the presence of Buddha, the god of gods, they bowed their heads, placed their five *cakras* on the ground . . .'. This last is actually synonymous with *äñit-* (q.v. above); see that also about the question of these verbs' vowels.

ätiz-dür- is a hap. in Ht VII 5 b 4, not mentioned in the *EDPT*. With *oyun*, which

here signifies 'dance (tune)', as object, it means 'to have (music) played'. *āt-iz-* (section 7.55) also occurs with *oyun* as object (but with the musician(s) as subject).

okut-dur- 'to have somebody called' is not in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*. Hap. in BT I A₁(4). *okı-t-* can also signify 'to have somebody summoned', but with *okutdur-* the chain of causation may have included a further participant.

ögirt-tür- ~ *ögirtür-* 'to give joy' is not mentioned as such in the *EDPT*, but the entry '*ögründür-*' refers to a word which probably belongs here: '*ögirüntür-däçi*', as the ed. writes, has the wrong second vowel and WN is in many mss. identical with T; the block-print is now lost. '*ögr[ün]dürtäçi*' in BT II 52 is therefore a bad conjecture. *ögirtür-* appears in BT I A₁(5), WarnkeFragm 96 and Maitr 52 v 5, 186 v 15 (fragmentary passage) and MaitrGeng 8 b 8. *ögirtür-* is more common but the texts which have it are later than Maitr: It comes up in BT III 635 and 765, Suv 43,2 and 257,1, BT VII A 730 and 745 d, BT VIII A 19, 36, 49 (twice), 52, 153, 263, 277, 278 etc., 496 and B 72, 76 etc., UigTot 1339 and 1422 and BuddhUig II 434 and 441. The conjecture *ögir[t]dürti* of UW 230 a s.v. *asıgılığ* par. A,1 for Ht V 10 a 9-10 is excellent. A biverb of this verb with *sävintür-* is attested in Maitr 52 v 5, BT III 635 and 765 and BT VIII A 36, as *ögir-* is often used with *sävin-*. A meaning difference between *ögir-t-*, *ögirtür-* and *ögirt-tür-* cannot be detected. *ögirtür-* is likely to have come from *ögirttür-* by simplifying the cluster: *-tUr-* is not otherwise added to two-syllable *°r-* stems.

örit-dür- is not mentioned in the *EDPT*, but the *DTS* quotes the following Suv ex.: *tnl(t)glarıg . . . köñül öritdürgäli ötlämäk* 'to admonish people to arouse their minds'. Further, *oları barça samıso açarı nomlap süzüp yerçiläp uduzup barçanı burxan kutıa köñül öritdürür ärdi* (Ht VII 9 a 23). What we here have is not the causative of *ör-it-*, but of the exceedingly common phrase *köñül örit-* 'to arouse one's mind' (documented in the entry for that verb above): Its subject here becomes accusative object. In Maitr 191 r 5 = MaitrH IV 18 a 28 (quoted and translated in LautBuddh pp. 56-7) we find *kertü nom nomladım, alko tınlığı ağıncısız burxan kutıa köñül öritdim*. This clearly represents the same construction; the only solution is to emend the verb to **öritdürtüm*.⁵⁵⁵

örlätür- is a hap. in *örlätmək işlig täñrilig şımnı / ölümlüg şımnı . . . ülgüsüz üküş yağ yağların / örlätürmädin utmuş yavaldurmuş* as an epithet of Buddha. Coming from *örlät-* 'to annoy' (q.v. among the *-(X)t-* verbs), it should signify 'not letting . . . annoy him'. The instance appears in ETŞ 10,253, a text which also writes the common *kutad-tur-* as *kutadur-* (not a different verb). It is therefore much less likely that this should be a *-tUr-* derivate from *örlä-* 'to rise (of sun, moon etc.)'; beside the semantic incompatibility, there is the fact that the causative

⁵⁵⁵ The reading of this sentence in UW 65 a under *ağıncısız* should also be corrected.

formative for bases ending in vowels is $-(X)t-$, not $-tUr-$. *örlät-* is a semantic simplex. *örlätür-* is not mentioned in the dictionaries.

sözlät-dür- is a hap. in ShōAgon 1,136 not mentioned in the *EDPT* or the *DTS*: *nāñ sözlätdürdäçi ärmäz köni tuymakıg*. This has the content of speech as direct object; with *sözlä-t-* (q.v. in the previous section), on the other hand, the person to say something is governed as direct object. The causee would presumably here be in the dative.

tanuklat-dur- 'to have evidence brought forward concerning something' appears in *KÖNGÜL tözin açğalı ukıgğalı tuydurgalı tanuklaşturgalı üçün . . .* (BuddhUig I 30) and *māñü māñig tanuklatdurtaçılarka . . .* "die ewige Freude bezeugen lassen" (Suvstockh 42). Cf. the Suv hap. *tanukla-t-*.

tapladur- is a hap. in UigTot 1422 not mentioned in the dictionaries: *ögirtürmāk tapladurmak tapıg* "das Erfreuungs-Opfer". *tapla-t-* has the same meaning as this in the DLT, but in PañcFrag we find the biverb *sävīt- taplat-* with the passive meaning 'to be appreciated'. The $-dUr-$ form may have been created here either because *tapla-t-* was, for the author, already occupied by this passive use, or/and through parallelism with *ögirtür-*. This late text either simplifies the dental cluster (in which case I would spell the word as *taplaşturmak*) or, against the rules of classical Uigur, uses this formative with a vowel base.

tarıt-dur- 'to make people plant something' is a hap. in Suv mentioned by the *DTS* but not by the *EDPT*. *tarı-t-* is attested in QB 6529 (the ode) and in the DLT in the same meaning as this. *tarıtdur-* may possibly have the $-dUr-$ formative because it is followed by *bısrundur-* in a parallel construction.

tägür-tür- is a hap. in Maitr 82 v25, not mentioned by the dictionaries: *körünlär sizlär sañat tamunuñ korkıncıgın, kim bo muntag türlüg tsuylug yazoklug tın-l(ı)glarıg kın kızgut tägürtürür*. What we have here is the causative of the phrase *kın kızgut täg-ür-* (found in U II 20,2 and U III 56,7₁) with the meaning 'to cause someone (dative) suffering'. (*kın kızgut tägür-*)*tür-* is therefore 'to make people cause (here sc. themselves) suffering'. *tägür-t-* is also attested, but (in the Maitr-Geng ex.) governs the target of the action in the dative (like *täg-*). With *tägürtür-*, however, the causee = target becomes the direct object of the instigator.

üklit-tür- 'to cause someone to increase something' is a hap. in Suv not mentioned in the *EDPT* but quoted in the *DTS* and in *UW* 236 a top. Biverb with *as-tur-2*, q.v. earlier in this section; cf. the biverb *as- üklit-*.

üzmälä-tdür- is a hap. in ms. Mz 777 v13 (unpubl.) quoted in *UW* 194 b under *arıtı* par. A,a: *alko agularıg barça arıtı birtäm üzmälätdürtäçi ärür* "[Die Lehre] veranlaßt, daß man alle 'Gifte' (sc. die Kleśas) völlig² vernichtet". No $-t-$ form attested, but the same ms. also has the well-attested *üzmälä-* (q.v. among the $+lA-$ verbs). *üzmälätdür-* governs the ultimate object, while the $-t-$ form may have governed the causee.

yarat-tur- 'to have something constructed, arranged, created' is in the *EDPT* and the *DTS* quoted only from KT S12, where it is written Y¹R¹T¹W¹R¹T¹M. We also find it in *bi taş yaratdurmak üzä 'äñäyü biltürdi ädrämin taybo atl(i)g balıkta* 'Through the construction of an inscribed monument he had his virtues especially made known in the town named Ta-hiang' (HtPek 84 r12 quoted in the n. to Ht VII 1859). The ŞU and Tariat inscs. have *yarat-it-* for this content. Add *lovudi atl(i)g t(ä)ñri t(a)vgaç xan . . . tolp tay[tsoki] ulug agılık [nomlarig . . .]p yıgturup yaratdurmuş [o]l* (Warnke 120), where the object is a compilation of texts. *yara-t-* (q.v. above) is a semantic simplex.

PETRIFIED CONVERBS

tägzintürü tañlıg kavlalıkım 'my vegetable garden which has an encircling wall' appears in USp.15 as quoted in the *EDPT* under '*tegzindür-*'; reedited as Huk-Ves V. Cf. the tr. *tägzin-tür-* above.

yanturu 'back (adv.); again; moreover' comes from *yan-tur-* 'to bring back'. Y¹AN¹TR¹W in KT N11 can only be read as *yantru*;⁵⁵⁶ this syncopated form lived on in Qarakhanid Turkic but not, in general, in Uigur. Some of the exs. are collected in the *EDPT* under *yanturu*: and in the *DTS* under *janduru*. We find the *figura etymologica* *yanturu yana* or *yana yanturu* in Ht V97-8, five times in BT I, AmitIst 22 and ShōAv 320. Further exs. not mentioned in the dictionaries occur in Maitr 202 r22, BT II 614 and 1179, BT I (five times), AmitIst 37, BT VII C5, Ht V11 b19, 13 a17 and b20, 15 a21 and HtPar 209,17 (quoted in UW 196 a), BuddhUig I 5 and 76 and II 522, Genzan D v9, ShōAgon 1,210 and HamTouen 28,15.

MORPHOLOGY

The converb and aorist vowel of *-tUr-* verbs is /U/. The formative always has the shape *-tUr-* in texts which do not confuse the dentals, with the exception of the problems caused when the stem ends in /d/ or /t/. This is in accord with the etymology of Ramstedt, 1912: 28 for *-tUr-*, as consisting of *-(X)t-* and *-Ur-*. At the end of stems ending in dentals, the /d : t/ opposition appears to get neutralised when a dental follows. In Uigur script, in which the majority of our texts are written, ^o*tUr-* and ^o*d-tUr-* generally both give the spelling ^o*tdUr-*.⁵⁵⁷ Exs. from ^o*t-* stems are

556 As shown by Meyer, 1965-6, rounded vowels after unrounded ones are explicit in Orkhon Turkic. We there also find the petrified converbs *yetrü*, *yagru* etc. syncopated as well.

557 This holds for inflectional morphemes no less than for derivational ones. The n. to U IV A38 gives a few exs. such as *ütdä* for *üd+dä* and *kotdum* for *kod-dum* and has an explanation for the predominance of TD connected with the letters' shapes. It should be stressed that the phenome-

etdūr-, ögirtdūr-, öritdūr-, tarıtdur-, tutdur-, unıtdur-, üklıtdūr-, yaratdur-. With °d- stems we find e.g. *eşıtdūr-, küzätdūr-, öñätdūr-, igitdūr-, kotdur-, kutdur-, kütdūr-* and *yokatdur-*, some of these in very early texts. Early exceptions to this practice are very rare. Our only runic exs. are Y¹R¹T¹W R¹- < *yarat-tur-* and Y²W T²W R²- in case it comes from *yūd-tūr-* and not from *yütūr-*. The runic consonant signs, however, are rather ambivalent.⁵⁵⁸ The only ex. in Tib. script is *alṇad-tur-* spelled with two Ds. In Manichaean writing there do not seem to be any particular rules for -tUr- derivatives from bases ending in dentals, but then the exs. are few and occur in early and late texts, and may belong to various dialects.

Thus the neutralisation of the oral dentals before -tUr- is realised differently in the different writing systems, but seems to cover all the sources. It is carried out rather systematically in early Uigur texts; it is therefore wrong to 'emend' the orthography of the texts in as far as it reflects this particular matter, as has been done by some etymology-minded editors. Except after dentals, texts with no consonant confusions agree in writing -tUr-; the habit of some dictionaries to change this to -dUr- must also be condemned.

-tUr- is in principle added after all phonemes, but bases ending in /v/ happen not to be attested. Bases ending in vowels are rare, but we find *ö-tūr-, sı-tur-* and *ye-tūr-* and the exceedingly late *kaldur-* < **kali-dur-* and possibly the equally late hap. *tapladur-*; the last two can safely be called exceptions (if taken into consideration at all).

-tUr- derivatives from deverbal verbs are extremely common; in fact, the only causative expander of -(X)l- and -(X)n- verbs is -tUr-. On the other hand, more than three quarters of all -(X)ṣ-tUr- verbs are attested only once, and a great majority of them appear only in very late texts. -(X)n- verbs form the largest group.

7.581 Phonological and morphological distribution

There are, including the combinations, seven causative formatives, one among them the denominal +gAr-. It has to be found out whether and how the remaining six are in complementary distribution. Only where they are opposed can we look

non occurs also in texts which otherwise carefully distinguish between the dentals. A detailed description of classical Uigur orthography would be exceedingly helpful as one of the necessary bases for a phonology. If no rules are detectable for Manichaean script, some reason as the one referred to would be in order. Note that the spelling TD in some cases means that D is written *on top* of the T, within the line of writing as if simultaneously.

⁵⁵⁸ T can stand for /t/ or /tt/; it can also represent etymological /dd/, as when 'he sent' from *ıd-* is written I T¹I (KT E7) etc., or /td/, as G¹T¹M (BQ), which must mean *agıtdım* since the same expression appears with *agıtp* in KT N7. Cf. also *yavıtdım* in the same line.

for functional and semantic differences between them. Taking only transparent derivations with base attested in Old Turkic into account,⁵⁵⁹ we get the following picture:

The formative for polysyllabic bases ending in a vowel or /r/ is $-(X)t-$, but cf. *keñü-r-*. Monosyllabic stems ending in vowels have $-tUr-$, possibly because one preferred derived stems not to be monosyllables: *ye-tür-*, *sı-tur-*, *te-tür-* and *ö-tür-*. *te-t-*, which is incomparably more common than *te-tür-*, has passive meaning. This is in accordance with the fact that $-(X)t-$ is the main creator of passive verbs among the formatives otherwise used for causatives. Among the bases ending in consonants other than /r/, polysyllabic verbs which had had /A/ as their converb and aorist vowel are expanded with the help of $-Ar-$. Other polysyllabic verbs ending in consonants usually have $-tUr-$ as causative expander, with the following exceptions: Verbs ending in /s/ can have $-Ur-$ as well, and we also find *eşt-ür-* and *tamt-ur-*. There are two polysyllabic consonant verbs expanded with $-gUr-$, *amurtgur-*⁵⁶⁰ and the practically hap. *arungur-*. $-Xz-$ is used only with monosyllabic bases ending in consonants. Only in this last-mentioned domain is there no complementary distribution.

After monosyllabic consonant stems all causative formatives are used. We find that $^{\circ}n-$ verbs are expanded only with $-tUr-$, and for some reason only $-(X)t-$ is used after $^{\circ}v-$. $-Ur-$ and $-(X)z-$ are not used after the sonants /r/, /z/ and /n/,⁵⁶¹ and $-(X)t-$ is not used after polysyllabic stems ending in the dentals /d/, /t/ and /n/: The ŞU and Tariat inscs. go their own way on this point, however, with *yarat-ıt-*. Stems ending in velars, i.e. /g/, /k/ and /ŋ/, are not expanded with $-gUr-$. One-syllable cluster stems like *sañç-*, *sark-*, *sars-*, *yalk-*, *tart-*, *kork-* and *ürk-* are generally expanded with $-(X)t-$, but note *art-ur-*, *ärt-ür-*, *kork-ız-* and *silk-tür-*.

There is still enough room left for oppositions: To give only a few exs., stems ending in /s/ can be followed by $-Ur-$ or $-Xt-$, stems ending in /y/ by $-Xt-$, $-tUr-$ or $-Xz-$, stems ending in /r/ are followed by $-Xt-$, $-tUr-$, and $-gUr-$.

The causative expander of $-Xn-$, $-Xl-$, $+Ad-$ and $-Xz-$ verbs appears always to have been $-tUr-$; formatives ending in vowels or /r/, like $+Ar-$, $-Ur-$ and $-gUr-$, were expanded with $-(X)t-$. $-(X)t-$ itself was followed by $-tUr-$; the status of the /t/ of *amurtgur-* is not very clear. The causative counterpart of $-Xk-$ was $-kAr-$, formed with $-Ar-$. To judge by *todgur-*, $-gUr-$ may have been the causative expander of $-(X)d-$ verbs; the late *yüdtür-* shows that it was subsequently replaced by $-tUr-$. The passage to $-tUr-$ is much more conspicuous where $-Xs-$ and $+Xk-$ are

559 This does not hold for petrified converbs, of course, for which see section 7.563.

560 This is not necessarily an exception, as the $^{\circ}r$ may have been introduced secondarily. See the entry for this verb, section 7.54.

561 And /l/, the fourth sonant, if one does not take *kälür-* and *ölür-* into consideration.

expanded: The original expander of *-Xş-* verbs was *-Ur-*, giving *°şUr-*, the original expander of *+Xk-* verbs *-Ar-*, giving the verbs listed in section 7.53 (*+gAr-*). There is a continuous development towards *-XştUr-* starting with Maitr *sokuştur-*, however, and *°şUr-* verbs clearly are pre-formed; *+gAr-* is replaced by *+XktUr-* where new expansions are to be formed, thus giving *biriktür-* and the five late and rare verbs listed at the end of section 5.44. Note that *-tUr-* thus encroaches on the domains of *-gUr-*, *-Ur-* and *-Ar-*, but not a bit on that of *-(X)t-*. This is in accord with our statistics:

Limiting ourselves to transparent derivatives from attested stems, we find that causative verbs are formed from 429 (simple and derived) bases. 44 % of these are formed with *-tUr-*, 41 % with *-(X)t-*, 12 % with *-Ur-*, 4 % with *-gUr-*, 2 % with *-(X)z-* and 1.6 % with *-Ar-*; these numbers would, of course, be rather different if less regular forms were also included. Although *-(X)z-*, e.g., was rare, it need not be assumed that it was totally unproductive. Adding the numbers up, we get more than 100 %: From 22 (= 5 %) among the bases, causative derivatives are formed with more than one formative. Not in all these cases is there competition: In half of them, the different derivatives simply belong to different periods or dialects. *et-it-* and *yap-it-* 'to have built' appear only in ŞU and Tariat, as against *et-ür-* (Manichaean) and *et-dür-* (other Uigur; Qarakhanid) and *yap-ur-* (the late Ernte and DLT; 'to level the ground'). *yöläştür-*, *köydür-*, *tuytur-*, *yüdtür-*, *todgur-*, *bütär-*, *turüt-* ('to inhibit'; only infinite forms), *agüt-* and *söküt-* are late counterparts of *yöläştür-*, *könür-*, *tuyuz-* (specific meaning), *yütür-* and *yüdür-*, *todur-*, *bütür-*, *turgur-*, *agtur-* (Toñ ff.!) and *sökür-* respectively. The 'early' verbs are not attested only in early texts: Sometimes, as with *bütür-* and *bütär-*, they even appear in biverbs, and are real synonyms; in other cases, the older verb (e.g. *tuyuz-*) has evolved a rather limited meaning, making it into an unmotivated lexeme and demanding the creation of a new causative. Sometimes, two causatives are in fact formed from the same base with apparently the same meaning: TT III (a Manichaean text) 34: *nızvanılar ögin köñülin azıtıp örlätür ärti unlıgları* vs. Chuast (another Manichaean text) 19: *anıg kılınçlıg ş(ı)mnu ögümüzni sakınçımıznu azgurdukın, ... biligsiz ögsüz boltukumuz [ü]çün ...* A similar pair: Suv 524,1 *sidi tegmä işig küdüküg utgurak büürtäçi. . .* vs. BT ID (172) *burxan kutın tanuklap yok kurugug bütKärür* ('vollendet das Leere'). In the following, both verbs have the passive significance to which we return below: KT S6 *süçig savıña yımşak agısıña arturup üküş türk bodun öltüg* vs. Chuast 122 "*Nomçı män*" *tegmäkä artızıp anıñ savın alıp ...* or M III 30,8-9₁ (text 12) *arızmanğlar az yäkkä*. Here we saw an equation between a formative which is in other cases used with purely causative meaning, and one which never forms real causative verbs. Other competing but synonym causative couples are *kälür-* and *kältür-*, *korkut-* and the rare and special *korkız-*, *şaşıt-* and *şaşur-*, *yagıt-* and the

rare *yagtur-* and *äštür-* as against *äšidtür-*. In none of these could I detect a difference in meaning or use.

With some other such couples, the difference is an idiosyncratic matter of the lexicon: *kanut-* is 'to give pleasure', *kantur-* 'to satiate, satisfy'; *ötür-* is concrete, *ötgür-* always metaphorical; *tutdur-* is the grammatical causative whereas *tutuz-* signifies 'to entrust'; *örüt-* is spiritual, the very rare *örtür-* concrete. Only with tr.bases can one point at a grammatically significant difference: The hap. *täpit-* governs the ultimate object but *täptür-* the intermediate agent; *yetit-* the ultimate object whereas *yetgür-* goes with the 'person one makes something available to'. *tedür-* is a real causative whereas *tet-* in fact signifies 'to be called so and so' or even 'to be so and so'. *basur-*, finally, is a causative in the strict sense whereas *basit-* tends towards passive use, but there also is a lexical difference: *basur-* has to do with the meaning 'to weigh down' of *bas-*, whereas, for *basit-*, *bas-* is 'to make a surprise attack'. In all four cases, the *-(X)t-* derivate is related to government of the ultimate object (which can be identical with the instigator), whereas the */r/* derivate is connected to government of the causee. There is some interest in this, but four cases among 429 are insignificant for a grammar.

The fact that the living causative derivate of a particular verb thus turns out to be fixed in particular cases does not mean that there could not be any difference between the various causative formations. Especially with single syllable unde- rived bases ending in consonants, several possibilities existed for the language; the choice needn't have been determined by coincidence, but could also be a function of meaning. Some causative formatives were, after all, added mostly to intr. bases; they were not the ones associated with the passive turn in the derivate. It can now be seen why there is no point in treating the behaviour of the different causative formatives separately, as we did with the passive.

Any observations about the formatives will have to set out from the construc- tions in which the verbs are, or are not, attested.

7.582 The syntactic behaviour of verbs with causative formatives

It is on purpose that the title does not mention 'causative verbs': It turns out that some of the formatives in question under certain circumstances make the verbs behave as passives. To find out what these circumstances are, one cannot start with sense but has to set out from formal characteristics.

As in the previous chapters, many causatives as well are not accompanied by any nominal at all. In all such cases the direct object is understood from the context. Thus in the second clause of the following, with a predicative nominal of adjectival content: *birki(y)ä amrak oglumun siziñä tutuzur m(ä)n; qsan tükäl kälürün* (KP XXV 1) 'I entrust to you my only dear son; bring (him back) safe and

sound'. There are cases in which no direct object is understood; in those cases none *can* in fact be understood, as the verb has passive sense. Such sentences will be treated in a particular section.

There are also many exs. for nominals to express time, space and other accompanying circumstances. The second verb in the following sentence is accompanied by a locative and an instrumental: *anta tamu ärkligläri örtlüg kızartmış tāmirlig yer[d]ä töpön yatgururlar* (Höllen 34) 'There the potentates of hell make (them) lie head-down on a place with flaming red-hot iron'; *anta uduzup balık ortosinta bältirdä kalın kuvrag ara olgurt(d)ı* (KP LXX 7). Both verbs serve as exs. here: 'He led (him) from⁵⁶² there and seated (him) among the dense crowd at a cross-roads in the centre of town'. The second sentence also contained a postpositional phrase. Here, finally, is a morphological ablative: *bo adadın ozgurup [b]iziñä isig öz boşı bergil* (U IV C91) 'Save (us) from this danger and bestow life upon us'.

Much more numerous, with causative forms, are the cases in which the direct object is not understood but expressed, be it in the accusative or as unmarked object. We found that direct objects were altogether incompatible with passive voice, rather limited semantically with the reflexive and not too common with cooperative-reciprocal verbs. One can therefore understand Kasem-Beg, 1848: 85 par. 218, where the causative is called "das transitive Verbum". An intr. verb with a causative suffix is sure to be tr.; a tr. verb with a causative suffix often serves as passive in Old Turkic, as we shall see. Here only the definition of a tr. verb as capable of governing a *direct object* and of an intr. one as incapable of doing so.⁵⁶³ Upon receiving a causative formative, an intr. base becomes tr. and then generally behaves just as if it were a simple tr. verb: *ıçgärülük ädgü yemişig kuşlar artatır* (KP LXXII 8-LXXIII 1) 'Birds spoil the good fruit intended for the palace';⁵⁶⁴ *koy lagzın ulatı tnlıglarıg ölürür, tärisin soyar, kan ögüz akıtır* (KP III 3) '(They) kill sheep and pigs and other such beings, flay their skin and pour forth a river of blood'. The three verbs are simple trs. in English; two of them are causatives in Old Turkic.

562 The wider context demands an ablative sense. This text is in a dialect in which the locative form has ablative use as well.

563 This is not a commonplace: Some scholars (dealing perhaps with other languages) define a tr. verb as one which can govern any 'object', a 'dative object' as well. Such a definition is unsuited to Old Turkic structure.

564 Note word order, topicalising the object. English would have passivised for such a purpose, as 'The ... fruit is spoiled by birds'.

Causative verbs with unmarked object, without dative

We can distinguish here between a pattern in which the subject is expressed, be it as a nominal or as the person suffix of the verb, and one in which the subject is not expressed. Here are exs.; the first type: *tavga]ç kaganta bādizçi kälürtüm* (KT S11) 'I brought decorators from the emperor of China'; *aroksuz köñülin uzun turkaru t(ä)ñridäm xua çäçäk saçtılar yağıtdılar* (TT X155) 'With an untiring heart they incessantly scattered and sprinkled divine lotus flowers'. Here, now, is a subordinate clause in which no agent is expressed: *oñulu umatın yañlok sakiñ turgursar, ... ötrü ol tñl(i)g bo yertinçüdäki taloy ögüz tågzinçinä çomar batar tågzinür* (TT VI 216) 'If one cannot improve but thinks up wrong things, ... then the creature in question goes under into the whirlpool of the sea which is this world,⁵⁶⁵ and whirls around'. When no agent is expressed one can, in principle, mistake the unmarked direct object for a subject. Put as a question, how can one tell that a nominal with no case suffix or postposition, accompanying a verb in the 3rd person singular, is not the agent but a direct object? It turns out that, in the great majority of cases, such an object immediately precedes the verb. In the very few cases where this is not so, it is meaning and the context one falls back to. Here is such an exception: *tavgaç kaganta I S²Y²I L²I K²ŊG kälti. bir tümän ağı altun kargäksiz kälürti* (KT N12) 'From the emperor of China came I.L.; he brought ten thousand (loads of) brocade, gold and silver complete'. The word *kargäksiz* was promoted into the most predicative position in the sentence, to stress the large quantity. Here is a further ex., in which the suffix *+ll* appears to give the unmarked object the prosodic independence it otherwise lacks: *öläyin tesär ymä ölü umaz, ämgäkli mänili k(ä)ntün kötürür* (TT VI 451). The eds. translate: "Wenn man sterben möchte, so kann man ... das nicht. Man wird Qual und Freude aus sich selbst ertragen".

Practically all causatives appearing with unmarked object but without the dative are derived from intr. bases, and thus behave as simple tr. verbs. The following will serve as an ex. for what is *not* an exception; the unmarked object is in close juncture with the base, and the bracketing is (*kşanti kıl-*)*tur-*: *bökünki küntä bo nomlug orontakı bir tåg kşanti kulturdaçılarnıñ, böküntä* [(BT II 1066). Such exs. were discussed in the introduction to part VII. Particularly interesting for us are those cases in which the base is tr. and there is an unmarked object. This construction is not too common but there is nothing aberrant about the instances. Here is one with and one without agent: *anta ötrü maxenđraseni elig bäg ulug bädük kañlılarda tälim üküş aş içgü äd tavar ärdnılär urturup kay bältir sayu eltip*

565 *taloy ögüz tågzinçi* is a metaphor for *bo yertinçü*. The metaphoric relationship is usually expressed by the element *+IXg* (q.v. above) but, as one sees, not always.

alkoka boşı berip barçasın berür ärti (U III 40,29-30) 'Thereupon, king Mahendrasena would have a lot of food and drink, goods₂ and gems put on big and large carts, would lead (them) to all the market-places and crossroads, would bestow them upon everybody and give it all out'. Notice that the king does not himself put (*ur-*) his presents and alms on the carts but has (an) anonymous attendant(s) do that. The nouns accompanying the verb *urtur-* represent the ultimate object. Here is another ex., translated in the entry for *yarat-tur-*: *bi taş yaratdurmak üzä 'äñäyü biltürdi ädrämin taybo atl(ı)g balıkta*. Instead of saying that the king 'had a lot of food etc. put on carts' or that he 'had his virtues made known', one could also have translated that he 'had somebody put a lot of food etc. on carts' or 'had (the people) know his good qualities': The Uigur sentences are indifferent in this respect. The question which interpretation one is to choose is more appropriate with this language than appears at first sight, because it does not use anaphorical or even indefinite pronouns to complete clause patterns. 'Understood' entities such as 'attendants' or 'the public' would be left unexpressed in Old Turkic even if they belonged to the grammatical structure of the clause. One can obviously distinguish between two acts in all these exs.: The act of causation and the activity described by the base verb. *A priori*, the activity referred to by the base can be conceived of as passive or as active, but Old Turkic grammar does not give us the possibility to distinguish between these when the intermediate agent remains unmentioned. In all exs. as discussed in this section, the unmarked object represents the ultimate object; in none does it represent the intermediate agent, which would have left the ultimate object unexpressed.

Clauses with causative verb and accusative; no dative

The number of exs. for this pattern is double that of the exs. for the previous one, and the ratio between a great majority of verbs derived from intr. bases versus few derived from tr. ones does not change. As already stated, the intr. base becomes transitivised and in most cases behaves like a simple tr. verb. Some special products of such derivation are, however, worth noticing. The action of the instigator can consist in the whole spectrum of degrees and types of involvement. This involvement can have been quite coercive in *başlıgıg yükündürmiş, tizligig sökürmiş* (KT E2) 'Those who had heads he forced to bow, those who had knees he forced to kneel'. In the following sentence, however, it may not have been more than the advice of an ally: "*Siz taşıkñ, çikig taşgarñ*" *temiş* (ŞU E10) 'He is said to have said "Move out yourself and make the Çik move out (as well)". The formation *+gAr-*, within which *taşgar-* was created, is denominal but stands in a causative – intransitive relationship with the products of another denominal formative, *+(X)k-*. Negated, causative verbs can imply hindering (and not just not-

causing): *bo türk bodun ara yarıklıg yağış kältürmädım* (Toñ 54)⁵⁶⁶ should not be translated as 'I did not bring ...' but as 'I did not give a chance for the mail-clad enemy to come in among this august (or 'Turkic') people'. The (Old) Turkic causative denotes not only causation, but also permission, authorisation, non-hindrance on purpose or by negligence etc.

Now to the derivatives of tr. bases. As we had found it to be the case with unmarked direct objects, here as well the direct object generally represents the ultimate goal, not the intermediate agent. *bargay m(ä)n, anta şri nal(a)ndar(a)m säñrämiş täpitip ko[g] kışmuk kulgay m(ä)n* (Ht V 322) 'I will go and there have the convent of Śrīnālandārāma trampled down and make it into motes and filings'. We could also have translated 'I will there make (them) trample down the convent ...'; in fact the sentence *yañalıg sūü bulutçulayu yığgay m(ä)n* 'I will ammass an army of elephants like a cloud', which immediately precedes this one, lets us know that 'them' are elephants. Here is another ex.: *kertü köñülümüzni azk(ı)ya t(a)var birlä ymä körkitgäli kulınsar, antın kälmiş köñülüg nāñ tükäñi biltürgäli bolmaz* (Ht VII 2138) 'Even if we try to show (you) our true heart with a few objects, it is quite impossible to fully convey (to you) the state of mind which arose from that (matter)'. This is written in a letter accompanied by presents, which is why 'you' follows from the context. '... let our true attitude become evident ...' would also have been possible. In *Vakpadı bağsınñ asurılar pry-anınta turup Mayrı bodis(a)tvnñ burxan kutın bulgusın küdüp sezikin üztürgäli ugramış oron* (Ht IV 357), the intermediate agent is the bodhisattva Maitreya: His presence as accompanying *üz-tür-* is understood from his appearance in the preceding *küd-* clause. With the following sentence, one hesitates between a causal interpretation and one implying permission; the decision could have doctrinal relevance: *nomug törüg yadturmatın tıdımız ärsär ...* (Chuast 91) 'If we should have been in the way of the spreading of the doctrine and the code, and held it back ...'. The alternative version is that of the *EDPT* under *yadtur-*: "if we have impeded the (true) doctrine and rules by not causing them to be published abroad".⁵⁶⁷

I have come across only one ex. of the present pattern in which the accusative form represents the intermediate agent: *dyan sakınç küçindä nızvanıların basın-turmaz* (BuddhKat 43) has been translated as 'By the force of *dhyāna* i.e. meditation one prevents the lusts from oppressing one' in the entry on *basın-tur-*; the meaning is there compared to *basıntur-* with ergative dative, which gives a passive

⁵⁶⁶ The argument is not changed if *yältür-* is the correct reading.

⁵⁶⁷ Asmussen, 1965: 194 (IV B) left the causative segment untranslated: He writes "if we, not spreading the Doctrine and the Law, should have obstructed them ...".

meaning.⁵⁶⁸ How do we know that the lusts are intermediate agent and not ultimate objects? Because, in this system of thought, one cannot oppress them. Knowing whether a base is tr. or intr. is also a lexical bit of information.

As appears both in this section and in the preceding one, then, the nominal identified as referring to the direct object of the verb represents a different sort of participant depending on whether the base of the causative derivation is tr. or intr. and, if it is tr., depending on whether it might represent the intermediate agent or the ultimate object. How the ultimate object and the intermediate agent are expressed in the same sentence will be seen in the following sections.

Causative verbs with accusative and dative

In some instances the dative has a concrete meaning, and is, in a part of these, governed by the base of the verb. Thus e.g. *ötrü ol aşçı är söglünçüsin elig bāgkā kälürüp üskintä urdı* (ms. T III 84-60 v28 quoted in the n. to TT V A 124) 'Thereupon that cook brought the king his roast meat and placed it in front of him'. Similarly, we find quite a few datives with *tägür-*, among them *beş tilgānim(i)zni yerkä tägürüp* ... (BT II 303) 'bringing our five *cakras* to the ground ...'. We also find datives of interest: *kün t(ä)ñri bo yer suv üzä twgar, k(ä)ntü y(a)rokin k(a)magka y(a)rotur* (M III 14,10₁, text 7) 'The sun rises above this earth and makes its own light shine for all'.⁵⁶⁹

In other sentences the dative can be understood to be referring to the intermediate agent, who is taken to act directly upon the ultimate object. This construction has been discussed by Bang, 1925: 15-17, including references to modern Turkic languages and an attempt at an explanation. I add a few exs.: *ötrü maxendraseni elig öz tiri[g] ätözintäki kaparmış ätin yara bıçıp ak[a] kälmiş söl suvin iglig ärkä içürüp* ... (U III 45,13) 'Thereupon, king Mahendrasena split and cut the swollen flesh of his own living body, had the sick man drink the lymph which had come flowing, and ...' or 'had the lymph, which had come flowing, drunk by the sick man, and ...'. The appearance of the intermediate agent does not, we find, help us decide whether the embedded sentence is to be understood actively or passively. One could say that the question is unnecessary, and that both the lymph and the sick man (although marked differently) are, in a sense, objects. Or, that the active-passive opposition is neutralised in embedded sen-

568 The eds.' translation "Kraft Versenkung läßt man sich nicht durch die Affekte unterdrücken" should better have been '... verhindert man die Affekte davor, einen zu unterdrücken', although this may be slightly less idiomatic.

569 Thus if we understand *yarokin* as accusative. The content is slightly altered if we take this word as instrumental. Then, the direct object would be taken over from the previous clause: '... and with its own light illuminates it (i.e. this earth) for the benefit of all'.

tences. We withhold judgement on this till after the discussion of the instances with dative but without direct object. *birki(y)ä amrak oglumun siziñä tutuzur m(ä)n* (KP XXV 5) is a different case, as *tut-uz-* ‘to entrust’ has gotten semantically dissociated from *tut-* and has (as far as participant structure is concerned) moved towards *ber-* ‘to give’. Here, therefore, the only translation is ‘I entrust to you my only beloved son’. A further ex.: *bo muntag köni kertü tözüg ol tözün bilgälär adınaguka ymä biltürgälir üçün* . . . (Suv 388,17) ‘But, so as to make this so true₂ principle known to others, those noble wise men . . .’. Or should we have said ‘to inform others of this . . . principle’? Perhaps we should, here as e.g. in the U III ex. discussed above, be guided by the word order chosen by the translator; this would give ‘got the lymph . . . drunk by the sick man’ there, ‘make this principle known to others’ here. Having an accusative in common with several verbs does not help in the decision: *oglanların ozgurgalı kutgargalı kim ol örtänü turur [oo]tka köyürmägäli* (Genzan D v 7) ‘to save₂ one’s children so that one does not let that continuously flaming fire burn them up’ or ‘so that one does not let them get burned up by that . . . fire’. Further *bod kötürmäçä tnl(ı)g oğlanıña bulturayın nirvanıg* (TT VII 40,142, Yetikän sudur) ‘Let me enable the sons of men to find *nirvāṇa*’ and *bod kötürmäçä tnl(ı)glar oğlanlarıña bulturayın nirvanıg* (BT XIII 47,26), with only one possible translation: No initiative for the ‘finding’ can go out of *nirvāṇa*. In the following, the first ex. of *oy-tur-* has both dative and accusative while the second is accompanied only by the object: *Anandaşiri atl(ı)g toyınka amtıki nomlarını tamgasın oyturgalı aña k(ä)rgäklig y(e)vigin anı barça tükäl anuñup anıñ tamgasın oydurup* . . . (BT XIII 49,33 ff.) ‘in order to have the blocks of the present *sūtras* carved by the monk named Ānandaśrī, I had all necessary equipment for it prepared in full, had its blocks carved, and . . .’. *udlarıg kälürüp oğlanlarka südürüp* . . . (Ernte II 39) can only be translated as ‘bring the oxen and have them driven out by the boys . . .’.

The ex. *raxu asurıka ıdturgalı ay täñrig* (ShōAgon 1,217) has already been quoted and translated in the entry for *ıd-tur-*, but cf. n. 540. What is interesting is the variant *raxu asurıtın titdürgäli ay t(ä)ñrig* (ĀgFrag (1) F8) in a text otherwise identical with the former (cf. the translation quoted in the entry for *tit-dür-*). This is probably an *ablativus separationis* into which the intermediate agent got attracted. An ergative ablative is not quite unknown in Uigur: Cf. the translation of *tüzüdin kükülmiş* (Ged 39) as “Von-allen-Gelobter” in UW 270 a-b, *ig kām adasıntın* . . . *örlätgäli bulgañılğalı ugrasar*, in TuoLuoNi 187 translated as “wenn . . . sie durch die . . . Krankheiten und Gebrechen . . . in Wirrnis gebracht werden sollten” and the series of ablative + *dIn* with anti-transitive or intr. verbs in TT V B65-67. I know of no such exs. with a causative form, however.

In a few further passages a dative comes close to instrumental meaning: *könjülin yüräkin buyan ädgü kılınçka üklitdi astı* (U IV A270) ‘He magnified his heart₂

through good deeds₂' and *anıg kılınçka erinçükä k(ä)ntü özümüzni ämgätir biz* (Chuast 201) 'We cause ourselves distress through bad deeds and sins'.⁵⁷⁰ Translating 'We allow bad deeds and sin to cause us distress' is impossible because *ämgät-* does not signify 'to make A cause distress to B'. Both quoted sentences have direct objects referring back to the subject, and neither causative is derived from a tr. base. This is also why the causative occurs in a biverb with a simple verb in the first sentence. There can here clearly be no intermediate agent; beside the (primary and only) agent they can only govern one object.

We already met sentences (see the ones quoted above from TT VII 40,42 and BT XIII 47,26) in which the dative unequivocally represented the embedded agent. This is clearly so also in the following ex., in which both embedded agent and ultimate object are persons: *biz kamagun ol elig xanıg köyü küzädü tutup kamag yalanukka barçaka bir yanlıg ayatgay agırlatgay biz* (Suv 408,3), quoted in UW 298 b and translated as "wir alle werden diesen König₂ ständig behüten₂ und werden veranlassen, daß alle Menschen insgesamt und gleicherweise [ihm] huldigen".⁵⁷¹ In the following, all three participants are, again, humans: *anta ötrü badra xatun elig bägkă ät'özin sävitgälir üçün kün küniñä tözün yumşak savlar sözläy[ür ärt]i* (U III 54,17) 'Thereupon, queen Bhadrā day by day used to say gentle and soft words, in order to make the king₂ love her' or '... in order to make herself' loved by the king₂'. We have already become accustomed to this ambiguity in translation. These renderings are a bit free, for *ät'özin* is not the reflexive pronoun (which would have been *käntüsin*); Bhadrā wants the king to love 'her body'. A purely reflexive content would have remained implicit, as we shall see when dealing with causative constructions with dative but without explicit direct object.

Sentences with causative and dative and suffixless object

First, here, is an ex. with a temporal dative: *lagzın yıl beşinç ay yeti otuzka yog ärtürtüm* (BQ S10) 'On the 27th of the 5th month in the year of the pig I brought the funeral feast to a conclusion'. In practically all the other exs. the dative can be interpreted as local: *qmtı xormuzta t(ä)ñri t(ä)rkin maña suv kälürzün* (U III 38,25) 'Now let the god Indra quickly bring me water'; *ötrü buyruklar ... arkış-larka sav tutuzup İnçA tep tedilär*: (U III 29,15) 'Then the officers entrusted a

570 Cf. also Asmussen, 1965: 198 "Because of evil deeds and sin we incur agony upon ourselves (our own selves)".

571 There is a strange n.: "Akk. wohl nur auf *kü- küzät-* zu beziehen, gegen o.S. 68 a." This is impossible, however, as [ihm] in the given translation shows: German *huldigen* happens to govern the dative in that language, but *aya- agırla-* governs the accusative. The two clauses in Old Turkic have the object in common. Cf. Republican Turkish *Kıralı koruyup herkese saydıracağız*.

message to the envoys, saying thus:’; *yañalar bağınā kın kızıgūt tığüräyin* (U II 20,2) ‘I’d like to inflict suffering₂ upon the lord of the elephants’. *ber-* is another verb which governs the dative by itself or with causative expansion: *aç yäklärkä içgäklärkä . . . aç içgü ağı barım bert(ü)rürlär* (TT VI 266) ‘They have (people) give food and drink and riches₂ to hunger-demons and vampires’. This is the only translation possible in the context; I dare not suggest that the sentence could (given a different context) also have signified ‘cause the demons and vampires to give (others) food, drink and riches₂’. As it is, the intermediate agent is left unexpressed in this sentence.⁵⁷²

In the following ex., the dative should be identified with the intermediate agent: *anta basa yumışçı tısıka mañdal ötündürüp . . .* (BT VII A 387-8). The given translation, “Danach muß man durch den assistierenden Schüler ein Mañdala herbeibitten lassen”, suggests an instrumental interpretation, which would not have been the case if “durch den” were replaced by ‘den’. The pupil probably does have ancillary status, and the *causation* of *his* act is probably itself not part of the rite but to be arranged beforehand. An instrumental interpretation is not to be excluded in the following instance either: *māniñ savımın sımadı. tavgac kaganıñ içräki bädizçig ı(d)tı. añar adınçig bark yarat(d)urtum, için taşın adınçig bädiz urturtum* (KT S 12). A nearly identical passage appears in BQ N 14: *sa]vı-mın sımadı. içräki bädizçig ı(d)tı. añar adınçig bark yaratdım, için taşın adınçig bädiz* [. The main difference between these passages is the fact that the second has *yarat-* where the first has *yarat(d)ur-*. The first sentence could be translated ‘I had him build an exquisite house’ or ‘I had an exquisite house built by him’. If we assume that the two passages are identical in content,⁵⁷³ however, we have to assign an instrumental sense to the dative. The BQ passage can only be translated as ‘I constructed an exquisite house with his participation’; the KT inscr. would then signify ‘I had an exquisite house constructed with his participation’. This would only be natural, since decorators do not build houses but only decorate them.

Concerning the following sentence it must be noted that *ayıt-* in most texts no longer signifies ‘to cause to say’ but has limited itself to signifying ‘to ask, inquire about’ while keeping its original government pattern: *körümçi ulatı ı(ä)rs tätrü törüçikā bilig aytıp üküş türlüg törösüz tsuylug erinçülüg ay(ı)g kılınçl(ı)g iş işläy-ürlär* (TT VI 331) ‘They ask for knowledge from seers and various other propagators of perverse laws and perform many types of forbidden and sinful₂ actions

572 The implicit intermediate agent retains his empty slot also in the next sentence: *saçig töküg ayu berürlär, tapıntururlar uduntururlar* (two mss. have *kultururlar* instead of *ayu berürlär*). The demons and vampires are governed by *tapın-* *udun-*, equally before causative expansion.

573 It is known that one of the inscs. copied part of its content from the other; see also Hovdhaugen, 1974. It is beyond doubt that the two passages relate the same event.

involving evil deeds'. In this section, then, there are no certain exs. of a dative representing an intermediate agent. For that to happen, it was not (apparently) sufficient that there was an ultimate object; this ultimate object also had to appear in the accusative case.

As in the section on unmarked objects appearing without dative, here too we will have to ask what it is that makes us identify the direct object as such and not, in cases where the agent remains unexpressed, take it to represent the agent. Here too we find that the unmarked object is adjacent to the verb: nearly always before, in a few cases after it. But the various set phrases like *könül örit-* and *könül turgur-* are in any case easily identified.

Causatives in more elaborate constructions

We quoted the sentence *aç yäklärkä içgäklärkä . . . aç içgü ağı barım bert(ü)rürlär* 'They have people give food and drink and riches₂ to hunger-demons and vampires'. What shape would the sentence have had if there had been explicit reference to those 'people'? The following two instances do this in the same way: *ant]a basa basa bağlär kälip yazokların ökünü kşanti [k]ılsarlar, olarnı barça samtso açarı nömlep süzüp yärçiläp uduzup barçanı burxan kutıña könül öritdürür ärdi* (Ht VII 9 a 22-3). The intermediate agent (referring to the *bägs*) has the accusative form; it is as if one had said '*bağlärig burxan kutıña kınturur*'. In Maitr 132 r 13: *sansız tümän tınl(ı)glarag* (i.e. +*IAr+Xg*) *burxan kutıña ulug küsüş turgurgalı üçün, . . .*, translated as "um zahllose zehntausende von Lebewesen dazu zu veranlassen, den großen Wunsch nach der Buddhaschaft zu erwecken". When the sentence contains a concrete dative, then, the embedded agent is in the accusative. The continuation of the last-quoted sentence is an interesting case of attraction: *. . . köp kalın tınl(ı)glarka tözün maytri bodis(a)tv birlä sokuşturgalı üçün* (*ibid.* 15). I would have expected either '*tınlıglarig . . . maytri birlä*', '*tınlıglarig . . . maytri bodisatvka*', '*tınlıglarka . . . bodisatvıg*', but not the dative as the mark for the only causee.

Causatives without direct object, with dative

Here, again, we have the many sentences with *tägür-* 'to convey', *kälür-* 'to bring', *kigür-* 'to introduce' etc., with which the dative denotes direction in space. Temporal datives are not lacking either: *ädgü künkä ädgü üdkä tem(i)n taşgaru taşgarurlar* (TT VI 230) 'They bring (them i.e. the dead) out on a good day (and) at a good time'. In the following sentence, the dative accompanies the phrase *kayın-turup iç-* and not just the causative *kayıntur-*: *p(i)şig sınkar patpadi tupulgakka kayınturup içsär . . .* (TT VIII M29) 'If one boils and drinks half a ripe pepper

against colic, ...'. From a tr. base: *nāçükin bolsar sizlär yana yanıp k[ä]lip maña eşitdürünlär* (U I 6,3, Magier) '... let me hear (it)'.

In the previous section we quoted three sentences, with *ar-tur-* (KT S 16) and *ar-tız-* (Chuast 122 and M III 30,8-9₁, text 12). The first can be translated as 'You were deceived by their sweet words and soft silk brocade, o multitude of Turks, and died'. More exact would be 'You let (yourself) be deceived ...', which the Turk nation is being blamed for in the passage. Thus also Thomsen, p. 116: "En se laissant vaincre par leur doux appel ...". Similarly Asmussen, 1965: 196 for Chuast 122: "... allowing ourselves to be deceived by one who ...". Accordingly, the M III sentence should be rendered as 'Do not let (yourself) be deceived by the demon of lust'. The construction lived on in the Codex Comanicus: *murvatıñ sän yändirip yazıxımıznu kötirdiñ* "von deiner Güte besiegt hast du unsere Sünden getragen", corresponding to Latin *benignitate tua victus* It still exists in Kazakh, as Melioranski, 1922 par. 68,1 formulates it: "Si dans une telle proposition le sujet et le complément direct sont identiques, le complément direct est omis: *džauya aldırdım* 'J'ai permis à l'ennemi de (me) vaincre'; autrement dit: 'J'ai été vaincu par l'ennemi' ou 'Je me suis laissé vaincre par l'ennemi'. Nous voyons donc que dans quelques tournures la voix factitive se rapproche de la voix passive. S'il s'agit de personnes, on n'emploie guère le passif, mais on a toujours recours à un verbe factitif." All this can also be said of Old Turkic, except that the distinction between 'personnes' and everything else does not always hold.

So much so that one is tempted to change the name of the 'causative' to 'reversive': What it mostly does is to change intransitive to transitive and transitive to (intr.) passive.

Here some exs. with *-(X)t-*: *kişi küçi korasar yad kişikā basıtur* (TT I 57) 'If the strength of a person is impaired, he is prone to attack by strangers'. Clauson, biased through his preoccupation with the primary senses of morphemes, translates "... he lets himself be oppressed by strangers"; A. v. Gabain, the ed., is less constrained by 'grammar' and writes: "... so wird er von fremden Menschen unterdrückt (überfallen)". A n. to the passage gives the following parallel: *tük tımän kişilär ig ağırka basııp umugsuz ınagsız yaturlar* (Suv 587,3) "Tausende und aber Tausende von Menschen werden von Krankheiten bedrückt (sind ihnen verfallen) und liegen hoffnungslos danieder". It would be absurd to translate this as '... let themselves be attacked by ...'; the active participation of the subject can just not be assumed, and these instances have to be given a passive interpretation. Thus also *sakınça busuşka basıtu täginmiş biz* (HtPek 96 b8) quoted in UW 234 a-b, "wir sind von Sorge² bedrückt, daß ...". My judgement of *öğkä kanğa sävitmiş ärdiñ, kadaş a* (Suv 620,1) 'You were loved by mother and father, o brother!' and *anı tög nomçı bilgäkä ymā ağırlatmış ärür siz* (Ht VII 1788-9) 'You are honoured even by an erudite wise man like him' would be a bit different:

Here, the subject should at least be given the *credit* for being loved or being honoured, for being its cause if not its instigator. Further such exs. are quoted in the verb entries; cf., e.g., the Suv ex. under *kov-it-*.

It is an important fact that the different causative formatives differ in their relation to this matter. It can be seen already from the quoted exs. that *-(X)t-* is particularly well attested in the passive sense; the real mass of exs. would have been much more impressive. *-Ar-*, *-Ur-*, *+gAr-*, *-gUr-* and *-(X)z-* never form such passive verbs, and *-tUr-* is very rare in such function. The main reason for this is no doubt that the mentioned formatives nearly always expand intr. bases; see the various formatives for details, and for semantic limitations on the tr. bases to which they do get added. When this does happen with *-Ur-*, *-Ar-*, *-gUr-* or *-(X)z-*, the ultimate object is never human, excepting a few exs. of the lexicalised *tutuz-*. Beside *-(X)t-*, then, *-tUr-* also forms passives. *ar-tur-* has already been quoted with passive meaning. Further exs. are *amtıkı bo üdtä baxşıka sokdurmak takı nügü tursun* (BT VIII A 155) 'Wozu soll aber in der jetzigen Zeit das Geschlagenwerden von einem Guru sein?'; *kim kayu tözünlär oğlu tözünlär kızı azu yäkkä içgäkkä basındurmuş bolsar . . .* (TT VII 40,37, Yetikän sudur) 'If any male or female *ārya* are oppressed by demons and vampires, . . .'. This last is a rather special case, as we see in the entry on *basın-tur-*: As distinct from other *-(X)n-* verbs, *bas-in-* evolved a truly tr. meaning; no *-(X)n-* verb gets expanded by *-(X)t-*, however, which is the normal creator of passive verbs from tr. bases.

To return to *-(X)t-*: Remember that this is the only causative formative possible with polysyllabic bases ending in vowels or in /r/. It also forms real causatives with bases with which other formatives are possible as well, e.g. in *az-it-* and *yag-it-*. The classification of its uses will therefore have to go on depending on the constructions in which it appears. What is obvious is that the *-(X)t-* derivate of a tr. base ending in a vowel need not have passive sense, since no other causative derivation is possible from such a base. In the following sentence, e.g., the dative is local: *türk bilgä kagan elinā bititdim, bān bilgä toñukuk* (Toñ 58) 'I had this written down in the realm of Bilgä Kagan, I, T. the wise'.

The understood reference back to the agent can also be as indirect object. Take the expression common in the inscs., *başlıgıg yüküntürtümüz*. This is reasonably translated as 'We made those who had heads bow (to us)'. *kālin alşa tapındurmaz* (TT VII 28,51) means 'If he takes a bride, he does not (i.e. is unable to) make her respect (him)'. Both *yükün-* and *tapın-* govern datives; dative objects are not capable, in Old Turkic, of becoming subjects of passive sentences.

Causative verbs with *üzä* phrases

In chapter 7.3 it turned out that the ergative expression was constructed as a phrase governed by the postposition *üzä* for most exs. of the passive formations. We found that causative formations, foremost among them $-(X)t-$, could also serve as passive, and that (as with the formations of chapter 7.4) the dative was used to mark the instigator. We ought to check whether *üzä* phrases appearing in sentences containing a causative verb ever show themselves with such tasks as well.

There are quite a number of exs. and in only a part does the *üzä* phrase have a concrete sense. E.g. *lō xanı utru ünti; elgin tuta kigürüp ärdinilig oronluk üzä olgurt(d)ı* (KP XLVI 3) 'The prince of dragons rose to meet him; taking him by the hand⁵⁷⁴ he led him in, and seated him on a jewelled throne'.

In quite a few passages the *üzä*-phrase refers to a sort of means: *közlüg kurın-çımıznu sini körmäklig yagmur üzä kanturalım* (U IV D24), in the EDPT under *kurıñ* translated as "Let us satiate (i.e. alleviate) the dryness of our eyes with the rain of seeing you". In the next ex. we also have an expression with *tutup içgärip*; note that the first verb in this couple is a tr. simplex, the second formed with $+gAr-$, a denominal formative standing in causative relationship to the intr. $+Xk-$: *küü kälilig küçläri üzä yanturu alkonı tutup içgärip bir täg nomlug oronta olorup ...* (BT II 614) 'Through their magical power they again held and introduced them all, and ...'; similarly, *ädgü ögli y(a)rıkazunlar üzä artokrak bir täg tuta içgärü y(a)rıkazunlar* (BT II 745) 'With their power of well-meaning and charity let them keep (us) quite like one and introduce (us) (to *nirvāṇa*).'. The absence of an explicit object does not, of course, affect the pattern. I have met only one ex., in an exceedingly late text, in which a $-(X)t-$ verb is accompanied by an ergative *üzä* phrase: *tuug atl(ı)g baxşı üzä yaratmış ärür* (Uig-Tot 1001) "Es ist geschaffen von dem ... Mönch, dem Guru namens ...". This exception does not affect the rule, as UigTot excludes itself from normal Uigur grammar also by other aspects of linguistic behaviour.

Causative and passive: an epilogue

The behaviour of most causative derivatives from intr. bases is no different from that of simple tr. verbs. Yet whole formations of causatives are practically limited to intr. bases. Another limitation on the appearance of a full-fledged causative of tr. action is the fact that the instigator so often functions also as object of the embedded proposition, pushing the verb into passive content. This trait is com-

574 Or 'taking his hand', depending on whether one takes *älgin* to be instrumental or accusative.

mon to a number of Eurasian languages, as shown in par. 15 of v. der Gabelentz, 1861, called "Passivum durch das Causativum", and in Kormušin, 1976. Attempts at dealing with the double nature of the Old Turkic $-(X)t$ - formation were made by Kowalski, 1949 and Röhrborn, 1972; some weaknesses of their views are pointed out in Johanson, 1974.

It has been variously noticed, and I have pointed out above, that the activity of the primary agent can actually be quite diverse. Amanžolov, 1969: 68 has defined it as "zastavlat', velet', pobudit', pozvoljat', dat', dopustit' čto-libo sdelat'". This whole spectrum finds a single overt representation in the Old Turkic causative, as e.g. in English and German. French, on the other hand, uses a three-member paradigm, called "immixtion" by Damourette and Pichon.

Early passives are hardly ever accompanied by an expression of the source of the action and in fact often simply serve as intr. counterparts to tr. bases.

Instead of voice and/or diathesis we should therefore, as far as Old Turkic is concerned, speak of three different systems: The tr.-intr. dichotomy, to be here defined in a way which suits the grammar of the language, where derivation simply serves as a source of enrichment of the lexical givens. The system of the grammatical means used in this language for the representation of participant interaction; the complexity of this system, whose means are complemented by the (as yet undescribed) system of cases, is exemplified by the presence of such members as the formations in $-sXk$ - and $-tXz$ -, and cuts through the first-mentioned dichotomy. Symptomatic for the third level are the 'passive' derivatives from intr. bases, and the concrete – abstract opposition associated with the formation in $-(X)n$.-

A description of word-formation must leave it at these somewhat random remarks. Erdal, 1976: 358-396 contained some ideas on the grammatical status of the causative and the passive in Old Turkic and in a few other languages. In view of the general-linguistic interest of this subject, it deserves a theory-oriented and comprehensive treatment on the base of data supplied by us here. Such a description is already being planned.

Two other domains broached in Erdal, 1976 which deserve independent syntactic treatment are the case grammar of Old Turkic, and relativisation: The latter includes not only the 'traditional' participles, but also pronominal, collocational and conjunctive means.