

A GRAMMAR OF ORKHON TURKIC

by Talat Tekin

03_a RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE LANGUAGE SCIENCES

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FOREWORD

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

The book consists of four parts. Part one contains a grammar written mainly along the lines of the system suggested in Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, I, Wiesbaden 1959, for the Turkic languages. It was submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the University of California at Los Angeles in 1965. This part also contains a chapter dealing with the "runic" script and spelling rules. The basic a priori assumptions which guided my reevaluation of the old Turkic script were the following: (1) any given sign, with the exception of the vocalic and syllabic signs, represents only one and the same sound wherever it occurs; (2) use of the front-vocalic consonant signs in back-vocalic words is, in most cases, phonetically significant; and (3) vowel signs indicate long vowels as well as short ones. It will be seen, however, that, except for a few cases, I carefully avoided making generalizations with regard to the indication of vowel lengths in

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

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

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

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

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Talât Tekin

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I. GRAMMAR

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Inscriptions and manuscripts

BK	= Bilgä Kagan
IB	= Īrq Bitig
KČ	= Kūli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu)
KT	= Kūl Tigin
MČ	= Moyun Čor (Shine-Ussu)
O	= Ongin (İšbara Tarkan)
T	= Tonyukuk
Yen.	= Yenisei

B. Periodicals, books and scientific institutes

<u>ABAW</u>	= Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften
<u>Afh.</u>	= Samlede Afhandlungen III, København 1922
<u>AJSLL</u>	= The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
<u>Alttürk.</u>	= Alttürkische Grammatik, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1950
<u>AO</u>	= Acta Orientalia Hungarica, Budapest
<u>BSOAS</u>	= Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
<u>DTCFD</u>	= Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara
<u>FAtlas</u>	= Inscriptions de l'Iénisséi
<u>Fund.</u>	= Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Wiesbaden 1959
<u>JRAS</u>	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

<u>JSFOu</u>	= Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki
<u>Kāš.</u>	= Kāš'yarī (B. Atalay's edition)
<u>KCsA</u>	= Korösi Csoma Archivum, Budapest
<u>Liu</u>	= Mac-Tsai Liu, Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe), Wiesbaden 1958
<u>MSFOu</u>	= Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, Helsinki
<u>MSOS</u>	= Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen
<u>OK</u>	= Oğuz Kağan Destanı, İstanbul 1936
<u>RO</u>	= Rocznik Orientalistyczny
<u>SBAW</u>	= Sitzungberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften
<u>SO</u>	= Studia Orientalia, Helsinki
<u>TDAY</u>	= Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Ankara
<u>TDK</u>	= Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara
<u>TM</u>	= Türkiyat Mecmuası, İstanbul
<u>TP</u>	= T'oung Pao
<u>UJb</u>	= Ungarische Jahrbücher
<u>UAJb</u>	= Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher
<u>US</u>	= Uygur Sözlüğü
<u>Verg.</u>	= Vergleichende Grammatik der alt-aischen Sprachen
<u>ZDMG</u>	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
<u>ZVO</u>	= Zapiski Vostočnogo Otdeleniya

C. Languages, dialects

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

Khak.	= Khakas
Khot.	= Khotan Dialect
Khwar.	= Khwarezmian Turkic
Kipch.	= Kipchak
Kirg.	= Kirgiz
Kkpk.	= Karakalpak
Koib.	= Koibal
Mong.	= Mongolian (Classical)
Parth.	= Parthian
Sak.	= Sakian (Khotanese)
Sar. uig.	= Sarīγ-Uigur
Skr.	= Sanskrit
Sogd.	= Sogdian
Tib.	= Tibetan
Turf.	= Turfan Dialect
Turk.	= Turkish
Turkm.	= Turkmenian
Tuv.	= Tuvian (Soyon, Uryankhay)
Uig.	= Uigur
Volga Bulg.	= Volga Bulgarian
Yak.	= Yakut

D. Miscellaneous

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

O. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

(d) Alternation of the velar nasal ŋ with γ/g: sūŋü-kūŋ ~ sūŋüküγ 'thy bones', bardiγ (< *bardiŋ) 'thou didst go', etc.;

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recently three more terms have been proposed. N. A. Baskakov used the term 'drevneoguzskiy' ('Ancient Oguz') for Orkhon Turkic and the term 'drevneuygurskiy' ('Ancient Uigur') for Uigur (cf. N. A. Baskakov, Türk-skie yazıki, Moscow 1960, p. 189, 226). G. Clauson put forward the term 'Türkü' (cf. G. Clauson, Turkish and Mongolian Studies, London 1962) and O. Pritsak the term

'Türkütisch' ('Türküt') (cf. O. Pritsak, 'Das Alttürkische,' in: Handbuch der Orientalistik, Turkologie, Leiden/Köln 1963, p. 27 ff.). Of these terms, 'Türkü' is mainly based on a false reading of the word türük in the inscriptions. As for the name 'Türküt', it depends on a rather doubtful assumption of P. Pelliot. The term 'Ancient Oguz', too, does not seem to be appropriate for Orkhon Turkic, because the Oguz or Tokuz-Oguz were not the only ethnic group which belonged to the East Turkic confederation, as is known from the inscriptions. Thus, to designate the official dialect of the second East Turkic Empire, we find the term 'Orkhon Turkic', at least until a better one is found, more satisfactory and convenient than any other term.

Orkhon Turkic is known to us through the inscriptions found in present-day Outer Mongolia, mainly in the basin of the Orkhon River, thus being conveniently called 'the Orkhon inscriptions'. These are the Kül Tigin, Bilgä Kagan, Tonyukuk, İšbara Tarkan (Ongin), and Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu) inscriptions.

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

All sides of the monument are covered with inscriptions on a height of approximately 2.75 m. On the west side a big Chinese inscription is also inscribed. The other sides are entirely covered with Turkic inscriptions. There are 40 lines on the east side and 13 on the south and north sides. There are also some small inscriptions on the edges between the north and east, south and east,

and south and west sides. Another small Turkic inscription is also on the west side. This monument was erected in honor of Kül Tigin ('Prince Kül'). The date of erection was 1 August 732, as is known from the Chinese inscription on it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This memorial was erected by Bilgä İřbara Tamyan Tarqan to his father, El-etmiř Yabyu. As we learn from the inscription, El-etmiř Yabyu was entitled řad by Täprikän (= İteriř Kagan?) by virtue of his rendering his service to the kagan. The author was born in the reign of Qapyan İteriř Kagan (682-692), as is clear from line four. In the inscription, he relates his own exploits as well as his father's. But the inscription has been composed incoherently, and it seems that it has been influenced by the Kül Tigin memorial. Probably it was erected in the same year as the Kül Tigin monument or one or two years later as Clauson sensibly assumes (cf. Gerard Clauson, 'The Ongin Inscription,' JRAS 1957, p. 183).

The monument of Küli Čor was discovered by Kotwicz in Ikhe-Khushotu, Central Mongolia, in 1911. The inscription is inscribed on the two large sides of the stone.

The dimensions are 1.90 m. high, 0.61 m. wide and 0.16 m. thick.

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

This monument is a memorial to Kāli Čor, the chief of the Tardush people, whose full title is İšbara Bilgā Kāli Čor. This name must be identical with Kāl Čor which occurs in BK S13 as the name of the šad of the Tardush in 716 (cf. W. Kotwics and A. Samoilovitch, 'Le monument turc d'Ikhe-khuchotu en Mongolie centrale,' RO IV, p. 72). According to the inscription, Kāli Čor was killed while still young in the war against the Karluks (cf. East side, line 11). This campaign was accomplished sometime between 718 and 722. Therefore it may be assumed that this monument was erected sometime between 719 and 723.

This inscription enumerates the exploits of Kāli Čor, as is learned from the readable parts of it. The first four lines on the west side give information about an uluγ kāli čor ('Kāli Čor the Elder') who grew old in the reign of İteriš Kagan and died at the age of eighty. Kāli Čor the Elder must have been father of the Kāli Čor to whom the monument was erected.

General Survey of Research on Orkhon Turkic

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

The existence of some rune-like inscriptions in Southern Siberia along the upper course of the Yenisei River was known already in the first decades of the 18th century, chiefly by the work of Ph. J. von Strahlenberg, Das Nord und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia, Stockholm 1730. But it was only toward the end of the last

century that an expedition was sent to Siberia for merely scientific purposes. In fact, in 1887 and 1888 two expeditions were sent by Finland to Siberia. The result of these scientific journeys appeared in 1889 as a valuable reproduction of the Yenisei inscriptions: Inscriptions de l'Iénisséi, recueillies et publiées par la Société finlandaise d'Archéologie, Helsingfors 1889. In the same year, the Russian archeologist N.M. Yadrincev found similar inscriptions in Mongolia, near the Orkhon River, namely the Orkhon Inscriptions. Yadrincev's work appeared in 1890: Anciens caractères trouvés sur des pierres et des ornements au bord de l'Orkhon, St. Pétersbourg 1890. Upon these new discoveries, the Finns sent a new expedition under A.O. Heikel to Mongolia. As a result, perfect copies of Orkhon inscriptions became available in 1892: Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, recueillies par l'expédition finnoise 1890 et publiées par la Société finno-ougrienne, Helsingfors 1892. In the same year, the Orkhon inscriptions were published in Russia. The latter appeared as a result of a new Russian expedition under the leadership of W. Radloff: Atlas der Altertümer der Mongolei, St. Petersburg 1892 up to 1899.

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

This point became completely clear on December 15, 1893, when the Danish scholar Vilhelm Thomsen, at a meeting of the Copenhagen Academy of Sciences, announced that he had succeeded in deciphering the script used in the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions. His preliminary notice on the decipherment soon appeared in the

Bulletin of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Literature of Denmark: 'Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Iénisséi, notice préliminaire,' Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark, Copenhagen 1893, pp. 285-299 (= Afh., pp. 3-19).

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

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

In 1897 Radloff published his second edition of the inscriptions: Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei, Neue Folge, St. Petersburg 1897. In 1899 a Russian edition of the Kül Tigin inscription was made by P. M. Melioranskiy: Pamyatnik v čest Kyul-Tegina (ZVO XII,

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

Some manuscripts in Turkic runic script, including İrq Bitig ('Book of Divination'), found in Miran and Tun-huang in Eastern Turkestan, were published by Thomsen in 1912: 'Dr. M. A. Stein's Manuscripts in Turkish 'Runic' Script from Miran and Tun-huang,' JRAS 1912, p. 181-227 (= Afh., p. 217-267). Ten years later, in 1922, Thomsen gave a new and improved translation of the two main inscriptions together with that of the Tonyukuk monument: 'Gammel-tyrkiske indskrifter fra Mongoliet i oversættelse og med indledning,' Samlede Afhandlinger III, pp. 465-516). Two years later a German translation of this work was published by H. H. Schaeder: 'Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei,' ZDMG 1924, pp. 121-175.

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

The Orkhon inscriptions were first published in Turkey by Necib Asım: Orhon Abideleri, Istanbul 1341 (= 1925). But the most comprehensive edition of the Turkic

inscriptions in runic script was produced by H. N. Orkun: Eski Türk Yazıtları, Istanbul, I: 1936, II: 1938, III: 1940, IV: 1941. Orkun took Thomsen's well-known edition as a model for his work and made some corrections with the aid of later knowledge, chiefly making use of Thomsen's later publications and Kāš'garī's dictionary. He left, however, many errors uncorrected.

Orkun's work was followed by improved editions of individual texts. M. Sprengling produced a reliable runic text of the Tonyukuk inscription: 'Tonyukuk's Epitaph: An Old Masterpiece,' AJSL LVI, No. 1 (January 1939), pp. 1-19. A. von Gabain reedited the Kül Tigin inscription in her Altürkische Grammatik, Leipzig 1941 (2nd ed. 1950), but she did not render a translation. The Russian scholar S. E. Malov produced new editions of the Kül Tigin and Tonyukuk inscriptions: Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti, Moscow 1951, pp. 1-73. In 1952 he also published his comprehensive work which contains improved editions of all the Yenisei inscriptions in Orkun's publication, and some additional ones previously published by him and S. V. Kiselev: Yeniseyskaya pis'mennost' tyurkov, Moscow 1952. In 1957 Gerard Clauson re-edited the Ongin inscription and made some important corrections: 'The Ongin Inscription,' JRAS 1957, pp. 177-192. In 1958 Pennti Aalto produced a new edition of the Tonyukuk inscription which can be regarded as the best of all previous editions: G. J. Ramstedt, J. G. Granö and Pennti Aalto, 'Materialien zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei,' JSFOu 60, 7, Helsinki 1958. In the following year Malov's edition of the Bilgä Kagan, Küli Čor, Moyun Čor (İl-itmiş Kagan) and the Ongin inscriptions appeared: Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoy pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii, Moscow 1959. In 1961 René Giraud produced another edition of the Tonyukuk inscription, without taking, however, into account the corrections made by Aalto: L'inscription de Baïn Tsokto, Paris 1961. Giraud made some corrections, but he also misread and misinterpreted some words and passages which are clear in the photographs and copies of the inscription.

As for lexical and grammatical studies, following the first editions of the inscriptions, a good many works on Orkhon Turkic appeared in various countries. A brief morphological sketch of Old Turkic was given in Radloff's first edition: 'Materialien zum Verständniss der Morphologie des alttürkischen Dialektes,' Dritte Lieferung (St. Petersburg 1895), pp. 388-422. Thomsen's edition, too, contained some grammatical explanations (Notes: pp. 135-198), and lexical and grammatical indexes (pp. 199-211). But the first grammatical sketch of Old Turkic was rendered by Radloff: 'Grammatische Skizze der alttürkischen Sprache,' Neue Folge (St. Petersburg 1897), pp. 1-129. Concerning certain passages of the Orkhon inscriptions, some suggestions were made by W. Bang: Über die kök-türkische Inschrift auf der Südseite des Kül-tägin-Denk-mals, Leipzig 1896; 'Zu den Kök-türk-Inschriften der Mongolei,' TP 7 (1896), pp. 325-355; 'Zu den köktürkischen Inschriften,' TP 9 (1898), pp. 117-141. A. Vámbéry, too, made some suggestions in his Noten zu den alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei und Sibiriens (= MSFOu 1899). At the turn of the century Karl Foy published an important article dealing with the distinction between the vowels ä, e and i of the initial syllable in Orkhon Turkic: 'Türkische Vocalstudien,' MSOS 1900, pp. 180-215. In 1913 Thomsen published his well-known article on a hitherto unknown runic letter, the sign for the closed e, occurring in the Yenisei inscriptions: 'Une lettre méconnue des inscriptions de l'Iénissei,' JSFOu 30. Radloff's studies in Old Turkic, however, precede this work of Thomsen: 'Altürkische Studien,' Bull. Acad. imp. Petersburg, I: 1909, pp. 1213-1222; II: 1910, pp. 217-228; III: *ibid.* pp. 1025-1036; IV: 1911, pp. 305-326; V: *ibid.* pp. 427-452; VI: 1912, pp. 747-778. Thomsen's above-mentioned article was followed by his Turcica, a very valuable work dealing with various unclear, uninterpreted or misinterpreted words, locutions and passages in the inscriptions: Turcica, études concernant l'interprétation des inscriptions turques de la Mongolie et de la Sibérie (= MSFOu XXXVII), Helsingfors 1916 (= Afh., pp. 92-198). W. Bang's series

in the field of Turkic comparative studies should be mentioned here: 'Vom Köktürkischen zum Osmanischen' I: ABAW 1917, pp. 1-62; II-III: ABAW 1919, pp. 1-79; IV: ABAW 1921, pp. 1-26.

In 1932 the Finnish scholar Martti Räsänen published an important article on the history of vowel harmony in Turkic: 'Beiträge zur Frage der türkischen Vokalharmonie,' JSFOu XLV, Helsinki 1932, pp. 1-10. In this article he brought evidence for the assumption that the third person possessive suffix was -i/-si in Orkhon Turkic. This suggestion, however, was not a new one; it was considered over thirty years ago by Radloff on the ground that the accusative suffix -n was always written with the sign n² after the third person possessive suffix (cf. Neue Folge, p. 9). In 1936, on the grammatical structure of Turkic, a very remarkable and instructive study, Kaare Gronbech's doctoral dissertation, was published: Der türkische Sprachbau, Kopenhagen 1936. In this work a great many of grammatical problems of Orkhon Turkic have been discussed and solved in a very convincing manner. In 1939 the Hungarian scholar Julius Németh published an authoritative article on the closed e problem in Turkic: 'Zur Kenntnis des geschlossenen e im Türkischen,' KCsA I, Supplement, Budapest and Leipzig 1939, pp. 515-531. Two years later the first grammar of Old Turkic was published by A. von Gabain: Alttürkische Grammatik, Leipzig 1941, (2nd ed. 1950). In this grammar all Turkic texts in runic, Uigur, Sogdian, Manichean, and Brahmi scripts serve as linguistic material. Gabain's work also contains a chrestomathy (pp. 247-290) and an Old Turkic-German-Turkish glossary (pp. 292-357). A dictionary of the words occurring in the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions was compiled by H. N. Orkun: Eski Türk Yazıtları IV, Istanbul 1941. In the same year Németh re-interpreted two puzzling sentences in the Orkhon inscriptions: 'Zur Erklärung der Orkhon-inschriften,' Festschrift Friedrich Giese (= Die Welt des Islams, Sonderband, 1941), pp. 35-45. In 1947 Martti Räsänen

re-edited the last fragmentary passage of the Bilgä Kagan inscription: 'Regenbogen-Himmelsbrücke,' SO XIV, 1 (Helsingfors 1947), pp. 3-11. Two years later a brief but interesting study of Orkhon Turkic phonology appeared in Turkey: A. Cevat Emre, Türk Lehçelerinin Mukayeseli Grameri, Fonetik, Istanbul 1949, pp. 27-55. In 1950 Gabain published an article dealing with certain local adverbs in Old Turkic: 'Über Ortsbezeichnungen im Alttürkischen,' SO XIV, 5 (Helsinki 1950). In 1952 two articles dealing with the problem of vowel harmonies in Old Turkic were published by A. von Gabain ('Zur Geschichte der türkischen Vokalharmonie,' UAJb XXIV, 1-2, pp. 105-111) and by Alessio Bombaci ('Probleme der historischen Lautlehre der türkischen Sprache,' UAJb XXIV, 3-4, pp. 89-105). In 1955 A. von Gabain published an interesting article on the Old Turkic system of dating: 'Alttürkische Datierungsformen,' UAJb XXVII, 3-4, pp. 191-203. In the following year an important study of the conjunctions in Old Turkic was published: Ahmet Temir, 'Die Konjunktionen und Satzeinleitungen im Alttürkischen,' Oriens IX (Leiden 1956), pp. 41-85 and 233-280. In 1957 Nedim Tuna published an article dealing with some spelling rules and certain passages in the Orkhon inscriptions: 'Bazı imlâ gelenekleri,' TDAY 1957, pp. 41-81. In 1960 two more articles by him were published: 'Köktürk yazıtlarında 'ölüm' kavramı ile ilgili kelimeler ve 'kergek bol-' deyiminin izahı,' in: Bilimsel Bildiriler (TDK yayınlarından, Sayı: 179), Ankara 1960, pp. 131-148; 'Köktürk yazılı belgelerinde ve Uygurcada uzun vokaller,' TDAY 1960, pp. 213-282.

In 1959 A. von Gabain produced a concise grammar of Old Turkic: 'Das Alttürkische,' in: Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 21-45. In the following year a grammar of the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions was published in Russia: V. M. Nasilov, Yazık orxono-yeniseyskix pamyatnikov, Moscow 1960. Unfortunately, the author of this book did not take into account the works published outside Russia, through

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

1. SCRIPT

1.1. The Alphabet

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

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

1.1.1. The Characters

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

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

Characters	Transliteration	Transcription
↓	s ²	<u>ās</u> , <u>s</u>
◊ (T, O, KČ, ⚡, O, ⚡)	t ¹	<u>at</u> , <u>t</u>
h h	t ²	<u>āt</u> , <u>t</u>
↓	y ¹	<u>ay</u> , <u>y</u>
9 (T 99, O 9, KČ 9)	y ²	<u>āy</u> , <u>y</u>
↓	q	<u>oq</u> , <u>uq</u> , <u>qo</u> , <u>qu</u> , <u>q</u>
⌢ (T, O, KČ, ⌢)	k	<u>ök</u> , <u>ük</u> , <u>kö</u> , <u>kü</u> , <u>k</u>
◁ (T, O ▷)	q̇	<u>iḡ</u> , <u>qī</u> , <u>q</u>
†	ič	<u>ič</u>
⋈	č	<u>ač</u> , <u>ač</u> , <u>č</u>
⋈ (T ⋈)	m	<u>am</u> , <u>ām</u> , <u>m</u>
⋈	ṅ	<u>aṅ</u> , <u>āṅ</u> , <u>ṅ</u>
⋈	ŋ	<u>aŋ</u> , <u>āŋ</u> , <u>ŋ</u>
1	p	<u>ap</u> , <u>āp</u> , <u>p</u>
†	š	<u>as</u> , <u>āš</u> , <u>š</u>
⌢ (T, O, KČ, ⌢)	z	<u>az</u> , <u>āz</u> , <u>z</u>
M	lt	<u>alt</u> , <u>lt</u>
⋈	nč	<u>anč</u> , <u>anč</u> , <u>nč</u>
☺ (T ☺, O ☺, KČ ☺)	nt	<u>ant</u> , <u>ant</u> , <u>nt</u>
↓	aš	<u>aš</u>
⋈	baš	<u>baš</u> ²

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

1. 12. Origin of the Alphabet

Various theories have so far been put forward on the origin of the Turkic 'runic' script. Otto Donner, still before the script was deciphered, drew attention to the general conformity between the characters of the Yenisei script, that is, the Turkic 'runic' script, and the Lycian and Carian alphabets of Asia Minor of the antiquity, and assumed that the Yenisei script might have been derived from these alphabets.³ Thomsen, who deciphered the Turkic 'runic' script, did not accept this assumption and put forward the theory that the Turkic alphabet was derived from the late Semitic (Aramaic) alphabet, with or without an Iranian intermediary.⁴ Aristov and Mallitskiy suggested that the letters of the Turkic 'runic' script might have been developed from the Turkic tamgas.⁵ According to Polivanov,

Yenisei inscriptions, and in the manuscripts found in Eastern Turkestan: ʏ = s¹ (in back-vocalic words), ʏ = e (closed e), ◊, ⊙ = ɣ¹, ⌢, ⋈ = up (in the manuscripts), ⋈ = ot (in İrq Bitig), ^ = š.

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

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

⁵ N. N. Aristov, 'Zametki ob etničeskom sostave tyurkskix plemen i narodov,' in: Živaya Starina III-IV, 1896 (I quote this from A. Caferoğlu, Türk Dili Tarihi I, İstanbul 1958, p. 115).

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

the Turkic script was mainly derived from the Turkic tamgas, but was slightly influenced by the Aramaic-Sogdian and Pehlevi alphabets.⁶ He also suggested that certain letters of the alphabet are ideograms. Finally, A. C. Emre put forward the theory that the Turkic 'runes' are ideographic in character and developed from the same source as the Sumerian linears.⁷

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

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

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

⁸ Otto Donner, in his article 'Sur l'origine de l'alphabet turc du Nord de l'Asie,' JSFOu XIV, 1 (Helsingfors 1896), agreed with Thomsen and made the first attempt to identify the Aramaic/Iranian originals of certain 'runic' letters.

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

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

is mainly derived from the Aramaic alphabet, through one or more Iranian intermediaries.⁹ In fact, there is a fairly close resemblance between certain letters of the Turkic alphabet and those of the Aramaic/Iranian alphabets.¹⁰ Therefore, it is possible that the inventor of the Turkic alphabet took as his principal model some form of the Aramaic alphabet which had been adapted for writing some Iranian language; but, obviously, this was no more than a beginning. The inventor must have invented a number of letters for which no Aramaic/Iranian model can be found. Furthermore, he made at least two great innovations: (1) he invented special letters used only to designate vowels; (2) he invented a number of letters which could be used only to designate consonants occurring in back-vocalic words and a number of letters which could be used only to designate consonants occurring in front-vocalic words.

Bloomington 1962, p. 199).

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

¹⁰ Sir Gerard Clauson, who most recently reviewed the matter, made a new attempt to identify the Aramaic/Iranian originals of certain 'runic' letters and came to the conclusion that the inventor of the Turkic script used fifteen of the twenty-two Aramaic/Iranian letters as models for his alphabet; in other words, of the uniconsonantal signs of the 'runic' script, only fifteen can certainly be identified with the Aramaic/Iranian models (Turkish and Mongolian Studies, London 1962, p. 79). These letters are: a/e= aleph, b/v= beth, o/u= vau, front s/š= zain, velar k= cheth, post-palatal k= caph, back l= lamed, m= mem, back n= nun, back s= samech, p/f= pe, č= tzaddi, back r= resh, back š= schin and front t= tau (op. cit., pp. 78, 79).

Thus, all uniconsonantal and vocalic signs of the Turkic alphabet can be explained partly as reproductions of the letters of some Aramaic/Iranian alphabet and partly being the inventions of an inventor; but, this assumption still leaves quite a few, almost a dozen, signs unexplained. These are the so-called 'di-graphs' or 'ligatures'. It has been suggested that these signs, too, were invented by the inventor who may have got this idea from the ligatures in Greek cursive script.¹¹ The fact that there is no resemblance between any of the 'digraphs' and the letters representing their constituent sounds refutes this theory. The signs for the sound combinations lt, nč, nt, oq/uq/qo/qu, ök/ük/kö/kü, iq/qi, ič, aš, baš, up, and ot cannot be regarded as ligatures, because none of them seems to be a combination of two letters.¹² There is no doubt that these signs are syllabic, not alphabetic. Therefore, it would be sensible to assume that they have an independent origin and developed from ideograms. It should be noted that even Thomsen, founder of the Aramaic origin theory, admitted that the letters y¹ (back y), oq/uq and b² might have been ideographic in character, e. g., ay= moon, oq= arrow and äb= house.¹³

Another difficulty in accepting the Aramaic/Iranian origin theory is that in Aramaic a given sign designates syllables consisting of a given consonant and any vowel, e. g., beth means ba, bi, bu, etc., while in the Turkic

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

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

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

script consonantal signs represent syllables beginning with a or ä and ending in the characteristic consonant, e. g., ab, äb, aq, äk, al, äl, etc. It must be for this reason that initial a and ä are left unwritten, and that all final vowels are designated.

No matter how it was invented or came into being, there is no doubt that the Turkic 'runic' script is one of the most ingeniously devised alphabets of the first millennium. How early it was invented and began to be used is not known; but, it is certainly older than the Turkic inscriptions which date from the first half of the eighth century A. D. and are the earliest specimens of this script which have come down to us.¹⁴ The Turkic 'runic' script probably began to be used as early as the middle of the sixth century, as the official alphabet of the Turkic

¹⁴ Because of their generally primitive appearance it was first supposed that the Yenisei inscriptions found in the basin of the upper Yenisei and its tributaries must be older than the Orkhon inscriptions. This theory, however, now turns out false. For merely archeological reasons, it has been suggested that, with one or two exceptions, these inscriptions cannot be earlier than the ninth and tenth centuries (see G. Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian Studies*, p. 69 ff.). The same can be claimed for linguistic, graphical and orthographical reasons. The dialects in which these inscriptions are written do not seem to be more archaic than that of the Orkhon inscriptions. Primitive appearance of these inscriptions must be due to the fact that they were inscribed by less educated and less skilled masons in some distant tribal region.

Empire.¹⁵ After this empire had collapsed in the middle of the eighth century, it was retained for a time, probably for about a century, as the official alphabet of the first Uigur Empire (745-840). Finally, it was replaced by the Uigur alphabet.

1.2. Orthography

1.21. System of Writing

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

1.22. Spelling Rules

1.221. Indication of Vowels

1.2211. Initial Vowels

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

¹⁵ The Chinese chronicle Chou-shu, which was finished in about 629, says that 'The script of the T'u-küe resembles that of the Hu-Barbarians (Sogdians)' (see Liu, p. 10).

beginning of words. This rule is probably due to the fact that most of the consonant characters designate syllables beginning with a or ä and ending in the proper consonant: d¹q adaq 'foot' (KT N 7), l¹t¹un¹ altun 'gold' (BK S 11), r¹t¹q artuq 'too many, very many' (KČ E 13), d²gü ädgü 'good' (BK S 12), mgk ämgäk 'trouble' (KT E 19), r²n² ärän 'men' (BK S 11), ki eki 'two' (TI W 4), l² el 'people' (KT E 4), etc.

2⁰. The vowel ä, however, is sometimes marked. Throughout the five inscriptions, only in the following instances the initial ä is indicated: ač äč 'hungry' (BK E 38), ačs¹q äčsīq 'the being hungry' (BK N 6), ačs²q äčsīq id. (KT S 8, 8), ačs¹ar¹ äčsār 'if you are hungry' (BK N 6), at¹ āt 'name, title' (BK E 41), at¹γ ātiγ 'the title' (acc.) (KT W 2, KČ W 1), at¹in² ātīn 'the titles of' (acc.) (KT E 7, 7).

3⁰. The vowels i and ī are always indicated at the beginning of words: id¹q īduq 'sacred, holy' (TII W 3), iyr¹ īyar 'dear, beloved' (KT SE), it¹i īt(t)ī '(they) sent' (KT S 12), ičkd²i ičikdi '(they) submitted' (TI W 2), igd² igid 'falsehood' (KT S 10), il²gr²ü ilgärü 'eastwards' (KT E 12), etc.

If the following sound is č, the syllabic sign Ÿ (= ič) may be used to designate the initial sound group ič: ičkd²i ičikdi '(they) submitted' (BK E 37), ičr²a ičrā 'secret' (TI N 10), etc. (see 1.22234.)

The initial i has not been marked only in the following examples: s²b¹r¹a (i)sbara proper name (O F 4), s²b¹r¹t¹r¹qn¹ (i)sbar(a) tarqan (O Balbal), s²g (i)sig 'the labor' (acc.) (TII E 2; O R 2, 3), s²t²mi (i)stāmi proper name (BK E 3), üzči öz (i)či 'its own interior' (TI S 6), d²i (i)di 'completely' (TI E 4), l²gr²ü (i)lgärü 'eastwards' (KT E 21), ŋl²ki an (i)lki 'first' (KT E 32).

4⁰. The rounded vowels o, u, ö, and ü are always indicated at the beginning of words: uγl¹m oγlum 'my son' (BK S 9), ut¹z otuz 'thirty' (KT N 1), učz učuz 'easy' (TI W 13), ur¹š uruš 'battle' (O R 2), ügz ögüz 'river' (KT E 17), ü¹l²gl²i ölgäli 'in order to die' (KT N 10), üčn² üčün

'since' (KT W 1), üzgl²i üzgäli 'in order to break' (TI S 6), etc.

If the following sound is q, the syllabic sign ↓ (=oq/uq) is preferably used to designate the sound group oq: qun¹ oqun 'with an arrow' (KT E 33, 36), etc. (see 1.22231).

If the following sound is k, the syllabic sign Ħ, β (=ök/ük) is preferably used to designate the initial sound groups ök and ük: kün² ökün 'regret!' (BK E 19), küş üküš 'numerous' (KT S 10), etc. (see 1.22232).

1.2212. Non-Initial Vowels of the First Syllable

1°. The non-initial a, ä and e of the first syllable are usually not expressed: b¹l¹ĥ balıq 'city, town' (TI E 2), t¹b¹s¹γn¹ tabisγan 'rabbit' (TI S 1), b²d²z bädiz 'picture' (KT S 12), s²b²n²p säbinip 'having been pleased' (BK E 2), b²r²ms² bermis 'he gave' (KT E 14), y²r² yer 'earth' (BK N 10), etc.

The vowel ä of the first syllable is marked only in the following word: t¹amqa tāmqa 'on the wall' (KT SE).

2°. The vowel i/i of the first syllable is, as a rule, marked: b¹iγ bīγ 'thousand' (TI E 1), qir¹q qīrq 'forty' (KG N 2), y¹il¹qa yīlqa 'in the year' (O R 4), b²il²ga bilgä 'wise' (KT E 3), kis²i kisī 'man, human being' (BK E 3), etc.

If the preceding sound is q, the syllabic sign <, > (=iq/qi) may be used to indicate the sound group qi: q¹l¹p qīlip 'having done' (O R 2), q²s²ms² qīsmis 'he suppressed' (O F 1). See 1.22233.2°.

In the following examples, however, i/i of the first syllable is not indicated: s¹md¹i s(i)madī 'he did not destroy' (KČ E 8), y¹γd¹m y(i)γdīm 'I terrified' (O R 1), y²γd¹m y(i)γdīm id. (O R 1); b²l²tkmn² b(i)ltükümün 'with what I know' (KČ S 3), b²l²ga b(i)lgä (TI W 5; O R 2, 3, 4; KČ W 8, 10, 12), (b²l²)ga b(i)lgä (KČ E 2; O Supp. 4), (b²l²g)a b(i)lgä (KČ E 7), b²l²gas²i b(i)lgäsī 'his counselor' (KČ E 5), b²l²gs²i b(i)lgäsī id. (TI W 7), (b²)l²gas²in²

b(i)lgäsīn, 'his wiseness' (acc.) (KČ W 7), b²l²gn² b(i)ligin 'with intellect' (KČ S 3), b²n²t²r²a b(i)nt(ü)rä 'having ordered (the soldiers) to mount' (TI N 1), b²z b(i)z 'we' (O F 7, 7; TI S 6), b²zn²i b(i)zni 'us' (TI E 3), t²l²d²m t(i)lädīm 'I looked for' (TI E 6), y²msq y(i)mšaq 'soft' (KT S 5, 6; BK N 4, 4), y²nčga y(i)nčgä 'tender' (TI S 6, 6), y²nčü yinčü 'pearl' (KT S 3, BK N 3, TI S 2, KČ E 4), y²r² y(i)r 'north' in y(i)r bayırqu (KT E 34, BK N 3), y²pr¹iγ yipariγ 'the scent' (BK S 11).

3°. The rounded vowel of the first syllable is, as a rule, marked: b¹ud¹n¹ bodun 'people' (KT E 9), qur¹γn¹ qorγan 'fort, fortress' (KT N 8), b¹ul¹γ buluγ 'quarter' (KT E 2), y¹uy¹qa yuyqa 'thin' (TI S 6), b²ür²i böri 'wolf' (KT E 12), kür²g körtüg 'scout' (TI S 1), kün²i küni 'envy' (BK E 30), t²ükt²i tükäti 'completely' (KT S 1), etc.

If the following sound is q, the syllabic sign ↓ may be used to represent the sound groups oq and uq: t¹q toq 'full, satiated' (TI S 1), t¹quz toquz 'nine' (KT N 6), b¹qa buqa 'bull' (TI W 6), etc. (see 1.22231).

If the following sound is k, the sound groups ök and ük may be written with the syllabic sign Ħ, β: s²kd²m sökdüm 'I made a way' (TI N 1), t²kt²i töküti 'having shed' (TI E 2), y²kn²t²i yüküti '(they) submitted' (TI N 4), etc. (see 1.22232).

If the initial consonant is q, the syllabic sign ↓ may be used to represent the sound groups qo and qu: qpn² qopin 'all together' (TI S 9), q¹n¹l¹d¹m qunladīm 'I took my revenge' (O R 1), q¹t¹ qut 'fortune' (O F 8).

If the initial consonant is k, the sound groups kö and kü may be marked with the syllabic sign Ħ, β: k¹l¹kn²m kölikin 'with carts' (TI S 8), k¹r² kör 'try (to ride fast)!' (TI N 2), k¹r²t²g körtüg 'you (lit.: "thou") have seen' (O F 7).

The rounded vowel of the first syllable is not expressed only in the following examples: b¹l¹γ b(u)luγ 'quarter' (KT E 2), b²gü b(ö)gü personal name (TI S 6).

1.2213. Word-Final Vowels

1°. All final vowels are marked. This rule testifies to the fact that the consonant signs designate syllables ending in the proper consonant: r¹a ara 'between' (KT E 1), b¹uyl¹nti boyluzlant¹ 'he was slaughtered' (TI N 2), ul¹y¹u ulayu 'and' (KT N 9), kis²i kis¹i 'people, person' (TIS 3), b²ngü bängü 'everlasting' (KT S 8), etc.

2°. In the following word groups written together the final vowel of the first is not represented. This is probably due to the fact that such groups were considered one word by the inscriber: nčt¹qi anč(a)-taq¹ 'moreover' (KT S 13), s²b¹r¹t¹r¹qn¹ (i)sbar(a)-tarqan personal name (O Balbal), qnty¹n² qant(a)-yan 'from Khan' (TI N 9), y²ir¹d¹ nty¹n¹ yiridint(a)-yan 'from the north' (TIS 4).

1.2214. Vowels of Non-First Syllables

1°. The vowels a and ä of non-first syllables, as a rule, are not marked: qz¹yn¹ms¹r¹ qazyanmasar 'if (I) had not won' (TII E 5), y¹l¹b¹či yalabač¹i 'their envoy' (BK E 39), b²üks²i bökäs¹i 'his champion warrior' (KČ E 5), kl²r²m äkälär¹m 'my elder sister' (KT N 9), s²ü-l²ms²r² sülämäsär 'if (we) do not wage war' (TI E 3), etc.; but b²l²gas²i bilgäs¹i 'his counselor' (KČ E 5), [b²]l²gas²in² bilgäs¹n 'his wisdom' (acc.) (KČ W 7).

The vowel ä, however, is sometimes marked. Only in the following examples ä of the non-first syllables is written: pam apām 'my ancestors' (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), pamz apamiz 'our ancestors' (KT E 19; O F 1), r¹qas¹in² arqās¹n 'its rump' (acc.) (KČ E 9), s¹iγt¹ams² siytāmis 'they lamented' (KT E 4), s²iγt¹amš siytāmiš id. (BK E 5), t¹pl¹amd¹i taplamadi 'they did not like' (BK E 35), un¹amγ unāmaγ 'do not agree!' (TI N 11), y¹uγl¹amš yoγlāmiš 'they mourned' (BK E 5), y¹uγl¹ams² yoγlāmis id. (KT E 4); ačs¹ar¹ āčsār 'if you are hungry' (BK N 6).

2°. The vowels i/ī of non-first syllables are generally left undesignated: d¹yr¹γ adγirīγ 'the stallion' (acc.) (KT E 36), d¹r¹l¹ml¹m adrīlmalim 'let us not be parted!' (O R 3), b¹uγs²z buγsiz 'in abundance' (TII S 4),

t¹ut¹s¹qyn¹ tutsiqiñ 'your ruling' (acc.) (KT S 10), b²d²z bādiz 'picture' (KT N 13), y²gr²miyegirmi 'twenty' (KT E 11), ül²s²kyn² ölsikiñ 'your being killed' (acc.) (KT S 10), t²ür²gs² türgis ethnic name (KT N 13), etc.

The exceptions are: qit¹mz aqit(t)imiz 'we rode fast' (KT N 8), but qt¹d¹mz aqitdīmiz id. (TI N 1); n¹in¹ anin 'by means of it' (TI E 7); r¹iγu ariγu 'to become tired' (TII W 2); b²ir²ü äbirü 'going around' (TI N 2), but b²r²ü äbirü (TI N 4; BK E 25); kin²l²g äkinlig 'hemmed?' (BK N 11); r²ig ärig 'reachable' (KT S 13), but r²g ärig (KT S 13); s²id² äsid 'hear!' (KT S 2), s²id²gl² äsidgil id. (KT S 1), s²id²γ äsidiñ id. (KT S 10; BK N 8), but generally s²d²-; in²is²i inis¹i 'their younger brothers' (KT E 5), but generally in²s²i inis¹i; qur¹iγr¹u qurīyaru 'westwards' (KT S 2, 3, E 24; BK N 2, 3, E 11), but generally qur¹t; qur¹iqn¹ qurīqan ethnic name (KT E 4, 14; BK E 5); uyl¹it¹i oyliñ 'their sons' (KT E 5; BK E 5); y²gir²mi yegirmi 'twenty', but generally y²gr²mi; y²t²inč yetinč 'seventh' (O R 4), but y²it²nč yitinč (KT N 5, NE); y²pr¹iγ yipariγ 'the scent' (acc.) (BK S 11); y¹ul¹id¹mz yulidīmiz 'we plundered' (TII W 4), r¹mqčis²in² armaq-čis¹n (KT E 6), y¹γučis²i ayγučis¹i (TIS 3; E 4, N 5), b²d²zčig bādizčig (KT S 12, NE; BK N 14), y¹γicis²i yaγičis¹i (TII S 6); kl²t²čimz kältäčimiz (TI S 7), ul²t²čiča öltäčica (BK E 2); d¹nčīγ adinč(č)īγ (KT S 12), but generally d¹ncγ; y¹γs²iz yaγīsiz (KT E 30), but generally -s¹z/-s²z.

3°. The vowels ī/ī of non-first syllables are generally written: γis²i ayīs¹i (KT S 5), b²it²id²m bitidim (KT SE), t¹uqid¹m toqīdīm (BK E 31), y¹γiγ yayīγ (KT E 15), y¹zid¹a yazīda (TI N 9), ql¹is²z qalīsiz (KT N 1), qr¹ip qarīp (KČ W 3), kis²ig kisīg (KT S 6), etc.

The exceptions are: b²it²d²m bitidim (KT SW; BK SW), b²(t²)d²m (KČ S 2), but generally bitidim, bitit-; b²it²gma bitigmā (KT S 13, SE); b²it²g bitig (KT S 13, SE, N 13, NE; O Supp. 1), but b²t²ig bitīg (KČ S 3); čim äčim (KT E 17; BK E 15, 20, N 9), but generally čim

äcīm; kn^2t^2i (KT N 5), knti (BK S 1), but generally ekinti; s^2l^2k (BK E 7; KT E 24), but s^2il^2k esilik (KT E 7); $kis^2l^2gü$ kisiligü (BK E 41), but generally kisig, kisisin; $s^2üçg$ süçig (BK N 4, 4, 5), but $s^2üçig$ süçig (KT S 5, 5, 6); $t^2ül^2s^2$ (BK E 12, S 13), but $t^2ül^2is^2$ tölis (KT E 33); ud^1mad^1m udimadim (KT E 27), but ud^1imd^1m udimadim (BK E 22); ud^1mt^1i udimatı (TII E 1); ud^1s^2qm udisiqim (TI E 5), ud^1s^2iqm udisiqim (TIS 5); y^1ys^2i yayisi (BK E 11), y^1ymz yayimiz (TIS 1, TII E 2); y^1ys^2iz (KT E 30), y^1ys^2z (BK E 24) yayisiz, but generally yayiy, yayiga, yayisi; y^1ur^1- yori- (KT E 12, 40, S 9; BK E 37, SE; TIS 4, N 5; OF 5, R 3), but generally y^1ur^1i- yori- (KT S 4, 6), $y^1ur^1t^1-$ yorit- (KT S 4, 6) but $y^1ur^1it^1-$ yorit- (TIN 1, 11); t^2zka tazikkä (KČ E 4), but t^2zik tazik (TII S 1); in the suffix -ayin/-äyin: $nt^1y^1n^2$ anıtayin (BK E 41), $igd^2y^2n^2$ igidäyin (BK E 35), but generally $-y^1in^2/-y^2in^2$; in the suffix -i/-si: $b^1t^1s^2qra$ batsiqira (OF 2), b^2qa äbiqä (KČ W 3, E 8), r^2n^2 ärin (OF 3), l^2qa eliqä (OF 4), il^2n^2 ilin (BK E 28), il^2qa iliqä (TI W 1), qut^1qa qutiqa (KT E 31), uy^1n^2 oylin (KT E 7), $t^1s^1n^1$ tasin (TIS 6), $t^2gd^2kn^2$ tagdükin (OR 2), t^1uys^2- qqa toysiqira (OF 2), ... $yqqa$ tur yaciqa (BK E 40), y^1zqa yaziqa (BK E 31), $y^2r^2n^2$ yerin (BK E 35), $y^2r^2qr^2ü$ yeri-ärü (BK E 40), y^2r^2qa yeriqä (BK N 3), y^2ir^2qa yiriqä (BK E 15), $y^2üzqa$ yüziqä (KT E 33); in the suffix -ir/-ir: $b^2il^2r^2$ bilir (KT N 10), but $b^2il^2ir^2$ bilir (KT E 34); kl^2r^2 kälir (OR 2), but kl^2ir^2 kälir (TIN 8).

4°. The vowels u/ü are generally written after syllables formed with the unrounded vowels: $l^1t^1un^1$ altun 'gold' (KT N 12), $t^1l^1uy^1$ taluy 'sea, ocean' (TIE 1), d^2 gütü ädgüti 'well' (TIN 10), čüm äcüm 'my ancestors' (KT E 1), etc.

Rounded vowels occurring after unrounded ones are not marked only in the following examples: $ltzd^1i$ alt(u)zdı (KT E 38), $b^2n^2t^2r^2a$ b(i)nt(ü)rä (TIN 1), r^2mzn^2 ärmäz(ü)n (OF 3), $t^2ir^2gr^2ü$ tirg(ü)rü (KT E 29), y^1ntr^1u yant(u)ru (KT N 11), $y^2it^2mzn^2$ yitmäz(ü)n (OF 3), $y^2it^2rü$ yit(ü)rü (KT E 7; BK E 7).

5°. Rounded vowels occurring after syllables formed with rounded vowels are not written in general: $b^1ud^1n^1$ bodun (KT N 3), t^1uqz toquz (BK E 1), ügzg ögüzüg (BK E 30), $s^2ünş$ sünüş (BK E 34), $kümş$ kümüş (KT S 5), etc.

The exceptions are:

A. The short connective vowels in the following words: $b^1ud^1un^1$ bodun (KT E 4), but generally $b^1ud^1n^1$; qr^1l^1quy qarluquy (KT N 2); $qunčy^1uy$ qunčuyuy (KT E 20), but qu (nč) y^1y (BK E 17); qun^1 oqun (KT E 33, 36): ul^1ur^1- olur- (TIN 8), but generally ul^1r^1- ; $s^2ünş$ sünüş (KT E 24), but $s^2ünş$ sünüş (BK E 20); $küş$ üküş (KT S 10), but generally üks; $küş$ üküş (KT S 6; TII W 4, 5), but üks² (TI W 7) and üks² g üküş (OF 7).

B. The stem-final vowels of the following words: $b^1ul^1čud^1a$ bolčuda (BK E 28; KT E 37), $b^1ul^1čuqa$ bolčuqa (TIN 11); $ur^1tus^2inr^1u$ ortusiñaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2), but $ur^1t^1s^2inr^1u$ (BK N 2).

C. The rounded vowels of the following suffixes:

a. -čun: $b^1ul^1čun^1$ bolčun (KT E 11; BK E 10).

b. -yur/-gür: $b^1uşyur^1ms^2$ boşyurmis (KT E 13), $b^1uşyur^1mş$ boşyurmiş (BK E 12), $b^1uşyur^1ur$ boş-yurür (KT S 7, 7; BK N 5).

c. -qun (←yun): $b^1uzqunča$ buzqunča (OR 1).

d. -tur/-tür: $quntur^1-$ qontur- (KT E 21), but generally $quntr^1-$; $küt^2ür^2-$ kötür- (KT E 11), but generally $küt^2r^2-$; $ügt^2ür^2-$ ögtür- (KT W 2); $ur^1t^1ur^1-$ urtur- (KT S 12); $y^2ügt^2ür^2-$ yügtür- (KČ W 2); $y^2ükntür-$ yüküntür- (KT E 15), but generally $y^2ükntür^2-$.

e. -ur/-ür: $ül^2ür^2-$ ölür- (KT E 10, N 1; TIS 3, 4), but generally $ül^2r^2-$; $s^2ükür-$ sökür- (KT E 2, 15), but generally $s^2ükr^2-$; $t^2üs^2ür^2-$ tüsür- (TIN 3); $y^1unşur^1-$ yonşur- (KT E 6; BK E 7).

D. The rounded vowels of the following words: ükün² ökün- (KT E 23), $kün^2$ ökün (BK E 19), but $ükün^2$ ökün-; t^1quz toquz (KT N 4 and 8 more occurrences), but generally t^1uqz ; $t^2ügl^2t^2ün^2$ tögültün (BK N 5), but $t^2ügl^2t^2n^2$ (KT S 6); $y^2küntr^2-$ yüküntür- (KT E 18), but generally $y^2ükntür^2-$.

E. Long vowels: $ur^1 d^1 uy$ ordūy (KT N 8, 9); $ur^1 uq̃i$ orūq̃i (TI E 7); $s^2 ūḡḡ sūḡḡ$ (KT E 35), but generally $s^2 ūḡḡ; t^2 ūr^2 ūḡ tōrūḡ$ (KT E 3, 16, 30; BK E 2, 4, 36), $t^2 ūr^2 ūd^2 a$ tōrūdā (KT E 16, BK E 14), $t^2 ūr^2 ūmz$ (KT E 22), $t^2 ūr^2 ūn^2$ tōrūn (BK N 9, 10, 10), $t^2 ūr^2 ūḡn$ tōrūḡn (KT E 22), $t^2 ūr^2 ūs^2 in^2$ tōrūsīn (KT E 1, 8, 13, 31; BK E 3), $t^2 ūr^2 ūs^2 in^2$ tōrūsīnčā (KT E 13; BK E 12), but $t^2 ūr^2 gn^2$ tōrūḡn (BK E 19), $t^2 ūr^2 s^2 in^2$ tōrūsīn (BK E 8), $(t^2 ū)r^2 s^2 in^2$ tōrūsīn (BK E 11); $t^2 ūr^2 ū-$ tōrū- (KT N 10), $t^2 ūpūt^2$ tūpūt (KT E 4; BK E 5), $t^2 ūpūt^2 ka$ tūpūtka (KT S 3; BK N 3); $ūt^2 ūkn^2$ ötükān (KT S 8; BK N 6), but generally $ūt^2 kn^2$, $ūt^2 kn^2$; $ūt^2 ūl^2 g$ ötülüg (BK E 34); $ūčün^2$ ūčūn (KT N 4 and 17 more occurrences), but generally $ūčn^2$; $ūl^2 ūgm$ ūlūgm (KT E 29), but generally $ūl^2 g$; in the suffix $-ūr/-ḡr$: $kūr^2 ūr^2$ körūr (KT N 10; BK N 2), but $kūr^2 r^2$ (TI W 1); $qur^1 qur^1$ gorqūr (TI W 4); $ul^1 r^1 ur^1$ olurūr (KT E 3; BK E 4; TI W 7, S 1; TI N 4), but $ul^1 r^1 r^1$ (TI S 1); $ūy^2 ūr^2$ öyūr (KT S 5); $ūkl^2 ūr^2$ ökülūr (TI N 8); $b^1 ušyur^1 ur^1$ bošyurūr (KT S 7, 7; BK N 5).

1.222. Indication of Consonants

1.2220. The Double 'Consonant-Characters' System

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

$ql^1 md^1 i$ <u>qalḡmadī</u> (TI W 4)	$kl^2 md^2 i$ <u>kālmādi</u> (TI S 5)
$b^1 l^1 s^1 r^1$ <u>ablasar</u> (KČ W 9)	$b^2 l^2 s^2 r^2$ <u>āblāsār</u>
$s^1 b^1 y^1$ <u>sabīy</u> (TI N 9)	$s^2 b^2 g$ <u>sābig</u> (BK S 14)
$y^1 l^1 m +$ <u>yalma</u> + (KT E 33)	$y^2 l^2 ma$ <u>yālmā</u> (TI N 10)

However, there are instances in which certain front-vocalic consonant signs are used instead of their back-vocalic counter-parts. Some of these spellings are just scribal errors and do not reflect any phonetical development: $b^2 ul^1 ḡy$ buluḡy (O F 1), $qyn^1 l^1 d^2 ḡ$ qayanladuḡ (O F 2), $qzyn^1 ms^1 r^2$ qazyānmasar (TI E 4, N 1), etc. Some of them, however, seem phonetically significant: $qt^1 yd^2 i$ qatiydi (KT N 11), $s^2 iy^1 u$ siyu (KT E 36), $t^2 iḡl^1 a$ tinla (KT S 2), $y^2 imšq$ yimšaq (KT S 5), etc. (see Palatalization 2. 14).

The most common front-vocalic consonant signs frequently used in back-vocalic words are l (= s^2) and $ḡ$ (= y^2).

1.2221. Use of the Sign s^2

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

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

A. Before or after i : $ačs^2 q$ āčsīq (KT S 8, 8), but $ačs^1 q$ (BK N 6); $b^1 (s^2) qd^1 i$ bašiqdī (KT N 8); $b^1 t^1 s^2 ḡiḡa$ batsīḡiḡa (KT S 2), $b^1 t^1 s^2 qra$ batsīḡiḡa (O F 2), but $b^1 t^1 s^1 ḡiḡa$ (BK N 2), $b^1 t^1 s^1 qd^1 qi$ (KT N 12); $čb^1 s^2 i$ čabīsī (TI W 7; KČ E 5); $qb^1 s^2 l^1 m$ qabīsālīm (TI E 3), but $qb^1 s^1 p$ qabīsīp (TI E 4), $qb^1 s^1 r^1$ qabīs(s)ar (TI S 5); $ul^1 r^1 s^2 qm$ olursīqīm (TI E 5), but $ul^1 r^1 s^1 qm$ (TI S 5); $t^1 uys^2 qḡa$ toysīḡiḡa (O F 2); $ud^1 s^2 iqm$ (TI S 5) and $ud^1 s^2 ḡm$ udīsīḡīm (TI E 5); $y^2 il^1 s^2 y$ (KT E 26) and $(y)il^1 s^2 y$ [y]ilsīy (BK E 21). See Palatalization 2. 14.

B. Before or after the vowels a and u : $b^1 s^2 d^1 m$ bašdīm (O R 1), generally $b^1 s^1 -$; $b^1 s^2 ms^2$ basmis (O F 1);

b¹ ul¹ s² r¹ bolsar (TIS 6), generally -s¹ r¹; b¹ us² t¹ ... busta [dī?] (KT NE); s² b¹ n¹ sabīn (TIN 5), generally s¹ b¹; s² b¹ γ sabīγ (TIS 5); s² d¹ sad (OF 6, 8), generally šd¹, s¹ d¹; s² nčd¹ m sančdim (OR 2), generally s¹ nč-; s² qntm saqintīm (TI W 6; OR 2), generally s¹ qntm; s² ub¹ sub (TI W 3), generally s¹ ub¹; t¹ r¹ d¹ us² tardus (TIN 7, TI W 6), generally t¹ r¹ d¹ uš; t¹ s² ul¹ ... tasul [mazun] (OF 8); ul¹ s² ulus (KT N 12); y¹ l¹ qus² yalīqus (KČ E 11), y¹ ur¹ ms² r¹ yorīmasar (TIN 5).

1.2222. Use of the Sign y²

1°. In first syllable with i initial y is generally represented by the front-vocalic consonant sign y² instead of its back counterpart y¹: y² il¹ yīl (in general), but y¹ il¹ qa yīlqa (OR 4); y² il¹ qī yīlqī (in general), but y¹ (l¹) q(..) in¹ yīlq[ī]s[ī]n (KT SW); y² il¹ pγut¹ i yīlpaγuti (BK E 31); y² il¹ s² γ yīlsīγ (KT E 26); y² is¹ γr¹ u yīsγaru (TIS 8), but generally y¹ is¹.

2°. The sign y² is also used to designate initial y in the following words: y² uγn¹ yoγun (TIS 7), but y¹ uγn¹ (BK S 15); y² uq yoq (TI E 1), y² q̄ (TI E 4), but generally y¹ q̄, y¹ uq̄; y² ur¹ il¹ m yorīlīm (TIN 5), but generally y¹ ur¹ i-; y² ur¹ it¹ - yorīt- (TIN 11), but y¹ ur¹ it¹ - (TIN 1), y¹ ur¹ t¹ - (KT S 4, 6).

1.2223. Use of Syllabic Signs

1.22231. Use of the Syllabic Sign q̄

The syllabic sign q̄ is used to represent:

1°. The sound group oq: q̄ oq emphasizing particle (TI W 7, E 2, E 3), un¹ q̄ on-oq (in general), qun¹ oqun (KT E 33, 36), but uqs¹ z oqsīz (KT E 3; BK E 4), uqγl¹ i oqīyalī (BK E 38); t¹ q̄ toq (TIS 1), t¹ q̄r¹ toqar (TI S 1); t¹ q̄id¹ i toqīdī (KT N 6), but t¹ uqid¹ m toqīdim (BK E 31, S 8); t¹ q̄it¹ d¹ m toqītdīm (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15, 15), but t¹ uqit¹ d¹ m (KT S 12); t¹ q̄uz toquz (KT N 4, 6, 9, S 2, S 3, E 14; BK E 12, 35), t¹ q̄(..) toq[uz] (BK S 9), t¹ q̄z toquz

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

The vowel sign u is used before the syllabic sign q̄ in the following example: y¹ uq̄ yōq (KT E 11, 39; OF 1).

2°. The sound group uq in medial and final positions: r¹ t¹ q̄ artuq (KT E 33), d¹ r¹ md¹ q̄ adrīlmaduq (OR 3), b¹ r¹ d¹ q̄ barduq (KT E 24), b¹ ul¹ t¹ q̄ d¹ a boltuqda (OF 1), b¹ ul¹ - t¹ q̄ inta boltuqīnta (KT N 3), b¹ q̄a buqa (TI W 6), b¹ uy¹ r¹ q̄ buyruq (KT S 1), etc.

The vowel sign u is used before the syllabic sign q̄ in the following examples: b¹ uq̄a būqa (TI W 6), b¹ uq̄l¹ i būqalī (TI W 5, 5), ur¹ uq̄i orūqī (TI E 7).

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

3°. The sound group qo in the following words: qpn² qopin (TIS 9); qn¹ l¹ d¹ m qunladīm (OR 4), q̄t¹ qut (OF 8).

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

A. Before o: qub¹ s¹ r¹ p qobsarīp (KC S 2), qud¹ p qodup (TI W 2, 3), qud¹ i qodī (BK E 37; TIN 3), qul¹ q̄ qoqlīq (BK S 11), quntr¹ - qontur- (generally), but qu ... qo[nturtumiz] (KT E 38), qun¹ - qon- (generally); qup qop (generally), but qup (KT E 2, 2, 2); qup(n¹) qopīn (TI W 1); qur¹ γn¹ i qorayīnnī (OR 4); qur¹ γu qoriyu (BK E 41); qur¹ γ ... qorγ[anqa] (BK E 40), but qur¹ γn¹ (KT N 8; BK E 31); qur¹ q- qorq- (TI W 4, 6; OF 7); qūšu qōsu (KT N 1); qut¹ i qot(t)ī (BK S 12); qun¹ qon (KT E 12, NE; BK E 11), but qun (OR 4).

B. Before u: quy quy (BK S 9), qun¹ i qunī (TIS 2), but qu (BK S 8); qub¹ r¹ n¹ - qubran- (TI W 4), qub¹ r¹ t¹ - qubrat- (KT S 10; BK N 7), but qub¹ r¹ t¹ - (KT E 12; BK E 11); qul¹ qul (generally), but qul¹ (KT E 7; BK E 17, 36); qul¹ l¹ γ qulluy (KT E 21; BK E 18); qul¹ d¹ ms² quladmis (KT E 13); qul¹ qqn¹ qulqagīn (BK N 11), qul¹ - qqin² qulqagīn (BK S 12); qunčy¹ l¹ r¹ m qunčuyarīm (KT N 9), qunčy¹ uy qunčuyuy (KT E 20), qū(..) y¹ γ qu[nčul]yuγ

(BK E 17); $\text{qur}^1 \text{d}^1 \text{n}^1$ quridin (KT W 1), but $\text{qur}^1 \text{d}^1 \text{nta}$ quridinta (TI S 7); $\text{qur}^1 \text{yr}^1 \text{u}$ - $\text{qur}^1 \text{iy}^1 \text{u}$ quriyaru (generally); $\text{qur}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{qi}$ quriyaqi (TI S 10), but $\text{qur}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{a}$ (KT N 12; TI S 7); $\text{qur}^1 \text{iqn}^1$ qurigan (KT E 4, 14; BK E 5); $\text{qut}^1 \text{i}$ quti (BK E 35), $\text{qut}^1 \text{qa}$ qutiqa (KT E 31), $\text{qut}^1 \text{m}$ qutum (KT E 29, S 9; BK E 23, N 7); $\text{qut}^1 \text{y}^1$ qutay (KT S 5; BK N 4), $\text{qut}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{in}^2$ qutayin (BK N 11).

The exceptions are: qumy qumuy (TI W 7), $\text{qu}(\text{r}^1 \text{d}^1) \text{m}$ qu[radi]m (O R 4), $\text{quš}^1 \text{l}^1$ $\gamma \text{qd}^1 \text{a}$ quš-alyaqda (KT N 5), quzin^2 quzin (TI W 7).

C. Before u, medially: $\text{b}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{qu}$ bayirqu (KT S 4; BK N 3), $\text{b}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{q(u)}$ bayirqu (KT E 34), $\text{b}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{qun}^1 (\text{n})$ bayirqunin (KT E 35), $\text{b}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{qun}^2 \text{q}$ bayirqunin (KT E 36); $\text{b}^1 \text{uz}$ qunča buzqunča (O R 1), $\text{qur}^1 \text{qur}^1$ qorqur (TII W 4); $\text{t}^1 \text{ut}^1 \text{q}(\dots)$ tutqu ... (BK S 10).

The exception is: $\text{r}^1 \text{quy}^1$ arquy (TII E 3).

1. 22232. Use of the Syllabic Sign q

The syllabic sign q is used to represent:

1°. The sound group ök and ük in initial position: q ök emphasizing particle (generally); qun^2 ökün (BK E 19), but ükun^2 (KT E 23), $\text{ük}^2 \text{p}$ ökünüp (KT E 40; BK E 38); qüş üküş (KT S 10), qüş^2 üküş (KT S 6; TII W 5), but generally üks, üks².

But: $\text{ük}^2 \text{ür}^2$ ökülür (TI N 8).

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

But: $\text{b}^2 \text{üks}^2 \text{i}$ bökäsī (KČ E 5); kük (generally), qük (KT E 3) kök 'blue'; $\text{t}^2 \text{ük}^2 \text{i}$ tökdi (KČ E 5).

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

The exceptions are: $\text{üt}^2 \text{ük}^2$ (KT S 8; BK N 6), $\text{üt}^2 \text{kn}^2$ (TI S 8, 10, 10), but generally $\text{üt}^2 \text{kn}^2$ ötükän; $\text{y}^2 \text{ük}^2 \text{kn}^2$ - yüküntür - (BK E 13, N 10), $\text{y}^2 \text{ük}^2 \text{ntü}$. . . yüküntür - (KT E 15), . . . kn^2 - [yü]küntür - (BK E 3), but $\text{y}^2 \text{kn}^2$ - (KT E 2); $\text{b}^2 \text{ük}^2 \text{i}$ bükli (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5, 8); $\text{t}^2 \text{ük}^2 \text{i}$ tükäti (KT S 1; BK N 1).

4°. The sound groups kö/kü in the following examples: $\text{k}^2 \text{ik}^2$ kölikin (TI S 8), $\text{k}^2 \text{r}^2$ kör (TI S 8), $\text{k}^2 \text{r}^2 \text{t}^2 \text{g}$ körtüg (O F 7), $\text{y}^2 \text{ük}^2 \text{nti}$ yükünti (TII W 8), generally $\text{y}^2 \text{nti}$.

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

A. Before ö: $\text{k}^2 \text{ügm}^2$ kögmän (TI E 6, N 4), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ügm}^2$; $\text{k}^2 \text{ük}$ kök 'blue' (KT E 3), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ük}$ kök; $\text{k}^2 \text{g}$ kök emphasizing particle (TI S 8, E 4); $\text{k}^2 \text{ünl}^2 \text{q}$ könlüqä (TI N 8), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ünl}^2$ könlü; $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2$ - kör - (TI W 1), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2$ - kör -; $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2 \text{g}$ körüg (TI N 5, 9), but $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2 \text{g}$ (TI S 1, 2).

The exceptions are: $\text{k}^2 \text{üb}^2 \text{r}^2 \text{gs}^2 \text{i}$ köbürgäsī (BK W 4), $\text{k}^2 \text{ül}^2 \text{ta}$ költä (KT E 34, N 2), $\text{k}^2 \text{üt}^2 \text{ür}^2$ - kütür - (generally), $\text{k}^2 \text{üz}^2 \text{a}$ közdä (KT N 11), $\text{k}^2 \text{üzi}$ közi (KT N 11; BK E 2), $\text{k}^2 \text{üz}^2 \text{m}$ közm (KT N 10), $\text{k}^2 \text{üz}^2 \text{n}$ közn (BK N 11).

B. Before ü: $\text{k}^2 \text{ü}$ kü (KČ W 12), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ü}$; $\text{k}^2 \text{ükd}^2 \text{i}$ kükädi (KČ W 4); $\text{k}^2 \text{üč}$ küč (KT E 12), $\text{k}^2 \text{üčg}$ küčüg (KT W 1; TII E 2), $\text{k}^2 \text{üč}^2 \text{g}$ küčlüg (O R 4), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{üč}$; $\text{k}^2 \text{ül}^2$ kül (KT W 1, 1, E 26; BK E 21), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ül}$; $\text{k}^2 \text{ül}^2 \text{i}$ küli (KČ W 2 and 11 more occurrences); $\text{k}^2 \text{ül}^2 \text{g}$ külüg (O Supp. 6), but $\text{k}^2 \text{ül}^2 \text{g}$ (KT E 4; BK E 5); $\text{k}^2 \text{üms}^2$ kümüs (TII S 4), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{üms}$, $\text{k}^2 \text{üms}^2$; $\text{k}^2 \text{ün}^2$ kün (KT E 4, 8; TI N 3; TII W 4), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ün}^2$; $\text{k}^2 \text{üntz}$ küntüz (TII E 2), but $\text{k}^2 \text{ün}^2 \text{t}^2 \text{z}$ (KT E 27; TI S 5), küntz (BK E 22); $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2$ kür (TI N 8), but $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2 \text{l}^2 \text{g}$ (KT E 6), $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2 \text{l}^2 \text{gin}^2$ (BK E 6); $\text{k}^2 \text{üz}^2 \text{d}^2 \text{ü}$ küzädü (KT W 1).

The exceptions are: $\text{k}^2 \text{üq}$ küq (KT E 7 and 7 more occurrences), $\text{k}^2 \text{üpd}^2 \text{ms}^2$ küpädmis (KT E 13), $\text{k}^2 \text{ünl}^2 \text{g}$ künlüg (BK E 18); $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2 \text{g}$ kürägünin (KT E 23; BK E 19).

1. 22233. Use of the Syllabic Sign q̇

The syllabic sign q̇ is used to represent:

1°. The sound group iq̇ in initial, medial, and final positions: q̇id¹mz iq̇idmaz (KT S 6); b¹l¹q̇ baliq (BK E 28; TI E 2), b¹l¹q̇d¹a baliqda (KT N 4; BK E 30; KC W 11), b¹l¹q̇d¹qi baliqdaq̇i (KT E 12), b¹l¹q̇a baliq(q)a (TI E 1; O R 1), b¹(l¹q̇a) baliq(q)a (TI E 2); b¹t¹s¹q̇iña (BK N 2), b¹t¹s²q̇iña (KT S 2) batsiq̇iña, but b¹t¹s¹q̇d¹qi batsiqdaq̇i (KT N 12), b¹t¹s²q̇ña batsiq̇iña (O F 2); t¹γq̇- tayiq- (KT E 12); t¹šq̇- tašiq- (BK E 32), t¹s¹q̇- tasiq- (TI N 9, 9, 6, 6), but t¹šq̇- tašiq- (KT E 11, N 8); ud¹s²q̇m udisiq̇m (TI E 5), but ud¹s²iqm udisiq̇m (TI S 5).

The vowel sign i is used before the syllabic sign q̇ in the following example: b¹l¹iqa baliq(q)a 'into the mud' (KT N 8).

The exceptions are: ačs¹q̇ āčsiq (BK N 6), āčs²q̇ āčsiq (KT E 8, 8); b¹(s²)q̇- basiq- (KT N 8); čiqn¹ čiqan (KC W 1, 2), čiqn¹i čiqanī (KT N 13); ul¹r¹s¹qm (TI S 5), ul¹r¹s²qm (TI E 5) olursiq̇m; t¹us¹q̇ tosiq (KT S 8; BK N 4), t¹uys¹qa toysiq(q)a (KT S 2; BK E 8), t¹uys¹q̇iña toysiq̇iña (BK N 2), t¹uys²q̇ña toysiq̇iña (O F 2); ud¹l¹q̇in² udliq̇in (KT E 36); y¹r¹q̇inta yariq̇inta (KT E 33); y¹r¹l¹q̇- yariq̇(q)a- (TI S 9 and 12 more occurrences).

2°. The sound group q̇i in the following words: zq̇iña azq̇iña (KT E 34), but zq̇iña azq̇iña (TI S 2); q̇l¹p q̇ilip (O R 2); q̇s²ms² q̇ismis (O F 1).

3°. The initial consonant q̇ before the vowel i: q̇ilti q̇ilti (BK E 14), but generally qil¹-; q̇il¹ntm q̇ilintim (O F 4), q̇il²ntm q̇ilintim (TI W 1), but generally qil¹n¹-; q̇il¹čl¹d¹i q̇ilīčladī (KT N 5); q̇ir¹γyl¹γ q̇irγayliγ (BK N 11); q̇ir¹q q̇irq (KT E 15, NE), but qir¹q (KT N 2); q̇irqz q̇irqz (generally), but qir¹qz (KT E 20); q̇is¹- q̇is- (TI E 4, W 5, W 11), but qis¹- (TI W 6), q̇iš- q̇iš- (KT E 32, 34; BK E 25); q̇is¹ya q̇isya (KC E 11); q̇is¹l¹t¹a q̇isilta (BK E 37); q̇išn¹ q̇išin (BK S 2), q̇išl¹d¹q̇d¹a q̇išladuqda (BK E 31), but q̇išl¹p q̇išlap (KT N 8); q̇it¹n q̇itan (generally), but q̇it¹nγr¹u q̇itanγaru (TI S 2), q̇it¹nγ q̇itanγi (TI W 7);

q̇iy¹n²γ q̇iyinīγ (TI N 8); q̇iz q̇iz (generally); q̇izp q̇izip (TI W 5); q̇izl¹ q̇izil (TI E 2).

1. 22234. Use of the Syllabic Sign ič

The syllabic sign ič is rarely used to designate the initial sound group ič: ičgr²t²m ičgārtim (BK E 25); ičkd²i ičikdi (BK E 37; TI N 4), ičkmš ičikmiš (BK E 9), but generally ičk- ičik-; ič²a ičrā (TI N 10), but generally ičr²a.

1. 22235. Use of the Syllabic Sign aš

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

1. 22236. Use of the Syllabic Sign baš

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

1. 22237. Use of the Ligature Λ (= či)

In the following word the medial sound group či is designated with the ligature Λ: kl²t²čimz kältāčimiz (TI S 7).

1. 2224. Use of Compound Consonant-Characters

1. 22241. Use of the Sign lt

The compound consonant-character lt is used to represent the sound groups alt and lt in back-vocalic words:

1°. alt: ltm altim (O R 1), but generally l¹t¹m, l¹t¹mz, l¹t¹i; ltzd¹i alt(u)zdi (KT E 38); qltči qaltači (KT N 9; TI S 6), but ql¹t¹m qaltim (BK E 14);

2°. lt: b¹ultči boltači (generally), but b¹ul¹t¹či (KT N 11; BK E 31); b¹ulti bolti (generally), but b¹ul¹(t¹i) (KC W 3), b¹ul¹t¹q̇d¹a (O F 1, 6), b¹ul¹t¹q̇inta (KT N

3, 3); b^1 ultm boltum (TII E 6, 6); b^1 ulti bultı (KT E 31), but b^1 ul¹t¹m bultum (TI E 6); qilti (BK E 14), qilti (BK E 7, 14) qiltı, but qil¹t¹i (BK E 7); qiltı qiltı (BK E 20, 20); qiltm, qiltım (generally), but qil¹t¹m (KT E 29); y^1 qltci yaqlıtaçı (KT S 11); y^1 qlti yaqlıti (KT E 20), (y^1) qlti yaqlıti (BK E 35); y^1 qltı yaqlıti (KT E 23; BK E 19); y^1 qltqin² yaqlıtuqın (BK E 16); y^1 ulta yolta (TI S 9), but y^1 ul¹t¹a (KT N 9).

The exceptions are: l^1 t¹i altı 'six' (generally) (cf. lti altı: MČ N 4, N 9, S 5, W 7); l^1 t¹un¹ altun (generally) (cf. Tašeba inscription, Orkun III, p. 175: ltun¹ altun); r^1 l¹t¹ı ariltı (KT S 9); qis^1 l¹t¹a qisilta (BK E 37).

1.22242. Use of the Sign nt

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

1°. ant: nta anta (generally); ntı antaı (generally); ntg antäg (TI N 5); ntr¹ yud¹ a antıryuda (BK E 30); t^1 l¹nti atlantı (KČ E 8); b^1 uyl¹ nti boyluzlantı (TI N 2), etc.

2°. ānt: kntü kāntü (KT E 23; BK E 19).

3°. nt: l^1 qntı alqıntı (TI W 3), l^1 qntı alqıntıı (KT S 9; BK N 7); b^1 unta bunta (KT E 20, S 10, S 11; BK E 17), čintn¹ čintan (BK S 11), qil¹ ntqd¹ a qilıntuqda (KT E 1), etc.

The exceptions are b^2 n²t²r² a b(i)nt(ü)rä (TI N 1); b^2 izn²t² a bizintä (TII W 5); b^2 ün²t²gi büntägi (TII E 7); zgn^2 t²i āzginti (KT N 7), but zgntı (BK E 31); kn^2 t²i ekinti (BK E 30); l^2 in²t² a elıntä (KČ W 3); in^2 t²mz intimiz (TI N 2); $kčgn^2$ t²i kāčginti (KČ E 8); kn^2 t²ü kāntü (KT N 4), but kntü (KT E 23; BK E 19); $kün^2$ t²z küntüz (KT E 27; TI S 5), $kün^2$ t²z (TII E 2), but küntz (BK E 22); $ün^2$ t²i önti (KČ E 7); $ün^2$ t²r²ü önt(ü)rü (TI N 11); $ür^2$ pn²t²a örpantä (BK E 26); $üt^2$ n²t²g ötüntük (TIS 8), $üt^2$ n²t²m ötüntüm (TIS 5, 5, 7; TI N 1); y^2 r²in²t² a yerıntä (TI W 3, S 4; TII N 2); y^2 ükn²t²i yükünti (TII W 8), y^2 kn²t²i

yükünti (TI N 4, TII S 2), but y^2 ükntr² yüküntür (generally).

1.22243. Use of the Sign nč

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

1°. anč: nča anča (generally), nčul¹ d¹i ančuladı (KT E 32), s¹nč- sanč- (KT N 5), etc.

2°. ānč: n²nča nānčä (BK N 9).

3°. nč: b^1 unča bunča (generally), r^2 nč arinč (generally), b^2 is²nč bisinč (KT N 2; BK S 10), un¹nč onunč (BK S 10), t^1 uqznč toquzunč (KT NE), t^2 ür²t²nč törtünč (KT N 6; BK E 31), y^2 inčü yinčü (KT E 39), y^2 nčga y(i)nčgä (TIS 6, 6), y^2 it²nč yitinč (KT N 5), etc.

1.2225. Doubled Consonants

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

1°. č(č): d^1 nčı adınč(č)ı (KT S 12), d^1 nčı adınč(č)ı (BK N 14, 14).

2°. d(d): b^2 it²id²m bitid(d)im (KT S 13; BK N 15), cf. b^2 it²it²d²m bititdim (TII E 8); y^1 r^1 t¹d²m yaratid(d)im (BK N 14) cf. y^1 r^1 t¹d¹m yaratitdim (MČ E 8, 9, 10).

3°. γ(γ): $γ^1$ $γ^1$ yaγ(γ)il (TI W 5).

4°. g(g): y^2 ügr²ü yüg(g)ärü (KT E 11, SW; BK E 2, 10).

5°. q(q): b^1 l^1 qa balıq(q)a (TIE 1; OR 1); b^1 l^1 ıqa balıq(q)a 'into the mud' (KT N 8); id^1 qt¹ ıduq(q)ut (BK E 25), cf. t^1 ut¹qt¹ qa tutuq(q)utqa (Abakan, front); ul^1 r^1 t¹qa olurtuq(q)a (BK E 14); t^1 uys¹qa toysıq(q)a (KT S 2; BK E 8); t^1 unqqa tonuquq(q)a (TI N 7); y^1 r^1 l¹q- yarlıq(q)a- (generally); y^1 qr¹u yog(q)aru (TI N 1).

6°. k(k): b^2 ir²t²gr²ü birtük(k)ärü (BK E 9) = b^2 ir²t²gr²ü (KT E 10).

7°. ı(ı), ı(ı): y^1 ul¹ı ıyol(ı)uı (KT S 13, SE, SE); $čul^2$ g čöl(ı)üg (KT E 4; BK E 5), il^2 d²g ıl(ı)ädük (BK E 7).

8°. n(n): qčn² ɣ qačan (n)äɣ (TI E 3, N 5), qčn¹ ɣ qačan (n)ay (TI E 4).

9°. s(s): <šs: qb¹ s¹ r¹ qabīs(s)ar (TIS 5).

10°. t(t): ɣt¹ m ayit(t)im (BK E 31); qit¹ m azit(t)im (KT N 8), cf. qit¹ d¹ m azitdīmiz (TI N 11); b² d² zt² i bādizāt(t)i (KČ E 12), b² d² zt² m bādizāt(t)im (KT S 11); s² t² m āsit(t)im (TI E 7), cf. s² d² t² i āsidti (Iṛq Bitig, 83, 93); it¹ i it(t)i (KT E 7, S 12; BK E 7, N 14), it¹ m it(t)im (BK E 40; TI N 9; TII E 2), it¹ m it(t)im (KT E 40; TII W 7); igt² i igit(t)i (KT E 16; BK E 14; KČ E 13), igt² m igit(t)im (KT E 29; BK E 23, 38); ɣut¹ i qot(t) (BK S 12); ɣub¹ r¹ t¹ m qubrat(t)im (BK N 7); ul¹ r¹ t¹ i olurt(t) (KČ E 12); y¹ ɣt¹ qd¹ a yayit(t)uqda (KČ W 5, E 6); y¹ uyl¹ t¹ i yoylat(t)i (KČ E 12).

The exceptions are: čur¹ qqa čoraqqa (BK SE), l² l² gd² a elligdā (KT E 29; BK E 24), il² l² gg illigig (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), qr¹ l¹ qqa qarluqqa (KČ E 7), ɣul¹ l¹ ɣ qulluɣ (KT E 21; BK E 18), t² zka tǝzikkā (KČ E 4), y¹ ul¹ l¹ ɣ yolluɣ (KT SW).

1.23. Punctuation

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

- 1°. Words are generally separated by colons:
:t² ɣr² id² a: b¹ ul¹ mš:t² ɣr² ɣ:b² il² ga: qɣn¹: (KT S 1)
tǝɣridā bolmiš tǝrūk bilgā qaɣan
:t² ɣr² ɣ:b² gl² r²: b¹ ud¹ n¹: b¹ un¹ i:s² id² ɣ: (KT S 10)
tǝrūk bǝglār bodun buni āsidiɣ

Very short words such as at, ār, and alp are generally written together with the following or preceding word or group of words: :ul¹ t² gd² ɣd² a: b¹ y¹ r¹ ɣun² ɣ: qd¹ ɣr¹ ɣ: (KT E 36) ol tǝgdūkdā bayirɣuniɣ aq adɣiriɣ :kir² g:ud¹ šr¹ u:š¹ nčd¹ i: (KT E 36, N 2) eki arig ud ašru sančdi :b² izɣs² u:t¹ i:t¹ ur¹ ɣ: zuqi:y¹ uɣr² t² i: (KT E 39) biziɣ su ati toruɣ azuqi yoq arti

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

:čūmpam:b¹ umn¹ qɣn¹:is² t² miqɣn¹:ul¹ r¹ mš:
(KT E 1) āčūm apām bumīn qaɣan istāmi qaɣan
olurmiš :n² aqɣn¹ qa:is² gkūčg:b² ir² ɣr² mn²:t² ir²
r² mš: (BK E 9) nā qaɣanqa isig kūčūg birūr
mān tir ārmiš

Sometimes two words which do not constitute a phrase are put between a pair of colons: :y² ir²:s¹ y¹ uɣup:t¹ ur¹ u:
ul² u: yir sayu qop toru olū (KT S 9) :ūzakūk:t² ɣr² i: ūzā
kōk tǝɣri (KT E 1) :b¹ ul¹ t¹ či:r² t² iuza:y¹ ná:kl² gma: bol-
tači ārti oza yaña kǝligmā (BK E 30) :ūd² t² ɣr² i:y¹ s¹ r¹:
ōd tǝɣri yasār (KT N 10) (instead of :ūd²:t² ɣr² i:y¹ s¹ r¹: or
:ūd²:t² ɣr² i:y¹ s¹ r¹:)

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. The Vowels

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

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

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

2.11. Vowels of the First Syllable

2.111. The Vowel a

¹⁰. Short: adaq 'foot' (KT N 7), adyr 'stallion' (BK N 11), balıq 'city, town' (TI E 2), bar- 'to go' (BK E 35), qara 'black' (TII E 2), taluy 'sea, ocean' (TI E 1), yayın 'in the summer' (BK E 39), yazı 'plain' (KT S 7), etc.

²⁰. Long: The existence of a long and phonemically significant a in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the orthography (see 1.2211.2⁰ and 1.2212.1⁰): āč 'hungry' (BK E 38) (cf. Kāš. āč, Turkm. āč, Yak. ās, Karag. ayš id.), āč- 'to feel hungry' (KT S 8, 8; BK N 6, 6) (cf. Yak. ās-, Chuv. viš- id.), āt 'name, title' (BK E 41; KT E 7, 7, W 2; KČ W 1) (cf. Kāš. āt, Turkm. āt, Yak. āt, Chuv. yat, Turk. ad id.), tām 'wall' (KT SE) (cf. Kāš. tām, OK tayam, Turkm. tām id.).

2.112. The Vowel i

¹⁰. The existence of i in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the orthography. The Altaic and Pre-Turkic (Vortürkisch) *i (see Poppe, Verg., 112-116) is generally preserved in Orkhon Turkic: [b]ič- 'to cut out' (BK S 12) (= Tuv. biš-, Yak. bis-, Khak. pis- id.), [i]t 'dog' (BK S 10) (= Yak. it, Sar. uig. išt id.), qıl- (KT E 15) ~ qış- (BK E 25) ~ qis- (TI W 6) 'to do, make', qışla- 'to spend the winter' (KT N 8), sıytā- 'to lament, wail' (KT E 4) (= Yak. itā- 'to cry'), tıl 'word, news' (TII W 1) (= Yak. tıl, Tuv. dıl id.), yılqı 'stud, horses' (KČ E 13) (= Khak. čilyı, Yak. silyı id.), yis 'wooded mountain' (TI E 3) (= Khak. čis 'thick forest, taiga'), etc.

²⁰. The existence of a long i in the first syllable is not clear from the script. The use of the syllable sign ı (= iq/qı) could have been a criterion to distinguish between i and ī in at least one group of words, but its use initially and before the sign ı is not phonetic. Thus, the only criterion is comparison. We may assume that a long ī occurred in such words as these: ī 'trees, forest' (TI N 2) (cf. Uig. ı, ıy, ıi id.) ıd- 'to send, dispatch' (BK E 35) (= Yak. ıt- id.), qız 'female' (KT E 24) (= Yak. kis, Turkm. yız id.).

2.113. The Vowel o

¹⁰. Short: bod 'tribe, a group of people' (TI W 4) (= Kāš. boy id.), čoraq 'dry land, salty land'

(BK SE) (cf. Kirg. šor id.), qodī 'down, downward' (BK E 37) (= Sar. uig. qozu, qozī id.), olur- 'to sit, dwell' (TI N 8) (= Yak. olor- id.), toq 'satiated, full' (TI S 1), yoq(q)aru 'upwards' (TI N 1), etc.

2⁰. The existence of a long o in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the spelling of the word yōq 'there is not, does not exist' in some of its occurrences: the vowel sign u is used before the syllabic sign q: y¹uq̄ yōq (KT E 11, 39; O F 1) (cf. MČ W 4: y¹uq̄; Abakan, front 4: y¹uq̄; Kāš. yōq, Yak. suoX id.).

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

2.114. The vowel u

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

2⁰. Long u. The existence of a long u in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the spelling of the word būqa 'bull': b¹uq̄a būqa (TI W 6), b¹uq̄l¹i būqalī (TI W 5, 5); cf. this spelling with that of bugaraq 'Bukhara' (KT N 2) and that of buguy 'the evil spirits' (acc.) (BK S 10).

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

2.115. The Vowel ä (front counterpart of a)
äb 'camp, home' (BK E 32) (= Chuv. av 'house'), äkä 'elder sister' (KT N 9) (= Chuv. akka id.), är- 'to be' (TI N 5) (= Yak. är- id.), är 'man' (KT E 12) (= Yak. är, Az. är,

Chuv. ar id.), bän 'I' (TI W 7) ~ män (BK S 9) (= Az. män, Chuv. mant: stem of the oblique cases), käl- 'to come' (KT E 23) (= Yak. käl-), käm 'who' (BK E 19) (= Chuv. kam; cf. also Mong. ken id.), sämiz 'fat, fleshy' (TI W 5) (= Yak. ämis id.), sän 'thou' (KT S 8) (= Yak. än, Chuv. san: stem of oblique cases), etc.

2.116. The Vowel e (closed e)

In a great many of stems the low or mid front vowel of the first syllable frequently alternates with i. This alternation is evident from the orthography. The vowel of such stems sometimes appears written with the vowel sign for i, and sometimes without any sign. This graphical inconsistency is probably due to the quality of the vowel in question, as Thomsen remarked in his Inscriptions de l'Orkhon (pp. 15, 16). The fact that this vowel has been written with a special vowel sign in some of the Yenisei inscriptions testifies to Thomsen's assumption (see Une lettre méconnue, in: JSFOu 30, 4). According to Thomsen the stems having this vowel (closed e) are the following: eki, el, eš, et-, bel, beš, keš, yeti, yetmiš. In the Orkhon inscriptions, all these words except bel 'waist' and keš 'quiver' occur and display the same orthographical inconsistency mentioned above.

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

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

(TH S 5) ~ yigirmi (KT SE), yer 'land, earth' (BK N 10) yir (KT N 4) (= Yak. sir, Chuv. šer, Az. yer id.).

2°. Long: ber- 'to give' (KT E 12) ~ bir- (KT E 8) (= Yak. biär-, Turk., Az. ber-), bes 'five' (TH S 5) ~ bis (BK S 11) ~ biš (KT N 4, E 18) (= Yak. biäs, Az. beš, Volga Bulg. biäl+ id.), el 'people, tribes, state' (KT E 4) ~ il (BK E 5) (= Turk. il), et- 'to do, make, organize' (KT E 11, BK E 10) ~ it- (generally), kipsür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) (cf. Kāš. kīn 'wide', Turk. gīn, Yak. kiän id.), te- 'to say, tell' (TI W 5) ~ ti- (KT E 9) (= Yak. diä-, Turk. dī-, Az. de-, Chuv. te- / tey- id.) ter- 'to bring together, gather' in el-teris (O F 4) ~ tir- (BK E 11) (= Khak. tēr-, Turk. tīr- id.), ye- 'to eat' (TIS 1) ~ yī- (TIS 1) (= Turk. ī-, Yak. siä-, Chuv. ši- ~ šiy id.), yog 'better' (BK E 24) ~ yig (KT S 4, BK N 3) (= Kāš. yīg id.), yeti 'seven' (KT E 15) ~ yiti (BK SE) (= Az. yeddi, Yak. sättä, Chuv. šičče: gemination of t under the influence of the preceding long vowel; Turk. yedi: voicing of t), yetmiš 'seventy' (BK E 11), yetmis (KT E 12) (Yen. y² et² mš yetmiš; it is very remarkable that in Uyug-Turan b 2 the separation mark is put after the sign for e: y² e: t² mš = yetmiš).

To these the following words may also be added: kičä 'evening' (MČ E 1) (= Turk. gīcä 'night', Yak. kiäsä 'evening', Chuv. kaš id.), yel- 'to ride fast, trot' (TI N 3) (= Yak. siäl- id.), yet- 'to lead, conduct' (TI N 1) (= Turk. it-, Yak. siät- id.; Turk. yed-: voicing of t).

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

el 'people, state' : il 'front' in ilgärü, ilk
yet- 'to lead' : yit- 'to be lost'
yetmiš 'seventy' : yitmiš 'has been lost'

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

2.117. The Vowel i

1°. Short: bil- 'to know' (BK N 15) (= Yak., Turk. bil-), ič 'inside, interior' (BK S 14) (= Turk. ič, Yak. is id.), ilgärü 'forward, eastward' (KT S 2), inigäk 'cow, cattle' (TIS 8), tik- 'to erect' (KT E 25), yit- 'to be lost, disappear' (KT E 27), etc.

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

2.118. The Vowel ö

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

2°. Long: kök 'blue' (KT E 3) (= Yak. küö, Turk. gök id.), köl 'lake' (KT E 34) (= Yak. küöl, Turk. köl), öd 'gall' (BK E 29) (= Kāš. öt, Khak. öt, Turk. öd), öz 'own, self' (TIS 6) (cf. Uyug-Turan, back 2: ūuz=ūöz id., Yak. ūös 'heart of a tree, center', Turk. ös id., Khak. öz 'throat'), tört 'four' (BK E 2) (= Yak. tüörd, Turk. dört), böri 'wolf' (KT E 12) (= Turk. böri, Khak. pür id.), etc.

2.119. The Vowel ü

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

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

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

2.12. Vowels of the Non-First Syllables

2.121. The Vocalic Harmony

2.1211. The Palatal Harmony

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

However, there are certain cases in which the vocalic harmony does not work. Certain words no longer observe the vocalic harmony because of the palatalization of their vowels. Furthermore, certain suffixes occur only in one form, that is, they are not subject to the rules of vocalic harmony. These exceptions will be discussed and illustrated further below. First, we shall deal with polysyllabic stems which generally observe the vocalic harmony.

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

First syllable

Following syllables

a, i, o, u

a, i, u

ä, e, i, ö, ü

ä, i, ü

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

- a - a: adaq 'foot', yaday 'on foot', etc.
- a - i: adyir 'stallion', balig 'city, town', etc.
- a - u: altun 'gold', qatun 'empress', etc.
- i - a: čiqan 'nephew', iraq 'far, distant', etc.
- i - i: ičyın 'to be lost', qilič 'sword', etc.
- i - u: iduq 'sacred, holy', etc.
- o - a: boyla a title, oylan 'children, sons', etc.
- o - i: godı 'down, downward', toqı 'to beat', etc.
- o - u: olur 'to sit, dwell', toquz 'nine', etc.
- u - a: qulqag 'ear', yuyqa 'light, not heavy', etc.
- u - i: bulıt 'cloud', yulı 'to pillage, plunder', etc.
- u - u: bulun 'corner, quarter', uzun 'long', etc.
- ä - ä: ämgäk 'trouble, distress', ärän 'men', etc.
- ä - i: älig 'hand', sämiz 'fat, fleshy', etc.
- ä - ü: bädük 'great, big', ädgü 'good, well', etc.
- e - i: ekı 'two', yeti 'seven', etc.
- e - ü: kerü 'back, backward', etc.
- i - ä: ičgär 'to subdue', ilgärü 'forward', etc.
- i - i: ičik 'to submit', kisı ~ kiši 'man, people', etc.
- i - ü: kigür 'to let in, bring, introduce', etc.
- ö - ä: bökä 'hero, champion', etc.
- ö - i: böri 'wolf', kölik 'vehicle, cart', etc.
- ö - ü: könül 'heart', ögüz 'river', etc.
- ü - ä: küzäd 'to look after, protect', kükä- 'to gain fame'
- ü - i: küni 'envy', süčig 'sweat, pleasant', etc.
- ü - ü: küntüz 'by day', üküş ~ üküs 'many', etc.

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

Examples:

<u>atlıy</u> 'horseman'	<u>illig</u> 'owning a state'
<u>sansız</u> 'innumerable'	<u>biligsiz</u> 'unwise'
<u>qısyā</u> 'short'	<u>bilgā</u> 'wise, sage'
<u>toplayuluq</u> 'the folding'	<u>üzgölük</u> 'the breaking'
<u>taşıq-</u> 'to go out'	<u>içik-</u> 'to submit'
<u>yantur-</u> 'to turn back'	<u>bintür-</u> 'to cause to mount'
<u>qayança</u> 'to the kagan'	<u>äbkä</u> 'to the camp'
<u>yazıda</u> 'on the plain'	<u>äbdä</u> 'at the camp'

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

1⁰. Words containing a palatalized vowel: aşıq(?) 'mountain pass?' (TI S 1) (< *aşıy; cf. Khak. azıy < *asıy < *aşıy id., Kirg. aşu < *aşıy id.), atig ethnic name (O F 5, 6, R 2), bayırqunıñ 'Bayırqu's' (KT E 36) < bayırqun[ıñ] (KT E 35), bulmayın 'having not found' (TI W 2) (< *bulmayın), bınsız 'abundantly' (TII S 4) < bınsız (generally; cf. Acura, left 2: bınsız), qadızdä 'at the rocky cliffs?' (KT N 7) < qadızza (BK E 31), qayanımin 'with my kagan' (TII E 3) (< *qayanımın), qanıñın 'your kagan' (acc.) (TI W 2) (< *qanıñın) (cf. Suğı 6: oylumin 'my sons', atimin 'my grandchildren'), qalısisiz 'completely, entirely' (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9) (< *qalısisiz) (cf. Kezilig-Khobu 2: qansız 'orphan'), qatıydi 'well, hard' (KT N 11) < qatıydı (KT S 2), qilintim 'I was born' (TI W 1) < qilintim (O F 4) (cf. Altun-Köl, c 1: yirildim 'I have been separated'), qopin 'all together' (TIS 9) < qopin (TII W 1), qiyiniy 'the sentence,

punishment' (acc.) (TI N 8) (< *qiyin), layzın 'pig' (BK S 10) (cf. MČ N 11: layzın id., Ikhe-Askete b2: laqzın id.), sabımin 'my words' (acc.) (KT S 2) < sabımın (generally), yaıısiz 'without enemy' (KT E 30; BK E 24) (< *yaıısiz), yaıutır '(the Chinese)bring closer' (KT S 5; BK N 4) (< *yaıutır), yaratid(d)im 'I had them to build' (BK N 14) (< *yaratiddim; cf. yaratıddim: MČ E 8, 9, 10), yaşık 'sun' (KT NE) (< *yaşıq), yolsizin 'without any roads' (TI N 11) (< *yolsızın).

To these the following may be added:

A. Words having the suffix -ayın (1st person voluntative): añıtayın 'I shall frighten' (BK E 41) (< *añıtayın), ayayın 'I shall say' (TI N 8), qısayın 'I shall make' (TI W 5), qonayın 'I shall settle down' (KT S 7), [qonay]ın id. (BK N 5), ıdmayın 'I shall not lose' (BK E 33), uruysırayın 'I shall exterminate' (KT E 10), yoylatayın 'I shall hold (her) funeral' (TI N 7).

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

B. The following word having the suffix -matın: almatın 'without taking' (KT S 9; BK N 7).

C. yıriyā 'in the north' (O F 2, 5) < yıriya (TI W 7, S 7).

For the rest of the exceptions see Palatalization 2. 14.

2⁰. The suffixes which are not subject to the rules of palatal harmony are: the 3rd person possessive suffix -ı̇/-sı̇, the past participle suffix -miş ~ -mis, the derivational suffix -çi.

A. The third person possessive suffix generally occurs as -ı̇ and -sı̇ in Orkhon Turkic. This is evident from the spelling: the accusative suffix -n is generally designated with the sign n̂ after the possessive suffix, and the initial s of the allomorph -sı̇ is generally written with the sign ŝ. Furthermore, the high front unrounded vowel of the suffix is probably long, because it is almost always

written, while the short vowels i and i are not written in general. This fact may be best demonstrated by the following minimal pairs:

- aṭin 'with horses' (TI N 1) atīn 'his horse' (KT E 40)
ärin 'with men' (KT E 11) ärīn 'his men' (KT N 1)
qulqaqin 'by ear' (BK N 11) qulqaqin 'their ears' (BK S 12)
sabīn 'with words' (BK N 4) sabīn 'his advice' (KT S 9)

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

The above phenomenon is attested in the following words: adyirīn (BK N 11), ayīšīna (KT S 6; BK N 5), aqīn (KT N 2, 3, 9), [aq]īn (KT N 2), alpīn (TII S 5; KČ W 7, 12), [altun]īn (BK N 11), armaqčisīn (KČ E 9), atīn (KT E 40; BK S 12, N 11), ātīn (KT E 7, 7; BK E 7), atīsī (KT S 13, SE; BK SW), ayyučisī (TIS 3, E 4, N 5), ay[y]uč[isī] (TII S 5), barīmīn (KT N 1; BK E 24), barqīn (KT NE; BK E 34, 37, N 15), bodunīn (BK S 15; TII W 7, 8), bulyaqīn (KT N 4; BK E 29), qayanīn (KG E 35, 36, 38; BK E 27, 28, 7; TII W 6), qanīn (TI W 2, 2; TI N 4), qanīn (KT E 5; BK E 6, 18), qarasīn (O R 1) (spelt: $qr^1s^2n^2$), qazyantugīn (TII E 5), qulqaqīn (BK S 12), qutayīn (BK N 11), quzīn (TI W 7), oylīn (KT E 7; BK E 7, 7, 24, S 3; KČ W 5, E 1, E 10), [oy]līn (BK E 38), oylīn (KT E 7) (spelt: uy^1n^2), ortusiṭaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2), sabīn (KT S 9; BK N 7), šačīn (BK S 12), sadīn (TII W 6), sadīn (TII W 6), šadīn (BK E 28), subīn (BK E 35), tašīn 'its exterior' (KT S 12; BK N 15), tašīn 'his tombstone' (BK W 7), udliqīn (KT E 36), yabyusīn (TII W 6), yabyu[sī]n (BK E 28), yayīsī (KT E 12; BK E 11), yayičisī (TII S 6), yayizīn (KT N 5, 8), yaṭilugīn (KT E 19), yaṭiltugīn (BK E 16), yarliq(q)adugīn (KT S 9), yazintugīn (BK E 16), yilqīsīn (BK E 24), yoṇšurtugīn (KT E 6; BK E 7), yotuzīn (BK E 38), yo[tuz]īn (BK E 24), [yo]tuzīn (BK S 4), yurđīn (KT E 32).

Therefore: bodunī (KT E 3), čabīsī (TI W 7), qayanī (KT E 19), etc.

In the Uigur dialect, however, this suffix generally observes the palatal harmony: barīmīn (MČ E 3), barqīn (MČ E 2), qatunīn (MČ N 10), qizīn (MČ E 3), qoduzīn (MČ E 3), tabarīn (MČ S 5), yablaqīn (MČ E 5, 5), yilqīsīn (MČ E 2, 3). See Progressive Assimilation 2, 151.

B. The past participle suffix -miš ~ -mis does not observe the vocalic harmony in Orkhon Turkic. This fact is evident from the orthography: the final consonant of the suffix is always indicated with sign s^2 except the cases in which it is represented by the sign for the sound $\check{s}$. Thomsen, who successfully deciphered the Old Turkic script, was of the opinion that the sign s^2 in the suffix -ms² represents the sound $\check{s}$ (*Inscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées*, pp. 36, 38). Furthermore, he transcribed the suffix as -mīš and -mīs in back-vocalic words; that is, he considered that this suffix observes the vocalic harmony. This transcription of Thomsen has been generally accepted by other scholars who have worked on the inscriptions. In 1949 A. C. Emre made an assumption about the quality of the vowel in question and suggested that the suffix -miš ~ -mis was invariable, irrespective of the vowels in the word to which it was attached (*Türk lehçelerinin mukayeseli grameri*, Istanbul 1949, p. 34); but, it is curious that this sensible assumption of Emre could not find any supporters.

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

(a) There are examples in which both the signs $\check{s}$ and s^2 are used in the same word: bošyurmīs (KT E 13), tašiqmīs (KT E 11).

(b) There are many instances in which the sign s^2 represents the sound s of the suffix, while the sign s^1

designates the same consonant occurring in the vicinity of the back vowel i: qayansīramis (KT E 13), siytāmis (KT E 4), tašiqmis (TI N 6), etc.

(c) Finally, in the inscription of Moyun Čor (İl-itmis) the suffix in question also occurs as -ms¹, namely -mis: barmis (MČ S 7), basms (MČ E 12), qatilmis (MČ S 8).

Taking the above-mentioned evidence into consideration, we come to the conclusion that the vowel of the suffix -miš ~ -mis is invariably i in Orkhon Turkic of the eighth century. Thus: almis (KT E 2) ~ almiš (KT E 40), bar-mis (KT E 16, 23; TI E 7, 7; O F 3) ~ barmiš (KT E 28), basms (O F 1) (cf. MČ E 12: basms), bolmis (generally), bošyurmis (KT E 13) ~ bošyurmiš (BK E 12), ičyūnmis (KT E 13; O F 1), idmis (KT E 6, 7; TI S 2, 2, N 10) ~ idmiš (BK E 7, 7), qayansīramis (KT E 13), qayansīratmis (KT E 15) ~ qayansīratmiš (BK E 13), qalmisī (TI W 4) ~ qalmišī (KT S 9), qazyānmis (KT E 22) ~ qazyānmiš (BK E 18, 22), qilmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ qilmiš (BK E 13), qilinmis (KT E 1), qismis (O F 1), gonmis (TI S 10), qonturmis (KT E 4), qubratmiš (BK E 11), quladmis (KT E 13) olurmis (KT E 5, 5; BK E 6) ~ olurmiš (KT E 1; BK E 3, 6), siytāmis (KT E 4) ~ siytāmiš (BK E 5), tašiqmis (TI N 6, 6), tašiqmis (KT E 11) ~ tašiqmiš (BK E 32), tutmis (KT E 3, 19; TI S 6) ~ tutmiš (BK E 4), yaymisī (TI W 5), yaratmis (KT E 13) ~ yaratmiš (BK E 1, 12; BK S 13), yarlıq(q)amis (O F 6), yaymis (O F 1), yoylamis (KT E 4) ~ yoylāmiš (BK E 5), yorimis (O F 5).

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

Thus: armaqči 'tricky, deceitful person' in armaq-čisīn (KT E 6), ayyučisī 'his counselor' (TI S 3, E 4, N 5), siytčī 'lamerter' (KT E 4, N 11; BK E 5), šalči proper name? (KT E 40, N 2, N 2, N 3), tamyāči 'seal-keeper' (KT N 13, 13), yayčisī 'his war-leader' (TI S 6), yoyči 'mourner' (KT E 4, N 11; BK E 5), yuluyči

'plunderer, pillager' (BK SE); in the suffix -dači: boltači (KT N 9, 11; BK E 31, N 14), boltači (BK E 28, 33), bo[ltāč]i (KT N 7), qaltači (KT N 9; TI S 6), olurtači (KT S 8), olurtač]i (BK N 6), udači (BK E 19), yañıltači (KT S 11); in the suffix -mači (< -mayāči): yaramači (TI E 6).

2.1212. The Labial Harmony

Labial harmony manifests itself in that in a word after a syllable containing a rounded vowel either a rounded vowel or a wide unrounded vowel may occur. In other words, after a rounded vowel a narrow unrounded vowel does not occur. This variety of labial harmony exists, for example, in modern Turkish.

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

2.12121. Connective Vowels

1⁰. Before the possessive suffix -m: qañ-īm 'my father' (BK S 13) (cf. IB 86: yaylayīm), tār-im 'my sweat' (TI E 2), qut-um 'my fortune' (BK E 23) (cf. Tele I, 4: qunčuyum), ülüg-üm 'my good luck' (KT E 29) (cf. IB 90: ögüm), etc.

2⁰. Before the possessive suffix -ñ/-y: qañ-iñ 'thy blood' (KT E 24), ölsik-iñ 'you will die (lit.: 'thy death'))' (KT S 6), buñ-uy (< *buñun) 'thy trouble' (KT S 8), sūñük-ūñ 'thy bones' (KT E 24), etc.

3⁰. Before the possessive suffix -miz/-miz: qañ-imiz 'our father' (KT E 26), el-imiz 'our state' (KT E 22), türük-ümüz 'our Turks' (KT E 18), etc.

4⁰. Before the possessive suffix -ñiz/-ñiz: oylan-iñiz-da 'than your children' (KT SE), tayyun-uniz-da 'than your sons (lit. 'colts'))' (KT SE).

5⁰. Before the accusative suffix -y/-g: yipar-iy 'the scented candles' (BK S 11), āb-ig 'the tents' (BK E 32) (cf. IB 91: tāgmisig), qarluq-uy 'the Karlucs'

(KT N 2), gunčuy-uy (KT E 20), tutuq-uy 'the military governor' (KT E 38), küč-üg 'the strength' (KT W 1) (cf. IB 37: öküzüg), etc.

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

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

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

9°. Before the imperative suffix -n: bar-ïn 'go!' (TI N 7), äsid-ïn 'hear!' (KT S 10) (cf. IB 3: bilin 'know!'), olur-un 'stay!' (TI N 7), etc.

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

11°. Before the deverbal suffix -n: qïyin 'sentence, penalty' in qïyiniy (TI N 8), kälin 'daughter-in-law' in kälinünüm 'my daughters-in-law' (KT N 9), bulun 'captive, prisoner of war' (KC W 5), tögün 'brand' in tögünlög (TII E 4).

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

13°. Before the deverbal suffix -š/-s: tägis 'contact, conflict' in tägisintä (KT N 5), urus 'fight, battle' (O R 2), üküş 'many, numerous' (KT S 10).

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

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

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

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

18°. Before the causative suffix -t-: aqit- 'to order to raid' (KT N 8), töküt- 'to let pour' (TII E 2), yüzüt- 'to cause swim' (BK E 30), etc.

The exceptions are: qopin 'all together' (TI S 9), qopin (qopan?) id. (TII W 1); yaratun- 'to form and organize it-self' (KT E 10), but yaratın- id. (BK E 9).

The vowel between the deverbal suffix -q/-k and the consonantal verb-stem is invariably u/ü: artuq 'more (than)' (KT E 33), ayug 'dominion, territory under the control of a ruler' in ayugıqa (KT W 1) (< ay- 'to command, rule, dominate'), iduq 'sacred, holy' (TII W 3), yanıluq 'opposed, opposing' (KT E 19), yazuq id. in yazuqla- (BK E 36), etc.

The vowel between the accusative suffix -n and the possessive stems of the first and second persons is invariably i/i: sabimın 'my words' (KT S 1), sabimin id. (KT S 2), eliqin 'your (lit.: 'thy') state' (KT E 22), bod-unumın 'my people' (BK N 11) (cf. Suği 6: oylumin 'my sons': IB 4; taplāduqumin 'what I like'), oyluqın 'your children' (BK E 20), törüqin 'your institutions' (KT E 22) ~ törügin (BK E 19) (cf. IB 5: säbdükümin 'what I love'; IB 30: köpükümin 'my froth').

2.12122. Suffix Vowels

1°. In -yin/-yun: buzqun 'storm ?' in buzqunča (O R 1), tuyyun personal name (KT NE) (cf. Yak. tuyyun

'excellent, superior').

2°. In -līy/-luy: qayanliy 'owning a kagan' (KT E 9) (cf. IB 12: bašliy 'headed'), illig 'owning a state' (KT E 9) (cf. IB 9: mānilig 'lucky, happy'; IB 15: ārdāmlig 'owning manly qualities'), qulluy 'owning a slave' (KT E 21) (cf. IB 34: munluy 'painful'; IB 35, 86: qutluy 'happy'), küčlüg 'powerful, capable' (O R 4) (cf. IB 5, 32: küčlüg), etc.

3°. In -dīm/-dum, -dīn/-dun; (first vowel) -dīmiz/-dumiz, -dīniz/-duniz: altīm 'I conquered' (BK E 27), bitīdim 'I inscribed' (KT SE), buzdum 'I put to rout' (BK E 24), kālūrtūm 'I sent for' (KT S 11), bardīy (<*bardīn) 'you (lit.: 'thou' went' (BK E 20), ičikdīn 'you submitted' (TI W 3), kigürtüg (<*kigürtūn) 'you brought' (KT E 23), qorqmadīmiz 'we did not fear' (TII W 6), birtimiz 'we gave' (KT E 20), buzdumiz 'we routed' (KT E 31), sūnūš-dūmiz 'we fought' (BK E 28), etc.

4°. In -dīn/-dun: qurīdīn 'from behind, from the west' (KT W 1), biridīn 'from this side, from the south' (TIS 4), ōndūn 'from the front, from the east' (TIS 4) (cf. Uig. ōndūn id., ōndūn 'to the right', soltun 'to the left').

The vowel in the following suffixes resists labial harmony:

1°. In the coordinating suffix -lī/-lī: bāglī bodunlī-y 'lords and peoples' (acc.) (KT E 6), tūnlī kūnlī 'night and day' (KT SE), etc.

2°. In the genitive suffix -īn/-in, -nīn/-ni: bayır-qunīn 'Bayırqu's' (KT E 35), bodunīr 'of the people' (BK E 3), etc.

3°. In the accusative suffix -nī/-ni: bizni 'use' (TI N 5), gunī 'Qu' (TIS 2).

4°. In the imperative suffix -yīl/-gil: yay(y)īl 'join!' (TI W 5), uryīl 'place!' (TI N 10).

5°. In the past tense suffix -dī/-di: učdī '(Prince Kül) flew (i. e., died)' (KT NE), ōlti '(that horse) was killed' (KT E 33).

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

7°. In the adverbial suffix -tī/-ti: qatīydī 'firmly, well' (KT S 2), ādgūti 'well, properly' (KT S 2).

8°. In the suffix -līq/-lik: bāglīk 'worthy of becoming a lord' (BK E 7), udlīq 'thigh, hip, rump' (KT E 36), qoqlīq 'scenting material' (BK S 11), ōzlik 'personal' (BK N 11; BK S 12); but toplayuluq 'the bending, the folding up' (TI S 6), ūzgūlūk 'the breaking' (TI S 7), ōzlūkī 'his mount' (KČ E 3, 3, W 4).

9°. In the suffix -sīz/-siz: ašsīz 'foodless' (KT E 26), biligsīz 'unwise, unintelligent' (KT E 5), buṇsīz 'free from trouble' (BK N 14), buṇsīz 'in abundance' (TII S 4) (cf. Ačura, left 2: buṇsīz), yolsīzin 'without any roads' (TI N 11), ōgsīz 'motherless' (KT N 9) (cf. Khak. ōksis id.).

10°. In the suffix -sīra/-sirā: qayansīra 'to become rulerless, to lose independence' (KT E 13), elsirā 'to become stateless, to lose independence' (KT E 13), uruysīrat 'to exterminate' (KT E 10).

11°. In the suffix -sīq/-sik: olursīqīm 'my wish for taking a rest' (TI E 5, S 5), tosīq 'the being satiated in the future' (KT S 8; BK N 6), toysīq 'the rising' (KT E 4, 8, S 2; BK E 5, 8, 8, N 2; O F 2), ōlsikīn 'you will die' (KT S 6; BK N 5), ōlsikīg id. (KT S 7; BK N 5), ōlsikīnīn 'your being killed, your being annihilated' (acc.) (KT S 10; BK N 8).

See 2, 1211, 2°.

2.122. Long Vowels of Non-First Syllables

The existence of long vowels in non-first syllables is evident from the spelling. Long vowels of non-first syllables are generally written even when they occur in closed syllables, while the short vowels are not indicated in general (see 1.2214. 1° and 2°).

1°. Long a: apā 'grandfather, ancestor' (cf. Khak. abā 'elder brother', Yak. ubay id., Chuv. appa 'elder sister'): apām (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), apāmiz (KT E 19; O F 1); arqā 'back, rump' (cf. Yak. arṣā 'west'): arqāsīn (KČ E 9); siṣtā 'to lament, wail' (= Yak. itā 'to cry'): siṣtāmis (KT E 4), siṣtāmiš (BK E 5); taplā 'to like, agree' (= Yak. taptā 'to like, love'): taplāmadī (BK E 35); unā 'to agree, approve': unāmaṣ (TI N 11) (cf. IB 57: unāmaduq); yoḡlā 'to mourn': yoḡlāmiš (BK E 5), yoḡlāmis (KT E 4).

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

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

3°. Long i: ayī ~ ayī 'treasure, material': ayīsī (KT S 5; BK N 4), ayīn (KT S 5; BK N 4); ayīs 'wealth, riches, property': ayīsīn (KT SW); bulīt 'cloud' (KT NE); qalī 'remainder, rest': qalīsiz (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9); qarī 'to grow old' (= Yak. qiriy-): qarīp (KČ W 5); toqī 'to strike, beat': toqīdī (KT N 6), toqīdīm (BK E 31, S 8); toqīt 'to cause to inscribe': toqītdīm (KT S 12, 13, 13; BK N 15); udī 'to sleep' (= Yak. utuy- id.): udīmadīm (BK E 22); yabrīt 'to destroy' (BK E 31, 31); yayī 'enemy, hostile': yayīy (KT E 15; BK E 13; TII E 3, 4), yayīqa (KC E 11), yayīsī (KT E 12); yayīd 'to start hostilities': yayīt(t)uqda (KC E 6, W 5); yazī 'plain' (= Yak. sīsī id.): yazīda (TI N 9; TII W 1), yazīqa (KT E 17, S 3; BK E 15); yīlqī 'a flock of horses' (cf. Turf. īlqā 'horse', Khot. ḡilxā 'horse herd': Pritsak, Fund. 539); yīlqīy (BK E 38; KČ E 13), yīlqīsīn (BK E 24), yīlqī[sīn] (BK E 39); yorī 'to walk, march; to make progress': yorīdīm (BK E 27), yorīdimiz (KT E 37), yorīduqī (TII N 3), yorīlīm (TI N 5, 11), yorīp (KT E 35), yorīsar

(TI E 6, 7), yorīyur (TI S 3); yorīt 'to order to march' (TI N 1, 11).

4°. Long i: bičīn 'monkey' (KT NE); bitī 'to write': bitīdīm (KT SE, SE; KČ S 3); bitīt 'to have written': bitītdīm (TII E 8), bitīd(d)īm (KT S 13; BK N 15); bitīg 'inscription, writing' (KČ S 3); ekī 'two': ekīsīn (KT E 38), ekīn (KT E 1, 2; BK E 4, 32; O R 2); ekīnti 'second, secondly' (KT E 33, TII W 4), ekīnt[i] (BK E 36); kisī 'man, human': kisīg (KT S 6, 6; BK N 4, 4; TI W 4), kisīsīn (KČ E 10, W 5) (cf. Uig. kišāi id.: TT III 87); layzīn 'pig' (BK S 10) (cf. MC N 11: layzīn); sūčīg 'sweet' (KT S 5, 5, 6); tāzīk 'Arab' (TII S 1); tōlīs ethnic name (KT E 33); yašīk 'sun' (KT NE) (< *yašīq).

The final vowel of the following words, too, is probably long: kūni 'envy, jealousy' (BK E 30) (= Yak. kūnū id.), tābi 'camel' (TII S 4) (cf. Tele 3: tabem 'my camels'; Kāš. tāwāy, dāvāy id.).

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

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

6°. Long ū: sūḡūk 'bone': sūḡūkūy (KT E 24), sūḡūkūg (BK E 20) (= Yak. uḡuoḡ id.; Khak. Tuv. sōk id.); suḡug 'lance' (KT E 35); tōrū 'to be born, created' (KT N 10) (= Yak. tōrūō id.); tūpūt 'Tibet' (KT E 4, N 12; BK E 5), tūpūtkā (KT S 3; BK N 3); ūčūn 'for, because of, in order to' (KT N 4 and 17 more occurrences) (= Turkm. ūčīn id.); ūlūg 'good luck': ūlūgūm (KT E 29); the rounded vowel of the following word, too, is probably long: yāḡūn 'younger brother': yāḡūnūm (KT S 1, N 11; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degū id.).

Long vowels are also found in the following suffixes:

A. The voluntative suffix -ayīn/-ayīn: ayayīn (TI N 8), īdmayīn (BK E 33), īgidāyīn (KT E 28; BK E 25),

itāyīn (KT E 39), qisayīn (TI W 5), qonayīn (KT S 7), [qonay]īn (BK N 5), ölürāyīn (KT E 10), tägāyīn (TI S 4), tüsāyīn (TI N 6), uruysiratayīn (KT E 10), yoylatayīn (TI N 7).

See 1. 2214. 2°Ba.

B. The third person possessive suffix -ī/-ī̄, -sī/-sī̄: adyīrīn 'his stallions' (acc.) (BK N 11), altunīn '(Prince Kül's) gold' (acc.) (KT SW), ābīn 'their tents' (acc.) (BK E 34), sūsīn 'their army' (acc.) (KT N 7), yalmasīnta 'on his caftan' (KT E 33).

See 1. 2214. 2°Bd and 2. 1211. 2°A.

C. The participle suffixes -īr/-īr̄, -ūr/-ūr̄: barīr (KT E 10), bilīr (KT E 34), kālīr (TI N 8), kālūrīr (TII E 3), yayūtīr (KT S 5; BK N 4), körūr (KT N 10; BK N 2), qorqūr (TII W 4), olurūr (KT E 3; BK E 4; TI W 7, S 1; TII N 4), öyūr (KT S 5), ökülūr (TI N 8), boşyurūr (KT S 7; BK N 5).

See 1. 2214. 2°Be and 4°Bf.

D. The coordinating suffix -lī/-lī̄: bāglī bodunlī-y (KT E 6). See 1. 2214. 2°Bf.

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

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

2. 13. Vowel Alternations

1°. a ~ i: In the following words, the short vowel a of the first syllable alternates with i: īyar 'precious, important, esteemed' (KT E 29, SE; BK E 24) ~ ayar 'heavy; important' (BK S 15, E 2); yīlpayut 'champion warriors' (BK E 31) ~ *alpayut pl. of alpayu (KT N 7) (cf. Uig. alpayut a title: Pfahl., 23).

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

2°. ā ~ i: In the following words, the vowel ā of the first syllable alternates with i: bīni 'me' (TI S 3), but bān 'I' (TI W 1) ~ mān (BK S 9); sīni 'thee' (TI S 3),

but sān 'thou' (KT S 8); ir- 'to reach, arrive' (TII S 1) ~ ār- in ārig 'reachable' (KT S 13, 13); irtūr- 'to cause to reach' (KT E 40) ~ *ärtūr- (see above); ir- 'to be' (KT S 13) ~ ār- (generally).

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

2. 14. Palatalization

The vowel i of the first syllable shows a strong tendency toward becoming i under the palatalizing influence of dento-alveolar and palatal consonants: biṡ 'thousand' (BK S 1; TI S 7, 9) ~ biṡ (TI E 1); biri + 'this side, south' in biriya (KT S 6), birigārū (KT S 3), biridin (TI S 4) < *birī (cf. Uig. birqaru 'to the south'); id- 'to send, dispatch' (O F 2) ~ id- (generally); sima- 'not to destroy' (KT S 11; BK N 14) ~ sima- (KČ E 8); siyīt 'wail, lament' (KT N 11), siyītči 'lamerter' (KT E 4, N 11; BK E 5) < *siyīt (cf. siyītā- 'to lament' in KT E 4); siyun 'deer' (BK W 5) < *siyun; siṡar 'half' (BK E 32), siṡarča (TII W 5) < *siṡar (= Yak. aṡar ~ aṡār id., Kirg. siṡar 'one of a pair'); tida 'holding back' (KT N 11) < *tid- (= Mong. čida-: see Poppe, Verg. 16; Chuv. čar- id.); tiṡiṡ 'the news, tidings' (acc.) (TI N 8) ~ tiṡiṡ (TII W 1); tiṡla- 'to listen' (KT S 2) < *tiṡla- (= Mong. čiṡla-: see Poppe, Verg. 15); yīṡdim 'I terrified' (O R 1) ~ yīṡdim (O R 1); yīṡdīnta 'from the north' (TI S 4) < *yīṡdīnta; yīṡiyaru 'to the north' (KT S 2, 4, E 28; BK N 2, 3, E 23) < *yīṡi- ṡaru; yīṡiya 'in the north' (KT E 14, S 1; BK E 12), yīṡiyaqi 'being in the north' (TI S 10) ~ yīṡiya (TI W 7, S 7); yīṡiyā (O F 2, 5) < yīṡiya; yīṡ 'wooded mountain' (KT S 3, 4, 6, 8; BK N 3, 5, E 39), y[iṡ] (BK E 19), [y]iṡ (BK N 6) < *yīṡ (cf. yīs id.: TI E 3); yīṡda 'at the wooded mountain' (KT E 35, S 4; BK E 27) < *yīṡda (cf. yīsda id. in TI N 7, 8) yīṡiṡ (KT E 21, 35; BK E 27, 27), y[iṡiṡ] (BK E 17) < *yīṡiṡ (cf. yīṡiṡ id. in TI N 4, 11); yīṡqa < *yīṡqa (cf. yīsṡaru 'toward

the wooded mountain' in TI S 8); yis[qa] (O F 2)
 <*yisqa <*yışqa; yipari 'the scented candles' (acc.)
 (BK S 11) <*yipar; yimşaq 'soft' (KT S 5, 5, 6; BK
 N 4, 4) <*yimşaq.
 See 2.1211.1°.

2.15. Assimilation

2.151. Progressive Assimilation

1°. The third person possessive suffix has been assimilated to i in the following examples: ayışın 'his wealth' (KT SW) <*ayışın, altunın 'his gold' (KT SW) < [altunı]n (BK N 11), ayučıqa 'over the dominion of' (KT W 1) <*ayučı, barımın 'his possessions' (KT SW) <barımın (KT N 1; BK E 24), qayanın 'their kagan' (KT E 7) <qayanın (generally), qızın 'his daughter' (BK N 10) <*qızın, sabın 'his words' (TI E 5) <sabın (KT S 9; BK N 7), tasın 'its exterior' (TI S 6) <taşın (KT S 12; BK N 14), usın 'his sleep' (TI E 2) <*usın, yalmasinta 'on his caftan' (KT E 33) <*yalmasi, y[il]q[ış]ın 'his horses' (KT SW) <yılqışın (BK E 24).

2°. antay 'like that, as follows' (TI S 2, etc.) <antäg (TI N 5) <*anī tæg, biridin-yän 'from the south' (TI S 4) <*biridin yan, öndün-yän 'from the east' (TI S 4) <*öndün yan, täprikän-yän 'to the side of Täprikän' (O F 5) <*täprikän yan, qačan-(n)an 'any time, sooner or later' (TI E 4) <qačan-(n)än (TI E 3, 5).

2.152. Regressive Assimilation

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

2°. ü - a <u - ä: büntägi 'the one like this' (TII E 7) <*büntägi <*bunī tägī.

2.16. Contraction

a <*aya: yaramači 'it will not be good' (TI E 6) <*yaramayači (cf. Khak. present and future participle in -ači/-äči and the negative forms in -mäči/-mäči, -bäči/-bäči and -päči/-päči; cf. also Yak. istäčči 'listener, one who hears' <*isitgäči).

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

2.17. Loss

2.171. Loss of Vowels

2.1711. Syncope

1°. In trisyllabic words the unstressed short vowel of the medial syllable is greatly reduced and easily disappears in the neighborhood of r, l, n, y/g and y: adril- 'to be separated' (TI W 2, O R 4) <*adiril-, antay 'like that, as follows' (TI S 2) ~ antäg (TI N 5) <*anī tæg, aşru 'through, beyond' (KT E 36, N 2) <*aşuru, balbal 'statue' (BK S 9) <*balibal <*barimal, birlä 'with' (KT S 4) <*biril-ä, bu[ı]na- 'to capture' (KČ E 10) <*buluna-, buyruq 'government official, minister' (KT S 1) <*buyruq, büntäg 'like this' in büntägi (TII E 7) <*büntäg <*bunī tæg, ägri 'bent, curved' (TII S 4) <*ägiri, ärkli 'being' (TI S 6) <*ärkli <*ärigli, qorğan 'fort, enclosure' (BK E 31) <*qoriyan, käčgin- 'to grant a favor, to forgive' (KČ E 8) <*käčigin- (cf. Mong. keşig 'grace, favor, blessing'), kınsür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) <*kınsür- (cf. Kāš. kıpū- 'to become wide'), köplün 'thy heart' in köplünčä (TI S 8, N 8) <*köplün, oılan 'children, sons' in oılanım (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1) and oılanıgızda (KT

SE) <*oyılan, oyli 'son of' (KT E 1) <*oyili, oyli 'children, sons' in oyli (KT E 5; BK E 5) <*oyilit, ötrü 'then, after' (TIS 5, 9) <*ötürü, siytā- 'to lament, wail' (KT E 4; BK E 5) <*siytā-, tarqinč 'displeased, cross' (TI E 5) <*tarqinč (cf. Khak. tarix- 'to become angry'), tāgrā 'around' (TIS 1) <*tāgirā, tāpri 'heaven, sky' (KT E 1) <*tāpīri, yabrīt- 'to destroy, ruin' (BK E 31) <*yabrīt- (cf. yabiz 'bad, routed'), yāgrān 'red, chestnut (horse)' (KČ E 3, 9) <*yāgirān (cf. Yak. siār <*yāgir id.), yonšur- 'to cause to slander' (KT E 6; BK E 7) <*yonšašur- (cf. Kāš. yona- 'to slander, to tell tales').

2⁰. In dissyllabic stems the short narrow vowel of the final syllable may disappear after the consonants r, l and y: ayt- 'to tell, say' in aytiyma (TII W 9, S 3) and aytip (TI E 7), barq 'building, construction' (KT N 13, etc.) <*bariq (cf. Mong. bari- 'to build, construct'), elt- 'to carry away, take, lead' (TI N 8, etc.) <*elit- (cf. ilit-, ilt- id.), qorg- 'to fear' (TII W 4, 6; OF 7) <*qoriq-, türk 'Turk' (TI W 3 and 15 more occurrences) <*türük (generally).

2.1712. Apocope

Apocope occurs in the following words: kül personal name (in KT and BK) ~ küli (in KČ), yul- 'to plunder' in yulyalı (BK E 32), yuluγči (BK SE) and yuluq (OF 3) ~ yulı- in yulidimiz (TII W 4), yir 'north' in yir bayırqu (KT S 4, E 34; BK N 3) ~ yiri/yiri/yiri.

2.1713. Crasis

Crasis occurs in the following examples: bödkä 'at this time' (BK N 1, 8, E2; KT S 11) ~ bu ödkä (KT S 1), bučägü 'these three together' (TIS 5), <* bu üčägü.

2.172. Haplogy

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

2.2. Consonants

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

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

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

2.21. Labial Consonants

2.211. The Consonant p

The voiceless bilabial stop p occurs in all positions.

1⁰. Initially, p occurs only in the following loan-word: purum 'East Rome, Syria' (KT E 4; BK E 5) < Parth. frum 'Rome' (cf. Chin. fu-lin 'Syria, Rome').

2⁰. Medially:

A. Between vowels: apā 'ancestor', apar 'Avar', qapıγ, qop[in] ~ qopin, opul- 'to rush, attack' (KČ E 11), tapa, topul- 'to throw oneself upon, attack' (KČ E 7), töpü, tüpüt, yipar; gerund in -pan/-pān: kālipān, sūlāpān, etc.

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

C. After a consonant: alpayu ~ yilpayut, örpān.

3⁰. Finally, p occurs after vowels or after l.

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

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

2.212. The consonant b

The voiced bilabial stop b occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: ba-, baya, balbal, balig 'city; mud', bar-, bar, barim, barq, bars, bas-, basml, baš ~ bas, bašad-, bašyu, bašla-, bat, bat-, batī, batim, bay, bayirqū, baz, bādiz, bādiz-, bādizāt-, bādük, bāg, bān, bānigū, bānilig, bārčik, ber ~ bir-, berū, bes ~ bis ~ biš, bič-, bīn ~ biñ, bičīn, bil-, bin-, bir, biri 'south', biriki, birlā, bisinč, bisūk, bitī-, biz, bod, bodun, boyuz, bol-, bor, bošyur-, boyla, boz, bögü, bökä, bölün (< Tib. blon), böri, bu, buq 'evil spirit', būqa, buqaraq, bul-, bulya-, bulīt, bulun, bu[ɫ]na-, buluñ, buntat-, buñ, buñad-, bumin, busta-, buyruq, buz-, bükli, būñ 'to kick' (cf. Kāš. mūñ-id.), etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: čabīs 'aide-de-camp, adjutant', ābir-, qabīs-, sābig, sābin-, tabar geog. name, tabisyan, tatabi, tābār (in il-tābār), tābī, yabiz, yubul-.

B. Before a consonant: subča, ābdä, ābgärü, yabyu, ābkä, subqa, abla-, tāblig, yablaq, qubran-, qubrat-, yabrīt-, qobsar-, etc.

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

3°. Finally: ab, čub, āb, sab, *sāb- (in sābin-), sub, *tāb (in tāblig), *tāb- (in il-tābār).

2.213. The consonant m

The labial nasal m occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially, its occurrence is limited to a small number of words: may 'glorified, magnificent' (BK S 15) (cf. Mong. mayta- 'to praise, laud, glorify', Kirg. maqta-id. < *mayta-), maqarač (< Ind. maharaj, see Thom. Turcica, p. 14, n. 2), matī 'faithful, loyal, obedient' (KT S 11; BK N 8, S 13, 14) (cf. Mong. batu 'strong, loyal, reliable', Tuv. badī 'faithful, true' badila- 'to

affirm, assert', Kkpk. mätibiy 'householder, head of a family, one who likes to manage a household' < *matī bāg ?); see 2.31.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: bumin, istāmi, qamay, qam[il], 'Qomul, Hami' (O R 1), tamaγ geog. name, taman, tāmir, tümān, tümāt ethnic name, sāmiz, yamī personal name, yāmā.

B. Before a consonant: amya geographical name, āmgāk, āmgāt-, tamyači, tamyan, qamšay, qamšat-, yimšaq, amtī, yamtar.

C. After a consonant: kögmän, aytiyma, yalma, yālmā, tālinmā-, armaqči, ärmāk 'mare' (KČ E 9) (cf. Mong. ermeg id.), yegirmi, tarman (~ tarban), basml, qismis, sūñüşmiš ~ sūñüşmis, yetmiš ~ yetmis, aymaylıy, tuyma-, azma-, azman, tāzmis.

3°. Finally: *am in amtī 'now' (cf. Khak. am 'now'), barim, batim, *ām in āmgāk and āmgāt-, āsim personal name, qum, kādim, kām 'who', kām 'Yenisei', purum 'East Rome, Syria', tām 'wall'.

2.22. Dentals and Alveolars

2.221. The Consonant t

The voiceless dental stop occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: tabar geog. n., tabyač, tabisyan, tadiq pers. n., tay, tayiq-, tal-, taluy, tām, tamay geog. n., tamyači, tamyan, tañ, tañut, tapa, taplā-, taq 'the very' (KČ E 5), taqī, tarduš, tarman, tarqan, tarqinč, taš 'stone', taš 'outside, exterior', tašiq-, tasul- 'to be derived' (O F 8), tašra, tat, tatabi, tatar, tay 'great' (BK S 11) (< Chin. ta id.), tayyun 'sons (lit.: 'colts')' (KT SE), tābi, tāblig, tāg, tāg-, tāgi, tāgis, tāgrä, tāgür-, tālinmā-, tāmir, tāñri, tāñrikān, tār, tārmil geog. n., tāyāñ, tāz-, tāzīk, te-, teyin, teril-, ti 'very,

most' (BK S 15) (cf. Uig. tii 'fest, beständig', Alttürk.; cf. also Chuv. či 'very, most'), tigin, tik-, tilä-, tinsi (< Chin.), tiŋla-, tir- 'to gather together', [ti]r- 'to live', tirgür- 'to bring to life', tirig, tiril- 'to come to life', tirkiš, tizlig, to-, tod-, toy-, toyla, toyu, toq, toqar, toqı-, toqıt-, toquz, toquzunč, tolyat-, ton (< Sak. thauna), tona, tonra, tonta-, topla-, topul-, tor-, toruq, toruy, tögültün geog. n., tögünlüg, tök-, töküt-, tölis, tönkär geog. n., töpü, tört, törtünč, törü, törü-, tu-, tudun, tuy, tonuquq, tut-, tutun-, tutuq (< Chin.), tutuz-, tuyun pers. n., tuyut pers. n., tuy-, tükäti, tümän, tümät, tün, tüpüt, türgi geog. n., türgis, türük ~ türk, tüs-, tüzül-, til, tid-.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: ata, atač, atı, atig ethnog. n., batı 'surely, certainly, indeed' (TII W 2), biti-, bitig, bitit-, äsgiti ~ isgiti 'silk' (cf. Uig. işgirti id., Kāš. äşgürti id.), ädgüti, ätiz, itin-, qatıydı, qatun, qitañ, kötür-, matı 'faithful' (see above), otuz, ötüg, ötükän, ötülüg, ötün-, *ötür- in ötrü, tatabı, tatar, tutuq, tutun-, tutuz-, yaratid-, yaratun-, yaratur-, yeti, yetinč, yitür-, yotuz.

B. Before a consonant: siyitci, itgüci, atlan-, ötlä-, yetmiş, ötrü, batsiq, tutsiq.

C. After a consonant: aytur-, siytä-, yügtür-, altı, altuz-, altun, amtı, yamtar pers. n., anta, antay, bunta, buntat- 'to make inadequate, insufficient' (TI E 2) (cf. Mong. muŋda- 'to be inadequate, insufficient'), büntäg, bintür-, äzginti geog. n., ekinti, käntü, küntüz, ortu, bust[a] 'to roar' (KT NE) (cf. Khak. pusta- 'to bellow, roar, squall', Tuv. busta- 'to bellow, low'), istämi.

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: at 'horse', ät 'name, title', bat 'certainly, without doubt?' (O F 7), bat-, bitit-, bulıt, buntat-, äsit- (< äsid-) (TI E 7), ät- 'to thunder, roar, bellow' (BK W 4, 5), [it], it- (< id-), qut, oylit, *öt in ötlä- 'to give advice', *öt- in ötrü, siyit, tarqat, tat,

tut-, tuyut, tümät, yayıt- (< yayıd-), yarat-, yat-, yit-, it-, yut; causative stems in -t: ayıt-, aqıt-, artat-, basıt-, bädizät-, elsirät-, qayansirat-, gamsat-, qubrat-, oyur-qalat- 'to let someone warm his back' (TI N 1) (cf. Tuv. örjala- 'to warm one's back', örja 'back' < *oyurqa 'backbone'), ölüt-, sülät-, toqıt-, etc.

B. After the consonants l, n, r, and y: elt- ~ ilt-; *art- in artuq, olurt-, ört, tört, ulıart-, yurt; ayt-.

2.222. The Consonant d

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

1°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: adaq, adınč(č)iy, bädiz, bädiz-, bädizät-, bädük, bodun, ıduq, idi 'owner, lord', idi 'never, by no means', qadırqan geog. n., qadiz ~ qadiz 'slope, cliff?', godı, goduz, kädim, ödüş, tadiq pers. n., udı-, uduz-, yaday.

B. Before a consonant: adyır, ädgü, udlıq, äsidmä-, igidmiš, adrıl-, ödsig 'distinguished?' (BK E 34).

C. After a consonant: yegdi, qatıydı ~ qatıydi, soydaq, yaraqlıydı, ärdäm, ordü, tarduš.

2°. Finally: başad-, bod, buŋad-, äsid-, id- ~ id-, igid-, igid, god-, *käd- in kädim, qulad-, künäd-, öd 'time', öd 'gall', šad, tid- (< *tīd-), tod-, ud 'thigh, hip', ud-, yoqad-, *ud 'sleep' in udı-.

2.223. The Affricate č

The voiceless alveolar affricate č occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: čabis 'aide-de-camp, adjutant' (TI W 7; KČ E 5) (< *čabiš; cf. Turk. čavuş 'sergeant'), čača (< Chin.) pers. n., čaŋ (< Chin.) pers. n., čärig 'army,

troops' (KČ W 9) (= Sar. uig. čerig, Tuv. šerig, Yak. sārī id.), čiyañ, čiqan 'nephew, son of a paternal or maternal aunt, cousin' (KT N 13; KČ W 1, 2) (= Kāš. čiqan id., Sar. uig. čiqan id.), čintan 'sandalwood' (< Skr.), čik ethnog. n., coyay geog. n., čor 'prince', čoraq, čöl, čub, čuš geog. n., čuluyan a title? (KČ W 5).

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: bičīn (< Iran.), āčī 'paternal uncle; older brother', āčū 'ancestor', ičik-, qačan, kāčā, kičā 'evening', kāčin (kāčān?) geog. n., kāčig 'ford', kicig, süčig, tamyacı, učuq, učuz, üčägün, üčün, üčünč, yicā; words having the suffixes -yuči/-güči, -dači/-däči, -mači/-mäči (< *-maɣači/-mäğäči).

B. Before a consonant: ičyīn-, tabyačyī, ičgār-, kāčgin-, küčlög, ičrä, qilīčla-, āčsiq.

C. After a consonant: subča, āligčā, tayča, yoyči, armaqči, bolču geog. n., šalči, anča, bunča, nānčā, inanču, qunčuuy (< Chin.), borča 'like a storm', bärčik 'Persian', yerci, otča 'like fire', siyitči, bädizči, ögüzčā, yüzčā.

3°. Finally:

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

B. After the consonants n and r: *adīnč in adīnč(č)iy, bisinč, bulyanč 'in disorder' (TI E 5), ārinč, ötünč, sanč-tarqīnč 'displeased, rebellious' (TI E 5), törtünč, unč 'possible' (TI E 7), üčünč, yetinč, toquzunč, onunč; yurč 'brother of the wife, brother-in-law' (KT E 32) (= Kāš. yurč id., Khak. čurču id.).

2.224. The Consonant s

The voiceless dental spirant occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: sa- 'to inform, send a message' (TI W 7), sab, sač, sanč-, san, saqīn-, sayu (= Yak. āyī id.), sariy, sābig, sābin-, sākiz, sālānā 'Selenga', sāmiz, sān,

sāpūn 'general' (< Chin. tsiang-kun), sī-~si-, siytā-, siyit, siyun, silig pers. n., sinar, siñil, sir ethnog. n., siz, soṇa geog. n., soydaq, (s)oy(u)d? (KT W 1), sök-, sökür-, sön 'time?' (KČ E 8), sünük, sözläš-, sub, suq 'ambition, anger', sü, süčig, sülä-, sünüg, sünüş, sünüş-, sür-.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: asug (< Sogd. ?) pers. n., ba[sa] 'then, again', basig-, basin-, bisinč, bisük 'relatives, kin' (KT S 6), äsid-, äsim, esī 'lady, woman of high social position' (KT E 7, 24; BK E 24), isiyi (< Chin.) pers. n., qisil 'glen, mountain cleft' (BK E 37), kisi, lisün (< Chin. Li-ts'ün) pers. n., tasig- (~tašig-), tosiq, tüsür- (< *tüşür-), yasa-, yasa- (~yaša-) (KČ W 3).

B. Before a consonant: isbara ~ isbara (~išbara), qisya, tabisyan, äsg(iti) ~ isgiti, basmil, asra, kisrä, istämi, busta-.

C. After a consonant: qobsar- 'to mourn' (KČ S 2) āčsiq, ödsig, toysiq, ölsik, elsirä-, yilsiy, tinsi (< Chin. t'ien-tzu 'the son of Heaven, the Chinese Emperor'), qayansira-, bersäg, olursiq, kınsür- (< *kīnsür-), ašsiz.

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

A. After vowels: as in asra 'below', bas-, čabīs (< *čabiš), ulus, yalıqus.

B. After r: bars pers. n.

See Dentalization of š (2.33).

2.224. The Consonant z

The voiced dental spirant z does not occur initially.

1°. Medially:

A. Intervocally: azu, azıylıy 'furious, ferocious' (KČ E 6), azuq, bädizät-, qizıl, küzäd-, tüzül-, uzun, üzä, yazın, yazı, yazın-, yazuq in yazuqla- (BK E 36), yüzüt-.

B. Before a consonant: azqīna, azma-, azman, bädizči, buzqun, boyuzlan-, äzginti geog. n., izgil, qazyan-, özlik ~ özlük, sözläš-, tizlig, tüzsiz, üzgölük.

C. After a consonant: layzīn.

2°. Finally: altuz-, az 'few', az ethnic n., az-, baz, bādz, bādz-, biz, boyuz, boz, buz-, ādz, ātiz geog. n., āz-, qadz, qirqiz, qiz, qiz-, qoduz, quz, kōz, kūz (MC E 8), oyuz, otuz, oz-, ögüz, öz, sākiz, sāmiz, siz, söz in sözlāš-, tāz-, tiz, toquz, tutuz-, tüz, uduz-, uz 'skill, art' (BK SW), üz 'ill-tempered' (TI N 10), üz-, yabiz, yayiz, yaz, yotuz, yüz, yüz- in yüzüt-.

2.225. The Consonant š

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

1°. Initially, its occurrence is limited to the following words: šad (<Sogd. ?), šadpīt (šad+pīt ?), šalči pers. n. ?, šantu 'the Shantung plain' (<Chin.).

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: aša, ašig 'mountain pass?', ašur- in ašru, bašad-, qišīn, qošu pers. n., kiši (~kisī), tašiq- (~tašiq-), yaša- (~yaša-), yašik, yašil.

B. Before a consonant: išbara (~išbara ~isbara); bašyu; bošyur-; bašla-, bašliy, qišla-; ašru, tašra; ašsiz.

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

3°. Finally: arqiš, aš, aš- (~as-), baš (~bas), biš (~bis ~ bes), čuš geog. n., qaš, qiš- (~qis-), quš in quš-alyaq geog. n. (KT N 5), oyuš, ödüş, sünüş (~sünüs), sünüş- (~sünüs-), taš 'stone', taš (~tas) 'exterior', tirkiš, tarduš (~tardus), uruš, üküş (~üküs), yaš, yiš 'wooded mountain' (~yis ~ yis).

2.226. The Consonant n

The dental nasal n occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially, its occurrences is limited to the following words: nā 'what' and its inflected forms nākā 'for what' (TH W 3, 4) and nāncā 'so many, so much' (BK N 9), nān 'any'.

2°. Medially, n occurs in all positions:

A. Between vowels: anī acc. of ol, anī geog. n., anīn inst. of ol, bini acc. of bān, bunī acc. of bu, ānik pers. n. (KT N 12), inanču ~ inānču, ināl, ini, qanī, sini acc. of sān, yana, etc.

B. Before a consonant: anča, bunča, buzqunča, qunčuy (<Chin. qung-chu), yinču; kāčindā 'at Kāčin' (KC W 10); qayanqaru, tarqanyaru; bodunqa, qayanqa, tarmanqa, ārsinkā, kāčinkā, tāprikānkā; qayanla-, qanlan-, qunla-, ākinlig, tögünlög; tālinmā-; qayansīra, sansiz, tinsi (<Chin.), tonsiz; anta, antay, antiryu geog. n., bintür-, bizintā, bunta, buntat-, büntäg, ekinti, qontur-, kāntü, küntüz, öntür-, örpāntā, yantur-, yüküntür-, etc.

Before word-final č: bisinč, bulyanč, ārinč, onunč, ötünč, sanč-, tarqinč, toquzunč, törtünč, unč, učünč, yetinč ~ yitinc, etc.; before word-final t: yunt (MC), etc.

Before syllable-final č: adīnč(č)iy, sančdī, yinčgā, etc.

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

3°. Finally: alqīn-, altun, asan- (<*ašan-), basīn-, bān, bičīn, bin-, bodun, bölün (<Tib. blon 'high official'), bulun, bumīn, buzqun, čiqan, ārān, ekīn, ičyīn-, irkin, qačan, qayan, qalīn, qan 'khan', qan 'blood', qapyan, qazyan-, qīlīn-, qon-, qopīn, qoryan, kāčgin-, kāčin geog. n., kögmān, kūn, layzīn, lisūn (<Chin.), oylan, on, ökün-, ön- in öntür-, ötün-, saqīn-, sābin-, sān, sōn, tamyan, tarqan, teyin ~ tiyin, tigin, ton, tögültün geog. n., tögün, tutun-, tümān, tūn, učün, ülgān, yan, yan-, yāgrān, yāgūn, yoyun, yükün-, etc.

2.227. The Consonant l

The lateral sonorant l has two variants (allophones): a back velar l and a front palatal l. The back variety of l occurs in words of back vowels, and the palatal l occurs in words of front vowels.

The lateral l occurs in all positions.

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

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: balīq 'town, city; mud', bilig, bölün, bulīt, bulun 'captive', buluq, čuluʔan a title? (KČ W 5), älä 'hawk, vulture' (KČ W 9), älig 'hand', älig 'fifty', ilig 'ruler' (KT N 3) qalīsiz, qalīq, qalīq, qilīč, qilīn-, qulad-, kälür-, kölik, ölür-, ölüg, ölür-, säläqä 'Selenga', sülä-, taluy, tälin-, tälä-, ulay, uluʔ, ülüg, yalabač, yoli 'time', yuli-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: balbal, ilbilgä (compound); bolču geog. n., bolča 'when (he) became', bolčun 'let it be'; bilgä, bulʔa-, bulʔaq, bulʔanč, čölgi, ilgärü, tolʔat-, ulyart-, ülgän 'big, great' (O R 3); alqin-, qulqaq, yilqī; ellig ~ illig, illä-, qulluʔ, yolluʔ; bolma-, yalma, yälmä; bu(l)na-, alpaʔu ~ yilpāʔut; elsirät-, ölsik, yälsīʔ, yol-sizin; altī, altun, altuz-, etc.

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

Before a syllable-final stop: alqd[im]z, eltdi ~ iltdi.

C. After a consonant: abla-, täblig, yablaq; qilīčla-, küčlög; udliq; aziʔliʔ, aymaʔliʔ, bäglär, bäglük, oʔlan, oʔlit, ögläs-, sünüglög, yoʔlā-, bükli geog. n., yaraqliʔ; čöl(l)üg; kādimlig; qayanla-, qanlan-, qunla-, opla-, taplā-, topla-, birlä, yarliq(q)a-, başla-, başliʔ (< başliʔ); atliʔ, atlan-, ötlä-, özlik, sözläš-, tizlig, etc.

3°. Finally: al-, adril-, aril-, basmil, bil-, bol-, bul-, čöl, el ~ il, inäl, izgil, qal-, qil-, qisil, qizil, qul, käl-, köl, köqül, kül (~ küli), oʔil, ol, opul-, ökül-, öl-, siqil, tal-, täl- in tälin-, til, teril- ~ tiril- 'to come together', tiril- 'to come to life', topul- 'to attack, assault' (cf. Kkpk. tobil- id.) (KČ E 7), yaqil-, yaşil, yäl-, yil, yol, etc.

2.228. The Consonant r

The vibrant sonorant r does not occur initially.

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

A. Between vowels: ara, ariʔu, aril-, barim, biri 'south', (b) ärüki, biriki, böri, buqaraq 'Bukhara', čärig, čoraq, äräm 'big, large, huge' (KČ W 9) (cf. Khak. iräm id.), ärän 'men', ärig 'reachable', ärinč, elsirä-, iraq, ilgärü, qara, qarī-, qurī 'west', qurīqan, kāqiris geog. n., käräkü, körüg, kürägü, maqarač (< Ind.), sariʔ, *tarīq- in tarqinč, teril-, tiril-, tirig, toruʔ, toruq, törü, törü-, türük (~ türk), urī, yara-, yaraq, yarat-, yarīq, yarīs geog. n., yirī 'north', yorī-, yoq(q)aru, yüg(g)ärü, etc.

B. Before a consonant: tarban (~ tarman) geog. n.; bärčik 'Persian', borča, yerči; ärdäm, ordū, tarduš; qaryan geog. n., qaryu, qirʔayliʔ, qorʔan, kärgäk, köbürgä; arqā, arqış, arquy, bayırqū, irkin, qadīrqan, qirqiz, toqurqaq; birlä, kürlög; armaqči, ärmäk 'mare' (KC E 9), yegirmi; bersäg, ärsin geog. n.; artat-, artuq, artur-, ärtis 'Irtish', ärtür-, ortu, urtur-, barzun 'let him go', etc.

Before a word-final consonant: yurč; barq, qirq, qorq-, ärk, türk (~ türük); art- in artuq, art-, olurt-, ört-, ulyart-, tört, yurt, yügürt-, bars.

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

C. After a consonant: qubran-, qubrat-, yabrīt-, ičrä; adril- (< *adiril-), sadra 'toward the sad' (TII W 6); ayri-, ägri, tägrä; öqrä, tänri; asra, kisrä; aşru (< *aşuru), taşra; ötrü; buyruq, etc.

2°. Finally: adyir, adīr- in adril-, ayar ~ iyar, aytur-, apar dat. of ol, apar, ar-, aşur- in aşru, bar, bar-, ber- ~ bir-, bir, bor, boşʔur-, buyur- in buyruq, čor, ägir- 'to follow, besiege', ägir- 'to be pleased',

ābir-, ār, ār- 'to be', ār-~ir- 'to come, reach, arrive', ärtür-, eltäbär, ičgär-, gar, qontur-, qu[ra]- (O R 4), kälür-, kigür-, kişür-, kir-, kör-, kötür-, kür in kürlüg, olur-, ölür-, ötür- in ötrü, şınar, sir, sökür-, sür-, tabar geog. n., tägir- in tägrä, tägür-, ter-~tir- 'to gather together', tir- 'to live' in tiril-, tirgür-, tor-, tüsür-, ur-, urtur-, uyur, yayur-, yaratur-, yältür-, yer~yir, yipar, yoyur-, yoşür-, yügür-, yügtür-, yüküntür-, etc.

2.23. Palatal Consonants

2.231. The Consonant y

The palatal consonant y occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: yabyu, yabiz, yablaq, yabrīt-, yaday, yay- 'to join, follow, accompany' (TI W 5) (cf. Mong. daya- id.), yayī, yayīt- (< yayīd-), yayīz, yayūq, yayur-, yayūt-, yalabač, yalıñ, yalıñus, yalma, yamī, yamtar, yan, yan-, yana, yantur-, yañıl-, yara-, yaraq 'weapon', yarat-, yaratun-, yaratur-, yaryan, yaryun geog. n., yariq 'armor' (KT E 33), yariş geog. n., (= Khak. Čariş), yarlıq(q)a-, yasa-, yaş, yaşa-, yaşıl, yaşık (< *yaşiq) 'sun', yat-, yañ- ~ yay-, yay 'summer', yaz, yazı, yazın-, yazuq, yägrän, yägün 'younger brother' (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degü id.), yäk pers. n. (KC E 12, S 1), yäl-, yälmä, yältür-, yämä, yät-, ye-~yi-, yeg ~ yig, yegän ~ yigän, yegirmi, yer, yeti ~ yiti, yetinč ~ yitinč, yetmiş, yiy- 'to gather together' (BK N 9; TII W 8), yiy- 'to frighten' (O F 1, R 1), yıl, yılqı, yılpayut, yılsıy, yiri, yipar, yimşaq, yinčgä, yinčü, yiş, yit-, yitür-, yoy, yoylā-, yoyur-, yöq, yoqad-, yoq(q)aru, yol, yoli, yolluy pers. n. (= Tuv. čolduy 'fortunate, lucky'), yoşür-, yori-, yotuz, yubul- 'to roll, turn round' (TI N 2) (= Kāš. yuwul- id.), yurč, yut, yuyqa, yüg(g)ärü, yügtür-, yügür-, yükün-, yüz '100', yüz 'face', yüzüt-, etc.

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

A. Between vowels: ayuq 'dominion?' (KT W 1) bay-irqu, buyur- in buyruq, qıyın 'punishment, sentence' (TI N 8), keyik, sayu, täyän 'squirrel' (= Khak. tiyin id.), yayın 'in summer'; words having the consonant y as a hiatus-filling sound: başlayu, bayur, biriya, etc.; words having the suffix -ayın/-äyın: ayayın, igidäyın, etc.

B. Before a consonant: ayyuči, tuyun, tuyut, uyur; yuyqa; boyla; aymay (O F 4) (cf. Mong. aymay 'tribe, clan', Kirg. aymaq id.); buyruq; aytiyma.

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

2.232. The Consonant ñ

The palatal nasal ñ occurs in medial and final positions.

1°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: añiy, añit- 'to frighten, threaten' (BK E 41), qañu 'which?' (Kara Balgasun inscription, S 3), toñuquq (generally) ~ tonyuquq (BK S 14; KČ W 1); words having the suffix -qıña/-kiña: azqıña.

B. Before a consonant: qonči 'shepherd' (Miran, c 5), yañduq 'those who were dispersed' (TI S 9), qıtañqa 'to the Chinese' (TII S 5), туруña 'crane' (IB S 9) (cf. Yak. turuya, Tuv. duruya, Koib. туруña id.).

2°. Finally: *añ- in añit- (cf. Mong. ayu- 'to fear, dread', ayul 'fright, fear'), čiyañ, qon, *kön- in könig (Minusinsk, d 1), qıtañ, yañ- (~ yay-) 'to disperse, put to rout'.

2.24. Velar Consonants

Orkhon Turkic has the following velar consonants: k, q, g, y, and ŋ. The consonants k and q are allophones

of the phoneme /k/; k occurs in front-vocalic stems, and q occurs in back-vocalic stems. Similarly, g and y are allophones of the phoneme /g/; g occurs in words with front vowels, and y occurs in words with back vowels.

2.241. The Consonant q

The voiceless postvelar consonant q occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: qabīs-, qač-, qačan, qadīrgan, qadiz, qayan, qal-, qalīsiz, qalīn, qalīr (BK E 25), qamay, qam[il], qamšay, qamšat-, qan 'khan', qan 'blood', qanī, qantīn, qan, qapyan, qapīy, qar, qara, qaryan geog. n., qarYu, qarī, qarī-, qarluq, qaš, qatiydi, qatun, qazyan-, qil-, qiličla-, qiryaYliY, 'hemmed' (BK N 11), qirq, qirqiz, qis-, 'to suppress', qisya, qisil, qis- ~ qis- (< qil-), qišin, qišla-, qitan, qiYin, qiz, qiz-, qizil, qobsar-, qod-, qodi, qoduz, qoqliq, qon-, qontur-, qop, qoray, qoriYu 'protector, guardian, lord' (BK E 41), qoryan 'fort, fortress, shelter', qorq-, qošu, qon, qu pers. n., qubran-, qubrat-, qul, qulqay, qum, qunčuy, qunla- 'to revenge for' (O R 1), qu[ra]- (O R 4), qurī, qurīqan, qušalyaq geog. n., qut, qutay, quz, etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: aqit-, būqa, buqaraq, qurīqan, saqin-, taqi, toqar 'Tokharian', toqi-, toqit-, toquz, toquzunč, toñuquq, yoqad-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: armaqči; yarliq(q)a-; yaraq- liY; tayiqmis; oqsiz, etc.

C. After a consonant: alqin-, qulqay, yilqi; arqa, arqiš, arquy, qadīrgan, qirqiz, tarqan, tarqinč, toqurqay; tutqu (BK S 10); yuyqa; azqiña, buzqun.

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: adaq, aq, aq- in aqit-, armaq, asuq (< Sogd. ?) pers. n., azuq, artuq, ayuq, balīq, buq 'evil spirits, demons' (BK S 10) (cf. Tuv. buq id.), buyruq, čoraq, iduq, iraq, qarluq, qoq 'scent' in qoqliq (BK S 11)

(cf. Turkm. qoq id.), oq particle of intensity, oq 'arrow', orūq, soydaq, suq 'anger, ambition' in suqun (BK E 38), tadiq, taq, taq- in taqi, tarīq- in tarqinč, tašiq-, toq, toñuquq, tutqu (< Chin.), yablaq, yayuq, yaraq, yarīq, yazuq, yoq 'rise, rising (ground)' in yoq(q)aru, yōq, yuluq; words having the suffixes -uq, -duq, -liq, -siq.

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

2.242. The consonant k

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

1°. Initially: kāč-, kāčin geog. n., kāčgin-, kāčig, kādim, kāl-, kālūr-, kām 'who?', kām 'Yenisei', kāntū, kāniris, kānū geog. n., kārākū 'tent', kārgāk, kārū ~ kirū, keyik, kičā, kičig, kigūr-, kiñsūr-, kir-, kis 'sable', kisī ~ kišī, kisrā, köbürgä, kögmän, kök particle of definiteness, kök 'blue', köl, kölik 'cart, vehicle' (TIS 8), könül, kör-, körüg, kötür-, köz, kü, kükä-, küč, kül - pers. n., kümüş ~ kümüs, kün, küni, küntüz, kün, künäd-, kürägü 'unruliness', kürlüg, küzäd-, küz, etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: biriyäki, bärüki, bökä, äkä, äkinlig 'hemmed?', ekī, ekinti, ičräki, kārākū, kükä-, likān (< Chin.) pers. n., ökül-, ökün-, öñräki, ötükän, säkiz, sökür-, täñrikän, töküt-, tükäti, üküş ~ üküs, yükün-, etc.

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

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

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: bädük, bäglük, bärčik, birik-, bisük 'kin, relative', äk geog. n. (TII W 9), änik pers. n., esilik (< *ešilik) 'worthy of becoming a lady' (KT E 7, etc.), ičik-, inigäk, kārgāk, kök 'blue', kök particle, kölik, ök particle, özlik ~ özlük, sök-, sünük, täzik, tik-, tök-, türük (~ türk), yašik 'sun' (< *yašiq), yäk pers. n., etc.

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

2.243. The Consonant y

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

1⁰. Medially, y occurs in all positions.

A. Between vowels: ayar ~ iyar, ayī, ayış, ayīt-, ayu geog. n., ariyu, čīyan, čoyay, čuluayan a title? (KC W 5), iyač, qayan, oyil, oyurqalat-, oyuš, oyuz, siyit, siyun, soy(u)d (KT W 1), toyu, toplayuluq, yayī, yayīt-, yayiz, yayur-, yayut-, yayuy, yoyun, etc.

B. Before a consonant: yoyči, tayča; qatıydi, soydaq, yaraqlıydi; yay(y)il 'join!' (TI W 5); aymaylıy, aziylıy, oylan, oylit, toyla geog. n., yoylā-, aytiyma; ayrī-, toysiq; aytur-, siytā-, layzın, etc.

C. After a consonant: tabyač, yabyu; ičyin-, tabyačyi; adyir; yay(y)il; amya geog. n., tamyacı; bulya-, bulyanč, tolyat-, qapyan; qaryan geog. n., qaryu, qiryaılıy, qorayan; qisya, tabisyan; başyu, boşyur-, ayyuči, tuyyun, tuyyut, uyyur; qazyan-, etc.

2⁰. Finally: adınč(č)iy, ay- in ayīt-, antay, anıy, aziy in aziylıy (KC E 6), qamay, qamşay, may 'glorified, magnificent' (BK S 15), qoray 'loss, death, funeral' (O R 4), tay, toy-, tuy, uluy, uruy in uruysirat-, yaday yay 'to join, follow, accompany' (TI W 5) (cf. Mong. daya- id.), yiy 'to gather together', yiy 'to frighten' (O F 1, R 1), yilsiy, yoy, yolluy, etc.

2.244. The Consonant g

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

... ' (KT S 11).

1⁰. Medially:

A. Between vowels: bānigü 'eternal' (O Supp. 2), bāgim? (KT SW), bučägü, āgir-'to surround, besiege', āgir-'to be pleased' (BK E 2), igid-, igid, ikägü (KT N 3), inigāk 'cow' (TI S 7), kigür-, kürägü, ögüz, tägi, tägür-, tigin, tögültün geog. n., tögün 'braid', učägün, yägün, yegirmi, yügür-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: āligčä 'about fifty'; yegdi 'better'; yüg(g)ärü; bäglär, bäglük; kögmän; tägrä, āgri, yägrän; ögsiz; yügtür-, etc.

C. After a consonant: ābgärü; ičgär-, käčgin-, ädgü, äsidgil, yüg(g)ärü; birtükgärü; bilgä, čölgi, ilgärü, ülgän; āmgāk, āmgāt-, kārgāk, tirgür-, türgi geog. n., türgis, köbürgä, isgiti; išgärü 'forward' (BK N 11); itgüči; āzginti, izgil, üzgölük; bängü, etc.

2⁰. Finally: antäg, ašig (?), atig (?), bäg, bersäg in bersägim, bilig, bitig, büntäg, čärig, ālig 'hand', ālig 'fifty', ārig, ilig, käčig, kičig, körüg, ög 'mother', ög 'mind, reason' in ögläs- (<*ögläs-), ög-, ölüg, ötüg, ötülüg 'esteemed, respected' (BK E 34), sābig, silig, sünüg, täg, täg-, tirig, yeg ~ yig, yüg in yüg(g)ärü, etc.

2.245. The Consonant ŋ

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

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

A. Between vowels: aŋar dat. of ol, aŋaru direct. of ol, bana ~ maŋa dat. of bän ~ män, baŋaru direct. of bän, bānigü, bānilik, buŋad-, ärŋiŋü, kāŋü geog. n., kāŋiris geog. n., kōŋül, kūŋād-, sāŋā dat. of sän, siŋil, sōŋük, sünüg, sünüş, taŋut, toŋa pers. n., yalıŋus, yaŋil-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: buluŋdaŋi, öŋdün; bängü; tōŋkär (?) geog. n.; kūŋlög, tiŋla-, tāŋrī, toŋra, ōŋrā;

buṣsüz, kiṣür-; yoṣur-; toṣta-, etc.

20. Finally: aṇ, biṇ ~ biṇ, buṇ, buluṇ, būṇ 'to kick' (TI W 6) (cf. Kas. mūṇ id.), qaliṇ, qaṇ, kiṇ in kiṣür-, kūṇ, likāṇ (< Chin.) pers. n., nāṇ, oṇ (< Chin.) pers. n., ōṇ geog. n., ōṇ 'front' in ōṇdūn and ōṇrā, ōrūṇ, šantūṇ (< Chin.), taṇ, tāyāṇ, yalīṇ, etc.

2.25. Consonant Changes

2.251. Nasalization

Under the influence of a following nasal consonant, b is sometimes nasalized. This phenomenon, however, does not seem to have been very common in Orkhon Turkic. It is attested only in the following words: mān 'I' (KT, BK) ~ bān (T, KČ), -mān (< bān): birūr-mān (KT E 9), qazyanur-mān (KT E 9), saṇinur-mān (BK W 6), tāgmāči-mān (O R 2), ter-mān (TII W 2), maṇa 'to me' (generally) ~ baṇa (TI N 7), māniṇ 'my' (KT S 11; BK E 29) ~ bāniṇ (TI E 4).

2.252. Denasalization

2.2521. Denasalization of ṇ

The velar nasal ṇ alternates with ɣ/g in intervocalic and final positions in the following words: alṇintiy 'you were ruined' (KT S 9; BK N 7) < *alṇintīṇ, ariltiy 'you were destroyed' (KT S 9) < *ariltīṇ, bardiṇ 'you went' (generally), bardiṇiz 'you went' (KT SE) ~ bardiṇiz (O R 4), bāglārig(dā) 'from your lord' (BK N 13) < *bāglāriṇdā, bilmādüküṇin (BK E 20) < *bilmādüküṇin, bodunīy 'of the people' (KT E 25) < *bodunīṇ, buṇuy 'your trouble' (KT S 8) < *buṇuṇ, ādgūṇ 'your benefit' (KT E 24; BK E 20) < *ādgūṇ, ärtig 'you were' (KT S 9; BK N 7) < *ärtiṇ, ärtigiz 'you were' (KT SE; KT N 9, 10) < *ärtiṇiz, qiltiy 'you made' (BK E 20, 20) < *qiltīṇ, kigürtüg 'you brought' (KT E 23; BK E 19) < *kigürtūṇ, körtüg 'you saw' (O F 7)

< *körtūṇ, oyurqa (in oyurqalat-) 'backbone' (TI N 1) < *oṇurqa (= Turkm. oṇurqa, Turk. omurga < *oṇurqa, Tuv. orya < *oṇurqa id.), öltüg 'you died' (KT S 6, 7; BK N 5, 6) < *öltūṇ, ölsikig 'you will die' (KT S 7; BK N 5) ~ ölsikīṇ (KT S 6; BK N 5), sūṇüküg 'your bones' (BK E 20) ~ sūṇükūṇ (KT E 24), törügīn 'your institutions' (BK E 19) ~ törūṇin (KT E 22).

2.25322. Denasalization of ñ

The palatal nasal ñ alternates with y in the following words: tay 'colt' in tayyunuṇizda (KT SE) < *tañ (cf. Kemčik-Girgāk, front 2: tañlarīm 'my colts'), yay- 'to disperse, to put to flight' (O F 1, R 1) ~ yañ- (generally), ayit- 'to frighten, threaten' (MC D 8) ~ añit- (BK E 41).

2.2523. Denasalization of m

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

2.253. Dentalization of š

As is known, the sign for š occurs less frequently in the inscription of Kül Tigin than it does in the Bilgä Kagan inscription. In places where one would expect the sign for š, the front-vocalic consonantal sign s² is found. The suffix -miš, for instance, has generally been written -ms² in the Kül Tigin inscription. The same is true of the inscriptions of Tonyukuk, Išbara Tarkan (Onḡin), and Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu). In these inscriptions the use of the sign for š is extremely rare; the front- and back-vocalic consonantal signs for s have been used instead.

Judging from this use, Thomsen came to the conclusion that the signs s¹ and s² have also been used to represent the consonant š in back- and front-vocalic words

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

We agree with Malov on this assumption of his. The use of the signs s^1 and s^2 in places where one would expect the sign for $š$ is phonetically significant and reflects an early development of the sound $š$ into s in Orkhon Turkic. In addition to that given above (2.1211.2⁰B), the following may serve as evidence for this assumption:

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

(b) In certain Turfan manuscripts in Turkic 'runic' script a distinction is made between the letters representing the sounds s and $š$. In a sheet of paper found in Turfan and first published by A. von Le Coq ('Köktürkisches

aus Turfan,' *SBAW* 1909, p. 1047 ff.) the sign $\bar{\text{I}}$ represents $š$ in front-vocalic words in general, and a special letter, the sign $\gg$, designates the same sound in back-vocalic words. This modification of the letter $\bar{\text{I}}$ ($= s^2$) shows that it designates only the consonant s in itself.

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

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

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

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

1⁰. The development $š \rightarrow s$: sad (TI N 7; TII W 6, 6; O F 6, 8) $\sim šad$ (TI W 5; KT, BK) $\leftarrow$ Sogd. ?; $santun$ (TI E 1, 2) $\sim šantun$ (KT, BK) $\leftarrow$ Chin. *Shan-tung*.

2⁰. The development $-š \rightarrow -s$: asa 'climbing over' (TII W 2) $\sim aša$ (KT, BK), $asan$ 'to eat, be fed' (TI N 3) $\leftarrow *ašan$ (= Uig. *ašan*-), $bisük$ 'kin, relative, friend' (KT S 6) $\leftarrow *bišük$ (cf. Uig. *böšük* id.), $bisinc$ 'fifth, fifthly' (KT N 7; BK S 10) $\leftarrow *bišinc$, $äsid$ 'to hear' (in general) $\leftarrow *äšid$ (cf. UII: *äsid*-), $äsg[iti]$ 'silk, silken' (BK N 3, 11) $\sim isgiti$ (KT S 5) $\leftarrow *äšgiti$ (cf. Uig. *išgirti*, *Kāš. äšgürti* id.: see TT VI, p. 80), $äsim$ pers. n. (TI S 2)

<*āšim (cf. Kkpk. Ešim male name), esī 'lady' in esīlik (KT E 7, 24; BK E 7) <*ešī (= Uig. iši, išiy 'lady, princess'), isbara (KČ E 10, 12, W 8) ~ isbara (O F 4, 4, Balbal) ~ isbara (KT E 33; KČ W 2), ištāmi (KT E 1; BK E 3) <*ištāmi (= Chin. Shi-tien-mi), kiṣūr- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) <*kinšūr- <*kiṣūr- (cf. Kāš. kiṣū- 'to become wide'), kisī (in general) ~ kišī (KT S 7; BK E 28, N 6) (= Khak. kizi <*kisi, Yak. kihi <*kisi), tabišyan 'hare' (TIS 1) <*tabišyan (= Yak. tabišyan <*tabišqan, Sar. uig. tosqan ~ tousqan <*tabišqan, tašiq- (TI N 6, 6, 9, 9) ~ tašiq- (KT N 8, E 11; BK E 32), tasul- 'to be carried away, be driven' (O F 8) <*tašul- (cf. Kāš. tašu- 'to carry away', Khak. tazil- 'to be carried away' <*tašil-), tūsūr- 'to cause to dismount' (TI N 3) <*tūsūr- (= Khak. tūzir- <*tūsir-), yasa- 'to live, to be such and such years old' (KČ W 3) ~ yaša- (KT N 2, 2) and yaš 'age' (in general) (= Khak. čaza- <*yasa- id.).

3°. The development -š > -s: as- 'to climb over' (TI N 2, 11) ~ aš- (BK S 1) (= Khak. as- id., Yak. ās- id.), bas 'head' (TI N 7) ~ baš (in general) (= Yak. bas; Khak., Sar. uig. pas id.), bašliγ (TII S 2) ~ bašliγ (KT, BK), bēs 'five' (generally) ~ bis (KT E 31; BK S 11) ~ biš (KT E 18, N 4) (= Yak. biās, Khak. pis, Sar. uig. peš ~ pes ~ pis), čabīs 'aide-de-camp, adjutant' (TI W 7; KČ E 5) <*čabiš (cf. Uibat II, left, 2: čabiš, Turk. čavuş), elteris (O F 4, R 3; KČ W 3) ~ ilteris (in general) <*ēl tēriš, is 'work, labor' (generally) <*iš (= Khak. is, Turk. iš), qabīs- 'to come together' (TI E 3, 4, S 5) <*qabiš-, qis- 'to do, make' (TI E 4, S 4, W 4, W 5, W 6; O F 1) ~ qiš- (BK E 25; KT E 32, 34), kümūs (BK S 11, N 3; KT SW; TII S 4) ~ kümüş (KT S 5, N 12; BK N 11) (= Khak. kümūs, Yak. kömūs), ögläs- 'to decide together' (TI E 3, 3) <*ögläš-, sūḡūs 'battle, fight' (KT E 15; KČ E 4, 5, 8, W 9, W 11) ~ sūḡūš (BK E 13, 34; KT E 40, N 2), sūḡūš- 'to fight, battle' (generally) ~ sūḡūš- (KT, BK), tardus (TI N 7, TII W 6) ~ tarduš (KT, BK; KČ E 2), tas 'exterior' (TI S 6) ~ taš (KT S 12; BK N 14) and tašra (KT

E 11, 26; BK E 21), tāgis 'encounter' (KT N 5) <*tāgiš, tūs- 'to go down, descent; to fall down' (TI N 6, S 9; KT N 4) <*tūs- (= Khak. tūs-, Sar. uig. tūs-, Yak. tūs- id.), ulus 'city, land' (KT N 12) <*uluš (cf. Uig. uluš ~ ulus, Kāš. uluš), ükūs 'many' (KT S 6; TI W 7, TII W 4, W 5; O F 7) ~ ükūš (generally) (= Yak. ügūs id.), yarīs 'Charish' (TI N 9, TII W 1) <*čariš (= Khak. Čariš), yetmis 'seventy' (KT E 12) ~ yetmiš (BK E 11), yis 'wooded mountain' (TI E 3, N 4, N 7, N 8, N 11; TII W 2) <*yiš (= Khak. čis id.) ~ yis (O F 2) ~ yiš (KT, BK) <*yiš, kis 'sable' (BK S 12) <*kīš (= Yak. kīs id.).

In the suffix -miš: almis (KT E 2) ~ almiš (KT E 40), barmis (KT E 16, 23; TI E 7, 7; O F 3) ~ barmiš (KT E 28; BK E 22) (cf. MČ S 7; barmīs), basmis (O F 1) <*basmiš (cf. MČ E 12: basmīs), bermis (KT E 14; BK E 12; KČ W 1; O F 5, 6) ~ birmiš (KT E 8, 8, 8, 8; KT E 1, 1; BK E 3, 3) ~ birmiš (BK E 8, 8, 8, 8), bolmis (KT E 4, 5, 5, 9, 12, 13; TI N 7; O R 2; KČ W 2) ~ bolmiš (BK E 5, 9, 11, 11, 18, 40, N 1; KT E 21, 39, S 1), bošyurmis (KT E 13) ~ bošyurmiš (BK E 12), ārmis (KT, T, O and KČ: in general; BK E 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 6) ~ ārmiš (KT S 4, 6; BK: in general), etmis (KT E 11) and in eletmis (O F 4, 4) ~ itmis (KT E 3, 22) ~ etmiš (BK E 10) ~ itmiš (BK E 12, 18), elsirāmis (KT E 13) <*ēlsirāmiš, elsirāt-mis (KT E 15) ~ ilsirātmiš (BK E 13), ičyīnmis (KT E 13; O F 1) <*ičyīnmiš, idmis (KT E 6, 7; TI S 2, 2, N 10) ~ idmis (O F 2) ~ idmiš (BK E 7, 7), ičikmis (KT E 10) ~ ičikmiš (BK E 9), igidmis (KT E 23) ~ igidmiš (generally), inmis (KT E 12) ~ inmiš (BK E 11) qayansīramis (KT E 13) <*qayansīramiš, qayansīratmis (KT E 15) ~ qayansi-ratmiš (BK E 13), qalmis (TI W 4) ~ qalmiš (KT S 9), qazyanmis (KT E 22) ~ qazyanmiš (BK E 18, 22), qīlmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ qīlmiš (BK E 13), qīlinmis (KT E 1) <*qīlinmiš, qīsmis (O F 1) <*qīsmiš, qonmis (TI S 10) <*qonmiš, qonturmis (KT E 2; BK E 4) <*qonturmiš, qubrat[mis] (KT E 12) ~ qubratmiš (BK E 11), quladmis (KT E 13) <*quladmiš, kālmis (TII W 3) and [k]ālmis (KT N 7) <*kālmiš, kōrmis (KT E 8) <*kōrmiš, kōtürmis (KT E 11) ~

kötürmiş (KT E 25), küjādmis (KT E 13) < *küjādmis, olurmiş (KT E 5, 5; BK E 6) ~ olurmiş (KT E 1; BK E 6), ölürmiş (KT N 1) ~ ölürmiş (KT E 40), ölütmiş (TI W 3) < *ölütmiş, ötünmiş (O F 8) < *ötünmiş, siytāmis (KT E 4) ~ siytāmis (BK E 5), sökürmiş (KT E 2, 15) ~ sökürmiş (BK E 13), sülāmis (KT E 15) ~ sülāmis (BK E 13), sūğūšmis (KT E 15) ~ sūğūšmis (KT E 40, N 1), sū[ğūš]mis (BK E 13), taγiqmis (KT E 12) < *taγiqmis, tašiqmis (TI N 6, 6) ~ tašiqmis (KT E 11) ~ tašiqmis (BK E 32), tāgmis (TI E 1, TII S 3) ~ tāgmis (KT E 40, 40), tāzmis (TII W 8) < *tāzmis, temis (generally) ~ timis (KT E 9) ~ timis (BK E 8), terilmis (TI N 4) < *tērilmis, törūmis (KT N 10) < *törūmis, tumis (TI E 6) < *tumis, tutmis (KT E 3, 19; TI S 6) ~ tutmis (BK E 4), yīdmis (TI N 10) (see īdmis ~ īdmis), yīymis 'he frightened' (O F 1) < *yīymis, yitmis (O F 1) < *yitmis, yoγlāmis (KT E 4) ~ yoγlāmis (BK E 5), yūgtürmis (KC W 2) < *yūgtürmis, yūkūntürmis (KT E 2) and [yū]kūntürmis (BK E 3) ~ yūkūntürmis (BK E 13), yaymis (O F 1) < *yaymis, yorūmis (O F 5) < *yorūmis, yaratmis (KT E 13) ~ yaratmis (BK E 1, 12, S 13), yarliq(q)amis (O F 6) < *yarliq(q)amis.

2.254. Alternation l ~ š (~ s)

In the following words, l alternates with š (~ s): qiš- 'to make' in yoq qiš- (KT E 32, 34; BK E 25) ~ qis- (TI W 5, 6, S 4, E 4) ~ qil- (generally); išgārū 'forwards, eastwards' (BK E 11: Thomsen, Radloff, Orkun and Malov: ilgārū; but in Heikel's atlas the word is spelled as an error ᠶᠢᠭᠠᠷᠠ. Thomsen regards this spelling as an error for ᠶᠢᠭᠠᠷᠠ: Inscriptions de l'Orkhon, p. 39, n. 1) ~ ilgārū (generally) (cf. Khak. iskār 'in the east' < *iškāri < *išgārū).

2.255. Assimilation of Consonants

2.2551. Progressive Assimilation

1°. Contact assimilation: čč < *čs: adīnč(č)iy 'extraordinary, wonderful' (KT S 12; BK N 14, 14) < *adīnčsiy

(cf. Uig. qorqinčiy 'fearful' < *qorqinčsiy); gd < *gt: yegdi 'better' (KT SE; BK E 36) < *yēgti (cf. Mong. adverbial suffix -ta/-te); yd < *yt: qatīydi (KT S 2) ~ qatīydi (KT N 11) 'firmly, hard' < *qatīyti (see above; cf. also IB 19: qatīyti id.); kk < *kg: birtūk(k)ārū 'about (their) having given (service)' (BK E 9) ~ birtūkgārū (KT E 10); qg < *qy: yoq(q)aru 'upwards' (TI N 1) < *yoqyaru; tt < *td: ayit(t)im (BK E 31) < *ayitdim, aqit(t)imiz (KT N 8) ~ aqitdimiz (TI N 11), bādizāt(t)i (KC E 12) < *bādizātdi, bādizāt(t)im (KT S 11) < *bādizātdim, qubrat(t)im (BK N 7) < *qubratdim, olurt(t)i (KC E 12) < *olurtdi, yoγlat(t)i (KC E 12) < *yoγlatdi; zt < *zd: bādiztim (BK SW) < *bādizdim, tutuzt[i] (KT E 38) < *tutuzdi, uduztum (TI S 8) < *uduzdum, uduzt[uqī] (KC E 1) < *uduzduqī (cf. IB 20: āzti (twice); Khoitu Tamyr X 3: kūztā).

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

2.2552. Regressive Assimilation

1°. Contact assimilation: tt < *dt: āsīt(t)im (TI E 7) < *āsīdtim (cf. IB 83: āsīdti), it(t)i (KT E 7, S 12; BK E 7, N 14) < *īdti (cf. Toyok, front, 7: īdti), it(t)im (BK E 40; TI N 9, TII E 2) it(t)imiz (KT E 40; TII W 7) < *īdtimiz, igit(t)i (KT E 16; BK E 14; KC E 13) < *igīdti, igit(t)im (KT E 29; BK E 23, 38) < *igīdtim, got(t)i (BK S 12) < *qodti, yayit(t)uqda (KC W 5, E 6) < *yayīdtuqda; dd < *td: bitīd(d)im (KT S 13; BK N 15) ~ bitītdim (TII E 8), yaratīd(d)im (BK N 14) < *yaratītdim (cf. MC E 8, 9, 10: yaratītdim); dm < *tm: iqīdmaz '(the Chinese) do not give shelter to' (KT S 6) < *iqītmaz (cf. Kirg. iq- 'to shelter from wind, bad weather, etc.'): qg < *yg: yarliq(q)a- 'to command, order' (KT S 9, etc.) < *yarliyya- (cf. Uig. yarliyya- id.); ss < *šs: qabīs(s)ar (TI S 5) < *qabišsar.

2°. Distance assimilation: č - č < š - č: čača pers. n. (KT E 32; BK E 26) < Chin. Sha-cha (see Alttürk., p. 306); l - l < r - l: balbal 'statue' < *balmal < *barmal

(cf. Mong. barimal id.); $\underline{r} - \underline{r} < \underline{l} - \underline{r}$: ertäbär (KC E 9; Ramstedt, 109, transcribes the word as eltäbir, but the photograph is clear) ~ eltäbär (generally).

2.256. Dissimilation of Consonants

1°. Contact dissimilation: $\underline{kl} < \underline{gl}$: ärkli 'while; being' (TI S 1, 6, 6; KT N 1; BK E 29) < *ärgli < *ärgli; $\underline{lq} < \underline{ly}$: qulqag 'ear' (BK S 12, N 11) < *qulyaq; $\underline{lt} < \underline{ld}$: Regularly in the locative-ablative forms: iltä (KT S 3), yolta (KT N 9, TI S 9); in the past tense in $-\underline{di}$: altim (BK E 24, etc.), kälti (KT N 12, etc.) the past participle in $-\underline{duq}$: biltükümün (KC S 3), boltuqda (O F 1, 6); the future participle in $-\underline{dači}$: boltači (KT N 9, etc.), öltäči (KT E 29, etc.); $\underline{nt} < \underline{nd}$: Regularly in the locative-ablative forms: bizintä (TII W 5), bodunta (KT N 2, etc.), qayanta (KT N 12, etc.), örpantä (BK E 26), etc., but käčindä (KC W 10); the past tense in $-\underline{di}$: alqinti (TI W 3), yükünti (TI N 4, etc.), etc.; the participle in $-\underline{duq}$: qazyantuq (BK E 33, TII N 3), ötüntük (TI S 8), etc.; $\underline{rt} < \underline{rd}$: Locative-ablative forms: yertä (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15), but yerdä (BK E 35, 36), yerdäki (TII E 6), tabarda (KT E 38); regularly in the past tense in $-\underline{di}$: ayturtum (TI N 1), berti (TI S 8, TII W 3; O R 3) ~ birti (BK S 11), olurti (KT E 16, etc.), etc., but bardı (KT E 34, etc.), bardıy (KT E 24, etc.), bardıyız (KT SE), bardimiz (TI N 2, etc.), bardınız (O R 4); the past participle in $-\underline{duq}$: bertük (TI W 6) ~ birtük (KT E 10, etc.), olurtuqda (KT E 17), etc., but barduq (KT E 24; BK E 20); the future participle in $-\underline{dači}$: ärtäči (TII E 5, 7, N 2), kirtäči (BK N 14), körtäči (BK N 14), olurtači (KT S 8), ölürtäči (TI S 3, etc.).

2°. Distance dissimilation: $\underline{b} - \underline{n} < \underline{m} - \underline{n}$: tarban (BK E 18) ~ tarman (KT E 21) (see 2.323); $\underline{l} - \underline{n} < \underline{l} - \underline{l}$: qilin- (KT E 1, etc.) < *qilil-.

2.257. Contraction

$\underline{n} < \underline{ny/ng}$: ärtinü (BK N 10, etc.) < *ärtingü; käliqün 'daughters-in-law' (KT N 9) < *kälingün; baqa (TI N 7) ~

maqa (KT S 2, etc.) < *bängä, sängä (TI N 8) < *sängä, biziñä (KT E 19, 40; BK E 16) < *bizingä; aγisina (KT S 6; BK N 5) < *aγisina, bašina (KT E 33), batsiqina (KT S 2, etc.), äbina (KC W 3), ilina (TII E 8), qutina (KT E 31), oylina (BK N 15), ödina (BK E 29), sabina (KT S 6; BK N 5), tatina (BK N 15), toysiqina (BK N 2), yašina (KT N 1, yazina (KT N 8; BK E 31), yirina (KT S 4; BK E 15); aqar (KT S 11, etc.) < *anγar; aqaru (TI E 3) < *anγaru, baqaru (TI N 10) < *bänγaru, ortusina (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2, 2), subina (BK E 40), yerina (BK E 40).

2.258. Prothesis

A prothetic y appears in the following word: yilpaγut 'heroes' (BK E 31) < *ilpaγut < *alpaγut (cf. Mong. albaγud 'government officials, officers').

2.259. Epenthesis

Internal or external hiatus is filled with the consonant y.

1°. Internal hiatus: biriya 'in the south' (KT S 1, etc.) < biri+y+ä, quriya 'in the west' (TI S 7, etc.) < quri+y+ä, yiriya 'in the north' (TI W 7, etc.) < yiri+y+ä; bašlayu 'first' (KT E 25, etc.) < bašla-y-u, bulγayu (KČ W 11) < bulγa-y-u, oplayu (KT N 5, etc.) < opla-y-u, sayu 'sending a message' (TII W 7) < sa-y-u (cf. sab 'word, news, message'), sayu 'every' (KT S 9, etc.) < *sā-y-u (lit.: 'counting'), siyu (KT E 36; KČ E 9) < si-y-u < *sī-süläyü (KT E 8, etc.) < sülä-y-ü, ulayu 'and' (KT S 1, etc.) < ula-y-u, yeyü (TI S 1) ~ yyü (TI S 1) < ye-y-ü; bayür (TI N 3) < ba-y-ür, öyür (KT S 5) < ö-y-ür, yašayür (KT N 2, 2) < yaša-y-ür, yoriyür (KT E 12, S 9; TI S 3) < yori-y-ür.

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

2.3. Stress

In Orkhon Turkic the accent probably was an expiratory stress and fell upon the last syllable in general. The fact that the vowel alternations and changes generally take place in non-final syllables testifies to this assumption: aγár ~ īγár 'precious, important', alpaγú ~ yīlpaγút 'heroes, champion warriors', ārsār ~ īrsār 'if it is' (see 2.13.1° and 2°) (cf. Uig. tawár ~ tīwár, Kāš. tašiq- ~ tīšiq-, etc.), etc.

In trisyllabic words a secondary stress probably fell upon the first syllable. The medial syllable was obviously unstressed. For this reason its short narrow vowel was extremely reduced and subject to fall in many cases (see 2.1711.1°): īnigák 'cow' (TIS 7) (cf. Mong ūniyen id.), yālabáč 'envoy' (BK E 39) (cf. Kas. yālawáč id.), yēgirmī 'twenty' (KT E 15, etc.), etc.

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

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

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Word-Formation

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

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

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

3.11. Suffixation

3.111. Denominal nouns

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

2°. -ač/-äč. Only in: īyač 'tree' (TIN 1; BKS 11) < *īy 'trees, forest' (cf. Uig. īy, īi id.).

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

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

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

6°. -či. Forms professional names: bädizči 'painter, sculptor' (KT S 11, etc.) < bädiz 'picture, sculpture', siyitči 'lamerter' (KT N 11, etc.) < siyit 'lament, wail', tamyači 'seal-keeper' (KT N 13) < *tamya 'seal', yaŋči 'war-leader' (TII S 6) < yaŋi 'war; enemy' yoyči 'mourner' (BK E 5, etc.) < yoy 'funeral', yuluŋči 'plunderer' (BK SE) < *yuluŋ 'plunder', armaqči 'deceitful, a deceitful person' (KT E 6) < *armaq 'fraud'; see -yüči/-güči and -dači/-däči.

7°. -čiy (< -siy). Only in: adınč(č)iy 'extraordinary, wonderful' (KT S 12, etc.) < *adınčsiy (cf. Uig. adın- 'to wonder, be astonished'; also cf. Uig. qorqinčiy 'fearful' < *qorqinčsiy); see -siy.

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

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

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

11°. -yu/-gü. Forms nouns designating qualities: ädgü 'good' (BK N 5, etc.) < *äd (cf. Uig. ädsiz 'useless', ädlig 'precious, valuable'; Kāš. ädlig 'useful', ädgär- 'to improve'), bašyu 'white-headed?' (KT E 37) < baš (cf. Kas. bašyil 'white-headed (animal)').

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

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

14°. -qan/-kän. In titles and proper names: tän-rikän 'God-like' (title of the Turkish kagan) (O F 5, etc.) < tänri 'God', tarqan a high rank-title (KT W 2, etc.) < *tar (cf. Uig. tarim title of noblewomen; see Alttürk., pp. 60, 61), ötükän geog. n. ('Khangai mountains') < *ötü? (cf. ötülüg 'esteemed, respected?': BK E 34), qadirqan geog. n. ('Khangai mountains') < *qadir (cf. Uig., Kāš. qadir 'hard, severe, harsh, violent').

15°. -qī/-ki. Forms nouns meaning 'belonging to, being in' (see -yī/-gi): ičräki 'situated within, domestic, belonging to the court' (BK N 14, etc.) < ičrä 'within', önräki 'being in front, being in the east' (TI N 1, S 10) < önrä 'in front', bäräki 'that which is on this side' (TII S 2) < *bärü 'the near side, this side, hither'; after the locative suffixes -a/-ä and -da/-dä: biriyäki 'being in the south' (TI S 10) < biriyä 'in the south', yiriyäqī 'being in the north' (TI S 10) < yiriyä 'in the north', quriyaqī 'being in the west' (TI S 10) < quriya 'in the west'; balıqdaqī, bulundaqī, könültäki, taydaqī, yantaqī.

16°. -qīna/-kinä. Diminutives, hypocoristic words: azqīna 'very few' (KT E 34; TI S 2) < az 'few'.

17°. -l. Function: to form nouns designating colors: qizil 'red' (TII E 2) < *qiz 'hot' (cf. Uig. qiz id., Kāš. qizar- 'to turn red'), yašil 'green' (BK E 15; KT E 17) < *yaš 'fresh; vegetation'.

18°. -liy/-lig/-luy/-lug. Function: to form nouns meaning 'possessing or having something': atliy 'having a horse, horseman' (TI E 7, etc.) < at 'horse', ätliy 'having a title' (BK E 41) < ät 'name, title', aymayliy 'of noble birth, of high lineage' (O F 4) < aymay 'clan, family' (cf. Turk. soylu 'of good family' < soy 'family, lineage'), aziylly 'ferocious, unbridled' (KČ E 6) < azi 'furor', bašliy 'proud (lit.: 'having a head')) (BK E 3, etc.) < baš

'head', bānilig 'sacred, blessed' (TII W 9) < *bāni 'happiness, bliss' (cf. Uig. māni id.), ākinlig 'hemmed' (?) (BK N 11) < *ākin 'edge on a garment' (?), ārklig 'powerful, free' (BK N 12) < *ār 'power, might', ellig 'owning a state' (KT E 29; BK E 24) ~ illig (KT E 9, etc.) < el, el-tābārlig 'owning an eltābār' (BK E 38), qāyanliγ 'owning a kagan' (TII E 6, etc.), qīrγayliγ 'hemmed' (BK N 11) < *qīrγay 'hem', gulluγ 'owning a slave' (KT E 21; BK E 18), kādīmlig 'dressed' (KT E 33), kārākūlūg 'nomadic' (BK E 1) < *kārākū 'tent', kūrlūg 'deceitful, tricky' (KT E 6; BK E 6) < kūr 'fraud, deceit', kūnlūg 'owning a female slave' (BK E 18), ōtūlūg 'respected, esteemed' (BK E 34) < *ōtū, sūnūglūg 'owning a lance' (KT E 33; BK E 19), tāblig 'deceitful' (KT E 6; BK E 6) < *tāb, tizlig 'powerful (lit.: 'having knees')' (BK N 10, etc.) < tiz 'knee', tonluγ 'owning clothes, dressed' (KT E 29; BK E 23), tōgūnlūg 'branded' (TII E 4), kūčlūg 'powerful, mighty' (O R 4), yaraqlīγ 'having a weapon' (TII E 4), yolluγ 'fortunate, happy' (personal name) (KT SW, etc.) < *yol 'happiness, fortune, prosperity' (cf. Tuv. čolduγ 'fortunate, happy' < *yolluγ).

19°. -liq/-lik/-luq/-lūk: bāglik 'worthy of becoming a lord' (KT E 7, etc.) < bāg, esīlik 'worthy of becoming a lady' (KT E 7, etc.) < *esī 'noblewoman, princess, lady' (cf. Uig. iši, išiy id., Kāš. išilār id.), qoqlīq 'scenting material' (BK S 11) < *qoq 'smell, scent' (cf. Turkm. qoq id.), ōzlik (BK N 11, S 12) ~ ōzlūk (KC E 3, 3, W 4) 'personal; mount, riding horse' < ōz 'self, own', udliq 'haunch, thigh' (KT E 36) < ud 'thigh' (KT N 2, E 36); see -yuluq/-gūlūk.

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

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

22°. -nč. Forms ordinal numerals: bisnč 'fifthly'

(KT N 7, etc.) < bis 'five'; see Ordinal Numerals.

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

24°. -siy/-sig (= Mong. particle siy 'similar to, like'): ōdsig 'dear, beloved' (BK E 34) < *ōd (cf. Kāš. ōdik 'love', ōdür 'to select, prefer'), yīlsiy 'wealthy, prosperous, significant' (KT E 26) < *yil (cf. Mong. yali 'significant, important', yali 'to be of good quality'); see -čiy.

25°. -siz/-siz. Privative: ašsīz 'foodless, hungry' (KT E 26; BK E 21) < aš 'food', biligsīz 'unwise, unintelligent' (KT E 5, etc.) < bilig 'wisdom, intellect, power of knowing', buṣsīz (BK N 14, etc.) ~ buṣsīz (TII S 4) 'having no trouble; abundantly' < buṣ 'trouble, distress, need', idīsīz 'having no owner or possessor' (KT E 20, etc.) < idi 'owner', qālīsīz 'completely, wholly' (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9) < *qālī 'rest, remainder', kārgāksīz 'innumerable, exceedingly' (BK S 11; KT N 12) < kārgāk 'absent, nonexistent, lacking', ōgsīz 'motherless' (KT N 9) < ōg 'mother', sansīz 'innumerable' (BK S 12) < san 'number', tonsīz 'having no clothes, destitute' (KT E 26; BK E 21) < ton 'clothes', tūzsīz 'discordant, disagreeing' (KT E 6; BK E 6) < tūz 'accord, harmony, agreement', oqsīz 'having no tribal organization' (KT E 3; BK E 4) < oq 'a unit in the tribal organization', yolsīz in yolsīzin 'without any roads' (TI N 11) < yol 'road, way'.

26°. -š: ayīš 'wealth, riches, property' (KT SW) < ayī id., ōdūš 'time, unit of time' (BK SE) < ōd 'time' (cf. Kāš. qarī, qarīš 'span').

27°. -tī. Adverbial: amtī 'now' (KT E 9, S 3; BK N 2) < *am id. (cf. Khak. am 'now, at present'), ekīnti 'second, secondly' (KT N 5, etc.) < ekī, ekīn 'two' (cf. ekīn ara); see Adverbs.

1°. -a/-ä-: bädizä- 'to design, decorate' in bä-dizät- (KT S 11; KČ E 12) < bädiz 'picture, design', bu[1]-na- 'to capture, take prisoner' (KČ E 10) < bulun 'captive, prisoner of war' (KČ W 5), kürä- 'to become unruly' in kürägü (KT E 25; BK E 19) < *kür 'bold, stout-hearted, unruly' (cf. Kāš. kür id.), siytä- 'to lament, wail' (KT E 4; BK E 5), < siyit < yaš 'age'; see -sira-/-sirä-.

2°. -ad/-äd- (after consonants), -d- (after vowels): bašad- 'to command, lead' (BK S 8, 11) < baš 'leader, commander', buqad- 'to be in trouble, become bored' (TI N 2) < buq 'trouble', qulad- 'to become a slave' (KT E 13) < qul 'male slave', künäd- 'to become a slave' (KT E 13) < kün 'female slave', yayit- (< yayid-) 'to start hostilities' (KČ E 6) < yayī 'enemy, hostile', yoqad- 'to be annihilated' (KT E 11) < yōq 'non-existent'.

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

4°. -ī/-i-: bitī- 'to write, inscribe' (KT SE, etc.) < *bit (cf. Chin. pi < *piet 'pencil, brush': see Altürk., p. 303), toqī- 'to beat, strike, defeat' (BK S 8, etc.) < *toq onomatopoetic word, udī- 'to sleep' (BK E 22, etc.) < *ud 'sleep' (cf. Kāš. uδ id.), yabrī- 'to become bad, be routed' in yabrīt- (BK E 31) < *yabir (cf. yabiz 'bad'), *yašī- 'to shine' in yašik (?) 'sun' (KT NE), yorī- 'to go, walk, march' (KT E 37, etc.) < *yor (cf. Kāš. yorči 'guide, person that shows the way', Mong. ğorči- 'to go, walk, travel'); see -a/-ä- and -u/-ü-.

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

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

yarliq(q)a- 'to command, order, decree' (KT S 9, etc.) < *yarliqqa- < *yarliq 'word, order, decree'; ämgä- 'to be distressed, suffer pain' in ämgät- (BK N 13) < *äm 'remedy, medicine' (cf. Uig. äm id.).

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

8°. -la/-lä-: abla- 'to hunt, chase' (KČ W 9) < ab 'hunt, chase' (KČ W 9), ančula- 'to present, submit' (KT E 32) < *anču 'reward' (cf. Uig. anču id., Mong. anču 'fine, punishment', ančula- 'to exact a fine'), atla- in atlan- 'to get on horses' (KČ E 8) < at 'horse', bašla- 'to lead' (BK E 33, etc.) < baš 'head, leader, commander', boγuzla- 'to slaughter' in boγuzlan- (TI N 2) < boγuz 'throat', illä- 'to establish a state' (KT E 6; BK E 7) < il 'state, land', qaγanla- 'to make someone kagan' (KT E 7; BK E 7; O F 2) < qaγan 'kagan, emperor', qiličla- 'to put to the sword' (KT N 5) < qilič 'sword', qišla- 'to spend the winter' (BK E 31; KT N 8) < qiš 'winter', qunla- 'to revenge for' (O R 1) < *qun 'revenge' (cf. Kirg. qun id.), oγurqala- 'to warm one's back' in oγurqalat- (TI N 1) < *oγurqa 'back, backbone' (cf. Tuv. ōrya id., ōryala- 'to warm one's back' < oγurqala-), opla- 'to rush, attack with much speed' (KT N 5, etc.) < *op onomatopoetic word (cf. Kirg. opton- 'not to be able to restrain oneself' < *oplan-), öglä- 'to think over, decide' in ögläs- (< *ögläš-) (TI E 3) < *ög 'intellect, mind, reason', tapla- 'to like, agree' (BK E 35) < *tapila- < *tapī 'agreement' (cf. Kāš. tapī id.), yoγla- 'to mourn, perform funeral ceremonies' (KT E 4, etc.) < yoγ 'funeral', ötlä- 'to give advice' (O R 3) < *öt 'advice', sülä- 'to start a campaign, go to war' (BK E 40, etc.) < sü 'army', tiŋla- 'to listen' (KT S 2) < *tiŋla- < *tiŋ 'sound' (cf. Uig. tiŋ id.), topla- 'to fold up, bend' (TI S 6) < *top 'collected together'.

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

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

11°. -sira/-sirä- (<-sir-a/-sir-ä-; see -siz/-siz <* -sif/-sif): elsirä 'to become stateless, lose independence' (KT E 13) <el 'state, land', qaγansira 'to become kingless, lose independence' (KT E 13) <qaγan 'kagan, king', uruysira in uruysirat 'to exterminate, deprive someone of his descendants' (KT E 10) <uruγ 'descendant'.

12°. -ta/-tä-: toṭta 'to turn down' (Bk E 2) <* toṭ (cf. Khak. toṭxar 'to turn, turn upside-down'), bunta 'not to suffice, be inadequate' in buntat 'to make less, lessen' (TI E 2) <* bunṭa <buṇ 'need, lack' (cf. Mong. muṇda 'to become insufficient').

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

3.113. Deverbal nouns

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

2°. -bač: yalabač 'messenger, envoy' (BK E 39) <* yala 'to invite, send for' (cf. Mong. ḡala id., Kāš. yalafar 'envoy' <* yalabar).

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

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

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

6°. -γ/-g. Forms nouns designating results of actions, places in which actions take place: aziγ 'furor' in aziγliγ 'ferocious' (KČ E 6) <* az 'to become furious', bersäg 'the wish for giving' (O R 2) <* bērsä 'to wish to give', bilig 'wisdom, intellect' (TI W 6, etc.) <bil 'to know', bitīg 'writing, script' (KČ S 3, etc.) <biti 'to write, inscribe', äriγ 'reachable' (KT S 13) <är 'to reach', qapiγ 'gate' (BK E 15, etc.) <* qap 'to cover, shut' (cf. Kāš. qapil 'to be closed, be imprisoned', qapγa 'door of a castle', qapγaq 'cover'), qoraγ 'loss, death, funeral' (O R 4) <* qora 'to lose, suffer loss' (cf. Uig. qora id., Kirg. qoro 'to decrease, be reduced' <* qora), kičig 'small' (BK E 41, etc.) <* kič (cf. Kāš. kičük 'small'), käčig 'ford' (TI N 11) <käč 'to pass', qamšay 'shaky' (KT N 3) <* qamša 'to be shaken' (cf. Uig. qamša id.), körüg 'scout' (TI S 2, etc.) <kör 'to see', ölüg 'dead' (KT N 9) <öl 'to die', ötüg 'request' (BK E 39) <* öt 'to ask for, request' (cf. Uig. öt id.: Alttürk., p. 324), säbig 'lovable' (personal name) (BK S 14) <* säb 'to like, love', süčig 'sweet' (KT S 6, etc.) <* süči 'to become sweet' (cf. Kāš. süči id.), sünüg 'lance' (KT E 35, etc.) <* sünü 'to thrust into, pierce' (cf. sünüş 'to fight, lance one another'), tirig 'alive' (KT N 9) and 'life' (KT SE) <* tir 'to live', tuγ 'barrier' (TI N 2) <tu 'to bar, block' (TI E 6), ülüg 'portion; good luck' (KT E 29, etc.) <* ülü 'to share out, distribute' (cf. Uig., Kāš. ülä id.), yadaγ 'on foot' (TI W 4, etc.) <* yada 'to be unable' (cf. Mong. yada id., yadaγu 'poor, miserable': see Poppe, Verg., p. 32), yuluγ 'plunder' in yuluγči 'plunderer' (BK SE) <yul ~ yuli 'to plunder'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

12°. -γüči/-güči (<-γü-či/-gü-či). Forms agent nouns: it-güči 'doer, maker' (KT N 13) <it- 'to do, make', ayγüči 'counselor, chief executive' (TI N 5, etc.) <ay- 'to speak; to rule'.

13°. -γuluq/-gülük (<-γu-luq/-gü-lük). Action nouns: topla-γuluq 'the folding up, bending' (TIS 6) <topla- 'to fold up, bend', üzγülük 'the breaking, cutting' (TIS 7) <üz- 'to break, cut'.

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

15°. -q/-k; after consonantal stems -uq/-ük. Nouns designating results of actions, qualities resulting from the action: ayuq 'dominion' (KT W 1) <ay- 'to rule, command', barq 'building, mausoleum' (BK N 14, etc.) <*bariq <*bar- 'to build, construct' (cf. Mong. bari-id.), bädük 'great, numerous' (O F 6) <*bädü- 'to grow', bulγaq 'riotous, provocative' (KT N 4; BK E 29) <bulγa- 'to provoke, disturb the order', buyruq 'high official, functionary' (KT S 1, etc.) <buyur- 'to order, give commands', artuq 'exceeding, more, much' (KČ E 13, etc.) <*art- 'to increase, remain over', ämgāk 'trouble, harm' (BK E 16) <*ämgä- 'to suffer trouble, suffer pain', iduq 'sacred, holy' (TII W 3) <id- 'to send', iraq 'far, distant, remote' (KT S 7, etc.) <*ira- 'to go to a distance' (cf. Kāš. yira- id.), kärgäk 'lacking, absent, needed' (KT E 4, etc.) <*kärgä- 'to lack, be without' (Uig. kärgä- id., kärgät- 'to cause to lack'), kölik 'cart, vehicle' (TIS 8) <*köli- 'to harness, toq' 'satiated, full' (TIS 1) <to- 'to be satiated', toruq 'lean' (KT E 39; TI W 5) <tor- 'to become lean, be emaciated' (KT S 9; BK N 7), yaγuq 'close by, near' (KT S 7) <*yaγu- 'to come close, approach', yašik (?) 'sun' (KT NE) <*yašiq <*yaši- 'to shine', yazuq 'mischief, wrong, fault' in yazuqla- (BK E 36) <*yāz- 'to go astray', yimšaq 'soft' (KT S 5, etc.) <*yimša- 'to become softer', yōq 'non-existent' (KT E 11, etc.) <*yō- 'not to exist, cease to exist', yuluq 'plundered' (O F 3) <yul- (~ yuli-) 'to plunder', toqurqaq 'one who regards himself as satiated' (KT S 8; BK N 6) <*toqurqa- 'to regard oneself as satiated', yañiluq 'one who has betrayed, unfaithful' (KT E 20) <yañil- 'to go astray, betray'.

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

17°. -i: ināl 'trustworthy, reliable' (personal name or title) <*inal <*ina- 'to trust, rely on, believe' (cf. Uig. inan- id.), qisil 'glen, mountain-cleft, canyon' (BK E 37) <*qis- 'to make narrow'.

18°. -m: batim 'a sinking, going down' (KT E 35, etc.) <bat- 'to go down, sink', kādim 'clothing, dress' (KT E 35) <*kād- 'to wear, put on'.

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

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

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

22°. -miš, -mis. Forms verbal nouns denoting agents and actions: igidmiš 'one who has fed' (BK N 6), qalmiš 'those who have survived' (KT S 9), tāgmis 'the having reached' (TI E 1, TII S 3) <tāg- 'to reach, arrive'; see Verbal Nouns.

23°. -n. Result of action: bulun 'captive, prisoner of war' (KČ W 5) <*bul- 'to get, obtain' (cf. Mong. buli- 'to take by force'), qiyin 'punishment, penalty' (TI N 8) <*qiy- 'to punish', kālin 'daughter-in-law' in kāliqünüm (KT N 9) <kāl- 'to come', san 'number' in sansiz (BK S 12) <*sā- 'to count'.

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

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

26°. -r, -ar/-är, -ir/-ir, -ur/-ür. Forms participles: bilir 'one who knows, knowing' (KT N 10) <bil- 'to know'; see Verbal Nouns.

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

28°. -š, -s: tāgis (<*tāgiš) 'contact, conflict' (KT N 5) <tāg- 'to reach, arrive, touch', sūjūš 'battle' (BK E 34, etc.) <*sūjū- 'to pierce, stab' (cf. sūjūg 'lance', sūjūš- 'to fight, battle'), teris (<*teriš) 'one who gathers'

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

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

3.114. Deverbal verbs

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

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

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

4°. -l-. Forms passive stems: adril- 'to be separated, be disjoined' (TI W 2, etc.) <*adīr- 'to separate', ökül- 'to be planned' (TI N 8) <*ök- 'to think' (cf. Uig. ök- id.), teril- ~ tiril- 'to come together' (TI N 4, etc.) <ter- ~ tir- 'to gather', tiril- 'to come to life' (BK E 31) <*tir- 'to live', tasul- 'to be dragged, be driven' (O F 8) <*tašu- 'to carry'.

5°. -ma/-mä-. Forms negative stems: bolma- 'not to become' (KT E 25, etc.) <bol- 'to become'; bulma- 'not to find' (TI W 2) <bul- 'to find', āmgātmä-, ārmä-, āsīdmä-, īdma-, qalma-, qazγanma-, qılma-, qılınma-, qorqma-, kālmä-, körmä-, olurma-, sīma-, sülāmä-, tālinmä-, tolγatma-, tuyma-, uma-, udīma-, yālmä-, yitmä-, yorīma-, yāltürmä-, yügürtmä-, etc.

6°. -n-. Forms passive and reflexive stems: alqin- 'to come to an end, be exterminated' (KT S 9, etc.) < alq- 'to finish, to bring to an end', atlan- 'to become mounted' (KČ E 8) < *atla- 'to get on a horse', basin- 'to be overcome' (TII W 4) < bas- 'to press, overcome', boʻuzlan- 'to be slaughtered' (TI N 2) < *boʻuzla-, itin- 'to form or organize oneself' (KT E 40; BK E 9) < it- 'to form, organize', qilin- 'to be created, be born' (KT E 1, etc.) < qil- 'to make, create', qon- 'to settle' (BK E 40) < *qo- 'to lay down, place', qubran- 'to come together' (TI W 4) < *qubra- (cf. qubrat- 'to gather'), kāčgin- 'to pardon, forgive' (KČ E 8) < *kāčgi-, ötün- 'to make representations' (TI E 1) < *öt- 'to request' (cf. ötüg 'request'), saqin- 'to think' (BK E 2, etc.) < *sāqi- (cf. Uig. saqi- 'to reflect', saq 'watchful, attentive'), sābin- 'to be pleased, be happy' (BK E 2) < *sāb- 'to like', tālin- 'to collapse, give way' (KT E 22; BK E 18) < *tāl- 'to hole, cause to cave in', yaratun- 'to organize oneself' (KT E 10) < yarat- 'to make, form, organize', yazin- 'to separate oneself, go astray' (BK E 16) < *yāz- 'to go astray', tutun- 'to take a hold' (TI N 1) < tut- 'to hold, hold on'.

7°. -r-. Forms middle verbs (Verbia media): kir- 'to go in, enter' (BK E 38, etc.) < *kī- (cf. kigür- 'to let in' < *kī-gür-), olur- 'to sit; to dwell, inhabit' (TI N 8, etc.) < *ol- (cf. Kaš. olūt- 'to cause to sit', Kirg. olūt 'place, seat, chair'), yaʻur- 'to come close, approach' (KT S 5, etc.) < *yaʻu- (cf. Kaš. yaʻu- id.).

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

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

10°. -t-. Forms causative stems: aʻit- 'to put to flight' (BK E 31, etc.) < aʻ- 'to go up, ascend', aqit- 'to let raid, order to raid' (TI N 11; KT N 8) < *aq- 'to raid',

artat- 'to destroy' (KT E 22; BK E 19) < *arta- 'to be destroyed', añit- 'to threaten, frighten' (BK E 41) < *añ- 'to fear' (cf. Mong. ayu- 'to fear', Uig. ayinč 'awe, fear'); ayt- 'to say, tell' (TI E 7, etc.) < ay- id., basit- 'to be overcome' (TI N 10) < bas- 'to overcome', bädizät- (KT S 11; KČ E 12), bitit- (TII E 8) ~ bitid- (KT S 13; BK N 15), buntat- (see -ta-/ -tä-), āmgät-, elsirät-, iqid- (< *i-qit-) 'to give shelter to' (KT S 6) < *iq- (cf. Kirg. iq- 'to take refuge or shelter'), qaʻansirat-, qamšat- (BK E 30), qubrat-, oʻurqalat- 'to let someone to warm his back' (TI N 1) (see -la-/ -lä-), olurt- (KT E 26, etc.), ölüt- (TI W 3), sülät- (TII W 8), tolʻat-, toqit-, töküt- (TII E 2), tükät- (KT S 1; BK N 1), ulʻart- (TII E 3), uruʻsirat-, yabrüt-, yaʻut-, yaratid- (< *yaratit- < yaratit-), yoʻlat-, yorit-, yügürt-, yüzüt- (BK E 30) 'to order to swim'.

10°. -tur-/ -tür-. Forms causative stems: aʻtur- 'to cause to ascend' (TI N 1) < aʻ- 'to ascend', artur- 'to let deceive, to cause somebody else to deceive (the speaker), to be deceived' (BK N 5) < ar- 'to deceive', bintür-, ärtür- 'to cause to be' (KT NE) < är-, irtür- 'to cause to arrive, send' (KT E 40) < ir- 'to reach, arrive', qontur-, kötür- 'to cause to rise, elevate' (KT E 11; BK E 10) < *kö- (cf. kör- 'to see'), öntür-, urtur-, yantur-, yältür-, yügtür- 'to promote' (KČ W 2), yüküntür-.

11°. -ur-/ -ür-. Forms causative stems: kälür- 'to bring' (TII S 4) < käl- 'to come', kipsür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) < *kipsür- < *kipsür-, ölür-, ötür- in ötrü, sökür-, tägür-, tüsür- (< *tüsür-), yitür- 'to lose', yoṇšur- 'to cause to slander' (BK E 7) < *yoṇašur- < *yoṇaš- (cf. Kaš. yoṇa- 'to slander'), yaratur-.

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

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

3.12. Composition

3.121. Coordinate composition

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

3.122. Subordinate composition

3.1221. Compound nouns

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

2°. Objective compounds: ilteris (<* iltēriš) 'one who gathers the tribes' (regal name of Qutluγ) (TI W 7, etc.): il 'tribes, people' + teris 'one who gathers'; eletmis (<* ēletmiš) 'one who has organized the tribes' (personal name or honorific) (O F 4): el 'tribes' + etmis 'one who has organized'; eltābār 'one who puts the tribes in order' (a title) (BK E 37, etc.): el 'tribes' + tābār 'one who puts in order' (tāb- 'to put in order'; cf. Kaš. tāw- 'to arrange in a row').

3.1222. Compound adverbs

The following compound adverbs are postpositional phrases: antaγ 'like that, as follows' (TI S 2, etc.) ~ antāg (TI N 5) <* anī tāg 'similar to that, like that', büntāg 'like this, such' (TII E 7) <* buntāg <* bunī tāg 'similar to this, like this'.

3.1223. Compound verbs

Compound verbs consist of a verb preceded by a noun functioning as complement or by a gerund.

3.12231. Noun as a complement

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

2°. As the object into which the direct object is transformed: baz qil- 'to subjugate' (KT E 15): baz 'subject, dependent', qil- 'to do, make'; bay qil- 'to make rich' (BK E 14): bay 'rich, wealthy'; bulun qil- 'to take prisoner' (KČ W 5): bulun 'captive, prisoner of war'; qul qil- 'to enslave' (BK E 20): qul 'slave'; qayan qis- 'to make kagan' (TI W 6): qis- (< qiš- ~ qil-) 'to do, make'; yoq qiš- (BK E 25) ~ yoq qis- (TI E 4) 'to annihilate'; etc.

3°. As direct object with the verb qil-: uruš qil- 'to fight, battle' (O R 2): uruš 'battle'.

3.12232. Gerund + verb

The following types of gerund compounds occur:

1°. The verb bar- 'to go' with the gerund in -p and -a (/ -ä, -i/-i, -u/-ü) denotes actions completely finished: tāzip bar- 'to flee, run away' (lit.: 'to go running away') (BK E 41; KT E 34), uča bar- 'to fly, i. e., to die' (lit.: 'to go flying') (KT E 16; BK S 10; KT SE), adrilu bar- 'to be separated' (lit.: 'to go being separated') (O R 4), ābirū bar- 'to go around' (lit.: 'to advance going around') (TI N 2) yoqadu bar- 'to be annihilated, to cease to exist' (KT E 10), yālū bar- 'to ride fast, to ride at a gallop' (TI N 3), āliri bar- 'to become enthusiastic' (O R 3) (cf. Kirg. elir- id.), yoq bolu bar- 'to vanish, to cease to be' (O F 3).

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

ali bir- 'to take' (BK N 9, 10), basa ber- 'to overcome' (TII W 3), äsidü ber- 'to hear, listen to' (TI S 8), iti bir- 'to organize, put in order' (KT E 1; BK E 3), qilu ber- 'to make' (BK S 7), qazıanu bir- 'to win, conquer' (BK S 10), sülayü bir- 'to go on campaigns' (KT E 8), tika bir- 'to erect, set up' (BK S 9, 11), tuta bir- 'to organize, rule' (KT E 1; BK E 3).

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

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

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

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

7°. The verb kör- 'to see' with the same gerund denotes intensive actions (in the imperative): yälü kör 'ride fast!' (TI N 2).

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

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

See Gerunds.

3.2. Inflection

3.21. Noun Inflection

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

3.211. Plurality

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

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

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

It is very remarkable that the Mongolian suffix -nar/-ner, too, is added to words denoting relatives and respected people (see Poppe, Grammar of Written Mongolian, p. 69).

2°. -γun/-gün (cf. Uig. kün in the phrase il kün 'people, folks' and Mong. kümün 'man, people'). This suffix forms the following collective nouns: käliqün-üm 'my daughters-in-law' (KT N 9) <*kälingün <*kälin 'daughter-in-law' (cf. Uyug-Turan, back 3: kälinlärim id.), tayγun-uñiz 'your children, your sons (lit.: 'your colts'))' (KT SE) <*tay 'young horse, colt' (cf. Kemčik-Ğirgäk, front 2: tañlarım 'my colts').

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

'child, son', oγlan-iγiz 'your children, your sons' (KT SE), ärän 'men' (KT N 9; BK S 11; O F 5) < är 'man'.

4°. -t (cf. Mongolian plural suffix -d, -ud/-üd): oγlit 'children, sons' (KT E 5; BK E 5) < oγil, tarqat 'Tarkans' (KT S 1) < tarqan (with the final n dropped), yilpaγut 'champion warriors' (BK E 31) < *yilpaγu (~alpaγu) 'champion warrior, hero' (cf. Mong. albaγud 'public servants, government officials'); bulit 'clouds' (KT NE) < *buli.

5°. -s (cf. Mongolian plural suffix -s): isbaras in isbaras tarqat 'İšbara Tarkans' (MČ S 2) < isbara (~isbara ~ išbara) a rank.

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

3.212. Possession

In Orkhon Turkic, nouns are inflected for person, that is, they can take the possessive suffixes which indicate the person of the possessor of the thing involved. The possessive suffixes are:

	Singular	Plural
1st person:	-m	-miz/-miz
2nd person:	-ŋ - γ/-g	-ŋiz/-ŋiz
3rd person:	-i/-sī (seldom -ī/-sī)	same as 3rd person singular

The connecting vowel which occurs between the stem of a word and the possessive suffixes of the first and second persons is subject to the rules of vowel harmonies (see 2. 1212). The third person possessive suffix has a final n which appears only when the case suffixes are added to the possessive stems of the third person.

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

A. Singular: apā-m 'my ancestors' (KT E 1; BK E 3), ata-m 'my father' (O F 4), atač-īm 'my beloved father'

(O R 4, O Supp. 3, 4), bäg-im (KT SW), bäglär-im (KT N 11), bersäg-im 'my wish to give' (O R 2), bilig-im (KT N 10), bodun-um (KT S 1, etc.), äčī-m 'my uncle' (KT E 16, etc.), äčü-m 'my ancestors' (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), il-im 'my state' (KT E 9), ini-m 'my younger brother' (KT E 26, etc.), qaγan-im 'my kagan' (KT E 9, etc.), qan-im 'my blood' (TII E 2), qaγ-īm 'my father' (KT E 11, etc.), qazγantuq-um (TII E 5), qunčuyar-īm (KT N 9), qut-um (KT S 9, etc.), köz-üm (KT N 10), oγlan-īm (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1), oγl-um (KT N 13; BK S 9), olursiq-īm 'my wish to rest' (TIS 5, E 5), olurtuq-um (BK E 36), ög-üm 'my mother' (KT E 11, etc.), öglär-īm (KT N 9), öz-üm (KT E 17, etc.), oγuš-um (KT S 1; BK E 25, N 1), sab-īm (KT S 11, etc.), siŋl-īm (KT E 20; BK E 17), tägdük-üm 'I arrived (lit.: 'my having arrived')' (O R 2), tär-īm (TII E 2), türük-(üm) (BK E 16), udisiq-īm 'my wish to sleep' (TIS 5, E 5), ülüg-üm 'my fortune' (KT E 29; BK E 23), yägün-üm 'my younger brothers' (KT S 1, N 11; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degü 'younger brother').

B. Plural: apā-miz 'our ancestors' (KT E 19; O F 1), äčī-miz 'our uncle' (KT E 26; BK E 22), äčü-miz 'our ancestors' (KT E 19; O F 1), el-imiz 'our realm' (KT E 22), il-im[iz] id. (BK E 18), qaγ-īmiz (KT E 26), kältäčī-miz 'our ones who will come' (TIS 7), sü-miz (TIS 7), törü-miz (KT E 22), türük-ümüz 'our Turks' (KT E 18), yaγi-miz (TIS 1, E 2, E2), sü-m[iz] (TIE 1).

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

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

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

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

A. -i/-sī: aγi-sī (KT S 5; BK N 4), alp-i 'his hero'

(KČ E 5), alp-i 'his courage' (KČ W 4), [ar]qış-i (BK E 41), at-i 'the horses of ...' (KT E 39), āt-i 'the name of ...' (KT E 25, etc.), atī-sī 'the nephew of ...' (KT S 13, SE; BK SW), ayγuči-sī (TI N 5, E 4, S 3), ayγuči-[si] (TII S 5), balbal-i (O Balbal), bas-i (<baš 'head') (TI N 7), bařim-i (KT E 35; BK E 26), bāglār-i (KT E 3, etc.), bodun-i (KT E 3, etc.), boγuz-i 'the stomach of ...' (TI S 1), buγ-i (TII E 7), büntāg-i (TII E 7), čabis-i (TI W 7; KČ E 5), čiqan-i (KT N 13), ār-i (TI E 6), ārdām-i (KČ W 4), ič-i (TI S 5), il-i (KT N 5), ilk-i (KT E 32; BK E 30), ini-sī (KT E 4, etc.), qaγan-i (KT E 19, etc.), qalmiš-i (KT S 9), qalmiš-i (KT S 9), qalmis-i (TI W 4), qan-i 'their khan' (TI N 4), qaš-i (KT N 11), kālmis-i (TII W 4), köbürgä-si 'the bridge of ...' (BK W 4), köz-i (KT N 11; BK E 2), kū-sī (KT E 25, etc.), oγlit-i (KT E 5; BK E 5), oγl-i (KT E 1, etc.), oγuz-i (TI E 5), ölüg-i (KT N 9), öz-i 'himself' (KT E 30, 38; KČ E 9, 11), öz-i 'themselves' (KT E 3, 20; BK E 17), özlük-i (KČ E 3, 3, W 4), sab-i (KT S 5), sub-i (KT E 11; BK E 10), sū-sī (KT E 12, etc.), tirig-i (KT N 9), uč-i (TII W 5), ülüg-i 'its part' (TI W 4, 4), ülüg-i 'his fate' (KČ E 11), yaγmis-i 'his follower' (TI W 5), yaγi-sī (KT E 12; BK E 11), yaγiči-sī 'his warleader' (TII S 6), yalabač-i (BK E 39), yilpaγut-i (BK E 31), yir-i (KT E 10; BK E 10), artuq-i (BK SW, etc.), buyruq-i (KT E 3, etc.), qamaγ-i (KT E 18; BK E 11), [q]amaγ-i (KT E 12), orūq-i (TI E 7), uduzt[uq-i] (KČ E 1), uluγ-i (TI W 5), yorīduq-i (TII N 3), azuq-i (KT E 39).

B. -i/-sī: See Accusative (3.2143.2°).

3.213. Coordination

In Orkhon Turkic, nouns may also be inflected for coordination. Two nouns of the same structure and function are joined by the suffix -lī/-lī and form a coordinate construction. The coordinating conjunctive suffix -lī/-lī is taken by both of the constituents. The case suffixes, however, are added only to the last element of the construction.

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

3.214. Case

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

3.2141. Nominative

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

1°. As the subject of a clause: ol a t anta ölti 'that horse was killed there' (KT E 33), q a t u n yoq bolmis ārti 'the katun had died' (TI N 7), bīr a t l i γ barmis 'a horseman reportedly went' (TI E 7), b ā g l ā r qop[in] yanalīm tedi 'the lords all said: "Let us go back!"' (TII W 2), ol törüdä üzä ā č i m qaγan olurti 'in accordance with that rule, my uncle succeeded to the throne' (KT E 16; BK E 14), toruq b ū q a l i sāmis b ū q a l i iraqda būnsār 'if lean and fat bulls kick one another at a distance, . . .' (TI W 5) (cf. Kāš. mūñ- 'to kick, to give a kick').

2°. As the predicate noun of a clause: anta kisrā inisi q a γ a n bolmis ārinč 'then the younger brothers succeeded to the throne' (KT E 4), tarduš bodun üzä š a d ārtim 'I became šad over the Tardush people' (KT E 17), bāglik urī oγluq q u l bolti 'your sons, worthy of becoming lords, became slaves' (KT E 24), t[oquz oγu]z māniγ b o d u n u m ārti 'the Tokuz-Oguz were my (own) people' (BK E 29).

3°. As an indefinite direct object of a clause: ūč otuz b a l i q sidī '(the kagan) devastated twenty-three cities' (TI E 2), [bunč]a b o d u n qop itdim 'I completely organized

these many tribes' (KT S 2-3), yaγuq ārsār ādgū ayī birūr 'if (a people) live close (to them), (the Chinese) give good presents' (KT S 7; BK N 5), bunča bitig bitidim 'I inscribed these many writings' (KČ S 3).

4°. As an adverbial complement with a postposition: bu türük bodun ara 'among this Turkish people' (TII E 4), ol s u b qodī bardīmiz 'we went down along that river' (TI N 3), türük bodun üçün 'for the sake of the Turkish people' (KT E 27), yaziña o γ u z tapa sülādim 'I started a campaign toward the Oguz in the summer (of that year)' (BK E 31-32).

5°. As an adverbial complement indicating the place or the time of an action (if the noun already has a local or temporal meaning): ötükān y i š olursar 'if you stay in the Ötükān forests' (KT S 8), türük bodun üçün t ü n uđımadım 'I have not slept by night for the sake of the Turkish people' (BK E 22), t ü n uđımatī k ü n t ü z olurmatī 'without sleeping by night and without resting by day' (TII E 1).

6°. As a possessive attribute of another noun which has the possessive suffix of the third person: s ü at-ī 'horses of the army, army horses' (KT E 39), t ü r ü k āt-ī-n 'the Turkish titles' (acc.) (KT E 7), b ā g l ā r i m b o d u n u m kōz-ī qaš-ī 'the eyes and brows of my lords and people' (KT N 11).

3.2142. Genitive

The genitive suffix is -iγ/-iγ on the consonantal stems, and -niγ/-niγ on the vocalic stems. This suffix generally observes the vowel harmony (the palatal harmony); but it does not seem to have been subject to the rules of labial harmony, since in KT E 36 the initial n of the suffix on a back-vocalic word has been written with n²: b¹y¹r¹ qun²γ = bayırqu-niγ 'Bayırqu's'. Furthermore, the suffix once occurs as -γ. In two examples, it also occurs as -n after the possessive suffix of the second person singular.

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

1°. -iγ/-iγ: bayırqu-n[in aq adγī]r 'Bayırqu's white stallion' (KT E 35), bayırqu-niγ aq adγīr id. (KT E 36), yigān silig bāg-iγ kādımlig toruγ at 'Yigān Silig Bey's dressed bay horse' (KT E 33), türük bodun-iγ ilīn törūsīn 'the state and the institutions of the Turkish people' (acc.) (KT E 1; BK E 3), bilgā qaγan-iγ bodunī 'Bilgā Kagan's people' (O R 3), tabγač, qaγan-iγ ičrāki bādizčig 'the private painters of the Chinese emperor' (acc.) (KT S 12), kül tigin-iγ altunīn kümūsīn 'the gold and silver of Prince Kül' (acc.) (KT SW).

2°. -iγ (< -iγ): türük bodun-iγ atī küsī 'the name and fame of the Turkish people' (KT E 25) = türük bodun atī küsī (BK E 20).

3°. -in (< -iγ): qaγanir-in sabīn almatīn 'without taking the advice of your kagan' (KT S 9), qaγanīn-in . . . ādgū elīnā 'to the good realm of your kagan' (KT E 23).

In the following example, the genitive suffix -iγ is taken by both constituents of the phrase denoting the possessor: tadiq-iγ čor-iγ boz [at] 'Prince Tadiq's gray horse' (KT E 32).

3.2143. Accusative

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

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

1°. -γ/-g: qaγan at-iγ bunta biz birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title kagan' (BK E 17) = qaγan at bunta biz birtimiz (KT E 20), siγlim qunčuy-uγ birtimiz 'we gave (him) my younger sister, the princess' (KT E 20), aγar taš-iγ yoγun i-γ 'the heavy stones and thick wood' (BK S 15), [siγ]lar süsī āb-ig barq-iγ yulγalī bardī 'one half of their two armies went in order to plunder the tents and properties (of ours)' (BK E 32), az tutuq-uγ āligin tutdī '(Prince Kül) captured the military governor of the Az people by hand' (KT E 38), ol yilqī-γ alīp iγit(t) im 'I took the cattle and nourished (the Turkish people)' (BK E 38); adγīr-iγ (KT E

36), aq-iγ 'the white (horse)' (KT N 5, 6), at-iγ 'the horse' (KT E 33; TI N 3), at-iγ 'the horses' (TII N 3), āt-iγ 'the title of . . .' (KT W 2; KČ W 1; O F 6), az-iγ (BK E 14; O F 7), barq-iγ (BK SW) bašlīγ-iγ (KT E 2, etc.), bādiz-ig (BK SW), bādizči-g (KT NE; BK N 14; KT S 12), bodun-uγ (BK E 25, etc.), buluγ-uγ (O F 1), buq-uγ 'the evil spirits' (BK S 10) (cf. Tuv. buq id.), čor-uγ (KČ E 12), āb-ig (KT N 8), ār-ig (KČ E 3, etc.), ārmāk-ig 'the mare' (KČ E 9) (cf. Mong. ermeg id.), toγra āsim-ig (TIS 2), el-ig (KČ W 6) ~ il-ig (KT E 3, etc.), el-tābār-ig (KT N 3), illig-ig (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), is-ig küč-üg (KT W 1, etc.), qaγan-iγ (KT E 25, etc.), qaγanliγ-iγ (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), qar-iγ (TI N 1; KT E 35; BK E 27), qarγū-γ (TII E 3), qarluq-uγ (KT N 2; KČ E 8), qatun-uγ (KT E 11, 25; BK E 10), qırqız-iγ (TI N 3), qıtañ-iγ (TI W 7, S 3), qıyin-iγ (TI N 8), qara qum-uγ (TI W 7), kisī-g (KT S 6, etc.), oγuš-uγ (BK E 31), oγuz-uγ (TI W 7, S 3), ordū-γ (KT N 8, 9), ögüz-üg (BK E 30, etc.), öñ-üg (TIS 8; BK SE), sab-iγ (KT S 7, etc.), sāñün-üg (BK S 9; TIS 2), sū-g (BK E 25, etc.), šad-iγ (KT E 14; BK E 12), tabγač-iγ (TI W 7, S 3), taγ-iγ (TII W 9), taš-iγ (BK N 13), t[aši]γ (O Supp. 1), til-iγ (TI N 8), tigin-ig (KT E 40, W 1), tizlig-ig (KT E 2, etc.) törü-g (BK E 2, etc.), uz-uγ (BK SW) üküs-üg (O F 7), yabγu-γ (KT E 14; BK E 12), yaγī-γ (TII E 3, etc.) yamtar-iγ (BK E 40), yālmā-g (TII E 2), yer-ig (TIS 10), yılqī-γ (KČ E 13), yis-iγ (TI N 4, 11; TII W 2) ~ yiš-iγ (KT E 21, etc.) yipar-iγ (BK S 11).

2°. The suffix -n is added to the possessive stems. The connecting vowel between the suffix and the stem-final consonant does not observe the labial harmony. The following examples may serve as evidence for this fact: t¹ pl¹ ad¹ u-qmin² = taplāduqumin 'that I like (IB 4), uγ¹ mn² = oγlumin 'my sons' (Sugi 6).

A. On the possessive stem of the first person: bodunum-in (BK N 11), qızim-[in] (BK N 9), ötünčüm-in (TIS 8), özüm-in (BK E 21), sabīm-in tükāti āsidgil 'hear ye my words entirely!' (KT S 1), bu sabīm-in ādgūti āsid 'hear these words of mine well!' (KT S 2), māniñ sabīm-in simadī '(the Chinese Emperor) did not reject my request' (KT S 11).

B. On the possessive stem of the second person: bilmāddüküγ-in üčün 'because of your unawareness' (BK E 20), antaγiñ-in üčün 'because you were so' (KT S 8; BK N 6), eliñ-in (KT E 22) ~ iliñ-in (BK E 19), qaniñ-in qodup ičikdiñ 'you abandoned your khan and submitted (again)' (TI W 3), kärägüñ-in üčün 'because of your unruliness' (KT E 23; BK E 19), bāglik urī oγluñ-in qul qiltiγ 'you caused your noble sons to be slaves' (BK E 20), ölsikiñ-in (KT S 10; BK N 8), törüñ-in (KT E 22) ~ törüg-in (BK E 19), tutsiqiñ-in (KT S 10; BK N 8), yablaqiñ-in üčün 'because of your mischievousness' (BK E 20).

C. On the possessive stem of the third person: adγiri-n (BK N 11), aγiši-n (KT SW), aqi-n (KT N 2, 3, 9), [aq]i-n (KT N 2), alpī-n (TII S 5; KČ W 7, 12), altunī-n (KT SW) ~ [altun]i-n (BK N 11), arqāsi-n (KČ E 9), āti-n (KT E 7, 7; BK E 7) 'the titles of', barimi-n (KT N 1; BK E 24) ~ barimi-n (KT SW), barqi-n (KT NE, etc.) bādizi-n (KT NE; KČ E 12), bāglāri-n (BK S 15; TII W 8), bilmāddükī-n (BK E 16), bilgāsi-n (TII S 4), [bi]lgāsi-n (KČ W 7), biligi-n (BK N 4), bodunī-n (BK S 15; TII W 7, 8), bulγaqi-n (KT N 4; BK E 29), ābi-n (KT N 1; BK E 34, 37), ārī-n (KT N 1; BK S 7; O F 3), ārdāmī-n (KČ W 12), (ārdām)i-n (KČ S 2), āčisi-n (KT E 5; BK E 18), ekisi-n (KT E 38), eli-n (BK E 34; KČ E 10) ~ ili-n (KT N 6, etc.), qaγanī-n (BK E 7, etc.) ~ qaγanī-n (KT E 7), qani-n (TI W 2, 2, N 4), qarasi-n (O R 1), qutayī-n (BK N 11), quzi-n (TI W 7), kiñstürtükī-n (KT E 6), kisisi-n (KČ E 10, W 5), [kisi]i-n (KČ E 1), kürlügi-n (BK E 6), oγli-n (KT E 7, etc.), sabi-n (KT S 9; BK N 7) ~ sabi-n (TI E 5), sači-n (BK S 12), šadi-n (BK E 28) ~ sadi-n (TII W 6), subi-n (BK E 35), süsi-n (BK E 26), taši-n (BK N 14) ~ taši-n (TIS 7) 'its exterior', taši-n (BK W 7) 'his memorial', taš[in] id. (KT NE), tābligī-n (KT E 6; BK E 6), tāgdükī-n (KT E 34; O R 2), tāyāñi-n (BK S 12, N 12), kisi-n (BK S 12) 'their (black) sables', törüsi-n (KT E 1, etc.), uši-n 'his sleep' (TI E 2), udliqi-n (KT E 36), yabγusi-n (TII W 6), yabγu-[si]n (BK E 28), yaγizi-n (KT N 5, 8), yaγiltuqi-n (BK E 16), yaγiluqi-n (KT E 19), yarliq(q)aduqi-n (KT S 9), yazintuqi-n (BK E 16), yeri-n (BK E 35), yılqisi-n (BK E 24) ~ y[il] q[is]i-n (KT SW), yoñšurtuqi-n

(KT E 6; BK E 7), yotuzī-n (BK E 38), [yo]tuzī-n (BK S 4), yo[tuz]ī-n (BK E 24), yurčī-n (KT E 32).

3°. -nī/-nī: qoraγīn-nī 'your (lit.: 'thy') obsequies' (O R 4), qu-nī '(General) Qu' (TIS 2).

The accusative suffix is added to the last constituent of the phrase in the following examples: bāgli bodunlī-γ 'both the lords and the peoples' (KT E 6) (cf. Uig. tānrili yirli-dā 'both in the sky and on the earth': TT VI 02), arquy qarγū-y 'the fortifications and watchtowers' (TII E 3), yoγuq qoraγīn-nī 'your funeral and obsequies' (O R 4). This rule is observed in the following parallel clauses, too: inilī āčilī kiṣürtükīn üčün bāgli bodun-lī-γ yonšurtuqīn üčün 'since (the Chinese people) created a rift between younger and elder brothers, and caused the lords and peoples to slander one another' (KT E 6).

In the following examples, however, the accusative suffix is taken by each of the constituents of the phrase qu sāṅün 'General Qu': qu-γ sāṅün-üg balbal tikā birtim 'for (him) I erected (the statue of) General Qu as a balbal' (BK S 9) (cf. tadiq-īn čor-īn 'Prince Tadiq's' in KT E 32), tabγačγaru qu-nī sāṅün-üg idmis 'he sent General Qu to the Chinese' (TIS 2).

3.2144. Dative-Locative

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

The suffix -a/-ā is the old dative-locative suffix (cf. Mong. dative-locative suffix -a/-e). This suffix occurs in certain adverbs of place, to be more exact, it forms adverbs from certain nominal stems or roots indicating place or direction. The suffix -a/-ā regularly forms the dative-locative case of the possessive stems of the first and second person singular.

1°. -qa/-kā: at-qa 'to the name' (O R 3), baḷiq-(q) a 'to the city' (O R 1; TIE 1), baḷiq-(q) a 'into the mud' (KT N 8), bodun-qa (KT E 7, etc.), čoraq-qa (BK SE), āb-kā (O R 2), [qut] ārmāz-kā (O F 8), ārsin-kā (KT S 3; BK N 3), i-qa (TIN 3), qaγan-qa (KT E 8, etc.), qapīγ-qa (KT S 4, etc.), qarluq-qa (KČ E 7), qītañ-qa (TII S 5), kāčin-kā (BK SE), oγuz-qa (TII S 5; KČ E 4), olurtuq-(q) a (BK E 14), otuz-qa (KT NE, etc.), öd-kā (KT S 1, etc.), ödüş-kā (BK SE), ögüz-kā (TIS 9, etc.), sāṅün-kā (KT E 32), sub-[qa] (TIN 3), tabγač-qa (BK E 38, etc.), taγ-qa (BK S 7; TII S 3), taluy-qa (KT S 3), tām-qa (KT SE), tarman-qa (KT E 21) ~ tarban-qa (BK E 18), taš-qa 'on the stone' (KT SE, etc.), tāṇrikān-kā (O F 6), tāzīk-kā (KČ E 4), toγsiq-(q) a (BK E 8; KT S 2), toṇuquq-(q) a (TIN 7), tün-kā (TIN 2), tüpüt-kā (KT S 3; BK N 3), u-qa (TIN 3), yaγī-qa (KČ E 11), yazī-qa (KT E 17, etc.), yer-kā (TIS 10, TII S 3) ~ yir-kā (KT S 4), yīl-qa (KT NE, etc.), yegirmi-kā (KT NE), yiš-qa (KT E 1; BK E 37).

2°. -ṇa/-ṇā (< * nγa/-ngā): aγīsī-ṇa (KT S 6; BK N 5), baši-ṇa (KT E 33), batsiqī-ṇa (KT S 2), ābī-ṇā (KČ E 8; KČ W 3), elī-ṇā (KT E 23; O F 4) ~ ilī-ṇā (TII E 8, TI W 1), qutī-ṇa (KT E 31), oγlī-ṇa (BK N 15), ödī-ṇā (BK E 29), sabī-ṇa (KT S 6; BK N 5), tatī-ṇa (KT S 12; BK N 15), toγsiqī-ṇa (BK N 2; O F 2), yaši-ṇa (KT E 31, etc.), yazī-ṇa (KT N 8; BK E 31), yerī-ṇā (KT S 4; BK E 15) ~ yirī-ṇā (BK N 3), yüz[īṇā] (KT E 33).

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

3°. -a/-ā: bodunum-a (BK S 10, N 12), qaγanīm-a (TIS 5, E 1, E 7), oγlum-a (BK N 10; O R 3), olurtuqum-a (BK E 2, N 9), özüm-ā (BK S 15), türüküm-ā (BK S 10, N 12), yašīm-a (BK E 24, etc.); but: [atačīm]-qa (O Supp. 1), yašīm-qa (BK E 15).

On the possessive stem of the second person singular: ābiq-ā 'to your homeland' (BK N 14), eliṇ-ā 'to your state' (BK E 19), qaγanīṇ-a (BK E 19).

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

1°. As an adverbial complement indicating the object toward which the action is performed: qaγan-qa qırqız bodunī içikdi 'the Kirgiz people submitted to the kagan'

(TI N 4), äb-kä tägdüküm 'I arrived at the camp-site' (O R 2), oγuz täzip tabγač-qa kirti 'the Oguz fled and entered China' (BK E 38).

2°. As an adverbial complement indicating the object for the benefit of which the action is fulfilled: nä qaγan-qa isig küčüg birür män 'to what kagan do I render service?' (KT E 9; BK E 9), ülgän at-qa isig küčüg berti 'he rendered service to the great name' (O R 3).

3°. As an adverbial complement with a postposition: ilgärü yašıl ögüz šantun yazı-qa tägi sülädimiz 'we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River and the Shantung Plain' (BK E 15), qurıγaru tämir qapıγ-qa tägi sülädimiz 'we went on campaigns westwards up to the Iron Gate' (KT E 17).

4°. As an adverbial complement indicating the place of an action: tabγač ilı-ğa qılintim 'I was born in China' (TI W 1), nän yilsıγ bodun-qa olurmadım 'I did not become a ruler over a wealthy people' (KT E 26), bu taš-qa bu tam-qa qop yol(l)uγ tigin bitidim 'it is I, Prince Yolluγ, who has inscribed (all these inscriptions) on this stone and on this wall' (KT SE).

5°. As an adverbial complement denoting the time of an action: ol öd-kä qul qulluγ küñ küñlüg bolmiš ärti 'at that time slaves themselves had slaves and female slaves themselves had maids' (KT E 21), kül tigin qon yıl-qa yiti yegirmi-kä uçdı 'Prince Kül died on the seventeenth day of the Sheep Year' (KT NE) yazı-ğa oγuz tapa sülädim 'in the spring, I started a campaign against the Oguz' (BK E 31-32), qırqızıγ u-qa basdımız 'we fell upon the Kirgiz while they were asleep' (TI N 3).

6°. As an adverbial complement indicating the duration of time within which the action is performed: bir yıl-qa tört yolı süñüşdüm 'I fought four times in a year' (BK E 30), on tün-kä yantaqı tuγ äbirü bardımız 'we went on going around the barriers (of snow) on the side (of the mountain) for ten nights' (TI N 2), tünlü künlü yiti ödüş-kä subız kädım 'I passed through a waterless land for seven days, day and night' (BK SE).

See Adverbs of Place and Adverbs of Time.

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

1°. -da/-dä: aγu-da (BK E 34), antırγu-da (BK E 30), bañiq-da (KT N 4; BK E 30; KČ W 11), bañiq-da-qı (KT E 12), batsıq-da-qı (KT N 12), bäglärig-[dä] (BK N 13), buluγ-da-qı (BK E 2, etc.), äb-dä (BK E 32), ätiz-dä (KČ E 6), ellig-dä (KT E 29; BK E 24), i-da (TI W 4), ıraq-da (TI W 5), qadiz-da (BK E 31) ~ qadiz-dä (KT N 7), qaγanım-da (O R 4), qaγanıñ-da (BK E 13), qaγanlıγ-da (BK E 24), qılınuγ-da (KT E 1), qıtañ-da (BK S 7; TI S 7), qontuγ-da (KT S 5), quš-alγaq-da (KT N 5), käçin-dä (sic!) (KČ W 10), oγlanıñiz-da (KT SE), oγuz-da (TI S 7), olurtuγ-da (KT E 17), sabım-da (KT S 10; BK N 8), süñüş-da (KT N 2), süñüşduk-dä (KČ E 4, etc.), tabar-da (KT E 38), tabγač-da (BK E 36, etc.), taγ-da (BK S 8, W 5), taγ-da-qı (KT E 12), taš-da (TI W 4), tayγunuñiz-da (KT SE), tägdük-dä (KT E 36), täñri-dä (KT S 1; BK N 1), tirig-dä-ki-čä (KT SE), toγ-sıq-da (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5), törü-dä (KT E 16; BK E 14), u-da (KT E 35, 37; BK E 27), učduq-da (KT E 30; BK E 14), yaγıñ(t)uq-da (KČ E 6), yaš-da (BK E 14), yazı-da (TI N 9, TI W 1), yer-dä (BK E 20, 35, 36), yer-dä-ki (TI E 6), yir-dä (KT S 4, E 24), yis-da (KT E 35, S 4; BK E 27), yis-da (TI N 7, 8), yurt-da (TI E 2; KT N 9).

2°. -ta/-tä: bodun-ta (KT E 26, N 12; BK E 21), il-tä (KT S 3), [il]-tä (BK N 2), qaγan-ta (KT S 11, etc.), köl-ta (KT E 34, N 2), köñül-tä (KT N 1), köñül-tä-ki (KT S 12), yer-tä (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15; but generally yerdä: see above), yolta (KT N 9; TI S 9), qurıdın-ta 'from the west' (TI S 7), yirıdın-ta 'from the north' (TI S 4), elın-ta (KČ E 6), oγlın-ta (KT E 1; BK E 3), olurtuqın-ta (BK S 13), tägisin-tä (KT N 5), töpüsın-tä (KT E 11; BK E 10), yalmasın-ta (KT E 33), yariqın-ta (KT E 33), yerin-tä (TI W 3, S 4; TI N 2), yoγın-ta (KT N 7).

4°. -tan/-tān: tasdīn-tan 'from the outside' (MČ S 4) <*taš-dīn; o'γuzdun-tan 'from the Oguz' (TIS 1) (The latter must have been formed analogically. Cf. quridīnta 'from the west', yiridīn-ta 'from the north').

The locative-ablative form of a noun functions:

1°. As an adverbial complement indicating the place in which the action is performed: qara köl-tā sūñūšdūmiz 'we fought at the Black Lake' (KT N 2), ekīn sū āb-dā ārti 'the second army was at the camp' (BK E 32), [bi]riyā tabyač-da atī kūsī yoq bolti 'to the south, in China, the name and fame of (the Tokuz-Oguz) have disappeared' (BK E 36), azu bu sabīm-da igid bar yu 'or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?' (KT S 10).

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

3°. As an adverbial complement denoting the starting point of an action: [tabyač] qaγan-ta bādizci kālūrtūm 'I sent for painters from the Chinese emperor' (KT S 12), köz-dā yaš kālsār tida köpül-tā siyīt kālsār yanturu saqintīm 'when tears came down from the eyes, I mourned by holding them back, and then wails came out from the heart, I mourned turning them back' (KT N 11).

4°. As an adverbial complement with a postposition or a postpositional word: yabiz yablaq bodun-ta üzä olurtum 'I became ruler over a poor and destitute people' (BK E 21), bān yiridin-tā yan tāgāyīn 'I shall attack (them) from the north (lit.: 'from the direction of north')' (TIS 4); see Postpositions.

5°. The locative-ablative is also used to make comparisons: ötükān yiš-da yig idi yoq ārmis 'a land better than the Ötükān Mountains does not exist at all' (KT S 4), iγar oγlanīñiz-da tay-γunuñiz-da yegdi igidūr ārtigiz 'you used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved children and descendants' (KT SE).

The directive case is formed with the suffixes -γaru/-gärü (-γa-ru/-gä-rü), -naru/-närü (<nγaru/-ngärü), -aru/-ärü (-a-ru/-ä-rü) and -ra/-rā. The directive case of a noun functions as an adverbial complement indicating the object toward which the action is performed.

1°. -γaru/-gärü (<-γa-ru/-gä-rü): bān āb-gärü tūsāyīn 'I shall go down to the camp' (TI N 6), amγa qorγan qışlap yazıña oγuz-γaru sū taşıqdīmiz 'after we spent the winter at Amga-Korgan, in spring we started a campaign against the Oguz' (KT N 8), tabyač-γaru qunī sāñünüg idmis qitañ-γaru toñra āsimig idmis 'he is said to have sent General Qu to the Chinese, and Toñra Āsim to the Qitañ' (TIS 2), öñrā türk qaγan-γaru sülālim 'let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks' (TI E 3), ötükān yīs-γaru uduztum 'I led (the army) in the direction of the Ötükān Mountains' (TIS 8), apa tarqan-γaru içrā sab idmis 'he sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan' (TI N 10); bunča isig küçüg birtük-gärü saqınmatī (the Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese), . . . ' (KT E 10); qaγan-γaru (TI N 5, 9), tabyač-γaru (BK E 35), yer-gärü (KT S 8), yer[gār]ü (BK N 6); see Adverbs of Place.

2°. -naru/-närü (<*nγaru/-ngärü): birigärü kūn ortusī-naru 'southwards to the midday' (KT S 2; BK N 2), yiriγaru tūn ortusī-naru 'northwards to the midnight' (KT S 2; BK N 2), yeri-närü subīnaru qontī 'they settled themselves in their (old) habitat and native land' (BK E 40).

3°. -aru/-ärü. This suffix occurs after the first person possessive suffix: basml̄ ya'yīdip ābim-ärü bardī 'having started hostilities (against me), the Basmil went toward my residence' (MČ S 4).

4°. The suffix -ra/-rā occurs in the following examples only: taš-ra yorīyūr tiyin kü āsidip 'having heard the news that (my father) was marching off, . . . ' (KT E 11-12), tardus sad-ra udī yañdīmiz 'we put (the enemy) to rout, pursuing them toward the šad of the Tardush (TII W 6).

3.2147. Equative

The equative case is formed with the suffix *-ča/-čä*.

The equative form of a noun functions as an adverb of comparison, equality, and the like (see Adverbs):

1°. Equality: *türgis qa'yan süsī bolčuda ot-ča bor-ča kälti* 'the army of the Türgis kagan came (upon us) like fire and storm at Bolču' (BK W 37), *buzqun-ča kälir ärtimiz* 'we were coming like a storm' (O R 1-2), *qanñ sub-ča yügürti süñükñ taγ-ča yatdı* 'your blood ran like a river, and your bones were heaped up like a mountain' (KT E 24), *ögüz-čä* 'like a river' (BK E 20), *ekinti kün ört-čä qızıp kälti* 'the next day they came rushing hotly like flames' (TII W 4-5); see Verbal Nouns.

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

3°. Accordance: *bodunuγ äčüm apām törüsīn-čä yaratmış* 'he organized the people in accordance with the rules of my ancestors' (KT E 13; BK E 12), *köñlün-čä uduz* 'lead (the army) according to your own will' (TI S 8), *qiyinñ köñlün-čä ay* 'give the judgements according to your own conscience' (TI N 8).

3.2148. Instrumental

The instrumental case is formed with the suffix *-n*. The connecting vowel inserted between the stem and the suffix generally observes the labial harmony: *oqun* 'with an arrow' (TK E 36): *oq* 'arrow'.

The instrumental indicates:

1°. The tool of an action: *bir ärig oq-un urtı* '(Prince Kül) hit one man with an arrow' (KT E 36), *az tutuquγ älig-in tutdı* '(Prince Kül) captured the Governor of the Az people by (his own) hands' (KT E 38), *bu yol-un yorısar yaramači* 'it will not be good (for us) to go this way' (TI E 6), *süčig sab-in yimšaq aγī-n arıp* 'deceiving by means of (their) sweet words and soft materials, . . .' (KT S 5), *inigäk kölik-in toγlada oγuz kälti* 'with carts drawn by oxen the Oguz came from the Toγla' (TI S 8), *altun yisñγ*

yolsiz-in asdıñiz ärtis ögüzüγ káčigsiz-in káčdimiz 'we climbed over the Altai Mountains without any roads, and we crossed over the Irtish River without any fords' (TI N 11).

2°. The idea of companionship with someone: *qa'yanñ in sü elt-dimiz* 'I, together with my kagan, went on campaigns' (TII E 3), *qañm qa'yan yiti yegirmi är-in taşıqmış* 'my father, the kagan, went off with seventeen men' (KT E 11), *uluγ irkin azqıña är-in täzip bardı* 'Uluγ Irkin ran away together with a few men' (KT E 34), *uyγur el[t]äbär yüzčä är-in ilg[är]üt[äzip bardı]* 'the Governor of the Uigurs, together with about one hundred men, fled towards the east' (BK E 37).

3°. The manner in which an action is performed: *bäglär qop[in] yanalım . . . tedi* 'the lords all said: 'let us go back!'' (TII W 1), *anta ötrü oγuz qopin kälti* 'then the Oguz came altogether' (TI S 9), *oñ tutuq yurčın yaraqlıγ älig-in tutdı* '(Prince Kül) took the Governor Oñ's brother-in-law prisoner while he (i. e., the prisoner) had weapons in his hand' (KT E 32), *yir sayu barmış bodun ölü yitü yadaγ-in yalıñ-in yana kälti* '(when I succeeded to the throne), the people who had gone in (almost) all directions, came back utterly exhausted, without horses and without clothes' (KT E 28).

4°. The time of an action: *qış-in qıtañ tapa sülädım* 'in the winter, I went on a campaign against the Qıtañ' (BK S 2), *yaz-in tatañ tapa sülädım* 'in the spring, I went on a campaign against the Tatañ' (BK S 2), *yay-in* 'in the summer' (BK E 39), *küz-ün* 'in fall' (MČ E 8).

Other examples are: *at-in* 'with horses' (TI N 1), *biltüküm-ün* 'with what I know' (KČ S 3), *bilig-in in bilmáz biligin* 'with ignorance' (KČ S 3), *köz-ün* 'by means of eye' (BK N 11), *qulqaq-in* 'by means of ear' (BK N 11), *suq-un* 'with anger' (BK E 38), *ödüküm-ün* 'with what I remember' (KČ S 3), *süñüg-ün* 'with lances' (TI N 4), *törü-n* 'with a ceremony' (BK N 9, 10).

3.2149. Comitative

The comitative is formed with the suffix * *-lñγ/-ligü*. This is a rare case form.

The comitative answers the question 'together with whom?': mān ini-ligü bunča başlayu qazıanm[asar] türük bodun öltäči ärti 'if I, together with (my) younger brother, had not led (the people) and had not got so many victories, the Turkish people would have been killed and perished' (BK E 33), qorıyu ekı üç kisi-ligü täzip bardı '(their) protector fled together with a few people' (BK E 41).

3.22. Pronouns

3.221. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are: bān (T, KČ, MČ) ~ mān (KT, BK) 'I'; sān 'thou'; biz, in oblique cases bizin, 'we', siz 'you'. Pronouns of the third person do not exist. The demonstrative pronoun ol 'that, those' is used instead.

The inflection of the personal pronouns slightly differs from that of the nouns. The case suffixes are, in general, the same as in the noun inflection. The stems of the pronouns, however, vary in certain cases.

Nom.	<u>bān, mān</u>	<u>sān</u>	<u>biz</u>	<u>siz</u>
Gen.	<u>bāniņ, māniņ</u>		<u>biziņ</u>	
Acc.	<u>bini</u>	<u>sini</u>	<u>bizni</u>	
Dat. - Loc.	<u>baņa, maņa</u>	<u>sāņā</u>	<u>biziņā</u>	
Loc. - Abl.			<u>bizintā</u>	
Directive	<u>baņaru</u>			

1°. Nom.: bān ābgārū tūsāyīn 'I shall go down to the camp' (TI N 6), bān sāņā nā ayayīn 'what shall I say to thee?' (TI N 8), bān yiridinta yan tągäyīn 'I shall attack (them) from the direction of north' (TI S 4), mān toquz yegirmi yıl šad olurtum 'I reigned as šad for nineteen years' (BK S 9); biz az ärtimiz 'we were few' (BK E 32), biz ekı biņ ärtimiz 'we were two thousand (men)' (TI S 9),

biz yāmā sülādimiz 'we, too marched off' (TI W 9), qayan at bunta biz birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan' (KT E 20), biz az biz 'we are few' (O F 7); yaγ-misī bān ärtim 'it was I who followed him (lit.: 'his follower was I')' (TI W 5), bilgāsī čabīsī bān ök ärtim 'it was I who was his counselor and his aide-de-camp' (TI W 7).

The personal pronouns are also used copulatively: bān anča ter mān 'I say as follows (lit.: 'I am the one who says as follows'))' (TI W 2), saqinūr mān 'I mourn (lit.: 'I am the one who mourns'))' (BK W 6), öltäči sän 'you (lit.: 'thou') will die' (KT S 8), türük bodun toqurqaq sän 'O Turkish people, you always consider yourselves satiated' (KT S 8), biz az biz 'we are few' (O F 7), yabiz bat biz 'we certainly are bad' (O F 7), bučägü qabis(s) ar qaltači biz 'if these three form an alliance, we would be helpless' (TI S 6).

2°. Gen.: bāniņ bodunum anta ärür 'my people will be there' (TI E 4), māniņ sabīmīn simadī 'he did not reject my request' (KT S 11), t[oquz oγu]z māniņ bodunum ärti 'the Tokuz-Oguz were my (own) people' (BK E 29), biziņ sū atī toruq azuqı yōq ärti 'our army horses were lean (and exhausted), and our army had no provisions' (KT E 39).

3°. Acc.: bini oγuzuγ ölürtäči k[ök] '(they) will (also) kill us (lit.: 'me'), the Oguz' (TI S 3), sini tabγačiγ ölürtäči 'they will kill you (lit.: 'thee'), Chinese' (TI S 3), qačan (n)āņ ärsār ol bizni . . . özürtäči kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 3), bizni ölürtäči kök 'he will definitely kill us' (TI N 6).

4°. Dat.: bilgä tonuquq(q) a baņa aydı 'he commanded me, Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TI N 7), qop maņa körti 'they have all submitted to me' (KT E 30), bu yerdä maņa qul boltı 'they became slaves to me in this land' (BK E 36), anta içräki bodun [qop] m[aña] k[örür] 'all the peoples within these boundaries are subject to me' (KT S 2), bān sāņā nā ayayīn 'what shall I say to thee?' (TI N 8), biziņā yañiltuqın yazıntuqın üçün qayanı ölti 'because they were unfaithful to us their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), alp är biziņā tągmiš ärti '(furthermore) those who had attacked us were brave men' (KT E 40).

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

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

3.222. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are: bu 'this' and ol 'that, it'. The latter is also used as the pronouns of the third person. In oblique cases the stems of the pronouns bu and ol are bun- and an- respectively.

Nom.	<u>bu</u>	<u>ol</u>
Gen.		
Acc.	<u>bunī</u>	<u>anī</u>
Dat. -Loc.		<u>aγar</u> (<* <u>anγar</u>)
Loc. -Abl.	<u>bunta</u>	<u>anta</u>
Directive		<u>aγaru</u> (<* <u>anγaru</u>)
Equative	<u>bunča</u>	<u>anča</u>
Instr.		<u>anin</u> (TI E 7)

Other forms derived from the pronouns bu and ol are the following: antaγ ~ antäg (TI N 5) 'like that, as follows' <* anī täg, büntäg 'like this, such one as this' (TII E 7) <* buntäg <* bunī täg.

1°. Nom.: ilteris qaγan bilgä tonuquq qazγantuq üčün qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yorīduqī bu 'since Ilteris Kagan and Bilgä Tonyukuk have won, Kapgan Kagan's Turkish Sir people have flourished this much' (TII N 3), qačan (n)äγ ärsär ol bizni . . . ölürtäci kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 3-4), ol amtī anīγ yoq 'these (peoples) are not rebellious now' (KT S 3), bar-duq yirdä

ädgüg ol ärinč 'in the places you went, your (only) profit was the following' (KT E 24).

The pronoun ol is also used copulatively: bilgä tonuquq anīγ ol üz ol 'Bilgä Tonyukuk is malicious and evil-minded' (TI N 10), [türk bodunī yämä] bulγanč [ol] [tem] is oγuzī yämä tarqinč ol temis '(the Turkish people) is in disorder; the Oguz, their subjects, are also displeased (with them) he said' (TI E 5).

2°. Acc.: türük bağlär bodun bunī äsidiγ 'O Turkish lords and people, hear this!' (KT S 10), bunī körü biliγ 'see these and get a lesson (from them)!' (KT S 12; BK N 15), anī körüp anča biliγ 'see it and learn its contents, as it is' (KT S 13), anī üčün 'because of it, for that' (KT E 3; BK E 28), anī yoγlatayin 'I shall hold her funeral' (TI N 7), anī anitayin tip sülädim 'in order to frighten him I started a campaign (against him)' (BK E 41), anī yañip türgi yarγun költä buzdumiz 'we dispersed them and put them to rout at the Lake Türgi-Yargun' (KT E 34), anī ärt(t) imiz 'we followed them up' (TII W 9).

3°. Dat.: aγar körü biliγ 'look at it and learn (its contents)' (KT S 11), aγar aytip 'offering him my opinion . . . (TI E 7), aγar adinč(č) iγ barq yaraturtum 'I got them to build an extraordinary mausoleum' (KT S 12), aγar adinč(č) iγ barq yaratid(d) im id. (BK N 14).

4°. Loc. -Abl.: See Adverbs of Place.

5°. Directive: aγaru sülämäsär qačan (n) äγ ärsär ol bizni . . . ölürtäci kök 'if we do not wage war against him, he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 3-4).

6°. Equative: See Adverbs.

7°. Instrumental: anin barmis 'he is said to have gone by that (way)' (TI E 7).

The demonstrative pronouns are demonstrative adjectives when used to modify nouns: bu süg elt tidi 'lead this army!' 'he said' (TI N 8), bu sabimin ädgüti äsid 'hear these words of mine well!' (KT S 2), ol sub godi bardimiz 'we rode down along that river' (TI N 3); see Attributive Phrases.

3.223. Intensive Pronouns

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

1°. kāntü 'self': ädgü elinā kāntü yañiltıy 'you yourselves betrayed your good state (lit.: 'thou thyself . . .')' (KT E 23; BK E 19).

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

A noun or pronoun emphasized by an intensive pronoun is often omitted. In such cases intensive pronouns function as personal pronouns: özüm 'I': äčim qaγan olurtuqda özüm tarduś bodun üzä šad ärtim 'when my uncle succeeded to the throne, I was šad over the Tardush people' (KT E 17), özüm qarī boltum 'I am grown old' (TII E 6), inim kül tigin kargäk boltı özüm saqintim 'my brother, Prince Kül, died; I mourned' (KT N 10), [qaγım] qaγan učduqda özüm säkiz yaśda qaltım 'when my father, the kagan, died I was eight years old' (BK E 14), qazγantuqin üčün udu özüm qazγantuqum üčün 'since he won, and since I won, . . .' (TII E 5), tägrī bilig bertük üčün özüm ök qaγan qisdım 'since Heaven granted me insight, I myself made him kagan' (TI W 6), etc.; özi 'he': ekisın özi altuzdı 'he captured two of them' (KT E 38), özi qisγa kargäk boltı 'he was killed while still young' (KČ E 11), özi yañiltı 'he betrayed (us)' (KT E 20); özi 'they': özi anča kargäk bolmis 'they thus passed away (lit.: 'they thus became lacking')' (KT E 3); inflected forms: özümä 'to me' (BK S 15), özümün ol tägrī qaγan olurt[di ärinč] 'that Heaven enthroned me' (BK E 21).

The words kāntü and öz are also used attributively: toquz oγuz bodun kāntü bodunum ärti 'the Tokuz-Oguz people were my own people' (KT N 4), kāntü bodunum tidim 'O my own people! I said' (MČ E 2), öz iči tasın tutmis täg biz 'it seems as if we are holding the exterior with (our) own interior (i. e., with our own forces)' (TI S 6).

3.224. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are: kām 'who?' and nä 'what?'. Only the following inflected forms occur in the inscriptions: kāmkä 'to whom?', nākä 'for what?', nānčä 'so many, so much'.

1°. kām 'who?' (cf. Mong. kem id.): üzä tägrī basm[asar asra] yer tālinmäsär türük bodun ilin törügin kām artatı udači [ärt]i 'if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and your institutions?' (BK E 18-19), kāmkä ilig qazγanur män 'for whose benefit are we conquering these countries?' (KT E 9).

2°. nä: bän säjä nä ayayın 'what shall I say to thee?' (TI N 8), üküs teyin nākä qorqur biz 'why should we be afraid of their being many?' (TII W 4), nākä täzär biz 'why should we flee?' (TII W 3), [qaγım] qaγan äčim qaγan olurtuqinta tört buluñdaqi bodunuγ nānčä itm[iš] 'when (my father), the kagan, and my uncle, the kagan, mounted the throne, they completely organized the peoples in the four quarters (of the world)' (BK N 9).

The pronoun nä is also used attributively and adverbially:

A. Attributively: nä qaγanqa isig küčüg birür män 'to which kagan are we giving our services?' (KT E 9), nāq yerdäki qaγanlıγ bodunqa büntägi bar ärsär nä buñı bär ärtäči ärmis 'if a people living anywhere and owning a kagan had such a (man), what kind of trouble would it have?' (TII E 6-7).

B. Adverbially: az teyin nä basıñalım 'why should we be overwhelmed because of (our) being few?' (TII W 4).

When used after the interrogative particle mu/mü the pronoun nä functions as a particle of probability: öñrä qıtañda biriyä tabyačda qurıya qurıñda yirıya oγuzda ekı

üç biñ sūmiz kältäčimiz bar mu nā 'we probably have two or three thousand soldiers to come from the Qitañ in the east, from the Chinese in the south, from the western (Turks) in the west, and from the Oguz in the north' (TIS 7).

3°. qanī 'where? where is it?' and qantīn 'from where?', the inflected forms of the old interrogative pronoun *qa ~ *qan 'what? what place?' (see A. Temir, *Konjunktionen und Satzeinleitungen im Alt-Türkischen*, Oriens, IX (1956), p. 264), function as interrogative adverbs: ilim amti qanī 'where is our (lit.: 'my') own state now?' (KT E 9), yaraqliγ qantīn kälip yaña eltdi sūñdglüg qantīn kälipān sūrā eltdi 'from where did the armed come and put you to flight? From where did the lancer come and drive you away?' (KT E 23).

3.225. Indefinite Pronouns

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

1°. büntägi (<*buntäg-i): nāñ yerdäki qaγanliγ bodunqa büntägi bar ārsār nā buñi bar ärtäči ārmis 'if a people living anywhere and having a kagan had such a one (i. e., such a man like me), what kind of trouble would it have?' (TII E 6-7).

2°. qamaγī (<qamaγ-i): qamaγī yeti yüz ār bolmiš 'they all numbered seven hundred men' (lit.: 'all of them became seven hundred men') (BK E 11); adverbially: qamaγī biš otuz sūlādimiz 'we went on campaigns twenty-five times in all' (KT E 18).

3.23. Numerals

3.231. Cardinal Numerals

The cardinal numerals are: 1 bir, 2 ekī, 3 üč, 4 tört, 5 biš ~ bis ~ bes, 6 altī, 7 yeti ~ yiti, 8 säkiz, 9 toquz, 10 on, 20 yegirmi ~ yigirmi, 30 otuz, 40 qırq, 50 alig, 60 altmiš (Yenisei), 70 yetmiš ~ yetmis, 80 säkiz on, 90 toquz on, 100 yüz, 1000 biñ ~ biñ, 10,000 bir tūmān (BK S 1).

The numerals between decades:

(a) 11 - 19 and 21 - 29: These numerals are considered steps to the next higher decade and named as follows: 11 bir yegirmi (MČ S 8), 12 ekī yegir[mi] (KT E 28), 13 üč yegirmi (KT E 18), 14 tört yegirmi (BK E 15), 15 biš yegirmi (MČ E 6), 16 altī yegirmi (KT E 31), 17 yeti yegirmi (TII S 5), 18 säkiz yegirmi (BK E 24), 19 toquz yegirmi (BK S 9), 21 bir otuz (KT E 32), 22 ekī otuz (BK E 25), 23 üč otuz (TI E 2), 25 biš otuz (KT E 18), 26 altī otuz (BK E 26), 27 yiti otuz (KT N 1), 29 toquz otuz (Miran, A 1).

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

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

The numerals between hundreds and thousands: 17,000 bir tūmān artuqī yeti biñ (BK S 1).

The cardinal numerals function as follows:

1°. As an attribute of a noun or another numeral: bir ārig sančdī '(Prince Kül) stabbed one man' (KT N 5), bir atlīγ barmis 'a horseman is said to have gone' (TI E 7), ekī ülügi atlīγ ārti bir ülügi yadaγ ārti 'two-thirds (lit.: 'two parts') of them were mounted, a (third) part was on foot' (TI W 4), ekī uluγ sūñüš 'two great battles' (BK E 34), bes balīq 'Bishbalik' ('The Five Cities') (BK E 28), üč otuz balīq 'twenty-three cities' (TI E 2), yeti yüz '700' (TI W 4), ekī biñ '2000' (TI E 1), üč tūmān sū 'thirty thousand soldiers' (BK S 8), etc.

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

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

3°. As an adverbial complement indicating the duration or frequency of the action: ilteris qaγan bilgāsīn üčün alpīn üčün tabγačqa yeti yegirmi süñüsdī qītañqa yeti süñüsdī oγuzqa bes süñüsdī 'by virtue of his being wise and brave, Ilteriš Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese, seven times against the Qītañ and five times against the Oguz' (TII S 4-5), kül tigin bir qırq yašayur ārti 'Prince Kül was thirty-one years old (by then)' (KT N 2), uluγ küli čor sākiz on yasap yoq bol[tī] 'Küli Čor the Elder, having lived eighty years, deceased' (KČ W 3), bir todsar āčsiq ömāz sān 'if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again)' (KT S 8), yüz[iñā] bašīqa bir t[ägürmädi] '(Prince Kül) did not let (the enemy) hit him even once on the face and head' (KT E 33), qamaγī biš otuz sülādimiz üč yegirmi süñüšdümüz 'in all we went on campaigns twenty-five times and we fought thirteen times' (KT E 18), etc.

4°. As the predicate noun of a clause: biz ekī biñ ārtimiz 'we were two thousand' (TI E 1), kögmān yolī bir ārmis 'there is (only) one road over Kögmān' (TI E 6), etc.

3.2311. Fractions

The only fraction which occurs in the inscriptions is the word siñar 'half, one of a pair' (= Kirg. siñar id., Yak. añar ~ añār id.): [siñ]ar süsī ābig barqīγ yulγalī bardī siñar süsī süñüšgāli kāliti 'one half of their army went in order to plunder the tents and dwellings, the other half of their army came in order to fight' (BK E 32).

In the Moyun Čor inscription this word occurs with the third person possessive suffix: siñarī bodun ičikdi siñarī b[odun. . .] 'one half of the people submitted (to me), and the other half of it. . . ' (MČ E 6-7).

3.2312. Approximative Numerals

The approximative numerals are formed morphologically and syntactically.

1°. -ča/-čä (the equative suffix): āligčā ār tutdumiz 'we captured about fifty men' (TII W 7), uyγur eltābār yüzčā ārin ilg[ār]ū t[āzip bardī] 'the Governor of the Uigurs, together with about one hundred men, fled towards the east' (BK E 37), bizintā ekī uči siñarča artuq ārti 'their two wings were about half again as many as we' (TII W 5).

2°. Syntactically: qorīγu ekī üč kisiligū tāzip bardī 'the protector fled together with a few (lit.: 'two or three') people' (BK E 41), yüz artuq oqun 'with more than one hundred arrows' (KT E 33).

3.232. Ordinal Numerals

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

The ordinal numerals function:

1°. as an attribute: ilki sü tašiqmiš ārti ekin (for ekinti) sü ābdā ārti 'the first army had marched off, the second army was at home' (BK E 32), bir tümān artuqī yeti biñ süg ilki kün ölürtüm 'I killed a seventeen-thousand-men army on the first day' (BK S 1), yadaγ süsīn ekinti kün qop [ölür]tüm 'on the second day, I killed their infantry-men in great numbers' (BK S 1), ekinti kün örtčā qizip kāliti 'the next day they came rushing hotly like flames' (TII W 4-5), laγzīn yıl bisinč ay yiti otuzqa yoγ ārtürtüm 'in the Year of Pig, on the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month, I held (his) funeral' (BK S 10), qon yılqa yetinč ay küčlüg alp qaγanımda adrīlu bardīñiz 'you were separated from my mighty and brave kagan in the seventh month of the Sheep Year' (O R 4), toquzunč ay yeti otuzqa uča bardī 'we held (his) funeral on the twenty-seventh day of the ninth month' (KT NE), [i]t yıl onunč ay alī otuzqa uča bardī '(my father, the kagan,) passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of the Dog Year (= 734 A.D.)' (BK S 10), bir yegirminč ay yegirmikā 'on the twentieth (day) of the eleventh month' (MČ S 11).

2°. as an adverbial complement: an ilk toγu baliqda süñüşdümüz 'first we fought at Toγu-Baliq' (KT N 4), an ilki toγu baliqda sürüşdüm 'first I fought at Toγu-Baliq' (BK E 30), an ikli tadiqin čorin boz [atiγ binip tagdi] 'first (he mounted) Tadiq Čor's gray (horse and attacked)' (KT E 32), ekinti išbara yamtar boz atiγ binip tagdi 'secondly, he mounted Išbara Yamtar's gray horse and attacked' (KT E 33), üčünč yigän silig bägin kädimlig toruγ at binip tagdi 'thirdly, he mounted Yigän Silig Bey's dressed (= armored?) bay horse and attacked' (KT E 33), törtünč čuš bašinta süñüşdümüz 'fourthly, we fought at the headwaters of Čuš' (KT N 6), etc.

3.233. Collective Numerals

The suffix -aγu(n)/-ägü(n) forms numerals with the meaning of 'two together', 'three together', and so on. The collective numerals which occur in the inscriptions are the following: üčägü, üčägün; ikägü.

1°. üčägü in bučägü (<* bu üčägü) 'these three together': tabγač qitañ tatabi bučägü qabīs(s)ar qaltači biz 'if the Chinese, Qitañ and Tatabi, these three, form an alliance, we would be helpless' (TI S 5-6); with a final n: üčägün qabišip sülälīm 'let us, we three, ally and wage war (against the Turkish kagan)' (TI E 4).

2°. In the following example the word ikägü means 'two, in two parts': äčim qaγan ilī qamšaγ boltuqinta bodun ilig ikäg[ü] boltuqinta izgil bodun birlä süñüşdümüz 'when the realm of my uncle, the kagan, became shaky and when the people and ruler were split into two parts, we fought against the Izgil people' (KT N 3).

3.234. Multiplicative Numerals

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

1°. Numeral + yolī (<yol 'way' + 3rd p. poss. suf.): bir yılqa tört yolī süñüşdüm 'I fought four times in a year'

(BK E 30), bir yılqa biš yolī süñüşdümüz 'we fought five times in a year' (KT N 4), altı yolī süñüşdüm 'I fought six times' (BK E 28), ... [y]olī sülädīm 'I went on campaigns ... times' (BK S 2), qaγim qaγan ... qırq artuqī yeti yolī sü-lāmis 'my father, the kagan, went on campaigns forty-seven times' (KT E 15).

2°. A cardinal numeral can also function as a multiplicative numeral. See 3.2161.3°.

3.235. Indefinite Numerals

The indefinite numerals, that is, numerical words expressing indefinite quantities, are: az 'few', azča 'a few', azqīna 'few, very few', üküş ~ üküš 'many'.

The indefinite numerals are used:

1°. attributively: az bodunuγ üküš qiltīm 'I have made the few people numerous' (KT S 10, etc.), kül tiginig az ärin irtürü it(t)imiz 'we sent Prince Kül forward together with a few men' (KT E 40), azča bodun täzmis ärti 'a few people had escaped' (TI W 8), uluγ irkin azqīna ärin täzip bardī 'Uluγ Irkin, together with very few people, escaped' (KT E 34), azqīna türk [bodun] yorīyur ärmis 'the very few Turkish people seem to have been making progress' (TI S 2), yaγuru barip üküš kiši öltüg 'having gone close to (the Chinese), you were (consequently) killed in great numbers' (KT S 7) üküş öltä či anta tirilti 'many people who were about to be killed there came to life (again)' (BK E 31), üküş (KT: üküš) türük bodun öltüg 'you, Turkish people, were killed in great numbers' (BK N 5; KT S 6).

2°. substantively: aziγ üküš qilti '(my uncle, the kagan,) made the few numerous' (BK E 14), aziγ üküšüg körtüg 'you have seen the few and the numerous' (OF 7).

3°. adverbially: biriγä tabγačiγ ögrä qitañiγ yiriya oγuzuγ üküš ök ölrüti 'to the south (İlteriš Kagan) killed the Chinese, to the east the Qitañ, and to the north the Oguz in great number' (TI W 7).

The numerals bifi '1000' and tümän '10,000' are also used to express immense quantities: biñ yilliq tümän künlik bitig 'the inscription which will survive hundreds of years and thousands of days' (MČ E 9-10).

The following words, too, can function as indefinite numerals: bunča 'this many', anča 'so many': bunča bodun kälipän siytāmiš yoŷlāmiš (KT: siytāmiš yoŷlāmiš) '... this many peoples came, and lamented and mourned' (BK E 5; KT E 4), bunča bodun sačin qulqaqin [... b]içdi 'this many people cut out their hairs and tore their ears and ...' (BK S 12), bunča bodun qobsarip yoŷladı '(since he was ...) this many peoples grieved and mourned' (KČ S 2), bunča bädizçig tuyŷun eltäbär kälü[r]ti 'Governor Tuyŷun brought this many painters and sculptors' (KT NE), bunča bitig bitigma 'the one who has inscribed this many inscriptions' (KT SE), biltükümün ödükümün bunča bitig bitidim 'with what I know and remember, I have inscribed this many inscriptions' (KČ S 3), bunča barqıy bädizig uzuŷ 'this many constructions, pictures and sculptures, and artistical works ...' (BK SW), bunča matı bağlār 'this many faithful lords' (BK S 14), [bunč]a bodun qop itdim 'I have thoroughly organized this many peoples' (KT S 2-3), bunča aŷar törüg 'this many important rules and regulations' (BK E 2), anča tūmān 'so many thousand (lit.: 'ten thousand')' (BK N 12).

3.24. Adverbs

3.241. Adverbs of Place

The adverbs of place are formed with the following suffixes:

1°. -a/-ä (The old dative-locative suffix; see 3.2144):

A. biriyä 'hither, in the south' (<*biri <*biri 'this side'): biriyä tabŷač bodun yaŷı ärmis (KT: ärmis) 'to the south the Chinese people was (our) enemy' (BK E 12; KT E 14), biriyä čoyay yiš tögültün yazı qonayın tisär türük bodun ölsikig 'if you intend to settle at the Čoyay Mountains and on the Tögültün Plain in the south, O Turkish people, you will perish.' (KT S 6-7), [bi]riyā tabŷačda atı küsi yoq boltı 'to the south, in China, their name and fame went to ruin' (BK E 36), biriyä tabŷačıy öñrä qitanıy yiriya oŷuzuŷ üküš ök ölürti 'to the south he killed the Chinese, to the east the Qitan, and to the north the Oguz

in great numbers' (TI W 7), öñrä qitanā biriyä tabŷačda quriya quridinta yiriya oŷuzda ekı üč biŷ sūmiz kältäçimiz bar mu nā 'we probably have two or three thousand soldiers to come from the Qitan in the east, from the Chinese in the south, from the western (Turks) in the west, and from the Oguz in the north' (TI S 7), türk bodun öñrä kün toŷıqıŷa kisrä kün batsıqıŷa tägi biriyä tabŷačqa yiriya yis[qa tägi ...] 'the Turkish people (went on campaigns) eastwards up to the sunrise, westwards as far as the sunset, southwards up to China and northwards as far as the wooded mountains ...' (O F 2).

B. yiriya ~ yiriya ~ yiriyä 'thither, in the north' (<*yiri 'that side, north'): yiriya baz qaŷan toquz oŷuz bodun yaŷı ärmis 'to the north Baz Kagan and the Tokuz-Oguz people were (our) enemies' (KT E 14), yiriya tarqat buyruŷ bağlār '(you), tarkans and buyruk-beys to the north' (KT S 1), b[asa] tabŷačda yiriyä atig oŷuz ara yeti ärän yaŷı bolmis 'then to the north of China among the Atig and Oguz seven men started hostilities (against us)' (O F 5); see above.

C. quriya 'at the back, in the west' (<*quri 'back'; cf. quz 'northern slope of a mountain'): quriya kün batsıqdaŷı soŷ(u)d bärçik är buqaraq ulus bodunta änik säŷün oŷul tarqan kälti 'General Änik and Oŷul Tarkan came from the Sogdians, Persians, and the people of the city of Bukhara who live in the west, at the sunset' (KT N 12); see A.

D. üzä 'on, above' (<*üz 'upper part'; cf. Uig. üztün ~ üstün 'on, above'): üzä kök täŷri asra yaŷız yer qilintuqda ekın ara kisı oŷlı qilinmis 'when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two, human beings were created' (KT E 1), üzä türük täŷrisi türük iduŷ yiri subı anča etmis 'but, the Turkish god above and the Turkish holy earth and water (spirits) acted in the following way' (KT E 10), üzä täŷri basm[asar asra] yer tälınmäsär türük bodun iliŷin törügin kām artatı udaçi [ärt]i 'if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and institutions?' (BK E 18-19), üzä täŷri asra yer yarlıq(q)aduŷ üč[ün] ... 'since Heaven above and earth below were gracious (to me) ...' (BK N 10),

[ü]zä tǝgri iduq yer sub [äçim q] aʔan qutı taplāmadı ärinč
'the heavens above, the sacred Earth and Water, and the
soul of my uncle, the kagan, certainly did not like it' (BK
E 35); other occurrences of üzä: BK N 12, W 1, W 3; O F 3,
R 4; see Postpositions.

The suffix -qı/-ki may be added to the adverbs in -a/-ä.
The resulting form is used attributively: ötükän yerig
qonmis teyin äsidip biriyäki bodun qurıyaqı yirıyaqı öñräki
bodun kälti 'having heard the news that (the Turks) settled
themselves in the Ötükän land, (all) the peoples who were
living in the south, in the west, in the north and in the
east came (and submitted to us)' (TIS 10).

2°. -dın/-din/-dun/-dün: qurıdın [s]oʔ(u)d örti 'from
the west the Sogdians rose in revolt' (KT W 1); with the
noun yan ~ yän 'side, direction': tabʔač biridin yän tǝg
qıtañ öñdün yän tǝg bän yirıdinta yan tǝgäyın '(you), Chinese,
attack (them) from the south (lit.: 'from the southern side'),
and (you), Qıtañ, attack (them) from the east, and I shall
attack (them) from the north' (TIS 4).

The adverbs in -dın/-din are also used:

A. substantively: qurıdın-ta 'from the west' (TIS 7),
yirıdın-ta 'from the north' (TIS 4); see above.

B. attributively: öñdün qaʔanʔaru sü yorılım temis 'let
us wage war against the Eastern Kagan' (TIN 5).

See Interrogative Pronouns.

3°. -ʔaru/-gärü (The directive suffix):

A. ilgärü (generally) ~ işgärü (BK N 11) 'forward,
eastward' (<*il 'front'): ilgärü şantun yazıqa tǝgi sülädım
'I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung Plain
(KT S 3), ilgärü qadırqan yişqa tǝgi . . . qonturmıs 'they
settled (the Turkish people) eastwards up to the Qadırqan
Mountains' (KT E 2), ilgärü yaşıl ögüz şantun yazıqa tǝgi
sülädımiz 'we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green
River (= Yellow River, Hwang Ho) and the Shantung Plain'
(KT E 17), ilgärü qurıʔaru süläp ti[r]m[is] qubrat[miş]
'having gone on campaigns forward and backward, he
gathered together and collected (men)' (KT E 12); other
occurrences of ilgärü are in: KT S 2, E 8, E 28; BK E 8,
11, 15, 19, 23, 37; işgärü kün toʔsiqıña . . .] 'eastwards
up to the sunrise' (BK N 11) (see The Alternation 1 ~ 3).

B. qurıʔaru 'backward, westward' (<*qurı 'back'):
[ilgärü kün] toʔsiqıña birigärü kün ortusiʔaru qurıʔaru kün
batsıqıña yirıʔaru tün ortusiʔaru anta ičräki bodun qop
maña körrür 'eastwards to the sunrise, southwards to the
midday, westwards as far as the sunset, and northwards
to the midnight . . . all the peoples within these boundaries
are subject to me' (BK N 2), qurıʔaru yinčü ögüz káčä
tämir qapıʔqa tǝgi sülädım 'westwards I went on campaigns
up to the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River' (BK N 3)
qurıʔaru tämir qapıʔqa tǝgi sülädımiz 'westwards we went
on expeditions up to the Iron Gate' (KT E 17; BK E 15),
qurıʔaru tämir qapıʔqa tǝgi süläyü birmis '(for the benefit
of the Chinese), they went on campaigns as far as the Iron
Gate in the west' (KT E 8), qurıʔaru kǝñü tarmanqa tǝgi
türük bodunuʔ anča qonturtumız anča etdimiz 'westwards
as far as Kǝñü Tarman we thus settled and organized the
Turkish people' (KT E 21), [iduq ötükän yi]ş bodun bardıʔ
ilgärü [barıʔma] bardıʔ qurıʔaru barıʔma bardıʔ '(you,
people (of the sacred Ötükän Mountains,) went away; those
who meant to go to the east went away, and those who meant
to go to the west went away' (BK E 19-20), qurıʔaru [kün
batsıqıña . . .] 'westwards as far as the sunset' (BK N 11).

C. birigärü 'toward the south, southwards' (<*biri):
birigärü toquz ärsinkä tǝgi sülädım tüpütkä kiçig [tǝg]mädim
'southwards I went on campaigns up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I
almost reached Tibet' (KT S 3), bodunuʔ igidäyin tiyin
yirıʔaru oʔuz bodun tapa ilgärü qıtañ tatabı bodun tapa
birigärü tabʔač tapa uluʔ sü ekı yegir[mi sülädım] 'in order
to nourish the people, I, with great armies, went on campaigns
twelve times northwards against the Oguz people, eastwards
against the Qıtañ and Tatabı peoples, and southwards against
the Chinese' (KT E 28), birigärü . . . 'southwards . . .' (BK
N 11); see B.

D. yirıʔaru <*yirıʔaru 'thitherwards, northwards'
(<*yiri): yirıʔaru yir bayırqu yirıñä tǝgi sülädım 'north-
wards I went on campaigns up to the land of Yir Bayırqu'
(KT S 4); see above.

E. yoq(q)aru 'upwards' (<*yoqʔaru; Kāš. yoq 'rise, up-
grade'): yoq(q)aru at yätä yadaʔın ıʔač tutunu aʔturtum '(then)
I ordered them to ascend upwards on foot, leading the horses,
and holding on to trees' (TIN 1).

F. yüg(g) ärü 'upwards' (<*yüg; cf. Kaš. yügsä- 'to rise, go up', Turk. yüksek 'high'): olurtuquma öltäčičä saqinıyma türk bağlar bodun ägirip säbinip toñtamiş közi yüg(g) ärü körti 'when I succeeded to the throne, the Turkish lords and people who were sorrowful as if they were to die became pleased and delighted, and their down-looking eyes looked upward' (BK E 2), qañim ilteris qañanıy ögüm ilbilgä qatunuñ täñri töpüsintä tutup yüg(g) ärü kötürmiş ärinč '(the Turkish god and the holy spirits) held my father, İlteriş Kagan, and my mother, Ilbilgä Katun, at the top of heaven and raised them upwards' (KT E 11).

4°. -ra/-rā (see Directive):

A. asra 'downward, below' (<*as 'the lowest part, bottom'): üzä kök täñri asra yañız yer qılınuqda 'when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, . . . ' (KT E 1), üzä täñri basmasar asra yir tälınmäsär 'if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, . . . ' (KT E 22), üzä täñri asra yer yarlıq(q) aduq üç[ün] . . . 'since Heaven above and Earth below were gracious (to me), . . . ' (BK N 10).

B. içrä 'in, inside, inward' (<ič 'interior'): içrä ässiz taşra tonsız yabız yablaq bodunta üzä olurtum 'I became ruler over a poor and miserable people who were foodless in the inside and clothless on the outside' (KT E 26).

The word içrä is also used attributively: apa tarqanγaru içrä sab idmis '(but), he apparently sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan' (TI N 10).

The adjectival suffix -ki may be added to this word (see Word-Formation): içräki bädizči 'court painters' (lit.: 'painter being within') (KT S 12; BK N 14), anta içräki nä kişī . . . 'all the people being in it . . . ' (BK E 28).

C. taşra 'out, outside, outward' (<taš 'exterior'): taşra yoriyur tiyin kü äsidip balıqdağı tañqımis taγdağı inmis tirilip yetmis är bolmis 'having heard the news that (İlteriş) was marching off, those who were in towns went up mountains and those who were on mountains came down (from there); they thus gathered and numbered to seventy men' (KT E 11-12); see above.

D. öñrä 'forward, eastward' (<*ön 'front'): öñrä kün toγsıqda 'to the east at the sunrise . . . ' (KT E 4; BK E 5),

öñrä tölis bağlar apa tarqan başlayu ulayu šadpīt bağlar 'to the east Tölis lords: Apa Tarkan at the head, following him šadpīt lords' (BK S 13), öñrä qıtañıy ölürtäči tir män 'to the east they will kill the Qıtañ' I say' (TI S 3); see 3. 2171. 1°A.

The word öñrä may also be used attributively: öñrä türk qañanγaru sülälim 'let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks' (TI E 3); cf. öñdün qañanγaru sü yorilim 'let us wage war against the Eastern Kagan (i. e., the kagan of the Eastern Turks)' (TI N 5).

The adjectival suffix -ki may be added to this word: öñräki är 'soldiers marching in front' (TI N 1); see 3. 2171. 1°.

E. kisrä 'backward, westward' (<*kis; cf. kirü 'backward', Uig. kidin 'in back, in the west, from the west', Kaš. ki 'back'): kisrä tarduś bağlar küñ čor başlayu ulayu šadpīt bağlar 'to the west the Tardush lords: Küñ Čor at the head, following him šadpīt lords' (BK S 15); see 3. 2171. 1°A.

5°. -ru/-rū (Directive):

A. kirü ~ kerü 'backwards, westwards' (<*ki; cf. kisrä): ilgärü qadırgan yişqa tägi kirü tämir qapıγqa tägi qonturmis 'they settled (the Turkish people) eastwards up to the Qadırgan Mountains and westwards as far as the Iron Gate' (KT E 2), kerü bariyma bardı 'those who meant to back went (back)' (O R 3), anta kerü barıp yinčü ögüzüg kaçä tämir qapıγqa täzikkä tägi sü[läp . . .] 'then he went westward; crossing over the Yinčü ('Pearl') River, he led the army as far as the Iron Gate and (the land of) the Tazıks' (KČ E 4).

B. *bärü 'hitherward, toward this place' in bärüki 'being on this side': inäl qañanqa [añip] . . . täzık toqar . . . anta bärüki asuq baslıγ soγdaγ bodun qop kälti yūkünti 'having feared, . . . the Tazıks, Tokharians, . . . and the Sogdian people under Asuk (? Asok), which are on this side (of the others), all came and submitted to Inäl Kagan' (TII S 1-2).

6°. -da/-dä (The locative- ablative suffix):

A. bunta 'here, in this place' (see Demonstrative Pronouns): qañan at bunta biz birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan' (KT E 20), türk [bodun ti] rip

il tutsiqiñin bunta urtum yañilip olsikiñin yamā bunta urtum
O Turkish people, how you should live and dominate (other
tribes), this I have recorded here; and how you would (other-
wise) perish by being unfaithful (to your kagan), this, too, I
have recorded here' (KT S 10-11).

B. anta 'there, in that place' (see Demonstrative Pro-
nouns): anta añiγ kisī anča boşyurur ärmis 'there the ill-
willed persons apparently made harmful suggestions as
follows' (KT S 7), ol süg anta yoq qışdımız 'there we de-
stroyed that army' (KT E 32), qaγanñin anta ölürtümüz ilin
altımız 'there we killed their kagan and took their realm'
(KT E 38), üküş öltäçi anta tirilti 'many people who were
going to be killed there came to life (again)' (BK E 31),
bäniñ bodunum anta ärür 'my people will be there' (TI E
4), alpī ärdämī anta kükädi 'his heroism and manly qual-
ities gained much fame there' (KČ W 4), etc.

Other adverbs of place are: tägrä 'around' (<*tägir-
'to surround'): yañımız tägrä uçq tag arti 'our enemies
were all around us like peaks' (?) (TI S 1); qanī 'where?',
qantın 'from where?': see Interrogative Pronouns.

3.242. Adverbs of Time

1°. The suffix -tüz. This adverbial suffix occurs only
in küntüz 'during the day, by day' (<kün 'day'; cf. Mong.
dative-locative suffix -dur/-dür; also cf. Uig. -dürī in
öñdürī 'in the east' <ön 'front, fore'): türük bodun üčün
tün uđımadım күntüz olurmadım 'for the sake of the Turk-
ish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not relax by
day' (BK E 22), ol sabiγ äsidip tün uđısiqim kälmađi күn-
tüz olursiqim kälmađi 'after I heard these words, I had no
wish to rest by day' (TI S 5), tün uđımatı күntüz olurmatı
... isig küčüg birtim ök 'without sleeping by night or get-
ting rest by day, ... I have given my services (to my
kagans and my people)' (TII E 1-2).

2°. -n (The suffix of the instrumental case): qışın
'in winter', yazın 'in spring', yañın 'in summer', küzün
'in fall': see Instrumental.

3°. Other adverbs of time are amtī 'now', bängü 'for-
ever': ilim amtī qanī 'where is our (lit.: 'my') state now?'
(KT E 9), ol amtī añiγ yoq 'they are not rebellious

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

3.243. Adverbs of Manner

The adverbs of manner are formed with the following
suffixes:

1°. -ti/-ti, -di/-di: ädgüti 'well' (<ädgü 'good'),
qatiγdi ~ qatiγdi 'hard, firmly' (<*qatiγ 'hard, firm'),
yegdi 'better' (<yeg 'better'), yaraqliγdi 'equipped with
weapons' (<yaraqliγ 'armed, having weapons'): bu sabimin
ädgüti äsid qatiγdi tiñla 'hear these words of mine well,
and listen to them carefully!' (KT S 2), yälmä qarγu ädgüti
urγil 'place the vanguard and patrols properly' (TI N 10),
qatiγdi sağıntım 'I mourned deeply' (KT N 11), [ilig] törüg
yegdi qazγantım 'I arranged and organized (the state) and
institutions better' (BK E 36), iγar oγlanñızda tayγunñızda
yegdi igidür ärtigiz 'you used to nourish (the people) better
than your beloved children and descendants' (KT SE), oñ
tutuq yurčın yaraqliγ äligin tutdı yaraqliγdi qaγanqa ančuladı
'(Prince Kül) took Governor Oñ's brother-in-law prisoner
while he (i.e., the prisoner) had weapons in his hands and
presented him to the kagan in (this) armed manner' (KT E 32).

2°. -ča/-čä (The equative suffix): anča 'in that manner,
so, as follows' (see Demonstrative Pronouns): iraq bodunuγ
anča yaγutır ärmis '(the Chinese) are said to have caused
remote peoples to come close in this manner' (KT S 5), özī
anča kargäk bolmis 'they thus passed away (lit.: 'became
lacking')' (KT E 3), bän anča ter män 'I say as follows'
(TII W 2), etc. See Verbal Nouns.

3°. -n (The instrumental suffix): [yir sayu] barmiş
bodun ölü yitü yadaγın yalıñın yana kälti '(when I succeeded
to the throne), the people who had gone in (almost) all
directions, came back utterly exhausted, without horses
and without clothes' (KT E 28), türükümä bodunuma [y]egin
anča qazγanu birtim 'for the benefit of my Turks and my
people I have thus won victories in the best way' (BK S 10);
see Instrumental (3. 2148).

The adverbs of degree or extent are qop 'all, entirely', qopin ~ qopin id., tükäti 'completely, entirely', bunča 'this much, this many', anča 'such, such a', nänčä 'so many, so much', bınsız ~ bınsız 'abundantly, in abundance', qalınsız 'completely, wholly', kärgäksiz 'in abundance', sansız 'innumerably', üküş ~ üküş 'many, exceedingly', antaγ 'that much, so', ärtinü 'very, much', taqı 'more', idi 'never, by no means', kiçig 'little, less, least', nän 'any'.

1°. qop 'all, completely' (<*qo- 'to leave, let remain' + -p; see Deverbal Nouns, 25°): tört buluq qop yaγı ärmis sü süläpän tört buluqdağı bodunuγ qop almis qop bāz qılmsı '(the peoples being in) the four quarters of (the world) were all hostile to them. Having marched with the armies, they conquered all the peoples in the four quarters of the world and subjugated all of them' (KT E 2), qara türgis bodun qop içikdi 'the common Türgis people all submitted to (us)' (KT E 38), ärin qop ölmürmis 'he killed all of their men' (KT N 1), kisı oγlı qop ölgäli törümis 'human beings have all been created in order to die' (KT N 10), kül tigin yoq ärsär qop öltäçi ärtigiz 'if Prince Kül had never existed, you all would have been killed' (KT N 10), etc.

2°. qopin ~ qopin: See Instrumental (3.2148.3°).

3°. tükäti 'completely' (<tükät- 'to bring to an end' + -i; see Gerunds): sabımın түkäti äsidgil 'hear my words completely!' (KT S 1), sabımın түkäti äsid id. (BK N 1).

4°. bunča: bunča qazγanıp [qaγım qaγan i] t yıl onunc ay altı otuzqa uça bardı 'after he had won so many victories, (my father, the kagan,) passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the tenth month of the Dog Year (= 734 A. B.)' (BK S 10), [tab]γaçqa bunča süñsüp alpın ärdämın üçün kü bunča tutdı 'having fought this many times against the Chinese, (Küli Čor) gained this much fame by virtue of his courage and his manly qualities' (KČ W 12), mān iniligü bunča başlayu qazγanm[asar] türük bodun öltäçi ärti 'if I, together with (my) younger brother, had not led (the people) and had not gotten so many victories, the Turkish people would have been killed and perished' (BK E 33).

5°. anča: altun kümüs isgiti qutay bınsız anča birür 'they (i. e., the Chinese) give (us) gold, silver and silk abundantly' (KT S 5), anča ärig yertä bängü taş toqıtdım 'in such a frequented place I had the memorial stone (lit.: 'eternal stone') inscribed' (KT S 13).

6°. nänčä: See Interrogative Pronouns (3.2154.2°).

7°. bınsız ~ bınsız 'abundantly' (<buγ 'want, deficiency' + -sız): sarıγ altun örün kümüs qız qoduz ägri täbi aγı bınsız kälürti 'they brought (home) the yellow gold, and the white silver, girls and maidens, hunchbacked camels and silk clothes in great abundance' (TII S 4); see above.

8°. qalınsız 'completely, all' (<*qalı 'rest, remainder' + -sız): on oq bodunı qalınsız tasıqdı 'the army of the On-Ok has marched off, all to a man' (TI N 9), on oq bodunı qalınsız tasıqmıs 'the On-Ok people have marched off to a man' (TI N 6), äbın barımın qalınsız qop kälürti 'he brought their properties and belongings without leaving anything behind' (KT N 1).

9°. kärgäksiz 'in abundance' (<kärgäk 'lacking, want' + -sız): bir tümän aγı altun kümüş kärgäksiz kälürti 'he brought an immeasurable quantity of cloths, gold and silver in abundance' (KT N 12), altun kümüs kärgäksiz kälürti 'they brought gold and silver in abundance' (BK S 11).

10°. sansız 'innumerably' (<*sān 'number' + -sız): ädgü özlük atın qara kisın kök täyänin sansız kälürüp qop qot(t)i 'they brought their good saddle-horses, their black sables and blue squirrels in an uncountable number and left them all' (BK S 12).

11°. üküş ~ üküş: See Indefinite Numerals (3.2165.3°).

12°. antaγ: antaγ küldg qaγan ärmis 'so famous kagans were they' (KT E 4); see Postpositions.

13°. ärtinü 'very, much' (<*ärtin- 'to exceed, pass the limit' + -gü): tür[gis qaγan] qızın ärtirü uluγ törün oγluma alı birtim 'with a very great wedding ceremony, I took the daughter of the Türgis kagan as a wife for my son' (BK N 10), ärtinü (uluγ) törün 'with a very great ceremony' (BK N 9), bunča matı bağlär qaγım qaγanqa ärtinü ärtinü ti maγ i[tdi] 'this many faithful lords magnified and glorified my father, the kagan, profoundly' (BK S 14-15), [t]ürük bağlärin bodunin ärtinü ti maγ itdi ögd[i] '(my father, the kagan,) profoundly glorified and praised the Turkish lords and people' (BK S 15).

14°. taqī 'more' (<*taq- 'to affix, attach'): tāqri bilgä qaγanqa [t]aqī isig kũčüg bersägim bar ärmis 'apparently I had a wish for giving my further services to the Sacred Bilgä Kagan' (O R 2).

15°. idi 'never' (with negative): ötükän yišda yig idi yoq ärmis 'I concluded:) a land better than the Ötükän Mountains does not exist at all!' (KT S 4), ekīn ara idi oqsız kök türük iti anča olurur ärmis 'between the two (boundaries) they thus ruled organizing the Kök ('Blue') Turks who had not tribal organization at all' (BK E 4), türk sir bodun yerintä idi yorımazun 'let the Turkish Sir people not make any progress at all in their land' (TIS 4), usar idi yoq qısalım 'let us exterminate (them) completely, if possible' (TIS 4), üčägün qabıšıp sülälim idi yoq qısalım 'let us, we three, ally and wage war (against the Turkish kagan), and exterminate him' (TIE 4), türük bodun tāmır qapıyqa tinsi oylı aytıyma taγqa tägmis idi yoq ärmis 'the Turkish people had never reached the Iron Gate and the mountain called Tinsi oylı ('the Son of Heaven')' (TII S 2-3), ilteris qaγan qazγanmasar yoq ärti ärsär bän özüm bilgä toñuquq qazγanmasar bän yoq ärtim ärsär qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerintä bod yāmā bodun yāmā kisī yāmā idi yoq ärtäči ärti 'if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Toñyukuk, had not won, or if I had never existed, in the land of Kagan Kagan's Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor any human beings at all' (TII N 1-2).

16°. kičig 'little, less, least': ilgärü šantun yazıqa tägi sülädim taluyqa kičig tägmädim 'I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung Plain; I almost reached the ocean' (KT S 3), birigärü toquz ärsinkä tägi sülädim tüpütkä kičig tägmädim 'I went on campaigns southwards up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet' (KT S 3).

17°. nān 'any': ötükän yir olurup arqış tirkış isar nān buγy yoq 'if you stay in the land of Ötükän and send caravans (from there), you will have no trouble at all' (KT S 8), nān yilsiy bodunqa olurmadım 'I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people at all' (KT E 36).

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

3.245. Adverbs of Comparison

The only adverb of comparison used is aγ 'most': aγ ilk toγu balıqda süñüšdümüz 'first we fought at Toγu-Balıq' (KT N 4); the word ilk 'first' may take the possessive suffix of the third person: aγ ilkī 'first of all, at first'; see Ordinal Numerals.

3.246. Adverbs of Number

The adverbs of number or words which are so used are: başlayu 'first, at first', ekinti 'secondly', yičä 'again, anew', yana id., ulayu 'first and foremost', aγ ilk ~ aγ ilkī 'first, at first': başlayu qırqız qaγanıγ balbal tikdim 'first I erected (the statue of) the Kirgiz Kagan as a balbal' (KT E 25), qaγım qaγanqa başlayu baz qaγanıγ balbal tikmis '(my uncle, the kagan,) first erected (the statue of) Baz Kagan as a balbal for my father, the kagan' (KT E 16), sabımın tükäti äsidgil ulayu ini yägünüm oylanım biriki oγušum bodunum . . . 'hear my words completely, first of all you, my younger brothers and my sons, joining you my folks and relatives' (KT S 1), äčim qaγan olurupan türük bodunuγ yičä itdi igit(t)i 'having succeeded to the throne, my uncle, the kagan, organized and nourished the Turkish people anew' (KT E 16), [äčim qaγan] olurupan türük bodunuγ yičä itdi yičä igit(t)i 'having succeeded to the throne, (my uncle, the kagan,) organized the Turkish people anew, and nourished them afresh' (BK E 14); yaγı bolup itinü yaratunu umaduγ yana ičikmiš (KT: ičikmis) 'they became hostile (to the Chinese emperor), but they could not form and organize themselves (i. e., the state) well, and therefore they again submitted to (the Chinese)' (BK E 9; KT E 10), qañın qodup tabγačqa yana ičikdi 'they abandoned their khan

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

For ekinti, üçünç 'thirdly', and others see Ordinal Numerals.

3.247. Adverbs of Affirmation

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

3.248. The Interrogative Adverb

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

3.25. Postpositions

The postpositions are: ara, aşa, aşru, birlä, in'aru, käčä, kisrä, qodı, ötrü, sayu, tapa, täg, üçün, üzä. Most of these are of verbal origin. They govern various cases.

3.251. Postpositions governing the nominative

1°. ara 'between, among' (cf. IB āra id. <*ār- 'to go through, pass through, traverse, cross'; cf. Uig. ar- id., Kāš, ar'ula - 'to pass through, break through', Uig. arquru 'transversal, widthwise'): üzä kök täñri asra ya'yiz yer qilintuqda ekın ara kisı oylı qılınmis 'when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two, human beings were created' (KT E 1), ekın ara idi oqsız kök türük iti anča olurur ārmis 'between the two (boundaries) they thus ruled organizing the Kök

('Blue') Turks who had no tribal organization at all' (BK E 14), bu türük bodun ara yarıqlıy ya'yıy yältürmädim 'I have not let any armored enemy ride among this Turkish people' (TII E 4), ekın ara atig ya'yı bolmis 'meanwhile, the Atig started hostilities' (O R 2), atig o'uz ara yeti ārān ya'yı bolmis 'among the Atig and Oguz seven men started hostilities (against us)' (O F 5).

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

3°. aşru 'through' (<*āšur- 'to pass over, go beyond'): ekı ārig ud aşru sančdı '(Prince Kül) stabbed two soldiers through the thighs' (KT E 36, N 2).

4°. birlä 'with, in the company of' (<*bīril- 'to join'): al-ti otuz yaşıma čik bodun qırqız birlä ya'yı boltı 'at my age of twenty-six, the Čik people, together with the Kirgiz, started hostilities (against us)' (BK E 26), inim kül tigin birlä sözläşdimiz 'I and Prince Kül, my younger brother, consulted together' (KT E 26), o[γuz] bodun toquz tatar birlä tirilip kälti 'the Oguz people came being gathered together with the Tokuz-Tatar' (BK E 34), bilgä toñuquq boyla ba'ya tarqan birlä ilteris qayan boluyin ... 'having become kagan in the company of Bilgä Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan, Ilteriš ...' (TI W 6-7), āčim qayan birlä ilgärü yaşıł ögüz šantun yazıqa tägi sülädimiz 'together with my uncle, the kagan, we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River and the Shantung Plain' (KT E 17), etc.

The postposition birlä governs the accusative case of the possessive stems having the third person possessive suffix: qayanın birlä soğa yişda süğüşdümüz 'we fought against their kagan at the Soğa Mountains' (KT E 35), qayanın birlä 'against their kagan' (BK E 27).

5°. qodı 'down, down along' (<*qod- 'to put down'): sälāñā qodı yorıpan 'having marched down along Selenga, ...' (BK E 37), ol sub qodı bardımiz 'we went down along that river' (TI N 3).

6°. käčä 'beyond, across' (<*käč- 'to cross over, pass over'): kām käčä čik tapa sülädim 'I went on a campaign against the Čik beyond the Kem (River)' (BK E 26), aq

tärmil kăčă oγurqalatdım 'I let (the soldiers) warm their backs beyond Ak-Tärmil' (TI N 1), qurıyaru yinčü ögüz kăčă tāmır qapıyqa tăgi sülädım 'westwards I went on campaigns up to the Iron Gate beyond the Yinčü ('Pearl') River' (BK N 3).

7°. sayu 'every' (<*sā- 'to count'): igidmiš qaγanıñın sabın almatın yir sayu bardıy 'you went in (almost) all directions without asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished (you)' (KT S 9), anta qalmişi yir sayu qop toru ölü yorıyur ärtig '(of you), those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions' (KT S 9), yir sayu barmiš bo[dun yadaγın yañın] ölü yitü [yana] kälti 'the people who had gone in (almost) all directions came back utterly exhausted, without horses and without clothes' (BK E 22-23).

8°. tapa 'toward, in the direction of' (<*tap- 'to look for, seek, find'): bodunuγ igidäyın tiyin yirıyaru oγuz bodun tapa ilgärü qıtañ tatañ bodun tapa birigärü tabyač tapa uluγ sü ekı yegir[mi sülädım] 'in order to nourish the people, I, with great armies, went on campaigns twelve times, northwards against the Oguz people, eastwards against the Qıtañ and Tatañ peoples, and southwards against the Chinese' (KT E 28), yazıña oγuz tapa sülädım 'in the spring, I went on a campaign against the Oguz' (BK E 31-32), ekı otuz yaşıma tabyač tapa sülädım 'at my age of twenty-two I went on a campaign against the Chinese' (BK E 25-26), etc.

9°. täg 'like': qañım qaγan süsı böri tæg ärmis yaγıñı qon tæg ärmis 'the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves, and his enemies were like sheep' (KT E 12), tägrı tæg tägrıdä bolmiš türük bilgä qaγan '(I,) the Heaven-like and Heaven-born Bilgä ('Wise') Kagan of Turks' (KT S 1; BK N 1), tägrı tæg tägrı yaratmiš türük bilgä qaγan sabım '(I,) the Heaven-like and Heaven-born (lit.: 'created by Heaven') Turkish Bilgä Kagan, these are my words' (BK E 1), yaγımız tägrä uçıq tæg ärti 'our enemies were all around like peaks' (?) (TI S 1), umay tæg ögüm qatun quñıña 'by the good luck of my Umay-like mother, the katon' (KT E 31), ab ablasar äräñm älä tæg ärti 'in hunting he resembled a huge hawk' (KČ W 9), öz içi tasın tutmis

tæg biz 'it seems as if we are holding the exterior with our own interior (i. e., with our own forces)' (TI S 6), körür közüm körmäz tæg bilır biligim bilmäz tæg boltı 'my eyes which have always seen became as if they were blind, and my mind which has always been conscious became as if it were unconscious' (KT N 10).

The postposition tæg governs the accusative case of the possessive stems and pronouns: anta kisrä inisı äcisın tæg qılınmaduq ärinč oylı qañın tæg qılınmaduq ärinč 'then the younger brothers apparently did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons did not resemble their fathers' (KT E 5); antaγ ~ antäg (<*anı tæg 'similar to that, like that'): körüg sabı antaγ 'the words of the scout were as follows' (TI S 2), tılıy kälürti sabı antaγ 'they brought a man (from the enemy); his words were as follows' (TII W 1), türgis qaγanta körüg kälti sabı antäg '(meanwhile) a scout came from the Türgis kagan; his words were as follows' (TI N 5), antaγ ödkä ökünüp 'having been discouraged under such circumstances' (KT E 40); substantively: antaγıñın üçün 'on account of your being so' (KT S 8; BK N 6); büntägi 'such one as this' (TII E 7).

10°. üçün 'for, because of, on account of, by virtue of, for the sake of': türük bodun üçün tün udımadım küntüz olımadım 'for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not relax by day' (KT E 27).

The postposition üçün governs the accusative case of the pronouns and possessive stems: anı üçün ilig anča tutmis ärinč 'for that reason they kept the state under control in that way' (KT E 3), bes balıq anı üçün ozdı 'it is why Bishbalık escaped (from being destroyed)' (BK E 28), antaγıñın üçün igidmiš qaγanıñın sabın almatın yir sayu bardıy 'on account of your being so, you went in (almost) all directions without asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished (you)' (KT S 8-9), kürägüñın üçün 'because of your unruliness' (KT E 23; BK E 19), ol bilmädüküñın üçün yablaqıñın üçün äcim qaγan uça bardı 'because of your unawareness and because of your mischievousness, my uncle, the kagan, met his death' (BK E 20), tabyač bodun täbligın kürlüg (for kürlügın) üçün 'since the Chinese people were deceitful and tricky' (KT E 6), tägrı yir bulyaqın üçün yaγı

boltı 'since Heaven and Earth were in disorder, they revolted against us' (KT N 4), ilteris qaγan bilgäsın üçün alpın üçün tabγačqa yeti yegirmi süpüsdı qıtaŋqa yeti süpüsdı oγuzqa bes süpüsdı 'by virtue of his being wise and brave, Ilteriš Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese, seven times against the Qıtaŋ and five times against the Oguz' (TII S 4-5), alpın ärdämın üçün kü bunča tutdı 'he gained this much fame virtue of his courage and his manly qualities' (KČ W 12), [bi]lgäsın üçün alpın ärdämın [üčü]n 'by virtue of his wiseness, his courage and manly qualities . . . ' (KČ W 7); täpři yarlıq(q) aduqın üçün . . . qaγan olurtum 'by the grace of Heaven, . . . I succeeded to the throne' (KT S 9), bilmädükın üçün biziŋa yaŋıltuqın yazıntuqın üçün qaγanı ölti 'on account of their foolishness and their being traitorous to us, their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), inilı äçilı kipsürtükın üçün bağlı bodunlıγ yonşurtuqın üçün 'since (the Chinese people) created a rift between younger and elder brothers, and caused lords and peoples to slander one another' (KT E 6), qazγantuqın üçün 'since he won (lit.: 'because of his having won')' (TII E 5), tägdükın üçün 'since they attacked (us)' (O R 2).

The word üčün is also used as a conjunction. See Conjunctions.

11°. üzä 'over, above' (see Adverbs of Place, 1°. D): tört yegirmi yašımqa tarduš bodun üzä šad olurtum 'at my age of fourteen I became šad over the Tardush people' (BK E 15), toquz oγuz bodun üzä qaγan olurtı 'over the Tokuz-Oguz people a kagan has set himself (as ruler)' (TI S 2), altun yis üzä qabısalım 'let us come together at the Altun ('Gold') Mountains' (TI E 3), at üzä bintürä qarıγ sökdüm 'having ordered them to mount (their) horses, I made a way for us through the snow' (TI N 1).

This postposition also governs the locative-ablative case. See below.

3.252. Postpositions governing the dative-locative

The only postposition which governs the dative-locative case is tägi 'up to' (< täg- 'to touch, reach, arrive'): ilgärü qadırgan yišqa tägi kirü tämir qapıγqa tägi qonturmıš 'they

settled (the Turkish people) eastwards up to the Qadırgan Mountains and westwards as far as the Iron Gate' (KT E 2), ilgärü šantuγ yazıqa tägi sülädım 'eastwards I went on campaigns up to the Shantung Plain' (KT S 3), bunča yirkä tägi yorıtdım 'I have led the armies up to all these places' (KT S 4), täzikkä tägi 'up to the Täziks' (KČ E 4), kisrä kün batsıqıŋa tägi 'westwards as far as the sunset' (O F 2), ilgärü yašıl ögüz šantuγ yazıqa tägi sülädımiz qurıγaru tämir qapıγqa tägi sülädımiz 'we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green River and the Shantung Plain, and westwards as far as the Iron Gate' (KT E 17), etc.

3.253. Postpositions governing the locative-ablative

1°. ötrü 'after' (< *ötür- 'to make pass, let pass'): anta ötrü qaγanıma ötüntüm 'after that, I made my representations to my kagan' (TI S 5), anta ötrü oγuz qopin kälti 'then the Oguz came all together' (TI S 9).

2°. kisrä 'after' (see Adverbs of Place, 4°. E): yaγuru qontuqda kisrä anıγ bilig anta öyür ärmis 'after (such a people) settled close to them, (the Chinese) are said to plan (their) ill will there' (KT S 5), ol qan yōq boltuqda kisrä el yitmis ičγinmis 'after that khan had died, the empire apparently went to ruin, collapsed and . . . ' (O F 1), anta kisrä 'after that' (KT E 4, 5, 29, 34, 39; BK E 23, N 14; TI W 6).

3°. üzä 'over; in accordance with' (see above): kisı oγlınța üzä äčüm apām bumın qaγan istämi qaγan olurmıš 'over the human beings, my ancestors Bumın Kagan and İstämi Kagan became rulers' (KT E 1), [nāγ y]ilsıγ bodunta üzä olurmadım 'I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people' (BK E 21), ičrä ašsız tašra tonsız yabız yablaq bodunta üzä olurtum 'I became ruler over a poor and miserable people who were foodless in the inside and clothless on the outside' (KT E 26), ol törüdä üzä äçim qaγan olurtı 'in accordance with that rule, my uncle succeeded to the throne' (KT E 16; BK E 14).

4°. ınγaru 'forward, further on' (cf. Uig. ınaru id.): türük bodun anta ınγaru yoq boltı 'the Turkish people were extinguished from that (time) on' (MČ N 10).

3.254. Postpositional Nouns

The noun yan 'side, direction' also serves as a postposition. When used postpositionally, the word yan is an enclitic; that is, it forms a phonetic unit with the accented word preceding it.

1°. With the nominative of nouns: qaŋim ... täprikän yän anta yorimis 'my father ... (then) marched there, in the direction of Tāprikän' (O F 5).

2°. With the ablative of nouns: tabγač biridin yän tæg qitañ öndün yän tæg bän yiridinta yan tægäyīn '(you), Chinese, attack (them) from the south (lit.: 'from the direction of the south'), and (you), Qitañ, attack (them) from the east; I shall attack from the north' (T I S 4), qanta yan sabiγ yana kälti 'from the Khan (lit.: 'from the side of the khan') a message came back' (T I N 9).

3.26. Conjunctions

3.261. Co-ordinate Conjunctions

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

1°. azu 'or' (= Tuv. azī id. < az 'to go astray', IB, Kāš. āz-id., Yak. ās-id.): azu bu sabimda igid bar γu '(I made the poor people wealthy and the few people numerous;) or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?' (KT S 10).

2°. artuqī 'plus, and more' (< artuq 'more, excess' + the 3rd person possessive suffix -ī): bunča barqīγ bādizig uzuγ ... [bilgā q]aγan atisī yol(l)uγ tigin mǎn ay artuqī tört kün [olu]rup bitīdim bādiztim 'all these constructions, statues and pictures, and artistical works ... I, Prince Yolluγ, Bilgā Kagan's nephew, inscribed and decorated, sitting down thirty-four days (lit.: 'a month plus four days')' (BK SW), otuz artuqī bir 'thirty-one' (lit.: 'thirty plus one') (BK S 9); see Cardinal Numerals (3.2161).

3°. biriki 'and' (lit.: 'joining') (< birik 'to join, put together'): sabimn tükāti āsidgil ulayu ini yägünüm oγlanīm biriki oγušum bodunum 'hear my words from the beginning to the end, first of all (you), my younger brothers and my children, and my folks and relatives, ...' (KT S 1).

4°. taqī 'and' in the compound anča-taqī ('moreover'): tu[nt] (?) el ārsār anča-taqī ārig yertā irsār anča ārig yertā bāngū taš toqītdīm bitīd(d) im 'since this is a central (?) place, and since it is situated in a much frequented territory, in such a frequented place I had the memorial stone inscribed and written' (KT S 13); see Adverbs of Degree, 14°.

5°. udu 'and' (lit.: 'following') (< ud 'to follow'): ilteris qaγan qazγanmasar udu bän özüm qazγanmasar ... 'if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won, ...' (T II E 5), qazγantuqīn ücün udu özüm qazγantuqum ücün il yāmā il boltī bodun yāmā bodun boltī 'since he won, and since (I) myself won, both the state has become a state, and the people a people' (T II E 5-6).

6°. ulayu 'and' (lit.: 'connecting') (< ula 'to unite, join, connect'): ögüm qatun ulayu öglārim ākālārim kālījünüm qunčuylarīm 'my mother, the katon, and my stepmothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses ...' (KT N 9), ekī šad ulayu ini yägünüm oγlanīm bāglārim bodunum közī qašī yablaq boltači tip sa-qīntīm 'I worried that the eyes and eyebrows of the two šads and of my younger brothers, my sons, my lords and my people could have been ruined (by weeping)' (KT N 11), tonyuquq boyla baγa tarqan ulayu buyruq ... 'Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan and (other) high officials ...' (BK S 14), čor tigin kālīp ulayu tört tigin kālīp ... 'Prince Čor came and four (other) princes came ...' (KČ E 12).

After a gerundial phrase terminated by bašlayu 'leading, being at the head': kisrā tarduš bāglār kül čor bašlayu ulayu šadpīt bāglār öñrā tōlis bāglār apa tarqan bašlayu ulayu šad[pīt] bāglār 'to the west the Tardush lords, Kül Čor at the head, following him šadpīt lords; to the east the Tōlis lords, Apa Tarkan at the head, following him šadpīt lords ...' (BK S 13), sābig kül irkin bašlayu ulayu buyruq 'Sābig Kül Irkin at the head, following him (other) high officials ...' (BK S 14); see Adverbs of Number (3.2176).

7°. yämä 'and, also, too' (<*yäm- 'to add, attach'; cf. Mong. neme- id.; see Poppe, Verg., p. 38):

A. Alone: bilgä qaγan ärmis alp qaγan ärmis buyruqī yämä bilgä ärmis ärinč alp ärmis ärinč 'wise kagans were they, brave kagans were they; their officials, too, were wise and brave' (KT E 3), qaγanī ölti buyruqī bağlārī yämä ölti 'their kagan was killed; their officials and lords were also killed' (KT E 19; BK E 16), il tutsiqiqin bunta urtum yañlip ölsikiqin yämä bunta urtum 'I have recorded here: how you should dominate (other) tribes; and I have also recorded here: how you would (otherwise) perish by being unfaithful (to your kagan)' (KT S 10-11), on oq süsün sülätdim biz yämä sülädimiz 'I ordered the On-Ok ('Ten-Arrows') army to march off. We, too, marched off' (TII W 8-9), ögüzkä tösdi yañduq yolta yämä ölti kök 'they were poured into the river. Those who were put to rout were also killed on the way (while they were trying to escape)' (TI S 9), isig küčüg bertim ök uzun yälmäg yämä it(t)im oq 'I have given my services (to my kagans and my people). I have also sent them forward on far expeditions' (TII E 2).

B. Repeatedly: . . . yämä . . . yämä 'both . . . and . . .': bağlārī yämä bodunī yämä tüz ärmis 'both the lords and peoples were peaceable' (KT E 3), kün yämä tün yämä yälü bardimiz 'we went on riding at a gallop by day and by night' (TI N 3), anta ayıuçi[sī] yämä bän ök ärtim yaγ[ičisī] yämä bän ök ärtim 'there it was I who was his counselor, and it was I who was his wartime leader' (TII S 5-6), il yämä bodun yämä yoq ärtäči ärti '(if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won,) there would have been neither the state nor the people' (TII E 4-5), qazγantuqin üçün udu özüm qazγantuqum üçün il yämä il bolti bodun yämä bodun bolti 'since he won, and since (I) myself won, both the state has become a state, and the people a people' (TII E 6), [türk bodun yämä] bulγanč [o]l [tem]is oγuzi yämä tarqinč ol temis '(both the Turkish people) is in disorder and the Oguz, their subjects, are displeased with (them)' (TI E 5), ol sabın äsidip tün yämä udišiqim kalmaz ärti [kün yämä] olursiqim kalmaz ärti 'after I had heard these words, I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest (by day)' (TI E 5).

C. The conjunction yämä may be repeated three times: qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerintä bod yämä bodun yämä kisī yämä idi yoq ärtäči ärti '(if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk had not won, or if I had never existed,) in the land of Kapgan Kagan's Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings at all' (TII N 2).

3.262. Subordinate Conjunctions

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

1°. üčün 'since, as, because' (see Postpositions, 10°) connects a predicative construction, which substitutes for a subordinate clause, to another clause, on which it depends: qutum bar üčün ülügüm bar üčün öltäči bodunuγ turgürü igit(t)im 'since I had (lit.: 'have') fortune and since I had good luck, I brought the people to life who were going to perish, and nourished them' (KT E 29), qutum ülügüm bar üčün 'since I had fortune and good luck, . . .' (BK E 23), bağlārī bodunī tüzsiz üçün . . . türük bodun illädük ilin ičyinu idmiš qaγanladuq qaγanin yitürü idmiš 'since the lords and tribes were not peaceful, . . . the Turkish people caused the state which they had established to go to ruin, and let their kagan whom they had crowned collapse' (BK E 6-7), män özüm qaγan olurtuqum üçün türük bodunuγ . . . qılmađim 'since I myself succeeded to the throne, I did not make the Turkish people. . .' (BK E 36), täpři yarlıq(q)aduq üçün män qazγantuq üçün türük bodun qazγ[anmiš äri]nč 'since Heaven was gracious and since I (myself) got victories, the Turkish people got victories' (BK E 33), etc.

2°. teyin ~ tiyin 'because; in order to, for the purpose of' (lit.: 'saying') connects a clause of cause or purpose to a main clause: arqış idmaz tiyin sülädim 'I went on a campaign (against them) because they did not send caravans (with tribute)' (BK E 25), soγdaq bodun itäyin tiyin yinčü ögüzüg kaçä tämir qapiγqa tägi sülädimiz 'in order to organize the Sogdian people we went on a campaign as far as the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River' (KT E 39), bodunuγ

igidäyīn tiyin ... uluγ sū ekī yegir[mi sūlādim] 'in order to nourish the people, I went on campaigns twelve times with great armies' (KT E 28), etc.

3°. tip 'in order to, with the intention of' (lit.: 'saying'): anīanītayīntip sūlādim 'in order to frighten them (lit.: 'him') I started a campaign (against them)' (BK E 41).

3.27. Particles

3.271. The Particle oq/ök

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

1°. a pronoun: anta ay'yučī[sī] yāmā bān ök ārtim yaγ[īčīsī] yāmā bān ök ārtim 'there it was I who was his counselor, and it was I who was his wartime leader' (TII S 5-6), bilgāsī čabīsī bān ök ārtim 'it was I who was his counselor and his aide-de-camp' (TI W 7), ol oq tūn bodunīn sayu it(t)imīz 'that very night we sent a message to their peoples' (TII W 7), anta kisrā tāγri bilig bertük üčün özüüm ök qaγan qīsdīm 'then, since Heaven granted (me) insight, I myself made (him) kagan' (TI W 6).

2°. an adverb: biriγā tabγačīγ öγrā qītanīγ yīriya oγuzuγ üküš ök ölürti 'the Qitan to the east he killed in great numbers, the Chinese to the south, and the Oguz to the north' (TI W 7).

3°. a finite verb: tūn uđimatī küntüz olurmatī qizil qanīm tōküti qara tārim yūgūrti isig küčüg bertim ök 'without getting sleep by night or rest by day, and shedding my red blood and sweating my black sweat, I have given my services (to my kagan and people)' (TII E 1-2), uzun yālmāg yāmā it(t)im oq arquy qar'yuγ ul'artdīm oq 'I have sent the army forth on far campaigns; I have increased the fortifications and watch-towers' (TII E 2-3).

3.272. The Particle kök

The particle kök occurs after finite verbs and denotes that the action has been or will definitely be performed: ol bizni ... qačan (n) aṅ ārsār ölürtäči kök '(the kagan of the

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

3.273. The Particle ärinč

This particle expresses a strong probability and is translated as 'apparently, certainly, indeed'. It generally occurs with the past tense suffix -miš ~ -mis. It rarely occurs with the past tense suffixes -dī and -duq. The particle ärinč also occurs with the nominal predicate.

1°. With the past tense in -miš ~ -mis: buyruqī yāmā bilgā ārmis ärinč alp ārmis ärinč 'their officials, too, were apparently wise and brave' (KT E 3), anta kisrā inisī qaγan bolmis ärinč oγlitī qaγan bolmis ärinč 'then, certainly the younger brothers became kagans, and the sons became kagans' (KT E 4-5), biligsiz qaγan olurmis ärinč yablaq qaγan olurmis ärinč '(therefore,) apparently unwise kagans succeeded to the throne, and bad kagans succeeded to the throne' (KT E 5), buyruqī yāmā biligsiz [ārmis] ärinč yablaq ārmis ärinč 'apparently their officials, too, were unwise and bad' (KT E 5), tāγri bilgā qaγanqa [t]aqī isig küčüg bersāgim bar ārmis ärinč 'apparently I had a wish for giving my services to the sacred Bilgā Kagan' (O R 2), ičikdük üčün tāγri ölütmis ärinč 'as a punishment for this submission Heaven apparently caused them to be killed' (TI W 3), etc.

2°. With the past tense in -dī: [özümīn ol tāγri] qaγan olurtdī ärinč '(in order that the name and fame of the Turkish people would not perish,) apparently that Heaven enthroned me' (KT E 26), üzä tāγri iduq yer sub [äčim q] aγan qutī taplāmadī ärinč 'Heaven above, the sacred Earth and Water (below), and the soul of my uncle, the kagan, apparently did not like it' (BK E 35), yüg(g) ärü kötürti ärinč 'they raised (my father and mother) upwards' (BK E 10), tāγri umay iduq yer sub basa berti ärinč 'Heaven, Umay, and the sacred Earth and Water apparently favored us' (TII W 3).

3°. With the past tense in -duq: anta kisrā inisī āčisīn tǎg qilinmaduq ārinč oγlī qaγīn tǎg qilinmaduq ārinč 'afterwards, the younger brothers apparently did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons apparently did not resemble their fathers' (KT E 5).

4°. With nominal predicate: barduq yirdǎ ādgūg ol ārinč 'in the lands to which you went, this was your (only) benefit.' (KT E 24; BK E 20).

3.274. The Particle γu/gū

This is an interrogative particle: azu bu sabīmda igid bar γu 'or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?' (KT S 10), bōdkǎ kōrūgmǎ bāglār gū yaγiltači siz 'you lords, you who have so far been obedient to the throne, are you going to betray?' (KT S 11).

3.275. The Particle mu/mū

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

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

3.276. The Particle a/ǎ

The particle a/ǎ is an interjection of address: bāglā-rim ǎ ter ārmis biz az biz teyin qorq[maγ] 'O my lords.' he said, 'do not fear because of our being few.' (O F 7).

3.28. Verb Inflection

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

3.281. Verbal Nouns

The verbal nouns have all characteristic of nouns. They are inflected exactly as nouns. On the other hand, they are verbal forms; they denote the process of action (action

nouns), or the actor (agent nouns). Most of the verbal nouns are also used as attributes (participles). Some of them can serve as predicates of completed sentences.

3.2811. Verbal Noun in -γu/-gū

The verbal noun in -γu/-gū functions as an action noun: arīγu 'exhaustion, fatigue': arīγu batī yeg 'to become exhausted is, of course, better' (TII W 2); kūrāgū 'unruliness': kūrāgūγin ūčūn 'on account of your being unruly' (KT E 23).

The verbal noun in -γuluq/-gūlūk (< -γu + -luq), too, functions as an action noun (cf. Khwar. -maqliq/-mäklik: Eckmann, Fund., p. 126): yuyqa qalīn bolsar toplaγuluq alp ārmis yinčgā yoγun bolsar ūzgūlūk alp ārmis 'if thin becomes thick, it is difficult to bend it, and if tender becomes hard it is difficult to break it, they say' (TIS 6-7).

The verbal noun in -γuči/-gūči (< -γu + -či) functions as an agent noun: ayγuči 'counselor, chief executive' (TIS 3, E 4, N 5, TII S 5), barq itgūči 'builder, architect' (KT N 13), bitīg taš itgūči 'tombstone maker' (KT N 13).

3.2812. Verbal Noun in -maq/-mäk

The verbal noun in -maq/-mäk (= Mong. -maγ/-meg) functions as an action noun: armaq 'the act of deceiving' in armaqči 'a deceitful person'.

The verbal noun in -maqči/-mäkči functions as an agent noun: tabγač bodun ... armaqčisīn ūčūn 'since the Chinese people were deceitful persons, ...' (KT E 6).

3.2813. Verbal Noun in -sīq/-sik

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

1°. as a noun: āčsīq 'the necessity of being hungry in the future' (KT S 8; BK N 6), tosīq 'the necessity of being satiated in the future' (KT S 8; BK N 6), tūn udīsīqīm kālmādi küntüz olursīqīm kālmādi 'I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest by day' (TIS 5), tūn yāmā udīsīqīm kālmāz ārti [kūn yāmā] olursīqīm kālmāz

arti id. (TI E 5), il tutsiqiqin bunta urtum yaqilip olsiki-
gin yamā bunta urtum 'I have recorded here: how you
should dominate (other) tribes; and I have also recorded
here: how you would (otherwise) perish by being unfaith-
ful (to your kagan)' (KT S 10-11); kūn toγsiq (KT E 4, 8;
BK E 5, 8; KT S 2) ~ kūn toγsiqi (O F 2) 'sunrise' (lit.:
'the rising of the sun'), kūn batsiq (KT N 12) ~ kūn batsiqi
(KT S 2; BK N 2; O F 2) 'sunset' (lit.: 'the going down of
the sun').

2°. as a verbal adjective: il tutsiq yir 'the territory
from which the tribes should be ruled' (KT S 4).

The verbal noun in -siq/-sik is also used predicatively
(see Finite Forms).

3.2814. The Participle in -γma/-gmā

The participle in -γma/-gmā ('one who does, one
who has done') is used as an attribute: qaqim qayanīy
ögüm qatunuγ kötürügmā (KT: kötürmiš) tāpri 'Heaven
who has raised my father, the kagan, and my mother,
the katon' (KT E 25; BK E 20-21), il birigmā tāpri
'Heaven who has granted the state' (KT E 25), bōdkā
körügmā bağlār 'the lords who are now obedient to (the
throne)' (KT S 11), öltäčičä saqiniγma türük bağlār bodun
'the Turkish lords and people who were sorrowful as if
they were to die' (BK E 2), tinsi oγli aytiγma tay 'the
mountain called Tinsi oγli ('the Son of Heaven')' (TII S 2-
3), ilgārū [bariγma] bardīy quriγaru bariγma bardīy
'those who meant to go to the east went, and those who
meant to go to the west went' (BK E 19-20), ičikigmā
ičikdi bodun bolti ölügmā ölti 'those who meant to submit
submitted (to me) and became a people, those who meant
to die died' (BK E 37), yeti yūz kisig uduzuγma uluγi sad
arti 'he who led the seven hundred men as their chief was
a šad (TI W 4-5), bādiz yaratiγma 'one who does artistical
work, painter, sculptor' (KT N 13), bu bitig bitigmā atisi
yol(l)uγ t[igin . . .] 'the one who inscribed these inscrip-
tions is his nephew, Yolluγ Tigin ('Prince Yolluγ')' (KT S 13).

The participle in -γma/-gmā does not occur in pre-
dicative function.

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

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffix as -ūr/-ür:
ba-y-ūr, ö-y-ūr, yaša-y-ūr, yorī-y-ūr; but ti-r ~ te-r,
yasa-r (cf. IB: yi-y-ūr, but ti-r). Monosyllabic stems
ending in a consonant take the suffix either as -ūr/-ür, or
as -īr/-ir, or as -ar/-ār: bar-ūr (KT N 1; BK E 29) ~
bar-īr (KT E 10), bir-ūr, ār-ūr, kir-ūr, kör-ūr, qal-ūr,
qorq-ūr; bil-īr, kāl-īr, täg-īr (IB); it-ār, tāz-ār, bat-ar
(MČ E 1). Polysyllabic stems generally take the suffix
as -ūr/-ür: bošγur-ūr, igid-ūr, qazγan-ūr, olur-ūr,
saqin-ūr; but kälür-ir (TII E 3), yaγut-ir (KT S 5; BK N 4),
tasiq-ar (MČ E 5).

This participle denotes actions which take place at
present: körür közüm körmāz tāg bilir biligim bilmāz tāg
boltī 'my seeing eyes became as if they did not see, and my
grasping mind became as if it did not grasp' (KT N 10), ārūr
barūr 'one who acts freely and independently' (see Thomsen,
Turcica, p. 62 ff.). This combination is used with the
auxiliary ärkli 'being': kül tigin yiti otuz yašīna qarluq
bodun ärür barūr ärkli yaγi bolti 'when Prince Kül was
twenty-seven years old, the Karluk people became an enemy
who began to act freely and independently' (KT N 1), otuz
artuqi bir yašima qarluq bodun bunsiz [är]ür barūr ärkli
yaγi bolti 'at my age of thirty-one, the Karluk people became
an enemy who began to act freely and fearlessly' (BK E 29);
üzä t[äqri] köbürgäsi ätärčä 'as if the bridge of Heaven
above thunders' (BK W 3-4), öqräki är yoγurča (for
*yoγururča) 'idip i bar baš asdimiz' 'having sent the van-
guard forward as if kneading (the snow), we climbed over
the wooded hill' (TI N 1-2).

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

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

3.2816. The Participle in -maz/-māz

The participle in -maz/-māz is the negative of the above-mentioned participle. It is used attributively and predicatively: bilig bilmāz kisī '(you) unwise, people' (lit.: 'people who do not know knowledge') (KT S 7), bilmāz biligin 'with ignorance' (lit.: 'with a mind which does not comprehend') (KČ S 3); see above.

For its occurrence in predicative function see Finite Forms.

3.2817. Verbal Noun in -duq/-dūk

After the sonorants l, n, and r (with the exception of bar- 'to go') the suffix occurs as -tuq/-tūk (see Dissimilation of Consonants). This verbal noun functions as follows:

1°. As an action noun: biltūkūmūn ödūkūmūn bunča bitig bitidim 'with what I know and remember, I have inscribed all these inscriptions' (KČ S 3), bilmādūkūgin üčün 'on account of your having not know' (BK E 20), qazγan-tuqūn üčün 'since he won' (lit.: 'because of his having won') (TII E 5), tāγri yarlıq(q)aduqūn üčün ... qazγan olurtum 'by the grace of Heaven, ... I succeeded to the throne' (KT S 9), bilmādūkūn üčün biziñä yañiltuqūn yazıntuqūn üčün qazγanı ölti 'on account of their foolishness and their having been traitorous to us, their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), olur-tuquma öltäçiçä säqiniγma türük bağlār bodun āgirip sābi-nip toqtamiş közi yūg(g)ārū körti 'when I succeeded to the throne, the Turkish lords and people, who were sorrowful as if they were to die, became pleased and glad, and their down-looking eyes looked upwards' (BK E 2), [qaqim] qazγan učduqda 'when my father, the kagan, passed away' (BK E 13-14), bunča isig küčüg birtūkgārū saqinmatı 'without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese)' (KT E 10), yañduq yolta yāmā ölti kök 'those who were routed and dispersed were also killed in flight' (TI S 8), etc.

2°. As a past participle: barduq yirdä ādgūg ol ārinč 'in the lands you went your (only) benefit was the following'

(KT E 24; BK E 20), türük bodun illādūk ilin ičγinu idmis qazγanladuq qazγanın yitürü idmis 'the Turkish people caused their state which they had established to go to ruin, and let their kagan whom they had crowned collapse' (KT E 6), közün körmādūk qulqaqin āsidmādūk bodunum 'my people in such numbers as have not been seen by eye and have not been heard by ear (before)' (BK N 11), sančduq yer 'the place where (we) pierced (the enemy)' (MČ W 7).

This verbal noun also functions as predicate. See Finite Forms.

3.2818. Verbal Noun in -miš ~ -mis (in MČ also -mis)

This verbal noun functions as follows:

1°. As an action noun: türük bodun tāmīr qapıγqa tinsi oγlı aytıγma taγqa tāgmis idi yoq ārmis 'the Turkish people have never (before) reached the Iron Gate and the mountain called Tinsi oγlı ('the Son of Heaven')' (TII S 2-3), türk bodun q[ilınγal]i türk qazγan olurγalı santuγ baliq(q)a taluy ögüzkä tāgmis yoq ārmis 'the Turkish people and the Turkish kagan had never reached the towns of Shantung (Plain) and the ocean since they were created and since he (i.e., the first Turkish kagan) was enthroned' (TI E 1) (lit.: 'their reaching did not exist').

2°. As a past participle: elsirāmis qazγansīramis bodun 'the people who have become stateless and rulerless' (KT E 13), yir sayu barmis bo[dun] 'the people who had gone in (almost) all directions' (BK E 22), igidmiş qazγan 'the kagan who has nourished (you)' (BK N 6), āčūmiz apāmiz tutmis yir sub 'the lands which were owned and ruled by our ancestors' (KT E 19), [qaqimiz] āčimiz qazγanmiş bodun 'the peoples who were conquered by our father and uncle' (BK E 22), anta qalmişi yir sayu qop toru ölü yorıyūr ārtig '(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions' (KT S 9), ida taşda qalmisī qubranıp yeti yüz boltı 'those who had remained in woods and wilderness came together and amounted to seven hundred' (TI W 4), yaγmisi bān ārtim 'it was I who joined him' (TI W 5), etc.

For its occurrence in predicative function see Finite Forms.

3.2819. The Participle in -dači/-dāči

The future participle in -dači/-dāči (after l, n and r: -tači/-tāči) is used attributively and predicatively (see Finite Forms): öltāči bodunuγ turgürü igit(t)im 'I brought the people to life who were going to die, and nourished (them)' (KT E 29), üküş öltāči anta tirilti 'many people who were going to die there came to life (again)' (BK E 31), ekī üč biγ sūmiz kältāčimiz bar mu nā 'we probably have two or three thousand men to come (lit.: 'our army, our ones who will come')' (TI S 7), öltāčičā 'like those who are going to die' (BK E 2).

3.28110. ärkli

The participle in -γli/-gli does not occur in the inscriptions. The suffix -γli/-gli is found only in the petrified form ärkli (<*ärgli <är-igli) 'being, that which is': yuyqa ärkli toplayalı uçuz ärmis yinčgā ärkli-g üzgāli uçuz 'that which is thin is easy to bend, they say; that which is tender is easy to break, (they say)' (TI S 6), ärür barür ärkli 'one who is free and independent' (KT N 1).

For the gerundial function of ärkli see below.

3.282. Gerunds

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

3.2821. The Gerund in -a/-ā, -i/-i, -u/-ü

With -a/-ā: aš-a (KT E 21; BK E 27) ~ as-a (TII W 2), bas-a (BK E 32; TII W 3), bintür-ā (TI N 1), āgir-ā (BK E 31; KT N 6), kāč-ā (KT E 37, etc.), oz-a (KT N 7; BK E 31), sanč-a (KČ E 7), sür-ā (KT E 23; BK E 19), tid-a (KT N 11), tik-ā (BK S 9, 11), toγ-a (KT E 35, 37; BK E 27), tut-a (KT E 1, S 8; BK E 3), uč-a (KT E 16, SE; BK

E 20, S 10), yan-a (KT E 28; TI N 9), yañ-a (KT E 23; BK E 19, 31), yāt-ā (TI N 1).

With -i/-i: artat-i (KT E 22; BK E 19), ičγin-i (O F 2) (~ičγin-u), it-i (KT E 1, etc.), töküt-i (TII E 2), ud-i (TII W 6), (~ud-u), yügürt-i (TII E 2), yüzüt-i (BK E 30).

With -u/-ü: adril-u, ay-u, bašad-u, bašla-y-u, bol-u, bulγa-y-u, buntat-u (TI E 2), ābir-ü (BK E 25; TI N 2, 4), ärt-ü (TII W 9), āsid-ü, ičγin-u (KT E 6; BK E 7) (~ičγin-i), irtür-ü, itin-ü, qazγan-u, qil-u, kör-ü, küzād-ü, opla-y-u, opul-u, öntür-ü, sa-y-u 'informing' (TII W 7), si-y-u, sülā-y-ü, topul-u, tor-u, öl-ü, tutun-u, yaγur-u, yantur-u, yaratun-u, yat-u, yäl-ü, ye-y-ü ~ yi-y-ü (TI S 1), yit-ü, yitür-ü, yoγur-u (BK SE; TI S 8), yoqad-u, yubul-u (TI N 2), tirgür-ü (KT E 29).

Function: to denote actions simultaneous with the main action, to form adverbial complements: ol yilqa türgis tapa altun yišiγ aš-a [är]tis ögüzüg káč-ā yorī[dīm] 'in that year, I marched against the Türgis, climbing over the Altun Mountains and crossing over the Irtish River' (BK E 27), altun yišiγ as-a kältimiz ärtis ögüzüg káč-ā kältimiz 'we have come (this far), by climbing over the Altun Mountains, and we have come (this far), by crossing over the Irtish River' (TII W 2), küli čor tarduš bodunuγ it-i ay-u olurti 'Küli Cor reigned organizing and ruling the Tardush people' (KČ E 2), qizil qanım töküt-i qara tärüm yügürt-i isig küčüg bertim ök 'shedding my red blood and sweating my black sweat, I have given my services (to my kagan)' (TII E 2), anta qalmišī yir sayu qop tor-u öl-ü yorīyūr ärtig '(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in all directions' (KT S 9) (lit.: 'being exhausted and dying'), inim kül tigin birlä ekī šad birlä öl-ü yit-ü qazγantim 'together with my younger brother, Prince Kül, and together with the two sads, I worked to death and I won' (KT E 27), közdä yaš kalsär tid-a kögültä siγit kalsär yantur-u saqintim 'when tears came down from the eyes, I mourned by holding them back, and when wails came out from the heart, I mourned by turning them back' (KT N 11), yoq(q)aru at yāt-ā yadaγin iγač tutun-u aγturtum '(then) I ordered them to ascend upwards on foot, pulling the horses after them, and holding on to the trees' (TI N 1), usīn buntat-u

yurtda yat-u qalur ärti '(the kagan), having not been able to sleep enough, was stuck at the campsite' (TI E 2) (buntat- 'to make insufficient'; cf. Mong. munda- 'to become insufficient'), etc.

The verbal complement of most auxiliary and descriptive verbs is a gerund in -a/-ä, -i/-i or -u/-ü: qazγan-u bir- 'to conquer for the benefit of someone else', artat-i u- 'to be able to destroy'; see Compound Verbs (3.1223).

Most of the postpositions and conjunctions are gerunds in -a/-ä, -i/-i or -u/-ü: tägi 'up to' (<täg-i 'reaching, touching'), azu 'or' (<az-u 'going astray'); see Postpositions, Conjunctions.

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

3.2822. The Gerund in -p

This gerund denotes actions which take place before the main action: toquz oγuz bodun yerin subin id-ip tabγačγaru bardı 'the Tokuz-Oguz people left their land and went toward China' (lit.: 'leaving their lands and waters, the Tokuz-Oguz people went toward China') (BK E 35), amγa qorγan qışla-p yazına oγuzγaru sü taşıqdımız 'having spent the winter at Amga-Korgan, in spring, we marched off against the Oguz' (KT N 8), süçig sabın yimşaq aγın ar-ip iraq bodunuγ anča yaγutır ärmis 'deceiving by means of their sweet words and soft materials, (the Chinese) are said to cause remote peoples to come close (to them) in this manner' (KT S 5), buğad-ip qaγan yälü kör temis 'having become utterly bored, the kagan said: 'ride fast!' (TI N 2), uruş qıl-ip tag-ip inimä oγluma anča ötlädim 'after I had fought and reached (home), I advised my younger brothers and my sons as follows' (O R 2-3), bilig bilmaz kisı ol sabıγ al-ip yaγuru bar-ip üküş kişı öltüg 'having heard these words, you unwise people went close to (the Chinese) and were (consequently) killed in great numbers' (KT S 7); aγıt-ip 'having put to flight' (KT N 7; KČ E 7), aγrı-p 'having become sick' (BK S 9), al-ip, artur-up 'having been deceived' (KT S 6; BK N 5), aş-ip (BK S 1), ayt-ip, bar-ip, bin-ip, bol-up, ägir-ip 'having surrounded' (KT N 7), ägir-ip

'having been pleased' (BK E 2), äsid-ip 'having heard', it-ip, qabis-ip (<*qabiş-), qazγan-ip, qız-ip, qobsar-ip 'having grieved' (KČ S 2), qod-up, qubran-ip, käč-ip, käl-ip, kälür-up, kir-ip, kör-up, olur-up, ökün-up, ölür-up, ötün-up, sanč-ip, säbin-ip, sülä-p, süñüs-up, (<süñüş-), täz-ip, ti-p, tiril-ip 'having come together' (KT E 12, etc.), tut-up, yaγıl-ip, yarat-ip, yañ-ip, yiγ-ip, yorı-p, yasa-p (<yaşa-) (KČ W 3).

3.2823. The Gerund in -pan/-pän

This gerund is an enlarged variety of the gerund in -p: bunča bodun käl-ipän siγtamiş yoγlamiş 'this many peoples came and mourned and lamented' (BK E 5), olur-upan 'having succeeded to the throne' (KT E 1; BK E 3), sü sülä-pän tört bulundaqı bodunuγ qop almis qop baz qılmis 'having marched with the armies, they conquered all the peoples in the four quarters (of the world) and subjugated all of them' (KT E 2), yaraqliγ qantın kälip yaña eltdi süñüglüg qantın käl-ipän sürä eltdi 'from where did the armed come and put you to flight? from where did the lancer come and drive you away?' (KT E 23), süñüg batımı qarıγ söküpan kögmän yişı toγa yo[rıp] qırqız bodunuγ uda basdım 'having made a way for us through the lance-deep snow, we marched up over the Kögmän Mountains and fell upon the Kirgiz people while they were asleep' (BK E 26-27), tabγač ätin tut-upan 'having held the Chinese titles' (KT E 7), sälänä qodı yorı-pan 'having marched down along Selenga' (BK E 37).

3.2824. The Gerund in -yin/-yin (<-y-in/-y-in)

This gerund occurs very seldom. Its function is the same as that of the gerund in -a/-ä, etc. (cf. Kipch. gerund in -y, and Chag. gerund in -may/-mäy and in -mayın/-mäyin): bilgä tonuquq boyla baγa tarqan birlä ilteris qaγan bol-uyın 'having become kagan in the company of Bilgä Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan, Ilteris killed the Chinese to the south, the Qitan to the east, and the Oguz to the north in great

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

The word teyin ~ tiyin 'saying', which is used to close a direct discourse, is a gerund in -yin: kögmän yolı bir ärmis tumis te-yin äsidip 'when I heard that there is only one road over Kögmän, and that is closed (by snow)' (TI E 6), täñri bilgä qaγanta adrılmalım azmalım te-yin anča ötlädim 'I advised (my younger brothers and my sons) as follows: 'let us not be parted from the sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray' (O R 3); see Direct Discourse.

3.2825. The Gerund in -matī/-mätī, -matin/-mätin

This gerund serves as the negative of the gerunds in -a/-ä, -i/-i, -u/-ü and -p, -pan/-pän: tün uđi-matī küntüz olur-matī ... isig küčüg bertim ök 'without sleeping by night or getting rest by day, ... I have given my services (to my kagan)' (TII E 2), bunča isig küčüg birtükgärü saqınmatī türük bodun ölräyın uruγ-siratayın tir ärmis '(the Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (themselves), apparently said: 'let us kill and exterminate the Turkish people!' (KT E 10), antaγiñin üčün igidmiš qaγanıñın sabın al-matın yir sayu bardıγ 'on account of your being like that you went in (almost) all directions without asking the advice of your kagan who had nourished you (well)' (KT S 9).

3.2826. The Gerund in -γali/-gäli

The gerund in -γali/-gäli expresses:

1°. the aim of the action of the predicate: yadaγ yabız boltı tip al-γali kälti 'thinking that we must have been out of horses and in a bad condition, they came in order to conquer us' (BK E 32) [sin]ar süsi äbig barqıγ yul-γali bardı sinar süsi süñüş-gäli kälti 'one half of their army went in order to plunder (our) tents and dwellings, the other half of their army came in order to fight (against us)'

(BK E 32), asan-γali tösürtümüz 'we ordered (the army) to dismount in order to be fed' (TI N 3), oqi-γali kälti '... came in order to invite (us)' (BK E 28), yuyqa ärkli topla-γali uçuz ärmis yinčgä ärklig üz-gäli uçuz 'that which is thin is easy to bend, they say; that which is tender is easy to break, (they say)' (TIS 6).

2°. an action since the beginning of which that of the predicate takes place: türk bodun q[ilin-γal]i türk qaγan olur-γali santuγ baliq(q)a taluy ögüzkä tägmis yoq ärmis 'the Turkish people and the Turkish kagan had never reached the towns of Shantung and the ocean since they (were created) and since he (i. e., the first Turkish kagan) came to the throne' (TI E 1).

3.2827. The Gerund in -sar/-sär

The verb form in -sar/-sär is the conditional gerund: ač-sär tosiq ömāz sän bir tod-sär äčsiq ömāz sän 'if you are hungry, you do not think of being satiated; if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again)' (BK N 6), ötükän yir olurup arqış tirkış i-sar nāñ buñuγ yoq 'if you stay in the land of Ötükän, and send caravans (from there), you will have no trouble at all' (KT S 8), ol yergärü bar-sar türük bodun öltäči sän 'if you go toward those places, O Turkish people, you will perish!' (KT S 8), iraq är-sär yablaq aγi birür yaγuq är-sär ädgü aγi birür 'if (a people) live afar (from them), they (i. e., the Chinese) give them cheap materials, and if (a people) live close to them, (the Chinese) give them valuable materials' (KT S 7), ötükän yiš olur-sar bängü il tuta olurtači sän 'if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains, you will live owning an everlasting state' (KT S 8), üzä täñri basma-[sar asra] yir tālinmä-sär türük bodun eliñin törügin kām artatı udači [ärt]i 'if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, O Turkish people, who would be able to destroy your state and your institutions?' (BK E 22-23), u-sar idi yoq qisalım 'if possible, let us destroy (them) completely!' (TIS 4), tabyač oγuz qitañ bučägü qabis-(s)ar qaltači biz 'if the Chinese, Oguz and Qitañ, these three form an alliance, we would be helpless' (TIS 5-6), etc.

The conditional gerund also expresses the circumstances under which the action of the finite verb takes place: sūḡūs bol-sar čäriḡ itär ärti ab abla-sar äräḡm älä täg ärti 'in fighting he commanded the army; in hunting he resembled a huge hawk' (KČ W 9), yay bol-sar 'in summer' (lit.: 'when it is summer', 'when it becomes summer') (BK W 3), taḡda siḡun ät-sär 'when a deer bellows at mountains' (BK W 5), közdä yaš käl-sär tida köḡültä siḡit kälsär yanturu saḡintim 'when tears came down from the eyes, I mourned by holding them back, and when wails came out from the heart, I mourned by turning them back' (KT N 11).

3.2828. The Gerund in -ča/-čä

This gerund denotes an action which precedes, in time, the action of the finite verb. It occurs only in the following sentence: uluḡ oḡlum aḡrip yoḡ bol-ča quḡ säḡünüg balbal tikä birtim 'when my eldest son became sick and died, I erected (the statue of) General Qu as a balbal for him' (BK S 9).

3.2829. ärkli

The petrified participial form ärkli 'being' (see 3.22110), together with the verbal noun in -r, forms a gerundial phrase. Such a phrase denotes an action which is in progress when the action of the finite verb takes place: anča olur-ür ärkli oḡuzduntan körüḡ kälti 'while we were dwelling in this manner, there came a scout from the Oguz' (TIS 1), kičä yarıḡ bat-ar ärkli sūḡüsdüm 'I fought in the evening, when the sun was setting' (MČ E 1), tuḡ tasıḡ-ar ärkli yälmä äri kälti 'the vanguard came while the flag was being taken out' (MČ E 5).

3.283. Finite Forms

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

3.2831. Primary Finite Forms

The primary finite forms are those verb forms which can function only as predicates. These are the forms of the voluntative-imperative and the perfect.

3.28311. The Voluntative-Imperative

1st person singular -ayın/-äyın (MČ: -ayın/-äyın), on vocalic stems -yın (MČ: -yın/-yın): bän säḡä nä ay-ayın tidi 'what shall I say to thee?' he said' (TI N 8), qaḡan mu qis-ayın tedim 'shall I make (him) kagan?' I said (to myself)' (TI W 5), bän äbgärü tüsäyın 'I shall go down to the camp' (TI N 6), anı yoḡlat-ayın tedi 'I shall hold her funeral', he said' (TI N 7), sū yorı-yın tidim 'I shall march out with the army,' I said (to myself)' (MČ E 5), män tasıḡ-ayın timis 'I shall march off (with the army),' he said' (MČ E 10), türük bodun ölü-r-äyın uruḡsirat-ayın tir ärmis '(the Chinese) apparently said, 'let us (lit.: 'let me') kill and exterminate the Turkish people!' (KT E 10), qon-ayın 'I shall settle down' (KT S 7).

2nd person singular: zero ending or -yıl/-gil: bu süḡ elt tidi 'lead this army!' he ordered' (TI N 8), tılıḡ sabıḡ alı olur 'stay there quietly and collect information and tidings!' (TI N 8), basıtma 'do not let (the enemy) fall upon you!' (TI N 10); yaḡıl tidi 'join me!' he said' (TI W 5), yälmä qarḡü ädgüti urıl 'place the vanguard and patrols properly.' (TI N 10), sabımın tükäti äsid (KT: äsidgil) 'hear my words from the beginning to the end!' (BK N 1; KT S 1).

3rd person singular: -zun, -zu, -čun: tardus sad barzun 'let the Tardush šad go forth!' (TI N 8), türk sir bodun yerintä idi yorıma-zun 'let the Turkish Sir people not make any progress in their land!' (TIS 4), täḡri yarlıḡ(q)a-zu 'by the grace of Heaven (lit.: 'may Heaven be gracious!')' (KT E 29; TII E 3), türük bodun yōḡ bolma-zun tiyin bodun bol-čun tiyin 'saying, 'let the Turkish people not be annihilated!', and saying, 'let them be a people (again)' (KT E 11; BK E 10), köḡmān yir sub idisiz qalma-zun tiyin 'in order that the Köḡmān land would not be without owner!' (KT E 20; BK E 17).

1st person plural: -alim/-älim, on vocalic stems -līm/-lim: täqri bilgä qaγanta adrılma-līm azma-līm 'let us not be parted from the sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray!' (O R 3), öqrä türk qaγanγaru sülä-līm 'let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks!' (TI E 3), altun yis üzä qabis-alīm 'let us come together at the Altun Mountains!' (TI E 3), yan-alīm 'let us go back!' (TI W 2), usar idi yoq qis-alīm 'if possible, let us exterminate (the Turkish people) completely!' (TI S 4), sü yorī-līm 'let us march off with the army!' (TI N 11).

2nd person plural: -ñ, also pure stem: sü bar-ññ tedi altun yisda olur-ññ tedi 'you, army, go on marching!' he said; 'stay at the Altun Mountains!' he said' (TI N 6), türük oγuz bäglärī äsid-ññ (BK: äsid) 'you, Turkish and Oguz lords and peoples, hear this!' (KT E 22), bunī körü bil-ññ 'see these (inscriptions) and get a lesson (from them)!' (KT S 12), anī körüp anča bil-ññ 'see it (i. e., this memorial) and learn its contents, as it is' (KT S 13), [anč]a saqın-ññ anča bil-ññ '(O Turkish lords and people), think of it in this way, and know it in this way!' (BK E 33), igid-ññ 'nourish (the people)!' (BK N 13), ämgätmä-ññ tolγatma-ññ 'do not trouble and torment (them)!' (BK N 13), unāma-ññ 'do not agree (with him)!' (TI N 11), tal afin tedim 'enter the water on horseback!' I ordered' (TI N 1), toquz oγuz bäglärī bodunī bu sabimin ädgüti äsid qatıγdı tipla 'you, Tokuz-Oguz lords and people! Hear these words of mine well, and listen to them carefully!' (KT S 2).

3rd person plural is the same as the 3rd person singular.

3.28312. The Perfect

The perfect is used to express an action begun and completed in the past. The action is supposed to have been witnessed by the speaker. The suffix is -d/-t, with the possessive suffixes added to it: -dīm/-tīm, -dīñ(-γ)/-tīñ(-γ), -dī/-tī, and so on. -d occurs after vowels and all consonants except l, n and r, and -t occurs after l, n and r (with the exception of the verb bar-).

It is evident from the personal endings that this past form is a verbal noun in -d/-t in origin.

1st person singular: otuz yašima bis baliq tapa sülä-dim 'at my age of thirty I went on a campaign against Bish-balik' (BK E 28), süsın sanč-dim yabrīt-dim 'there I put their army to the lance, and destroyed' (BK E 31), yerči tilä-dim čölgi as ärī bul-tum äsit-(t)im 'I looked for a guide and found a man from the Az people living on the plain. I heard (from him)' (TI E 6-7), taγut bodunuγ buz-dum 'I put the Tangut people to rout' (BK E 24), [tabγa]č qaγanta bädizči kälür-tüm 'I sent for painters and sculptors from the Chinese emperor' (KT S 11), etc.; negative: türük bodun üčün tün udıma-dım küntüz olurma-dım 'for the sake of the Turkish people, I did not sleep by night and I did not get rest by day' (BK E 22), etc.

2nd person singular: täñrikänkä isig ber-tig 'thou hast given thy services to Täñrikän' (O F 6), qanñin qodup içik-diñ 'you have abandoned your khan and submitted (again)' (lit.: 'thou hast abandoned thy khan and submitted') (TI W 3), käntü yañıl-tiγ 'you yourselves (lit.: 'thou thyself') betrayed' (KT E 23; BK E 19), yablaq kigür-tüg 'you (yourselves) caused discord' (KT E 23; BK E 19), bar-diγ 'you went' (BK E 19), qop anta alqın-tiγ arıl-tiγ 'there you were completely ruined and destroyed' (KT S 9), üküş (KT: üküs) türük bodun öl-tüg 'you, Turkish people, were killed in great numbers' (KT S 6; BK N 5), üküş kišī (BK: kisī) öl-tüg 'you were killed in great numbers' (KT S 7; BK N 6), qul qıl-tiγ 'you let (your sons) become slaves' (BK E 20).

3rd person singular: yaγ(γ)ıl ti-di 'join me!' he said' (TI W 5), boγuzlan-ti 'he was slaughtered' (TI N 2), bilgä tonuquq(q)a baqa ay-dī 'he ordered me, Bilgä Tonyukuk, as follows' (TI N 7), täzip bar-dī 'he fled' (BK E 40), altı ärig sanč-dī '(Prince Käl) stabbed six men with a lance' (KT N 5), sü [tä]gisintä yitinč ärig qiličla-dī 'in hand-to-hand fighting, he cut down a seventh man with a sword' (KT N 5); orduγ birmä-di 'he did not surrender the camp' (KT N 9).

1st person plural: qırqız tapa sülä-dimiz 'we started a campaign against the Kirgiz' (KT E 35), qırqız bodunuγ uda bas-dımız 'we fell upon the Kirgiz while they were asleep' (KT E 35), qırqız qaγanın ölür-tümüz ilin al-tımız 'we killed the Kirgiz kagan and conquered their realm'

(KT E 36), bir yılqa biş yolı süñüş-dümiz 'we fought five times in a year' (KT N 4), tizligig sökür-tümiz başlıyı yüküntür-tümiz 'we made the powerful kneel and the proud bow' (KT E 18), bodunu anča qontur-tümiz 'we thus settled the people' (KT E 21), buz-dümiz 'we routed (them)' (KT E 31); qorqmadımız 'we did not fear' (TII W 6).

2nd person plural: är-tigiz in yatu qaltači ärtigiz 'you would have been left lying' (KT N 9) and in öltäči ärtigiz 'you would have been killed' (KT N 10). The suffix -diñiz/-diñiz occurs in the following singular polite forms: uça bar-diñiz 'you passed away' (lit.: 'you went flying') (KT SE), küçlüg alp qağanında adrılu bar-diñiz 'you parted from my mighty and brave kagan, and went away' (O R 4).

3rd person plural is the same as the 3rd person singular: on oq bağları bodunı qop käl-ti 'the lords and people of the On-Ok all came' (TII W 7-8), bağlar qop[in] yanalım . . . te-di 'all the lords said: 'let us go back!' (TII W 1), etc.

3.2832. Secondary Finite Forms

The secondary finite forms are verbal nouns and participles in origin. There are two types of the secondary finite forms: 1. verbal noun + possessive suffix, 2. participle + personal pronoun.

3.28321. Verbal Noun + Possessive Suffix

1°. The verbal noun in -duq/-dük (see 3.2217) also functions as a past tense: äbkä tag-dük-üm 'I arrived in the camp' (lit.: 'to the camp — my having arrived') (O R 2).

The suffix -duq/-dük forms the negative of the past tense in -miš (~ -mis): itinü yaratunu uma-duq yana ičikmiš (KT; ičikmis) '(the Turkish people) could not form and organize themselves well, and therefore they again submitted (to the Chinese)' (BK E 9; KT E 10), anta kisrā inisī āčsīn tag qılınma-duq ārinč oylı qağın tag qılınma-duq ārinč 'then the younger brothers apparently did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons apparently did not resemble their fathers' (KT E 5), qağ yorıp elteris qağanqa adrılma-duq

yañılma-duq '(my) father (always) marched (behind) İleriş Kagan and did not become separated from him or did not betray him' (O R 3), [bükäg]ükdä säkiz oğuz toquz tatar qalma-duq 'there were neither the Säkiz-Oguz nor the Tokuz-Tatar left in Bükägük (MČ E 1), qarluq isıñā kälme-dük 'the Karluks apparently did not come to their allies' (MČ S 1), tāğri unāma-duq 'Heaven apparently did not like it' (IB 57).

2°. The verbal noun in -sıq/-sik is also used predicatively: türük bodun öl-sik-in 'O Turkish people, you will perish' (lit.: 'Turkish people — the necessity of thy death in the future') (KT S 6; BK N 5), türük bodun öl-sik-ig id. (KT S 7; BK N 5).

The forms of the first and third persons are not attested.

3.28322. Participle + Personal Pronoun

3.283221. The Present Tense

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

1st person singular: bān anča te-r mām 'I say as follows' (TII W 2), sağın-ür mām 'I mourn' (lit.: 'one who thinks — I', i. e., 'I am the one who thinks') (BK W 6), kāmkā ilig qazğan-ür mām 'for whom am I conquering (these) countries?' (KT E 9), nā qağanqa isig küçüg bir-ür mām 'to which kagan am I giving my services?' (KT E 9; BK E 9), ti-r mām 'I say' (TIS 3, 4).

1st person plural: nākā qorq-ür biz 'why should we be afraid of (them)?' (TII W 4).

2nd person plural: türük bağlar qop bil-ür siz 'Turkish lords, you all know that . . .' (KT E 34).

3rd person singular and plural: öd tāğri yasa-r 'it is Heaven who determines lifetimes' (KT N 10), bāniğ bodunum anta är-ür 'my people will be there' (TIE 4), türük bilgā qağan türük sir bodunu oğuz bodunu igidü olur-ür 'the Turkish Bilgā Kagan is ruling, taking care of the Turkish Sir people and Oguz people' (TII N 4).

Negative forms: āčsar tosiq ō-māz sän bir todsar āč-siq ō-māz sän 'if you are (lit.: 'thou art') hungry, you do not think (lit.: 'thou thinkest not') of being satiated; if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again)' (BK N 6).

The word bar 'exists, existing, there is/are', a participle in -r (see 3.2215), mainly occurs in predicative function: azu bu sabimda igid bar yu 'or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?' (KT S 10), ekī ūč biñ sümiz kältä-čimiz bar mu nā 'we probably have two or three thousand soldiers to come' (TI S 7).

3.283222. The Future

The future participle in -dači/-däči (see 3.2219) occurs in predicative function: ol yergärü barsar türük bodun öl-täči sän 'if you go to those places, O Turkish people, you will (lit.: 'thou wilt') perish!' (KT S 8), ötükän yis olursar bängü il tuta olur-tači sän 'if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains, you will live owning an everlasting state' (KT S 8), ädgü kör-täči sän äbiñä kirtäči sän buñsiz bol-tači sän 'you will be better, you will be subject to your (own) homeland, and you will be without troubles' (BK N 14), sü yorilim te-däči 'let us start a campaign!' he will say' (TI N 11), tabyač qitan tatabi bučägü qabis(s)ar qal-tači biz 'if the Chinese, Qitan and Tatabi — these three — form an alliance, we would be helpless' (TI S 5-6), bödkä körügmä bäglär gü yañil-tači siz 'you lords, you who are now obedient (to the throne), are you going to betray?' (KT S 11), sini tabyačiγ ölür-täči 'they will kill you (lit.: 'thee'), Chinese' (TI S 3).

3.283223. The Past Tense in -miš (~ -mis)

The past participle in -miš ~ -mis (see 3.2218) also occurs in predicative function. It functions as a past tense expressing past actions known from hearsay. Only the third person form is attested in the inscriptions: qañim qaγan yiti yegirmi ärin tañiqmiš 'my father, the kagan, marched off with seventeen men' (KT E 11), qara türgis bodunuγ anta ölür-miš al-miš 'there he killed and subjugated the common

the common Türgis people' (KT E 40), äčümiz apāmiz yamī qaγan tört buluγy qis-mis yīγ-mis yay-mis bas-mis 'Yamī Kagan, our ancestor, suppressed, frightened, routed and overwhelmed the four quarters (of the world)' (O F 1), kisī oγlī qop ölgäli törūmis 'human beings were all created in order to die' (KT N 10), ekīn ara kisī oγlī qilin-mis '(when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created,) between the two human beings were created' (KT E 1), qañi süsi teril-mis 'their khan and their soldiers came together' (TI N 4), bunča bodun kälipän siγtā-miš yoγlā-miš (KT: siγtāmis yoγlāmis) 'this many peoples came and mourned and lamented' (BK E 5; KT E 4), etc.

3.283224. The Future Tense in -či (< *-yači/-gäči)

A finite form in -či occurs in the inscriptions. This is a very rare form. In the following examples, which are the only occurrences of this form, the suffix -či has been added to the negative verb stems: tägmäči män 'I shall not attack' (O R 2), bu yolun yorīsar yaramači tedim 'if we go that way, it will not be good (for us)' I said' (TI E 6).

The suffix -či is probably identical with that in -yuči/-güči (see 3.2211). The negative form -mači/-mäči seems to have come into being as a result of contraction: -mači/-mäči < *-maγači/-mägäči (cf. Uig. bitigäči 'writer, clerk': TT IX, p. 40; cf. also Mong. compound suffix -yači/-geči in bičigeči 'writer, clerk', alaγači 'murderer, killer, etc.; see Contraction, 2.16).

3.2833. Composite Verb Forms

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

3.28331. Preterit of the Present

1°. Preterit of the Present I: -r (-ar/-är, -ür/-ūr, -ir/-ir) + ärtim, etc.; negative: -maz/-māz + ärti. This form is used to express:

A. actions which were in progress at a point of time in the past: kül tigin bir qırq yaşayūr arti 'Prince Kül was thirty-one years old' (KT N 3), anta qalmış yir sayu qop toru ölü yorıyūr artig '(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions' (KT S 9), çoğay quzın qara qumuγ olurūr artımız 'we were inhabiting then the northern slope of the Çoğay Mountains and Kara-Kum ('Black Sand')' (TI W 7), keyik yiyū tabış-yan yeyū olurūr artımız 'we were dwelling there, nourishing ourselves on big game and hares' (TI S 1), buzqunça kälir artımız 'we were coming like a storm (?)' (O R 2).

B. a state or condition which existed over a period of time in the past (past habitual): [ya]nıyma yaγıγ [kälürir] artım 'I used to force withdrawing enemies to come (upon us)' (TII E 3), iğar oylanıqızda tayγunıqızda yegdi igidür artigiz 'you used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved sons and descendants' (KT SE), atıγ iqa bayūr artımız 'we used to tie the horses to trees' (TI N 3), türk bodun tabγačqa körür arti 'the Turkish people were subject to China (at that time)' (TI W 1).

Negative: -maz/-māz + artım, etc.: inisi äčisın bilmāz arti oγlı qaγın bilmāz arti '(at that time) younger brothers did not acknowledge their elder brothers, and sons did not acknowledge their fathers' (BK E 18), tünymä udisiqım kalmāz arti [kün yämä] olursiqım kalmāz arti '(after I had heard these words,) I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest (by day)' (TI E 5).

2°. Preterit of the Present II: -r (-ar/-är, -ür/-ür, -ir/-ir) + armiş (~armis). This tense is used to express:

A. unwitnessed progressive actions in the past: türük bodun öläyın uruγsiratayın tir armis '(the Chinese) reportedly said, 'I shall kill and exterminate the Turkish people' (KT E 10), azqına türk (bodun) yorıyūr armis 'the very few Turkish people seem to have been making progress' (TI S 2-3), ekın ara idi oqsız kök türük iti anča olurūr armis 'between the two (boundaries) they thus ruled organizing the Kök ('Blue') Turks who had no tribal organization at all' (BK E 14), nä qaγanqa isig küčüg birür män tir armis (BK E 9: armiş) 'to what kagan am I giving my services? said (the Turkish people)' (KT E 9).

B. unwitnessed habitual actions in the past: anıγ bilig anta öyür armis '(after such a people settled close to them, the Chinese) are said to plan (their) ill will there' (KT S 5), anta anıγ kisı anča boşγurūr armis (BK N 5: armiş) 'there ill-willed persons apparently made harmful suggestions as follows' (KT S 7), ırağ bodunuγ anča yaγutır armis '(the Chinese) are said to cause remote peoples to come close (to them) in this manner' (KT S 5).

Negative: -maz/-māz + armiş (~armis): ädgü bilgä kisig ädgü alp kisig yoritmaz armis (BK N 4: armiş) '(the Chinese) did not promote the wise and brave persons' (KT S 6), bir kisı yaγılsar oγışı bodunı bisükıñä tägi iqidmaz armis (BK N 5: armiş) 'if a man commits an error, (the Chinese) did not give shelter to anybody (from his immediate family) to this tribesmen and kinsmen' (KT S 6).

3°. Conditional of the Present: -r (-ar/-är, -ür/-ür, -ir/-ir) + ärsär, negative: -maz/-māz + ärsär. This form is used to express real conditions in present and future time: kälir ärsär kür ökölür kalmāz ärsär tilıγ sabıγ alı olur 'if they come, a trick is planned; if they do not come, then stay there quietly and collect information and tidings' (TI N 8).

3.28332. Pluperfect

Pluperfect: -miş (~-mis) + artım, etc.: this tense expresses an action previous to another action in past time or an action occurred before a point of time in the past: qatun yoğ bolmis arti anı yoğlataγın tedi 'the katun had died (some time ago); 'I shall hold her funeral', he said' (TI N 7), azča bodun täzmis arti on oğ süsın sülätim 'a few of the people had fled; I ordered the army of the On-Ok to march out' (TI W 8), alp är biziñä tägmis arti 'those who had attacked us were brave men' (KT E 40), ol ödkä qul qulluγ bolmiş arti [kün künlüg bolmiş arti] 'at that time slaves themselves had slaves and maidservants themselves had maidservants' (KT E 21), türk bodun atı yoğ bolu bar-mis arti 'the name of the Turkish people had almost completely vanished' (O F 3).

When this finite verb form is transformed into a participial phrase, the verb är- is replaced by bol-: sadatiy anta bermis boltuqda toquz o'guz atig ya'yi ärmis bädük ärmis 'when (Täqrikän) gave him (i. e., my father) the title of šad, the Tokuz-Oguz and Atig started hostilities (against us). They were (dangerously) powerful, (too)' (O F 6).

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

Preterit of the future: -dači/-däči (~ -tači/-täči) + ärtim, etc. This verb is used to express:

1°. an action which was about to take place in the past: türük bodun adaq qamšat(t)i yablaq boltači ärti 'the Turkish people tottered and were about to be routed' (BK E 30-31), ögüm qatun ulayu öglärim äkälärim käliñünüm qunçuylarım bunča yämä tirigī kūñ boltači ärti ölügī yurtda yolta yatu qaltači ärtigiz 'my mother, the katun, and my step-mothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law and my princesses ... those of you who would survive were about to become slaves, and those of you who would be killed were about to be left lying at the camp or on the roads' (KT N 9), ... yoq [bolt]ači ärti '... were about to be exterminated' (BK E 28).

2°. an action which would have taken place if ...: kül tigin yoq ärsär qop öltäči ärtigiz 'if Prince Kül had never existed, you all would have been killed' (KT N 10), män iniligü bunča başlayu qazğanm[asar] türük bodun öltäči ärti yoq [bolt]ači ärti 'if I, together with (my) younger brother, had not led (the people) and had not got victories, the Turkish people would have been killed and annihilated' (BK E 33), ilteris qağan qazğanmasar udu bän özüm qazğanmasar il yämä bodun yämä yoq ärtäči ärti 'if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won, there would have been neither the state or the people' (TII E 4-5); see 3. 2227.

With ärmis: näñ yerdäki qağanlıy bodunqa büntägi bar ärsär nä buñi bar ärtäči ärmis 'if a people living anywhere and having a kagan had such a one (i. e., such a man like me), what kind of trouble would it have?!' (TII E 6-7).

3. 28334. Conditional of the Perfect

Conditional of the perfect: -dīm/-dim + ärsär. This form is used to express unreal, contrary-to-fact, or hypothetical conditions in the past time: ilteris qağan qazğanmasar yoq ärti ärsär udu bän özüm bilgä toñuquq qazğanmasar bän yoq ärtim ärsär qapğan qağan türük sir bodun yerintä bod yämä bodun yämä kisī yämä idi yoq ärtäči ärti 'if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, had not won, or if I had never existed, in the land of Kapgan Kagan's Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings at all' (TII N 1-2).

4. SYNTAX

4.1. Phrase Structure

4.11. Coordinate Phrases

There are the following subtypes: additive, alternative, and appositive.

4.111. Additive Phrases

There are two types of additive phrases: phrases without conjunction, phrases with conjunction.

4.1111. Additive phrases without conjunction

1°. Nominal phrases: a l t u n k ü m ü s k ä r g ä k s i z k ä l ü r t i 'they brought gold and silver in abundance' (BK S 11), ö t ü k ä n y i r o l u r u p a r q i ş t i r k i ş i s a r n ä n b u n u y y o q 'if you stay at the Ötükän Mountains and send caravans and messengers (from there), you will have no trouble at all' (KT S 8), t ü r ü k b ä g l ä r b o d u n '(O) Turkish lords and people!' (KT S 10; BK N 8), t ü r ü k o γ u z b ä g l ä r i '(O) Turkish and Oguz lords!' (KT E 22), b o d u n i k ü n q u l b o l t i 'their people became slaves' (lit.: 'female slave and slave') (KT E 20), a z q i r q i z b o d u n u y 'the Az and Kirgiz peoples' (KT E 20; BK E 17); b i r t ü m ä n a γ i a l t u n k ü m ü ş 'a great quantity of treasure, gold and silver' (KT N 12), s a r i y a l t u n ö r ü n k ü m ü s q i z q o d u z ä g r i t ä b i a γ i b u n s i z k ä l ü r t i 'they brought (home) the yellow gold, and the white silver, girls and maidens, hunchbacked camels and treasure in great

abundance' (TII S 4), y a b i z y a b l a q bodunta üzä olurtum 'I became ruler over a wretched and miserable people' (KT E 26), y o q č i γ a n bodunuγ qop qubratdım 'I gathered together all the poor and destitute tribes' (KT S 10), etc.

Suffixes are generally added to each constituent of the phrase separately: bilgä-sī čabis-i bän ök artım 'it was I who was his counselor and aide-de-camp' (TI W 7), äb-ig barq-iγ yulγalı bardı '(one half of their army) went in order to plunder our dwellings and residences' (BK E 32), ot-ča bor-ča kälti '(the army of Türgis kagan) came like fire and storm' (KT E 37), bunča barq-iγ bädiz-ig uz-uγ 'all these buildings, paintings and artistical works . . .' (BK SW), etc.

In the following examples, however, only the second or last constituent is inflected: arquy qarγū-γ ulγartdım oq 'I have increased the fortifications and watchtowers' (TII E 3), yoγun qoraγıq-nī 'thy funeral and obsequies' (acc.) (O R 4), ini yägün-üm 'my younger brothers' (KT S 1, N 11; BK N 1) (cf. Mong. degüti 'younger brother'); see Accusative 3.2143.3°.

2°. Verbal phrases: adril- az- 'to be parted and go astray' (O R 3), adril- yañıl- 'to be parted and betray' (O R 3), alqin- aril- 'to be destroyed and exterminated' (KT S 9), bil- ö- 'to know and think' (KČ S 3), biti- bädiz- 'to write and draw' (BK SW), agir- säbin- 'to be pleased and glad' (BK E 2), ämgät- tolγat- 'to trouble and torment' (BK N 13), ičik- yükün- 'to submit and surrender' (TI N 4), it- yarat- 'to form and organize' (BK N 9), it- ay- 'to organize and govern' (KC E 2), it- igid- 'to organize and nourish' (KT E 16), it- yıγ- 'to organize and gather together' (TI W 8), itin- yaratun- 'to form and organize oneself' (KT E 10), künäd- qulad- 'to become slave' (lit.: 'to become concubine and slave') (KT E 13), oz- yañ- 'to assault and scatter' (BK E 31), öl- alqin- 'to die and be exterminated' (TI W 3), ol- yit- 'to die and vanish' (KT E 27), ölür- al- 'to kill and conquer' (KT N 2), tir- qubrat- 'to gather together' (lit.: 'to gather and bring together') (KT E 12), tor- öl- 'to be emaciated and die' (KT S 9), yañıl- yazın- 'to betray and go astray' (BK E 16), yit- ičγin- 'to go to ruin and collapse' (O F 1).

4.1112. Additive phrases with conjunction

1°. With one conjunction which follows the first constituent: ögüm qatun u l a y u öglärim äkälärim kälın-ünüm qunčuyarım 'my mother, the katun, and my step-mothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses . . .' (KT N 9); see Conjunctions (3.219). For numeral compounds see Numerals (3.216).

2°. With more than one conjunction: bäglärī y ä m ä bodunī y ä m ä 'both the lords and peoples' (KT E 3), bod y ä m ä bodun y ä m ä kisī y ä m ä 'neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings' (TII N 2); see Conjunctions (3.219).

4.112. Alternative Phrases

ekī üč 'two or three' (BK E 41), ekī üč biγ 'two or three thousand' (TI S 8).

See Approximative Numerals (3.21612).

4.113. Appositive Phrases

In an appositive phrase both constituents are heads, and both are also attributes: bini oγuzuγ 'us (lit.: 'me'), the Oguz' (TI S 3), sini tabγačıγ 'you (lit.: 'thee'), Chinese' (TI S 3), yol(l)uγ tigin män 'I, Prince Yolluγ' (BK SW), bilgä tonuquq(q)a baγa '(the kagan commanded) me, Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TI N 7), sümiz kältäčimiz 'our soldiers, our ones who will come' (TI S 7), bän özüm 'I myself' (TI W 1), inim küł tigin özi 'my younger brother Prince Küł himself' (KT E 30), eltäbär özi 'the Governor himself' (KČ E 9); bän özüm / bilgä tonuquq 'I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TII N 1), bilgä tonuquq / bän özüm id. (TI W 1); see Intensive Pronouns (3.2153).

4.12. Attributive Phrases

Attributive phrases consist of a head and one or more modifiers. There are two types of attributive phrases: nominal phrases, adjectival phrases.

4. 121. Nominal Phrases

Nominal phrases have as their head a noun or any word which functions as a noun. There are two types of nominal phrases: descriptive and definite phrases, possessive phrases.

4. 1211. Descriptive and definite phrases

1°. The attribute is a noun indicating quality or any other word which functions as an adjective (noun, pronoun, numeral, participle):

A. The attribute is a noun: adīnč(č)iy barq 'a wonderful mausoleum' (KT S 12; BK N 14), bāngū taš 'memorial' (lit.: 'eternal stone') (BK N 15), sūčig sab 'sweat words' (KT S 5), yimšaq ayī 'soft materials' (KT S 5), yašil ögüz 'the Green River' (KT E 17), etc.

B. The attribute is a numeral: ekī šad 'the two šads' (BK E 21), ekinti kūn 'the second day' (BK S 1), toquz oγuz 'the Nine-Oguz' (BK E 1), bisinč ay 'the fifth month' (BK S 10); ekī biγ 'two thousand' (TI S 8), sākiz on 'eighty' (lit.: 'eight ten') (KČ W 3), altı yolī 'six times' (BK E 28), etc. See Numerals.

C. The attribute is a pronoun: bu taš-qa bu tām-qa 'on this stone and this wall' (KT SE), ol tǎgdük-dā 'in that attack' (KT E 36), ol oq tün 'that very night' (TII W 7), etc.

D. The attribute is an adverb: ičrā sab 'a secret message' (TI N 10); see Adverbs of Place (3.2171).

E. The attribute is a participle: körür közüm 'my seeing eyes' (KT N 10), i bar baš 'the wooded hill' (TI N 2), kāligmā bāglār 'the lords who had come' (TII W 8), bōdkā körügmā bāglār 'lords who are now obedient (to the throne)' (KT S 11), tinsi oγlī aytiγma taγ-qa 'to the mountain called 'the Son of Heaven'' (TII S 5), igidmiš qaγan 'the kagan who had nourished (his people)' (KT S 9), öltāči bodun 'the people who were going to perish' (KT E 29), etc.

F. The attribute is a postpositional phrase: tāγri tǎg ... türük bilgā qaγan 'the Heaven-like ... Turkish Bilgā Kagan' (KT S 1), umay tǎg ögüm qatun 'my Umay-like mother, the katon' (KT E 31).

Phrases with two or more attributes: ol ekī kisī 'those two people' (TI S 3), bu türük bodun 'this Turkish people' (TII E 4), bāglik urī oγlī 'male children worthy of becoming lords' (KT E 7), esilik qiz oγlī 'female children worthy of becoming ladies' (KT E 7), kādimlig toruγ at 'the dressed bay horse' (KT E 33), qara qamaγ bodun 'the black (i. e., ordinary) common people' (KT E 8).

2°. The attribute is a proper noun: šantunγ yazī 'the Shantung Plain' (BK E 15), yinčü ögüz 'the Yinčü ('Pearl') River' (KT S 3), ärtis ögüz 'the Irtish River' (TI N 11), kōgmān yir sub 'the Kōgmān territory' (KT E 20), buqa-raq ulus 'the city of Bukhara' (KT N 12), kül tigin 'Prince Kül' (KT N 1), qu sāγün 'General Qu' (BK S 8), oγ tutuq 'Governor Oγ' (KT E 32), bilgā qaγan 'Kagan ('King') Bilgā' (KT S 1), türük bodun 'the Turkish people' (KT E 6), oγuz yaγī 'the hostile Oguz' (lit.: 'the Oguz enemy') (KT N 8), etc.

3°. The attribute is a noun provided with a possessive suffix: qaγim qaγan 'my father, the kagan' (KT E 11), ögüm qatun 'my mother, the katon' (KT N 9), siγlim qunčuy 'my younger sister, the princess' (KT E 20), inim kül tigin 'my younger brother Prince Kül' (KT N 10), kül tigin atisī yol(l)uγ tigin 'Prince Yolluγ, the nephew of Prince Kül' (KT SE), tabγač qaγan čiqanī čan sāγün 'General Chang, the nephew of the Chinese Emperor' (KT N 13), sir irkin oγlī yigān čor 'Yigān Čor, the son of Sir Irkin' (KČ E 9), etc.

4. 1212. Possessive Phrases

There are three types of possessive phrases: (1) the attribute is a noun without any case suffix and the head is a noun provided with the possessive suffix of the third person; (2) the attribute is a noun with the genitive suffix and the head is a noun with or without the possessive suffix of the third person; (3) the attribute is a pronoun of the first or second person provided with the genitive suffix and the head is a noun with the possessive suffix of the first or second person respectively.

1°. The attribute without any case suffix: kül tigin atisi 'Prince Kül's nephew' (KT SE), türük bodun atı 'the name of the Turkish people' (O F 3), türgis qaγanı 'the kagan of the Türgis' (TI N 6), qırqız bodunı 'the Kirgiz people' (TI N 4), oγ tutuq yurçı-n 'Governor Oγ's brother-in-law' (acc.) (KT E 32), sir irkin oγlı 'the son of Sir Irkin' (KČ E 9), etc.

2°. The attribute with the genitive suffix:

A. Head with the possessive suffix of the third person: bilgä qaγanıñ bodunı 'Bilgä Kagan's people' (O R 3), türük bodunıy atı küsi 'the name and fame of the Turkish people' (KT E 25), kül tiginıñ altunı-n kümüsi-n aγışi-n barımı-n 'Prince Kül's gold and silver, his property and possessions' (acc.) (KT SW).

B. Head without the possessive suffix of the third person: bayırqunıñ aq adγır 'Bayırqu's white stallion' (KT E 36), yigän silig bägiñ kädimlig toruγ at 'Yigän Silig Bäg's dressed bay horse' (KT E 33), tabγač qaγanıñ ičräki bädizči-g 'the court painters of the Chinese emperor' (KT S 12), tadiqıñ čorıñ boz [at] 'Tadiq Čor's gray horse' (KT E 32).

3°. The attribute is a pronoun of the first person: bäniñ bodunum 'my people' (TI E 4), mäniñ sabim-in 'my words' (KT S 11), mäniñ bodunum 'my people' (BK E 29).

If the head is a possessive phrase of the first type, it remains as such: bizin sü ati 'our army horses' (KT E 39).

4.1213. The Numeral Phrase

A particular nominal construction is that of the numerals from 11 to 19 and from 21 to 29. These numerals are considered steps to the next higher decade: üč yegirmi 'thirteen' (lit.: 'three — twenty' (KT E 18), üč otuz 'twenty-three' (TI E 2); see Numerals (3.216).

4.122. Adjectival Phrases

Adjectival phrases have as their head an adjective or any word which functions as an adjective.

1°. The attribute is an adverb or equivalent: ärtiγü uluγ 'very great' (BK N 10), antaγ külüg 'so famous' (KT E 4), öltäčičä saqıñıma '(the Turkish lords and people who were) sorrowful as if they were going to die' (BK E 2).

2°. The attribute is an adverb of place: ičrä ašsüz 'foodless in the inside' (KT E 26), tašra tonsüz 'clothless on the outside' (KT E 26).

3°. The word yeg 'better' is preceded by a noun with the locative-ablative suffix -da/-dä: iγar elligdä / [i]γar qaγanlıyda yeg 'better than those who have great (lit.: 'heavy, grave, important') states and great rulers' (BK E 24); see Locative- Ablative (3.2145).

4°. The superlative is formed by the adverb aγ 'most': aγ ilk 'the first, the foremost'; the adjective may take the possessive suffix of the third person: aγ ilkı. See Ordinal Numerals.

4.13. Postpositional Phrases

In postpositional phrases the director is a postposition. The axis may be a noun or pronoun or a nominal phrase. Postpositional phrases mostly function as adverbial complements: tabγač tapa 'toward China', türük bodun üčün 'for the sake of the Turkish people', inim kül tigin birlä 'together with my younger brother Prince Kül', šantunγ yazıqqa tägi 'as far as the Shantung Plain', etc.; see Postpositions.

4.14. Verbal Complement

4.141. Equational complement

Equational complement consists of a noun, pronoun, numeral or equivalent phrase in the subject form with or without a predicative element (i. e., copula). The copula agrees, in person, with the subject.

1°. Copula is an auxiliary verb: özüm / ... šad ärtim 'I was šad (over the Tardush people)' (KT E 17), biz/ekı biñ ärtiniz 'we were two thousand' (TI S 9), türük

bodun/āč ārti 'the Turkish people were hungry' (BK E 38), uluγī/šad ārti 'their chief was a šad' (TI W 5), etc.

2°. Copula is a postponed pronoun: biz/az biz 'we are few' (O F 7), bilgā toñuquq/añiγ ol 'Bilgā Tonyukuk is evil' (TI N 10), oγuzi yāmā/tarqīnč ol 'the Oguz, their subjects, are also displeased (with them)' (TI E 5).

4.142. Direct Object Complement

See Nominative (3.2141) and Accusative (3.2143).

4.143. Adverbial Complement

An adverbial complement may be:

1°. an adverb: bu sabimin ādgūti āsid 'hear these words of mine well!' (KT S 2); see Adverbs.

2°. a noun with a case suffix: oγuz tāzip tabγačqa kirti 'the Oguz fled and entered (i. e., took refuge) China' (BK E 38), qara kōltā sūñūšdūmiz 'we fought at the Black Lake' (KT N 2); see Dative- Locative, Locative-Ablative, Directive, Equative, Instrumental and Comitative.

3°. a noun which already has a temporal meaning: tūn udīmadīm 'I did not sleep by night' (BK E 22), kūn yāmā tūn yāmā yālū bardīmiz 'we rode at a gallop by day and by night' (TI N 3), tūn aqītdīmiz 'we ordered (the army) to march (even) by night' (TI N 11), ilki kūn 'on the first day' (BK S 1), ol oq tūn bodunīn sayu it(t)imiz 'that very night we sent messages to their peoples' (TII W 7), kičā yariq batār ārkli sūñūsdūm 'I fought in the evening, while the sun was setting' (MČ E 1).

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

5°. an ordinal numeral: tōrtūnč āzginti qadīzda sūñūsdūm 'fourthly, I fought at Azginti Qadīz' (BK E 31); see Numerals.

6°. an attributive phrase indicating a period of time: yigirmi kūn olurup 'sitting down twenty days' (KT SE).

7°. a postpositional phrase: see Postpositions.

8°. a gerund or a gerundial phrase: uluγ oγlum aγrip yoq bolča 'when my eldest son became sick and died ...' (BK S 9); see Gerunds (3.222).

4.2. Clause Structure

A clause consists of one or more words or phrases. Clauses have as their basic constituent the predicate.

4.21. The Predicate

The predicate has as its center:

1°. A verb: özüm saqintim 'I (lit.: 'myself') mourned' (KT N 10), türük bağlār türük ātīn it(t)i 'the Turkish lords abandoned the Turkish titles' (KT E 7), oγuz yaγī ordūγ basdī 'the hostile Oguz (lit.: 'the Oguz enemy') made a raid on the campsite' (KT N 9), uluγ küli čor sākiz on ya-sap yoq bolt[i] 'after having lived eighty years, Küli Čor the Elder died' (KČ W 3), āčim qaγan uča bardī 'my uncle, the kagan, passed away (lit.: 'went flying')' (BK E 20), türük bodun atī yoq bolu barmis ārti 'the name of the Turkish people had almost completely vanished' (O F 3), kūl tigin yoq ārsār qop öltāci ārtigiz 'if Prince Kül had not existed, you all would have been killed' (KT N 10).

2°. A noun (substantive and adjective), pronoun, verbal noun, participle or equivalent in the nominative form. The copula is a verb or a postponed pronoun. The latter may be omitted.

A. Copula is a verb: yaγmisī bān ārtim 'it was I who joined him' (TI W 5), türük bodun āč ārti 'the Turkish people were hungry' (BK E 38), özüm qarī boltum 'I grew old' (lit.: 'I became old') (TII E 6), bağlik urī oylur qul bolti 'your sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves' (KT E 24), qaγīm qaγan sūsī bōri tāg ārmis 'the soldiers of my father, the kagan, were like wolves' (KT E 12), qaγanī alp ārmis 'their kagan is said to be brave' (TI S 3).

B. Copula is a postponed pronoun: biz az biz 'we are few' (O F 7), türük bodun toqurqaq sān '(O) Turkish people, you consider yourselves satiated' (KT S 8), bilgā

toñuquq añıy ol 'Bilgä Tonyukuk is evil' (TI N 10), öz içi tasın tutmis tæg biz 'it seems as if we are holding the exterior with (our own) interior (i. e., with our own forces)' (TIS 6).

C. Without copula: körüg sabı antaı 'the words of the scout (were) as follows' (TIS 2), sü bası inäl qaıan 'the commander-in-chief (is) Inäl Kagan' (TI N 7), ol yolun yorısar unč 'if we go that way, (it will be) possible' (TIE 7), bän bilgä toñuquq 'I (am) Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TII E 8), ol amtı añıy yoq 'they (are) not rebellious now' (KT S 3), iltä buı yoq '(if the Turkish kagan stays at the Ötökän Mountains), (there will be) no trouble in the realm' (KT S 3), barduq yirdä ädgüg ol ärinč 'in the lands where you went, this (was) your only benefit:' (KT E 24), äc körüg kisı sabı bir 'there came three scouts; their messages (were) all alike' (TI N 9).

4.22. The Subject

The subject of a clause may be a noun, pronoun, numeral, verbal noun, participle, a phrase or even a predicative construction.

1°. Noun as subject: qatun yoq bolmis ärti 'the katon had died' (TI N 7), ol törüdä üzä äčim qaıan olurtı 'in accordance with that rule, my uncle succeeded to the throne' (KT E 16), öd täñri yasar 'it is Heaven who determines lifetimes' (KT N 10).

2°. Pronoun as subject: bän äbgärü tösäyın 'I shall go down to the camp' (TIS 4), bän yiridınta yan tägäyın 'I shall attack from the north' (TIS 4), män toquz yegirmi yıl šad olurtum toq[uz yegir]mi yıl [qaıan olu]rtum 'nineteen years reigned I as šad, nineteen years as kagan' (BK S 9), biz ekı bıñ ärtimiz 'we were two thousand' (TIS 9), ol bizni ... ölürtäci kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TIE 4).

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

(i. e., defeated) the Karluks and subjugated them' (KT N 2), süñüšdümiz 'we fought' (KT E 37), uča bardıyız 'you passed away (lit.: 'you went flying')' (KT SE), bilgä qaıan ärmis alp qaıan ärmis 'wise kagans were (they), brave kagans were (they)' (KT E 3).

3°. Numeral as subject: ekısi 'two of them' in ekısin (KT E 38); see Cardinal Numerals (3.2161.2°).

4°. Participle as subject: ičikigmä içikdi 'those who meant to submit submitted' (BK E 37).

5°. Verbal noun as subject: tün udısiqım kälmedi küntüz olursiqım kälmedi 'I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest by day' (lit.: 'my wish for sleeping did not come') (TIS 5).

6°. Nominal phrase as subject: bodun boıuzı toq ärti 'the people's stomach was full' (TIS 1), türük qara qamaı bodun anča timis 'the Turkish common people apparently said as follows' (KT E 8-9).

7°. Predicative construction as subject: türük bodun tämir qapııqa tinsi oılı aytııma taııqa tægmis / idi yoq ärmis 'the Turkish people had never (before) reached the Iron Gate and the mountain called 'the Son of Heaven' (TII S 2-3); see The Verbal Noun in -miš (3.2218).

4.23. Agreement between the Subject and Predicate

4.231. Agreement in Person

Agreement in person is obligatory: bän anča termän 'I say as follows' (TII W 2), biz az biz 'we are few' (OF 7), ol at anta ölti 'that horse was killed there' (KT E 33).

4.232. Agreement in Number

The predicate is a singular third person, although the subject is a plural: bäglär qop[in] yanalım tedi 'the lords all said, 'let us turn back!' (TII W 1), türük bäglär türük ätin it(t)i 'the Turkish lords abandoned the Turkish titles' (KT E 7), oılitı qaıan bolmis ärinč 'their sons succeeded to the throne' (KT E 5).

The predicate is a singular, although the subject is a compound subject of the third person: qırqız qurıqan otuz tatar qıtañ qop yaγı̄ ģrmis 'the Kirgiz, Qurıqan, Otuz-Tatar and Qıtañ ... they all were hostile to (us)' (KT E 14), üzä tūrük tǵrisı tūrük iduq yirı subı anča etmis '(but) the Turkish god above and the Turkish holy earth and water (spirits below) acted in the following way' (KT E 10).

4.24. Word order

The normal order is: subject + predicate: qatun/yoq bolmis ģrti 'the katon had died' (TI N 7), özi/yañıltı 'he betrayed (us)' (KT E 20), qaγanı/ölti 'their kagan was killed' (KT E 20).

The complement normally precedes the predicate and follows the subject: oγuz yaγı̄/ordūγ/basdı 'the hostile Oguz suddenly attacked the campsite' (KT N 9).

Sometimes declarative clauses have the inverted order of the complement before the subject. This change is made to emphasize the subject: qaγan at bunta biz birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan here' (KT E 20), öd tǵrı yasar 'it was Heaven who determines lifetimes' (KT N 10).

4.25. Negation

In negative clauses the predicate has a negative.

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

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

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

4.26. Combination of Clauses

4.261. Coordination

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

4.2611. Coordination without conjunction

This is the favorite coordination-type: çiγań bodunuγ bay qıltım / az bodunuγ üküš qıltım 'I made the poor people wealthy, I made the few people numerous' (KT S 9), bilgä qaγan ģrmis / alp qaγan ģrmis 'wise kagans were (they), brave kagans were (they)' (KT E 3), anta kisrä inisı qaγan bolmis ģrinč / oγıltı qaγan bolmis ģrinč 'then the younger brothers came to the throne, the sons came to the throne' (KT E 4-5), özi yañıltı / qaγanı ölti / bodunı küñ qul boltı 'he betrayed (us), their kagan was killed, their people became slaves and servants' (KT E 20), [sin]ar süsı ābig barqıγ yulγalı bardı / sinar süsı süñüşgäli kälti 'one half of their army went in order to plunder our tents and dwellings, the other half of their army came in order to fight' (BK E 32).

The subject is not repeated in the second clause: biz az ģrtimiz / yabız ģrtimiz 'we were few and in a bad condition' (BK E 32).

The copula may be omitted in the second clause: yuyqa ģrkli toplaγalı uçuz ģrmis / yinčgä ģrkli üzgäli uçuz 'that which is thin is easy to bend, they say; that which is tender is easy to break, (they say)' (TI S 6).

The copula may be omitted in the first clause: tabγac bodun sabı süčig / aγısi yimšaγ ģrmis 'the words of the Chinese people were sweet, the materials of the Chinese people were soft' (KT S 5).

4.2612. Coordination with conjunction

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

4.262. Subordination

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

4.2621. Direct Discourse

The direct discourse is juxtaposed to the main clause and connected with the gerund tip or tiyin 'saying': biriyä qarluq bodun tapa sülä tip tudun yamtarıy it(t)im 'I sent Tudun Yamtar saying, 'start a campaign against the Karluks in the south!' (BK E 40), täpri bilgä qayanta adrıl-malim azmalim teyin anča ötlädim 'let us not be parted from the sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray!'. So advised I' (OR 3).

Sometimes the direct discourse is inserted into a clause: gara bodun qayanım kalti tip ög[di] 'the common people praised (him) saying, 'our (lit.: 'my') kagan has arrived!' (BK E 41).

The verbs of thinking, hearing, etc., are connected with the clause expressing the result of any of these actions by the use of teyin ~ tiyin: tägmäči män teyin saqın-tim 'I thought 'I shall not attack' (OR 2), kögmän yolı bir ärmis tumis teyin äsidip 'when I heard that there is only one road over Kögmän, and that is closed (by snow)' (TI E 6), igidäyin tiyin saqı[nıp] 'having thought 'I shall nourish (them)' (BK E 35).

4.27. Parenthetical Clause

[anta] kisrā — täpri yarlıq(q)azu — qutum bar üčün ülgüm bar üčün öltäči bodunuy tırg(ü)rü igit(t)im 'after that, since I had fortune and since I had good luck — may Heaven be gracious!' — I brought the people to live who were going to perish, and nourished them' (KT E 28-29), yorımasar bizni -qayanı alp ärmis ayıuçisı bilgä ärmis — qačan (n)äñ ärsär bizni ölürtäči kök temis 'if we do not wage war against him, he will — (since) the kagan is said to be brave and (since) his counselor is said to be wise —

he will sooner or later kill us' he said' (TI N 5-6), aqaru sülämäsär qačan (n)äñ ärsär ol bizni — [qayanı alp ärmis] ayıuçisı bilgä ärmis — qačan (n)äñ ärsär ölürtäči kök id. (TI E 3-4).

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II. TEXTS

The Kül Tigin Inscription

South

(S1) tǎŋri tǎg, tǎŋridǎ bolmiš tǔrük bilgä qayan bu ödkä¹ olurtum. sabimin tükäti äsidgil,² ulayu ini-yägünüm oy-lanım biriki oyuşum bodunum, biriyä şadpit bağlār, yiriya tarqat buyruq bağlār, otuz [.....] (S2) toquz oyuş bağ-lārī bodunī, bu sabimin ädgüti äsid, qatıyđı tıŋla! ilgärü kün toysıq(q)a³ birigärü kün ortusıŋaru, qurıyaru kün batsıqı-ŋa yiriyaru tün ortusıŋaru, anta ičräki bodun [qop] m[an]a] k[örür]. [bunč]a bodun (S3) qop itdim. ol amtī añıy yoq. tǔrük qayan ötükan yiş olursar, iltä buŋ yoq. ilgärü şan-tuŋ yazıqa tǎgi sülädim, taluyqa kičig tǎgmädim. birigärü toquz ärsinkä tǎgi sülädim, tüpütkä kičig [tǎg]mädim. qurıyaru yinčü ögüz (S4) kǎčǎ tǎmir qapıyqa tǎgi sülädim, yiriyaru yir bayıruq yirıŋǎ tǎgi sülädim. bunča yirkä tǎgi yoritdim. ötükan yişda yig idi yoq ärmis;⁴ il tutsıq yir ötükan yiş ärmis. bu yirdä olurup tabyač bodun birlä (S5) tüzültüm. altun kümüš⁵ isgiti⁶ qutay buşsız anča birür. tabyač bodun sabı süčig,⁷ ayısi yimşaq ärmis.⁸ süčig⁹ sabın, yimşaq ayın arıp ıraq bodunuy anča yaŋutır ärmis.¹⁰ yaŋuru qontuqda kisrǎ añıy bilig¹¹ anta öyür ärmis.¹² (S6) ädgü bilgä kisig, ädgü alp kisig yoritmaz ärmis.¹³ bir kisi yaŋılsar, oyusı bodunı bisükıŋǎ tǎgi iqidmaz ärmis. süčig¹⁴ sabıŋa, yimşaq ayısiŋa arturup üküš¹⁵ tǔrük bodun öltüg. tǔrük bodun, ölsikıŋ! biriyä čoyay yiş, tögültün (S7) yazı qonayın tisär, tǔrük bodun, ölsikig! anta añıy kisi anča boşyurür ärmis: ıraq ärsär yablaq ayı birür, yaŋaq ärsär ädgü ayı birür, tip anča boşyurür ärmis.¹⁶ bilig bilmäz kisi ol sabıy alıp yaŋuru barıp üküš kisi¹⁷ öltüg. (S8) ol yergärü barsar, tǔrük bodun, öltäči şän! ötükan yir olurup.

arqış tirkış isar, nəq buquγ yoq. ötükən yiş olursar, bəngü il tuta olurtaçı sən. türük bodun, toqurqaq sən. āčsiq¹ tosiq ömāz sən, bir todsar āčsiq ömāz sən. antay-
iñin (S9) üčün² igidmiş qaγanıñın sabın almatın yir sayu
bardıγ; qop anta alqıntıγ ariltıγ. anta qalmışi yir sayu qop
toru ölü yoriyūr artıg. tǵrı yarlıq(q)adūqın üčün, [ö]züm
qutum bar üčün qaγan olurtum. qaγan oluruγ (S10) yoq
çiγan bodunuγ qop qubratdım³. çiγan bodunuγ bay qiltim,
az bodunuγ üküš qiltim. azu bu sabımda igid bar γu? türük
bāglār bodun, bunı āsidiñ! türük [bodun, ti]rip il tutsiqıñın
bunta urtum, yañlıp ölsikiñin yāmā (S11) bunta urtum. nəq
nəq sabım ārsār bəngü tašqa urtum. aγar körü biliñ. türük
matı bodun bāglār, bōdkā körügmā bāglār gū yañlıtaçı siz?
mān b[āngü taš tabγ]ač qaγanta bādizçi kälärtüm,
bādizāt(t)im. māniñ sabımın simadı. (S12) tabγač qaγanıñ
içrāki bādizçig it(t)i. aγar adıñ(ç)iγ barq yaraturtum;
için tašin adıñ(ç)iγ bādiz urturtum. taš toqıtdım, köñül-
tāki sabımın u[rturtum. on oq oγlıñ]a tatiña tāgi
bunı körü biliñ. bəngü taš (S13) toqıtdım. [t² u . .] el
ārsār, anča taqı ārig yertā irsār, anča ārig yertā bəngü
taš toqıtdım, bitıd(d)im. anı körüp anča biliñ. ol taš
[.]dım. bu bitig bitigmā atısı yol(l)uγ t[igin].

East

(E1) üzā kök tǵrı asra yaγız yer qılıntuqda ekın ara
kisı oγlı qılınmis. kisı oγlınta üzā āčüm apām bumın qaγan,
istāmi qaγan olurmiš. oluruγan türük bodunıñ ilin törüsın
tuta birmis, iti birmis. (E2) tört buluγ qop yaγı ārmis.
sü sülāpān tört buluγdağı bodunuγ qop almis, qop baz qılmiš.
bašlıyıγ yūküntürmis, tizligig sōkürmis. ilgärü qadırqan
yišqa tāgi, kirü tāmır qapıγqa tāgi qonturmis. ekın ara
(E3) idi oqsız kök türük anča⁴ olurūr ārmis. bilgā qaγan
ārmis. buyruqı yāmā bilgā ārmis ārinč, alp ārmis ārinč.
bāglārı yāmā bodunı yāmā tüz ārmis. anı üčün ilig anča
tutmis⁵ ārinč. ilig tutup törüg itmis. özı anča (E4) kǵrgāk
bolmis. yoγçı siγıtçı öñrā kün toγsıqda bükli čöl(l)üg el,
tabγač, tüpüt, apar, purum, qırqız, üč qurıqan, otuz tatar,
qıtañ, tatabı, bunča bodun kälipān siγtāmis,⁶ yoγlāmis.⁷
antaγ külg qaγan ārmis. anta kisrā inisi qaγan (E5) bolmis

ārinč, oγlıtı qaγan bolmis¹ ārinč. anta kisrā inisi ācisın
tāg qılınmaduq ārinč, oγlı qaγın tāg qılınmaduq ārinč. bi-
ligsiz qaγan olurmis ārinč, yablaq qaγan olurmis.²
buyruqı yāmā biligsiz ārinč,³ yablaq ārmis⁴ ārinč. (E6)
bāglārı bodunı tüzsis üčün, tabγač bodun tǵbligin kürlüg⁵
üčün, armaqčisın üčün,⁶ inili āçili kipsürtükün üčün, bāglı
bodunlıγ yoğsurtuqın üčün,⁷ türük bodun illādük⁸ ilin ičyinu
ıdmis,⁹ (E7) qaγanladuq qaγanın yitürü idmis.¹⁰ tabγač
bodunqa bāglık uri oγlin¹¹ qul boltı,¹² esilik¹³ qız oγlin¹⁴
küñ boltı.¹⁵ türük bāglār türük ātin¹⁶ it(t)i. tabγačγı bāg-
lār tabγač ātin¹⁷ tutupan tabγac qaγanqa (E8) kōrmis, ālig
yil isig küčüg birmis.¹⁸ ilgärü kün toγsıqda¹⁹ bükli qaγ-
anqa tāgi sülāyü birmis,²⁰ qurıγaru tāmır qapıγqa tāgi
sülāyü birmis;²¹ tabγac qaγanqa ilin törüsın²² ali birmis.²³
türük qara qamaγ (E9) bodun anča timis;²⁴ illig bodun
artim; ilim amı qanı? kāmka ilig qazγanūr mān? tir
ārmis. qaγanlıγ bodun artim; qaγanıñ qanı? nə qaγanqa
isig küčüg birūr mān? tir ārmis.²⁵ anča tip tabγač qa-
γanqa yaγı bolmis.²⁶ (E10) yaγı bolup itinü yaratunu uma-
duq, yana ičikmis.²⁷ bunča isig küčüg birtükğärü²⁸ saqın-
matı, türük bodun²⁹ öltüräyın, uruγsiratayın tir ārmis.
yoqadu barır ārmis. üzā türük tǵrısı, türük iduq yiri
(E11) subi anča etmis;³⁰ türük bodun yoq bolmazun tiyin,
bodun bolčun tiyin, qaγım il-teris qaγanıγ, ögüm il-bilgā
qatunuγ tǵrı töpüsintā tutup yüg(g)ärü kōtürmis³¹ ārinč.
qaγım qaγan yiti yegirmi ārin tašiqmis. tašra (E12)
yoriyūr tiyin kü āsidiγ bañıqdağı taγıqmis, taγdağı inmis,³²
tirilip yetmis³³ ār bolmis.³⁴ tǵrı küč birtük üčün qaγım
qaγan sūsı bōri tāg ārmis,³⁵ yaγı³⁶ qon tāg ārmis.³⁷
ilgärü qurıγaru sülāp ti[r]m[iš] qubrat[miš], [q]amaγı (E
13) yeti yüz ār bolmis.³⁸ yeti yüz ār bolup elsirāmis qa-
γansiramis bodunuγ, küñādmis quladmis bodunuγ, türük
törüsın³⁹ ičyınmis bodunuγ āčüm apām törüsıncā yaratmis⁴⁰
bošγurmis.⁴¹ tölis tarduš [bodunuγ anta itmiš], (E14)
yabγuγ šadıγ anta birmis.⁴² biriyā tabγač bodun yaγı ārmis,⁴³
yiriya baz qaγan, toquz oγuz bodun yaγı ārmis;⁴⁴ qırqız,
qurıqan, otuz tatar, qıtañ, tatabı qop yaγı ārmis. qaγım
qaγan bunča (E15) qırq artuqı yeti⁴⁵ yołi sülāmis,⁴⁶
yegirmi süğüs⁴⁷ süğüsmis.⁴⁸ tǵrı yarlıq(q)aduq üčün⁴⁹
illigig elsirātmis,⁵⁰ qaγanlıγıγ qaγansiratmis; yaγıγ baz

qılmış;¹ tizligig sökürmis,² başlıyır yöküntü[rmiş³.... ilig] (E16) törüg qazyanıp uça barmis. qanım qayanqa başlayu baz qayanıy balbal tikmis.⁴ ol törüdə üzə äçim qayan olurti. äçim qayan⁵ olurupan türük bodunu yicä itdi, igit(t)i.⁶ çiyaniy bay qilti, azıy üküş qilti. (E17) äçim qayan olurtuqda⁷ özüm⁸ tarduş bodun üzə şad ärtim.⁹ äçim birlä ilgärü yaşıl ögüz şantun yazıqa täge sülädimiz; qurıyaru tämır qapıyqa täge sülädimiz. kögmän aša qı[rqız yirığa täge sülädimiz]. (E18) qamaı biş otuz sülädimiz, üç yegirmi süğüşdümiz, illigig ilsirätdimiz, qayanlıyır qayansiratdımiz; tizligig sökürtümiz, başlıyır yöküntür-tümiz. türgis qayan türükümiz¹⁰ [bodunumuz¹¹ ärti. bilmädükün] (E19) üçün,¹² biziğa yağıluqın üçün¹³ qayanı ölti, buyruqı bağlārı yāmā ölti, on oq bodun ämgäk körti. äçümiz apāmiz tutmis yir sub idisiz bolmazun¹⁴ tiyin az bodunu yitip yar[atıp.] (E20) bars bāg ärti. qayan at¹⁵ bunta biz birtimiz. siglim qunçuy y birtimiz. özi yağılti,¹⁶ qayanı ölti, bodunı küñ qul bolti. kögmän yir sub idisiz qalmazun tiyin az qırqız bodunu yaratıp¹⁷ kältimiz. süğüşdümiz] (E21) yana birtimiz. ilgärü¹⁸ qadırgan yişiy aša bodunu ança qontur-tumiz, ança itdimiz. qurıyaru kängü tarmanqa¹⁹ täge türük bodunu ança qonturtumiz, ança etdimiz.²⁰ ol ödkä qul qullu bolmiş ärti,²¹ [küñ küplüg bolmiş ärti? inisi äçisin bilmäz ärti, oylı qan bilmäz ärti] (E22) ança qazyanmis itmis²² elimiz.²³ törümüz ärti. türük oğuz bağlārı, bodun, äsidiğ! ²⁴ üzä täğri basmasar, asra yir²⁵ tälınmäsär, türük bodun, elin²⁶ törün²⁷ kām artatı [udaçi ärti]? türük bodun, ärtin²⁸ (E23) ökün! kürägün üçün²⁹ igidmis³⁰ bilgä³¹ qayanın³² ärmis³³ barmis ädgü elin kântü yağıltıy, yablaq kigürtüg. yaraqlıy qantın kälip yafa eltdi?³⁴ süğüglüg qantın kälipän sürä eltdi? iduq ötükän y[iş bodun, bardıy! ilgärü barıyma] (E24) bardıy, qurıyaru barıyma bardıy. barduq yirdä³⁵ ädgüg ol ärinç: qanıñ subça³⁶ yögürti, sü-ğükün³⁷ tağça yatdı; bāglik urı oğlu³⁸ qul bolti,³⁹ esilik qız oğluñ kuñ bolti.⁴⁰ bilmädük⁴¹ üçün, [yablaqıñın üçün äçim qayan uça bardı]. (E25) başlayu qırqız qayanıy balbal tikdim. türük bodun[iy]⁴² atı küsi yoq bolmazun tiyin, qanım qayanıy ögüm qatunu kötürmiş⁴³ täğri, il birigmä⁴⁴ täğri, türük bodun atı küsi yoq bolmazun [tiyin, özümün ol

täğri] (E26) qayan olurtı ärinç. nāñ yilsiy bodunqa¹ olurmadım; içrā ässiz, taşra tonsiz, yabız yablaq bodunta üzä olurtum. inim kül tigin birlä sözläşdimiz. qanımız äçimiz qaz[yanmiş bodun atı küsi yoq bolmazun] (E27) tiyin, türük bodun üçün² tün udimadım,³ küntüz olurmadım.⁴ inim kül tigin birlä, ekī şad birlä ölü yitü qazyantım. ança qazyanıp biriki bodunu ot sub qılmadım. mām [özüm qayan olurtuquma yir sayu] (E28) barmış bodun ölü yitü, yadağın yalıñın yana kälti. bodunu igidäyin⁵ tiyin, yirı-yaru oğuz bodun tapa, ilgärü qıtañ tatabı bodun tapa, biri-gärü tabyaç tapa ulu y sü⁶ ekī yegir[mi sülädim, süğüşdüm. anta] (E29) kisrā, täğri yarlıq(q)azu,⁷ qutum bar üçün, ülgüm bar üçün⁸ öltäçi bodunu tırgürü igit-(t)im. yalıñ bodunu tonlu y,⁹ çiyāñ bodunu bay qiltım. iyar elligä [iyar qayanlıyda yeg qiltım. tört bulundaqı] (E30) bodunu qop baz qiltım, yağısiz qiltım; qop maña körti. isig küçüg birür. bunça törüg qazyanıp inim kül tigin özi ança kargäk bolti. qanım qayan uduqda inim kül tigin yi[ti yaşda qaltı?.....] (E31) umay tæg ögüm qatun qutıña inim kül tigin är at bultı. altı yegirmi yaşıña äçim qayan ilin törüsün ança qazyantı. altı çub soğdağ tapa sülädimiz. tabyaç oğ tutuq bis t[ümän sü kälti, süğüşdümiz?] (E32) kül tigin yadağın oplayu tægdi; oğ tutuq yurçın yaraqlıy äligin tutdı, yaraqlıy qayanqa ançuladı. ol süg anta yoq qışdımiz. bir otuz yaşıña çaça sängünkä süğüşdümiz. ağ ilkı tadiqıñ çorıñ boz [atıy binip tægdi. ol at anta] (E33) ölti. ekinti işbara yamtar boz atıy binip tægdi. ol at anta ölti. üçünç yegän silig bāgıñ kädimlig toru at binip tægdi. ol at anta ölti. yariqınta yalmasınta yüz artuq oqun urtı; yūziğā başıña bir t[ägürmädi.] (E34) tægdukün, türük bağlār, qop bilır siz. ol süg anta yoq qışdımiz. anta kisrā y(i)r bayırqu ulu y irkin yağı bolti. anı yañıp türgi yar yun költä buzdumiz. ulu y irkin azqıña ärin tüzip bardı. kül tigin [altı otuz] (E35) yaşıña qırqız tapa sülädimiz. süğüg batımı qarıy söküpän kögmän yişiy toya yorıp qırqız bodunu y uda basdımiz. qayanın birlä soğ yaşda süğüşdümiz. kül tigin bayırqun[iñ aq adyır[iy] (E36) binip oplayu tægdi. bir ärig oqun urtı; ekī ärig ud aşru sançdı. ol tægdukä bayırqunıñ aq adyırıy udlıqın siyu urtı. qırqız qayanın öltürtümiz, ilin altımiz. ol yılqa tü[rgis tapa altun yişiy]

(E37) toya ärtis ögüzüg kăčă yorîdimiz. tûrgis bodunuy
uda basdimiz. tûrgis qağan süsî bolčuda otča borča kălti.
sûğüşdümüz. kül tigin başyu boz at binip tăgdi. başyu
boz k[.....] (E38) tutuzt[i] ekisin özi altuzdî. anta
yana kirip tûrgis qağan buyruqî az tutuquy âligin tutdî.
qağanın anta ölürtümüz, ilin altımız. qara tûrgis bodun
qop içikdi. ol bodunuy tabarda qo[nturtumuz?.....]
(E39) soğdaq bodun itâyîn tiyin yinčü ögüzüg kăčă tămir
qapıyqa tăgi sülâdimiz. anta kisră qara tûrgis bodun yağî
bolmiş, kăğâris tapa bardî. biziñ sū atî toruq, azuqî yôq
ärti. yablaq kisî âr[.....] (E40) alp âr biziñâ
tăgmiş ärti. antağ ödkă ökündp kül tiginig az ârin irtürü
it(t)imîz. uluğ sûğüş sûğüşmiş. alp şalçı aq atın binip
tăgmiş. qara tûrgis bodunuy anta ölürmış almiş. yana
yorip [.....]

North

(N1) [.....] birlă qoşu tutuq birlă sûğüşmiş,
ârin qop ölürmış. âbîn barımîn qalısiz qop kălturti. kül
tigin yiti otuz yaşığa qarluq bodun ârûr barûr ârkli yağî
boltî. tamağ iduq başda sûğüşdümüz. (N2) [kül] tigin ol
sûğüşdă otuz yaşayûr ärti. alp şalçı [aq]ın binip oplayu
tăgdi. ekî ârig ud aşru sančdî. qarluquy ölürtümüz
altımız. az bodun yağî boltî. qara kôltă sûğüşdümüz. kül
tigin bir qırq yaşayûr ärti. alp şalçı aqın (N3) binip oplayu
tăgdi. az el-tăbârig tutdî. az bodun anta yoq boltî. âçim
qağan ilî qamşay boltuqînta, bodun ilig ikăğû boltuqînta
izgil bodun birlă sûğüşdümüz. kül tigin alp şalçı aqın
binip (N4) o[playu tăgd]i. ol at anta tûs[di]. izgil [bodun]
ölti. toquz oğuz bodun kăntû bodunum ärti. tăğri yir
bulyaqın üçün yağî boltî. bir yılqa biş yolî sûğüşdümüz.
ağ ilk toyu balıqda sûğüşdümüz. (N5) kül tigin azman aqıy
binip oplayu tăgdi. altî ârig sančdî. sū [t]ăgisintă yitinč
ârig qılıçladî. ekinti quş-alyaqda âdiz birlă sûğüşdümüz.
kül tigin az yağizîn binip oplayu tăgip bir ârig sančdî, (N6)
toquz ârig âğiră toqîdî. âdiz bodun anta ölti. üçünč bo[l-
çu]da oğuz birlă sûğüşdümüz. kül tigin azman aqıy binip
tăgdî, sančdî; süsîn sančdimiz, ilin altımız. törtünč çuş
başinta sûğüşdümüz. türük (N7) bodun adaq qamşatdî.

yablaq bo[ltăç]i ärti. oza [k]ălmis süsîn kül tigin ağıtîp
toğra bir oğuş alpağy on ârig toğa tigin yoğinta âğirip ölürt-
tumuz. bisinč âzginti qadizdă oğuz birlă sûğüşdümüz.
kül tigin (N8) az yağizîn binip tăgdi. ekî ârig sančdî,
b[alıq(q)]a b[as]ıqdî. ol sū anta ö[lti]. amya qorğan qışlap
yazağa oğuzğaru sū taşıqdımız. kül tigin âbig başlayu
aqit(t)imîz. oğuz yağî ordūy basdî. kül tigin (N9) ögsiz
aqın binip toquz ârân sančdî, ordūy birmădi. ögüm qatun
ulayu öglârim âkâlârim kăliqûndum qunçuyarım bunča yămă
tirigî kûğ boltaçı ärti, ölügî yurtta yolta yatu qaltaçı ärti-
giz. (N10) kül tigin yoq ârsâr, qop öltăçı ärtigiz. inim
kül tigin kărgăk boltî. özüm saqintim. kôrûr kôzüm kôr-
măz tăg, bilir biligim bilmăz tăg boltî. özüm saqintim.
öd tăğri yasar. kisî oğlî qop ölgâli tôrûmis. (N11) anča
saqintim. kôzdă yaş kălsâr tîda, kôğultă siyit kălsâr yan-
turu saqintim; qatıydi saqintim. ekî şad ulayu ini-yăğûndum
oğlanım băğlârim bodunum kôzî qaşî yablaq boltaçı tip
saqintim. yoğçi siyitçi qitan tatabî bodun başlayu (N12)
udar sâğûn kălti. tabğaç qağanta isiyi likăğ kălti; bir
tûmân ağı altun kûmûş kărgăksiz kălturti. tûpût qağanta
böldün kălti. quriya kûn batsıqdaqî soğud, bărçik âr, buqaraq
ulus bodunta ânik sâğûn, oğul tarqan kălti. (N13) on oq
oğlum tûrgis qağanta maqaraç tamğacı, oğuz bilğă tamğacı
kălti. qırqız qağanta tarduş inanču çor kălti. barq itğüçi
bădiz yaratıyma bitig taş itğüçi tabğaç qağan çiqanî çanğ
sâğûn kălti.

North-East

kül tigin qon yılqa yiti yegirmikă uçdî. toquzunč ay
yeti otuzqa yoğ ärtürtümüz. barqın bădizîn bitig taş[in]
biçîn yılqa yitinč ay yiti otuzqa qop alqd[imî]z. kül tigin
ö[zî?] qırq artuq[i y]iti yaşık bulit bust[adî?] [.....]
bunča bădizçig tuyğut el-tăbâr kălturti¹.

South-East

bunča bitig bitigmă kül tigin atisî yol(l)uy tigin bitî-
dim. yigirmi kûn olurup bu taşqa bu tāmqa qop yol(l)uy
tigin bitidim. iyar oğlanıñızda tayğunıñızda yegdi igidûr
ärtigiz. uça bardıyız. tăğr[idă?] tirigdăkičă [.....?].

[—] kül tiginig altunın kümüsın aγışın barımın tör[t
biq?] yilq[is]in ayıγma tuyγut bu[.....] bāgim tigin
yūg(g)ārū tāγ[ri.....] taš bitidim.
yolluγ tigin.

West

quridin [s]oγud erti. inim kül tigin [....] üçün öl[ü
yitu?] isig küčüg birtük üçün türük bilgä qaγan ayuqıqa
inim kül tiginig küzädü olurt[um]. inänču apā yarγan
tarqan ātiγ [b]ertim. [an]i ögtürt[üm].

Notes

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"	4. /ärmis/ BK N3: <u>ärmiš</u>
"	5. /kämüš/ BK N3: <u>kämüs</u>
"	6. /isgiti/ BK N3: <u>äsg...</u>
"	7. /süčig/ BK N4: <u>süčig</u>
"	8. /ärmis/ BK N4: <u>ärmiš</u>
"	9. /süčig/ BK N4: <u>süčig</u>
"	10. /ärmis/ BK N4: <u>ärmiš</u>
"	11. /bilig/ BK N4: <u>biligin</u>
"	12. /ärmis/ BK N4: <u>[ärmi]š</u>
"	13. /ärmis/ BK N4: <u>ärmiš</u>
"	14. /süčig/ BK N5: <u>süčig</u>
"	15. /üküs/ BK N5: <u>üküş</u>
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"	17. /kiši/ BK N6: <u>kisi</u>
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"	2. /üčün/ BK N6: <u>üčün</u>
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"	4. /kök türük anča/ BK E4: <u>kök türük iti anča</u>
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"	3. /biligsiz ärinč/ BK E6: <u>biligsiz ärmis ärinč</u>
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"	5. /kürüg/ BK E6: <u>kürügin</u>
"	6. /üčün/ BK E7: <u>üčün</u>

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"	8. / <u>illädük</u> / BK E7: <u>il(l)ädük</u>
"	9. / <u>idmis</u> / BK E7: <u>idmiš</u>
"	10. / <u>idmis</u> / BK E7: <u>idmiš</u>
"	11. / <u>oγlin</u> / Scribal error for oγlī!
"	12. / <u>boltī</u> / BK E7: <u>qiltī</u>
"	13. / <u>esilik</u> / BK E7: <u>esilik</u>
"	14. / <u>oγlin</u> / Scribal error for oγlī!
"	15. / <u>boltī</u> / BK E7: <u>qiltī</u>
"	16. / <u>ātīn</u> / BK E7: <u>atīn</u>
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"	27. / <u>ičikmis</u> / BK E9: <u>ičikmiš</u>
"	28. / <u>birtükğärü</u> / BK E9: <u>birtük(k)ärü</u>
"	29. / <u>bodun</u> / BK E9: <u>bodunuγ</u>
"	30. / <u>etmis</u> / BK E10: <u>etmiš</u>
"	31. / <u>kötürmis</u> / BK E10: <u>kötürti</u>
"	32. / <u>inmis</u> / BK E11: <u>inmiš</u>
"	33. / <u>yetmis</u> / BK E11: <u>yetmiš</u>
"	34. / <u>bolmis</u> / BK E11: <u>bolmiš</u>
"	35. / <u>ārmis</u> / BK E11: <u>ārmiš</u>
"	36. / <u>yaγīsī</u> / BK E11: <u>yaγīsī</u>
"	37. / <u>ārmis</u> / BK E11: <u>ārmiš</u>
"	38. / <u>bolmis</u> / BK E11: <u>bolmiš</u>
"	39. / <u>törüsīn</u> / Spelt: <u>törüsün</u> ; BK E11: <u>..rūsīn</u>
"	40. / <u>yaratmis</u> / BK E12: <u>yaratmiš</u>
"	41. / <u>bošγurmis</u> / BK E12: <u>bošγurmiš</u>
"	42. / <u>birmis</u> / BK E12: <u>birmiš</u>
"	43. / <u>ārmis</u> / BK E12: <u>ārmiš</u>

Page	Note
233	44. / <u>ārmis</u> / BK E12: <u>ārmiš</u>
"	45. / <u>yeti</u> / BK E13: <u>yiti</u>
"	46. / <u>sülāmis</u> / BK E13: <u>sülāmiš</u>
"	47. / <u>sūğūs</u> / BK E13: <u>sūğūš</u>
"	48. / <u>sūğūsmis</u> / BK E13: <u>sū[ğūš]miš</u>
"	49. / <u>üçün</u> / BK E13: <u>üçün</u>
"	50. / <u>elsirätmis</u> / BK E13: <u>elsirätmiš</u>
"	51. / <u>qaγansīratmis</u> / BK E13: <u>qaγansīratmiš</u>
234	1. / <u>qilmis</u> / BK E13: <u>qilmiš</u>
"	2. / <u>sökürmis</u> / BK E13: <u>sökürmiš</u>
"	3. / <u>yüküntü[rmis]</u> / BK E13: <u>yüküntürmiš</u>
"	4. In BK E13-14 this sentence is followed by [qaγim]/ <u>qaγan uçuqda özü</u> <u>m sākiz yašda qaltim</u>
"	5. / <u>äčim qaγan</u> / is absent in BK
"	6. / <u>igit(t)i</u> / BK E14: <u>yičä igit(t)i</u>
"	7. / <u>olurtuqda</u> / BK E14: <u>olurtuq(q)a</u>
"	8. In BK E14-15 after the word <u>özüm</u> and before the word <u>tarduš</u> the following passage occurs: <u>tigin ārk</u> [.....]iy [.....] <u>tāγri [yarliq(q)aduq üçün]/tört</u> <u>yegirmi yašimqa</u>
"	9. / <u>ārtim</u> / BK E15: <u>olurtum</u>
"	10. / <u>türükümüz</u> / BK E16: <u>türük[üm]</u>
"	11. / <u>[bodunumuz]</u> / BK E16: <u>bodunum</u>
"	12. / <u>üçün</u> / BK E16: <u>üçün</u>
"	13. / <u>yaγıluqın üçün</u> / BK E16: <u>yaγıltuqın</u> <u>yazıntuqın üçün</u>
"	14. / <u>bolmazun</u> / BK E16: <u>qalmazun</u>
"	15. / <u>at</u> / BK E17: <u>aγıγ</u>
"	16. / <u>yaγilti</u> / BK E17: <u>yazınti</u>
"	17. / <u>yarat[ip]</u> / BK E17: <u>i[tip] yaratip</u>
"	18. Spelt: l ² gr ² u
"	19. / <u>tarmanqa</u> / BK E18: <u>tarbanqa</u>
"	20. / <u>etdimiz</u> / BK E18: <u>itdimiz</u>
"	21. / <u>qul qulluγ bolmiš arti</u> / BK E18: <u>qul qulluγ küñ küñlüγ bolmiš ārti</u>

Page	Note
234	22. /qaz'yanmis itmis/ BK E18: <u>qaz'yanmiš</u> <u>anča itmiš</u>
"	23. /elimiz/ BK E18: <u>ilim</u> .
"	24. /āsidin/ BK E18: <u>āsid</u>
"	25. /yir/ BK E18: <u>yer</u>
"	26. /eliğin/ BK E19: <u>iliğin</u>
"	27. /törünin/ BK E19: <u>törünin</u>
"	28. /ārtin/ Spelt: r ² t ² z
"	29. /üčün/ BK E19: <u>üčün</u>
"	30. /igidmis/ BK E19: <u>igidmiš</u>
"	31. /bilgä/ is absent in BK E19
"	32. /qa'yanıñin/ BK E19: <u>qa'yanıña</u>
"	33. /ārmis/ BK E19: <u>ārmis</u> ...
"	34. /eltdi/ BK E19: <u>iltid</u>
"	35. /yirdä/ BK E20: <u>yerdä</u>
"	36. /subča/ BK E20: <u>ögüzčä</u>
"	37. /süñükün/ BK E20: <u>süñüküñ</u>
"	38. /o'luñ/ BK E20: <u>o'luñin</u>
"	39. /bolti/ BK E20: <u>qiltiγ</u>
"	40. /bolti/ BK E20: <u>qiltiγ</u>
"	41. /bilmädük/ BK E20: <u>ol bilmädüküñin</u>
"	42. /bodunıγ/ BK E20: <u>bodun</u>
"	43. /kötürmiš/ BK E21: <u>kötürtügmä</u>
"	44. /birigmä/ BK E21: <u>berig</u> .
235	1. /bodunqa/ BK E21: <u>bodunta üzä</u>
"	2. /üčün/ BK E22: <u>üčün</u>
"	3. /udımadım/ BK E22: <u>udımadım</u>
"	4. /olurmadım/ Spelt: <u>olurmad</u>
"	5. /igidäyın/ BK E23: <u>igidäyın</u>
"	6. /uluγ sü/ is absent in BK E23
"	7. /yarlıq(q)azu/ BK E23: <u>yarlıq(q)aduz</u>
"	8. /qutum bar üčün ülügüm bar üčün/ BK E23: <u>qutum ülügüm bar üčün</u>
"	9. /tonluγ/ BK E23: <u>tonluγ qiltim</u>
237	1. /kälürti/ Written: <u>kälüti</u>

The Bilgä Kagan Inscription

East

(E1) täñri täg, täñri yaratmiš türük bilgä qa'yan sabım: qañim türük bilgä [qa'yan.] tñ sir, toquz o'uz, ekı ādiz kārākūlūg bağlārı bodunı! [. tñ]rük täñ[ri] (E2) üzä qa'yan olurtum. olurtuquma öltäčičä saqınıñma türük bağlār bodun āgirip sābinip toñta-miš közı yūg(g)ārū körti. bōdkä özüm olurup bunča a'yar törüg tört bulugdağı [.]dim.¹ (E24) az bodunuy űkūš qiltim. i'yar elligdä [i]yar qa'yanlıyda yeg qiltim. tört bulugdağı bodunuy qop baz qiltim, ya'isiz qı[lti]m; qop maña körti. yeti yegirmi yaşıma tañut tapa sülädim. tañut bodunuy buzdum, o'ylın yo[tuz]ın yılqısın barımın anta altım. säkiz yegirmi yaşıma altı č[ub soγdaq] (E25) tapa sülädim. bodunuy anta buzdum. tab[yač o]ñ tutuq bes tūmān sū kälti. iduq bašda süñüşdüm. ol süg anta yoq qışdım. yegirmi yaşıma, basmıl iduq (qu)t o'yuşum bodun ārti, arqış idmaz tiyin sülädim. q[. . .]m, ičgärtim, qalıñ[ın?] ābirū kälürtüm. ekı otuz yaşıma tabyač (E26) tapa sülädim. čača sāñün säkiz tūmān [sū] birlä süñüşdüm. sūsın anta ölürtüm. altı otuz yaşıma čik bodun qırqız birlä ya'ı boltı. kām kāčā čik tapa sülädim. örpäntä süñüşdüm. sūsın sančdım. az [b]o[dunuy altı]m [. . . . ič]-gärtim. yeti otuz yaşıma qırqız tapa sülädim. süñüg batımı (E27) qarıy sōküpān kōgmān yišıy to'ya yo[rıp] qırqız bodunuy uda basdım. qa'yanın birlä soña yišda süñüşdüm. qa'yanın ölürtüm, ilin anta altım. ol yılqa tūrgis tapa altun yišıy aša [ār]tis ögüzüg kāčā yorı[dım, tūrgis bodunuy uda] basdım. tūrgis qa'yan sūsı otča borča kälti. (E28) bolčuda süñüşdümüz. qa'yanın yabγu[sı]n šadın anta ölürtüm, ilin anta altım.

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

otuz yaşıma bes baliq tapa sülädim. altı yolı süğüşdüm, [..... sü]sın qop ö[lü]rtim. anta içraki nâ kişi tin [.....]i yoq [bolta]çi är[ti.....]a oqıyalı kälti. bes baliq anı üçün ozdı. otuz artuqı (E29) bir yaşıma qarluq bodun buqsız [är]ür barür ärkli yağı boltı. tamaγ iduq başda süğüşdüm. qarluq bodunuγ ölürtüm, anta altım. [..... bas]mıl qara [.....] qarluq bodun tir[ilip kälti.....]m ö[lürtüm]. t[oquz oγu]z mäneñ bodunum ärti. tängri yer bulyaqın üçün, ödñ[ä] (E30) küni tägdük üçün yağı boltı. bir yılqa tört yolı süğüşdüm. aq ilkı toγu baliqda süğüşdüm. toyla ögüzüg yüzüti kächip süsı [.....] ekinti antırıda süğüşdüm, süsın sančdım [.....] üçünç çuş başınta süğüşdüm. türük bodun adaq qamşat(t)ı, yablaq (E31) boltaçi ärti. oza yaña käligmä süsın aγıt(t)im. üküş öltäçi anta tirilti. anta toñra yilpaγutı bir oγuşuγ toña tigin yoγ[inta] äğirä toqıdım. ^{toñra-ber üzüg-örüt-ıy} törtünç äzginti qadızda süğüşdüm. süsın anta sančdım, yabrıtdım. [.....] yabrıt [.....] yaşı]ma amγı qorγan qışladuqda yut boltı. yazıña (E32) oγuz tapa sülädim. ilki sü taşıqmiş ärti, ekın sü äbdä ärti. üç oγuz süsı basa kälti. yadaγ yabız boltı tip alγalı kälti. [siñ]ar süsı äbig barqıγ yulγalı bardı, siñar süsı süğüşgäli kälti. biz az ärtimiz, yabız ärtimiz. oγ[uz.....]t¹ yaγı?..... tängri] küç birtük üçün anta sančdım, (E33) yañdım. tängri yarlıq(q) - aduq üçün, män qazγantıq üçün türük bodun qazγ[anmiş? äri]nç. män iniligü bunça başlayı qazγanma [sar] türük bodun öltäçi ärti, yoq [bolta]çi ärti. [türük] bağlar [bodun anç]a saqınñ, ança biliñ. oγuz bo[dun.....]d¹ idmayın tiyin sülä[dim], (E34) äbın barqın buzdum. o[γuz] bodun toquz tatar birlä tirilip kälti. aγuda ekı uluγ süğüş süğüşdüm. süsın [buz]dum, elın anta altım. ança qazγan[ip.....]tängri] yarlıq(q) - aduq üçün ö[züm] otuz artuqı ü[ç yaşıma.....]juq ärti. ödsig ötülüg ki[şı?] (E35) igidmiş al[p qazγanña ya]ñıltı. üzä tängri, iduq yer sub, [äçim qa]-γan qutı taplamadı ärinç. toquz oγuz bodun yerin subın idip tabγačγaru bardı. tabγač [.....] bu yerdä kälti. igidäyin tiyin saq[inı?.....] bodun [....] (E36) yazuqla [.....] bi]riyä tabγačda

atı küsı yoq boltı; bu yerdä maña qul boltı. män özüm qaγan olurtuqum üçün türük bodunuγ [.....]i qılmađım. [ilig] törüg yegdi qazγantım. id[.....] tirilip[y².....] (E37) [anta süğü]şdüm, süsın sančdım. içikigmä içikdi, bodun boltı; ölügmä ölti. säläñä qodı yorıpan qarγan qışilta äbın barqın anta buzdum. [.....] yişqa aγdı. uyγur el[t]äbär yüzçä ärin ilg[är]ü t[äzip bardı?.....] (E38) [.....]ti. türük bodun äç ärti. ol yılqıγ alıp igit(t)im. otuz artuqı tört yaşıma oγuz täzip tabγačqa kirti. ökünüp sülädim. suqun [.....]oγlın yotuzın anta altım. eki el-täbärlig bodun [.....] (E39) [.....] t[atab]ı bodun tabγač qaγanqa körti. yala-bačı, ädgü sabı, ötügı kälmaız tiyin yayın sülädim. bodunuγ anta buzdum, yılqı[sın.....] süsı tirilip kälti. qadırqan yiş qon[.....] (E40) [.....]yaqıña yerinärü subıñaru qontı. biriyä qarluq bodun tapa sülä tip tudun yamtariγ it(t)im; bardı. [.....] qarluq il[täbär yoq bolmiş, inisı bir qorγ[anqa?.....] (E41) [.....]ar]qişi yälmädi. anı anıtayın tip sülädim. qorıyu ekı üç kisiligü täzip bardı. qara bodun qaγanım kälti tip ög[di?.....] [qa ät birtim. kiçig atlıγ[iγ?.....]

South-East

(SE) [.....kök] öñüg yoγuru sü yorıp tünli künlı yiti ödüškä subsız kächdım. čoraqqa yägip yuluγçı [äri]g q[.....]s² kächinkä tägi [.....]

South

(S1) [.....tab]γač atlıγ süsı bir tümän artuqı yeti biñ süg ilki kün ölürtüm. yadaγ süsın ekinti kün qop [ölür]tüm. bi[.....]aşıp bard[.....] (S2) [.....y]olı sülädim. otuz artuqı säkiz yaşıma qışın qıtañ tapa sü[lädim.....] otuz artuqı toquz yaşı]ma yazın tatabı tapa sü[lädim.....] (S3) [...] män [.....] ölürtüm, oγlın yotuz[in yı]lqısın barımın [.....]rä qo[.....] (S4)

bod[un....yo]tuzin yoq q[ilim.....] (S5) yor[....
] (S6) sü[üşdüm?.....]
 (S7) [ber]tim. alp ärin ölüp [bal]bal qilu bertim. älig
 yaşima tatabi bodun qitanda ad[rilti?.....]lkär
 ta'ya [.....] (S8) qu säün başadu tört
 tümän sü kälti. tönkäs ta'ya tägip toqıdım. üç tümän
 süg [ölürtü]m, b[ir tümän?.....]rsär [.....
ökt² m] tatabi [.....] (S9) ö[lü]rti.
 ulu' oylum a'yrip yoq bolça qu' säünüg balbal tikä birtim.
 män toquz yegirmi yıl şad olurtum, toq[uz yegir]mi yıl
 [qayan olu]rtum, il tutdum. otuz artuqı bir [.....]
 (S10) türükümä bodunuma [y]egin ança qazyanu birtim.

bunça qazyanıp [qañim qayan i]t yıl onunç ay altı
 otuzqa uça bardı. la'yzin yıl bisinç ay yiti otuzqa yo'q
 ärtürtüm. buquy tutqu [.....] (S11) qañi lisün tay säün
 başad[u] bis yüz ärän kälti. qoqılıq ö[.....]
 altun kümüs kargaksız kälürti. yo'q yipariy kälürüp tikä
 birti. čintan i'yač kälürüp öz yar[.....] (S12) bunça bodun
 sačın qulqaqın [.....b]içdi; ädgü özlük atın, qara kisın,
 kök täyänin sansız kälürüp qop qot(t)i. (S13) täñri täg,
 täñri yaratmış türük bilgä [qayan s]abim: qañim türük
 bilgä qayan olurtuqınta türük matı bağlar, kisrā tarduş
 bağlar kül čor başlayu ulayu şadpıt bağlar, öñrā tölis
 bağlar apā tarqa[n] (S14) başlayu ulayu şad[pıt] bağlar, bu
 [.....] taman tarqan, tonyuquq boyla ba'ya
 tarqan ulayu buyruq [.....] ič buyruq säbig kül irkin
 başlayu ulayu buyruq, bunça matı bağlar qañim qayanqa
 ärtiñü (S15) ärtiñü ti ma'y i[tdi?.....t]ürük bağların
 bodunın ärtiñü ti ma'y itdi ögd[i?..qañim] qayan [.....]ča
 a'yar taşı'yoğun i'y türük bağlar bodun i[.....]irti.
 özümä bunça [.....]

North

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

[qañim] (N9) qayan, äčim qayan olurtuqınta tört bu-
 luñdağı bodunu' nänčä itm[iş.....] täñri yarlıq(q)aduq
 [üčün ö]züm olurtuquma [tört buluñdağı] bodunu' itdim
 yaratdım. [.....] qıltım. [...t]ürgis qayanqa

qizim[in.....] ärtiñü ulu' törün ali birtim. tür[gis qayan]
 (N10) qizın ärtiñü ulu' törün oyluma ali birtim. [.....
 ärtiñü u]lu' [törün ali] birtim. [.....]
 ärtü[rtü]m [.....başlıy]i'y yöküntürtüm,
 tizligig sökürtüm. üzä täñri asra yer yarlıq(q)aduq üç[ün..]
 (N11) közün körmädük, qulqaqın äsidmädük bodunumın
 işgärü kün to[ysiqıña?] birigärü [.....]qa, qurı'yarı
 [.....] sarıy altunı[n], ürün
 kümüşin, qır'aylıy qutayın, äkinlig äsg[itis]in, özlük atın,
 ad'yirın, qara k[isın], (N12) kök täyänin türükümä bodunuma
 qazyanu birtim, iti birtim. [.....]n² buñsız qıltım.
 üz[ä täñ]ri ärklig [.....]
] (N13) [.....] igidiñ. ämgätmäñ,
 tolyatmañ. [...m] türük bağlar, türük bodunum [.....]
] qazyanıp yañ[.....]a
 bu qayanıñda, bu bağlarig[dä, su]buñd[a adrılmasar?]
 tü[rük bodun] (N14) özün ädgü körtäçi sän, äbiñä [ki]rtäçi
 sän, buñsız boltaçi s[än.....anta] kisrā [tab'yač
 qayant]a bädizçi qop k[älürtüm. mäniñ s]abimın simadı,
 ičräki bädizçi it(t)i. a'yar adınč(č)i'y barq yaratid(d)im;
 ičin taşın adınč(č)i'y bädiz [urturtum. taş toqıtdım; köñül-
 täki sabimın urturtum] (N15) on oq oylıña tatiña
 tägi bunı kördü biliñ. bängü taş [toqıtdım]
 toqıtdım, bitid(d)im. [.....] ol taş barqın [.....]

West

- (W1) [...] üzä [- - -]
- (W2) bilgä qayan u[çdi?]
- (W3) yay bolsar, üzä t[äñri]
- (W4) köbürgäsı ätärčä anč[a taqı?]
- (W5) ta'ya siyun ätsär, [anča?]
- (W6) saqınūr män. qañim q[ayan]
- (W7) taşın özüm qayan [-?]

[-----]
 [-----]

South-West

(SW) [- bilgä] qayan b[itigın?] yol(l)u'y tigin bitidim.
 bunça barqıy bädizig uzu' [.....] q[ayan] atisı

yol(1)uγ tigin mǎn ay artuqī tōrt kūn [olu]rup bitīdim, bǎdiz-
tim. yaγ[--].

The Tonyukuk Inscription

I. West

(W1) bilgā toṇuquq bǎn ōzūm tabγač iliṇǎ qīlīntim.
türk bodun tabγačqa kōrūr ārti. (W2) türk bodun qanīn
bulmayin tabγačda adrīltī, qanlantī. qanīn qodup tabγačqa
yana ičikdi. tāṇri anča temis ārinč: qan bertim; (W3)
qanīṇin qodup ičikdiṇ. ičikdük üçün tāṇri ōlūtmiş ārinč.
türk bodun ōlti, alqīntī, yoq boltī. türk sir bodun yerintā
(W4) bod qalmadī. ida tašda qalmisī qubranīp yeti yüz
boltī. ekī ūlūḡī atliγ ārti, bir ūlūḡī yadaγ ārti. yeti yüz
kisīḡ (W5) uduzuγma uluγī šad ārti. yaγ(γ)il tidi. yaγmisī
bǎn ārtim. bilgā toṇuquq. qaγan mu qīsayīn tedim. saqīn-
tīm: toruq būqalī sāmis būqalī īraqda (W6) būḡsār, sāmis
būqa toruq buqa teyin bilmāz ārmis teyin anča saqīntīm.
anta kisrā tāṇri bilig bertük üçün ōzūm ōzūm ōk qaγan
qīsdīm. bilgā toṇuquq boyla baγa tarqan (W7) birlā il-teris
qaγan boluyīn biriyā tabγačīγ, ōḡrā qītanīγ, yīrīya oγuzuγ
ūkūs ōk ōlūrti. bilgāsī čabīsī bǎn ōk ārtim. čoγay quzīn,
qara qumuγ olurur ārtimiz.

II. South

(S1) keyik yiyū, tabīsyan yeyū olurūr ārtimiz. bodun
boγuzī toq ārti. yaγīmiz tāḡrā učuq tāḡ ārti; biz ašig (?)
ārtimiz. anča olurur ārkli oγuzduntan kōrūḡ kāliti. (S2)
kōrūḡ sabī antaγ: toquz oγuz bodun ūzā qaγan olurtī tir.
tabγačγaru qunī sāḡūnūḡ īdmis, qītanīγaru toḡra āsimig
īdmis; sab anča īdmis: azqīna türk [bodun?] (S3) yorīyūr
ārmis. qaγanī alp ārmis, ayγučisī bilgā ārmis. ol ekī
kisī bar ārsār sini tabγačīγ ōlūrtāčī tir mǎn, ōḡrā qītanīγ
ōlūrtāčī tir mǎn, bini oγuzuγ (S4) ōlūrtāčik tir mǎn.

tabyač biridin yān tæg, qıtañ öñdün yān tæg, bān yiridinta yan tægäyīn. türk sir bodun yerintā idi yorımazun. usar idi yoq qısalım (S5) tir mān. ol sabıy āsidip tūn udısqım kālmādi, küntüz olursıqım kālmādi. anta ötrü qayanıma ötüntüm. anča ötüntüm: tabyač, oğuz, qıtañ bučāgū qabıs(s)ar (S6) qaltaçı biz. öz (i)či tasın tutmis tæg biz. yuyqa ārkli toplağalı uçuz ārmis, yinčgā ārkli üzgāli uçuz; yuyqa qalın bolsar toplağuluq alp ārmis, yinčgā (S7) yoğun bolsar üzgölük alp ārmis. öñrā qıtañda, biriyā tabyačda, qurıya quridinta, yirıya oğuzda ekı üč biñ sūmiz kältāçimiz bar mu nā? anča ötüntüm. (S8) qayanım [bān] özüm bilgā toñuquq ötüntük ötüncümin āsidü berti. köñ-lüñčā uduz tedi. kök öñgū yoğuru ötükan yışaru uduztum. in(i)gāk kölikin toylada oğuz kälti. (S9) [sūsı üč biñ] ārmis. biz ekı biñ ārtimiz. sūñsūdūmiz. tægri yarlıq(q)adı, yāñdūmiz. ögüzkā tūdsi. yāñduq volta yāmā ölti kök. anta ötrü oğuz qopin kälti. (S10) tū[rk qayanıy] türk bodunuğ ötükan yerkā bān özüm bilgā toñuquq ötükan yerig qonmis teyin āsidip biriyāki bodun, qurıyaqı öñrāki bodun kälti.

East

(E1) ekı biñ ārtimiz. [ekı] sūm[iz b]oltı. türk bodun q[ılın]yalı, türk qayan olurğalı santuğ balıq(q)a, taluy ögüzkā tægmis yoq ārmis. qayanima ötüñp sū eltdim, (E2) santuğ b[alıq(q)a] taluy [ögüz]kā tægürtüm. üč otuz balıq sidı. usın buntatu yurtda yatu qalūr ārti. tabyač qayan yañımız ārti, on oq qayanı yañımız ārti; (E3) art[uq? qırqız] küčl[üg qayan yañımız] boltı. ol üč qayan öglāsip altun yīs üzā qabisalım temis. anča öglāsmis: öñrā türk qayanıyaru sūlālīm temis. aqaru sūlāmāsār qačan (n)āñ ārsār ol bizni (E4) [qayanı alp ārmis], ayğūçisı bilgā ārmis, qačan (n)āñ ārsār ölürtāçı kök. üčāgūn qabisip sūlālīm, idi yoq qısalım temis. tūrgis qayan anča temis: bāniğ bodunum anta ārūr temis. (E5) [türük bodunı yāmā] bulıanč [o]l [temi]s, oğuzı yāmā tarqınč ol temis. ol sabın āsidip tūn yāmā udısqım kālmāz ārti, kün yāmā olursıqım kālmāz ārti. anta saqıntıma. (E6) [ilk qırqız]qā sū[lās]ār [yeg? ār]mis tedim. kögmān yolı bir ārmis; tumis teyin āsidip bu yolun yorısar yaramaçı tedim. yerçi tilādim.

čölgi az ārī bultum, (E7) āsit(t)im: az yir y[olı?] anı b[ırlā?] ... ār]mis, bir at-oruqı ārmis, anın barmis. aqar aytıp bir atlıy barmis teyin ol yolun yorısar unč tedim, saqıntım. qayanıma

North

(N1) ötüntüm, sū yorıtdım. tal atın tedim. aq tārnil kāčā oğurqalatdım. at üzā bintürā qarıy sōkdūm; yoq(q)aru at yātā, yadağın, iyač tutunu ayturtum. öñrāki ār (N2) yoğurča [idip] i bar baš asdımiz. yubulu intimiz. on tūnkā yantaqı tuğ ābirū bardımiz. yerçi yer yañılıp boğuzlantı. buğadıp qayan yālū kör temis. (N3) anı sub[qa] bard[imiz]. ol sub qodı bardımiz. asanğalı tūsürtümiz. atıy iqa bayūr ārtimiz. kün yāmā tūn yāmā yālū bardımiz. qırqızıy uqa basdımiz. (N4) [usın?] sūñgūn ačdımiz. qanı sūsı terilmis. sūñsūdūmiz, sančdımiz; qanın ölürtümiz. qay-anqa qırqız bodunı içikdi yūkünti. yantımiz; kögmān yışıy ābirū kältimiz, (N5) qırqızda yantımiz. tūrgis qayanta körüg kälti, sabı antāg: öñdün qayanıyaru sū yorılim temis; yorımasar bizni, qayanı alp ārmis, ayğūçisı bilgā ārmis, qačan (n)āñ ārsār (N6) bizni ölürtāçı kök temis. tūrgis qayanı tasıqmis tidi, on oq bodunı qalısiz tasıqmis tir. tabyač sūsı bar ārmis. ol sabıy āsidip qayanım bān ābgārū tūsāyın tidi. (N7) qatun yoq bolmis ārti; anı yoğlatayın tedi. sū barıñ tedi, altun yīsda oluruğ tedi. sū bası ināl qayan; tardus sad barzun tedi. bilgā toñuquq(q)a bağa aydı: (N8) bu sūg elt tidi, qıyınıy köñlūñčā ay; bān sāñā nā ayayın tidi. kālir ārsār kör ökölür, kālmāz ārsār tilıy sabıy alı olur tidi. altun yīsda olurtumiz. (N9) üč körüg kisı kälti, sabı bir: qayan sū tasıqdı, on oq sūsı qalısiz tasıqdı tir. yaris yazıda tirilālīm temis. ol sabıy āsidip qayanıyaru ol sabıy it(t)im. qanta yan sabıy yana (N10) kälti. oluruğ tiyin temis; yālū qarıy ādūti uyğıl, basıtma temis. bōg(ū) qayan bağaru anča yidmis; apā tarqanıyaru içrā sab idmis: bilgā toñuquq anıy ol, üz ol; (N11) sū yorılim tedāçı; unāmañ. ol sabıy āsidip sū yorıtdım. altun yışıy yolsizin asdımiz, ārtis ögüzgū kāçig-sizin kāçdimiz. tūn aqıtdımiz; bolčuqa tağ öntürü tægdimiz.

(W1) filiγ kälürti. sabī antaγ: yarīs yazīda on tümän sü terilti tir. ol sabīγ äsidip bağlar qop[in] (W2) yanalım, ariγu batı yeg tedi. bän anča ter män, bän bilgä toñuquq: altun yisīγ asa kältimez, ärtis ögüzüg (W3) kăčă kältimez. kälmiş alp tidi, tuymadı. tängri umay, iduq yer sub basa berti ärinč. năkă tăzăr biz? (W4) öküs teyin năkă qorqūr biz? az teyin nă basīnalım? tăgälim tidim. tăgdimiz, yulidimiz. ekīnti kün (W5) örtčă qızıp kälti. süğüsdümüz. bizintä ekī uči siqarča artuq ärti. tängri yarlıq(q)aduq üčün öküs teyin (W6) qorqmadımız, süğüsdümüz. tardus sadra udı yandımız. qaγanın tutdumuz. yabγusın sadın (W7) anta ölürti. äligčă är tutdumuz. ol oq tün bodunın sayu it(t)imiz. ol sabīγ äsidip on oq bağları bodunı qop (W8) kälti, yūkünti. käligmă bağların bodunın itip yīγip azča bodun tăzmis ärti. on oq süsın sülätidim; (W9) biz yämă sülädimiz. anı ärt(t)imiz. yinčü ögüzüg kăčă tinsi oγlı aytiγma bänglig äk taγiγ ärtü

South

(S1) tămir qapıγqa tăgi irtimiz. anta yanturtumuz. inäl qaγanqa [anıp ... t¹ saqa?] tăzık toqar[s¹ in ...] (S2) anta bärüki asuq baslıγ soγdaq bodun qop kälti, yūkünti [...]. türük bodun tămir qapıγqa, tinsi oγlı (S3) tinsi oγlı aytiγma taγqa tăgmis idi yoq ärmis. ol yertä bän bilgä toñuquq tăgürtük üčün (S4) sarıγ altun, ürüng kümüs, qız qoduz, ägri tăbi aγı buqsız kälürti. il-teris qaγan bilgäsın üčün, (S5) alpın üčün tabγačqa yeti yegirmi süğüsdü, qıtanqa yeti sürüsdü, oγuzqa bes sündü. anta ayγuči[sı?] (S6) yämă bän ök ärtim, yaγiči[sı] yämă bän ök ärtim. il-teris qaγanqa, türük b(ö)gü qaγanqa, türük bilgä qaγanqa

East

(E1) qapγan qaγan [yeti] otuz [..... anta ärti] qapγan qaγan olurtdum. tün udimatı (E2) küntüz olurmatı, qızıl qanım töküti qara tärim yögürti (i)sig küčüg bertim ök. uzun yälmăg yämă it(t)im oq, (E3) arquy qarγuγ

ulγartdım oq. yanıγma yaγiγ kälürir ärtim. qaγanımın sü eltdimiz. tängri yarlıq(q)azu (E4) bu türük bodun ara yariqlıγ yaγiγ yältürmädim, tögünlüg atıγ yögürtmädim. il-teris qaγan qazγanmasar (E5) udu bän özüm qazγanmasar il yämă bodun yämă yoq ärtäči ärti. qazγantuqın üčün udu özüm qazγantuqum üčün (E6) il yämă il boltı, bodun yämă bodun boltı. özüm qarı boltum, uluγ boltum. năγ yerdäki qaγanlıγ bodunqa (E7) büntägi bar ärsär nă buγı bar ärtäči ärmis? (E8) türük bilgä qaγan ilıñä bititdim. bän bilgä toñuquq.

North

(N1) il-teris qaγan qazγanmasar, yoq ärti ärsär, bän özüm bilgä toñuquq qazγanmasar, bän yoq ärtim ärsär, (N2) qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerintä bod yämă bodun yämă kisı yämă idi yoq ärtäči ärti. (N3) il-teris qaγan bilgä toñuquq qazγantuq üčün qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yorıduqı bu. türük bilgä qaγan türük sir bodunuγ, oγuz bodunuγ igidü olurur.

The Ongin Inscription

Main Inscription

Front

- (F1) äčümiz apāmiz yamī qaγan tōrt buluγuγ qīsmis, yīγmis, yaymis, basmis. ol qan yōq boltuqda kisrā el yitmis ičγīnmis, [q ... r²]
- (F2) qaγanladuq qaγanın ičγīnī idmis. türk bodun ögrā kūn toγsīqīqa kisrā kūn batsīqīqa tāgi, biriyā tabγačqa yīriyā yis[qa tāgi]
- (F3) alp ārin balbal qīsdī. türk bodun atī yoq bolu barmis ārti. türk bodun yitmāzūn teyin, yuluq ārmāzūn teyin ūzā tāγri ter ārmis: [.....]
- (F4) qapγan el-teris qaγan elinqā qīlīntīm. el-etmis yabγu oγlī, (i)sbara tamγan čor yabγu inisī bilgā isbara tamγan tarqan. aymaγlīγ [... el]etmis atam [.....]
- (F5) ba[sa] tabγačda yīriyā atig oγuz ara yeti ārān yaγī bolmis. qarjīm [...] tāγrikān yān anta yorīmis, isig kūčīn bermis [ārti.....]
- (F6) tāγrikānkā isig bertīγ teyin yarlīq(q)amis, sad atīγ anta bermis boltuqda toquz oγuz atig yaγī ārmis, bādūk ārmis. tāγrikān yorī[mis]
- (F7) yabiz bat biz. azīγ ūkūsūg körtüg; ār [s² g ti?]. sūl[āli]m ter ārmis. matī bāglārim ā ter ārmis, biz az biz teyin qorq [małīm?]
- (F8) qarjīm sad anča ötūnmis: tārrikān al[qīnmazun, bodu]n anta [qut?] ārmāzkā tas[ulmazun?]

Right

- (R1) qam[il] balīq(q)a tāgdim, qunladīm, altīm. sūsī kāliti; qarasīn yiγdīm, bāgī qačdī. [....]γ ārti. tabγač

bodun [.....] toqıdım, yıyđım, basđım,
yayđım. [.....] buzqunča (R2) kälir ärtimiz.
ekın ara atig yağı bolmis. tãgmäçi măn teyin saqıntım.
tãğri bilgä qayanqa [t]aqı (i)sig küčüg bersäğim bar ärmis
ärinč. tãgdükın üçün [.....] sančđım. äbkä
tãgdüküm. uruš qılıp (R3) tãgip inimä oyluma anča ötlädim:
qay yorıp el-teris qayanqa adrılmaduq, yağılmaduq. tãğri
bilgä qayanta adrılmalım, azmalım teyin anča ötlädim.
kerü bariyma bardı; bilgä qayanıñ bodunı [....]liri
bardı, ülgän atqa (i)sig küčüg berti. (R4) üzä tãğri qon
yılqa yetinč ay küčlüg alp qayanımnda adrılı bardıñız.
bilgä atačım, yoğuş qorağırnı qu[rad]ım. [su]b yer tãğri
öđ[.....] kirür ärti.

Supplementary Inscription

- (Supp. 1) [atačım]qa bitig t[aşı]γ
(Supp. 2) [toqıt]đım. bāñigü
(Supp. 3) [taşıγ? urtu?]m. atačım
(Supp. 4) [bil]gä at[ači]m, [lū?]
(Supp. 5) [yılqa] bit[idim?]
(Supp. 6) [kälü]g är, ädgü q[an?]
(Supp. 7) [.....]

The Balbal

(i)sbara tarqan balbalı

The Küli Čor Inscription

West

- (W1) [.....]n² üçün [.....] čıqan
tonyuquq atıγ bermis [...]
(W2) [.....]tduqda yügürmis, işbara čıqanküli
čor bolmis [...i] čor [.....]
(W3) [.....elteris] qayan elıntä qarıp ädgü äbıñä körti.
uluγ küli čor säkiz on yasap yoq bolt[i.....]
(W4) [.....]özlükı boz at ärti. kädım b[äñizi?] alpı
ärdämı anta kükädi. türk bodunqa u[.....]
(W5) [.....]γr¹ çuluγan yağı(t)uqda [küli] čor [.....]γ
sančıp öldürüp oylın kisısın bulun qı[ltı?.....]
(W6) [.....bu.] az elig tutdı. yer az [.....]rti. küli
čor türk bodun bāglār [.....]
(W7) [.....bi]lgäsın üçün, alpın
ärdämın [üçü]n q[azγ]antı.
(W8) [.....]lir. işbara bilgä
küli čor kisı [.....]
(W9) [.....] ärti. süñüs bolsar
čärig itär ärti. ab ablasar äram älä tãg ärti [.....]
(W10) [.....] sančdı. kãčãndã tümät
sükä süñüsdi. küli čor oplayu tãgip süsın [.....]
(W11) [.....] altı [.....] bes baliqda tört
sü[ñüs] süñüsdükdä küli čor oplayu tãgip bulγayu [...]
(W12) [.....tab]yačqa bunča süñüsüp alpın
ärdämın üçün kü bunča tutdı [.....]

East

- (E1) [.....] işbara bilgä küli čor] oylın
[kisıs]ın uduztuq[i al?]duqı [.]dükı yer alduqı.

- (E2) [.....] isbara bil]gā kūli čor tarduš bodunuy
iti ayu olurti [.....]
- (E3) [....]γ ōzlūkī binip o[playu tāgi]p ūč ārig sančdī.
t[ūmātkā?] sūṇūsddūkdā kūli čor ōzlūkī yāgrān at binip [...]
- (E4) [...] anta kerū barip yinčū ōgūzūg kāčā tāmīr qapīγqa,
tāzikkā tāgi sū[.....]ā qazγantī. toquz oγuzqa yeti
sūṇūs sūṇūsddūkdā
- (E5) [.....]a tōkdi. qītan' tat[abi ...]dā bes sūṇūs
sūṇūsddūkdā [kūli č]or taq bilgāsī čabīsī ārti, alpī bōkāsī
ārti.
- (E6) [.....kū]li čor yeti yašīṇa yeg ār[.....]rti.
[.....]yaš[iṇa] [.] azīγīγ toq[uz ār ō]lūrti. [qar]luq
yaγīt(t)uqda ātizdā sūṇūsddūkdā
- (E7) [....bilg]ā kūli č[or] anta kisrā qarluqqa yām[ā....
idil? aqī]n binip oplayu tāgip sanča īdīp topulu ōnti. yama
aγītīp [.....]
- (E8) [.....] sū sūrti. qarluquy kāčgint[i], sīmad[i].
qarluq tapa [....]γalī barip azu ār[ān] yana ābīṇā sūṇūs
kīgūrti. qarluq atlanī. anča sōn
- (E9) [...q]arluq yāgrān ārmākig arqāsīn siyu urti. qarluq
[n¹...n² turu. ...]γ ārtābār ōzī kālti. sir irkin oγlī
yigān čor kālti.
- (E10) [.....]γalī sūlādi. sūṇūsūp sūsīn
sančdī, elīn altī, oγlīn kisīsīn bu[ln] ad[i ant]aγ [b]asa
isbara bilgā kūli čor [.....]
- (E11) [.....]rūkā tat[ar bul.....]
ūlūgī anča ārmis ārinč. yaγīqa yalīṇus oplayu tāgip opulu
kirip ōzī qīsya kārgāk boltī.
- (E12) [.....]n² qaγ[an] inisī [yāk] čor
tigin [kālīp] ulayu [tōr]t tigin kālīp isbara bilgā kūli čoruy
yoγlat(t)i; bādizīn bādizāt(t)i, olurt(t)i.
- (E13) [.....ūčū]n bu[.....] qazγantī, artuq yīlqīγ
igīt(t)i.

South

- (S1) [.....y]āk t[iḡī]n kālti, tad[iqīṇ?...] čorīṇ oγlī
yigān čor kālti [...]
- (S2) [.....]īn ūčūn bunča bodun qobsarīp yoγladī. bān
āzip b[itī]dim.
- (S3) [....] bilmāz biligin, biltūkūmūn ōddūkūmūn bunča bitīg
bitīdim.
- (S4) [.....]m buṇ[.....t¹.....]

III. TRANSLATIONS

The Kül Tigin Inscription

South

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

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

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

East

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

North

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

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

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

North-East

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

South-East

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

South-West

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

West

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

The Bilgä Kagan Inscription

East

(E1) I, the Heaven-like and Heaven-created Turkish Bilgä Kagan, (here are) my words: My father Turkish Bilgä Kagan O nomadic lords and peoples of the . . . Sir, Tokuz-Oguz and Eki-Ädiz! the Turkish Heaven (E2) I became kagan over the When I came to the throne, the Turkish lords and people, who were sorrowful as if they were to die, became pleased and delighted, and their down-looking eyes looked upward. After I had mounted the throne, I put and this many important rules (for the peoples) in the four quarters of the world.

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

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

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

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

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

South-East

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

arid land, the plunderers as far as Kāč'in

South

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

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

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

North

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

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

West

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

South-West

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

The Tonyukuk Inscription

I. West

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

II. South

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

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

I. East

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

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

I. North

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

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

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

II. West

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

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

II. South

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

II. East

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

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

II. North

(N1) If İlderiş Kagan had not won, or if he had never existed, and if I myself, Bilgä Tonyukuk, had not won, or if I had never existed, (N2) in the land of Qapγan Kagan and of Turkish Sir people, there would have been neither tribes, nor people, nor human beings at all. (N3) Since İlderiş Kagan and Bilgä Tonyukuk have won, the Turkish Sir people of Qapγan Kagan have flourished this much. (N4) Turkish Bilgä Kagan is (now) ruling, taking care of the Turkish Sir people and the Oguz people.

The Ongin Inscription

Main Inscription

Front

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

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

Right

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

The Supplementary Inscription

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

The Balbal

(This is) Isbara Tarqan's balbal.

The Küli Čor Inscription

West

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

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

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

South

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

IV. GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

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

ab chase, hunt

a. abla- KČ W9

abla- to chase, hunt

a. -sar KČ W9

ač- to open, clear up

a. -đimiz TI N4

āč hungry BK E38

āč- to feel hungry

ā. -sār BK N6

āčsiq the state of being hungry

ā. tosiq KT S8

ā. ömāz sān KT S8, BK N6

adaq foot

a. qamšat KT N7, BK E30

adγir stallion

a. -iγ KT E36

a. -īn BK N11

adīnč(č)iγ extraordinary, wonderful

a. barq KT S12, BK N14

a. bādiz BK N14

adril- to be separated

a. -fi TI W2

a. -u bar- O R4

adrilma- neg. of adril

a. -līm O R3

a. -duq O R3

(a. -azma-) O R3

(a. -yañilma-) O R3

aγ- to ascend, go up

a. -dī BK E37

aγar heavy, important (cf. iγar)

a. tašiγ BK S15

a. törüg BK E2

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

ädgü a. KT S7, BK N5

yablaq a. KT S7, BK N5

a. -sī KT S5, BK N4

a. -sīṇa KT S6, BK N5

aγīš wealth, property, possessions

a. -īn KT SW
(a. barīm) KT SW

aγīt- to put to flight

a. -(t)im BK E31

a. -ip KT N7, KC E7

aγī cf. aγī

a. -n ar- KT S5, BK N4

aγrī- to become sick

a. -p BK S9

aγtur- to cause to ascend

a. -tum TI N1

aγu geog. n.

a. -da BK E34

aq white KT E36, E40

a. -iγ KT N5, N6

a. -īn KT N2, N3, N9

[aq]īn KT N2 (9th word)

? [aqī]n KČ E7

aq tārmil (?ä) geog. n. TI N1

aqīt- to order to march, let raid

a. -dīmiz TI N11

a. -(t)īmiz KT N8

al- to take, capture, conquer

a. -tīm BK E24, E27, E28, E29, E34, E38; OR1

[altī]m BK E26

a. -tīmiz KT N2, E36, E38

a. -tī KČ E10, W11

a. -miš KT E40

a. -mis KT E2

? [al]duqī KČ E1

a. -γalī BK E32

a. -ip KT S7; BK N6, E38

a. -matīn KT S9, BK N7

a. -ī KT E8; BK E8, N9 N10; TI N8

(ölür- a.) KT E40, N2

(a. -ī bir-) KT E8; BK E8, N9, N1

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

a. -ī KČ W4, E5

a. -īn TII S5; KČ W7, W12

(a. bökä) KČ E5

(a. ärdäm) TII S5; KČ W7, W12

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

bir oγuš a. KT N7

alq- to finish, complete

a. -d[imī]z KT NE

alqīn- to be destroyed, be ruined, be annihilated

a. -tī TI W3

a. -tīγ KT S9, BK N7

(öl- a. yoq bol-) TI W3

(a. arīl-) KT S9, BK N7

alqīnma- neg. of alqīn-

al[qīnma-zu]n teyin O F8

altī six

a. čub soγdaq KT E31

a. č[ub soγdaq] BK E24

? [al]tī sir BK E1

a. yolī BK E28

a. otuz BK E26, S10

a. yegirmi KT E31

altun gold KT S5, BK S11, KT N12

[al]tun BK N3

sarīγ a. TII S4

a. -īn KT SW

[altunī]n BK N11

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

(aγī a. kümüş) KT N12

altun yīs, altun yīs geog. n. (the Great Altai Mountain)

a. yīs üzä TI E3

a. yīsda TI N7, N8

a. yīsīγ TI N11, TII W2

a. yīsīγ BK E27

alt(u)z- to cause to capture

a. -dī KT E38

amγa geog. n. (cf. amγī)

a. qorγan KT N8

amȳi cf. amȳa

a. qorȳan BK E31

amtī now, at present KT S3, E9; BK N2

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

a. sōn KČ E8

a. taqī KT S13

ančula- to present, submit

a. -dī KT E32

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

? [an]ī KT W

a. ūčün KT E3, BK E28

anī geog. n.

a. sub[qa] TI N3

anīn instr. of ol

a. barmis TI E7

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

a. bārūki
TII S2

a. ičrāki KT S2, BK N2

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

a. ötrü TI S5, S9

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

sabī a. TI S2, TII W1

a. ödkä KT E40

a. külüg KT E4, BK E5

[ant]aȳ [b]asa KČ E10

a. -īñin ūčün KT S8, BK N6

antäg cf. antaȳ

sabī a. TI N5

antīrȳu (? antarȳu) geog. n.

a. -da BK E30

aȳ most

a. ilk KT N4

a. ilkī KT E32, BK E30

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

aȳaru dir. of ol ('toward him') TI E3

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

inanču a. yarȳan tar-qan KT W2

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

a. -miz KT E19; OF1

(äčü a.) KT E1, E13, E19; BKE3, E12; OF1

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

a. tarqanȳaru TI N10

apar ethnic n. ('Avar')

a. purum KT E4, BK E5

ar- to cheat, deceive

a. -ip KT S5, BK N4

ara between, among

atig oȳuz a. OF5

türük bodun a. TII E4

ekīn a. KT E1, E2; BK E4; OR2

arī- to be exhausted, be fatigued

a. -ȳu TII W2

arīl- to vanish, be destroyed

a. -tīȳ KT S9

a. -[tīȳ] BK N7

(alqīn- a. -) KT S9, BK N7

armaqči tricky, deceitful

a. -sīn ūčün KT E6

[armaqčis] in ūčün
BK E6

arqa back, rump

a. -sīn KČ E9

arqış caravan BK E25

a. tirkış KT S8

[ar] qış-i BK E41

arquy fort, fortification

a. qarȳuȳ TII E3

artat- to destroy, ruin

a. -ī KT E22, BK E19

(a. -ī u-) BK E19

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

a. [qırqız] TI E3

a. yilqiy KČ E13
siğarča a. TII W5
yüz a. oqun KT E33
ay a. -i tört kün BK SW
otuz a. -i bir BK E28, S9
otuz a. -i üç BK E34
otuz a. -i dört BK E38
otuz a. -i yeti KT E5
otuz a. -i sākiz BK S2
qırq a. -i yeti KT E5
qırq a. -i [y]iti KT NE
bir tuman a. -i yeti biñ BK S1
artur- to be deceived, be taken in
a. -up (-qa a. -) KT S6, BK N5
as- to climb over (cf. aš-)
a. -dīm TI N11
a. -dīmiz TI N2
a. -a käl- TII W2
asan- to be fed, be nourished
a. ʔalī TI N3
asra below, in a lower place KT E1, E22; BK N10

as[ra] BK E2
asuq (? asoq) pers. n.
a basliγ soγdaγ bodun TII S2
aš- to climb over (cf. as-)
? a. -ip BK S1
a. -a BK E27
aša beyond
qadīr qan yišiy a. KT E21
kögmän a. KT E17, BK E15
ašig (?) mountain pass (?)
biz a. ärtimiz TI S1
ašru through, beyond
ud a. sanč- KT E36, N2
ašsüz without food, hungry
ičrä a. KT E26, BK E21
at horse
a. oruqī TI E7
boz a. KT E37, KČ W3
ol a. KT E33, E33, N4
toruγ a. KT E33
yägrän a. KČ E3
a. bin- KT E33, E37; KČ E3
a. üzä bintür- TI N1
a. yät- TI N1

a. -iy KT E33, TI N3, TII E4
a. -in (instr.) TI N1
a. -i (sü a.) KT E39
a. -in (aq a.) KT E40
(özlik a.) BKN11, S12
āt name, reputation (cf. at)
ā. bir- BK E41
ā. -iy KT W2, KČ W1
ā. -in (tabγac ā.) KT E7
(türük ā.) KT E7
at cf. āt
a. [bi]r- BK N13
är a. bul- KT E31
qaγan a. KT E20
a. -iy BK E17, OF6
a. -qa O R3
a. -i (türük bodun a.) O F3
(a. küsī) KT E25, E25; BK E20, E21, E22, E36
a. -in (türük a.) BK E7
(tabγac at[in]) BK E7

(a. -i küsī yoq bol-) KT E25, E25; BK E20, E21, E22, E36
ata father
a. -m ([el]etmis a.) O F4
atač beloved father
a. -im O Supp. 3, Supp. 4, R4
[atačim]qa O Supp. 1
ati nephew, son of one's brother
a. -sī KT S13, SE; BK SW
([q]aγan a.) BK SW
(kül tigin a.) KT SE
atig ethnic n. (? = A-tie of the Chinese sources) O R2
toquz oγuz a. O F6
a. oγuz ara O F5
atlan- to become mounted
a. -ti KČ E8
atliγ mounted, horseman, cavalry
bir a. TI E7
[tab]γač a.süsī BK S1
atliγ owning a rank or a title
kičig atliγ BK E41
ań- to fear, dread (cf. Mo. ayu- id.)

[ań'-ip] (-qa ań'-) TII S1
ańıy bad, evil KT S3; BK N2; TI N10
a. bilig KT S5, BK N4
a. kisı KT S7, BK N5
ańıt- to frighten, threaten (cf. ań'-)
a. -ayın BK E41
ay month
bisinč a. BK S10
onunč a. BK S10
toquzunč a. KT NE
yetinč a. O R4
yitinč a. KT NE
a. artuqı tört kün BK SW
ay- to tell, judge, rule, direct TI N8
a. -ayın TI N8
a. -dı TI N7
a. -ıyma KT SW
a. -u KČ E2
 (it- a. -) KČ E2
aymaıyly noble, of high lineage (?)

a. (... el) etmis atam O F4
ayıuči counselor
a. -sı TI S3, E4, N5
ay[ı]uč[isı] TII S5
ayt- to say (to a superior)
a. -ıyma (tinsi oıylı a.) TII W9, S3
a. -ıp TI E7
ayıuq dominion, realm
a. -ııqa (türük bilgä qaıyan a.)
az few, a few, less
biz a. biz O F7
biz a. ärtimiz BK E32
a. bodunuı KT S10, E29; BK N7, E24
a. ärin KT E40
a. teyin TII W4
a. -ıy BK E14, O F7
az yellow (of horse hair) ?
a. yaıızın KT N5, N8
az ethnic n. KČ W6
a. bodun KT N2, N3
a. bodunuı KT E19, BK E16
a. [b]o[dunuı] BK E26

a. älig KČ W6
a. eltäbärig KT N3
a. äri TI E6
a. tutuquı KT E38
a. yir TI E7
a. qırqız bodunuı KT E20, BK E17
az- to go astray, be separated
a. -u KČ E8
azča a few
a. bodun TII W8
aziıylıy ferocious, furious KČ E6
azqına few, very few
a. ärin KT E34
a. türk bodun TIS2
azma- neg. of az-
a. -lim (-ta ... a.) O R3
 (adrılma- a. -) O R3
azman yellowish (?) (cf. az)
a. aqıy KT N5, N6
azu or KT S10
azuq food, provisions

a. -ı (biziñ sü ... a.) KT E39
ba- to tie, fasten
b. -yur ärtimiz TI N3
baıa small, lower in rank
b. tarqan BK S14, TI W6
balbal statue of the killed enemy KT E16, E25; BK S7, S9, E13; O R3
b. -ı (isbara tarqan b.) O Bal.
 (b. qıl-) BK S7
 (b. qis-) O R3
 (b. tik-) KT E16, E25; BK S9, E13
balıq city, town BK E28, E28
üč otuz b. TI E2
b. -(q)a TI E1, O R1
b[alıq(q)a] TI E2
b. -da KT N4, BK E30, KČ W11
b. -daqı KT E12
 (bes b.) BK E28, E28; KČ W11
 (qam[ıl] b.) O R1
 (santun b.) TI E1, E2
 (toıu b.) KT N4, BK E30

balıq mud

b. -(q)a KT N8

baqa dat. of bän TI N7

baqaru dir. of bän TI N10

bar exists, existent, there is/are

i b. baš TI N2

qutum b. üçün KT E29, S9

qutum ülügüm b. üçün BK E23

ülügüm b. üçün KT E29

b. ärsär TI S3, TII E7

b. ärmis TI N6 251/287

b. ärmis ärinč OR2

b. ärtäči ärmis TII E7 253/290

b. ɣu KT S10, BKN8

b. mu nä TI S7

bar- to go away

b. -iɣ (sü b.) TI N7

b. -zun TI N7

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

b. -dī KT E34, E39; BK E20, E35, E40, E41, S10; OR3, R3

b. -dīmiz TI N2, N3, N3

bard[imiz?] TI N3

b. -dīɣiz OR4

b. -dīɣiz KT SE

b. -iɣma KT E24, BK E20, OR3

b. -duq KT E24, BK E20

b. -miš KT E28, BK E22

b. -mis KT E16, E23; TI E7, E7; OF3

b. -ur KT N1, BK E29

b. -ir KT E10

b. -ip KT S7; BK N6; KČ E4, E8 (?)

b. -sar KT S8, BK N6

barim property, possessions, wealth

b. -in KT N1, BK E24

b. -in KT SW

barq house, building, residence; tomb, mausoleum

ađinč(č)iɣ b. KT S12, BK N14

b. itgüči KT N13

b. -iɣ BK E32, SW

b. -in KT NE; BK E34, E37, N15

(äb b.) BK E32, E34, E37

(b. bädiz) BK SW, KT NE

bars pers. n.

b. bäg KT E20

bas cf. baš

b. -i (sü b.) TI N7

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

b. -dīm BK E27, E27; OR1

b. -dī KT N8

b. -dīmiz KT E35, E37; TI N3

b. -mis OF1

b. -a BK E32, TII W3

(b. -a ber-) TII W3

(b. -a käl-) BK E32

basa then, again

b[asa] OF5

bašiq- to thrust

b[asī]q-dī KT N8

bašin- to be overwhelmed

b. -aḥim TII W4

bašit- to let the enemy make a surprise attack

b.! TII E3

bašliɣ owning a leader (cf. bašliɣ)

asuq b. soɣdaq bodun TII S2

basma- neg. of bas-

b. -sar KT E22

b. -[sar] BK E18

basmil ethnic n.

b. iduq(qu)t BK E25

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

i bar b. TI N2

b. -da KT N1; BK E25, E29

b. -iɣa (yüziɣa b.) KT E33

b. -inta (čuš b.) KT N6

bašad- to lead, conduct, command

b. -u (qu säɣün b.) BK S8

b. -[u] (lisün tay säɣün b.) BK S11

bašɣu white headed (?)

b. boz KT E37

b. boz at KT E37

bašla- to lead, be at the head

b. -yu KT N8, N11;
BK E33

b. -yu ulayu BK S13,
S14, S14

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

baş[lay]u BK E13

başlıy proud (lit.: 'having
a head')

b. -iy KT E2, E15,
E18; BK E13, E16

b. -[iy] BK E3

[başlıy]iy BK N10

bat no doubt, certainly

yabız b. biz O F7

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

b. -ar (kün b. ärkli)
MČ

batı certainly (?) TII W2

batım the going down,
sinking

b. -ī (süngü b. qarīy)
KT E35, BK E26

batsiq the setting (of the
sun), sunset

b. -daqı (kün b.) KT
N12

b. -īpa (kün b.) KT S2,
BK N2, O R2

bay rich, prosperous

b. qıl- KT E29, S10;
BK E14, N7

bayırqu ethnic n.

yir b. uluγ irkin KT
E34

yir b. yirīnā KT S4,
BK N3

b. -niγ KT E36

b. -n[īn] KT E35

baz subject, vassal

b. qaγan KT E14, E16;
BK E12, E13

b. qıl- KT E2, E15;
BK E13, E24

bädiz picture, design

b. urtur- KT S12, BK
N14

b. yarat- KT N13

b. -ig (barqīy b. uzuγ)
BK SW

b. -īn (barqīn b.) KT NE

b. -[ī]n bädizät- KČ E12

bädiz- to design, decorate

b. -tim (bitīdim b.) BK
SW

bädizči painter, artist KT
S11, BK N14

b. -g KT S12, NE; BK N14

bädizät- to get someone
to design

b. -(t)im KT S11

b. -(t)i (bädizīn b.)
KČ E12

bädük great, powerful

b. ärmis O F6

bäg lord, chief, ruler (a
title)

bars b. KT E20

b. -lī bodunlī KT E6

b. -in (yigän silig b.)
KT E33

b. -ī O R1

bäglär the Turkish aris-
tocracy, the upper class,
lords, knights (coll. of
bäg)

matī b. BK S13, S14

šadpīt b. KT S1, BK
S13

šad[pīt] b. BK S14

tabγačγi b. KT E7,
BK E7

tarduš b. BK S13

tarqat buyruq b. KT
S1

tölis b. BK S13

türük b. KT E7, E34;
BK E7, N13

türük b. bodun KT S10;
BK E2, N8, S15

[türük] b. b[odun] BK
E33

türük bodun b. KČ W6

türük matī bodun b. KT
S11, BK N8

b. gü KT S11

b. -im KT N11

b. -im ä O R7

b. -ig[dä] BK N13

b. -ī (b. bodunī) KT
E6, BK E6

(b. yämä bodunī yämä)
KT E3, BK E4

(on oq b. bodunī)
TII W7

(türük oγuz b. bodun)
KT E22

(türük oγuz b. bodunī)
KT S2

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

b. -īn bodunīn BK S15,
TII W8

bäglük worthy of becoming
a lord

b. urī oγluγ KT E24,
BK E20

b. urī oγlīn BK E7

b. urī oγlin KT E7
bän I (cf. män) TI W5,
S4, N6, N8; TII W2, S3,
E8, N1; KČ S2

[bän] TII W2

b. ök TI W1, S8, S10;
TII E5, N1

bäniγ gen. of bän (cf.
mäniγ)

b. bodunum TI E4

bängü eternal, everlast-
ing; forever (cf. bäriγü)

b. taš KT S11, S12,
S13; BK N8, N15

b. ... olurtači sän
KT S8, BK N6

bäniγü cf. bängü

b. [tašīγ ?] O Supp. 2

bäniγ sacred, holy,
blessed (?)

b. äk taγīγ TII W9

bärčik Persian

soγ(u)d b. är KT N12

bärü this side, hither

b. -ki (anta b.) TII
S2

ber- to give (cf. bir-)

b. -tim BK S7, TI
W2

[b]ertim KT W2

[ber]tim BK S7

b. -tim ök TII E2

b. -tiγ O F6

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

b. -ig[mä] BK E21

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

b. -tük TI W6

(ät b. -) KČ W1,
KT W2

(basa b. -) TII W3

(äsidü b. -) TI S8

(isig küčüg b. -)
TII E2, O R3, F6

(qilu b. -) BK S7, S7

bersä- to wish to give (see
bersäg)

bersäg a wish for giving

b. -im bar ärmis ärinč
O R2

bes five (cf. biš, bis)

b. süγüs KČ E5

b. tümän BK E25

b. süγüsdi TII S5

b. baliq BK E28, E28;
KČ W11

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

b. b. -da KČ W11

bič- to cut off

[b]ič-dī (sačīn qul-
qaqīn b.) BK S12

biγ thousand (cf. biγ)

ekī b. TI E1

bičīn monkey

b. yilqa KT NE

bil- to know

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

b. -ir biligim KT N10

b. -īr siz KT E34

b. -māz biligin KČ S3

b. -māz (bilig b. kisī)
KT S7, BK N6

b. -māz ärti BK E18,
E18

b. -māz ärmis TI W6

b. -māz tāγ KT N10

b. -tükümün (b. ödü-
kümün) KČ S3

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

b. -sī čabīsī TI W7, KČ
E5

b. -sīn üčün TII S4

[bi]lgäsīn üčün KČ W7

bilgä pers. n.

b. isbara tamγan tarqan
O F4

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

b. küli čor KČ W8, E10,
E12

[bil]gä küli čor KČ
E2

[bilg]ä küli čor KČ
E7

b. tamγači KT N13

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

b. to[ń]uquq TII S3

bilig wisdom, intelligence;
knowledge; mind

b. bilmāz kisī KT S7

ańīγ b. KT S5

b. ber- TI W6

b. -in (acc.) (ańīγ b.)
BK N4

b. -in (instr.) (bilmāz b.) KČ S3

b. -im (bilir b.) KT
N10

biligsiz unwise, incapable

b. qayan KT E5, BK
E6

b. ärmis ärinč BK E6

b. ärinč KT E5

bilmä- neg. of bil-

b. -dük üçün KT E24

b. -dükügin üçün BK
E20

b. -dükün üçün BK E16

bin- to mount, ride

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

(at b. -) KT E33,
E37; KČ E3

(atıy b. -) KT
E33

(aqıy b. -) KT
N5, N6

(adyiri b. -) KT
E36

(atın b. -) KT N3,
N3, N9, E40, KT
N2

(az yağızın b. -)
KT N5, N8

bini acc. of bän

b. oγuzuγ TI S3

bint(ü)r- to cause to mount

b. -ä (at üzä b.) TI N1

biñ thousand (cf. biñ)

ekī b. TI S9

yeti b. BK S1

ekī üc b. TI S7

bir one, a; the same; once

b. at oruqī TI E7

b. atlıy TI E7

b. ärig KT E36, N5

b. kisī KT S6, BK N4

b. qorγ[anqa] BK E40

b. oγuš KT N7

b. oγušuγ BK E31

b. ülügī TI W4

b. yılqa KT N4, BK E30

b. ärmis TI E6

sabī b. TI N9

b. t[ägürmädi] KT E33

b. todsar KT S8, BK N6

b. otuz KT E32

b. qırq KT N2

otuz artuqī b. BK E28-
29, S9

bir- to give (cf. ber-)

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

[bi]rtim BK N13

b. -ti BK S11

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

b. -igmä KT E25

b. -miš BK E8, E8,
E8, E8

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

b. -tük KT E12, W1;
BK E11, E32

b. -tükgärü KT E10

b. -tük(k)ärü BK E9

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

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

(alı b. -) KT E8;
BK N9, N10, E8

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

(qazγanu b. -) BK
S10, N12, N12

(süläyü b. -) KT
E8, E8; BK E8,
E8

(tikä b. -) BK S9,
S11

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

biridin in the south, from
the south

b. yän TI S4

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

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

[bi]riyä BK E36

biriyäki that which is in the
south

b. bodun TI S10

birik- to gather, join

b. -i KT E27, BK E22

biriki and

oγlanım b. oγuşum
bodunum KT S1, BK N1

birlä with, together with, in
the company of

äčim qayan b. KT E17,
BK E15

ädiz b. KT N5

ekī šad b. KT E27, BK E22

inim kül tigin b. KT E26, E27

izgil bodun b. KT N3

qırqız b. BK E26

qoşu tutuq b. KT N1

oğuz b. KT N6, N7

säkiz tümän [sü] b. BK E20

tabyač bodun b. KT S4, BK N3

toquz tatar b. BK E34

tonuquq boyla bayä tarqan b. TI W7

qayanin b. KT E35, BK E27

birmä- neg. of bir-

b. -di (ordūγ b.) KT N9

bis five (cf. bes, biš)

b. t[ümän sü] KT E31

b. yüz ärän BK S11

bisinč fifth, fifthly

b. ay BK S10

b. ... oğuz birlä süñüşdümüz KT N7

bisük relative, kin

b. -inä tägi KT S6

biš five (cf. bis, bes)

b. yoñi KT N4

b. otuz KT E18

biti- to write, inscribe (cf. biti-)

b. -dim KT SE, SE; BK SW; KČ S3

biti- cf. biti-

b. -dim KT SW, BK SW

b[iti]dim KČ S2

b. -gmä KT S13, SE

(bitig b. -) KT S13, SE, KČ S3

bitid- cf. bitit-

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

bitig writing, inscription

bunča b. KČ S3

bitig (cf. bitig)

bu b. KT S13

bunča b. KT SE

b. taš KT N13

b. taš[in] KT NE

b. t[aš]iγ O Supp. 1

bitit- to have inscribed

b. -dim TII E8

biz we; we are KT E20; BK E17, E32; TIS1, S9; TII W9; OF7

b. az b. OF7

qaltači b. TIS6

-mis täg b. TIS6

yabiz bat b. OF7

bizintä abl. of biz

b. ... artuq TII W5

biziñ gen. of biz

b. sü atı KT E39

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

bizni acc. of biz TI E3, N5, N6

bod clan, tribe, people TI W4

b. yämä TII N2

bodun tribes, people, nation KT E4, E9, E9, E9, E11, E22, E28, S2, S2, S10, S11; BK E2, E5, E8, E8, E9, E10, E19, E22, E25, E35, E37, E38, E41, S12, S15, N2, N3, N8; TIS1, S10, S10; TII W8, E6; bo[dun] BK S12

b. yämä TII E5, E6, N2

az b. KT N2, N3

čik b. BK E26

ädiz b. KT N6

izgil b. KT N3

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

qıtañ tatabı b. KT E28, N11; BK E23

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

on oq b. KT E19, BK E16

soğdaq b. KT E39, TII S2

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

tarduš b. KT E17, BK E15

tatabı b. BK S7; t[atab]i b. BK E39

toquz oğuz b. KT E14, N4; BK E12, E35; TIS2

türgis b. KT E38, E39

türk b. TI W1, W3; OF2, F3, F3; KČ W6; [tür]k b. TI W2

türk sir b. TI W3, S4

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

b. -in (gen.) KT E1, BK E3

b. -iγ (gen.) KT E25
b. -uγ (acc.) KT E2, E13, E13, E13, E16, E19, E20, E21, E27, E28, E29, E29, E29, E29, E30, E35, E37, E38, E40, S5, S10, S10, S10; BK E9, E12, E24, E25, E27, E29, E36, E39, N9, N9; TIS10; TII N4, N4; KČ E2; bodun[uγ] BK N12, [b]o[dumuγ] BK E26
b. -qa KT E7, E26; BK E7; TII E6; KČ W4
b. -ta KT E26, N12; BK E21, E21
b. -īīγ (bāglī b.) KT E6
b. -um KT S1, N4, N11; BK E16, E29; TIE4
b. -uma (türükümä b.) BK N12, S10
b. -umīn (acc.) BK N11
b. -ī KT E3, E6, E20, S2, S6; BK E1, E4, E6, E17; TIN4, N6; TII W7; O R3
b. -īn BK S15; TII W7, W8

boγuz throat, stomach
b. -ī (bodun b.) TIS1
boγuzlan- to be slaughtered
b. -tī TI N2
bol- to be, become
b. -čun KT E11, BK E10
b. -tum TII E6, E6
b. -tī KT E7, E7, E20, E24, E24, E30, E34, N1, N2, N3, N4, N10, N10, N10; BK E17, E26, E29, E30, E30, E32, E36, E36, E37; TI W3, W4, E3; TII E6, E6; KČ E11; [b]oltī TIE1, bol[tī] KČ W3
b. -miš KT E21, E39, S1; BK E5, E9, E11, E11, E18, E40, N1
(b. ārti) KT E21, BK E18
b. -mis KT E4, E5, E5, E9, E12, E13, TIN7; O F5, R2; KČ W2
(b. ārti) TIN7
b. -tuqda O F1, F6
(b. kisrā) O F1
(-mis b.) O F6
b. -tuqīnta KT N3, N3
b. -tači KT N9, N11; BK E31, N14

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

(b. ārti) KT N7, N9; BK E28, E33

b. -sar BK W3; TIS6, S7; KB W9

b. -ša BK S9

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

b. -u O F3

b. -uyīn TI W7

(bodun b. -) BK E37, TII E6

(buγsīz b. -) BK N14

(ikāgū b. -) KT N3

(il b. -) TII E6

(qaγan b. -) KT E5, E5; BK E5; TI W7

(qamšaγ b. -) KT N3

(qarī b. -) TII E6

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

(kārgāk b. -) KT E30, N10; KČ E11

(kūḡ b. -) KT E7, E24, N9; BK E7

(kūḡ qul b. -) KT E20, BK E17

(-māz tāg b. -) KT N10

(tāḡridā b. -) KT S1, BK N1

(uluγ b. -) TII E6

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

(yadaγ yabīz b. -) BK E32

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

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

(yut b. -) BK E31

bolču geog. n.

b. -qa TI N11

b. -da KT E37, BK E28

bolma- neg. of bol-

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

bor rainstorm, snowstorm

b. -ča KT E37, BK E27

bošʹyur- to organize, form

b. -miš BK E12

b. -mis KT E13

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

bošʹyur- to teach, give advice, make suggestions

b. -ūr KT S7, S7; BK N5; bošʹyurūr BK N5

boyla a title

b. baʹya tarqan BK S14, TI W6

boz gray KT E32, E33

b. at KČ W4

bašʹyu b. KT E37

bašʹyu b. at KT E37

bōdkā < bu ōdkā (cf. ōd) KT S11; BK E2, N1, N8

bōgū pers. n.

bōg(ū) qaʹyan TI N10

b(ō)gū q(aʹyan) qa TII S6

bokā champion warrior

b. -sī (alpī b.) KČ E5

bōl(ū)n (< Tib. blon) minister, high official KT N12

bōri wolf

b. tāg KT E12, BK E11

bu this TII N3

b. bāglārig[dā] BK N13

b. bitig KT S13

b. qaʹyanında BK N13

b. ōdkā KT S1

b. sabīmda KT S10, BK N8

b. sabīmin KT S2

b. sūg TI N8

b. tāmqa KT SE

b. tašqa KT SE

b. tūrūk bodun ara TII E4

b. yerdā BK E35, E36

b. yirdā KT S4

b. yolun TI E6

bučāgū < bu ūčāgū

tabʹyač oʹyuz qitanʹ b. TI S5

buq evil spirit

b. -uʹ BK S10

būqa bull (cf. buqa) sāmiz b. TI W6

b. -lī (toruq b. sāmiz b.) TI W5

buqa cf. būqa

toruq b. TI W6

buqaraq geog. n. (Bukhara)

b. ulus bodun KT N12

bul- to find

b. -tum TI E6

b. -tī KT E31

(ār at b. -) KT E31

bulʹa- to disturb order

b. -yu KČ W11

bulʹaq provocative, riotous

b. -īn ūčūn KT N4, BK E29

bulʹanč disordered, in disorder

b. [ol] TI E5

buʹit cloud KT NE

bulma- neg. of bul-

b. -yin (qanīn b.) TI W2

bulna- to capture, seize

bu[l]na-d[i] KČ E10

bulun captive, prisoner of war

b. qī[lti] KČ W5

bulun corner, quarter

tōrt b. KT E2, BK E3

b. -uʹ (tōrt b.) O F1

b. -daqī (tōrt b.) KT E2; BK E2, E3, E24, N9

bum(i)n pers. n.

b. qaʹyan KT E1, BK E3

bunča this much, this many, so many

b. aʹyar tōrūg BK E2

b. barqīʹy bādizig uzuʹy BK SW

b. bādizčig KT NE

b. bitīg KT SE, KČ S3

b. bodun KT E4; BK E5, S12; KČ S2

(bunč) a bodun KT S2

b. isig kūčūg KT E10, BK E9

b. maʹti bāglār BK S14

b. tōrūg KT E30

b. yirkā tāgi KT S4

b. bašlayu BK E33

b. qazʹyanip BK S10

bu[nča] qazʹyanʹi KČ E13

b. sūnūsūp KČ W12

b. tutdī (ku b. tutdī)
KČ W12

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

bu[nī] BK N15

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

buntat- to make less (?)

b. -u (uśīn b.) TI E2

buŋ need, want; trouble,
sorrow

b. yoq KT S3

b-uγ (poss.) KT S8

b. -ī TII E7

buṇad- to be troubled, be
bored

b. -īp TI N2

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

(b. bol-) BK N14

(b. qīl-) BK N12

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

buŋsīz cf. buŋsīz

b. kālūrī TII S4

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

b. -[dī] (?) KT NE

buyruq minister, high
official BK S14, S14

ič b. BK S14

tarqat b. bāglār KT S1

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

buz- to destroy, rout, defeat

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

[buz] dum BK E34

b. -dumīz KT E31, E34

buzqun storm (?)

b. -ča O R1

būkli geog. n.

b. čöl(1)üg el KT E4,
BK E5

b. qaŋanqa tǵi KT E8,
BK E8

büntǵ (< bunī tǵ) like this,
such

b. -ī TII E7

būŋ- to kick

b. -sār TI W6

čabīs aide-de-camp

č. -ī (bilgāsī č.) TI W7,
KČ E5

čača pers. n. (< Chin. Sha-
cha)

č. sāŋūn BK E26

č. sāŋūnkā KT E32

čañ pers. n. (= Chin.
Chang Kū-i)

č. sārūn KT N13

čārig army KČ W9

čīyaŋ poor, needy, des-
titute KT E29, S10; BK
E23, N7

yoq č. KT S10, BK
N7

č. -īγ (acc.) KT E16,
BK E14

čīqan nephew, son of one's
aunt

č. -ī (tabŋač qaŋan č.)
KT N13

čīqan a title (?)

č. toŋuquq KČ W1

išbara č. kūli čor
KČ W2

čintan sandalwood (< Skr.
candana)

č. iŋač BK S11

čik ethnic. n.

č. bodun BK E26

č. tapa BK E26

čoŋay geog. n.

č. yiš KT S6

č. quzīn TI W7

čor a title KČ W5

kūli č. BK S13

kūli č. KČ W6, W10,
W11, E3; [kūli] č. KČ
E6

kūli č. toŋuquq KČ W2

[bil] gā kūli č. KČ E2

[bilg] ā kūli č[or] KČ
E7

išbara bilgā kūli č. KČ
W8, E10

išbara čīqan kūli č. KČ
W2

išbara tamŋan č. yabŋu
O F4

uluγ kūli č. KČ W3

tarduš inanču č. KT N13

... č. tigin KČ E12

yigān č. KČ E9, S1

č. -īŋ (tadiqīŋ č.) KT
E32, E26

č. -uγ (išbara bilgā kūli
č.) KČ E12

čoraq dry land

č. -qa BK SE

čöl steppe, plain, desert

č. -gi TI E6

č. -(1)üg KT E4, BK E5

(bükli č.) KT E4, BK E5
čub stick, twig (fig. 'tribe colony'?)
altī č. soɣdaq tapa KT E31
altī č[ub soɣdaq] tapa BK E24
čuluɣan (?) a title (?)
 [ʔuy]ɣ(u)r č. KČ W5
čuš geog. n.
č. bašinta KT N6
ä interjection of address
bäglärim ä! O F7
äb tent, house, camp, campsite, home
ä. -ig KT N8, BK E32
ä. -kä O R2
ä. -dä BK E32
ä. -gärü TI N6
ä. -inä BK N14
ä. -in KT N1; BK E34, E37
 (ä. barq) BK E32, E34, E37
 (ä. barim) KT N1
äbir- to go around

ä. -ü TI N2, N4; BK E25
äči paternal uncle; elder brother (cf. äči)
ä. -m qaɣan KT E16, E16, E17, E31, N3; BK E14, E14
ä. -miz (qaɣımız ä.) KT E26, BK E22
ä. -lī (inilī ä.) KT E6
ä. -sīn KT E5, BK E18
äči cf. äči
ä. -m qaɣan KT E17; BK E15, E20, N9
äčü forefather, ancestor
ä. -m apām KT E1, E13; BK E3, E12
ä. -miz apāmiz KT E19, O F1
ädgü good; benefit O Supp. 6
ä. aɣī KT S7, BK N5
ä. alp kisīg KT S6, BK N14
ä. bilgä kisīg KT S6, BK N4
ä. äbīnā KČ W3
ä. elinā KT E23
ä. özlik atīn BK S12
ä. sabī ötügī BK E39
ä. körtäči sän BK N14

ä. -g (poss.) KT E24, BK E20
ädgüti well
ä. äsid! KT S2
ä. urɣıl! TI N10
ädiz ethnog. n.
ä. birlä KT N15
ä. bodun KT N6
ekī ä. BK E1
ägir- to follow, besiege
ä. -ä toqī- KT N6, BK N6
ä-ip KT N7
ägir- to be pleased
ä. -ip säbinip BK E2
ägri crooked, hunch-backed
ä. täbi TII S4
äk geog. n.
ä. taɣıɣ TII W9
äkä elder sister
ä. -lärīm (öglärim ä.) KT N9
äkin hem (?)
ä. -lig BK N11
älä hawk, vulture
äräm ä. täg KČ W9

älig hand
ä. -in tut- KT E32, E38
älig fifty
ä. yašima BK S7
ä. yıl KT E8
ä. -čä är TII W7
äkir- (?) to recover (?), gain strength (?)
ä. -i bardī O R3
ämğäk trouble, suffering, torment
ä. kör- KT E19, BK E16
ämğätmä- not to torment
ä-n tolɣatmaɣ BK N13
änik pers. n.
ä. säpün KT N12
är man, men, people O F7
alp ä. KT E40
bärčik ä. KT N12
äligčä ä. TII W7
külüg ä. O Supp. 6
ögräki ä. TI N1
yeti yüz ä. KT E13, E13; BK E11, E11
yetmis ä. KT E12, BK E11
ä. at KT E31

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

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

ä. -ī (az ä.) TI E6

ä. -īn KT N1, BK S7,
O F3

är- to be (cf. ir-)

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

kälürir ä. TII
E3

yoq ä. ärsär TII
N1

ä. -timiz BK E32,
E32; TI S1, S9, E1

bayür ä. TI N3

kälir ä. O R2

olurür ä. TI W7,
S1

ä. -tig KT S9, BK N7

ä. -tigiz

igidür ä. KT SE

qaltači ä. KT N9

öltäči ä. KT N10

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

-miš ä. KT E21,
E40; BK E18, E32

-mis ä. TI N7,
TII W8; O F3, F5

itär ä. KČ W9, W9

kirür ä. O R4

körür ä. TI W1

yašayür ä. KT N2,
N3

yatu qalür ä. TI E2

-maz/-mäz ä. BK E18,
E18; TI E5, E5

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

ä. -ti ärsär TII N1

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

[ärmi]š BK N4

bošyurür ä. BK
N5, N5

öyür ä. BK N4

tir ä. BK E9

yaʔutir ä. BK N4

-maz ä. BK N4,
KT S6

ä. -miš ärinč BK E6

ä. -mis KT E2, E3,
E4, E5, E9, E9, E10,
E10, E12, E12, E14,
E14, E14, KT S4, KT
S5, S6, S7, S7; BK
E3, E4, E4, E4, E4,
E4, E6; TIS3, S3,
S6, S6, S6, S7, E4,
E6, E7, E7, N5, N5;
O F6, F6; [är]mis
TI E6

bar ä. TI N6

bošyurür ä. KT
S7, S7

olurür ä. KT E3,
BK E4

öyür ä. KT S5

ter ä. O F7, F7,
F7

tir ä. KT E9,
E9, E10

yaʔutir ä. KT S5

yoqadu barir ä.
KT E10

yoriyür ä. TI S3

yoq ä. TI E1, TII S3

bar ärtäči ä. TII
E7

bilmäz ä. TI S6

yoritmaz ä. KT S6

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

ä. -ür TI E4

ä. -mäzkä ([qut] ä.) O
F8

ä. -täči

bar ä. ärmis TII
E7

yoq ä. ärti TII E5,
N2

ä. -sär KT S13

bar ä. TI S3, TII
E7

iraq ä. KT S7, BK
N5

qačan (n)än ä. TI
E3, N5

qačan (n)än ä. TI
E4

nän nän sabim ä.
KT S11

yaʔuq ä. KT S7,
BK N5

yoq ä. KT N10

yoq ärtim ä. TII N1

yoq ärti ä. TII
 N1
kälir ä. TI N8
kälmaz ä. TI N8
är- to reach, come to,
 arrive
ä. -miš [barmiš] BK
 E19
ä. -mis barmis KT
 E23
ä. -ür barür ärkli KT
 N1, TI E4
[är]ür barür ärkli
 BK E29
ärdäm courage, manly
 qualities; brave, coura-
 geous
ä. -i (alpī ä.) KČ W4
ä. -in (alpīn ä. üčün)
 KČ W7, W12
äräm big, large, huge (?)
ä. älä täg KČ W9
ärän men (pl. of är)
bis yüz ä. BK S11
toquz ä. KT N9
yeti ä. O F5
ärig reachable
ä. yertä KT S13, S13

äriñč likely, probably,
 indeed, apparently
ol ä. KT E24, BK E20
-ti ä.
basa berti ä. TII
 W3
qayan olurtđi ä.
 KT E26
kötürti ä. BK E10
taplāmadı ä. BK
 E35
-miš/-mis ä.
alp ärmis ä. KT
 E3, BK E4
bilgä ärmis ä. KT
 E3, BK E4
bar ärmis ä. O R2
anča ärmis ä. KČ
 E11
biligsiz ärmis ä.
 BK E6
biligsiz <ärmis> ä.
 KT E5
yablaq ärmis ä.
 KT E5, BK E6
anča etmiš ä. BK
 E10
qayan bolmis ä. KT
 E5, E5; BK E5, E5

qazγ[anmiš äri]nč
 BK E33
kötürmis ä. KT
 E11
olurmis ä. KT
 E5; BK E6, E6
ölütmiş ä. TI W3
temis ä. TI W2
tutmis ä. KT E3,
 BK E4
-duq ä. (qilinmaduq ä.)
 KT E5, E5; BK E6, E6
ärkli being, that which is;
 while, when
yuyqa ä. TI S6
ärür barür ä. KT N1,
 BK E29
anča olurür ä. TI S1
ä. -g (yinčgä ä.) TI
 S6
ärklig powerful, mighty,
 free BK N12
ärmä- not to be
ä. -z(ü)n (yuluq ä.
teyin) O F3
ärmäk mare
ä. -ig (yāgrän ä.) KČ
 E9
ärsin geog. n.

ä. -kä (toquz ä. tägi)
 KT S3, BK N3
ärt- to pass, lead
ä. -(t)imiz (anī ä.) TII
 W9
ä. -ü (taγiγ ä.) TII W9
ärtäbär cf. eltäbär
ä. özi KČ E9
ärtin- (?) to regret, repent (?)
ä. ! ökün! BK E19
ärtinü very
ä. uluγ BK N10
ä. [uluγ] BK N9
ä. ti maγ it- BK S15
ä. ä. ti maγ i[t-] BK
 S14-15
ärtis geog. n. (Irtish river)
ä. ögüzüg KT E37, TI
 N11, TII W2
[är]tis ögüzüg BK E27
ärtür- to have done
ä. -tüm BK S10
ä. -tümiz KT NE
(yoγ ä. -) KT NE,
 BK S10
äsgiti silk (cf. isgiti)
äsg[itis]in (äkinlig ä.) BK N11

asid- to hear (cf. asit-)

a. ! KT S2; BK E18; N1

ä. -gil KT S1

ä. -in KT S10; BK E18, E18

ä. -ip KT E12; TIS5, S6, S10, E5, E6, N6, N9, N11; TII W1, W7

ä. -ü ber- TIS8

asidmā- neg. of asid-

a. -dük (qulqaqin a. bodunumīn) BK N11

asim pers. n.

a. -ig (tonra a.) TIS2

asit- cf. asid-

a. -(t)im TIE7

āt- to bellow, low, thunder

ä. -ärčä BK W14

ä. -sär BK W5

ätiz geog. n.

ä. -dä KČ E6

az- to engrave, scratch

a a. -ip KČ S2

azginti geog. n.

a. qadizda BK E31

ä. qadizdä KT N7

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

e. biḡ TIE1

e. biḡ TIS8

e. üč BK E41

e. üč biḡ TIS8

e. yegir[mi] KT E28, BK E23

e. otuz BK E25

e. ädiz BK E1

e. -sīn KT E38

ekīn oblique stem of ekī?

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

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

e. kūn TII W4

ekīn (for ekīnti) sū BK E32

ekinti KT N5 cf. ekīnti

e. kūn BK S1

el people, state (cf. il) O F1

bükli čöl(1)uḡ e. KT E4

e. -ig (az e.) KČ W6

e. -inā KT E23, BK E19

e. -in KT E22

e. -imiz KT E22

e. -in BK E34, KČ E10

e. -inā O F4

e. -intā KČ W3

el-etmis pers. n.

e. yabḡu O F4

[el]etmis atam O F4

ellig having a state (cf. illig)

e. -dä ('iḡar e.) KT E29

elsirä- to become stateless, lose independence

e. -mis qaḡansīramis KT E13

elsirät- causative of elsirä-

e. -mis KT E15

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

e. ! TI N8

e. -dim TIE1

e. -dimiz TII E3

e. -di KT E23, E23

(sū e. -) TIE1, N8, TII E3

(sürä e. -) KT E23

(yaḡa e. -) KT E23

el-tābār governor-general (cf. il- tābār, ärtābār)

tuyḡun e. KT NE

uyḡur e. BK E37

e. -ig (az e.) KT N3

el-tābārliḡ having a governor-general

ekī e. bodun BK E38

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

e. qaḡanqa O R3

qaḡan e. qaḡan O F4

[el-teris] qaḡan KČ W3

esī lady (cf. esi)

e. -lik qiz oḡlin KT E7

esi cf. esī

e. -lik qiz oḡluḡ KT E24

e. -lik qiz oḡlīn BK E7

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

e. -dimiz KT E21

e. -miš BK E10

e. -mis KT E11

(qontur e. -) KT E21

ḡu interrogative particle (cf. ḡū)

bar γ. KT S10, BK N8
gü interrogative particle
(cf. yu)

bāglār g. yañıltači
siz KT S11

i trees, forest; wood

i bar baš TI N2

iγ (acc.) BK S15

iqa TI N3

ida tašda TI W4

i- to send, dispatch

isar KT S8, BK N6

ičyın- to lose, become
lost

i. -mis KT E13, O F1

i. -u id- KT E6, BK
E7

i. -i id- O F2

(yit- i. -) O F1

id- to send, dispatch (cf.
it-, id-)

i. -miš BK E7

i. -mis KT E6, E7;
TI S2, S2, N10

i. -maz BK E25

i. -ip BK E35, TI N2,
KČ E7

(ičyın i. -) KT
E6, BK E7

(sanča i. -) KČ E7

(yitürü i. -) KT E7,
BK E7

idma- neg. of id-

i. -yın tiyin BK E33

iduq sacred, holy

i. bašda BK E25

tamaγ*i.* bašda KT N1,
BK E29

i. ötükän y[iš bodun]
KT E23

i. yer sub BK E35,
TII W3

türük i. yirī subī KT
E10, BK E10

iduq(qu)t a title

basmil i. BK E25

iyač tree; wood TI N1

čintan i. BK S11

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

i. elligdä KT E29, BK
E24

[i]γar qaγanliγda yeg
BK E24

i. oylanıñızda tayγunu-
nızda yegdi KT SE

iqid- (?) to give shelter

i. -maz ärmiš KT S6

iq[idmaz] ärmiš BK
N4-N5

iraq far, remote, distant

i. bodunuγ KT S5,
BK N4

i. ärsär KT S7, BK
N5

i. -da TI W5

isbara pers. n. (cf. išbara,
isbara)

i. bilgä küli čor KČ
E10, W8

i. bilgä küli čoruγ
KČ E12

it dog

[i]t yil BK S10

it- to send (cf. id-, id-)

i. -(t)im BK E40, TI
N9, TII E2

i. -(t)imiz KT E40,
TII W7

i. -(t)i KT E7, S12;
BK E7, N14

i. -(t)im oq TII E2

(irtürü i. -) KT
E40

ič inside, interior

i. buyruq BK S14

i. -i (öz i.) TIS5

i. -in tašin KT S12, BK
N14

ičgär- to subdue, subjugate

i. -tim BK E25

[ič]gärtim BK E26

ičik- to submit

i. -diñ TI W3

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

i. -miš BK E9

i. -mis KT E10

i. -igmä BK E37

i. -dük üčün TI W3

(-qa/-kä i. -) TI
W2, N4

ičrä in, inside; secret

i. ašsüz KT E26, BK
E21

i. sab TI N10

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

anta i. bodun KT S2,
BK N2

[anta] i. BK E28

i. bädizčig KT S12, BK
N14

id- to send (cf. id-, it-)

i. -mis ('ič'γīnī i.) O
F2

idi master, lord, owner

i. -siz KT E19, E20;
BK E17

[idi]siz BK E16

idi never, by no means,
at all

i. oqsız KT E3, BK
E4

i. yoq ārmis KT S4,
TII S3

i. yoq ārtāči ārti
TII N2

i. yoq qīsaīm TII S4,
E4

i. yorīmazun TII S4

igid false, lie

i. bar γu KT S10, BK
N8

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

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

i. -iṣ BK N13

i. -miš KT S9; BK
E19, E35, N6

i. -mis KT E23

i. -ūr ārtigiz KT SE

i. -ū olurūr TII N4
igit- cf. igid-

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

i. -(t)i KT E16, BK E14,
KČ E13

ikāgū two, two parts

i. bol- KT N3

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

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

i. -tā KT S3; [il]tā BK
N2

i. -im KT E9

i. -iṣin BK E19

i. -ī (āčim qaγan i.)
KT N3

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

i. -īṣā TII E8; i. -iṣa TI W1

i. -im[iz] BK E18

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

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

il-bilgā pers. n.

i. qatunuγ KT E11, BK
E10

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

i. qurīγaru KT E12,
BK E11

ilig ruler

bodun i. KT N3

ilk first, at first

aṣ i. KT N4

aṣ i. -ī KT E32, BK
E30

ilki first

i. kūn BK S1

i. sū BK E32

illā- to found a state

i. -dūk ilīn KT E6,
BK E7

illig having a state, in-
dependent

i. bodun KT E9, BK
E8

i. -ig KT E15, E18;
BK E13

ilsirāt- to make stateless

i. -dimiz (illigig i.) KT
E18

i. -miš (illigig i.) BK
E13

ilt- cf. elt-

i. -di (yaña i.) BK E19

il-tābār governor-general
(cf. el-tābār, ārtābār)

[il]tābār (qarluq i.) BK
E40

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

i. qaγan TII S4, E4, N1,
N3

i. qaγanīγ KT E11, BK
E10

i. qaγanqa TII S6

in- to go down, descend

i. -timiz TI N2

i. -miš BK E11

i. -mis KT E12

inanču a title (cf. inānču)

tarduš i. čor KT N13

inānču cf. inānču

i. apā yarγan tarqan
KT W2

ināl pers. n.

i. qaγan TI N7

i. qa'yanqa TII S1
ini younger brother
i. yägünüm KT S1, N11; BK N1
i. -lī āčilī KT E6, BK E6
i. -ligü BK E33
i. -m KT E26, E27, E30, E30, E31, W1, W1, N10; BK E21, E22
i. -mä O R3
i. -sī KT E4, E5; BK E18, E40; KČ E12; O F4
in(i)gāk cow, cattle
i. kölikin TI S7
ir- to be (cf. är-)
i. -sär KT S13
ir- to reach, come to, arrive (cf. är-)
i. -timiz TII S1
irkin a title
säbig kül i. BK S14
sir i. KČ E9
uluγ i. KT E34, E34
irtür- to cause to reach, cause to arrive (cf. är-)
i. -ü 'it(t)'imiz KT E40

is labor, work
i. -ig KT E8, E9, E10, E30, W1; BK E8, E9, E9; TII E2; O F5, F6, R2, R3
(i. -ig ber-) O F6
(i. -ig küčüg bir-/ber-) KT E8, E9, E10, E30, W1; BK E8, E9, E9; TII E2; O R2, R3
isbara pers. n. (cf. išbara, 'isbara)
i. tarqan O Bal.
bilgä i. tamγan tarqan O F4
i. tamγan čor yabγu inisī O F4
isgiti silk, silk cloth (cf. äsgiti)
i. qutay KT S5
isiyi (< Chin.) pers. n.
i. likān KT N2
istämi pers. n.
i. qa'yan KT E1, BK E3
išbara pers. n. (cf. isbara, 'isbara)
i. čiqan küli čor KČ W2
i. yamtar KT E33

išgärü forwards, eastwards (cf. ilgärü)
i. kün to[γsüqīna] BK N11
it- to form, organize (cf. et-)
i. -äyīn KT E39
i. -dim KT S3, BK N9
i. -dimiz KT E21, BK E18
i. -di KT E16; BK E14, S15
i. -miš BK E12, E18
i. -m[iš] BK N9
i. -mis KT E3, E22
i. -är ärti KČ W9
i. -ip KT E19, TII W8
i[tip] BK E17
i. -i. KT E1; BK E3, E4, N12; KČ E2
(i. - yarat-) KT E19, BK E17
(i. - yīγ-) BK N9, TII W8
itgüči one who makes, maker, doer
barq i. KT N13

bitig taš i. KT N13
itin- to form or organize oneself
i. -ü yaratunu umaduq KT E10, BK E9
izgil ethnic n.
i. bodun KT N3
i. [bodun] KT N4
qabīs- to come together, meet, join
q. -a'lim TI E3
q. -(s)ar TI S5
q. -ip TI E4
qač- to run away, flee
q. -di O R1
qačan when
q. (n)ān ärsär TI E3, N5
q. (n)an ärsär TI E4
qadīrqan geog. n. (Khingan mountains)
q. yiš BK E39
q. yišīγ aša KT E21, BK E17
q. yisqa tägi KT E2
qadiz (?) rocky cliffs (?) (cf. qadiz)
q. -da (äzgänti q.) BK E31

qadiz cf. qadiz

q. -dä (äzgänti q.) KT N7

qaγan kagan, emperor
TI N2

alp q. KT E3, BK E4

bilgä q. KT E3, BK E4

külüg q. KT E4, BK E5

ol üč q. TI E3

baz q. KT E14, BK E12

bilgä q. BK W2; [bilgä]
q. KB SW

bög(ü) q. TI N10

bum(i)n q. KT E1, BK E3

el-teris q. KČ W3

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

inäl q. TI N7

istämi q. KT N1, BK E3

qapγan q. TII E1, N2 N3

qapγan el-teris q. O F4

yamī q. O F1

tabγač q. KT N13, TI E2

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

türk q. TI E1

türük q. KT S3, BK N2

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

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

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

q. bol- KT E4, E5; BK E5

q. qis- TI W6

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

q. olurt- KT E26, BK E21

q. at KT E20, BK E17

[q] aγan atisī BK SW

qaγ[an] inisī KČ E12

q. mu TI W5

q. -in

bilgä q. O R3

tabγač q. KT S12

q. -iγ (acc.)

baz q. KT E16, BK E13

qañim q. KT E25, BK E20

qañim il-teris q. KT E11, BK E10

qirqiz q. KT E25

qirqiz qaγan[iγ] BK E20

q. -qa KT E32, TI N4

b(ö)gü q. TII S6

bükli q. KT E8, BK E8

el-teris q. O R3

il-teris q. TII S6

inäl q. TII S1

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

[t] türgis q. BK N9

türük bilgä q. TII S6

täñri bilgä q. O R2

qañim q. KT E16, BK S14

nä q. KT E9, BK E9

q. -ta

bilgä q. O R3

qirqiz q. KT N13

tabγač q. KT N12

[tabγ] ač q. KT S11

[tabγač qaγant] a BK N14

tüpüt q. KT N12

türgis q. KT N13, TI N5

q. -γaru TI N9

öñdün q. TI N5

öñrä türk q. TI E3

q. -im KT E9; BK E9, E41; TI S8, N6

q. -ima TI S5, E1, E7

q. -imda O R4

q. -imin (instr.) TII E3

q. -iña KT E23, BK E19

q. -iñda BK N13

q. -iñin KT E23, S9

q. -ī KT E19, E20; TI S3, N5, N9. E4

on oq q. TI E2

türgis q. TI N6

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

- q. -in (for qayanin) O F2
- q. -in KT E7
- qayanla- to make someone kagan
- q. -duq KT E7, BK E7, O F2
- qayanliq having a kaghan, independent
- q. bodun KT E9, BK E9, TII E6
- q. -iy KT E15, E18, BK E13
- q. -da yeg BK E24
- qayansira- to become kingless, lose independence
- q. -mis (elsirāmis q.) KT E13
- qayansirat- causative of qayansira-
- q. -dimiz KT E18
- q. -miš BK E13
- q. -mis KT E15
- gal- to remain, stay; be in a helpless situation
- q. -tim BK E14
- q. -ur TI E2
- q. -tači biz TI S6
- q. -tači artigiz KT N9
- (yatu q. -) KT N9, TI E2
- qalın thick
- q. bol- TI S6
- qalın property, possessions
- q. -[in?]] BK E25
- qalısiz completely, altogether
- q. qop kälür- KT N1
- q. tasıq- TI N6, N9
- qalma- neg. of qal-
- q. -di (bod q.) TI W4
- q. -zun tiyin KT E20; BK E16, E17
- qalmış the rest, remainder (cf. qalmis)
- q. -i (anta q.) KT S9
- qalmis cf. qalmış
- q. -ī (ida tašda q.) TI W4
- qamaγ all, entire; the whole, total
- türük qara q. bodun KT E8, BK E8
- q. -ī KT E18; BK E11; [q]amaγī KT E12
- qamıl geog. n. (Qomul, Hami)
- qam[il] bałıq(q)a O R1

- qamšaγ shaky, shaken, in disorder
- q. bol- KT N3
- qamšat- to shake
- q. -di (adaq q.) KT N7
- q. -(t)i (adaq q.) BK E30
- qan blood
- q. -im (qizil q.) TII E2
- q. -in (poss.) KT E24, [qani] BK E20
- qan khan, king TI W2
- ol q. O F1
- q. -ta yan TI N9
- q. -in (acc.) TI W3
- q. -ī. TI N4
- q. -in TI W2, W2, N4
- qani where? where is it
- qayanım q. KT E9, BK E9
- ilim amti q. KT E9
- qanlan- to possess a khan
- q. -ti TI W2
- qantın from where? KT E23, E23; BK E19, E19
- qan father O R3
- q. -im
- q. il-teris qayanıγ KT E11, BK E10
- q. qayan KT E11, E14, E16, E25, E30; BK E10, E13, E13, E20, S14; [q]aγım (qayan) BK E12
- q. qayan süsī KT E12, BK E11
- q. [qayan] tašin BK W6
- q. sad O F8
- q. türük bilgä qayan BK S13
- q. türük bilgä [qayan] BK E1
- q. -imiz äčimiz KT E26
- q. -ī (... q. lisün tay säñün) BK S11
- q. -in KT E5; BK E6, E18
- qapγan regal name of Böğü Kagan
- q. qayan TII E1, E1, N2, N3
- q. el-teris qayan O F4
- qapıγ gate
- q. -qa (tämir q.) KT E2, E8, E17, E39, S4; BK E4, E8, E15, N3; TII S1, S2; KC E4

qar snow

q. -iγ KT E35, BK
E27, TI N1

qara black; ordinary, com-
mon; common people BK
E29

q. kisīn BK S12; q.
k[isīn] BK N11

q. tārim TII E2

q. bodun BK E41

q. tūrgis bodun KT
E38, E39

q. tūrgis bodunuγ KT
E40

türük q. qamaγ bodun
KT E8, BK E8

q. -sin O R1

qara qūm geog. n.

qara q. -uγ TI W7

qara kōl geog. n.

qara k. -tā KT N2

qarγan (? qaraγan) geog.
n.

q. qisīlta BK E37

qarγu watch, patrol,
guard; watchtower TI N10

q. -γ TII E3

(arquy q.) TII
E3

(yālmā q. ur-)
TI N10

qarī old, aged

q. bol- TII E6

qarī- to grow old

q. -p KČ W3

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

q. bodun KT N1, BK
E29, E29

q. bodun tapa BK E40

q. bodunuγ BK E29

[qarl]uq [il]tābār BK
E40

q. -uγ KT N2, KC E8

q. -qa KČ E7

qaš eyebrow

q. -ī (kōzī q.) KT N11

qatīγdī hard, firmly, well
(cf. qatīγdi)

q. tiqla! KT S2

qatīγdi cf. qatīγdī

q. saqīn- KT N11

qatun katun, empress TI
N7

ögüm q. KT E31, N9

q. -uγ
ögüm q. KT E11, BK E10

ögüm il-bilgä q.
KT E25, BK E21

qazγan- to gather, get, own,
conquer

q. -tīm KT E27; BK
E22, 36

q. -tī KT E31; KC E4,
E13

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

q. -mis KT E22,
qaz[γanmis] KT E26

q. -tuq üčün BK E33,
TII N3

q. -tuqum üčün TII E5

q. -tuqīn üčün TII E5

q. -ūr mǎn KT E9

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

q. -u bir- BK S10, N12

(ilig q. -) KT E9

(ilīn törüsīn q. -)
KT E31

(törüg q. -) KT
E16, E30; BK E36

qazγanma- neg. of qazγan-

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

qīl- to make (cf. qīš-, qīs-)

q. -tīm KT E29, E29,
E30, E30, S10, S10;
BK N7, N7, N9, N12,
E23, E24, E24, E24;
qī[lti]m BK E24

qī[ltīm] BK E23,
qī[iltīm] BK S4

q. -tī BK E7, E7, E14,
E14, E14, qī[lti] KČ
W5

q. -tīγ BK E20, E20

q. -miš BK E13

q. -mis KT E2, E15

q. -ip O R2

q. -u BK S7

([bal]bal q. -)
BK S7

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

(baz q. -) KT
E2, E15, E30,
E30; BK E13,
E24, E24

(bulun q. -) KC
W5

(buqsiz q. -) BK
N12

(qul q. -) BK E7,
E20

(kūn q. -) BK E7, E20

(tonluγ q. -) BK
E23

(uruš q. -) O R2

(üküş q. -) KT
E29; BK E14,
E24, N7

(-da yeg q. -) BK
E24

(yoq q. -) BK S4

qiličla- to put to the sword

q. -dī KT N5

qilin- to be created, be
born (cf. qilin-)

q. -tīm O F4

q. -mis KT E1

q. -tuqda KT E1

q[i]linγal[i] (?) TI E1

qilinma- neg. of qilin-

q. -duq ārinč KT E5,
E5; BK E6, E6

qilin- cf. qilin-

q. -tīm TI W1

qılma- neg. of qıl-

q. -dīm KT E27; BK
E22, E36

(ot sub q. -) KT
E27, BK E22

qirγaγliγ hemmed

q. qutayīn BK N11

qīrq forty

q. artuqī yeti KT E15

q. artuq[i y]iti KT NE

bir q. KT N2

qīrqiz ethnic n. (Kirghiz)
KT E4, E14; BK E15;
qī[rqiz] KT E17, [qīrqiz
BK E5

q. birlä BK E26

q. tapa KT E35, BK
E26

q. bodunī TI N4

q. bodunuγ KT E20,
E35; BK E17, E27

q. qaγanīn KT E36

q. qaγanīγ KT E25,
BK E20

q. qaγanta KT N13

q. yirīnā tāgi BK E15

q. -iγ TI N3

q. -da TI N5

qīs- to suppress, subdue

q. -mis O F1

qīs- to make (cf. qıl-,
qış-)

q. -ayīn TI W5

q. -alīm TI S4, E4

q. -dīm TI W6

(qaγan q. -) TI
W5, W6

(yoq q. -) TI S4,
E4

qīsγa short KČ E11

qīsıl glen, mountain-cleft

q. -ta (qaγan q.) BK
E37

qış- to make (cf. qıl-,
qīs-)

q. -dīm BK E25

q. -dīmiz KT E32,
E34

(yoq q. -) KT E32,
E34; BK E25

qış winter

q. -in BK S2

qışla- to spend the winter

q. -duqda BK E31

q. -p KT N8

qītanī ethnic n. KT E4,
E14, E28, N11; BK E5,
E23; TI S5, S6; KC E5

q. tapa BK S2

q. tatabī bodun tapa
KT E28, BK E23

q. -iγ TI W7, S3

q. -qa TI S5

q. -da BK S7, TI S7

q. -γaru TI S2

qīyin penalty, punishment

q. -iγ ay- TI N8

qiz female; girl; daughter

q. oγluγ KT E24

q. oγlīn BK E7, E7

q. oγlin KT E7, E7

q. qoduz TII S4

q. -im[in] BK N9

q. -in (tūr[gis qaγan] q.)
BK N10

qiz- to get red-hot, get
angry

q. -ip (örtčä q.) TII
W5

qizil red

q. qanīm TII E2

qobsar- (?) to mourn (?)

q. -ip KČ S2

(q. -yoγla-) KC
S2

qod- to leave, abandon

q. -up TI W2, W3

qodī down, downward

ol sub q. TI N3

sälänā q. BK E37

qoduz woman, female slave

qız q. TII S4

qoqlıq scent, scenting
material BK S11

qon- to settle

q. -ayın KT S7,
[qonay]ın BK N5

q. -tī BK E40

q. -tuqda KT S5,
qont[uqda] BK N4

q. -mis TI S10

qontur- causative of qon-

q. -tumız KT E21, E21;
BK E18; qo[nturtumız]
KT E38

q. -mis KT E2, BK E4

qop all, completely

q. almis KT E2

q. alqd[im]z KT NE

q. anta alqıntıy arıltıy
KT S9, BK N7

q. baz qıltım KT E30,
BK E24

q. baz qılmış KT E2

q. bilır siz KT E34

q. . . . bitıdim KT SE

q. içikdi KT E38

q. itdim KT S3

q. qot(t)i BK S12

q. qubratdım KT S10

q. qubrat(t)ım BK N7

q. kälti TII W7, S2

q. kälürti KT N1

q. k[älürtüm] BK N14

q. mağa körti KT E30, BK
E24

q. mağa körür BK N2

q. öltäçi ärtigiz KT N10

q. öl[lü]rtüm BK E28,
qo[p] [ölür]tüm BK S1

q. ölürmis KT N1

q. yaγı ärmis KT E2,
E14; BK E3

q. . . . yorıyür ärtig
KT S9

qopın all, all together (cf.
qopin)

bäglär q.tedi TII W1

qopin cf. qopın

oγuz q. kälti TI S9

qoraγ funeral, obsequies

q. -ıgnı (yoγuγ q.) O R4

qorγan fort, fortress,
shelter, enclosure

amγa q. KT N8

amγı q. BK E31

qorγ[anqa]? BK E40

qorq- to fear

q. -ür biz TII W4

qorqma- neg. of qorq-

q. -dımız TII W6

qorq[ma]ım? O F7

qoşu pers. n.

q. tutuq KT N1

qot- cf. qod-

q. -(t)i BK S12

qon sheep

q. täg KT E12, BK
E11

q. yılqa KT NE, O
R4

qu pers. n.

q. sängün BK S8

q. -γ sängünüg BK S9

q. -ni sängünüg TI S2

qubran- to come together

q. -ip TI W4

qubrat- to gather

q. -dım KT S10

q. -(t)ım BK N7

q. -miş BK E11

q. -[mis] KT E12

qul male slave KT E21,
BK E18

q. bol- KT E7, E20,
E24; BK E17, E36

q. qıl- BK E7, E20

(kün q.) KT E7,
E20, E24, N9;
BK E17

qulad- to become slave

q. -mis KT E13

(künäd- q. -) KT
E13

qulluγ having a slave

q. bol- KT E21, BK
E18

qulqaq ear

q. -ın (instr.) BK N11

q. -ın BK S12

(saçın q. -ın biç-)
BK S12

qum sand (in: qara qum)

qara q. -uγ olur- TI
W7

qunçuy princess

q. -uγ (siğlim q.)
KT E20

qu[nçu]yuγ BK E17

qunla- to revenge for, take
one's revenge

q. -dīm O R1
qura- to gather, organize,
 perform
qu[radī]m (yoγuγ
 qoraγiγnī q.) O R4
quridīn in the west, west
q. soγ(u)d örti KT W1
q. -ta TI S7
qurīyaru backwards, west-
 wards KT E8, E12, E17,
 E21, E24, S2, S3; BK E8,
 E11, E15, E19, N2, N3, N11
ilgärü q. KT E12, BK
 E11
qurīya in the west, to the
 west KT N12, TI S7
q. -qī bodun TI S10
qurīqan ethnic n. (cf. üč
qurīqan)
qirqiz q. otuz tatar
 KT E4
üč q. otuz tatar KT
 E4, BK E5
quš-alyaq (?) geog. n.
q. -da KT N5
qut good luck, fortune;
 soul
q. -um KT E29, S9;
 BK E23, N7
q. -ī ([äčim q.] q.) BK E35

q. -īna (ögüm qatun q.)
 KT E31
(q. ülüg) BK E23
qut ärmaz misfortune (?)
[qut] ä. -kä O F8
qutay silk KT S5, BK N4
q. -īn (qir yaγliγ q.)
 BK N11
quz northern slope of a
 mountain
q. -īn (čöγay q.) TI
 W7
käč- to pass, cross over
k. -dīm BK SE
k. -dimiz TI N11
k. -ip BK E30
k. -ä KT E37, E39;
 BK E27, E30; TII
 W3, W9; KČ E4
käčä beyond
aq tärmil k. TI N1
kām k. BK E26
yinčü ög[üz] k. KT
 S4, BK N3
käčīn (käčän?) geog. n.
k. -kä tägi BK SE
k. -dä KČ W10
käčgin- to grant a favor,
 pardon

k. -ti (qarluquγ k.) KC
 E8
käčig ford, pass
k. -sizin käč- TI N11
kādim dress, general
 appearance
k. b[äñizī?] KČ W4
kādimlig dressed
k. toruγ at KT E33
käl- to come
k. -timiz BK E17; TI
 N4; TII W2, W3
k. -ti KT E28, E37,
 N12, N12, N12, N12,
 N13, N13, N13; BK
 E23, E25, E27, E28,
 E32, E32, E32, E34,
 E34, E35, E39, E41,
 S8, S11; TI S1, S8, S9,
 S10, N5, N9, N10; TII
 W5, W8, S2; O R1; KC
 E9, E9, S1, S1
k. -mis KT N7
k. -ir ärtimiz O R2
k. -īr ärsär TI N8
k. -māz BK E39
k. -māz ärti TI E5,
 E5
k. -māz ärsär TI N8
k. -igmä BK E31, TII
 W8

k. -sär KT N11, N11
k. -ip KT E23, BK
 E19, KČ E12, [käli]p
 KČ E12
k. -ipän KT E4, E23;
 BK E5
kältäči those who will come
k. -miz (sümiz k.) TI
 S7
käliγün daughters-in-law
k. -üm KT N9
kälmä- neg. of käl-
k. -di TI S5, S5
 (olursiqim k. -)
 TI S5
 (udisiqim k. -)
 TI S5
kälmis those who came
k. -ī TII W3
kälür- to bring
k. -tüm KT S11, BK
 E25; k[älürtüm] BK
 N14
k. -ti KT N1, N12; BK
 S11; TII W1, S4; kälü-
ti (for kälürti) KT NE
k. -īr ärtim TII E3
k. -üp BK S11, S11,
 S12
kām who KT E22, BK E19

k. -kä KT E9
kām geog. n. (Yenisei river)
k. káčä BK E26
kāntü one's own; one's self
k. bodunum KT N4
k. yañiltiγ KT E23, BK E19
kāñiris (kāñāräs?) geog. n.
k. tapa KT E39
kāñü tarban geog. n. (cf. kāñü tarman)
k. tarbanqa tägi BK E18
kāñü tarman cf. kāñü tarban
k. tarmanqa tägi KT E21
käräkü tent (cf. käräkülüg)
käräkülüg nomad, nomadic
toquz oγuz ekī ädiz
k. bäglärī boduni BK E1
kärgäk lacking, absent, want
k. bol- KT E4, E30, N10; KC E11

kärgäksiz abundantly, in abundance
k. kälürti KT N12, BK S11
kerü back, backward (cf. kirü)
k. bar- KČ E4; O R3
keyik wild animal, game
k. yi- TI S1
kičig little, less, least
k. atl[iγ] BK E41
k. tägmä- KT S3, S3; BK N3
kigür- to let in, bring in
k. -tüg (yablaq k.) KT E23, BK E19
k. -ti (süñüs k.) KČ E8
kiñsür- to create a rift between
k. -tükīn üčün KT E6
kir- to go in, enter; throw oneself, plunge
k. -ti BK E38
k. -ür ärti O R4
k. -täči sän BK N14
k. -ip KT E38, KC E11; k[irip]? KT E37
kirü backwards, westwards (cf. kerü)

k. tämir qapıγqa tägi KT E2
kis sable
k. -in (qara k.) BK S12, k[isīn] BK N11
kisī man, people KČ W8 (cf. kišī)
añiγ k. KT S7, BK N5
bilig bilmäz k. KT S7, BK N6
bir k. KT S6, BK N4
ol ekī k. TI S3
üč körüg k. TI N9
üküş k. BK N6
yablaq k. KT E39
k. yämä TII N2
k. oγlī KT E1, N10
k. oγlīnta üzä KT E1, BK E3
k. -g KT S6, S6; BK N4, N4
k. -sīn (oγlīn k.) KČ W5, E10; [kisīsīn] KČ E1
kisi cf. kisī, kišī
k. -ligü (ekī üč k.) BK E41
kisrä backward, westward; after BK S13, O F2
qontuqda k. KT S5, BK N4
yoq boltuqda k. O F1
anta k. KT E4, E5, E34, E39; BK E23; TI W6; KČ E7; [anta] k. KT E29, BK N14
kišī man, people (cf. kisī)
nä k. BK E28
üküş k. KT S7
ki[šī] igidmiš BK E34
köbürgä bridge
k. -sī (t[äñri] k.) BK W4
kögmän geog. n.
k. aša KT E17, BK E15
k. yir sub KT E20, BK E17
k. yisiγ TI N4
k. yišīγ KT E35, BK E27
k. yolī TI E6
kök blue
k. öñüg TI S9
k. täñri KT E1, BK E2
k. täyāñin BK S12, N12

k. türük KT E3, BK E4
kök öñ geog. n.
kök ö. -üg TI S9
kök türük polit. n. KT E3, BK E4
kök particle of definiteness
ölti k. TI S8
ölürtäçi k. TI N6
ölürtäçik (for ölürtäçi kök) TI S4
köl lake
k. -tä (qara k.) KT N2, (türgi yarğun k.) KT E34
kölik cart, vehicle
k. -in (instr.) (inigäk k.) TI S8
köñül heart, mind
k. -tä KT N11
k. -täki sabimin KT S12
k. -üñčä TI N8, S8
kör- to see; to submit, be subject to
k.! TI N2
k. -tüg ärti O F7

k. -ti KT E19, E30; BK 2, E16, E24, E39; KČ W3
k. -mis KT E8
k. -ügmä KT S11, BK N8
k. -ür KT N10, BK N2; k[örür] KT S2
k. -ür ärti TI W1
k. -täçi sän BK N14
k. -üp KT S13
k. -ü KT S11, S12; BK N8, N15
(ämgäk k. -) KT E19, BK E16
(toñtamis közī yüg(g)ärü k. -) BK E2
(yälü k. -) TI N2
körmä- neg. of kör-
k. -dük (közün k. ... bodunumın) BK N11
körüg scout, spy TI S1, N5
üč k. kisī TI N9
k. sabī TI S2
kötür- to cause to rise, elevate
k. -ti ärinč BK E10

k. -mis KT E 11, E 25
k. -ügmä BK E 21
(yüg(g)ärü k. -) KT E11, BK E 10
köz eye
k. -dä KT N11
k. -ün BK N11
k. -üm (körür k.) KT N10
k. -ī KT N11, BK E2
(k. qaš) KT N11
kü news; fame
k. äsid- KT E12
k. tut- KČ W12
k. -sī (atī k. yoq bol-) KT E25, E25; BK E20, E21, E22, E36
küč strength, power
k. bir- KT E12; BK E 11, E32
k. -üg (isig k. bir-/ber-) KT E8, E9, E10, E30, W1; BK E8, E9, E9; TI E2, O R2, R3; isig küč(ü)n (for küč-üg?) O F5
küčlüg powerful, mighty
k. alp qaʔanımda O R4
küč[lüg qaʔan] TI E3
kükä- to gain fame
k. -di KČ W4
(alpī ärdämī k. -) KČ W4
kül pers. n.
k. čor BK S13
k. irkin BK S14
k. tigin KT E32, E34, E35, E37, N1, N2, N3, N5, N5, N6, N7, N8, N10, NE, NE
k. tigin atīsī KT SE
k. tiginīñ KT SW
k. tiginig KT E40
inim k. tigin KT E26, E27, E30, E30, E31, N10, W1; BK E21
inim k. tiginig KT W1
k. tegin KT N8
küli pers. n. (cf. kül)
k. čor KČ W6, W10, W11, E3
[kü]li čor KČ E6
[küli] čor KČ W5
k. čor toñuquq KČ W2
[bil]gä k. čor KČ E2
[bil]ä k. čor KČ E7
isbara bilgä k. čor KČ W8, E10

isbara bilgä k. čoruγ
 KČ E12
išbara čiqan k. čor KČ
 W2
uluγ k. čor KC W3
külüg well-known, famous
antaγ k. qaγan KT E4,
 BK E5
[kül]üg är O Supp. 6
kümüs silver (cf. kümüş)
altun k. BK S11
[al]tun k. äsg[iti] qutay
 BK N3
örüg k. TII S4
k. -in (altunın k.) KT SW
kümüş silver (cf. kümüs)
altun k. isgiti qutay
 KT S5
aγı altun k. KT N12
k. -in (örüg k.) BK N11
kün day; sun
ekinti k. BK S1, TII W4
ilki k. BK S1
tört k. BK SW
yigirmi k. KT SE
k. yämä tün yämä TI
 N3
k. batsiqdaqi KT N12

k. batsiqiqa KT S2,
 BK N2
k. batsiqiqa tägi O F2
k. ortusiñaru KT S2,
 BK N2
k. toγsiq(q)a KT S2
k. toγsiqda KT E8, BK
 E8
k. toγsiqina O F2
k. to[γsiqina] BK N11
k. -li (tünli k.) BK SE
küni envy, jealousy
ödün[ä] k. täg- BK E30
küntüz by day, during the day
k. olurma- KT E27, BK
 E22, TII E2
k. olursiqim kälmađi
 TI S5
 (tün uđima- k.
 olurma-) KT E27,
 BK E22, TII E2
kün female slave, concubine
 BK E18
k. bol- KT E7, E24,
 N9
k. qul bol- KT E20,
 BK E17
k. qil- BK E7, E20
 (k. qul) KT E7, E20,
 E24, N9; BK E17

künäd- to become slave
 (for women)
k. -mis KT E13
 (k. - qulad-) KT
 E13
künlüg having a female
 slave
k. bol- BK E18
kür fraud, deceit
k. ökül- TI N8
küräğü unruliness
k. -nin üčün KT E23,
 BK E19
kürlüg deceitful, tricky
k. -in üčün BK E6
k. (for kürlügün) üčün
 KT E6
küzäd- to protect
k. -ü KT W1
laγzın pig
l. yıl BK S10
likän pers. n. (= Chin. Liü-
 hiang)
isiyi l. KT N12
lisün pers. n. (= Chin. Li-
 ts'ün)
l. tay säñün BK S11
lđ (<Chin. lung) dragon
l. yılqa O Supp. 4

maγ glory, honor (?), praise
 (?)
m. it- BK S15, m. i[t-]
 BK S15
 (-in ärtinü ti m.
 it-) BK S15
 (-qa ärtinü ärtinü
 ti m. i. -) BK S14-
 15
maqarač (<Ind. mahārāj)
 pers. n.
m. tamyači KT N13
maqa dat. of bän/män (cf.
 baqa) KT E30; BK E24,
 E36; m[ana] KT S2
matı loyal, faithful (?)
m. bäglärim ä! O F7
bunča m. bäglär BK
 S14
türük m. bäglär BK
 S13
türük m. bodun bäglär
 KT S11, BK N8
män I; I am (cf. bän) KT
 E27, S11; BK E33, E33,
 E36, S3, S9
birür m. KT E9
qazγanür m. KT E9
saqinür m. BK W6
ter män TII W2
tägmäči m O R2

māniŋ gen. of bān/mān (cf. bāniŋ)

m. bodunum BK E29

m. sabimīn KT S11

mu interrogative particle

bar m. nā TI S7

qaŋan m. qisayīn TI W5

nā what; why; particle of probability (after mu)

n. buŋi TII E7

n. qaŋanqa KT E9, BK E9

n. kiši BK E2, E28

n. ayayīn TI N8

n. basinalīm TII W4

bar mu n. TI S7

nākā for what, why (dat. - loc. of nā)

n. qorqur biz TII W4

n. tāzār biz TII W3

nānčā so much (equat. of nā)

bodunuŋ n. itm(iš) BK N9

nāŋ any, whatever, whatsoever

n. buŋuŋ yoq KT S8, BK N6

n. yerdaki TII E6

n. yilsiy bodunqa KT E26

n. n. sabim ārsār KT SW

n. n[āŋ] sab[im] ārsār BK N8

qačan (n)āŋ ārsār TI E3, N5

qačan (n)āŋ ārsār TI E4

oŋlan children, sons

o. -im KT S1, N11; BK N1

o. -iŋizda ... yegdi KT SE

(o. tayŋun) KT SE

oŋlit children, sons

o. -i KT E5, BK E5

oŋul child, son

o. -um

on oq o. KT N13

uluŋ o. BK S9

o. -uma BK N10

inimā o. O R3

o. -uŋ

qiz o. KT E24

urī o. KT E24

o. -uŋin (urī o.) BK E20

o. -i KT E5; BK E6, E18

... čoriŋ o. yigān čor KČ S1

el-etmis yabŋu o. O F4

kisī o. KT E1, N10

sir irkin o. yigān čor KČ E9

tinsi o. aytiŋma TII W9, S2, S3

o. -in

qiz o. BK E7

urī o. BK E7, KT E7 (for oŋli)

o. kisīsīn KČ W5, E10

o. [kisīsīn] KČ E1

o. yotuz[in] BK S3

o. yo[tuz]in BK E24

[o]ŋlīn yotuzin BK E38

o. -iŋa

on oq o. tatiŋa tāgi BK N15

[on oq oŋlīn] tatiŋa tāgi KT S12

o. -inta (kisī o. ūzā) KT E1, BK E3

o. -(i)n (for oŋli) KT E7

oŋul pers. n.

o. tarqan KT N12

oŋurqalat- to let someone to warm his back

o. -dīm TI N1

oŋuš clan, tribe

bir o. alpaŋu KT N7

o. -uŋ (bir o.) BK E 31

o. -um

o. bodun BK E25

o. bodunum BK E25

o. -i bodunī KT S6

oŋuz ethnic n. BK E38, TI S5, S8, S9

o. ara (atig o. ara) O F5

o. birlā KT N6, N7

o. tapa BK E32

o. bo[dun] BK E33

o[ŋuz] bodun BK E34

o. bodun tapa KT E28, BK E23

o. bodunuŋ TII N4

o. yaŋi KT N8

o. bāglārī KT E22

toquz o. O F6; t[quz] oŋu]z BK E29

toquz o. bāglārī bodunī KT S2

toquz o. ... bāg-lārī bodunī BK E1

toquz o. bodun KT E14, N4; BK E12, E35; TI S2

ūč o. sūsī BK E32

o. -uγ TI W7, S3

o. -qa TII S5, toquz o. -qa KČ E4

o. -da TI S7

o. -duntan TI S1

o. -γaru KT N8

o. -ī yāmā TI E5

oγuz pers. n.

o. bilgā tamγači KT N13

oq arrow

o. -un ur- KT E33, E36

oq tribe, tribal organization

on o. (q. v.)

oq particle of intensification (cf. ōk)

ol o. tūn TII W7

īt(t)im o. TII E2

ulγartdīm o. TII E3

oqī- to call, invite

o. -γali kāl- BK E28

oqsiz having no tribal organization

idi o. kōk tūrūk KT E3, BK E4

ol that; he, they; is, are KT E24, S3; BK E20, N2; TI E3

o. at KT E33, E33, N4

o. bilmāddükügin üčün BK E20

o. bodunuγ KT E38

o. ekī kisī TI S3

o. qan O F1

o. ōdkā KT E21, BK E18

o. sabīγ KT S7; BK N6; TI S4, N6, N9, N9, N11; TII W1, W7

o. sabīn TI E5

o. sub TI N3

o. sū KT N8

o. sūg KT E32, E34; BK E25

o. sūqūšdā KT N2

o. taš KT S13

o. taš barqīn BK N15

o. tāgdükdā KT E36

o. tānri BK E21

o. tōrūdā ūzā KT E16, BK E14

o. ūč qayan TI E3

o. yerkā TII S3

o. yergārū KT S8, BK N6

o. yilqa KT E36, BK E27

o. yilqīγ BK E38

o. yolun TI E7

o. oq tūn TII W7

añīγ o. TI N10

bulγanč [o]l TI E5

tarqīnč o. TI E5

ūz o. TI N10

olur- to sit; stay, dwell; succeed to the throne

o. ! TI N8

o. -uñ! TI N7, N10

o. -tūm KT E26, S1, S9; BK E2, E15, N1, S9; [olurtu]m BK N7, olurt[um] KT W1, [olur-tum] BK S9

o. -tūmiz TI N8

o. -tī KT E16, BK E14, TI S2, KC E2

o. -ūr TII N4

o. -ūr ārtimiz TI W7, S1

o. -ūr ārmis KT E3, BK E4

o. -ūr ārkli TI S1

o. -miš KT E1, BK E3

o. -miš ārinč BK E6

o. -mis ārinč KT E5, E5; BK E6

o. -tuq(q)a BK E14

o. -tuqda KT E17

o. -tuqum ūčün BK E36

o. -tuquma BK E2, N9

o. -tuqīnta BK S13

o. -tači sän KT S8

[olurtač]i sän BK N6

o. -siqim TI S5, E5

o. -sar KT S3, S8; BK N6

o. -γali TI E1

o. -matī TII E2

o. -up KT S4, S8, S9, SE; BK E2; [olu]rup BK SW

o. -upan KT E1, E16; BK E3, E14

(qayan o. -) KT E16, S9; BK E2, E14, N7; TI S2
(šad o. -) BK E15, S9

(o. -siqim kälma-) TI S5, E5

(tün uđimatı kün-
tüz o. -mafi) TII
E1-2

olurma- neg. of olur-

o. -dım KT E26; BK
E21, E22

olurmad (for olur-
madım) KT E27

(tün uđim - kün-
tüz o. -) KT E27,
BK E22

olurt- causative of olur-

o. -dum TII E1

o. -di KT E26; o. -[di]
BK E21

o. -(t)i KČ E12

(qaγan o. -) KT
E26, BK E21, TII
E1

(bādzin ... o. -) KČ
E12

on ten

o. ārig KT N7

o. tünkä TI N2

sākiz o. KČ W3

o. oq (q. v.)

on-oq ethnic n.

o. bodun KT E19, BK E16

o. bāglārī bodunī TII
W7

o. bodunī TI N6

o. qaγanī TII E2

o. oγlum KT N13

o. oγlija tatīja tāgi BK
N15

o. sūsī TI N9

o. sūsīn TII W8

onunč tenth

o. ay BK S10

oγ pers. n. (? = Chin. Wang)

o. tutuq KT E31, E32

[oγ] tutuq BK E25

opla- to rush, attack with
much speed

o. -yu tāg- KT E32,
E35, N2, N3, N5, N5;
KČ W10, W11, E7, E11

o[playu tāg-] KT
N4, KČ E3

opul- to rush oneself to,
rush recklessly

o. -u kir- KČ E11

ordū kaghan's residence,
capital

o. -γ KT N8, N9

ortu middle, central part

o. -sīgaru KT S2, S2;
BK N2, N2

(kūn o.) KT S2,
BK N2

(tün o.) KT S2,
BK N2

orūq road, path

o. -ī (bir at o.) TI
E7

ot fire

o. sub qılma- KT
E27, BK E22

o. -ča borča kāl- KT
E37, BK E27

otuz thirty

o. yašima BK E28

o. yaša- KT N2

o. artuqī bir BK
E28-29, S9

o. artuqī uč BK E34

o. artuqī tört BK
E38

o. artuqī sākiz BK
S2

bir o. KT E32

ekī o. BK E25

biš o. KT E18, BK
E15

uč o. TI E2

altı o. BK E26

yiti o. KT N1

yeti o[tuz] BK E26

[yeti] o. TII E1

o. tatar KT E4, E14;
BK E5

o. [tatar] KT S1

o. -qa

altı o. BK S10

yeti o. KT NE

yiti o. KT NE,
BK S10

otuz tatar ethnic n. KT
E4, E14; BK E5

o. [tatar] KT S1

oz- to assault, transgress,
attack

o. -a KT N7, BK E31

(o. -a kāl-) KT
N7

(o. -yañ-) BK
E31

oz- to be saved

o. -di BK E28

ō- to think, remember

ō-yūr ārmis KT S5

ō[yūr ārmi] š BK
N4

ō-māz sān KT S8, S8;
BK N6, N6

ō-dūkūmūn (biltūkū-
mūn ō.) KČ S3

öd time, age KT N10,
O R4

ö. -kä

antaγ ö. KT
E40

bu ö. KT S1

ol ö. KT E21,
BK E18

öd gall

ö. -īp[ä] küni tæg-
BK E29

ödsig (?) dear, beloved
(?)

ö. ötülg BK E34

ödüş time, unit of time
(24 hours?)

ö. -kä (yiti ö.) BK
SE

ög mother, step-mother

ö. -üm KT E11, E25,
E31; BK E10, E21

(ö. qatun) KT
E25, N9; BK E
10, (umay tæg
ö. qatun) KT
E31

(ö. il-bilgä
qatun) KT E11,
BK E21

ö. -lärim äkälärim
KT N9

ög- to praise

ö. -[di] BK E41, S15

(may it- ö. -) BK
S15

ögläs- to think together,
plan together, decide to-
gether

ö. -mis (anča ö.) TI
E3

ö. -ip TI E3

ögsiz motherless (name of
a horse?)

ö. aqin KT N9

ögtür- to have praised

ö. -t[üm] (anī ö.) KT
W2

ögüz river

yaşil ö. KT E17, BK
E15

yinčü ö. BK N13

yinčü ög[üz] KT
S3

ö. -üg

ärtis ö. KT E37;
TI N11; TI W2

[är]tis ö. BK E27

toyla ö. BK E30

yinčü ö. KT E39,
TI W9, KC E4

ö. -kä TI S9, E1

[ögüzk]ä TI E2

ö. -čä yügür- BK E
20

ök particle of intensifi-
cation (cf. oq)

bän ö. TI W7; TI
S6, S6

özüm ö. TI W6

ökäs ö. ötür- TI W7

bertim ö. TI E2

ökül- to be planned, be
thought

ö. -ür (kür ö.) TI
N8

ökün- to regret, repent

ö.! KT E23, BK
E19

ö. -üp KT E40, BK
E38

öl- to die, be killed,
perish

ö. -tüg KT S6, S7;
BK N5, N6

ö. -ti KT E19, E19,
E20, E33, E33, E33,
N4, N6, N8; BK E37;
O Supp. TI W3

ö. -ti kök TI S9

ö. -ügmä BK E37

ö. -täči

ö. bodunuγ KT
E29, BK E23

öküş ö. BK E31

ö. sän KT S8, BK
N6

ö. ärti BK E33

ö. ärtigiz KT N10

ö. -täčičä saqinīyma
BK E2

ö. -sikin KT S6, BK
N5

ö. -sikin KT S10, BK
N8

ö. -sikig KT S7, BK N5

ö. -gäli KT N10

ö. -ä KT E27, E28;
BK E22, E22

ölü BK N7

(ö. - alqin- yoq
bol-) TI W3

(ö. - yit-) KT E28,
BK E22

(tor- ö. -) KT S9

ölüg dead

ö. -ī KT N9

ölür- to kill

ö. -äyīn KT E10; ölür-
[ayīn] BK E9

ö. -tüm BKE26, E27,
E28, E29; BK S1, S3;

ölü[rtüm] BK E28;
[ölürtü]m BK S8

ö. -tümiz KT E36,
E38, N2, N7; TI N4

ö. -ti TI W7, TII W7;
ö[lü]rti BK S9, [ö]lür-
ti KČ E6

ö. -miş KT E40

ö. -mis KT E40

ö. -täči TI S3, S3

ö. -täči kök TI E4,
N6

ölürtäčik (for
ölürtäči kök) TI
S4

ö. -üp BK S7, KČ
W5

(ö. - al-) KT E40,
N2

ölüt- to cause to be killed

ö. -mis ärinč TI W2

ön- to go up, rise; come
out

ö. -ti (topulu ö.) KČ
E7

öntür- (for dawn) to break

ö. -ü (tañ ö.) TI N11

öñ geog. n.

ö. -üg (kök ö.) TI
S8

[kök] ö. BK SE

öñdün east

ö. qaγanγaru TI N5

ö. yän TI S4

öñrä ahead, in the front,
in the east, eastwards KT
E4; BK E5, S13; TI W7,
S3, S7; O F2

ö. türk qaγanγaru TI
E3

ö. -ki TI S10, N1

ör- to rise, rebel

ö. -ti (quridin soγ(u)d
ö.) KT W1

örpän geog. n.

ö. -tä BK E26

ört fire, flame

ö. -čä qiz- TII W5

ötlä- to advice

ö. -dim O R3, R3

ötüg request, prayer

ö. -i (ädgü sabi ö.)
BK E39

ötükän geog. n. cf. ötükan

ö. yir KT S8, BK N6

ötükän cf. ötükan

ö. yerig TI S10

ö. yerkä TI S10

ö. yiš KT S3, S4, S8;
BK N2

ö. yišda yig KT S4

[öt]ükän [yiš]da
yig BK N3

ö. y[iš bodun] KT
E23

ö. yisγaru TI S8

ötülüg esteemed, respected

ödsig ö. BK E34

ötün- to tell, say (to su-
perior), make represen-
tations, ask for

ö. -tüm TI S5, S5,
S7, N1

ö. -mis O F8

ö. -tük ötüncümin TI
S8

ö. -üp TI E1

ötünč representations

ö. -ümin (ötüntük ö.)
TI S8

ötrü after

anta ö. TI S5, S9

öz own, self; pith, es-
sence (of a tree)

ö. yar[at-?] BK S11

ö. (i)či TI S6

özī himself, themselves;
he, they KT E3, E20,
E38; BK E17; KC E9, E11

kül tigin ö. KT E30

kül tigin ö [zī] KT
NE

özüm myself, I KT E17,
N10, N10; BK E2, E14,
E14, W7, N9; TII E5, E6;
[ö]züm KT S9; ö[züm] BK
E34

ö. ök TI W6

bän ö. TI W1, S10; TII
E5, N1

[bän] ö. TI S8

män ö. BK E36

ö. -in BK E21

ö. -ä BK S15

özlik personal, private
(cf. özlük)

ö. atin BK S12, N11

özlük mount, riding horse,
saddle horse (cf. özlik)

ö. -ī KČ W4, E3, E3

purum East Rome, Syria

apar p. qırqız ... KT
E4, BK E5

sa- to inform, send a
message

s. -yu (bodunin s. it-
(t)imiz) TII W7

sab message, word TI S2

ičrä s. TI N10

s. -iγ TI N9

ol s. KT S7; BK
N6, N6; TI S5,
N9, N9, N11;
TII W1, W7

tiliγ s. TI N8

s. -in (instr.) (süč-
ig s.) KT S5

s. -im KT S11; BK E1, S13
sab[im] BK N8

s. -imın (acc.) KT
S1, S11, S12; BK N1;
[s]abimın BK N14

s. -imin (acc.) KT
S2

s. -imda KT S10, BK
N8

s. -i KT S5; BK E39,
N4; TI S2

s. -in KT S9, BK N7

s. -in TI E5

s. -iγa KT S6, BK
N5

(s. al-) KT S7,
BK N6, TI N8

(s. äsid-) TI
S5, N6, N9,
N11; TII W1, W7

(s. id-) TI S2,
N9, N10

(s. si-) KT S11,
BK N14

sač hair

s. -in qulqaqın [b]ič
BK S12

sad a high title (cf. šad)

qaqım s. O F8

tardus s. TI N7

s. atiy O F6

s. -ra (tardus s.) TII
W6

s. -in (yabγusın s.)
TII W6

saqın- to think

s. -iγ! BK E33

s. -tim KT N10, N10,
N11, N11, N11, N11;
TI W5, W6, E7; O R2

saqıntıma (for
saqıntım) TI E5

s. -ür măn BK W6

s. -iγma (öltäçičä s.)
BK E2

s. -matı KT E10, BK
E9

saq[ınip?] BK E35

(-gärü s. -) KT
E10

(... tiyin s. -)
TI W6, O R2

(... tip s. -) KT
N11

(s. - bil-) BK
E33

sanč- to stab, thrust

s. -dim BK E26,
E30, E31, E32, E37;
O R2

s. -dimiz KT N6, TI
N4

s. -di KT E36, N2,
N5, N5, N6, N8, N9;
KČ W10, E3, E10

s. -ip KČ W5

s. -a id- KČ E7

(süsın s. -) KT
N6; BK E30, E31,
E37; KČ E10

(ud ašru s. -)
KT E36, N2

sansız innumerable,
countless

s. kälür- BK S12

santun geog. n. (= Chin.
Shan-tung) cf. šantun

s. balıq(q)a TI E1

s. ba[lıqqa] TI
E2

sayu every

yir s. KT S9; BK
E22, yir

yir [s]ayu BK
N7

säbig pers. n.

s. küll irkin BK S14

säbin- to be pleased, be
happy

s. -ip BK E2

(ägir- s. -) BK
E2

säkiz eight

s. yašda BK E14

s. on KČ W3

s. tümän BK E26

s. yegirmi BK E24

otuz artuqı s. BK S2

(s. on yasa-) KČ
W3

sälänä geog. n. (Selenga
river)

s. qodı yorı- BK E37

sämiz fat, fleshy

s. būqa TI W6

s. būqalı TI W5

sän art, are (copulatively)

toqurqaq s. KT S8,
BK N6

ömäz s. KT S8, S8;
BK N6, N6

boltači s[än] BK N14
 kirtäči s. BK N14
 körtäči s. BK N14
 olurtači s. KT S8, BK N6
 öltäči s. KT S8, BK N6
 sāṇā dat. of sān
 s. nā ayayīn TI N8
 sāṇūn general (< Chin. tsiang-kūn)
 čača s. BK E26
 čaṇ s. KT N13
 ānik s. KT N2
 qu s. BK S8
 lisūn tay s. BK S11
 udar s. KT N12
 s. -ūg
 quṣ s. BK S9
 quṇī s. TI S2
 s. -kā (čača s.) KT E32
 siṣtā- to wail (cf. siṣtā-)
 s. -mis KT E4
 (s. -yoḷā-) KT E4
 siṃa- not to destroy (neg. of si-); cf. siṃa-, si-

s. -dī (qarluquṣ s.) KČ E8
 si- to destroy, break
 s. -dī (balīq s.) TI E2
 s. -yu ur- KT E36, KČ E9
 siṣt wail, cry of grief
 s. (köṇültā s. käl-) KT N11
 siṣtāci lamenter
 yoṣči s. KT E4, N11; BK E5
 siṣtā- cf. siṣtā-
 s. -miš BK E5
 (s. -yoḷā-) BK E5
 siṣun deer
 s. ātsār BK W5
 silig pers. n.
 yegān s. bāgiṣ KT E33
 siṃa- neg. of si- (cf. siṃa-)
 s. -dī (sabīmīn s.) KT S11, BK N14
 siṇi acc. of sān
 s. tabṣačīṣ TI S3
 siṇar half, one of a pair
 s. sūsī BK E32
 [siṇ]ar sūsī BK E32

s. -ča artuq TII W5
 siṇil younger sister
 s. -im qunčuyuṣ KT E20
 s. -im qu[nču]yuṣ BK E17
 sir pers. n.
 s. irkin KČ E9
 sir ethnic n.
 türk s. bodun TI W3, S4
 türük s. bodun TII N2, N3
 türük s. bodunuṣ TII N4
 [ʔ al]ti s. toquz oṣuz ekī ādiz BK E1
 siz you (copulatively)
 yaṇiltači s. KT S11
 soṣdaq Sogdian, Sogdiana (cf. soṣ(u)d)
 s. bodun KT E39, TII S2
 s. tapa KT E31
 soṣ(u)d Sogdian (cf. soṣ-daṣ)
 s. bārčik ār KT N2
 [s]oṣ(u)d KT W1

soṇa geog. n.
 s. yišda KT E35, BK E27
 sök- to break through
 s. -düm (qarīṣ s.) TI N1
 s. -üpān (qarīṣ s.) KT E35, BK E27
 sökür- to make someone kneel, (fig.) to subjugate
 s. -tüm BK N10
 s. -tümiz KT E18, BK E16
 s. -miš KT E15
 s. -mis BK E13
 (tizligig s. -) KT E15, E18; BK E13, E16, N10
 sön time
 anča s. KČ E8
 sözlāš- to consult together, agree together
 s. -dimiz KT E26, BK E21
 sub water; river
 ol s. TI N3
 ot s. KT E27, BK E22

yir s. KT E19, E20;
BK E17

yer s. BK E35, TII W3

s. -(qa) (anī s.) TI N3

s. -ča yügür- KT E24

[su]buğd[a] BK N13

s. -ī (yirī s.) KT E11,
BK E10

s. -īn (yerin s.) BK
E35

s. -īṅaru (yeriṅärü s.)
(ot s. qılma-) KT
E27, BK E22

subsüz having no water,
desert

s. káčdim BK SE

suq anger, rage

s. -un ... altım BK
E38

sü army, troops KT E2,
N8; BK E3, SE; TI E1,
N1, N5, N7, N9, N11,
N11; KČ E8

ilki s. BK E32

ekīn (for ekīnti) s.
BK E32

ol s. KT N8

uluγ s. KT E28

bes tümän s. BK E25

on tümän s. TII W1

tört tümän s. BK S8

s. atī KT E39

s. basī TI N5

s. [t]ägisintä KT N5

s. -g

bu s. TI N8

ol s. KT E32,
E34; BK E25

bir tümän artuqī
yeti biṅ s. BK S1

üč tümän s. BK
S8

s. -kä (tümät s.) KČ
W10

s. -miz

[ekī] süm[iz] TI
E1

ekī üč biṅ s. TI S7

s. -sī BK E39, O R1

qanī s. TI N4

qanīm qaγan s.
KT E12, BK E11

on oq s. TI N9

siṅar s. BK E32,
[siṅ]ar s. BK E32

tabyač s. TI N6

[tab]yač atliγ s. BK
S1

türgis qaγan s.
KT E37, BK E27

üč oγuz s. BK
E32

s. -sīn KT N6, N7;
BK E26, E26, E30,
E31, E31, E34, S1;
TII W8; KČ E10

sūsī[n] BK E30.
[sūs]in BK E28

yadaγ s. BK S1

on oq s. TII W8

(s. sülä-) KT
E2, BK E3

(s. tašiq-/tašiq-) KT
N8, TI N9

(s. yori-) BK
SE; TI N5, N11

süčig sweet, pleasnat
(cf. süčig) KT S5

s. sabīn ... ar- KT
S5

s. sabīṅa ... artur-
KT S6

süčig cf. süčig BK N4,
N4, N5

sülä- to go on a campaign,
go to war, wage war

s. ! BK E40

s. -lim TI E3, E4

sül[äli]m O F7

s. -dim KT S3, S3, S4,
S4; BK E24, E25, E25,
E26, E26, E28, E32,
E38, E39, E41, S2, S2,
N3, N3; sül[ädim] BK
E33, sül[ädim] BK S2,
N3

s. -dimiz KT E17, E17,
E18, E31, E35, E39;
BK E15, E15; TII W9

sül[ädimiz] BK
E15, s[ülädimiz]
BK E15

s. -miš BK E13

s. -mis KT E15

s. sār (sül[ä]s)är TI
E6

s. -p KT E12, BK E11

s. -pän KT E2, BK E3

s. -yü bir- KT E8, E8;
BK E8, E8

(-qa tägi s.) KT
E17, E17, E39,
S3, S3, S4, S4;
BK E15, E15, N3,
N3

(-γaru s. -) TI E3,
KT E12, BK E11

(... tapa s. -) KT
E31, E35; BK E24,
E25, E26, E26,
E26, E28, E32, S2,
S2

(sü s. -) KT E2, BK E3

sülāmā- neg. of sülā-

s. -sār (aṇaru s.)
TI E3

sülāt- causative of sülā-

s. -(t)im TII W8

sünüg lance (cf. sünüg)

s. batimi qariγ KT
E35

sünüg cf. sünüg

s. batīmī qariγ BK
E26

s. -ūn ač- TI N4

sünüglüg lander, cavalry-
man armed with a lance
KT E23, BK E19

sünük bone

s. -ūn (poss.) KT E24

s. -üg (poss.) BK E20

sünüs fight, battle (cf.
sünüs) KT E15; KČ W9,
W11, E4, E5, E8

(s. kigür-) KČ E8

(s. sünüs-) KT E15;
KČ W11, E4, E5

sünüs- to fight (cf. sünüs-)

s. -dümiz KT N1; TIS9,
N4; TIIN4, W5, W6

s. -di TIIS5, S5, S5;
KČ W10

s. -mis KT E15

s. -dükdā KČ W1, E4, E6

sünüsddkd[ā] KČ
E5

[sū]nūsddkdā KČ
E3

s. -ūp KČ W12, E10

(sünüs s. -) KT
E15; KČ W11, E4,
E5

(-qa s. -) TII S5,
S5, S5; KČ W10,
W12, E4

sünüş fight, battle (cf.
sünüs) KT E40; BK E13,
E34

uluγ s. KT E40

ekī uluγ s. BK E34

s. -dā (ol s.) KT N2

(s. sünüs-) KT
E40, BK E34

sünüş- to fight (cf. sünüs-)

s. -düm BK E23, E25,
E26, E26, E27, E28,
E29, E30, E30, E31,
E34

[sū]nüşddüm BK
E30, [sünü]šddüm
BK E37, sün[üş-
düm] BK S6

s. -dümiz KT E18, E32,
E35, E37, N3, N4, N4,
N5, N6, N6, N7; BK
BK E17, E28

s. -miš KT E40, N1

sū[nüş]miš BK
E13

s. -gāli BK E32

(sünüş s. -) KT
E40; BK E13,
E34

(-qa s. -) KT E32

(... birlā s. -) KT
N1, N3, N5, N6,
N7; BK E27

sūr- to drive, drive away

s. -ti KČ E8

s. -ā KT E23, BK E19

(sū s. -) KČ E8

(s. -ā elt-) KT
E23

šad a high title (cf. sad)
KT E17, E27, N11; BK
E15, E21, S9; TI W5

š. -iγ (yabγuγ š.) KT
E14, BK E12

š. -īn (qaγanīn yabγu-
[sī]n š.) BK E28

(š. olur-) BK S9

šadpīt a title (šadapīt?)

š. bāglār KT S1, BK
S13

šad[pīt] bāglār
BK S14

šalči pers. n. (?)

alp š. aq atīn KT E40

alp š. aqīn KT N2, N3

alp š. [aq]īn KT N2

šantun geog. n. (= Chin.
Shan-tung) (cf. santun)

š. yazīqa tāgi KT E17,
S13; BK E15

[š]antun BK N2

tabar geog. n.

t. -da KT E38

tabγač China, Chinese KT
E4; BK E5, E35; TI S4,
S5

t. tapa KT E28, BK E23

t. bodun KT E6, E14;
BK E6, E12, N4; O R1

t. bodunqa KT E7,
BK E7

t. qaγan KT N13, TI
E2

t. qaγanīn KT S12

t. qaγanqa KT E7,
E8, E9; BK E8, E9,
E39

t. qaγanta KT N12

[tabγ]ač qaγanta
KT S11

t. oγ tutuq KT E31

tab[yač] oŋ tutuq
BK E25

t. atin KT E7

t. at[in] BK E7

t. ilinā TI W1

t. sūsī TI N6

[tab]yač atliγ
sūsī BK S1

t. -iγ TI W7, S3

t. -qa BK E38; TI W1,
W2; O F2

[tab]yačqa KČ
W12

t. -da BK E36; TI W2,
S7; O F 5

t. -γaru BK E35, TI
S2

tabyačγi being in China,
belonging to China

t. bāglār KT E7

[tab]yačγi bāglār
BK E7

tabisγan hare

t. ye- TI S1

tadiq pers. n.

t. -in čorin boz [at]
KT E32

tad[iq] KČ S1

taγ mountain BK S7

t. -iγ (bānlig āk t.) TII
W9

t. -qa (tinsi oγlī aytiγma
t.) TII S3

t. -da BK S8

t. -daqi KT E12

t. -ča KT E24, BK E20

taγiq- to go up mountains

t. -mis KT E12

(balıqdaqi t. -
taγdaqi in-) KT E12

taq the very

t. bilgāsī čabisī KČ E5

taqi more

[t]aqi isig kūčūg O R2

anča t. (spelt taqa) KT
S13

tal- to plunge, dive

t. atin! TI N1

taluy sea, ocean

t. ögüzdā TI E1

t. [ögüz]k]ā TI E2

t. -qa KT S3

tām wall

t. -qa (bu t.) KT SE

tamaγ geog. n.

t. iduq bašda KT N1,
BK E29

taman pers. n.

t. tarqan BK S14

tamγači seal-keeper,
secretary

maqarač t. KT N13

oγuz bilgā t. KT N13

tamγan a title

bilgā isbara t. tar-
qan O F4

isbara t. čor yabγu
O F4

taŋ dawn

t. öntürü TI N11

taŋut ethnic n. (Tangut)

t. tapa BK E24

t. bodunuγ BK E24

tapa in the direction of,
toward, against

altı čub soγdaq t.
KT E31

altı č[ub soγdaq]
t. BK E25

bes bałiq t. BK E28

čik t. BK E26

qarluq t. KČ E8

qırqız t. KT E35

qıtañ t. BK S2

qıtañ tatabi bodun t.
KT E28, BK E23

kāŋiris t. KT E39

oγuz t. BK E32

oγuz bodun t. KT E28,
BK E23

tabyač t. KT E28; BK
E23, E26

taŋut t. BK E24

tatabi t. BK S3

türgis t. BK E27

taplāma- not to like, not to
approve

t. -di BK E35

tarban geog. n. (cf. tarman)

kāŋü t. -qa tāgi BK E18

tardus ethnic n. (cf. tarduš)

t. sad TI N7

t. sadra TII W6

tarduš ethnic n. (cf. tardus)

t. bāglār BK S13

t. bodun üzā KT E17,
BK E15

t. bodunuγ KČ E2

tölis t. [bodunuγ] KT
E13, BK E12

t. inanču čor KT N13

tarqan a high title

apā tarq[an] BK S13
bilgā isbara tamγan t.
O F4

bilgä toñuquq boyla
bağa t. TI W6
inänču apā yarğan t.
 KT W2
isbara t. O Bal.
oğul t. KT N12
taman t. BK S14
tonyuquq boyla bağa t.
 BK S14
t. -γaru (apā t.) TI
 N10
tarqat pl. of tarqan
t. buyruq bağlär KT
 S1
tarqinč offended, dis-
 pleased
t. ol TI E5
tarman geog. n. (cf. tar-
ban)
kāñü t. -qa tägi KT
 E21
tas exterior, outside (cf.
taš)
t. -in (öz içi t. tut-)
 TI S7
tašiq- to go out, start a
 campaign (cf. tašiq-)
t. -di TI N9, N9
t. -mis TI N6, N6
 (sü t. -) TI N6
tasul- (?) to be driven
tas[ulmazun?] ([qut]
ärmäzkä t.) O F8
taš exterior, outside (cf.
tas)
t. -in (için t.) KT S12,
 BK N14
taš stone; rocky place, wil-
 derness KT S12, SW
bāñgü t. KT S12, S13;
 BK N15
bitig t. KT N13
ol t. KT S13
ol t. barqin BK N15
t. -iy BK N13
aγar t. BK S15
bitig t[aši]γ O
 Supp. 1
t. -qa
bāñgü t. KT S11,
 BK N8
bu t. KT SE
t. -da (ida t.) TI W4
t. -in
qañim [qaγan] t.
 BK W7
bitig taš[in] KT NE
 (t. bitī-) KT SW
 (t. toqit-) KT S12

(t. -qa bitī-) KT
 SE
 (t. -qa ur-) KT
 S11, BK N8
 (i t.) TI W4
tašiq- to go out, start a
 campaign (cf. tašiq-)
t. -dīmiz KT N8
t. -miš BK E32
t. -mis KT E11
 (sü t. -) KT N8
tašra outwards, on the
 outside
t. tonsiz KT E26,
 BK E21
t. yori- KT E11
tat Persian
t. -inā tägi KT S12,
 BK N15
tatabi ethnic n. BK S8
t. tapa BK S2
t. bodun BK E39, S7
qitañ t. KT E4, E14;
 BK E5
qitañ tat[abi]
 KC E5
qitañ t. bodun KT
 E28, N11; BK E23
tatar ethnic n.
otuz t. KT E4, E14;
 BK E5
otuz [tatar] KT S1
toquz t. birlä BK E34
tay great (← Chin.)
t. saun BK S11
tayγun (pl. of tay) colts,
 young horses; (fig.) sons
t. -uñizda (oγlanñizda
t. yegdi) KT SE
täbi camel
ägrī t. TII S4
täblig deceitful
t. -in kürlügün [üčün]
 BK E6
t. -in kürlüg (for
kürlügün) üčün
 KT E6
täg like
böri t. KT E12, BK E11
äräm älä t. KC W9
qon t. KT E12, BK E11
täñri t. KT S1; BK E1,
 N1, S13
učuq t. TI S1
umay t. KT E31
bilmäz t. bol- KT N10
körmäz t. bol- KT N10

tutmis t. TI S6
äčisīn t. KT E5
qaqin t. KT E5, BK E6
täg- to come into contact, touch, reach; attack
t.! TI S4, S4
t. -äyīn TI S4
t. -ālim TII W4
t. -dim O R1
t. -dimiz TI N11, TII W4
t. -di KT E32, E33, E3, E36, E37, N2, N5, N6, N8; [tāgd]i KT N4
t. -miš KT E40
t. -miš ārti KT E40
t. -mis TI E1, TII S3
t. -dūk ūčün BK E30
t. -dūkūm (ābkā t.) O R2
t. -dūkīn ... bilīr siz KT E34
t. -dūkin ūčün O R2
t. -ip KT N5; BK S8, SE; O R3; KČ W10, W11, E7, E11; [tāgi]p KČ E3
(šdīŋ[ā] kūni t. -) BK E29-30
tāgdūk conflict, battle
t. -dā (ol t.) KT E36
tāgi up to, as far as
bisūkīŋā t. KT S6, BK N4
bunča yirkā t. KT S4
būkli qaŋanqa t. KT E8, BK E8
qađirqan yišqa t. KT E2
qīrqiz yiriŋā t. BK E15
kāčinkā t. BK SE
kāŋū tarbanqa t. BK E18
kāŋū tarmanqa t. KT E21
kūn batsiqiŋa t. O F2
on oq oylīŋa tatīŋa t. BK N15
[on oq oylīŋ]a tatīŋa t. KT S12
šantun yazīqa t. KT S3
tāmir qapīyqa t. KT E2, E8, E17, E39, S4; BK E4, E15, N3; TII S1
tāzikkā t. KČ E4
toquz ārsinkā t. KT S3, BK N3

yašil ögüz šantun yazīqa t. KT E17, BK E15
yer bayirqu yiriŋā t. KT S4
yir bayirqu yeriŋā t. BK N3
tāgis contact, conflict
t. -īnta (sū t.) KT N5
tāgmā- neg. of täg-
t. -dim KT S3, BK N3
[tāg]mādim KT S3
t. -či mǎn O R2
tāmir iron (in geog. n.)
t. qapīyqa KT E2, E8, E17, E39, S4; BK E4, E8, E15, N3; TII S1, S2; KČ E4
tāmir qapīy geog. n. (Iron Gate) cf. tāmir
tāŋri sky, Heaven, God; Heaven-like KT E12, E15, E22, E25, S9, N10; BK E11, E13, E14, E18, E21, E33, E35, N7, N9, N10; TI W2, W3, W6, S9; TII W5; O F3, R4, R4
tāŋ[ri] KT SW, t[āŋri] BK W3, [t]āŋri BK E21
t. umay TII W3
t. yer BK E29
t. yir KT N4
t. tāg KT S1; BK N1, E1, E1, S13, S13
kök t. KT E1, BK E2
ol t. BK E21
t. bilgā qaŋan O R2, R3
t. töpūsintā KT E11, BK E10
t. yarliq(q)azu KT E29, BK E23, TII E3
t. -dā bolmiš KT S1, BK N1
tāŋr[idā] KT SE
t. -sī (tūrūk t.) KT E10, BK E10
tāŋrikān Heaven-like O F6, F8
t. yān O F5
t. -kā O F6
tār sweat
t. -im (qara t.) TII E2
tārmil geog. n.
aq t. TI N1
tāyāŋ squirrel
t. -īn (kök t.) BK S12, N12
tāz- to run away, flee

t. -är biz TII W3
t. -mis ärti TII W8
t. -ip KT E34; BK E38, E41; t[äzip] BK E37
(t. -ip bar-) KT E34, BK E41
täzīk ethnic n. (Arab)
t. toqar TII S1
täzīk cf. täzīk
t. -kă tägi KC E4
te- to say (cf. ti-)
t. -dim TI W5, E6, E6, E7, N1
t. -di TI S8, N7, N7, N7, N7; TII W2
t. -r măn TII W2
t. -r ärmis O F3, F7, F7
t. -mis TI E3, E3, E4, E4, E4, E5, N2, N5, N6, N9, N10, N10; [temi]s TI E5
t. -mis ärinc TI W2
t. -dăci TI N11
t. -yin TI W6, W6, S10, E6, E7; O F6, F7, R2, R3
tegin prince (cf. tigin)
kül t. KT N8

yăk t. KČ S1
teril- to come together, assemble (cf. tiril-)
t. -ti (on tūmăn sū t.) TII W1
t. -mis (qani sūsi t.) TI N4
teyin because, in order to, for the purpose of (lit.: 'saying'); cf. tiyin
az t. TII W4
üküs t. TII W4, W5
tärrikăn al[qīnmazun] t. O F8
türk bodun yitmăz(ü)n t. O F3
yuluq ärmăz(ü)n t. O F3
tīl words, tidings, information; informant (cf. tīl)
t. -iγ TII W1
ti firm, hard, strong
ärtiŋd t. maγ it- BK S15
ärtiŋd ärtiŋd t. maγ i[t-] BK S15
ti- to say (cf. te-)
t. -dim TII W4
t. -di TI W5, N6, N6, N8, N8, N8; TII W3

t. -r TI S2, N6, N9; TII W1
t. -r măn TI S3, S3, S4, S5
t. -r ärmis KT E9, E9, E10
t. -miš BK E8
t. -mis KT E9
t. -săr (... qonayīn t.) KT S7
t. -p KT E9, S7, N11; BK E9, E32, E40, E41, N5
t. -yin KT E12, BK E35, TI N10
tid- to hold back
t. -a (kōzdă yaš kăl-săr t. ... saqīntīm) KT N11
tigin prince (cf. tegin)
băgim t. KT SW
özüm t. BK E14
t[ō]rt t. KČ E12
čor t. KČ E12
kül t. KT E32, E34, E35, E37, N1, N2, N2, N4, N5, N5, N5, N6, N7, N8, N10, NE, NE, SE, SE
inim kül t. KT E26, E27, E30, N10, W1; BK E21; [inim kül ti]-gin BK E21
toŋa t. KT N7, BK E31
yolluγ t. KT SW
yol(l)uγ t. KT SE; BK SW, SW
yol(l)uγ t(igin)KT S13
t. -ig (kül t.) KT E40, W1
t. -iγ (kül t.) KT SW
tik- to erect
t. -dim KT E25
t. -mis KT E16
t. -ă bir- BK S9, S11
(balbal t. -) KT E16, E25; BK S9
tīl cf. tīl
t. -iγ sabiγ al- TI N8
tīlă- to wish, want
t. -dim TI E6
tinsi (< Chin. T'ien-tsê 'Son of Heaven') (in geog. n.)
t. oγlī TII S2
t. oγlī aytiγma TII S3, W9
tinsi oγlī geog. n. (cf. tinsi)
tiŋla- to listen

qatīydi t.! KT S2
tip in order to, with the intention of (lit.: 'saying')
anī ańtayin t. BK E41
tir- to gather together (cf. teril-)
t. -miš BK E11
ti[r]m[is] KT E12
(t. - qubrat-) KT E12, BK E11
tir- to live
[ti]rip KT S10
tirgür- to bring to life
t. -ü (öltäči bodunuγ t.) KT E29
[tirgür]ü BK E23
tirig alive; life
t. -ī KT N9
t. -däkičä bol- KT N9
tiril- pass. of tir- 'to gather together'
t. -älim TI N9
t. -ip KT E12; BK E11, E34, E36, E39, tir[ilip] BK E29
tiril- to come to life
t. -ti (üküş öltäči anta t.) BK E31

tirkiš caravan KT S8, BK N6
arqiš t. KT S8
tiyin because, in order to, for the purpose of (lit.: 'saying'); cf. teyin
-ayin/-äyin t. KT E28, E39; BK E23, E33
-maz/-mäz t. BK E25, E39
-zun t. KT E11, E19, E20, E25; BK E10, E16, E17, E20, E21; [-zun] t. KT E27; [-z]un t. BK E22
-čün t. KT E11, BK E10
tizlig having knees, (fig.) powerful
t. -ig sökür- KT E2, E15, E18; BK E13, N10; tizlig[ig] BK E3
to- to become full
t. -siq KT S8, BK N6
(äčsiq t.) KT S8
tod- to become full
t. -sar (bir t.) KT S8, BK N6
toγ- to pass over
t. -a (kögmän yišiy t.) KT E35, BK E27

t. -a ([altun yišiy] t.) KT E37
toγsiq the rising (of sun)
t. -(q)a (kün t.) KT S2, BK E8
t. -da (kün t.) KT E4, E8; BK E5
t. -īna (kün t.) BK N2
to[γsiqīna] BK N11
t. -īna O F2
toγla geog. n.
t. ögüzüg BK E30
t. -da TI S8
toγu geog. n.
t. bañiqda KT N4, BK E30
toq full, satiated
t. ärti TI S1
toqar ethnic n. (Tokharian)
täzik t. TII S1
toqi- to hit, strike, beat
t. -dim BK E31, S8
t. -di KT N6
toqit- to have inscribed, have engraved (causative of toqi-)
t. -dim KT S12, S13, S13; BK N15 [toqit]dim

KT S13, O Supp. 2
(taš t. -) KT S12, S13; BK N15 O Supp. 2
toqurqaq one who regards himself as full
t. sän KT S8, BK N6
toquz nine
t. äran KT N9
t. ärig KT N6
t. ärsinkä tägi KT S3
t. oγuz BK E1, O F6
t[oquz oγu]z BK E29
t. oγuzqa KČ E4
t. oγuz bodun KT E14; BK E12, E35; TI S2
t. oγuz bağlārī bodunī KT S2
t. tatar birlä BK E34
toquz ärsin geog. n. (see toquz)
toquz oγuz ethnic n. (see toquz)
toquz tatar ethnic n. (see toquz)
toquzunč ninth
t. ay yeti otuzqa KT NE
tolγatma- not to torment

t. -ŋ! (āmgātmān t.)
BK N13

tonluγ having clothes,
dressed

t. ... qil- KT E29,
BK E23

tonsiz having no clothes,
naked

t. (tašra t.) KT E26,
BK E21

toŋa pers. n.

t. tigin KT N7, BK
E31

toŋra ethnic n.

t. bir oγuš alpaγu
KT N7

t. yilpaγutī BK E31

t. āsimig TI S2

topla- to fold up, bend

t. -γuluq alp ārmis
TI S6

t. -γalī ućuz ārmis
TI S6

topul- to attack, assault,
throw oneself upon

t. -u ōnti KČ E7

tor- to become lean, be
emaciated

t. -u ōlū yorī-KT S9,
BK N7

toruγ bay, reddish-brown

t. at KT E33

toruq lean, emaciated

t. buqa TI W6

t. buqalī sāmis buqalī
TI W5

sū atī t. ... ārti KT
E39

tonyuquq a high title (cf.
toŋuquq)

t. boyla baγa tarqan
BK S14

čiqan t. KČ W1

toŋuquq a high title (cf.
tonyuquq)

bilgā t. TI W1, W5, S8,
S10, N10; TII W2, S3,
E8, N1, N3

bilgā t. boyla baγa tar-
qan TI W6

kūli čor t. KČ W2

t. -(q)a (bilgā t.) TI
N7

töğültün geog. n.

t. yazī KT S6, BK N5

töğünlüg branded

t. atīγ TII E4

tök- to pour

t. -di KČ E5

töküt- to cause to shed

t. -i (qizil qanım t.)
TII E2

tölīs ethnic n. (cf. tölis)

t. tarduš KT E13

tölis cf. tölīs

t. tarduš BK E12

t. bağlār BK S13

törkär (?) geog. n.

t. (spelt t² üŋks²)
taγda BK S8

[tö]ŋkār (Thom. [...]-
lkr) taγqa BK S7

töptü peak, summit, top

t. -sintā (tāŋri t.)
KT E11, BK E10

tört four

t. buluq KT E2, BK
E3

t. buluγuγ O F1

t. buluqdaqī KT E2;
BK E2, E3, E24, N9

t. süŋūs KČ W11

t. tümān BK S8

t. tigin KČ E12

t. yoŋi BK E36

ay artuqī t. BK SW

otuz artuqī t. BK
E38

t. yegirmi BK E15

tör[t biŋ?] KT SW

törtünč fourth KT N6, BK
E31

törū state law, rules, re-
gulations; ceremony (cf.
törü)

t. -g KT E3, E16, E30;
BK E2, E36, törü[g]
BK E4

t. -dā (ol t. ūzā) KT
E16, BK E14

t. -n (instr.) BK N9, N10

t. -ŋin (eliŋin t.) KT
E22

t. -miz (elimiz t.) KT
E22

t. -sīn KT E1, E8, E31;
BK E3; törūsün (for
törūsīn) KT E13,

t. -sīnčā (āčüm apām t.)
KT E13, BK E12

(il t.) KT E1, E8,
E31; BK E3

(el t.) KT E22,
E22

(t. -g it-) KT E3

(t. -g qazγan-) KT
E16, E30, E31

törü cf. törü

t. -gin BK E19

t. -sīn BK E8, [tš]-
rūsīn BK E11
törū- to be created, be
born
t. -mis KT N10
tu- to bar, block up,
obstruct
t. -mis TI E6
tudun a title
t. yamtarīγ BK E40
tuγ barrier, obstacle
yantaqī t. TI N2
tut- to seize, capture;
hold, keep, maintain
t. -dum BK S9
t. -dumiz TII W6,
W7
t. -di KT E38, E39;
KC W6, W12
t. -miš ārinč BK E4
t. -mis KT E19
t. -mis ārinč KT E3
t. -sīq KT S4
t. -sīqīn KT S10,
BK N8
t. -qu[luq?] (buquγ t.)
BK S10
t. -up KT E3, E7; BK
E4, E10

t. -upan KT E7
t. -a KT E1, S8; BK
E3
(āt t. -) KT E7
(el/il t. -) KT E1,
E3, S8, S10; BK
E3, E4, N8, S9
(kū t. -) KČ W12
tutuq military governor
(< Chin. *tuotuok)
qošu t. KT N1
on t. KT E31, E32
[o]n t. BK E25
t. -uγ (az t.) KT E38
tutun- to hold on, cling
t. -u (iγač t. aγturtum)
TI N1
tutuz- to cause to seize
t. -t[i] KT E38
tuyγun pers. n.
t. el-tābār KT NE
tuyγut pers. n. KT SW
tuyma- not to feel, not to
become aware
t. -di TII W3
tūkāti completely
t. āsid BK N1
t. āsidgil KT S1

tümān ten thousand, immense
quantity BK N12
bir t. KT N1
bir t. artuqī yeti biγ
BK S1
bes t. BK E25
bis t[ümān] KT E31
on t. TII W1
sākiz t. BK E26
tört t. BK S8
uč t. BK S8
tümāt ethnic n.
t. sūkā KČ W10
tün night, at night KT
E27; BK E22; TI S5, N11;
TII E1
ol oq t. TII W7
t. yāmā TI E5, N3
t. ortusiγaru KT S2,
BK N2
t. -kā (on t.) TI N2
t. -lī kūnlī BK SE
(t. udīma- kūn-
tüz olurma-) KT
E27, BK E22
(t. udīmafi kūn-
tüz olurmafi)
TII E1-2
tüpūt geog. n. (Tibet) KT
E4, BK E5

t. qaγanta KT N12
t. -kā KT S3, BK N3
türgi geog. n.
t. yarγun költā KT
E34
türgis ethnic n.
t. tapa BK E27
t. bodunuγ KT E37
qara t. bodun KT E38,
E39
qara t. bodunuγ KT
E40
t. qaγan KT E18, E37,
E38; BK E16, E27; TI
E4; tür[gis qaγan] BK
N9
[t]ürgis qaγanqa BK N9
t. qaγanta KT N13, TI
N5
t. qaγanī TI N6
türk ethnic n. (Turk,
Turkish); cf. türük
t. bodun TI W1, W2,
W3, E1; O F2, F3
azqīna t. [bodun] TI S2
t. bodun bağlār KČ W6
t. bodunuγ TI S10
t. bodunqa KČ W4
t. bodun atī O F3
t. qaγan TI E1

- önrä t. qaɣanyaru
TI E3
- t. sir bodun TI W3,
S4
- türük ethnic n. (cf. türk)
- kök t. KT E3, BK
E4
- t. bağlar KT E7, E34;
BK E7, N13
- t. mafi bağlar BK S13
- t. bağlar bodun KT
S10; BK E2, S15, N8
- [t]ürük bağların bo-
dunın BK S15
- t. bilgä qaɣan KT S1,
W1; BK N1, E1, S13;
TII E8, N4
- t. bilgä [qaɣan]
BK E1, S13
- t. bilgä qaɣanq[a]
TII S6
- t. b(ö)gü q[aɣan]qa
TII S6
- t. bodun KT E6, E10,
E11, E22, E25, E27,
S6, S7, S8, S8, S10,
N6; BK E7, E9, E10,
E19, E19, E21, E22,
E30, E33, E33, E38,
N5, N5, N6, N6, N8;
TI E4; TII S2
- t. qara qamaɣ bodun
KT E8, BK E8
- t. mafi bodun bağlar
KT S11, BK N8
- t. bodunın KT E1, BK
E3
- t. bodunıɣ (gen.) KT
E25, BK E20
- t. bodunuɣ (acc.) KT
E16, E21; BK E14,
E18, E36
- t. bodunum BK N13
- t. qaɣan KT S3, BK N2
- t. sir bodun TII N2, N3
- t. sir bodunuɣ TII N4
- t. atın KT E7
- t. atın BK E7
- t. iduq yirī subī KT
E40
- t. tǵrisī KT E10, BK
E10
- t. törüsün (for törüsīn)
KT E13; tü[rük tǵ]rūsīn
BK E11
- t. oɣuz bağlarī bodun
KT E22
- t. -[üm] bodunum BK
E16
- t. -ümä bodunuma BK
S10, N12
- t. -ümiz [bodunumuz]
KT E18
- tüs- to go down, descend,
fall down

- t. -äyīn (äbgärü t.)
TI N6
- t. -di (öğüzkä t.) TI
S9
- tüs[di] (ol at anta
t.) KT N4
- tüsür- to cause to dis-
mount
- t. -tümiz (asanɣalı t.)
TI N3
- tüz peaceful, agreeable
- t. ärmis KT E3
- tüzsiz discordant, dis-
agreeable
- t. üčün KT E6, BK
E6
- tüzül- to come to an am-
icable agreement, make
peace
- t. -tüm (tabɣaç bodun
birlä t.) KT S5
- tü[zültüm] BK N3
- u sleep
- uqa bas- TI N3
- uda bas- KT E35,
E37; BK E27
- uśın buntat- TI E2
- u- to be able
- udači [ärt]i BK E19
- usar idi yoq qısalım
TI S4
- (artatı u-) BK E19
- uč end, wing (of an army)
- u. -ī (ekī u.) TII W5
- uč- to fly, pass away
- u. -dı KT NE
- u. -duqda KT E30, BK
E14
- u. -a bar- KT E16, SE;
BK E20, S10
- uçuq summit, peak (?)
- u. tǵ TI S1
- uçuз easy TI S6
- u. ärmis TI S6
- ud thigh (cf. udlıq)
- u. aśru sanč- KT E36,
N2
- ud- to follow, pursue
- u. -i yañ- TII W6
- udar pers. n.
- u. säñün KT N12
- udı- to sleep
- u. -sıqım TI S5, E5
- u. -mafi (tün u. küntüz
olurmatı) TII E1
- (u. -sıqı kälme-) TI
S5, E5
- udıma- neg. of udı- (cf.
udıma-)
- u. -dım BK E22

(tün u. - küntüz olurma-) BK E22

udima- cf. udima-

u. -đim KT E27

(tün u. - küntüz olurma-) KT E27

udliq haunch, thigh (cf. ud)

u. -in siyu ur- KT E36

udu and (lit.: 'following') TII E5, E5

uduz- to lead, drive in front

u.! (könlünçä u.) TI S8

u. -tum (ötükän yis-γaru u.) TI S8

u. -tuq[i] KČ E1

u. -uγma (yeti yüz kisig u.) TI W5

ulayu first, first and foremost KT S1, BK N1

ulayu and (lit.: 'connecting')

ekī šad u. ini-yägünüm KT N11

čor tigin kälip u. tört tigin kälip KČ E12

ögüm qatun u. öglärim äkälärim ... KT N9

tonyuquq boyla baγa tarqan u. buyruq BK S14

apa tarqan bašlayu u. šad(pit) bäglär BK S14

kül čor bašlayu u. šad-pit bäglär BK S13

säbig kül ir in bašlayu u. buyruq BK S14

ulyart- to make great

u. -đim oq (arquy qar-γuγ u.) TII E3

uluγ big, great; old, elder leader

u. irkin KT E34, E34

u. küli čor KČ W3

u. oγlum BK S9

u. sü KT E28

u. sünüş KT E40

ekī u. sünüş BK E34

ärtiñü u. törün BK N9, N10, [ärtiñü u] luγ [törün] BK N10

u. bol- TII E6

u. -i TI W5

ulus city

buqaraq u. KT N12

uma- neg. of u-

u. -duq KT E10, BK E9

(itinü yaratunu u. -) KT E10, BK E9

umay name of a Goddess

t. umay TII W3

u. täg ögüm qatun KT E31

unāma- not to approve

u. -n! TI N11

unč possible

-sar u. TI E7

ur- to hit, strike; inscribe; place, put

u. -γil! TI N10

u. -tum KT S10, S11, S11, BK N8, N8

[urtu]m BK N8

u. -ti KT E33, E36

(oqun u. -) KT E33, E36

(tašqa u. -) KT S11, BK N8

(yälmä qarγu u. -) TI N10

urī male

u. oγluγ KT E24

u. oγluγin BK E20

u. oγlin (for oγli) KT E7

u. oγlin BK E7, KT E7 (for oγli)

urtur- to have inscribed, have engraved

u. -tum (bädiz u.) KT S12

ur[turtum] (bädiz u.) BK N14

u[rturtum] (sabi-mün u.) KT S12

uruγsirat- to exterminate, to deprive someone of his descendants

u. -ayin (ölüräyün u.) KT E10

uruš fight, battle, combat

u. qil- O R2

uyγur ethnic n. (Uigur)

u. el-täbär BK E37

uz artistic work, design

u. -uγ (bunča barqıγ bädizig u.) BK SW

uzun far

u. yälmäg id- TII E2

üč three

ü. ärig KČ E3

ü. körüg kisī TI N9

ü. qaγan TI E3

ü. qurıqan KT E4,
BK E5

ü. oğuz süsı BK E32

ü. tümän süg BK S8

ekı üč BK E41, TI
S7

otuz artuqı ü. BK E34

ü. yegirmi KT E18

ü. otuz TI E2

üč qurıqan ethnic n. (cf.
üč)

üč oğuz ethnic n. (cf. üč)

üčägü three together (cf.
bučägü)

ü. -n qabısıp sülälüm
TI E4

bučägü (< bu üčägü)
TI S6

üčün 1. (post.) for, be-
cause of, on account of,
for the sake of (cf. üčün)

türük bodun ü. KT
E27

alpın ärdämın ü.
KČ W12

antağın ü. KT S9

armaqçısın ü. KT E6

[bi]lgäsın ü. KC W7

[bilmädükın] ü. KT E19

tägrı yır bulyaqın ü. KT
N4

kişürtükın ü. KT E6

kürägün ü. KT E23

täbligın kürlügın ü. BK E6

täbligın kürlüg (for
kürlügın) ü. KT E6

yağıluqın ü. KT E19

yarlıq(q)aduqın ü. KT S9

yonşurtuqın ü. KT E6

... ın ü. KČ E2

anı ü. KT E3, BK E4

2. (conj.) since, as, because

qutum bar ü. KT S9

ülügüm bar ü. KT E29

yarlıq(q)aduq ü. KT E15

üčün (cf. üčün)

1. (post.)

türük bodun ü. BK E22

alpın ü. TII S5

alpın ärdämın [üčü]n
KČ W7

[armaqçısın] ü. BK E6

bilgäsın ü. TII S4

bilmädükügin ü. BK
E20

bilmädükın ü. BK E16

bulyaqın ü. BK E29

qazγantuqın ü. TII E5

kürägün ü. BK E19

tägdükın ü. O R2

yablaqın ü. BK
E20

yağıltuqın yazıntuqın
ü. BK E16

yonşurtuqın ü. BK
E7

anı ü. BK E28

2. (conj.)

qutum bar ü. KT E29,
BK N7

qutum ülgüm bar ü.
BK E23

bilmädük ü. KT E24

bertük/birtük ü. TI
W6; KT E12, W1; BK
E11, E32

içikdük ü. TI W3

qazγantuq ü. TII N3,
BK E33

qazγantuqum ü. TII
E5

qaγan olurtuqum ü.
BK E36

tägdük ü. BK E30

täğürdük ü. TII S3

tüzsis ü. KT E6, BK
E6

yarlıq(q)aduq ü. BK
E13, E33, E34; TII

W5; y. üč[ün] BK N10

üčünč third KT E33, N6

üküs many, numerous, in
great number (cf. üküs) TII
W4, W5

ü. türük bodun KT S6

ü. ök ölürti TI W7

ü. -üg (azıγ ü.) O F7

üküs (cf. üküs)

ü. kişı KT S7

ü. kisı BK N6

ü. öltäçi BK E31

ü. türük bodun BK N5

ü. qıl- KT E29, S10;
BK E14, E24, N7

ülgän great, sublime

ü. atqa O R3

ülüg fortune, good luck (cf.
ülüg)

ü. -üm bar üčün KT
E29

ülüg part, portion; fortune,
fate, (cf. ülüg)

qutum ü. -üm bar üčün
BK E23

ü. -ı TI W4, W4; KC
E11

ürün white

ü. kümüs TII S4

ü. kümüşin BK N11

üz evil-minded

ü ol (ańıy ol ü. ol)
TI N10

üz- to cut, break

ü. -gülük alp ärmis
TI W7

ü. -gäli uçuz TI S6

üzä l. (adv.) above, on
high KT E1, E10, E22;
BK E2, E18, N10, N12,
W1, W3; O F3, R4; [d]zä
BK E35

2. (post.) on, over;
in accordance with,
according to BK E2

altun yis ü. TI
E3

at ü. TI N1

tarduš bodun ü.
KT E17, BK E15

toquz oγuz bodun
ü. TI S2

bodunta ü. KT
E21, BK E26

kisī oγlinta ü.
KT E1, BK E3

ol törüdä ü. KT
E16, BK E14

yabγu a high title

el-etmis y. O F4

isbara tamγan čor y.
O F4

y. -γ šadıγ KT E14, BK
E12

y. -sīn sadīn TII W6

yabγu[sī]n BK E28

yabiz bad

y. bat biz O F7

y. ärtimiz BK E32

y. bol- BK E32

y. yablaq KT E26, BK
E21

yablaq bad; badness, harm

y. aγī KT S7, BK N5

y. qaγan KT E5, BK
E6

y. kisī KT E39

y. ärmis KT E5, BK
E6

y. bol- KT N11, BK
E30-31

y. bo[l-] KT N7

y. kigür- KT E23, BK
E19

yabiz y. KT E26, BK
E21

y. -iγin üčün BK E20

yabrīt- to ruin, put to rout

y. -đim (sūsīn ... y.)
BK E31

yabrīt ... BK E31

yadaγ on foot; foot-soldier,
infantry

y. sūsīn BK S1

y. ärti TI W4

y. yabiz bol- BK E32

y. -in (instr.) KT
E28, E32; TI N1

(y. -in yaliγin)
KT E28

yaγ- to join

y. -(γ)il! TI W5

y. -misī TI W5

yaγī enemy (cf. yaγī)

y. är- KT E2, E14,
E14, E14; BK E3,
E12, E12; O F6

y. bol- KT E9, E10,
E34, E39, N1, N2,
N4; BK E9, E9, E26,
E29, E30; O F5, R2

oγuz y. KT N8

y. -γ KT E15; BK E13;
TII E3, E4

y. -qa KČ E11

y. -sī KT E12

yaγī cf. yaγī

y. -miz TI S1, E2, E2

y. -sī BK E11

yaγīči war-leader

y. -[sī] TII S6

yaγisiz unhostile, harm-
less

y. qil- KT E30, BK
E24

yaγīt- to start hostilities

y. -(t)uqda KC W5, E6

yaγiz brown, reddish-brown,
dark

y. yer KT E1

y. -in (az y.) KT N5,
N8

yaγuq close, near

y. ärsär KT S7, BK
N5

yaγur- to come close, ap-
proach

y. -u KT S5, S7; BK
N6

(y. -u bar-) KT
S7, BK N6

(y. -u qon-) KT
S5

yaγut- to cause to come
close

y. -ir ärmis KT S5,
BK N4

yalabač messenger, envoy

y. -ī ädgü sabī ötügi
BK E39

yaliγ naked, undressed

y. bodunuγ KT E29,
BK E23

y. -in (instr.) KT
E28

(yadaγin y. -in)
KT E28

yalıqus alone, by oneself

yaγıqa y. ... tığ-
KÇ E11

yalma caftan

y. -sinta KT E33

(yarıq y.) KT
E33

yamı pers. n.

y. qaγan O F1

yamtar pers. n., a title (?)

işbara y. KT E33

y. -iγ (tudun y.) BK
E40

yan side

y. -taqi TI N2

yan toward, in the direc-
tion of (cf. yān)

qanta y. TI N9

yiridinta y. TI S4

yan- to turn, turn back

y. -alim TII W2

y. -timiz TI N4, N5

y. -iγma TII E3

y. -a käl- KT E28, TI
N9

(-da y. -) TI N5

yana again KT E10, E21,
E38, E40; BK E9, N10; TI
W2; KÇ E7, E8

yantur- causative of yan-

y. -tumiz (anta y.) TII
S1

y. -u (köñültä siγit käl-
sär y. saqintim) KT N11

yañıl- to go astray, betray;
make a mistake, be mis-
taken

y. -tiγ (käntü y.) KT
E23, BK E19

y. -ti KT E20; [y]añilti
BK E35

y. -tuqin BK E16

y. -tači siz KT S11

y. -sar KT S6; yañils[ar]
BK N4

y. -ip KT S10, BK N8,
TI N2

(y. - yazin-) BK
E16

yañılma- neg. of yañıl-

y. -duq O R3

(adrılma- y. -) O
R3

yañıluq who has gone astray,
unfaithful (for yañiltuq ?)

y. -in üçün KT E19

yaraqlıγ having a weapon,
armed KT E23, BK E19

y. äligin KT E32

y. yaγıγ

yarama- not to be suit-
able

y. -či (bu yolun yori-
sar y.) TI E6

yarat- to make, create,
form, organize

y. -dim BK N9

y. -miş BK E1, E12,
S13

y. -mis KT E13

y. -iγma KT N13

y. -ip BK E17; yarat[ip]
KT E20, yar[atip] KT
E19

(it- y. -) KT E19,
BK E17

(bädiz y. -) KT
N13

yaratid- (<yaratit-) cau-
sative of yarat-

y. -(d)im BK N14

(barq y. -) BK
N14

yaratun- to organize one-
self

y. -u uma- KT E10,
BK E9

(itin- y. -) KT
E10, BK E9

yaratur- causative of
yarat-

y. -tum (barq y.) KT
S12

yarγan a title

inānču apā y. tarqan
KT W2

yarγun geog. n.

türgi y. költä KT E34

yarıq armor

y. -inta KT E33

(y. yalma) KT E33

yarıs geog. n.

y. yazıda TI N9, TII
W1

yarlıq(q)a- to mercy, be
graceful

y. -zu (tāqri y.) TII
E3

y. -di (tāqri y.) TI S9

y. -mis O F6

y. -duq (tāqri y. üçün)
KT E15; BK E13, E23,
E23; TII W5

tāqri y. [üçün] BK
N9

[tāqri] y. üçün
BK E34

üzä täñri asra
yer y. üč[ün] BK
N10

y. -duqın (täñri y.
üčün) KT S9

täñri yar[liq(q) -
aduqın üčün] BK
N7

yasa- to determine, rule,
order

y. -r (öd täñri y.) KT
N10

yasa- to live (cf. yaša-)

y. -p (säkiz on y. yoq
boltı) KČ W3

yaš age, age of life

y. -da (säkiz y. qal-)
BK E14

y. -ima

yeti yegirmi y.
BK E24

säkiz yegirmi y.
BK E24

[toquz] yegirmi
y. BK E25

ekı otuz y. BK
E25

altı otuz y. BK
E26

yeti o[tuz yašim]a
BK E26

otuz y. BK E28

otuz artuqı bir y.
BK E29

otuz artuqı tört y.
BK E38

otuz artuqı säkiz y.
BK S2

[otuz artuqı toquz
y]ašima BK S2

älig y. BK S7

[yaši]ma BK E31

y. -imqa (tört yegirmi
y.) BK E15

y. -iña

yeti y. KČ E6

altı yegirmi y. KT
E31

bir otuz y. KT E32

[altı otuz] y. KT
E35

yiti otuz y. KT N1

yaša- to live (cf. yasa-)

y. -yür ärti KT N2, N2

(otuz y. -) KT N2

(bir qırq y. -) KT
N2

yašıl green (in geog. n.)

y. ögüz KT E17, BK
E15

yašıl ögüz geog. n. (Yel-
low River) (cf. yašıl)

yašık (?) sun

y. bulıt KT NE

yat- to lie down

y. -dī KT E24, BK
E20

y. -u qal- KT N9, TI
E2

yañ- to scatter, disperse,
put to rout (cf. yay-)

y. -dīm BK E33

y. -dīmiz TI S9, TII
W6

y. -duq TI S9

y. -ip KT E34

y. -a KT E23; BK E19,
E31

(y. -a elt-) KT
E23, BK E19

(y. -ip buz-) KT
E34

(oz- y. -) BK
E31

(sanč- y. -) BK
E33

yay summer

y. bolsar BK W3

y. -in BK E39

yay- to scatter, disperse

(cf. yañ-)

y. -dīm O R1

y. -mis O F1

yaz spring

y. -in BK S2

y. -iña KT N8

y. -iña BK E31

yazı plain

y. (tögültün y.) KT
S7, BK N5

y. -qa (šantun y. tägi)
KT E17, S3; BK E15

y. -da (yarıs y.) TI
N9, TII W1

yazın- to go astray, betray

y. -tī BK E17

y. -tuqın üčün BK E16

(yañıl- y. -) BK
E16

yazuqla- to go astray (?)

y. - ... BK E36

yägrän red, red-haired (of
horses)

y. at KČ E3

y. ärmäkig KČ E9

yägün younger brother

ini-y. -üm KT S1, N11;
BK N1

yäk pers. n.

y. tegin KČ S1
y. čor tigin KČ E12
yäl- to ride fast
y. -ü TI N2, N3
 (y. -ü bar-) TI N3
 (y. -ü kör-) TI N2
yälmä advanced columns, vanguard; campaign, expedition
y. qarʷu TI N10
y. -g (uzun y.) TII E2
 (y. id-) TII E2
yälmä- neg. of yäl-
y. -di ([ar]qışi y.) BK E41
yältürmä- not to let someone ride fast
y. -dim TII E4
yämä and, also, too
buyruqī y. KT E3, E5; BK E6
buyruqī bağlārī y. KT E19, BK E16
biz y. TII W9
uzun yälmäg y. TII E2

yañilip ölsikiñin y. KT S10
yolta y. TI S9
ayʷuči[sī] y. ... yaʷi-či[sī] y. TII S6
bāglārī y. bodunī y. KT E3
 bāglārī y. bodunī (y.) BK E4
il y. bodun y. TII E5
il y. ... bodun y. TII E6
kün y. tün y. TI N3
tün y. ... (<kün yämä>) TI E5
[türk bodun yämä] ... oʷuzī y. TI E5
bod y. bodun y. kisī y. TII N2
bunča y. KT N9
yän in the direction of (cf. yan)
tānrikän y. O F5
biridin y. TI S4
öndün y. TI S4
yät- to lead, tow with a rope
y. -ä TI N1
 (at y. -) TI N1

ye- to eat (cf. yi-)
y. -yü (tabisʷan y.) TI S1
yeg better TII W2, KC E6
 -da y. qıl- BK E24
yegän pers. n.
 y. silig bāgiñ KT E33
yegdi better, in a better way
 y. qazʷan- BK E36
 -da y. igid- KT SE
yegirmi twenty (cf. yigirmi) BK E15, BK E13
eki yegir[mi] KT E28, BK E23
üč y. KT E18
tört y. BK E15
altı y. KT E31
yeti y. BK E24, TII S5
yiti y. KT E11, BK E10
säkiz y. BK E24
toquz y. BK S9
 toq[uz yegir]mi BK S9
 <toquz> y. BK E25
yer earth; place, land, soil (cf. yir) KT E1; BK E18, N10; TI N2; KC W6, E1
tānri y. BK E29
y. sub BK E35, TII W3
y. -ig (ötükän y.) TI S10
y. -kä
 ol y. TII S3
 ötükän y. TI S10
y. -tä KT S13, S13; BK N15
y. -dä BK E20, E35, E36
y. -däki (nän y.) TII E6
y. -gärü KT S8
 yer[gär]ü BK N6
y. -in (for yerin) subin BK E35
y. -intä TI W3, S4; TII N2
y. -inā (for yerinā) BK N3
y. -inärü (for yerinärü) subinaru BK E40
yerči guide TI E6, N2
yeti seven (cf. yiti)

y. ārän O F5
y. sūṅūs KČ E4
y. yašīṇa KČ E6
y. yoli KT E15
y. yūz KT E13, BK E11; TI W4, W4
y. biṇ BK S1
y. sūṅūs- TII S5
y. yegirmi BK E10, E24; TII S5
y. otuzqa KT NE
y. o[tuz] BK E26
[yeti] otuz TII E1
yetinč seventh (cf. yitinč)
y. ay O R4
yetmis seventy (cf. yetmiš)
y. ār KT E12
yetmiš seventy (cf. yetmis)
y. ār BK E11
yid- to send (cf. id-)
y. -mis (anča y.) TI N10
yīγ- to gather together, bring together
y. -ip TII W8
(it- y. -) BK N9, TII W8
yīγ- terrify (cf. yīγ-)
y. -dīm O R1
y. -mis O F1
yil year
[i]t y. BK S10
laγzīn y. BK S10
ālig y. KT E8
toquz yegirmi y. BK S9
toq[uz yegir]mi y. BK S9
y. -qa
bičīn y. KT NE
bir y. KT N4, BK E30
qon' y. KT NE, O R4
lū y. O Supp. 5
ol y. KT E36, BK E27
yilqī horses, horseherd, cattle
y. -γ BK E38, KČ E13
y. -sīn barīmīn BK E24
y. -[sīn] BK E39
yilq[īs]īn KT SW
(y. barīm) BK E24
(y. ay-) KT SW

(y. igid-) BK E38, KČ E13
yilpaγut champion warriors, officers (cf. alpaγu)
y. -ī (tonra y.) BK E31
yīlsīγ wealthy, prosperous
y. bodunqa KT E26
[y]īlsīγ bodunta
ūzā BK E21
yīri north (cf. yīri, yīri)
y. -ya KT S1; TI W7, S7
yīri north (cf. yīri, yīri)
y. -yā O F2, F5
yis forest, wooded mountain (cf. yīš, yis)
altun y. ūzā TI E3
y. -īγ
altun y. TII N11, TII W2
kōgmān y. TI N4
y. -da (altun y.) TI N7, N8
y. -γaru (ōtūkān y.) TI S8
yi- to eat (cf. ye-)
y. -yū (keyik y.) TI S1
yīčā again, anew
y. itdi igit(t)di KT E16
y. itdi y. igit(t)i BK E14
yīγ- to terrify (cf. yīγ-)
y. -dīm O R1
yig better (cf. yeg)
-da y. KT S4, BK N3
yigirmi twenty (cf. yegirmi)
y. kūn KT SE
yimšaq soft KT S5, S5, S6; BK N4, N4, N5
yinčgā thin, tender TI S6
y. ārklig TI S6
yinčū pearl (in yinčū ōgūz 'The Pearl River', i. e. Jaxartes or Syr Darya)
y. ōgūz BK N3
y. ōg[ūz] KT S3
y. ōgūzūg KT E39, TII S2, KČ E4
yinčū ōgūz geog. n. (cf. yinčū)
yipar musk, scent
y. -īγ (yoγ y.) BK S11
yir earth; place, land (cf. yer) KT E22
tāṅri y. KT N4
az y. TI E7
ōtūkān y. KT S8
il tutsīq y. KT S4

y. sub KT E19, E20;
 BK E17
y. sayu KT S9, S9;
 BK E22, N7, N7
y. -kä (bunča y. tägi)
 KT S4
y. -dä
 bu y. KT S4
 barduq y. KT
 E24
y. -i subi KT E10-11,
 BK E10
y. -iñä (yir bayirqu y.
tägi) BK E15
yir bayirqu ethnic n. (cf.
bayirqu)
yiri north (cf. yiri, yiri)
y. -ya KT E14, BK
 E12
y. -yaqi (quriyaqi y.
öñräki bodun) TI S10
y. -yaru KT E28, S2,
 S4; BK E23, N2, N3
yiridin north
y. -ta yan TI S4
yis wooded mountain (cf.
yis, yis)
y. -[qa tägi] O F2
yis forest, wooded moun-
 tain (cf. yis, yis)

çoğay y. KT S6, BK
 N5
qadirqan y. BK E39
ötükän y. KT S3, S4,
 S8; BK N3
ötükän y[iš] KT
 E23
ötükän [yi]š BK
 E19
ötükän [y]iš BK
 N6
y. -iγ
altun y. BK E27
qadirqan y. KT
 E21
kögmän y. KT E35,
 BK E27
y. -qa
y. aγ- BK E37
qadirqan y. tägi
 KT E1
y. -da
ötükän y. yig KT
 S4
soņa y. KT E35,
 BK E27
yit- to become lost
y. -mis O F1
y. -ü KT E27, E28; BK
 E22, E22

(y. -ičγin-) O
 F1
(öl- y. -) KT
 E27, E28; BK
 E22, E22
(ölü y. -ü qazγan-)
 KT E27, BK E22
yiti seven (cf. yeti)
y. ödüškä BK SE
yi[ti yašda] KT E30
y. yegirmi KT E11
y. yegirmikä KT NE
y. otuz KT N1
y. otuzqa KT NE, BK
 S10
qirq artuqi y. BK E13
qirq artuqi[i y]iti
 KT NE
yitinč seventh (cf. yetinč)
y. ay KT NE
y. ärig KT N5
yitmä- neg. of yit-
y. -z(ü)n teyin O F3
yitür- to lose
y. -ü id- KT E7, BK
 E7
yoγ funeral KT NE, BK
 S10
y. yipariγ BK S11

y. -uñ (poss.) O R4
y. -inta (toņa tigin y.)
 KT N7
yoγ[inta] BK E31
(y. qoraγ) O R4
(y. ärtür-) KT NE,
 BK S10
yoγči mourner
y. siγitči KT E4, N11;
 BK E5
yoγlä- to mourn (cf. yoγla-)
y. -miš BK E5
y. -mis KT E4
(y. -siγtā-/siγtā-)
 KT E4, BK E5
yoγla- cf. yoγlä-
y. -di (qobsarip y.) KČ
 S2
yoγlat- to hold someone's
 funeral
y. -ayin TI N7
y. -(t)i KČ E12
yoγun thick, heavy
y. iγ BK S15
y. bol- TI S7
yoγur- to knead
y. -ča (<* yoγururča)
 TI N2
y. -u TI S8, BK SE

yōq non-existent, does not exist (cf. yoq)

y. ārti KT E39

y. bol- KT E11, O F1

yoq needy, poor; non-existent, does not exist, there is not; not (cf. yoq)

y. čiyañ KT S10, BK N7

buq y. KT S3

buquγ (poss.) y. KT S8

añiγ y. KT S3, BK N2

y. ār- KT E39, S4, N10; TI E1; TII S3, E5, N1, N1, N2

y. bol- KT E11, E25, E25, N3; BK E36, E40, S9; TI W3, N7; O F1, F3; KČ W3

y. bo[l]- BK E22

y. [bol-] BK E28, E33

y. q[il-] BK S4

y. qiš- KT E32, E34; BK E25

y. qis- TIS4, E4

yoqad- to be annihilated

y. -u bar- KT E10

yoq(q)aru up, upwards

y. ... aγturtum TI N1

yol road, way, path

y. -ta KT N9, TI S9

y. -un (instr.) TI E6, E7

y. -sizin TI N11

y. -ī (kōgmān y.) TI E6

(yurt y.) KT N9

yoli time, occurrence

tört y. BK E30

biš y. KT N4

altī y. BK E28

qīrq artuqī yeti y. KT E15, BK E13

... yoli BK S2

yolluγ fortunate, happy, lucky (pers. n.)

y. tigin KT SW

yol(l)uγ tigin KT SE, SE; BK SW, SW

yol(l)uγ t[igin] KT S13

yoŋšur- to cause to slander one another

y. -tuqīn ūčūn KT E6, BK E7

yorī- to march; make progress (cf. yorī-)

y. -lim TI N5, N11

y. -[dīm] BK E27

y. -dīmiz KT E37

y. -duqī (tūrūk sir bodun y. bu) TII N3

y. -yūr ārmis TIS3

[yorīy]ur ārtig BK N7

y. -sar TI E6, E7

y. -p KT E35

yo rīp BK E27

(sū y. -) TI N5, N11

(toru ölü y. -) BK N7

yorī cf. yorī-

y. -mis O F5

yor[imis?] O F6

y. -yūr KT E12

y. -yūr ārtig KT S9

y. -p BK SE, O R3

y. -pan BK E37

(sū y. -) BK SE

(tašra y. -) KT E11, 12

(toru ölü y. -) KT S9

yorīma- neg. of yorī-

y. -zun TI S4

y. -sar TI N5

yorīt- to cause to march (cf. yorit-)

y. -dīm (sū y.) TI N1, N11

yorīt- cf. yorīt-

y. -dīm KT S4

yor[itdīm?] BK S5

y. -maz ārmis KT S6

yo[rītmaz] ārmīš BK N4

yotuz wife, woman

y. -īn BK E38

yotuz[īn] BK S3

yo[tuz]īn BK E24

[yo]tuzīn BK S4

(oγul y.) BK E24, E38, S3

yubul- to roll

y. -u intimiz TI N2

yulī- to pillage, plunder

y. -dīmiz TII W4

y. -γaŋi BK E32

yulīγči plunderer

y. [?āri]g BK SE

yuluq extinguished, extinct

<u>y. ärmäz(ü)n teyin</u> O F3	<u>y. -dim</u> TII E4
<u>yurč</u> brother-in-law, broth- er of the wife	<u>yükün-</u> to prostrate oneself, submit, yield
<u>y. -in</u> (oñ tutuq y.) KT E32	<u>y. -ti</u> TI N4; TII W8, TII S2
<u>yurt</u> camp, campsite	(<u>işik-</u> y. -) TI N4
<u>y. -da</u> KT N9, TI E2	<u>yüküntür-</u> causative of <u>yükün-</u>
(<u>y. yol</u>) KT N9	<u>y. -tüm</u> BK N10
<u>yut</u> starvation, famine	<u>y. -tümüz</u> KT E18, BK E16
<u>y. bol-</u> BK E31	<u>y. -miş</u> BK E13
<u>yuyqa</u> thin TI S6	<u>y. -miş</u> KT E2; [<u>yü</u>]küntürmis BK E3, <u>yüküntü[rmis]</u> KT E15
<u>y. ärkli</u> TI S6	
<u>yüg(g)ärü</u> up, upwards, to a high place	(<u>başlıγıγ y.</u>) KT E2, E15, E18; BK E13, E16, N10
<u>y. kör-</u> BK E2	
<u>y. kōtür-</u> KT E11, BK E10	<u>yüz</u> hundred
<u>yügtür-</u> to cause to rise, to promote	<u>y. artuq oqun</u> KT E33
<u>y. -mis</u> KČ W2	<u>bis y. ärän</u> BK S11
<u>yügür-</u> to run, flow	<u>yeti y.</u> KT E13, E13; BK E11, E11; TI W4, W4
<u>y. -ti</u> KT E24, BK E20	<u>y. -čä ärin</u> BK E37
<u>yügürt-</u> to let flow	<u>yüz</u> face
<u>y. -i</u> TII E2	<u>y. -iñä</u> KT E33
(<u>qara tärim y.</u>) TII E2	(<u>y. başıñä</u>) KT E33
<u>yügürtmä-</u> not to let run	<u>yüzüt-</u> to cause to swim
	<u>y. -i</u> BK E30

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