

A GRAMMAR
OF
ORKHON TURKIC

A GRAMMAR OF ORKHON TURKIC

by Talat Tekin

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REŞİD RAHMETİ ARAT

(1900-1964)

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-Uసు), Kara-Balgasun and Suđi 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	= Īrǰ Bitig
KČ	= Kūli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu)
KT	= Kūl Tigin
MČ	= Moyun Čor (Shine-Usu)
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>JFOu</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-Altäische 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: süŋü-küŋ ~ süŋüküg 'thy bones', bardıγ (< *bardıŋ) 'thou didst go', etc.;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This monument is a memorial to Kǎli Čor, the chief of the Tardush people, whose full title is İšbara Bilgā Kǎli Čor. This name must be identical with Kǎl Čor which occurs in BK S13 as the name of the šad of the Tardush in 716 (cf. W. Kotwics and A. Samoïlovitch, 'Le monument turc d'Ikhe-khuchotu en Mongolie centrale,' RO IV, p. 72). According to the inscription, Kǎli 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 Kǎli Čor, as is learned from the readable parts of it. The first four lines on the west side give information about an uluγ kǎli čor ('Kǎli Čor the Elder') who grew old in the reign of İteriš Kagan and died at the age of eighty. Kǎli Čor the Elder must have been father of the Kǎli 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-Ussu 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. Samoïlovitch: 'Le monument turc d'Ikhe-khuchotu en Mongolie centrale,' RO 1926 (Lwów, 1928), pp. 60-107.

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

inscriptions in runic script was produced by H. N. Orkun: Eski Türk Yazıtları, Istanbul, I: 1936, II: 1938, III: 1940, IV: 1941. Orkun took Thomsen's well-known edition as a model for his work and made some corrections with the aid of later knowledge, chiefly making use of Thomsen's later publications and 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 alltürkischen Dialektes,' Dritte Lieferung (St. Petersburg 1895), pp. 388-422. Thomsen's edition, too, contained some grammatical explanations (Notes: pp. 135-198), and lexical and grammatical indexes (pp. 199-211). But the first grammatical sketch of Old Turkic was rendered by Radloff: 'Grammatische Skizze der alttürkischen Sprache,' Neue Folge (St. Petersburg 1897), pp. 1-129. Concerning certain passages of the Orkhon inscriptions, some suggestions were made by W. Bang: Über die kök-türkische Inschrift auf der Südseite des Kül-tägin-Denkmal's, 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 Orchon-inschriften,' Festschrift Friedrich Giese (= Die Welt des Islams, Sonderband, 1941), pp. 35-45. In 1947 Martti Räsänen

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

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.

1.11. The Characters

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

Of the 38 characters generally used, 4 are vowel signs. Each vowel sign expresses two different vowels; more precisely, there is only one letter for the vowels a and ä, one for 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.

Of the remaining characters, 20 are double 'consonant-characters' (syllabic characters) which designate syllables beginning with a or ä and ending in the characteristic consonant. They can also represent the consonants alone. These characters are: ab, äb; ad, äd; ay, äg; aq, äk; al, äl; an, än; ar, är; as, äs; at, ät; ay, äy.

There are two consonant characters designating syllables with rounded vowels: oq/uoq, ök/ük, and two consonant characters representing syllables with i or ı, respectively: iq, ič.

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

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

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

¹ The sign for the sound-combination aš occurs ten times in the Kemčik-Ğirgak inscription where the letter \wedge is used to represent the consonant š, e.g., $\uparrow \uparrow \square$ ašnuqı (front, 2, 4), $\square \Delta$ baš (back, 2), $\gg \square \Delta$ yaš(ı)m (back, 4), $\wedge \gg M$ altm(i)š (back, 4), $\wedge \gg h p$ yetm(i)š (back, 4) (see Orkun III, pp. 79, 80). The sign for the syllable or the word baš also occurs in the Uyug-Arkhan, Ak-Yüs and Tuva I inscriptions (see Malov 1952, pp. 14, 97, and FAtlas, XXXI). For the interpretation of this sign see W. Bang, 'Turcica,' in: Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Ges. 1917, pp. 288, 189.

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

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

The characters are given in the following table.

Characters of the Old Turkic Alphabet

Characters	Transliteration	Transcription
	a	<u>a</u> , <u>ä</u>
	i	<u>i</u> , <u>ı</u>
	u	<u>u</u> , <u>o</u>
	ü	<u>ü</u> , <u>ö</u>
(T, KČ J)	b ¹	<u>ab</u> , <u>b</u>
(T, O, KČ l)	b ²	<u>äb</u> , <u>b</u>
(KČ })	d ¹	<u>ad</u> , <u>d</u>
	d ²	<u>äd</u> , <u>d</u>
(T l, l)	y	<u>ay</u> , <u>y</u>
(O E)	g	<u>äg</u> , <u>g</u>
	q	<u>aq</u> , <u>q</u>
(T, O } , KČ })	k	<u>äk</u> , <u>k</u>
	l ¹	<u>al</u> , <u>l</u>
	l ²	<u>äl</u> , <u>l</u>
	n ¹	<u>an</u> , <u>n</u>
(T h h , KČ h h)	n ²	<u>än</u> , <u>n</u>
	r ¹	<u>ar</u> , <u>r</u>
	r ²	<u>är</u> , <u>r</u>
(T } } , KČ })	s ¹	<u>as</u> , <u>s</u>

<u>Characters</u>	<u>Transliteration</u>	<u>Transcription</u>
↓	s ²	<u>ās, s</u>
◇ (T, O, KČ Ǿ, o Ǿ)	t ¹	<u>at, t</u>
hh	t ²	<u>āt, t</u>
D	y ¹	<u>ay, y</u>
9 (T 9, o 9, KČ 9)	y ²	<u>āy, y</u>
↓	q	<u>oq, uq, qo, qu, q</u>
𐰇 (T, oβ, KČ 𐰇)	ḡ	<u>ök, ük, kö, kü, k</u>
◁ (T, o ▷)	q̇	<u>iq, qī, q</u>
𐰈	ič	<u>ič</u>
𐰉	č	<u>ač, ač, č</u>
𐰊 (T 𐰊)	m	<u>am, ām, m</u>
𐰋	ṅ	<u>añ, āñ, ñ</u>
𐰌	ŋ	<u>aŋ, āŋ, ŋ</u>
↓	p	<u>ap, āp, p</u>
𐰍	š	<u>as, āš, š</u>
𐰎 (T, O, KČ 𐰎)	z	<u>az, āz, z</u>
M	lt	<u>alt, lt</u>
𐰏	nč	<u>anč, anč, nč</u>
☺ (T ☺, o ☺, KČ ☺)	nt	<u>ant, ant, nt</u>
↓	aš	<u>aš</u>
𐰐	baš	<u>baš²</u>

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: 𐰈 = s¹ (in back-vocalic words), 𐰉 = e (closed e), 𐰊, 𐰋 = g¹, 𐰌, 𐰍 = up (in the manuscripts), 𐰎 = ot (in İrq Bitig), 𐰏 = 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, ö̇k/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 č̇i (see 1.2224). This ligature is obviously a combination of the letters č̇ 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), 1¹t¹un¹ altun 'gold' (BK S 11), r¹t¹q̄ artuq 'too many, very many' (KČ E 13), d²gü ädgü 'good' (BK S 12), mgk ämğäk 'trouble' (KT E 19), r²n² ärän 'men' (BK S 11), ki eki 'two' (TI W 4), 1² 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), ačs¹q̄ äčsīq 'the being hungry' (BK N 6), ačs²q̄ äčsīq id. (KT S 8, 8), ačs¹ar¹ äčsār 'if you are hungry' (BK N 6), at¹ āt 'name, title' (BK E 41), at¹γ ātīγ 'the title' (acc.) (KT W 2, KČ W 1), at¹in² ātīn 'the titles of' (acc.) (KT E 7, 7).

3⁰. The vowels i and i are always indicated at the beginning of words: id¹q̄ īduq 'sacred, holy' (TII W 3), iγr¹ 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 Ψ (= ič) may be used to designate the initial sound group ič: ičkd²i ičikdi '(they) submitted' (BK E 37), ičr²a ičrä '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), 1²gr²ü (i)lgärü 'eastwards' (KT E 21), ηl²ki 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), ül²gl²i ölgäli 'in order to die' (KT N 10), učn² üčün

'since' (KT W 1), $\dot{u}zgl^2i$ $\dot{u}zgli$ 'in order to break' (TI S 6), etc.

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

If the following sound is \underline{k} , the syllabic sign H , B (=ok/ük) is preferably used to designate the initial sound groups ok and ük: $\dot{k}ün^2$ ökün 'regret!' (BK E 19), $\dot{k}üš$ üküš 'numerous' (KT S 10), etc. (see 1.22232).

1.2212. Non-Initial Vowels of the First Syllable

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

The vowel $\underline{\dot{a}}$ of the first syllable is marked only in the following word: t^1amqa tämqa 'on the wall' (KT SE).

2°. The vowel $\underline{i/i}$ of the first syllable is, as a rule, marked: $b^1i\eta$ bıñ 'thousand' (TI E 1), qir^1q qırq 'forty' (KG N 2), y^1il^1qa yılqa 'in the year' (O R 4), b^2il^2ga bilgä 'wise' (KT E 3), kis^2i kisı 'man, human being' (BK E 3), etc.

If the preceding sound is \underline{q} , the syllabic sign \triangleleft , \triangle (=ıq/qı) may be used to indicate the sound group qı: $\dot{b}l^1p$ qılip 'having done' (O R 2), $\dot{q}s^2ms^2$ qısmis 'he suppressed' (O F 1). See 1.22233.2°.

In the following examples, however, $\underline{i/i}$ of the first syllable is not indicated: s^1md^1i s(i)madı 'he did not destroy' (KČ E 8), $y^1\gamma d^1m$ y(i)γdım 'I terrified' (O R 1), $y^2\gamma d^1m$ y(i)γdım id. (O R 1); $b^2l^2tkmn^2$ b(i)ltükümün 'with what I know' (KČ S 3), b^2l^2ga b(i)lgä (TI W 5; O R 2, 3, 4; KČ W 8, 10, 12), (b^2l^2)ga b(i)lgä (KČ E 2; O Supp. 4), (b^2l^2g)a b(i)lgä (KČ E 7), $b^2l^2gas^2i$ b(i)lgäsı 'his counselor' (KČ E 5), $b^2l^2gs^2i$ b(i)lgäsı id. (TI W 7), (b^2)l^2gas^2in^2

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

3°. The rounded vowel of the first syllable is, as a rule, marked: $b^1ud^1n^1$ bodun 'people' (KT E 9), $qur^1\gamma n^1$ qoryan 'fort, fortress' (KT N 8), $b^1ul^1\eta$ buluñ 'quarter' (KT E 2), y^1uy^1qa yuyqa 'thin' (TI S 6), $b^2ür^2i$ böri 'wolf' (KT E 12), $kür^2g$ körüg 'scout' (TI S 1), $kün^2i$ küni 'envy' (BK E 30), $t^2ükt^2i$ tükäti 'completely' (KT S 1), etc.

If the following sound is \underline{q} , the syllabic sign \downarrow may be used to represent the sound groups oq and uq: $t^1\dot{q}$ toq 'full, satiated' (TI S 1), $t^1\dot{q}uz$ toquz 'nine' (KT N 6), $b^1\dot{q}a$ buqa 'bull' (TI W 6), etc. (see 1.22231).

If the following sound is \underline{k} , the sound groups ök and ük may be written with the syllabic sign H , B : $s^2\dot{k}d^2m$ sökdüm 'I made a way' (TI N 1), $t^2\dot{k}t^2i$ töküti 'having shed' (TII E 2), $y^2\dot{k}n^2t^2i$ yükünti '(they) submitted' (TI N 4), etc. (see 1.22232).

If the initial consonant is \underline{q} , the syllabic sign \downarrow may be used to represent the sound groups qo and qu: $\dot{q}pn^2$ qopin 'all together' (TI S 9), $\dot{q}n^1l^1d^1m$ qunladım 'I took my revenge' (O R 1), $\dot{q}t^1$ qut 'fortune' (O F 8).

If the initial consonant is \underline{k} , the sound groups kö and kü may be marked with the syllabic sign H , B : $\dot{k}l^2kn^2$ kölikin 'with carts' (TI S 8), $\dot{k}r^2$ kör 'try (to ride fast)!' (TI N 2), $\dot{k}r^2t^2g$ körtüg 'you (lit.: "thou") have seen' (O F 7).

The rounded vowel of the first syllable is not expressed only in the following examples: $b^1l^1\eta$ b(ü)luñ 'quarter' (KT E 2), $b^2gü$ b(ö)gü personal name (TII S 6).

1.2213. Word-Final Vowels

1°. All final vowels are marked. This rule testifies to the fact that the consonant signs designate syllables ending in the proper consonant: $r^1 a$ ara 'between' (KT E 1), $b^1 u y z l^1 n t i$ bo y uzlant i 'he was slaughtered' (TI N 2), $u l^1 y^1 u$ ulay u 'and' (KT N 9), $k i s^2 i$ kis i 'people, person' (TI S 3), $b^2 n g u$ b $ä$ ng $ü$ '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: $n c t^1 q i$ anč(a)-taq i 'moreover' (KT S 13), $s^2 b^1 r^1 t^1 r^1 q n^1$ (i)sbar(a)-tarqan personal name (O Balbal), $q n t y^1 n^2$ qant(a)-yan 'from Khan' (TI N 9), $y^2 i r^1 d^1$ nty $^1 n^1$ yiridint(a)-yan 'from the north' (TI S 4).

1.2214. Vowels of Non-First Syllables

1°. The vowels a and $ä$ of non-first syllables, as a rule, are not marked: $q z \gamma n^1 m s^1 r^1$ qaz γ anmasar 'if (I) had not won' (TII E 5), $y^1 l^1 b^1 c i$ yalabač i 'their envoy' (BK E 39), $b^2 ü k s^2 i$ bökäs i 'his champion warrior' (KČ E 5), $k l^2 r^2 m$ äkälär $i m$ 'my elder sister' (KT N 9), $s^2 ü$ - $l^2 m s^2 r^2$ sülämäsär 'if (we) do not wage war' (TI E 3), etc.; but $b^2 l^2 g a s^2 i$ bilgäs i 'his counselor' (KČ E 5), [b^2] $l^2 g a s^2 i n^2$ bilgäs $i n$ '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: $p a m$ apäm 'my ancestors' (KT E 1, 13; BK E 3, 12), $p a m z$ apamiz 'our ancestors' (KT E 19; O F 1), $r^1 q a s^1 i n^2$ arqäs $i n$ 'its rump' (acc.) (KČ E 9), $s^1 i \gamma t^1 a m s^2$ si γ täm $i s$ 'they lamented' (KT E 4), $s^2 i \gamma t^1 a m s$ si γ täm $i š$ id. (BK E 5), $t^1 p l^1 a m d^1 i$ taplamadi 'they did not like' (BK E 35), $u n^1 a m \eta$ unāma η 'do not agree!' (TI N 11), $y^1 u \gamma l^1 a m s$ yo γ lämiš 'they mourned' (BK E 5), $y^1 u \gamma l^1 a m s^2$ yo γ lämiš id. (KT E 4); $a c s^1 a r^1$ äčsär 'if you are hungry' (BK N 6).

2°. The vowels i/i of non-first syllables are generally left undesignated: $d^1 \gamma r^1 \gamma$ ad γ ir $i \gamma$ 'the stallion' (acc.) (KT E 36), $d^1 r^1 l^1 m l^1 m$ adr i lmal $i m$ 'let us not be parted!' (O R 3), $b^1 u \eta s^2 z$ bu η siz 'in abundance' (TII S 4),

$t^1 u t^1 s^1 q \eta n^1$ tutsiq $i \eta n$ 'your ruling' (acc.) (KT S 10), $b^2 d^2 z$ bädiz 'picture' (KT N 13), $y^2 g r^2 m i$ yegirmi 'twenty' (KT E 11), $ü l^2 s^2 k \eta n^2$ ölsiki ηn 'your being killed' (acc.) (KT S 10), $t^2 ü r^2 g s^2$ türgis ethnic name (KT N 13), etc.

The exceptions are: $q i t^1 m z$ aqit(t) $i m i z$ 'we rode fast' (KT N 8), but $q t^1 d^1 m z$ aqitdämiz id. (TI N 1); $n^1 i n^1$ anin 'by means of it' (TI E 7); $r^1 i \eta u$ ar $i \eta u$ 'to become tired' (TII W 2); $b^2 i r^2 ü$ äbirü 'going around' (TI N 2), but $b^2 r^2 ü$ äbirü (TI N 4; BK E 25); $k i n^2 l^2 g$ äkinlig 'hemmed?' (BK N 11); $r^2 i g$ ärig 'reachable' (KT S 13), but $r^2 g$ ärig (KT S 13); $s^2 i d^2$ äsid 'hear!' (KT S 2), $s^2 i d^2 g l^2$ äsidgil id. (KT S 1), $s^2 i d^2 \eta$ äsidi η id. (KT S 10; BK N 8), but generally $s^2 d^2$ -; $i n^2 i s^2 i$ inis i 'their younger brothers' (KT E 5), but generally $i n^2 s^2 i$ inis i ; $q u r^1 i \gamma r^1 u$ qur $i \gamma$ aru 'westwards' (KT S 2, 3, E 24; BK N 2, 3, E 11), but generally $q u r^1 t$; $q u r^1 i q n^1$ qur i qan ethnic name (KT E 4, 14; BK E 5); $u y l^1 i t^1 i$ oy i ti 'their sons' (KT E 5; BK E 5); $y^2 g i r^2 m i$ yegirmi 'twenty', but generally $y^2 g r^2 m i$; $y^2 t^2 i n c$ yetinč 'seventh' (O R 4), but $y^2 i t^2 n c$ yitinč (KT N 5, NE); $y^2 p r^1$ iy yipari γ 'the scent' (acc.) (BK S 11); $y^1 u l^1 i d^1 m z$ yulidämiz 'we plundered' (TII W 4), $r^1 m q c i s^2 i n^2$ armaq-čis $i n$ (KT E 6), $y^1 \gamma u c i s^2 i$ ay γ učis i (TI S 3; E 4, N 5), $b^2 d^2 z c i g$ bädizčig (KT S 12, NE; BK N 14), $y^1 \gamma i c i s^2 i$ ya γ ičis i (TII S 6); $k l^2 t^2$ čimz kältäčimiz (TI S 7), $u l^2 t^2$ čiča öltäčica (BK E 2); $d^1 n c i \gamma$ adinč(č) $i \gamma$ (KT S 12), but generally $d^1 n c \gamma$; $y^1 \gamma s^2 i z$ ya γ isiz (KT E 30), but generally -s $^1 z$ / -s $^2 z$.

3°. The vowels i/i of non-first syllables are generally written: $\gamma i s^2 i$ ay i s i (KT S 5), $b^2 i t^2 i d^2 m$ bitidim (KT SE), $t^1 u q i d^1 m$ toq i d $i m$ (BK E 31), $y^1 \gamma i \gamma$ ya γ i γ (KT E 15), $y^1 z i d^1 a$ yazida (TI N 9), $q l^1 i s^2 z$ qal i siz (KT N 1), $q r^1 i p$ qarip (KČ W 3), $k i s^2 i g$ kisig (KT S 6), etc.

The exceptions are: $b^2 i t^2 d^2 m$ bitidim (KT SW; BK SW), $b^2 (t^2) d^2 m$ (KČ S 2), but generally bitidim, bitit-; $b^2 i t^2 g m a$ bitigmä (KT S 13, SE); $b^2 i t^2 g$ bitig (KT S 13, SE, N 13, NE; O Supp. 1), but $b^2 t^2 i g$ bitig (KČ S 3); čm 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 tazikka (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: $b^1t^1s^2qra$ batsiqina (OF 2), b^2qa äbiqa (KČ W 3, E 8), r^2n^2 ärin (OF 3), l^2qa eliqa (OF 4), il^2n^2 ilin (BK E 28), il^2qa iliqa (TI W 1), qut^1qa qutiqa (KT E 31), uy^1n^2 oylin (KT E 7), $t^1s^1n^1$ tasin (TIS 6), $t^2gd^2kn^2$ tägdükin (OR 2), t^1uys^2- qqa toysiqina (OF 2), ... $vqqa[tur]$ 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 yeriqa (BK N 3), y^2ir^2qa yiriqa (BK E 15), $y^2üzqa$ yuziqa (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 ärmaz(ü)n (OF 3), $t^2ir^2gr^2ü$ tirg(ü)rü (KT E 29), y^1ntr^1u yant(u)ru (KT N 11), $y^2it^2mzn^2$ yitmaz(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), $s^2ünš$ sünüş (BK E 34), $kümš$ kümüš (KT S 5), etc.

The exceptions are:

A. The short connective vowels in the following words: $b^1ud^1un^1$ bodun (KT E 4), but generally $b^1ud^1n^1$; qr^1l^1quy qarluquy (KT N 2); $qunčy^1uq$ qunčuyuy (KT E 20), but qu (nčy) y^1y (BK E 17); qun^1 oqun (KT E 33, 36); ul^1ur^1- olur- (TIN 8), but generally ul^1r^1- ; $s^2ünkür$ sünükür (KT E 24), but $s^2ünkg$ sünüküg (BK E 20); $küş$ üküş (KT S 10), but generally üks; $küs^2$ üküs (KT S 6; TII W 4, 5), but üks² (TI W 7) and üks² güküsüg (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); $ur^1tus^2inr^1u$ ortusinaru (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-: $b^1ušyur^1ms^2$ bošyurmis (KT E 13), $b^1ušyur^1mš$ bošyurmiš (BK E 12), $b^1ušyur^1ur$ bošyurür (KT S 7, 7; BK N 5).

c. -qun (\leftarrow 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); $y^1unšur^1-$ yonšur- (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); $ur^1 uq̄i$ orūq̄i (TI E 7); $s^2 ūḡḡ$ sūḡḡ (KT E 35), but generally $s^2 ūḡḡ$; $t^2 ūr^2 ūḡ$ törūḡ (KT E 3, 16, 30; BK E 2, 4, 36), $t^2 ūr^2 ūd^2 a$ törūdā (KT E 16, BK E 14), $t^2 ūr^2 ūmz$ (KT E 22), $t^2 ūr^2 ūn^2$ törūn (BK N 9, 10, 10), $t^2 ūr^2 ūḡn$ törūḡn (KT E 22), $t^2 ūr^2 ūs^2 in^2$ törūsīn (KT E 1, 8, 13, 31; BK E 3), $t^2 ūr^2 ūs^2 in^2$ törūsīnčā (KT E 13; BK E 12), but $t^2 ūr^2 ḡn^2$ törūḡn (BK E 19), $t^2 ūr^2 s^2 in^2$ törūsīn (BK E 8), $(t^2 ū)r^2 s^2 in^2$ törūsīn (BK E 11); $t^2 ūr^2 ū-$ törū- (KT N 10), $t^2 ūpūt^2$ tüpüt (KT E 4; BK E 5), $t^2 ūpūt^2 ka$ tüpütka (KT S 3; BK N 3); $üt^2 ūkn^2$ ötükān (KT S 8; BK N 6), but generally $üt^2 kn^2$, $üt^2 kn^2$; $üt^2 ūl^2 g$ ötülḡ (BK E 34); $üčün^2$ üčün (KT N 4 and 17 more occurrences), but generally $üčn^2$; $ül^2 ḡm$ ülḡm (KT E 29), but generally $ül^2 g$; in the suffix $-ūr/-ḡr$: $kūr^2 ūr^2$ körūr (KT N 10; BK N 2), but $kūr^2 r^2$ (TI W 1); $qur^1 qur^1$ qorqūr (TII W 4); $ul^1 r^1 ur^1$ olurūr (KT E 3; BK E 4; TI W 7, S 1; TII N 4), but $ul^1 r^1 r^1$ (TI S 1); $üy^2 ūr^2$ öyūr (KT S 5); $ük̄l^2 ūr^2$ 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>qalmaidī</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>
$s^1 b^1 γ^1$ <u>sabiy</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), $qzγn^1 ms^1 r^2$ gazyanmasar (TII E 4, N 1), etc. Some of them, however, seem phonetically significant: $qt^1 γd^2 i$ 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 q (= 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); $b^1 (s^2) qd^1 i$ basīqdī (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); $ul^1 r^1 s^2 qm$ olursīqim (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 $ud^1 s^2 ḡm$ udīsīḡim (TI E 5); $y^2 il^1 s^2 γ$ (KT E 26) and $(y)il^1 s^2 γ$ [yīlsīy] (BK E 21). See Palatalization 2. 14.

B. Before or after the vowels a and u : $b^1 s^2 d^1 m$ basdīm (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 saqintim (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 yaliqus (KČ E 11), y¹ ur¹ ms² r¹ yorimasar (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 yil (in general), but y¹ il¹ qa yilqa (OR 4); y² il¹ qi yilqi (in general), but y¹(l¹) q(..) in¹ yilq[is]in (KT SW); y² il¹ pγut¹ i yilpaγuti (BK E 31); y² il¹ s² γ yilsīγ (KT E 26); y² is¹ γr¹ u yisγaru (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 yorilim (TIN 5), but generally y¹ur¹i-; y² ur¹ it¹- yorit- (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 oqsiz (KT E 3; BK E 4), uqγl¹ i oqiγali (BK E 38); t¹ q̄ toq (TIS 1), t¹ q̄r¹ toqar (TIS 1); t¹ q̄id¹ i toqīdī (KT N 6), but t¹ uqid¹ m toqīdim (BK E 31, S 8); t¹ q̄it¹ d¹ m toqītdim (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 yogadu (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 adrilmaduq (OR 3), b¹ r¹ d¹ q̄ barduq (KT E 24), b¹ ul¹ t¹ q̄ d¹ a boltuqda (OF 1), b¹ ul¹ t¹ q̄ inta boltuqinta (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 būqali (TI W 5, 5), ur¹ uq̄i orūqi (TI E 7).

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

3°. The sound group qo in the following words: q̄pn² qopin (TIS 9); q̄n¹ l¹ d¹ m qunladim (OR 4), q̄t¹ qut (OF 8).

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

A. Before o: q̄ub¹ s¹ r¹ p qobsarip (KC S 2). q̄ud¹ p qodup (TI W 2, 3), q̄ud¹ i godī (BK E 37; TIN 3), q̄uq¹ q̄ qoqliq (BK S 11), q̄untr¹- qontur- (generally), but qu . . . qo[nturtumiz] (KT E 38), q̄un¹- qon- (generally); q̄up qop (generally), but qup (KT E 2, 2, 2); q̄up(n¹) qopin (TI W 1); q̄ur¹ γn¹ i qorayīnī (OR 4); q̄ur¹ γu qoriyu (BK E 41); q̄ur¹ γ . . . qorγ[anqa] (BK E 40), but qur¹ γn¹ (KT N 8; BK E 31); q̄ur¹ q- qorq- (TI W 4, 6; OF 7); q̄ušu qōsu (KT N 1); q̄ut¹ i qot(t)ī (BK S 12); q̄un¹ q̄on¹ (KT E 12, NE; BK E 11), but qun (OR 4).

B. Before u: q̄uy quy (BK S 9), q̄un¹ i qunī (TIS 2), but qu (BK S 8); q̄ub¹ r¹ n¹- qubran- (TI W 4), q̄ub¹ r¹ t¹- qubrat- (KT S 10; BK N 7), but qub¹ r¹ t¹- (KT E 12; BK E 11); q̄ul¹ qul (generally), but qul¹ (KT E 7; BK E 17, 36); q̄ul¹ l¹ γ qulluy (KT E 21; BK E 18); q̄ul¹ d¹ ms² quladmis (KT E 13); q̄ul¹ qqn¹ qulqaqin (BK N 11), q̄ul¹-qqin² qulqaqin (BK S 12); q̄unc̄y¹ l¹ r¹ m qunc̄uylarim (KT N 9), q̄unc̄y¹ uy qunc̄uyuy (KT E 20), q̄u(.)y¹ γ qu[nču]yuy

(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); $\text{qur}^1 \text{yr}^1 \text{u}$ - $\text{qur}^1 \text{iy}^1 \text{u}$ qurıyaru (generally); $\text{qur}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{qi}$ qurıyaqı (TI S 10), but $\text{qur}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{a}$ (KT N 12; TI S 7); $\text{qur}^1 \text{iqn}^1$ qurıqan (KT E 4, 14; BK E 5); $\text{qut}^1 \text{i}$ qutı (BK E 35), $\text{qut}^1 \text{ıa}$ qutııa (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), $\text{qut}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{in}^2$ qutayın (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), $\text{quş}^1 \text{ı}$ $\gamma \text{qd}^1 \text{a}$ quş-alıyaqda (KT N 5), quzın quzın (TI W 7).

C. Before u, medially: $\text{b}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{qu}$ bayırqu (KT S 4; BK N 3), $\text{b}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{q}(\text{u})$ bayırqu (KT E 34), $\text{b}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{qun}^1$ (ñ) bayırqunıñ (KT E 35), $\text{b}^1 \text{y}^1 \text{r}^1 \text{qun}^2 \text{ı}$ bayırqunıı (KT E 36); $\text{b}^1 \text{uz}$ qunča buzqunča (O R 1), $\text{qur}^1 \text{qur}^1$ qorqūr (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 ükün^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 $\text{s}^2 \text{ükpn}^2$ 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: $\text{b}^2 \text{üks}^2 \text{i}$ bökäsı (KČ E 5); kük (generally), qük (KT E 3) kök 'blue'; $\text{t}^2 \text{ükd}^2 \text{i}$ 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), $\text{b}^2 \text{l}^2 \text{t}^2 \text{kmn}^2$ biltükümün (KČ S 3), $\text{s}^2 \text{d}^2 \text{md}^2 \text{k}$ äsıdmädük (BK N 11), $\text{t}^2 \text{ür}^2 \text{k}$ türük (KT S 1), etc.

The exceptions are: $\text{üt}^2 \text{ükn}^2$ (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), . . . kntr - [yü] küntür - (BK E 3), but $\text{y}^2 \text{kntr}^2$ - (KT E 2); $\text{b}^2 \text{ükl}^2 \text{i}$ bükli (KT E 4, 8; BK E 5, 8); $\text{t}^2 \text{ükt}^2 \text{i}$ tükäti (KT S 1; BK N 1).

4°. The sound groups kö/kü in the following examples: $\text{k}^2 \text{ikn}^2$ 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 $\text{y}^2 \text{ük}^2 \text{nti}$.

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

A. Before ö: $\text{qüg}^2 \text{mn}^2$ kögmän (TI E 6, N 4), but generally $\text{küg}^2 \text{mn}^2$; $\text{k}^2 \text{ük}$ kök 'blue' (KT E 3), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ük}$ kök; $\text{k}^2 \text{k}$ kök emphasizing particle (TI S 8, E 4); $\text{k}^2 \text{ü}^2 \text{ı}$ qä köplüqä (TI N 8), but generally $\text{k}^2 \text{ü}^2 \text{ı}$ köplü; $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2$ - 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: $\text{k}^2 \text{üb}^2 \text{r}^2 \text{gs}^2 \text{i}$ köbürgäsı (BK W 4), külta költä (KT E 34, N 2), $\text{k}^2 \text{üt}^2 \text{ür}^2$ - $\sim \text{k}^2 \text{üt}^2 \text{r}^2$ - kötür (generally), $\text{k}^2 \text{üzd}^2 \text{a}$ közdä (KT N 11), $\text{k}^2 \text{üzi}$ közı (KT N 11; BK E 2), $\text{k}^2 \text{üz}^2 \text{m}$ közüm (KT N 10), $\text{k}^2 \text{üz}^2 \text{n}^2$ közün (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); $\text{k}^2 \text{üç}$ küç (KT E 12), $\text{k}^2 \text{üçg}$ küçüg (KT W 1; TII E 2), $\text{k}^2 \text{üç}^2 \text{g}$ küçlüg (O R 4), but generally küç; $\text{k}^2 \text{ül}^2$ kül (KT W 1, 1, E 26; BK E 21), but generally kül; $\text{k}^2 \text{ülü}^2 \text{i}$ külü (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 kümš, küms²; $\text{k}^2 \text{ün}^2$ kün (KT E 4, 8; TI N 3; TII W 4), but generally kün²; $\text{k}^2 \text{üntz}$ 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: $\text{k}^2 \text{ü}^2 \text{ı}$ küı (KT E 7 and 7 more occurrences), $\text{k}^2 \text{üpd}^2 \text{ms}^2$ küpdms (KT E 13), $\text{k}^2 \text{ü}^2 \text{ı}$ küı (BK E 18); $\text{k}^2 \text{ür}^2$ $\text{g}^2 \text{ü}^2 \text{ı}$ kürägüı (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 baliq̇ (BK E 28; TI E 2), b¹l¹q̇d¹a baliq̇da (KT N 4; BK E 30; KC W 11), b¹l¹q̇d¹qi baliq̇daq̇i (KT E 12), b¹l¹q̇a baliq̇(q)a (TI E 1; O R 1), b¹(l¹q̇a) baliq̇(q)a (TI E 2); b¹t¹s¹q̇iña (BK N 2), b¹t¹s²q̇iña (KT S 2) batsiq̇iña, but b¹t¹s¹q̇d¹qi batsiq̇daq̇i (KT N 12), b¹t¹s²q̇ña batsiq̇iña (O F 2); t¹γq̇- tayiq̇- (KT E 12); t¹šq̇- tašiq̇- (BK E 32), t¹s¹q̇- tasiq̇- (TI N 9, 9, 6, 6), but t¹šq̇- tašiq̇- (KT E 11, N 8); ud¹s²q̇m udisiq̇im (TI E 5), but ud¹s²iq̇m udisiq̇im (TI S 5).

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

The exceptions are: ačs¹q̇ āčsiq̇ (BK N 6), āčs²q̇ āčsiq̇ (KT E 8, 8); b¹(s²)q̇- basiq̇- (KT N 8); čiq̇n¹ čiq̇an (KC W 1, 2), čiq̇n¹i čiq̇anī (KT N 13); ul¹r¹s¹qm (TI S 5), ul¹r¹s²qm (TI E 5) olursiq̇im; t¹us¹q̇ tosīq̇ (KT S 8; BK N 4), t¹uys¹qa toysiq̇(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- yarliq̇(q)a- (TI S 9 and 12 more occurrences).

2°. The sound group q̇i in the following words: zq̇ña azq̇iña (KT E 34), but zq̇ña azq̇iña (TI S 2); q̇l¹p q̇ilip (O R 2); qs²ms² 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); q̇is¹γa q̇isγa (KC E 11); q̇is¹l¹t¹a q̇isilta (BK E 37); q̇išn¹ q̇išin (BK S 2), q̇išl¹d¹q̇d¹a q̇išladuq̇da (BK E 31), but q̇išl¹p q̇išlap (KT N 8); q̇it¹n q̇itan (generally), but q̇it¹nγr¹u q̇itanγaru (TI S 2), q̇it¹nγ q̇itanīγ (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 ičgärtim (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 č̇ (= či)

In the following word the medial sound group či is designated with the ligature č̇: kl²t²č̇imz kältāč̇imz (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 qltçı 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 qltqın² yaqlıtuqın (BK E 16); y^1 ulta volta (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 qısilta (BK E 37).

1.22242. Use of the Sign nt

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

1°. ant: nta anta (generally); ntı antaı (generally); ntg antäg (TI N 5); nt^rı ıud¹a antııud¹a (BK E 30); t^1 l¹nti atlantı (KČ E 8); b^1 ıyzi¹ nti boıuzlantı (TI N 2), etc.

2°. änt: kntü kántü (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 II; BK E 17), čintn¹ čintan (BK S 11), qil¹ntıd¹a qılıntuqda (KT E 1), etc.

The exceptions are b^2 n²t²r²a b(i)nt(ü)rä (TI N 1); b^2 izn²t²a bizintä (TII W 5); b^2 ün²t²gi büntägi (TII E 7); zgn^2 t²i äzginti (KT N 7), but zgnti (BK E 31); kin^2 t²i ekinti (KT E 33; TII W 4), kn^2 t²i ekinti (BK E 30); l^2 in²t²a elıntä (KČ W 3); in^2 t²mz intimiz (TI N 2); $kčgn^2$ t²i käčginti (KČ E 8); kn^2 t²ü kántü (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 örpántä (BK E 26); $üt^2$ n²t²k ötüntük (TI S 8), $üt^2$ n²t²m ötüntüm (TI S 5, 5, 7; TI N 1); y^2 r²in²t²a 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, änč, and nč in back- and front-vocalic words.

1°. anč: nča anča (generally), nčul¹d¹i ančuladı (KT E 32), s¹nč- sanč- (KT N 5), etc.

2°. änč: n²nča nänčä (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 toqzunč (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 (TI S 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)ıı (KT S 12), d^1 nčı adınč(č)ıı (BK N 14, 14).

2°. d(d): b^2 it²id²m bitıd(d)ım (KT S 13; BK N 15), cf. b^2 it²it²d²m bitıtdım (TII E 8); y^1 r^1 t^1 d²m yaratıd(d)ım (BK N 14) cf. y^1 r^1 t^1 d¹m yaratıtdım (MČ E 8, 9, 10).

3°. ı(ı): $ı^1$ $ı^1$ yaı(ı)ıl (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 (TI E 1; O R 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 t^1 qa olurtuq(q)a (BK E 14); t^1 ıys¹qa toıysıq(q)a (KT S 2; BK E 8); t^1 unıqqa toınuquq(q)a (TI N 7); y^1 r^1 l^1 q- yarlıq(q)a- (generally); y^1 qr¹u yıq(q)aru (TI N 1).

6°. k(k): b^2 ir²t²kr²ü birtük(k)ärü (BK E 9) = b^2 ir²t² kr²ü (KT E 10).

7°. ı(ı), ı(ı): y^1 ul¹ı yol(ı)uı (KT S 13, SE, SE); $čül^2$ g čöl(ı)üg (KT E 4; BK E 5), il^2 d²k ıl(ı)ädük (BK E 7).

8°. n(n): qčn²ŋ qačan (n)äŋ (TI E 3, N 5), qčn¹ŋ qačan (n)äŋ (TI E 4).

9°. s(s): <šs: qb¹s¹r¹ qabis(s)ar (TIS 5).

10°. t(t): γt¹m aγit(t)im (BK E 31); qit¹mz aqit(t)imüz (KT N 8), cf. qt¹d¹mz aqitdīmiz (TI N 11); b²d²zt²i bādizāt(t)i (KČ E 12), b²d²zt²m bādizāt(t)im (KT S 11); s²t²m äsit(t)im (TI E 7), cf. s²d²t²i äsidti (İrq Bitig, 83, 93); it¹i it(t)i (KT E 7, S 12; BK E 7, N 14), it¹m it(t)im (BK E 40; TI N 9; TII E 2), it¹mz it(t)imüz (KT E 40; TII W 7); igt²i igit(t)i (KT E 16; BK E 14; KČ E 13), igt²m igit(t)im (KT E 29; BK E 23, 38); qut¹i qot(t)ı (BK S 12); qub¹r¹t¹m qubrat(t)ım (BK N 7); ul¹r¹t¹i olurt(t)ı (KČ E 12); y¹γt¹q¹d¹a yayit(t)uqda (KČ W 5, E 6); y¹uyl¹t¹i yoylat(t)i (KČ E 12).

The exceptions are: čur¹qqa čoraqqa (BK SE), l²l²gd²a elligdä (KT E 29; BK E 24), il²l²gg illigig (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), qr¹l¹qqa qarluqqa (KČ E 7), qul¹l¹γ qulluγ (KT E 21; BK E 18), t²zkka tǰzikkǰ (KČ E 4), y¹ul¹l¹γ yolluγ (KT SW).

1.23. Punctuation

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

- 1°. Words are generally separated by colons:
:t²ŋr²id²a:b¹ul¹mš:t²ür²ǰ:b²il²ga:qγn¹: (KT S 1)
tǰŋridǰ bolmiš tǰrǰk bilǰǰ qaγan
:t²ür²ǰ:b²gl²r²:b¹ud¹n¹:b¹un¹i:s²id²ŋ: (KT S 10)
tǰrǰk bǰǰlǰr bodun buni äsidiŋ

Very short words such as at, ǰr, and alp are generally written together with the following or preceding word or group of words: :ul¹t²gd²ǰd²a:b¹y¹r¹qun²ŋ:qd¹γr¹γ: (KT E 36) ol tǰgdǰkdǰ bayirquniŋ aq adγiriγ :kir²g:ud¹šr¹u:š¹nčd¹i: (KT E 36, N 2) eki arig ud ašru sančdi :b²izŋs²u:t¹i:t¹ur¹ǰ:zuqi:y¹uǰr²t²i: (KT E 39) biziŋ su ati toruq azuqi yoq arti

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

:čümpam:b¹umn¹qγn¹:is²t²miqγn¹:ul¹r¹mš:
(KT E 1) äčüm apām bumın qaγan istāmi qaγan
olurmiš :n²aqγn¹qa:is²gküčg:b²ir²ür²mn²:t²ir²
r²mš: (BK E 9) nǰ qaγanqa isig küčüg birür
mǰn tir ärmiš

Sometimes two words which do not constitute a phrase are put between a pair of colons: :y²ir²:s¹y¹uǰup:t¹ur¹u:
ul²u: yir sayu qop toru öltü (KT S 9) :üzakük:t²ŋr²i: üzä
kök tǰŋri (KT E 1) :b¹ul¹t¹či:r²t²iuza:y¹nǰ:kl²gma: bol-
tači arti oza yaña kǰligmǰ (BK E 30) :üd²t²ŋr²i:y¹s¹r¹:
öd tǰŋri yasar (KT N 10) (instead of :üd²:t²ŋr²iy¹s¹r¹: or
:üd²:t²ŋr²i:y¹s¹r¹:)

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

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

²°. Long: The existence of a long and phonemically significant a in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the orthography (see 1. 2211. ²° and 1. 2212. ¹°): āč 'hungry' (BK E 38) (cf. Kāš. āč, Turkm. āč, Yak. ās, Karag. ayš id.), āč- 'to feel hungry' (KT S 8, 8; BK N 6, 6) (cf. Yak. ās-, Chuv. 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

¹°. 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., Tuv. 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), siytä- 'to lament, wail' (KT E 4) (= Yak. itā- 'to cry'), til 'word, news' (TII W 1) (= Yak. til, Tuv. dil id.), yilqı 'stud, horses' (KČ E 13) (= Khak., Tuv. čilyı, Yak. silyı id.), yis 'wooded mountain' (TI E 3) (= Khak. čis 'thick forest, taiga'), etc.

²°. 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: ı 'trees, forest' (TI N 2) (cf. Uig. ı, ıy, ıı 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

¹°. Short: bod 'tribe, a group of people' (TI W 4) (= Kāš., Turk. boy id.), čoraq 'dry land, salty land'

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

2^o. 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 q̄: y¹uq̄ yōq (KT E 11, 39; O F 1) (cf. MČ W 4: y¹uq̄; Abakan, front 4: y¹uq̄; Kāš. yōq, Yak. suoχ id.).

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

2. 114. The vowel u

1^o. Short: buluṅ 'corner, quarter' (KT E 2) (= Tuv. buluṅ, Khak. puluṅ 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.

2^o. Long u. The existence of a long u in Orkhon Turkic is evident from the spelling of the word būqa 'bull': b¹uqa būqa (TI W 6), b¹uq¹i būqalī (TI W 5, 5); cf. this spelling with that of buqaraq 'Bukhara' (KT N 2) and that of buquy 'the evil spirits' (acc.) (BK S 10).

It may be assumed that the vowel ū was found also in such words as these: 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).

1^o. 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'

(TII 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' (TII S 5) ~ bis (BK S 11) ~ biš (KT N 4, E 18) (= Yak. biäs, Az. beš, Volga Bulg. biäl+ id.), el 'people, tribes, state' (KT E 4) ~ il (BK E 5) (= Turk. il), et- 'to do, make, organize' (KT E 11, BK E 10) ~ it- (generally), kınsür- '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. śi- ~ śiy id.), yog 'better' (BK E 24) ~ yig (KT S 4, BK N 3) (= Kāš. yīg id.), yeti 'seven' (KT E 15) ~ yiti (BK SE) (= Az. yeddi, Yak. sättä, Chuv. śičče: gemination of t under the influence of the preceding long vowel; Turk. yedi: voicing of t), yetmiš 'seventy' (BK E 11), yetmis (KT E 12) (Yen. y^2 et 2 mš yētmiš; it is very remarkable that in Uyug-Turan b 2 the separation mark is put after the sign for e: y^2 e: t^2 mš = yētmiš).

To these the following words may also be added: kičä 'evening' (MČ E 1) (= Turk. gīcä 'night', Yak. kiäsä 'evening', Chuv. kaś id.), yel- 'to ride fast, trot' (TI N 3) (= Yak. siäl- id.), yet- 'to lead, conduct' (TI N 1) (= 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. īš 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. dīđ 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: üz=üöz id., Yak. üös 'heart of a tree, center', Turk. öđ 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: idug 'sacred, holy', etc.

o - a: boyla a title, oylan 'children, sons', etc.

o - i: qodı 'down, downward', toqı 'to beat', etc.

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

u - a: qulqaq '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: ämğäk '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>atli</u> 'horseman'	<u>illig</u> 'owning a state'
<u>sansiz</u> 'innumerable'	<u>biligsiz</u> 'unwise'
<u>qisya</u> 'short'	<u>bilgä</u> 'wise, sage'
<u>toplayuluq</u> 'the folding'	<u>üzgülük</u> 'the breaking'
<u>tašiq-</u> 'to go out'	<u>ičik-</u> 'to submit'
<u>yantur-</u> 'to turn back'	<u>bintür-</u> 'to cause to mount'
<u>qayanqa</u> 'to the kagan'	<u>äbkä</u> 'to the camp'
<u>yazida</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 < ī), (2) words having one of the suffixes which occur in only one form.

1^o. Words containing a palatalized vowel: ašig(?) 'mountain pass?' (TI S 1) (< *ašiy; cf. Khak. azi < *asiy < *ašiy id., Kirg. ašū < *ašiy id.), atig ethnic name (O F 5, 6, R 2), bayirquniq 'Bayirqu's' (KT E 36) < bayirqun[iq] (KT E 35), bulmayin 'having not found' (TI W 2) (< *bulmayin), bunqsiz 'abundantly' (TII S 4) < bunqsiz (generally; cf. Ačura, left 2: bunqsiz), qadizdä 'at the rocky cliffs?' (KT N 7) < qadizda (BK E 31), qayanimin 'with my kagan' (TII E 3) (< *qayanimin), qaniqin 'your kagan' (acc.) (TI W 2) (< *qaniqin) (cf. Suği 6: oylumin 'my sons', atimin 'my grandchildren'), qalisiz 'completely, entirely' (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9) (< *qalisiz) (cf. Kežilig-Khobu 2: qansiz 'orphan'), qatiydi 'well, hard' (KT N 11) < qatiydi (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), layzin 'pig' (BK S 10) (cf. MČ N 11: layzin id., Ikhe-Askhete b2: laqzin id.), sabimin 'my words' (acc.) (KT S 2) < sabimin (generally), yašisiz 'without enemy' (KT E 30; BK E 24) (< *yašisiz), yaqutir '(the Chinese)bring closer' (KT S 5; BK N 4) (< *yaqutir), yaratid(d)im 'I had them to build' (BK N 14) (< *yaratiddim; cf. yaratiddim: MČ E 8, 9, 10), yašik 'sun' (KT NE) (< *yašiq), yolsizin 'without any roads' (TI N 11) (< *yolsizin).

To these the following may be added:

A. Words having the suffix -ayin (1st person voluntative): añitayin 'I shall frighten' (BK E 41) (< *añitayin), ayayin 'I shall say' (TI N 8), qisayin 'I shall make' (TI W 5), qonayin 'I shall settle down' (KT S 7), [qonay]in id. (BK N 5), idmayin 'I shall not lose' (BK E 33), uruysirayatayin 'I shall exterminate' (KT E 10), yoylatayin 'I shall hold (her) funeral' (TI N 7).

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

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

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

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

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

A. The third person possessive suffix generally occurs as -ī and -sī in Orkhon Turkic. This is evident from the spelling: the accusative suffix -n is generally designated with the sign n² after the possessive suffix, and the initial s of the allomorph -sī is generally written with the sign s². Furthermore, the high front unrounded vowel of the suffix is probably long, because it is almost always

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

- atın 'with horses' (TI N 1) atın 'his horse' (KT E 40)
ärin 'with men' (KT E 11) ärin 'his men' (KT N 1)
qulqaqın 'by ear' (BK N 11) qulqaqın 'their ears' (BK S 12)
sabın 'with words' (BK N 4) sabın '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: adyırın (BK N 11), ayışın (KT S 6; BK N 5), aqın (KT N 2, 3, 9), [aq]ın (KT N 2), alpın (TII S 5; KČ W 7, 12), [altun]ın (BK N 11), armaqčisın (KČ E 9), atın (KT E 40; BK S 12, N 11), atın (KT E 7, 7; BK E 7), atısı (KT S 13, SE; BK SW), ayyučisı (TIS 3, E 4, N 5), ay[y]uč[i]sı (TII S 5), barımın (KT N 1; BK E 24), barqın (KT NE; BK E 34, 37, N 15), bodunın (BK S 15; TII W 7, 8), bulyaqın (KT N 4; BK E 29), qayanın (KG E 35, 36, 38; BK E 27, 28, 7; TII W 6), qanın (TI W 2, 2; TI N 4), qanın (KT E 5; BK E 6, 18), qarasın (O R 1) (spelt: $qr^1s^2n^2$), qazyantuqın (TII E 5), qulqaqın (BK S 12), qutayın (BK N 11), quzın (TI W 7), oylın (KT E 7; BK E 7, 7, 24, S 3; KČ W 5, E 1, E 10), [oy]lın (BK E 38), oylın (KT E 7) (spelt: uy^1n^2), ortusın (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2), sabın (KT S 9; BK N 7), saçın (BK S 12), sadın (TII W 6), sadın (TII W 6), şadın (BK E 28), subın (BK E 35), taşın 'its exterior' (KT S 12; BK N 15), taşın 'his tombstone' (BK W 7), udlıqın (KT E 36), yabyusın (TII W 6), yabyu[sı]n (BK E 28), yayısı (KT E 12; BK E 11), yayıçısı (TII S 6), yayızın (KT N 5, 8) yañılıqın (KT E 19), yañıltuqın (BK E 16), yarlıq(q)aduqın (KT S 9), yazintuqın (BK E 16), yılqısın (BK E 24), yoñşurtuqın (KT E 6; BK E 7), yotuzın (BK E 38), yo[tuz]ın (BK E 24), [yo]tuzın (BK S 4), yurđın (KT E 32).

Therefore: bodunı (KT E 3), čabisı (TI W 7), qayanı (KT E 19), etc.

In the Uigur dialect, however, this suffix generally observes the palatal harmony: barımın (MČ E 3), barqın (MČ E 2), qatunın (MČ N 10), qızın (MČ E 3), qoduzın (MČ E 3), tabarın (MČ S 5), yablaqın (MČ E 5, 5), yılqısın (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 s² except the cases in which it is represented by the sign for the sound š. Thomsen, who successfully deciphered the Old Turkic script, was of the opinion that the sign s² in the suffix -ms² represents the sound š (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 s² represents the sound s wherever it occurs, and the vowel in the suffix -miš ~ -mis is always i, regardless of the vocalism of the word to which the suffix is attached. The evidence for this is the following:

(a) There are examples in which both the signs š and s² are used in the same word: boşyurmıs (KT E 13), taşıqmıs (KT E 11).

(b) There are many instances in which the sign s² represents the sound s of the suffix, while the sign s¹

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

(c) Finally, in the inscription of Moyun Čor (Ī-itmis) the suffix in question also occurs as *-ms*¹, namely *-mis*: barmis (MČ S 7), basmis (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 (KTE 28), basmis (O F 1) (cf. MČ E 12: basmis), bolmis (generally), bošyurmis (KT E 13) ~ bošyurmış (BK E 12), ičyınmis (KT E 13; O F 1), idmis (KT E 6, 7; TIS 2, 2, N 10) ~ idmiş (BK E 7, 7), qayansiramis (KT E 13), qayansiratmis (KT E 15) ~ qayansiratmiş (BK E 13), qalmisī (TI W 4) ~ qalmišī (KT S 9), qazyanmis (KT E 22) ~ qazyanmiş (BK E 18, 22), qilmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ qilmış (BK E 13), qilinmis (KT E 1), qismis (O F 1), qonmis (TIS 10), qonturmis (KT E 4), qubratmiş (BK E 11), quladmis (KT E 13) olurmis (KT E 5, 5; BK E 6) ~ olurmiş (KT E 1; BK E 3, 6), siytāmis (KT E 4) ~ siytāmiş (BK E 5), tašiqmis (TI N 6, 6), tašiqmis (KT E 11) ~ tašiqmiş (BK E 32), tutmis (KT E 3, 19; TIS 6) ~ tutmiş (BK E 4), yaymisī (TI W 5), yaratmis (KT E 13) ~ yaratmiş (BK E 1, 12; BK S 13), yarlıq(q)amis (O F 6), yaymis (O F 1), yoylamis (KT E 4) ~ yoylamiş (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-Ğirgak, front 2).

Thus: armaqči 'tricky, deceitful person' in armaq-čisīn (KT E 6), ayyučisī 'his counselor' (TIS 3, E 4, N 5), siytči '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), yayičisī 'his war-leader' (TIS 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), galtači (KT N 9; TIS 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

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

2^o. 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), sünük-ün 'thy bones' (KT E 24), etc.

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

4^o. Before the possessive suffix *-ñiz/-ñiz*: oylan-iñiz-da 'than your children' (KT SE), tayyun-uñiz-da 'than your sons (lit. 'colts')' (KT SE).

5^o. Before the accusative suffix *-y/-g*: yipar-iy 'the scented candles' (BK S 11), äb-ig 'the tents' (BK E 32) (cf. IB 91: tägmisig), qarluq-uy 'the Karluks'

(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: yalğusun '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-ïp 'coming together' (BK E 11), olur-up 'staying' (KT S 4) (cf. IB 25: onup 'languishing'), ölür-üp 'killing' (BK S 7) (cf. IB 75: önüp 'ascending'), etc.; käl-ipän 'coming' (KT E 23) (cf. IB 26: ičipän 'drinking', baripan 'arriving'), olur-upan 'mounting (the throne)' (KT E 16) (cf. IB 1: olurupan; IB 6: oluruupan), sök-üpän 'clearing (the snow)' (BK E 27) (cf. IB 25: kör-üpän; IB 40: ürküpan).

9°. Before the imperative suffix -ñ: bar-ïñ 'go!' (TI N 7), äsid-ïñ 'hear!' (KT S 10) (cf. IB 3: bilñ 'know!'), olur-uñ '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 käliñünüm 'my daughters-in-law' (KT N 9), bulun 'captive, prisoner of war' (KČ 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 yaratïn- 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), ayuq 'dominion, territory under the control of a ruler' in ayuqïqa (KT W 1) (< ay- 'to command, rule, dominate'), ïduq 'sacred, holy' (TII W 3), yañluq 'opposed, opposing' (KT E 19), yazuq id. in yazuqla- (BK E 36), etc.

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

2.12122. Suffix Vowels

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

'excellent, superior').

2^o. 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: muḡluy 'painful'; IB 35, 86: qutluy 'happy'), küčlüg 'powerful, capable' (O R 4) (cf. IB 5, 32: küčlüg), etc.

3^o. In -dīm/-dum, -dīñ/-duñ; (first vowel) -dīmiz/-dumiz, -dīñiz/-duñiz: altīm 'I conquered' (BK E 27), bitfidim 'I inscribed' (KT SE), buzdum 'I put to rout' (BK E 24), kālürtüm 'I sent for' (KT S 11), bardiy (<*bardīñ) 'you (lit.: 'thou' went' (BK E 20), ičikdīñ 'you submitted' (TI W 3), kigürtüg (<*kigürtün) 'you brought' (KT E 23), qorqmadīmiz 'we did not fear' (TI W 6), birtimiz 'we gave' (KT E 20), buzdumiz 'we routed' (KT E 31), sūñüş-dümiz 'we fought' (BK E 28), etc.

4^o. In -dīn/-dun: quridīn 'from behind, from the west' (KT W 1), biridin 'from this side, from the south' (TI S 4), öñdün 'from the front, from the east' (TI S 4) (cf. Uig. öñdün id., öñdün 'to the right', soltun 'to the left').

The vowel in the following suffixes resists labial harmony:

1^o. 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^o. In the genitive suffix -iñ/-iñ, -niñ/-niñ: bayır-quniñ 'Bayırqu's' (KT E 35), bodunir 'of the people' (BK E 3), etc.

3^o. In the accusative suffix -ni/-ni: bizni 'use' (TI N 5), guni 'Qu' (TI S 2).

4^o. In the imperative suffix -yil/-gil: yay(y)il 'join!' (TI W 5), uryil 'place!' (TI N 10).

5^o. In the past tense suffix -di/-di: učdi '(Prince Kül) flew (i. e., died)' (KT NE), ölti '(that horse) was killed' (KT E 33).

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

7^o. In the adverbial suffix -ti/-ti: qatıydı 'firmly, well' (KT S 2), ädgüti 'well, properly' (KT S 2).

8^o. In the suffix -liq/-lik: bāglik 'worthy of becoming a lord' (BK E 7), udliq 'thigh, hip, rump' (KT E 36), qoqliq 'scenting material' (BK S 11), özlik 'personal' (BK N 11; BK S 12); but toplayuluq 'the bending, the folding up' (TI S 6), üzgülik 'the breaking' (TI S 7), özlükı 'his mount' (KČ E 3, 3, W 4).

9^o. In the suffix -siz/-siz: ašsiz 'foodless' (KT E 26), biligsiz 'unwise, unintelligent' (KT E 5), buñsiz 'free from trouble' (BK N 14), buñsiz 'in abundance' (TI S 4) (cf. Ačura, left 2: buñsiz), yolsizin 'without any roads' (TI N 11), ögsiz 'motherless' (KT N 9) (cf. Khak. öksis id.).

10^o. In the suffix -sira-/-sirä-: qayansira- 'to become rulerless, to lose independence' (KT E 13), elsirä- 'to become stateless, to lose independence' (KT E 13), uruysirat- 'to exterminate' (KT E 10).

11^o. In the suffix -siq/-sik: olursiqim 'my wish for taking a rest' (TI E 5, S 5), tosiq 'the being satiated in the future' (KT S 8; BK N 6), toysiq 'the rising' (KT E 4, 8, S 2; BK E 5, 8, 8, N 2; O F 2), ölsikin 'you will die' (KT S 6; BK N 5), ölsikig id. (KT S 7; BK N 5), ölsikinin 'your being killed, your being annihilated' (acc.) (KT S 10; BK N 8).

See 2, 1211, 2^o.

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^o and 2^o).

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. arʔā 'west'): arqāsīn (KČ E 9); siʔtā- 'to lament, wail' (= Yak. itā- 'to cry'): siʔtāmis (KT E 4), siʔtāmiš (BK E 5); taplā- 'to like, agree' (= Yak. taptā- 'to like, love'): taplāmadī (BK E 35); unā- 'to agree, approve': unāmaŋ (TI N 11) (cf. IB 57: unāmaduq); yoʔlā- 'to mourn': yoʔlāmiš (BK E 5), yoʔlāmis (KT E 4).

The final vowel of the following word, too, is probably long: qara 'black' (KT E 8) (cf. Begre, left: qarā-miʔ; 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 ī: 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. ilqā 'horse', Khot. ǧilxā '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': yorī[dīm] (BK E 27), yorīdimiz (KT E 37), yorīduqī (TII N 3), yorīlim (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': bitīdim (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: qarʔu 'watchtower, tower for military observations'; qarʔuy (TII E 3) (cf. Kāš. qarʔu, qarʔuy id.).

6°. Long ū: sūŋūk 'bone': sūŋūkūŋ (KT E 24), sūŋūkūŋ (BK E 20) (= Yak. uŋuoŋ id.; Khak. Tuv. sōk id.); suŋug '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: yāgūn 'younger brother': yāgūnūm (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), igidāyīn (KT E 28; BK E 25),

itāyīn (KT E 39), qīsayīn (TI W 5), qonayīn (KT S 7), [qonay]īn (BK N 5), ölürāyīn (KT E 10), tāgāyīn (TIS 4), tūsāyīn (TI N 6), uruysiratayīn (KT E 10), yoylatayīn (TI N 7).

See 1. 2214. 2^oBa.

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^oBd and 2. 1211. 2^oA.

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 I; TII N 4), öyūr (KT S 5), ökülūr (TI N 8), boşyūrūr (KT S 7; BK N 5).

See 1. 2214. 2^oBe and 4^oBf.

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

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^o. 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); yīlpayūt 'champion warriors' (BK E 31) ~ *alpayūt pl. of alpayu (KT N 7) (cf. Uig. alpayūt a title: Pfahl., 23).

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

2^o. ä ~ i: In the following words, the vowel ä 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) ~ är- in ārig 'reachable' (KT S 13, 13); irtūr- 'to cause to reach' (KT E 40) ~ *ärtūr- (see above); ir- 'to be' (KT S 13) ~ är- (generally).

3^o. 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: biḡ 'thousand' (BK S 1; TI S 7, 9) ~ biḡ (TI E 1); biri + 'this side, south' in biriya (KT S 6), birigärü (KT S 3), biridin (TI S 4) < *biri (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), siyītci 'lamerter' (KT E 4, N 11; BK E 5) < *siyīt (cf. siytā- 'to lament' in KT E 4); siyun 'deer' (BK W 5) < *siyun; siḡar 'half' (BK E 32), siḡarča (TII W 5) < *siḡar (= Yak. aḡar ~ aḡār id., Kirg. siḡar 'one of a pair'); tida 'holding back' (KT N 11) < *tīd- (= Mong. čida-: see Poppe, Verg. 16; Chuv. čar- id.); tily 'the news, tidings' (acc.) (TI N 8) ~ tily (TII W 1); tiḡla- 'to listen' (KT S 2) < *tiḡla- (= Mong. čigla-: see Poppe, Verg. 15); yīḡdim 'I terrified' (O R 1) ~ yīḡdim (O R 1); yirīdīnta 'from the north' (TI S 4) < *yirīdīnta; yirīyaru 'to the north' (KT S 2, 4, E 28; BK N 2, 3, E 23) < *yiri- yaru; yiriya 'in the north' (KT E 14, S 1; BK E 12), yiriyaqi 'being in the north' (TI S 10) ~ yiriya (TI W 7, S 7); yiriyä (O F 2, 5) < yiriya; yiš 'wooded mountain' (KT S 3, 4, 6, 8; BK N 3, 5, E 39), y[iš] (BK E 19), [y]iš (BK N 6) < *yiš (cf. yis id.: TI E 3); yišda 'at the wooded mountain' (KT E 35, S 4; BK E 27) < *yišda (cf. yisda id. in TI N 7, 8) yišiy (KT E 21, 35; BK E 27, 27), y[išiy] (BK E 17) < *yišiy (cf. yisiy id. in TI N 4, 11); yišqa < *yišqa (cf. yisḡaru 'toward

the wooded mountain' in TI S 8); yis[qa] (O F 2) <*yisqa <*yışqa; yipari'y '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) <*ayışin, altunın 'his gold' (KT SW) < [altunin]n (BK N 11), ayuqıca 'over the dominion of' (KT W 1) <*ayuqi, barımın 'his possessions' (KT SW) <barimin (KT N 1; BK E 24), qayanın 'their kagan' (KT E 7) <qayanin (generally), qızın 'his daughter' (BK N 10) <*qızin, sabın 'his words' (TI E 5) <sabin (KT S 9; BK N 7), tasın 'its exterior' (TI S 6) <tasin (KT S 12; BK N 14), usın 'his sleep' (TI E 2) <*usin, yalmasinta 'on his caftan' (KT E 33) <*yalmasi, y[il]q[is]in 'his horses' (KT SW) <yilqisin (BK E 24).

2°. antay 'like that, as follows' (TI S 2, etc.) <antag (TI N 5) (<*anı tag), biridin-yän 'from the south' (TI S 4) <*biridin yan, öndün-yän 'from the east' (TI S 4) <*öndün yan, tänrikän-yän 'to the side of Tänrikän' (O F 5) <*tänrikän yan, qačan-(n)an 'any time, sooner or later' (TI E 4) <qačan-(n)an (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, KÇ W 2).

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

2.16. Contraction

a <*aya: yaramacı 'it will not be good' (TI E 6) <*yaramayacı (cf. Khak. present and future participle in -acı/-acı and the negative forms in -macı/-macı, -bacı/-bacı and -pacı/-pacı; cf. also Yak. istäcçi 'listener, one who hears' <*isitgäci).

ä <*ägä: tägmäci 'one who will not come into contact, one who will not attack' (O R 2) <*tägmägäci (see above), älä 'hawk, vulture' (KÇ 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) ~ antag (TI N 5) <*anı tag, aşru 'through, beyond' (KT E 36, N 2) <*aşuru, balbal 'statue' (BK S 9) <*balibal <*barimal, birlä 'with' (KT S 4) <*biril-ä, bu[1]na- 'to capture' (KÇ E 10) <*buluna-, buyruq 'government official, minister' (KT S 1) <*buyruq, büntäg 'like this' in büntägi (TII E 7) <*büntäg <*bunı tag, ägri 'bent, curved' (TII S 4) <*ägiri, ärkli 'being' (TI S 6) <*ärkli <*ärigli, qoryan 'fort, enclosure' (BK E 31) <*qoriyan, käčgin- 'to grant a favor, to forgive' (KÇ E 8) <*käčigin- (cf. Mong. keşig 'grace, favor, blessing'), kınsür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) <*kınsür- (cf. Kāš. kipü- 'to become wide'), köplün 'thy heart' in köplünčä (TI S 8, N 8) <*köplün, oylan 'children, sons' in oylanım (KT N 11, S 1; BK N 1) and oylanıgızda (KT

SE) < *oyılan, oylī 'son of' (KT E 1) < *oyīli, oylit 'children, sons' in oylitī (KT E 5; BK E 5) < *oyīlit, ötrü 'then, after' (TIS 5, 9) < *ötürü, siytā- 'to lament, wail' (KT E 4; BK E 5) < *siytā-, tarqinč 'displeased, cross' (TIE 5) < *tarqinč (cf. Khak. tarix- 'to become angry'), tägrä 'around' (TIS 1) < *tägirä, täpri 'heaven, sky' (KT E 1) < *täpīri, yabrīt- 'to destroy, ruin' (BK E 31) < *yabirīt- (cf. yabiz 'bad, routed'), yägrän 'red, chestnut (horse)' (KČ E 3, 9) < *yägirän (cf. Yak. siär < *yägir id.), yonšur- 'to cause to slander' (KT E 6; BK E 7) < *yoñašur- (cf. Kāš. yona- 'to slander, to tell tales').

2^o. 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 (TIE 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 yulyalī (BK E 32), yuluγči (BK SE) and yuluq (OF 3) ~ yulī- in yulidimiz (TII W 4), yir 'north' in yir bayırqu (KT S 4, E 34; BK N 3) ~ yiri/yīri/yīri.

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. Haplology

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

2.2. Consonants

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

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

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

2.21. Labial Consonants

2.211. The Consonant p

The voiceless bilabial stop p occurs in all positions.

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

2^o. Medially:

A. Between vowels: apā 'ancestor', apar 'Avar', qapīγ, 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/-pän: kālipän, sūläpän, etc.

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

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

3^o. 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: ayrip, äsidip, qodup, ölürüp, etc.

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

2.212. The consonant b

The voiced bilabial stop b occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: ba-, baɣa, balbal, baɫiq 'city; mud', bar-, bar, barim, barɣ, bars, bas-, basmil, baš ~ bas, bašad-, bašɣu, bašla-, bat, bat-, batı, batim, bay, bayırqū, baz, bädiz, bädiz-, bädizät-, bädük, bäg, bän, bänigü, bänilig, bärčik, ber ~ bir-, berü, bes ~ bis ~ biš, bič-, biḡ ~ biḡ, bičün, bil-, bin-, bir, biri 'south', biriki, birlä, bisinč, bisük, biti-, biz, bod, bodun, boyuz, bol-, bor, bošɣur-, boyla, boz, bögü, bökä, bölün (< Tib. blon), böri, bu, buq 'evil spirit', būqa, buqaraq, bul-, bulɣa-, bulıt, bulun, bu[ɫ]na-, buluḡ, buntat-, buḡ, buḡad-, bumin, busta-, buyruq, buz-, bükli, būḡ- 'to kick' (cf. Kāš. mūḡ-id.), etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: čabıs 'aide-de-camp, adjutant', äbir-, qabıs-, säbig, säbin-, tabar geog. name, tabısan, tatabı, täbär (in il-täbär), täbi, yabız, yubul-.

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

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

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

2.213. The consonant m

The labial nasal m occurs in all positions.

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

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

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: bumin, istämi, qamay, qam[il], 'Qomul, Hami' (O R 1), tamaɣ geog. name, taman, tämir, tümän, tümät ethnic name, sämiz, yamı personal name, yämä.

B. Before a consonant: amɣa geographical name, ämgäk, ämgät-, tamɣacı, tamɣan, qamšay, qamšat-, yimšaq, amtı, yamtar.

C. After a consonant: kögmän, aytıyma, yalma, yälmä, tälinmä-, armaqçı, ärmäk 'mare' (KČ E 9) (cf. Mong. ermeg id.), yegirmi, tarman (~ tarban), basmil, qısmıs, süñüşmiš ~ süñüşmis, yetmiş ~ yetmis, aymaylıy, tuyma-, azma-, azman, täzmis.

3°. Finally: *am in amtı 'now' (cf. Khak. am 'now'), barim, batim, *äm in ämgäk and ämgät-, äsim personal name, qum, kädim, käm 'who', käm 'Yenisei', purum 'East Rome, Syria', täm 'wall'.

2.22. Dentals and Alveolars

2.221. The Consonant t

The voiceless dental stop occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially: tabar geog. n., tabɣač, tabısan, tadıq pers. n., tay, tayıq-, tal-, taluy, täm, tamay geog. n., tamɣacı, tamɣan, taḡ, taḡut, tapa, taplä-, taq 'the very' (KČ E 5), taqi, tarduš, tarman, tarqan, tarqinč, taš 'stone', taš 'outside, exterior', tašiq-, tasul- 'to be deriven' (O F 8), tašra, tat, tatabı, tatar, tay 'great' (BK S 11) (< Chin. ta id.), tayɣun 'sons (lit. : 'colts')' (KT SE), täbi, täblig, täg, täg-, tägi, tägis, tägrä, tägür-, tälinmä-, tämir, täñri, täñrikän, tär, tärmil geog. n., täyän, täz-, täzık, te-, teyin, teril-, ti 'very,

most' (BK S 15) (cf. Uig. tii 'fest, bestandig', 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, toqī-, toqīt-, 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-, tuyyun pers. n., tuyyut 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, atī, atig ethnog. n., batī 'surely, certainly, indeed' (TII W 2), bitī-, bitig, bitīt-, äsgiti ~ isgiti 'silk' (cf. Uig. išgirti id., Kāš. äšgürti id.), ädgüti, ätiz, itin-, qatīydī, qatun, qitañ, kötür-, matī 'faithful' (see above), otuz, ötüg, ötükän, ötülüg, ötün-, *ötür- in ötrü, tatabi, tatar, tutuq, tutun-, tutuz-, yaratid-, yaratun-, yaratur-, yeti, yetinč, yitür-, yotuz.

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

C. After a consonant: aytur-, siytā-, yügtür-, altī, altuz-, altun, amtī, 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-, bitīt-, bulīt, buntat-, äsit- (< äsid-) (TI E 7), ät- 'to thunder, roar, bellow' (BK W 4, 5), [i]t, it- (< id-), qut, oylīt, *öt in ötlä- 'to give advice', *öt- in ötrü, siyīt, tarqat, tat,

tut-, tuyyut, tümät, yayīt- (< yayīd-), yarat-, yat-, yit-, it-, yut; causative stems in -t: ayīt-, aqīt-, artat-, basīt-, 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-, toqīt-, etc.

B. After the consonants l, n, r, and y: elt- ~ ilt-; *art- in artuq, olurt-, ört, tört, ul'art-, 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, iduq, idi 'owner, lord', idi 'never, by no means', qadırqan geog. n., qadiz ~ qadiz 'slope, cliff?', qodī, qoduz, kädim, ödüş, tadiq pers. n., udī-, uduz-, yaday.

B. Before a consonant: adyir, ädgü, udliq, äsidmä-, igidmiš, adril-, ödsig 'distinguished?' (BK E 34).

C. After a consonant: yegdi, qatīydī ~ qatīydi, soydaq, yaraqliydī, ärdäm, ordū, tarduš.

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

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., čäriq '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, učägün, učün, učünč, yicā; words having the suffixes -yuči/-güči, -dači/-dāči, -mači/-mäči (<*-maγači/-māgāči).

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

C. After a consonant: subča, āligčā, tayča, yoyči, armaqči, bolču geog. n., šalči, anča, bunča, nānčā, inanču, qunčuy (<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), učünč, 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, sän,

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

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: asug (<Sogd. ?) pers. n., ba[sa] 'then, again', basiq-, basin-, bisinč, bisük 'relatives, kin' (KT S 6), āsid-, āsim, 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., tasiq- (~tašiq-), tosiq, tüsür- (<*tüšür-), yasa-, yasa- (~yaša-) (KC W 3).

B. Before a consonant: isbara ~ isbara (~išbara), qisya, tabisyan, āsg(iti) ~ isgiti, basmil, asra, kisrä, istāmi, 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, kiqsür- (<*kiqsür-), ašsiz.

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

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

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, aziylīy 'furious, ferocious' (KČ E 6), azuq, bädizät-, qizil, küzäd-, tüzül-, uzun, üzä, yazīn, yazī, yazīn-, yazuq in yazuqla- (BK E 36), yüzüt-.

B. Before a consonant: azqīna, azma-, azman, bädizči, buzqun, boyuzlan-, āzginti geog. n., izgil, qazyan-, özlük ~ özlük, sözlāš-, tizlig, tüzsiz, üzgülük.

C. After a consonant: layzīn.

2°. Finally: altuz-, az 'few', az ethnic n., az-, baz, bādiz, bādiz-, biz, boyuz, boz, buz-, ādiz, ātiz geog. n., āz-, qadiz, qīrqīz, qīz, qīz-, qoduz, quz, kōz, kūz (MC E 8), oyuz, otuz, oz-, ōgūz, ōz, sākiz, sāmiz, siz, sōz in sōzlāš-, tāz-, tiz, toquz, tutuz-, tūz, uduz-, uz 'skill, art' (BK SW), üz 'ill-tempered' (TI N 10), üz-, yabiz, yayiz, yaz, yotuz, yūz, yūz- in yūzūt-.

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

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: aša, ašig 'mountain pass?', ašur- in ašru, bašad-, qīšīn, qošu pers. n., kišī (~kisī), tašiq- (~tašiq-), yaša- (~yasa-), yašīk, yašīl.

B. Before a consonant: išbara (~isbara ~isbara); bašyu; bošyur-; bašla-, bašliŋ, qīšla-; ašru, tašra; ašsīz.

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

3°. Finally: arqīš, aš, aš- (~as-), baš (~bas), biš (~bis ~ bes), čuš geog. n., qaš, qīš- (~qis-), quš in quš-alyaq geog. n. (KT N 5), oyuš, ödüş, sūñüş (~sūñūs), sūñüş- (~sūñūs-), 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), nāŋ '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 ~ ināncū, ināl, ini, qanī, sini acc. of sān, yana, etc.

B. Before a consonant: anča, bunča, buzqunča, qunčuy (<Chin. qung-chu), yinčū; kāčindā 'at Kāčin' (KC W 10); qayanŋaru, tarqanŋaru; bodunqa, qayanqa, tarmanqa, ārsinkā, kāčinkā, tāŋrikānkā; qayanla-, qanlan-, qunla-, ākinlig, tōgūnlūg; tālinmā-; qayansīra-, sansīz, tinsi (<Chin.), tonsīz; anta, antay, antīryu geog. n., bintūr-, bizintā, bunta, buntat-, büntāg, ekīnti, qontur-, kāntū, kūntūz, ōntūr-, ōrpāntā, yantur-, yūkūntūr-, etc.

Before word-final č: bisīnč, bulyanč, ārinč, onunč, ōtūnč, sanč-, tarqīnč, toquzunč, tōrtūnč, unč, ūčūnč, yetīnč ~ yitīnč, etc.; before word-final t: yunt (MC), etc.

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

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

3°. Finally: alqīn-, altun, asan- (<*ašan-), basīn-, bān, bičīn, bin-, bodun, bōlūn (<Tib. blon 'high official'), bulun, bumīn, buzqun, čīqan, ārān, ekīn, ičyīn-, irkin, qačan, qayan, qalīn, qan 'khan', qan 'blood', qapyan, qazyan-, qīlīn-, qon-, qopīn, qoryan, kāčgīn-, kāčīn geog. n., kōgmān, kūn, layzīn, lisūn (<Chin.), oylan, on, ōkūn-, ōn- in ōntūr-, ōtūn-, saqīn-, sābin-, sān, sōn, tamyan, tarqan, teyīn ~ tiyīn, tīgīn, ton, tōgūltūn geog. n., tōgūn, tutun-, tūmān, tūn, ūčūn, ūlgān, yan, yan-, yāgrān, yāgūn, yoyun, yūkūn-, 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: layzīn '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, žuluγan 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-, sälängä 'Selenga', sülä-, taluy, tälin-, tilä-, ulayu, uluγ, ülüg, yalabač, yolī 'time', yulī-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: balbal, ilbilgä (compound); bolču geog. n., bolča 'when (he) became', bolčun 'let it be'; bilgä, bulγa-, bulγaq, bulγanč, čölgi, ilgärü, tolγat-, ulyart-, ülgän 'big, great' (O R 3); alqin-, qulqaq, yilqī; ellig ~ illig, illä-, qulluγ, yolluγ; bolma-, yalma, yälmä; bu(l)na-; alpaγu ~ yilpāγut; elsirät-, ölsik, yälsiy, yol-sizin; altī, altun, altuz-, etc.

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

Before a syllable-final stop: alqd'imī]z, eltdi ~ iltdi.

C. After a consonant: abla-, täblig, yablaq; qilīčla-, küčlüg; udliq; aziγliγ, aymaγliγ, bäglär, bäglük, oγlan, oγlit, ögläs-, sünüglüg, yoγlä-; bükli geog. n., yaraqliγ; čöl(l)üg; kädimlig; qaγanla-, qanlan-, qunla-; opla-, taplä-, topla-; birlä, yarliq(q)a-; bašla-; basliγ (< bašliγ); atliγ, 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, köñül, kül (~ küli), oγil, ol, opul-, ökül-, öl-, siñil, 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), yañil-, yašil, 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, ariyu, 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, käñiris geog. n., käräkü, körüg, kürägü, maqarač (< Ind.), sariy, *tarīq- in tarqinč, teril-, tiril-, tirig, toruy, toruq, törü, törü-, türük (~ türk), urī, yara-, yaraq, yarat-, yariq, 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; qarγan geog. n., qarγu, qirγayliγ, qorγan, kärgäk, köbürgä; arqā, arqiš, arquy, bayirqu, irkin, qadirqan, qirqiz, toqurqaq; birlä, kürlüg; armaqči, ärmäk 'mare' (KC E 9), yegirmi; bersäg, ärsin geog. n.; artat-, artuq, artur-, ärtis 'Irtish', ärtür-, ortu, urtur-; barzun 'let him go', etc.

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

Before a syllable-final consonant: ärkli 'being; while', ärklik '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; öñrä, täñri; asra, kisrä; ašru (< *ašuru), tašra; ötrü; buyruq, etc.

2°. Finally: adyir, adīr- in adril-, ayar ~ iyar, aytur-, aγar dat. of ol, apar, ar-, ašur- in ašru, bar, bar-, ber- ~ bir-, bir, bor, bošγur-, 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-, qar, qontur-, qu[ra]- (O R 4), kälür-, kigür-, kişür-, kir-, kör-, kötür-, kür in kürlüg, olur-, ölür-, ötür- in ötrü, siñar, 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-, uygur, yağur-, 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, yaquq, yağur-, yağut-, 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. Čariš), yarlıq(q)a-, yasa-, yaş, yaşa-, yaşıl, yaşık (< *yaşiq) 'sun', yat-, yañ- ~ yay-, yay 'summer', yaz, yazī, 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), yil, yilqī, yilpayut, yilsiy, yiri, yipar, yimşaq, yinčgä, yinčü, yiş, yit-, yitür-, yoy, yoylā-, yoyur-, yōq, 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, qiyin 'punishment, sentence' (TI N 8), keyik, sayu, täyän 'squirrel' (= Khak. tiyin id.), yayin 'in summer'; words having the consonant y as a hiatus-filling sound: başlayu, bayur, biriya, etc.; words having the suffix -ayin/-äyın: ayayın, igidäyın, etc.

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

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 tayun, tuy-, yay, yay- (~ yañ-).

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: qoñči '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, qoñ, *köñ- 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 ɣ are allophones of the phoneme /g/; g occurs in words with front vowels, and ɣ occurs in words with back vowels.

2.241. The Consonant q

The voiceless postvelar consonant q occurs in all positions.

1°. Initially; qabīs-, qač-, qačan, qadīrqaŋ, qadiz, qayan, qal-, qalīsiz, qalīn, qalīr (BK E 25), qamay, qam[il], qamšay, qamšat-, qaŋ 'khan', qaŋ 'blood', qanī, qantīn, qaŋ, qapʻyan, qapīʻy, qar, qara, qarʻyan geog. n., qarʻy, qarī, qarī-, qarluq, qaš, qatiʻydi, qatun, qazʻyan-, qil-, qiličla-, qirʻyalyiʻy, 'hemmed' (BK N 11), qirq, qirqiz, qīs-, 'to suppress', qīsʻya, qīsīl, qīs- ~ qīs- (< qil-), qīšin, qīšla-, qītan, qīyin, qiz, qiz-, qizīl, qobsar-, qod-, qodī, qoduz, qoqlīq, qon-, qontur-, qop, qoraʻy, qoriʻy 'protector, guardian, lord' (BK E 41), qorʻyan 'fort, fortress, shelter', qorq-, qošu, qoŋ, qu pers. n., qubran-, qubrat-, qul, qulqaq, qum, qunčuy, qunla- 'to revenge for' (O R 1), qu[ra]- (O R 4), qurī, qurīqaŋ, qušalyaq geog. n., qut, qutay, quz, etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: aqīt-, būqa, buqaraq, qurīqaŋ, saqīn-, taqī, toqar 'Tokharian', toqī-, toqīt-, toquz, toquzunč, toŋuquq, yoqad-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: armaqči; yarlıq(q)a-; yaraq-līy; tayīqmis; oqsiz, etc.

C. After a consonant: alqīn-, qulqaq, yīlqī; arqā, arqīš, arquy, qadīrqaŋ, qīrqiz, tarqaŋ, tarqīnč, toqurqaq; tutqu (BK S 10); yuyqa; azqīna, buzqun.

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: adaq, aq, aq- in aqīt-, armaq, asuq (< Sogd. ?) pers. n., azuq, artuq, ayuy, balīq, buq 'evil spirits, demons' (BK S 10) (cf. Tuv. buq id.), buyruq, čoraq, īduq, īraq, qarluq, qoq 'scent' in qoqlīq (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 taqī, tarīq- in tarqīnč, tašiq-, toq, toŋuquq, tutuq (< Chin.), yablaq, yayuy, yaraq, yariq, 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, qīrq, qorq-.

2.242. The consonant k

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

1°. Initially: kāč-, kāčīn geog. n., kāčgin-, kāčig, kādim, kāl-, kālūr-, kām 'who?', kām 'Yenisei', kāntū, kāŋiris, kāŋū geog. n., kārākū 'tent', kārgāk, kārū ~ kirū, keyik, kičā, kičig, kigūr-, kiŋsūr-, kir-, kis 'sable', kisī ~ kišī, kisrā, kōbürgā, kōgmān, kōk particle of definiteness, kōk 'blue', kōl, kōlik 'cart, vehicle' (T I S 8), kōŋül, kōr-, kōrüg, kōtūr-, kōz, kū, kükā-, küč, kül - küli pers. n., kümüş ~ kümüs, kün, kūni, küntüz, kūŋ, kūŋād-, kūrāgū 'unruliness', kūrüg, küzād-, küz, etc.

2°. Medially:

A. Between vowels: biriyāki, bārūki, bökā, ākā, ākinlig 'hemmed?', ekī, ekīnti, ičrāki, kārākū, kükā-, likāŋ (< Chin.) pers. n., ökül-, ökün-, öŋrāki, ötükān, sākiz, sökür-, tāŋrikān, töküt-, tükāti, üküş ~ üküs, yükün-, etc.

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

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

3°. Finally:

A. After vowels: bādük, bāglik, bārčik, birik-, bisük 'kin, relative', āk geog. n. (T II W 9), ānik pers. n., esīlik (< *ešīlik) 'worthy of becoming a lady' (KT E 7, etc.), ičik-, inīgāk, kārgāk, kōk 'blue', kōk particle, kōlik, ök particle, özlik ~ özlük, sōk-, sūŋük, tāzīk, tik-, tök-, türük (~ türk), yašīk 'sun' (< *yašīq), yāk pers. n., etc.

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

2.243. The Consonant ɣ

The voiced postvelar ɣ 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).

1°. Medially, ɣ occurs in all positions.

A. Between vowels: ayar ~ iyar, ayī, ayīš, ayīt-, ayu geog. n., ariyu, čīyan, čoyay, čuluyan 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-, yayuq, 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., yoylä-; aytiyma; ayri-; toysiq; aytur-, siytä-; layzın, etc.

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

2°. Finally: adinc(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, uluq, 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), yılsiy, 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).

1°. Medially:

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

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

C. After a consonant: äbgärü; ičgär-, käčgin-; ädgü, äsidgil, yüg(g)ärü; birtükgärü; bilgä, čölgi, ilgärü, ülgän; ämgak, ämgat-; kärgäk, tirgür-, türgi geog. n., türgis, köbürgä, isgiti; išgärü 'forward' (BK N 11); itgüči; äzginti, izgil, üzgülük; bängü, etc.

2°. Finally: antäg, ašig (?), atig (?), bäg, bersäg in bersägim, bilig, bitig, büntäg, čärig, älig 'hand', älig 'fifty', ärig, ilig, käčig, kičig, körüg, ög 'mother', ög 'mind, reason' in ögläs- (<*ögläš-), ög-, ölüg, ötüg, ötülüg 'esteemed, respected' (BK E 34), säbig, 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.

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

A. Between vowels: añar dat. of ol, añaru direct. of ol, bana ~ maña dat. of bän ~ män, bañaru direct. of bän, bäñigü, bäñilik, buñad-, ärñiñü, käñü geog. n., käñiris geog. n., köñül, küñäd-, säñä dat. of sän, siñil, söñük, sünüg, sünüş, tañut, toña pers. n., yalıñus, yañil-, etc.

B. Before a consonant: buluñdaqı, öñdün; bängü; töñkär (?) geog. n.; küñlög, tiñla-; täñri, toñra, öñrä;

buqsiz, kiqsür-; yoqsür-; toqta-, etc.

2°. Finally: añ, biñ ~ biñ, buñ, buluñ, büñ- 'to kick' (TI W 6) (cf. Kas. müñ- id.), qaliñ, qañ, kiñ in kiqsür-, küñ, likañ (< Chin.) pers. n., nāñ, oñ (< Chin.) pers. n., oñ geog. n., oñ 'front' in öndün and önrä, örün, šantun (< Chin.), tañ, tāyāñ, yalñ, etc.

2. 25. Consonant Changes

2. 251. Nasalization

Under the influence of a following nasal consonant, b is sometimes nasalized. This phenomenon, however, does not seem to have been very common in Orkhon Turkic. It is attested only in the following words: män 'I' (KT, BK) ~ bän (T, KČ), -män (< bän): birür-män (KT E 9), qazyānur-män (KT E 9), saqinur-män (BK W 6), tāgmāci-män (O R 2), ter-män (TII W 2), maña 'to me' (generally) ~ baña (TI N 7), māniñ 'my' (KT S 11; BK E 29) ~ bāniñ (TI E 4).

2. 252. Denasalization

2. 2521. Denasalization of ŋ

The velar nasal ŋ alternates with ɣ/g in intervocalic and final positions in the following words: alqintiy 'you were ruined' (KT S 9; BK N 7) < *alqintin, ariltiy 'you were destroyed' (KT S 9) < *ariltin, bardiy 'you went' (generally), bardiyiz 'you went' (KT SE) ~ bardiniz (O R 4), bāglārig(dā) 'from your lord' (BK N 13) < *bāglāriñdā, bilmādükügin (BK E 20) < *bilmādükünin, boduniy 'of the people' (KT E 25) < *bodunin, buquy 'your trouble' (KT S 8) < *buquñ, ädgüg 'your benefit' (KT E 24; BK E 20) < *ädgün, ärtig 'you were' (KT S 9; BK N 7) < *artin, ärtigiz 'you were' (KT SE; KT N 9, 10) < *artiniz, qiltiy 'you made' (BK E 20, 20) < *qiltin, kigürtüg 'you brought' (KT E 23; BK E 19) < *kigürtün, körtüg 'you saw' (O F 7)

< *körtün, oyurqa (in oyurqalat-) 'backbone' (TI N 1) < *oñurqa (= Turkm. oñurqa, Turk. omurga < *oñurqa, Tuv. orqa < *oñurqa id.), öltüg 'you died' (KT S 6, 7; BK N 5, 6) < *öltün, ölsikig 'you will die' (KT S 7; BK N 5) ~ ölsikin (KT S 6; BK N 5), süñüküg 'your bones' (BK E 20) ~ süñükün (KT E 24), törügün 'your institutions' (BK E 19) ~ törünin (KT E 22).

2. 25322. Denasalization of ñ

The palatal nasal ñ alternates with y in the following words: tay 'colt' in tayyunuñizda (KT SE) < *tañ (cf. Kemčik-Girgāk, front 2: tañlarim '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 (Ongin), and Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khushotu). In these inscriptions the use of the sign for š is extremely rare; the front- and back-vocalic consonantal signs for s have been used instead.

Judging from this use, Thomsen came to the conclusion that the signs 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. 2^oB), 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 $\bar{}$ 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 $\bar{}$ ($= s^2$) 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.

1^o. 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*.

2^o. 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)

<* ašim (cf. Kkpk. Ešim male name), esi 'lady' in esilik (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), istāmi (KT E 1; BK E 3) <* ištāmi (= Chin. Shi-tien-mi), kiṅšūr- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) <* kinšūr- <* kiṅšūr- (cf. Kāš. kiṅū- 'to become wide'), kisī (in general) ~ kišī (KT S 7; BK E 28, N 6) (= Khak. kizi <* kisi, Yak. kihi <* kisi), tabišyan 'hare' (TI S 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) <* tūšūr- (= 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), čabiš '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), qabis- '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), kümüs (BK S 11, N 3; KT SW; TII S 4) ~ kümüš (KT S 5, N 12; BK N 11) (= Khak. kümüs, Yak. kömüs), ögläs- 'to decide together' (TI E 3, 3) <* ögläš-, sūṅūs 'battle, fight' (KT E 15; KČ E 4, 5, 8, W 9, W 11) ~ sūṅüš (BK E 13, 34; KT E 40, N 2), sūṅüš- 'to fight, battle' (generally) ~ sūṅüš- (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) <* tūš- (= Khak. tūs-, Sar. uig. tūs-, Yak. tūs- id.), ulus 'city, land' (KT N 12) <* uluš (cf. Uig. uluš ~ ulus, Kāš. uluš), üküs 'many' (KT S 6; TI W 7, TII W 4, W 5; O F 7) ~ üküš (generally) (= Yak. ügüs id.), yaris '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 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; barmis), basmis (O F 1) <* basmiš (cf. MČ E 12: basmis), 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), ärmis (KT, T, O and KČ: in general; BK E 3, 4, 4, 4, 4, 6) ~ ärmiš (KT S 4, 6; BK: in general), etmis (KT E 11) and in eletmis (O F 4, 4) ~ itmis (KT E 3, 22) ~ etmiš (BK E 10) ~ itmiš (BK E 12, 18), elsirāmis (KT E 13) <* ēlsirāmiš, elsirātmis (KT E 15) ~ ilsirātmiš (BK E 13), 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) ~ qayansīratmiš (BK E 13), qalmis (TI W 4) ~ qalmiš (KT S 9), qazyanmis (KT E 22) ~ qazyanmiš (BK E 18, 22), qilmis (KT E 2, 15) ~ qilmiš (BK E 13), qilinmis (KT E 1) <* qilinmiš, qismis (O F 1) <* qismiš, 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), küñädmiş (KT E 13) < *küñädmiş, 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, siytâmiş (KT E 4) ~ siytâmiş (BK E 5), sökürmiş (KT E 2, 15) ~ sökürmiş (BK E 13), sülâmiş (KT E 15) ~ sülâmiş (BK E 13), süñüşmiş (KT E 15) ~ süñüşmiş (KT E 40, N 1), sü[ñüş]miş (BK E 13), tañiqmiş (KT E 12) < *tañiqmiş, tañiqmiş (TI N 6, 6) ~ tañiqmiş (KT E 11) ~ tañiqmiş (BK E 32), tâgmis (TI E 1, TII S 3) ~ tâgmis (KT E 40, 40), tâzmis (TII W 8) < *tâzmis, temis (generally) ~ temis (KT E 9) ~ temis (BK E 8), terilmis (TI N 4) < *terilmis, törümis (KT N 10) < *törümis, tumis (TI E 6) < *tumis, tutmis (KT E 3, 19; TIS 6) ~ tutmis (BK E 4), yidmis (TI N 10) (see idmis ~ idmis), yiymiş 'he frightened' (O F 1) < *yiymiş, yitmiş (O F 1) < *yitmiş, yoğlâmiş (KT E 4) ~ yoğlâmiş (BK E 5), yüğürtmiş (KC W 2) < *yüğürtmiş, yüküntürmiş (KT E 2) and [yü]küntürmiş (BK E 3) ~ yüküntürmiş (BK E 13), yaymiş (O F 1) < *yaymiş, yorümis (O F 5) < *yorümis, yaratmiş (KT E 13) ~ yaratmiş (BK E 1, 12, S 13), yarlıq(q)amış (O F 6) < *yarlıqamış.

2.254. Alternation l ~ ş (~ s)

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

2.255. Assimilation of Consonants

2.2551. Progressive Assimilation

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

(cf. Uig. qorqinčiy 'fearful' < *qorqinčsiy); gd < *gt: yegdi 'better' (KT SE; BK E 36) < *yēgti (cf. Mong. adverbial suffix -ta/-te); yd < *yt: qatıydi (KT S 2) ~ qatıydi (KT N 11) 'firmly, hard' < *qatıyti (see above; cf. also IB 19: qatıyti id.); kk < kg: birtük(k)ärü 'about (their) having given (service)' (BK E 9) ~ birtükgärü (KT E 10); qq < *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), bädizät(t)i (KC E 12) < *bädizätidi, bädizät(t)im (KT S 11) < *bädizätidim, qubrat(t)im (BK N 7) < *qubratdim, olurt(t)i (KC E 12) < *olurtdi, yoğlat(t)i (KC E 12) < *yoğlatdi; zt < zd: bädiztim (BK SW) < *bädizdim, tutuzt[i] (KT E 38) < *tutuzdī, uduztum (TI S 8) < *uduzdum, uduzt[uqı] (KC E 1) < *uduzduqı (cf. IB 20: äztı (twice); Khoitu Tamyx X 3: küztä).

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

2.2552. Regressive Assimilation

1°. Contact assimilation: tt < dt: äsit(t)im (TI E 7) < *äsitdim (cf. IB 83: äsidti), it(t)i (KT E 7, S 12; BK E 7, N 14) < *ıdtı (cf. Toyok, front, 7: ıdtı), it(t)im (BK E 40; TI N 9, TII E 2) it(t)imiz (KT E 40; TII W 7) < *ıdtimiz, igit(t)i (KT E 16; BK E 14; KC E 13) < *igidti, igit(t)im (KT E 29; BK E 23, 38) < *igidtim, got(t)i (BK S 12) < *qodti, yağit(t)uqda (KC W 5, E 6) < *yağıyduqda; dd < td: bitid(d)im (KT S 13; BK N 15) ~ bitidim (TII E 8), yaratid(d)im (BK N 14) < *yaratitdim (cf. MC E 8, 9, 10: yaratitdim); dm < tm: iqidmaz '(the Chinese) do not give shelter to' (KT S 6) < *iqıtmaz (cf. Kirg. ıq- 'to shelter from wind, bad weather, etc. '); qq < yq: yarlıq(q)a- 'to command, order' (KT S 9, etc.) < *yarlıyqa- (cf. Uig. yarlıyqa- id.); ss < šs: qabis(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 < *äriqli; $\underline{lq} < \underline{ly}$: qulqag 'ear' (BK S 12, N 11) < *qulyaq; $\underline{lt} < \underline{ld}$: Regularly in the locative-ablative forms: iltä (KT S 3), volta (KT N 9, TI S 9); in the past tense in -di: altim (BK E 24, etc.), kälti (KT N 12, etc.) the past participle in -duq: biltükümün (KC S 3), boltuqda (O F 1, 6); the future participle in -dači: boltači (KT N 9, etc.), öltäči (KT E 29, etc.); $\underline{nt} < \underline{nd}$: 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 -di: alqinti (TI W 3), yükünti (TI N 4, etc.), etc.; the participle in -duq: qazyantuq (BK E 33, TII N 3), ötüntük (TI S 8), etc.; $\underline{rt} < \underline{rd}$: 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 -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 bardi (KT E 34, etc.), bardıy (KT E 24, etc.), bardıyız (KT SE), bardimiz (TI N 2, etc.), bardiniz (O R 4); the past participle in -duq: bertük (TI W 6) ~ birtük (KT E 10, etc.), olurtuqda (KT E 17), etc., but barduq (KT E 24; BK E 20); the future participle in -dači: ärtäči (TII E 5, 7, N 2), kirtäči (BK N 14), körtäči (BK N 14), olurtači (KT S 8), ölürtäči (TI S 3, etc.).

2°. Distance dissimilation: $\underline{b} - \underline{n} < \underline{m} - \underline{n}$: 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

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

maqa (KT S 2, etc.) < *bängä, sänä (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.), äbiñä (KC W 3), ilina (TII E 8), qutina (KT E 31), oyliña (BK N 15), ödiñä (BK E 29), sabiña (KT S 6; BK N 5), tatiña (BK N 15), toγsiqina (BK N 2), yašina (KT N 1, yaziña (KT N 8; BK E 31), yiriñä (KT S 4; BK E 15); aqar (KT S 11, etc.) < *anγar; aqaru (TI E 3) < *anγaru, baqaru (TI N 10) < *bänγaru, ortusiñaru (KT S 2, 2; BK N 2, 2), subiñaru (BK E 40), yeriñärü (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 < *si-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 ~ yilpaγút 'heroes, champion warriors', ärsár ~ irsár '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°): inigák 'cow' (TIS 7) (cf. Mong üniyen id.), yàlabáč 'envoy' (BK E 39) (cf. Kas. yalawač id.), yègirmí 'twenty' (KT E 15, etc.), etc.

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

Certain suffixes, however, did not take the stress: bírmädi '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', käl- 'to come'. The derivatives are obtained from the simple stems either by suffixation or by composition, e.g., abla- 'to hunt', kälür- 'to bring', yir-sub 'territory, land' (yir 'earth', sub 'water').

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

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

3.11. Suffixation

3.111. Denominal nouns

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

2°. -ač/-äč. Only in: īyač 'tree' (TI N 1; BK S 11) < *iy 'trees, forest' (cf. Uig. iy, ii id.).

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

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

5°. -č. Forms diminutives, hypocoristic names: atač 'beloved father' in 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', tamyäči 'seal-keeper' (KT N 13) < *tamyä 'seal', yaŷiči 'war-leader' (TII S 6) < yaŷi 'war; enemy' yoyči 'mourner' (BK E 5, etc.) < yoy 'funeral', yuluŷči 'plunderer' (BK SE) < *yuluŷ '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. adin- '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°. -ŷi/-gi. Function: to form nouns meaning 'belonging to, being in': tabyačŷi 'being or living in China' (KT E 7), čölgi 'being or living on the plains' (TI E 6); see -qi/-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. äđlig 'useful', äđgär- '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°. -qi/-ki. Forms nouns meaning 'belonging to, being in' (see -ŷi/-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', bärüki 'that which is on this side' (TII S 2) < *bärü 'the near side, this side, hither'; after the locative suffixes -a/-ä and -da/-dä: biriyäki 'being in the south' (TI S 10) < biriyä 'in the south', yiriyäqi 'being in the north' (TI S 10) < yiriyä 'in the north', quriyaqi 'being in the west' (TI S 10) < quriya 'in the west'; balıqdaqı, buluŷdaqı, könültäki, taydaqı, yantaqi.

16°. -qına/-kinä. Diminutives, hypocoristic words: azqına '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°. -liŷ/-lig/-luŷ/-lug. Function: to form nouns meaning 'possessing or having something': atliŷ 'having a horse, horseman' (TI E 7, etc.) < at 'horse', ätliŷ 'having a title' (BK E 41) < at 'name, title', aymayliŷ 'of noble birth, of high lineage' (O F 4) < aymay 'clan, family' (cf. Turk. soylu 'of good family' < soy 'family, lineage'), aziŷliŷ 'ferocious, unbridled' (KČ E 6) < aziŷ 'furor', bašliŷ '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), qaγanliγ 'owning a kagan' (TII E 6, etc.), qirγayliγ 'hemmed' (BK N 11) < *qirγay 'hem', gulluγ 'owning a slave' (KT E 21; BK E 18), kādīmlig 'dressed' (KT E 33), kārākülüg 'nomadic' (BK E 1) < *kārākü 'tent', kürlüg 'deceitful, tricky' (KT E 6; BK E 6) < kür 'fraud, deceit', künlüg 'owning a female slave' (BK E 18), ötülüg 'respected, esteemed' (BK E 34) < *ötü, süñüglüg '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), tögünlüg 'branded' (TII E 4), küčlüg 'powerful, mighty' (O R 4), yaraqliγ '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/-lük: 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.), qoqliq 'scenting material' (BK S 11) < *qoq 'smell, scent' (cf. Turkm. qoq id.), özlik (BK N 11, S 12) ~ özlük (KC E 3, 3, W 4) 'personal; mount, riding horse' < öz 'self, own', udliq 'haunch, thigh' (KT E 36) < ud 'thigh' (KT N 2, E 36); see -yuluq/-gülük.

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'), kögmān geog. n. ('bluish')? < *kökmān.

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'): ödsig 'dear, beloved' (BK E 34) < *öd (cf. Kāš. ödik 'love', ödür 'to select, prefer'), yilsiy 'wealthy, prosperous, significant' (KT E 26) < *yil (cf. Mong. yali 'significant, important', yali 'to be of good quality'); see -čiy.

25°. -siz/-siz. Privative: ašsiz 'foodless, hungry' (KT E 26; BK E 21) < aš 'food', biligsiz 'unwise, unintelligent' (KT E 5, etc.) < bilig 'wisdom, intellect, power of knowing', bušsiz (BK N 14, etc.) ~ bušsiz (TII S 4) 'having no trouble; abundantly' < buš 'trouble, distress, need', idisiz 'having no owner or possessor' (KT E 20, etc.) < idi 'owner', qalīsiz 'completely, wholly' (KT N 1; TI N 6, 9) < *qalī 'rest, remainder', kārgāksiz 'innumerably, exceedingly' (BK S 11; KT N 12) < kārgāk 'absent, nonexistent, lacking', ögsiz 'motherless' (KT N 9) < ög 'mother', sansiz 'innumerably' (BK S 12) < san 'number', tonsiz 'having no clothes, destitute' (KT E 26; BK E 21) < ton 'clothes', tüzsiz 'discordant, disagreeing' (KT E 6; BK E 6) < tüz 'accord, harmony, agreement', oqsiz 'having no tribal organization' (KT E 3; BK E 4) < oq 'a unit in the tribal organization', yolsiz in yolsizin 'without any roads' (TI N 11) < yol 'road, way'.

26°. -š: ayiš 'wealth, riches, property' (KT SW) < ayī id., ödüş 'time, unit of time' (BK SE) < öd 'time' (cf. Kāš. qari, qariš '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', kunäd- 'to become a slave' (KT E 13) < kun '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', tasyar- 'to remove, lead out' (MČ E 10) < *tašyar- < taš 'outside, exterior'; see -ar-/-är- and -q-/-k-.

4°. -ī-/-ī-: bitī- 'to write, inscribe' (KT SE, etc.) < *bit (cf. Chin. pi < *piet 'pencil, brush': see Alttürk., p. 303), toqī- 'to beat, strike, defeat' (BK S 8, etc.) < *toq onomatopoeic 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-/-kä-, -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.) < *yarliγqa- < *yarliγ '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', anğula- '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. örγa id., örγala- 'to warm one's back' < oγurqala-), opla- 'to rush, attack with much speed' (KT N 5, etc.) < *op onomatopoeic 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', taplä- 'to like, agree' (BK E 35) < *tapila- < *tapi 'agreement' (cf. Kāš. tapi 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-/-rä-: qubra- 'to gather' in qubrat- (BK E 11, etc.) and qubran- (TI W 4) < *qub (cf. Mong. qubi 'part, share, portion').

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

11°. -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-: toṅta- 'to turn down' (Bk E 2) < * toṅ (cf. Khak. toṅxar- 'to turn, turn upside-down'), bunta- 'not to suffice, be inadequate' in buntat- 'to make less, lessen' (TI E 2) < * bunṭa- < buṅ 'need, lack' (cf. Mong. muṅda- 'to become insufficient').

13°. -u/-ü-: kiṅü- 'to become wide' in kiṅsür- (< * kiṅüšür-) 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) < * kiṅ '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' (TII N 2, etc.) < * yäm- 'to add, attach' (cf. Mong. neme- id.; see Poppe, Verg., p. 38); see Gerunds.

2°. -bač: yalabač 'messenger, envoy' (BK E 39) < * yala- 'to invite, send for' (cf. Mong. 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', bitiγ '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'), tiriγ '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°. -γaq/-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 Körös Dicata, Vol. 1, Budapest 1942, 57-102).

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

10°. -γma/-gmä. Forms agent nouns: bitigmä '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) <*āri- 'to be tired, exhausted' (cf. Uig. ari- id., Kāš. ār- id., Kirg. ari- id.), kürägü '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 -γuči/-güči and -γuluq/-gülük.

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

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

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

15°. -q/-k; after consonantal stems -uq/-ük. Nouns designating results of actions, qualities resulting from the action: ayuq 'dominion' (KT W 1) <ay- 'to rule, command', barq 'building, mausoleum' (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', āmgāk 'trouble, harm' (BK E 16) <*āmgä- 'to suffer trouble, suffer pain', īduq 'sacred, holy' (TII W 3) <īd- 'to send', īraq 'far, distant, remote' (KT S 7, etc.) <*īra- 'to go to a distance' (cf. Kāš. yīra- id.), kārgāk 'lacking, absent, needed' (KT E 4, etc.) <*kārgä- 'to lack, be without' (Uig. kārgä- id., kārgät- 'to cause to lack'), kōlik 'cart, vehicle' (TIS 8) <*kōli- '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', yašīk (?) 'sun' (KT NE) <*yašīq <*yašī- 'to shine', yazuq 'mischief, wrong, fault' in yazuqla- (BK E 36) <*yāz- 'to go astray', yimšaq 'soft' (KT S 5, etc.) <*yimša- 'to become softer', yōq 'non-existent' (KT E 11, etc.) <*yō- 'not to exist, cease to exist', yuluq 'plundered' (O F 3) <yul- (~ yulī-) '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°. -l: ināl 'trustworthy, reliable' (personal name or title) <*inal <*ina- 'to trust, rely on, believe' (cf. Uig. inan- id.), qīsīl 'glen, mountain-cleft, canyon' (BK E 37) <*qīs- '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) <*tariq- 'to get angry, become offended' (cf. Khak. tariḡ- 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: bilr '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', sūpūš 'battle' (BK E 34, etc.) <*sūpū- 'to pierce, stab' (cf. sūpūg 'lance', sūpūš- 'to fight, battle'), teris (<*teriš) 'one who gathers

in il-teris 'one who gathers the tribes' (regal name of Qutluḡ) (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', boḡuz 'throat' (TI S 1) <*boḡ- '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), qod- 'to leave, abandon' (TI W 2, etc.) <*qo- id. (cf. Turk. ko-, koy- id.), tod- 'to become full, be satiated' (KT S 8) <to- id. (BK N 6).

2°. -ḡur/-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[sı]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', āmgätmä-, ärmä-, äsüdmä-, idma-, qalma-, qazyanma-, qılma-, qılınma-, qorqma-, kälmä-, körmä-, olurma-, sıma-, sülämä-, tälinmä-, tolyatma-, tuyma-, uma-, udıma-, yälmä-, yitmä-, yorıma-, yältürmä-, 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', boγuzlan- 'to be slaughtered' (TI N 2) < *boγuzla-, 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'), káčgin- 'to pardon, forgive' (KČ E 8) < *káčgi-, ötün- 'to make representations' (TI E 1) < *öt- 'to request' (cf. ötüg 'request'), saqin- 'to think' (BK E 2, etc.) < *saqi- (cf. Uig. saqi- 'to reflect', saq 'watchful, attentive'), säbin- 'to be pleased, be happy' (BK E 2) < *säb- 'to like', tälin- 'to collapse, give way' (KT E 22; BK E 18) < *täl- 'to hole, cause to cave in', yaratun- 'to organize oneself' (KT E 10) < yarat- 'to make, form, organize', yazin- 'to separate oneself, go astray' (BK E 16) < *yaz- 'to go astray', tutun- 'to take a hold' (TI N 1) < tut- 'to hold, hold on'.

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

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

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

10°. -t-. Forms causative stems: aγit- 'to put to flight' (BK E 31, etc.) < aγ- '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-/tā-), ämgät-, elsirät-, iqid- (< *i-qit-) 'to give shelter to' (KT S 6) < *iq- (cf. Kirg. iq- 'to take refuge or shelter'), qaγansirat-, qamšat- (BK E 30), qubrat-, oγurqalat- 'to let someone to warm his back' (TI N 1) (see -la-/lä-), olurt- (KT E 26, etc.), ökt- (TI W 3), sülät- (TII W 8), tolγat-, toqit-, töküt- (TII E 2), tükät- (KT S 1; BK N 1), ulγart- (TII E 3), uruysirat-, yabrüt-, yaγut-, yaratid- (< *yaratit- < yaratit-), yoγlat-, yorüt-, yügürt-, yüzüt- (BK E 30) 'to order to swim'.

10°. -tur-/-tür-. Forms causative stems: aγtur- 'to cause to ascend' (TI N 1) < aγ- 'to ascend', artur- 'to let deceive, to cause somebody else to deceive (the speaker), to be deceived' (BK N 5) < ar- 'to deceive', bintür-, ärtür- 'to cause to be' (KT NE) < är-, irtür- 'to cause to arrive, send' (KT E 40) < ir- 'to reach, arrive', qontur-, köttür- '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', kıñsür- 'to create a rift between' (KT E 6) < *kıñšür- < *kıñüş-, ölür-, ötür- in ötrü, sökür-, tägür-, tüsür- (< *tüsür-), yitür- 'to lose', yoñšur- 'to cause to slander' (BK E 7) < *yoñašur- < *yoñaš- (cf. Kaš. yoña- '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': qaγan bol- 'to become kagan' (KT E 5: qaγan 'kagan, emperor'; qul bol- 'to become slave' (BK E 36): qul 'slave'; qari bol- 'to grow old' (TII E 6): 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 qī[1]- 'to take prisoner' (KČ W 5): bulun 'captive, prisoner of war'; qul qil- 'to enslave' (BK E 20): qul 'slave'; qaγan 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), ābirü bar- 'to go around' (lit.: to advance going around') (TI N 2) yoqadu bar- 'to be annihilated, to cease to exist' (KT E 10), yälü bar- 'to ride fast, to ride at a gallop' (TI N 3), 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), qazγanu bir- 'to win, conquer' (BK S 10), süläyü bir- 'to go on campaigns' (KT E 8), tikä bir- 'to erect, set up' (BK S 9, 11), tuta bir- 'to organize, rule' (KT E 1; BK E 3).

3°. The verb id- 'to send, release' with the same gerund denotes intensive actions: ičγinu 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), önräki 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', qunčuyar-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:	-ī/ -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), qaŋ-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), qaŋ-imiz (KT E 26), kältäči-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-iγiz '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. -ī/ -sī: aγi-sī (KT S 5; BK N 4), alp-ī 'his hero'

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

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

3.213. Coordination

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

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

3.214. Case

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

3.2141. Nominative

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

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

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

3°. As an indefinite direct object of a clause: üč otuz b a l 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 su b qodī bardimiz '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 sülädim 'I started a campaign toward the Oguz in the summer (of that year)' (BK E 31-32).

5°. As an adverbial complement indicating the place or the time of an action (if the noun already has a local or temporal meaning): ötükän y i š olursar 'if you stay in the Ötükän forests' (KT S 8), türük bodun üçün t ü n udımadım 'I have not slept by night for the sake of the Turkish people' (BK E 22), t ü n udımatı k ü n t ü z olurmatı '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-ı 'horses of the army, army horses' (KT E 39), t ü r ü k āt-ı-n 'the Turkish titles' (acc.) (KT E 7), b ā g l ā r i m b o d u n u m k ö z -ı q a ş -ı 'the eyes and brows of my lords and people' (KT N 11).

3.2142. Genitive

The genitive suffix is -iñ/-iñ on the consonantal stems, and -niñ/-niñ on the vocalic stems. This suffix generally observes the vowel harmony (the palatal harmony); but it does not seem to have been subject to the rules of labial harmony, since in KT E 36 the initial n of the suffix on a back-vocalic word has been written with n²: b¹y¹r¹ qun²ñ = bayırqu-niñ '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°. -iñ/-iñ: bayırqu-n[in aq adγi]r 'Bayırqu's white stallion' (KT E 35), bayırqu-niñ aq adγi r id. (KT E 36), yigän silig bāg-iñ kädimlig toruγ at 'Yigän Silig Bey's dressed bay horse' (KT E 33), türük bodun-iñ ilin törüsün 'the state and the institutions of the Turkish people' (acc.) (KT E 1; BK E 3), bilgä qaγan-iñ bodunı 'Bilgä Kagan's people' (O R 3), tabγač, qaγan-iñ ičräki bädizčig 'the private painters of the Chinese emperor' (acc.) (KT S 12), kül tigin-iñ altunın kümüsün 'the gold and silver of Prince Kül' (acc.) (KT SW).

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

3°. -in (< -iñ): qaγanır-in sabın almatın 'without taking the advice of your kagan' (KT S 9), qaγanıñ-in . . . ādgü elinā 'to the good realm of your kagan' (KT E 23).

In the following example, the genitive suffix -iñ is taken by both constituents of the phrase denoting the possessor: tadiq-iñ čor-iñ 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 -nı/-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), siñlim 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), [siñ]ar süsı āb-ig barq-iγ yulγalı bardı 'one half of their two armies went in order to plunder the tents and properties (of ours)' (BK E 32), az tutuq-uγ āligin tutdı '(Prince Kül) captured the military governor of the Az people by hand' (KT E 38), ol yilqı-γ alıp igit(im) 'I took the cattle and nourished (the Turkish people)' (BK E 38); adγi r -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) bašliγ-iγ (KT E 2, etc.), bädiz-ig (BK SW), bädizči-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), äb-ig (KT N 8), är-ig (KČ E 3, etc.), ärmäk-ig 'the mare' (KČ E 9) (cf. Mong. ermeg id.), toγra äsim-ig (TIS 2), el-ig (KČ W 6) ~ il-ig (KT E 3, etc.), el-täbär-ig (KT N 3), illig-ig (KT E 15, 18; BK E 13), is-ig küč-üg (KT W 1, etc.), qaγan-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.), sänün-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[ašī]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), yälmä-g (TII E 2), yer-ig (TIS 10), yılqı-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: $t^1 pl^1 ad^1 u-$ $uqmin^2 = tapläduqumin$ 'that I like (IB 4), $uγ^1 mn^2 = oγlumin$ '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), sabım-in tükäti äsidgil 'hear ye my words entirely!' (KT S 1), bu sabım-in ädgüti äsid 'hear these words of mine well!' (KT S 2), mäniñ sabım-in simadı '(the Chinese Emperor) did not reject my request' (KT S 11).

B. On the possessive stem of the second person: bilmädüküg-in üčün 'because of your unawareness' (BK E 20), antaγıñ-ıñ üčün 'because you were so' (KT S 8; BK N 6), eliñ-in (KT E 22) ~ iliñ-in (BK E 19), qanıñ-in qodup ičikdiñ 'you abandoned your khan and submitted (again)' (TI W 3), kdrägüñ-in üčün 'because of your unruliness' (KT E 23; BK E 19), bäglük urı oγluñ-in qul qiltıγ '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), tutsiqıñ-in (KT S 10; BK N 8), yablaqıñ-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), [aqi-n (KT N 2), alpī-n (TII S 5; KČ W 7, 12), altunī-n (KT SW) ~ [altunīn (BK N 11), arqāsī-n (KČ E 9), āti-n (KT E 7, 7; BK E 7) 'the titles of', barimī-n (KT N 1; BK E 24) ~ barimī-n (KT SW), barqi-n (KT NE, etc.) bädizi-n (KT NE; KČ E 12), bägläri-n (BK S 15; TII W 8), bilmädükī-n (BK E 16), bilgāsī-n (TII S 4), [bi]lgāsī-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), äbi-n (KT N 1; BK E 34, 37), äri-n (KT N 1; BK S 7; O F 3), ärdämī-n (KČ W 12), (ärdäm)ī-n (KČ S 2), äčisi-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.) ~ qaγanı-n (KT E 7), qanı-n (TI W 2, 2, N 4), qarasi-n (O R 1), qutayī-n (BK N 11), quzi-n (TI W 7), kiñsürtükī-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 (TIE 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), täbligī-n (KT E 6; BK E 6), tägdükī-n (KT E 34; O R 2), täyänī-n (BK S 12, N 12), kisi-n (BK S 12) 'their (black) sabres', törüsi-n (KT E 1, etc.), usi-n 'his sleep' (TIE 2), udliqi-n (KT E 36), yabγusi-n (TII W 6), yabγu-[si]n (BK E 28), yaγizi-n (KT N 5, 8), yañiltuqi-n (BK E 16), yañiluqi-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), yoñsurtuqi-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: qoraγiñ-nī 'your (lit.: 'thy') obsequies' (O R 4), qu-nī '(General) Qu' (T I S 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-dä 'both in the sky and on the earth': TT VI 02), arquy qarγū-y 'the fortifications and watchtowers' (T II E 3), yoγuñ qoraγiñ-nī 'your funeral and obsequies' (O R 4). This rule is observed in the following parallel clauses, too: inilī äčilī kiñsürtükīn 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 sāñün 'General Qu': qu-γ sāñün-üg balbal tikä birtim 'for (him) I erected (the statue of) General Qu as a balbal' (BK S 9) (cf. tadiq-iñ čor-iñ 'Prince Tadiq's' in KT E 32), tabγačγaru qu-nī sāñün-üg idmis 'he sent General Qu to the Chinese' (T I S 2).

3.2144. Dative-Locative

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

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

1°. -qa/-kä: at-qa 'to the name' (O R 3), balıq-(q) a 'to the city' (O R 1; T I E 1), balıq-(q) a 'into the mud' (KT N 8), bodun-qa (KT E 7, etc.), čoraq-qa (BK SE), äb-kä (O R 2), [qut] ärmäz-kä (O F 8), ärsin-kä (KT S 3; BK N 3), i-qa (T I N 3), qaγan-qa (KT E 8, etc.), qapıγ-qa (KT S 4, etc.), qarluq-qa (KČ E 7), qıtañ-qa (T II S 5), käčin-kä (BK SE), oγuz-qa (T II S 5; KČ E 4), olurtuq-(q) a (BK E 14), otuz-qa (KT NE, etc.), öd-kä (KT S 1, etc.), ödüş-kä (BK SE), ögüz-kä (T I S 9, etc.), sāñün-kä (KT E 32), sub-[qa] (T I N 3), tabγač-qa (BK E 38, etc.), taγ-qa (BK S 7; T II 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.), tānrıkān-kä (O F 6), tāzık-kä (KČ E 4), toγsiq-(q) a (BK E 8; KT S 2), toñuquq-(q) a (T I N 7), tün-kä (T I N 2), tüpüt-kä (KT S 3; BK N 3), u-qa (T I N 3), yaγī-qa (KČ E 11), yazī-qa (KT E 17, etc.), yer-kä (T I S 10, T II S 3) ~ yir-kä (KT S 4), yil-qa (KT NE, etc.), yegirmi-kä (KT NE), yiš-qa (KT E 1; BK E 37).

2°. -ña/-ñä (< *nγa/-ngä): aγīsī-ña (KT S 6; BK N 5), bašī-ña (KT E 33), batsiqī-ña (KT S 2), äbī-ñä (KČ E 8; KČ W 3), elī-ñä (KT E 23; O F 4) ~ ilī-ñä (T II E 8, T I W 1), qutī-ña (KT E 31), oγlī-ña (BK N 15), ödī-ñä (BK E 29), sabī-ña (KT S 6; BK N 5), tatī-ña (KT S 12; BK N 15), toγsiqī-ña (BK N 2; O F 2), yašī-ña (KT E 31, etc.), yazī-ña (KT N 8; BK E 31), yerī-ñä (KT S 4; BK E 15) ~ yirī-ñä (BK N 3), yüz[iñä] (KT E 33).

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

3°. -a/-ä: bodunum-a (BK S 10, N 12), qaγanım-a (T I S 5, E 1, E 7), oγlum-a (BK N 10; O R 3), olurtuqum-a (BK E 2, N 9), özüm-ä (BK S 15), türüküm-ä (BK S 10, N 12), yašım-a (BK E 24, etc.); but: [atačim]-qa (O Supp. 1), yašım-qa (BK E 15).

On the possessive stem of the second person singular: äbiñ-ä 'to your homeland' (BK N 14), eliñ-ä 'to your state' (BK E 19), qaγanıñ-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 bodunı 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 yašil ögüz šantuγ 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-ña qilintim '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 qoñ yıl-qa yiti yegirmi-kä uçdı 'Prince Kül died on the seventeenth day of the Sheep Year' (KT NE) yazı-ña 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 subsız káčdim '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), balıq-da (KT N 4; BK E 30; KČ W 11), balıq-da-qı (KT E 12), batsıq-da-qı (KT N 12), bägläriγ-[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), qadız-da (BK E 31) ~ qadız-dä (KT N 7), qaγanım-da (O R 4), qaγanıñ-da (BK E 13), qaγanlıγ-da (BK E 24), qılınuq-da (KT E 1), qıtañ-da (BK S 7; TI S 7), qontuq-da (KT S 5), quš-alγaq-da (KT N 5), käçin-dä (sic!) (KČ W 10), oγlanıñız-da (KT SE), oγuz-da (TI S 7), olurtuq-da (KT E 17), sabım-da (KT S 10; BK N 8), süñüş-dä (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), tayγunıñız-da (KT SE), tägdük-dä (KT E 36), tänri-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-tä (KT E 34, N 2), könül-tä (KT N 1), könül-tä-ki (KT S 12), yer-tä (KT S 13, 13; BK N 15; but generally yerdä: see above), volta (KT N 9; TI S 9); qurıdın-ta 'from the west' (TI S 7), yirıdın-ta 'from the north' (TI S 4); eñin-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' (TI S 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 tabγač-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 γu 'or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?' (KT S 10).

2°. As an adverbial complement indicating the state or condition of the object while the action takes place: qirqiz 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: [tabγač] qaγan-ta bādizči kālūrtūm 'I sent for painters from the Chinese emperor' (KT S 12), köz-dā yaš kālsār tida köpül-tā siγit kālsār yanturu saqintim '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')' (TI S 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 oγlanñiz-da tay-γunuñiz-da yegdi igidür 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 qišlap yazīja oγuz-γaru sū tašiqdīmiz 'after we spent the winter at Amga-Korgan, in spring we started a campaign against the Oguz' (KT N 8), tabγač-γaru qunī sāñünüg idmis qītañ-γaru toγra āsimig idmis 'he is said to have sent General Qu to the Chinese, and Toγra Āsim to the Qītañ' (TI S 2), öγrā 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' (TI S 8), apa tarqan-γaru içrā sab idmis 'he sent a secret message to Apa Tarkan' (TI N 10); bunča isig kücüg birtük-gärü saqīnmatī (the Chinese), without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese), . . .' (KT E 10); qaγan-γaru (TI N 5, 9), tabγač-γaru (BK E 35), yer-gärü (KT S 8), yer[gār]ü (BK N 6); see Adverbs of Place.

2°. -naru/-närü (< *nγaru/-ngärü): birigärü kün ortusī-naru 'southwards to the midday' (KT S 2; BK N 2), yiriγaru tün 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: basmil ya'yidip 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 qaγan 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), qanij sub-ča yügürti süñükün 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), qiyiniγ 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), süçig sab-in yimşaq 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 yisiγ

yolsiz-in asdimiz ärtis ögüzüg kaçıgsiz-in kaçdimiz '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: qaγanım-in sü elt-dimiz 'I, together with my kagan, went on campaigns' (TII E 3), qañim qaγan yiti yegirmi är-in taşıqmıs '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[täzip 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 yurčīn 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 sülädim 'in the winter, I went on a campaign against the Qıtañ' (BK S 2), yaz-in tatabı tapa sülädim 'in the spring, I went on a campaign against the Tatabı' (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 * -lıγu/-ligü. This is a rare case form.

The comitative answers the question 'together with whom?': män ini-ligü bunča başlayu qazğanm[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 ekī 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: bän (T, KČ, MČ) ~ män (KT, BK) 'I'; sän 'thou'; biz, in oblique cases bizin, 'we', siz 'you'. Pronouns of the third person do not exist. The demonstrative pronoun ol 'that, those' is used instead.

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

Nom.	<u>bän, män</u>	<u>sän</u>	<u>biz</u> <u>siz</u>
Gen.	<u>bäniñ, mäniñ</u>		<u>biziñ</u>
Acc.	<u>bini</u>	<u>sini</u>	<u>bizni</u>
Dat. -Loc.	<u>baña, maña</u>	<u>säñä</u>	<u>biziñä</u>
Loc. -Abl.			<u>bizintä</u>
Directive	<u>bañaru</u>		

1°. Nom.: bän äbgärü tūsäyīn 'I shall go down to the camp' (TI N 6), bän säñä nä ayayīn 'what shall I say to thee?' (TI N 8), bän yiridinta yan tägäyīn 'I shall attack (them) from the direction of north' (TI S 4), män 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 ekī biñ ärtimiz 'we were two thousand (men)' (TI S 9),

biz yämä sülädimiz 'we, too marched off' (TII W 9), qağan 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 bän ärtim 'it was I who followed him (lit.: 'his follower was I)'' (TI W 5), bilgäsī čabīsī bän ök ärtim 'it was I who was his counselor and his aide-de-camp' (TI W 7).

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

2°. Gen.: bäniñ bodunum anta ärür 'my people will be there' (TI E 4), mäniñ sabīmīn simadī 'he did not reject my request' (KT S 11), t[oquz oγu]z mäniñ bodunum ärti 'the Tokuz-Oguz were my (own) people' (BK E 29), biziñ sü 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)äñ ärsär ol bizni . . . ölürtäči kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 3), bizni ölürtäči kök 'he will definitely kill us' (TI N 6).

4°. Dat.: bilgä tonuquq(q) a baña aydı 'he commanded me, Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TI N 7), qop maña körti 'they have all submitted to me' (KT E 30), bu yerdä maña 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), bän säñä nä ayayīn 'what shall I say to thee?' (TI N 8), biziñä yañiltuqın yazıntuqın üçün qağanı ölti 'because they were unfaithful to us their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), alp är biziñä tägmış ärti '(furthermore) those who had attacked us were brave men' (KT E 40).

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

6°. Directive: bög[ü] qaγan baγaru anča yīdmis '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>anīn</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)āγ ārsär ol bizni . . . ölürtäči 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 ārinč '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 [o]l [tem]is oγuzi yämä tarqīnč ol temis '(the Turkish people) is in disorder; the Oguz, their subjects, are also displeased (with them) he said' (TI E 5).

2°. Acc.: türük bäglär bodun 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 yoγlatayīn 'I shall hold her funeral' (TI N 7), anī anītayin tip sülādim '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 adīnč(č) iγ barq yaraturtum 'I got them to build an extraordinary mausoleum' (KT S 12), aγar adīnč(č) iγ barq yaratid(d) im id. (BK N 14).

4°. Loc. -Abl.: See Adverbs of Place.

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

6°. Equative: See Adverbs.

7°. Instrumental: anīn 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 sabīmin ädgüti äsid 'hear these words of mine well!' (KT S 2), ol sub qodī bardīmiz '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 elinjä kántü yañiltiγ '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 tabγač ilinjä qilintim 'I myself was born in China' (TI W 1), män özüm qaγan olurtuqum üçün '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 Ilteriš 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 bolti '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 tarduš 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 bolti özüm saqintim 'my brother, Prince Kül, died; I mourned' (KT N 10), [qaγim] qaγan učduqda özüm säkiz yašda qaltim 'when my father, the kagan, died I was eight years old' (BK E 14), qazγantuqin üçün udu özüm qazγantuqum üçün 'since he won, and since I won, . . .' (TII E 5), täγri bilig bertük üçün özüm ök qaγan qisdim 'since Heaven granted me insight, I myself made him kagan' (TI W 6), etc.; özi 'he': ekisün özi altuzdi 'he captured two of them' (KT E 38), özi qisγa kargäk bolti 'he was killed while still young' (KČ E 11), özi yañilti '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 täγri qaγan olurt[di ärinč] 'that Heaven enthroned me' (BK E 21).

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

3.224. Interrogative Pronouns

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

1°. käm 'who?' (cf. Mong. kem id.): üzä täγri basm[asar asra] yer tälınmäsär türük bodun ilinjin törügin käm artati 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), kämkä ilig qazγanur män 'for whose benefit are we conquering these countries?' (KT E 9).

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

The pronoun nä is also used attributively and adverbially:

A. Attributively: nä qaγanqa isig küčüg birür män 'to which kagan are we giving our services?' (KT E 9), näñ yerdäki qaγanlıγ bodunqa büntägi bar ärsär nä buñi 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 basinalim '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 qitañda biriyä tabγačda qurīya quridinta yirīya oγuzda ekī

üç biñ sümiz kältäçimiz bar mu nä '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 (T I S 7).

3°. qanı 'where? where is it?' and qantın '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 amtı qanı 'where is our (lit.: 'my') own state now?' (KT E 9), yaraqlıy qantın kälip yaña eltdi süñüglüg qantın kälipän sürä eltdi 'from where did the armed come and put you to flight? From where did the lancer come and drive you away?' (KT E 23).

3.225. Indefinite Pronouns

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

1°. büntägi (<*buntäg-i): näñ yerdäki qaıanlıy bodunqa büntägi bar ärsär nä buñı bar ärtäçi ärmis 'if a people living anywhere and having a kagan had such a one (i. e., such a man like me), what kind of trouble would it have?' (TII E 6-7).

2°. qamaı (<qamaı-i): qamaı yeti yüz är bolmiş 'they all numbered seven hundred men' (lit.: 'all of them became seven hundred men') (BK E 11); adverbially: qamaı biş otuz sülädimiz 'we went on campaigns twenty-five times in all' (KT E 18).

3.23. Numerals

3.231. Cardinal Numerals

The cardinal numerals are: 1 bir, 2 ekı, 3 üç, 4 tört, 5 biş ~ bis ~ bes, 6 altı, 7 yeti ~ yiti, 8 säkiz, 9 toquz, 10 on, 20 yegirmi ~ yigirmi, 30 otuz, 40 qırq, 50 alıg, 60 altmış (Yenisei), 70 yetmiş ~ yetmis, 80 säkiz on, 90 toquz on, 100 yüz, 1000 biñ ~ biñ, 10,000 bir tımän (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 ekı yegir[mi] (KT E 28), 13 üç yegirmi (KT E 18), 14 tört yegirmi (BK E 15), 15 biş yegirmi (MČ E 6), 16 altı 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 ekı otuz (BK E 25), 23 üç otuz (TI E 2), 25 biş otuz (KT E 18), 26 altı 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 artuqi 'plus' (lit.: 'its remainder') serves as the coordinator: 31 otuz artuqi bir (BK S 9), also bir qırq (KT N 2), 33 otuz artuqi üç (BK E 34), 34 otuz artuqi dört (BK E 38), 38 otuz artuqi säkiz (BK S 2), 47 qırq artuqi yeti (KT NE).

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

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

The cardinal numerals function as follows:

1°. As an attribute of a noun or another numeral: bir ärig sançdı '(Prince Kül) stabbed one man' (KT N 5), bir atlıy barmis 'a horseman is said to have gone' (TI E 7), ekı ülügı atlıy ärti bir ülügı yadaıy ärti 'two-thirds (lit.: 'two parts') of them were mounted, a (third) part was on foot' (TI W 4), ekı uluıy süñüş 'two great battles' (BK E 34), bes balıq 'Bishbalik' ('The Five Cities') (BK E 28), üç otuz balıq 'twenty-three cities' (TI E 2), yeti yüz '700' (TI W 4), ekı biñ '2000' (TI E 1), üç tımän sü 'thirty thousand soldiers' (BK S 8), etc.

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

2°. As a substantive with the third person possessive suffix: ekīsīn özī 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 üçün alpīn üçün tabyačqa yeti yegirmi süñüsdī qıtañqa yeti süñüsdī oγuzqa bes süñüsdī 'by virtue of his being wise and brave, İlteriš Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese, seven times against the Qıtañ 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 säkiz on yasap yoq bol[tī] 'Küli Čor the Elder, having lived eighty years, deceased' (KČ W 3), bir todsar āčsiq ömāz sän 'if you once become satiated, you do not think of being hungry (again)' (KT S 8), yüz[inä] bašıña bir t[ägürmädi] '(Prince Kül) did not let (the enemy) hit him even once on the face and head' (KT E 33), qamaγı biš otuz sülädimiz üç 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), kögmän yolı bir ārmis 'there is (only) one road over Kögmän' (TI E 6), etc.

3.2311. Fractions

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

In the Moyun Čor inscription this word occurs with the third person possessive suffix: 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): āligčä ār tutdumiz 'we captured about fifty men' (TII W 7), uyγur eltābār yüzčä ārin ilg[ār]ü t[āzip bardī] 'the Governor of the Uigurs, together with about one hundred men, fled towards the east' (BK E 37), bizintä ekī uči siñarča artuq ārti 'their two wings were about half again as many as we' (TII W 5).

2°. Syntactically: qorıγu ekī üç kisiligü täzip 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. ortunqı, kinki) 'first', añ ilk ~ añ ilki 'at first'; ekinti; üčünč; törtünč; bisinč; yetinč; säkizinč; toqzunč; onunč; bir yegirminč (MČ S 11), etc.

The ordinal numerals function:

1°. as an attribute: ilki sü tašiqmiš ārti ekin (for ekinti) sü ābdä ārti 'the first army had marched off, the second army was at home' (BK E 32), bir tümän artuqı 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 örtčä qızıp kälti 'the next day they came rushing hotly like flames' (TII W 4-5), laγzın 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 adrılu bardıñiz 'you were separated from my mighty and brave kagan in the seventh month of the Sheep Year' (O R 4), toqzunč 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 alki 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 yegirmikä 'on the twentieth (day) of the eleventh month' (MČ S 11).

2°. as an adverbial complement: aṅ ilk toḡu baliqda süñüşdümüz 'first we fought at Toḡu-Baliq' (KT N 4), aṅ ilki toḡu baliqda sürüşdüm 'first I fought at Toḡu-Baliq' (BK E 30), aṅ ikli tadiqıñ čorıñ boz [atıy binip tğdi] 'first (he mounted) Tadiq Čor's gray (horse and attacked)' (KT E 32), ekinti işbara yamtar boz atıy binip tğdi 'secondly, he mounted Işbara Yamtar's gray horse and attacked' (KT E 33), üçünç yigän silig bägiñ kädimlig toruḡ at binip tğdi 'thirdly, he mounted Yigän Silig Bey's dressed (= armored?) bay horse and attacked' (KT E 33), törtünç čuš başınta süñüşdümüz 'fourthly, we fought at the headwaters of Čuš' (KT N 6), etc.

3.233. Collective Numerals

The suffix -aḡu(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': tabyač qıtañ tatabı bučägü qabıs(s)ar qaltači biz 'if the Chinese, Qıtañ and Tatabı, these three, form an alliance, we would be helpless' (TI S 5-6); with a final n: üčägün qabısıp sülälim 'let us, we three, ally and wage war (against the Turkish kagan)' (TI E 4).

2°. In the following example the word ikägü means 'two, in two parts': äčim qaḡan ilı qamšaḡ boltuqınta bodun ilig ikäg[ü] boltuqınta 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 yolı 'four times', biş yolı 'five times', and so on.

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

(BK E 30), bir yılqa biş yolı süñüşdümüz 'we fought five times in a year' (KT N 4), altı yolı süñüşdüm 'I fought six times' (BK E 28), ... [y]olı sülädim 'I went on campaigns ... times' (BK S 2), qaḡım qaḡan ... qırq artuqı yeti yolı sülämıs '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', azqıña 'few, very few', üküş ~üküs 'many'.

The indefinite numerals are used:

1°. attributively: az bodunuḡ üküš qiltim '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 täzmıs ärti 'a few people had escaped' (TI W 8), uluḡ irkin azqıña ärin täzip bardı 'Uluḡ Irkin, together with very few people, escaped' (KT E 34), azqıña türk [bodun] yorıyur ärmıs 'the very few Turkish people seem to have been making progress' (TI S 2), yaḡuru barıp üküš kişi 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: aziḡ üküš qiltı '(my uncle, the kagan,) made the few numerous' (BK E 14), aziḡ üküšüg körtüg 'you have seen the few and the numerous' (O F 7).

3°. adverbially: biriyä tabyačıy öprä qıtañıy yiriya oḡuzuḡ üküš ök ölrüti 'to the south (İlteriş Kagan) killed the Chinese, to the east the Qıtañ, and to the north the Oguz in great number' (TI W 7).

The numerals bifı '1000' and tümän '10,000' are also used to express immense quantities: biñ yıllıq tümän күnlik 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 yoγlāmiš (KT: siytāmiš yoγlāmiš) '... 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 yoγladı '(since he was ...) this many peoples grieved and mourned' (KČ S 2), bunča bädizçig tuyγun eltäbär kälü[r]ti 'Governor Tuyγun 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 barqıγ bädizig uzuγ 'this many constructions, pictures and sculptures, and artistical works ...' (BK SW), bunča matı bāglār 'this many faithful lords' (BK S 14), [bunç]a bodun qop itdim 'I have thoroughly organized this many peoples' (KT S 2-3), bunča aγar törüg 'this many important rules and regulations' (BK E 2), anča 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 tabγač bodun yaγi ärmiš (KT: ärmis) 'to the south the Chinese people was (our) enemy' (BK E 12; KT E 14), biriyä çoγay yiš tögültün yazı qonayın tisär türük bodun ölsikig 'if you intend to settle at the Çoγay Mountains and on the Tögültün Plain in the south, O Turkish people, you will perish.' (KT S 6-7), [bi]riyā tabγačda atı küsi yoq boltı 'to the south, in China, their name and fame went to ruin' (BK E 36), biriyä tabγaçıγ öñrä qitāniγ yiriya oγuzuγ üküš ök ölürti 'to the south he killed the Chinese, to the east the Qitān, and to the north the Oguz

in great numbers' (TI W 7), öñrä qitānda biriyä tabγačda quriya quridinta yiriya oγuzda ekı üç biγ sūmiz kältāçimiz bar mu nä 'we probably have two or three thousand soldiers to come from the Qitān 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 toγsiqıña kisrä kün batsıqıña tägi biriyä tabγačqa 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 qaγan toquz oγuz bodun yaγi ärmis 'to the north Baz Kagan and the Tokuz-Oguz people were (our) enemies' (KT E 14), yiriya tarqat buyruq bāglār '(you), tarkans and buyruk-beys to the north' (KT S 1), b[asa] tabγačda yiriyä atig oγuz ara yeti ärän yaγi 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 batsıqdaqi soγ(u)d bärçik är buqaraq ulus bodunta änik säñün oγul tarqan kälti 'General Änik and Oγul Tarkan came from the Sogdians, Persians, and the people of the city of Bukhara who live in the west, at the sunset' (KT N 12); see A.

D. üzä 'on, above' (<*üz 'upper part'; cf. Uig. üstün ~ üstün 'on, above'): üzä kök täñri asra yaγız yer qilintuqda ekın ara kisı oγlı 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 täñrisi türük iduq 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 täñri basm[asar asra] yer tälınmäsär türük bodun iliñin törügin kām artatı udaçi [ärti] '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 täñri asra yer yarlıq(q)aduq üç[ün] ... 'since Heaven above and earth below were gracious (to me) ...' (BK N 10),

[ü]zä tǎgrī iduq yer sub [äçim q] aγan qutī taplāmadi ärinç
'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 -qi/-ki may be added to the adverbs in -a/-ä.
The resulting form is used attributively: ötükän yerig
qonmis teyin äsidip biriyäki bodun quriyaqi yiriyäqi ögräki
bodun kälti 'having heard the news that (the Turks) settled
themselves in the Ötükän land, (all) the peoples who were
living in the south, in the west, in the north and in the
east came (and submitted to us)' (TI S 10).

2°. -dīn/-din/-dun/-dün: quridīn [s]oγ(u) d örti 'from
the west the Sogdians rose in revolt' (KT W 1); with the
noun yan ~ yän 'side, direction': tabyač biridin yän tǎg
qitañ öndün yän tǎg bän yiridinta yan tǎgäyīn '(you), Chinese,
attack (them) from the south (lit.: 'from the southern side'),
and (you), Qitañ, attack (them) from the east, and I shall
attack (them) from the north' (TI S 4).

The adverbs in -dīn/-din are also used:

A. substantively: quridīn-ta 'from the west' (TI S 7),
yiridīn-ta 'from the north' (TI S 4); see above.

B. attributively: öndün qaγanγaru sü yorilim temis 'let
us wage war against the Eastern Kagan' (TI N 5).

See Interrogative Pronouns.

3°. -γaru/-gärü (The directive suffix):

A. ilgärü (generally) ~ išgärü (BK N 11) 'forward,
eastward' (<*il 'front'): ilgärü šantuγ yazıqqa tǎgi sülädim
'I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung Plain
(KT S 3), ilgärü qadırqan yišqa tǎgi . . . qonturmis 'they
settled (the Turkish people) eastwards up to the Qadırqan
Mountains' (KT E 2), ilgärü yašil ögüz šantuγ yazıqqa tǎgi
sülädimiz 'we went on campaigns eastwards up to the Green
River (= Yellow River, Hwang Ho) and the Shantung Plain'
(KT E 17), ilgärü qurıγaru sülöp ti[r]m[is] qubrat[miš]
'having gone on campaigns forward and backward, he
gathered together and collected (men)' (KT E 12); other
occurrences of ilgärü are in: KT S 2, E 8, E 28; BK E 8,
11, 15, 19, 23, 37; išgärü kün toγsiqıqqa . . .] 'eastwards
up to the sunrise' (BK N 11) (see The Alternation 1 ~ š).

B. qurıγaru 'backward, westward' (<*qurı 'back'):
ilgärü kün toγsiqıqqa birigärü kün ortusiγaru qurıγaru kün
batsiqıqqa yiriγaru tün ortusiγaru anta ičräki bodun qop
maqa 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), qurıγaru yinçü ögüz káčä
tämir qapıγqa tǎgi sülädim 'westwards I went on campaigns
up to the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River' (BK N 3)
qurıγaru tämir qapıγqa tǎgi sülädimiz 'westwards we went
on expeditions up to the Iron Gate' (KT E 17; BK E 15),
qurıγaru tämir qapıγqa tǎgi süläyü birmis '(for the benefit
of the Chinese), they went on campaigns as far as the Iron
Gate in the west' (KT E 8), qurıγaru kǎñü tarmanqa tǎgi
türük bodunuγ anča qonturtumiz anča etdimiz 'westwards
as far as Kǎñü Tarman we thus settled and organized the
Turkish people' (KT E 21), [iduq ötükän yi]š bodun bardıy
ilgärü [barıγma] bardıy qurıγaru barıγma bardıy '(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), qurıγaru [kün
batsiqıqqa . . .] 'westwards as far as the sunset' (BK N 11).

C. birigärü 'toward the south, southwards' (<*biri):
birigärü toquz ärsinkä tǎgi sülädim tüpütkä kiçig [tǎg]mädim
'southwards I went on campaigns up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I
almost reached Tibet' (KT S 3), bodunuγ igidäyin tiyin
yiriγaru oγuz bodun tapa ilgärü qitañ tatabi bodun tapa
birigärü tabyač tapa uluγ sü ekı yegir[mi sülädim] 'in order
to nourish the people, I, with great armies, went on campaigns
twelve times northwards against the Oguz people, eastwards
against the Qitañ and Tatabi peoples, and southwards against
the Chinese' (KT E 28), birigärü . . . 'southwards . . .' (BK
N 11); see B.

D. yiriγaru <*yiriγaru 'thitherwards, northwards'
(<*yiri): yiriγaru yir bayırqu yiriqä tǎgi sülädim 'north-
wards I went on campaigns up to the land of Yir Bayırqu'
(KT S 4); see above.

E. yoq(q)aru 'upwards' (<*yoqγaru; Kāš. yoq 'rise, up-
grade'): yoq(q)aru at yätä yadaγin ıyač tutunu aγturtum '(then)
I ordered them to ascend upwards on foot, leading the horses,
and holding on to trees' (TI N 1).

F. yüg(g) ärü 'upwards' (<*yüg; cf. Kaš. yügsä- 'to rise, go up', Turk. yüksek 'high'): olurtuquma öltäçiçä saqinıyma türük bäglär bodun ägirip säbinip tontamiş 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 qağanıγ ögüm ilbilgä qatunuγ täpri töpüsintä tutup yüg(g) ärü kötürmis ärinç '(the Turkish god and the holy spirits) held my father, Ilteriş Kagan, and my mother, Ilbilgä Katun, at the top of heaven and raised them upwards' (KT E 11).

4°. -ra/-rä (see Directive):

A. asra 'downward, below' (<*as 'the lowest part, bottom'): üzä kök täpri asra yaγız yer qılıntuqda 'when the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, . . .' (KT E 1), üzä täpri basmasar asra yir tälinmäsär 'if the sky above did not collapse, and if the earth below did not give way, . . .' (KT E 22), üzä täpri 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' (<iç 'interior'): içrä ašsüz tašra tonsüz 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 bädizçi 'court painters' (lit.: 'painter being within') (KT S 12; BK N 14), anta içräki nä kiši . . . 'all the people being in it . . .' (BK E 28).

C. tašra 'out, outside, outward' (<taš 'exterior'): tašra yoriγur tiyin kü äsidip balıqdaqi taγıqmıš taγdaqi inmis tirilip yetmis är bolmis 'having heard the news that (Ilteriş) 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. önrä 'forward, eastward' (<*ön 'front'): önrä kün toγsıqda 'to the east at the sunrise . . .' (KT E 4; BK E 5),

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

The word önrä may also be used attributively: önrä türk qağanγaru sülälim 'let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks' (TI E 3); cf. öndün qağanγaru 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: önräki 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 tarduš bäglär küł čor bašlayu ulayu šadpıt bäglär 'to the west the Tardush lords: Küł Čor at the head, following him šadpıt lords' (BK S 15); see 3. 2171. 1°A.

5°. -ru/-rü (Directive):

A. kirü ~ kerü 'backwards, westwards' (<*ki; cf. kisrä): 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), kerü bariγma bardı 'those who meant to back went (back)' (O R 3), anta kerü barıp yinčü ögüzüg káčä 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 qağanqa [añıp] . . . täzık toqar . . . anta bärüki asuq baslıγ soγdaq bodun qop kälti yükünti '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): qağan at bunta biz birtimiz 'it was we who gave (him) the title of kagan' (KT E 20), türük [bodun ti] rip

il tutsiqiñin bunta urtum yañlip olsiqiñin yämä 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), qaγanin 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 uçuq täg ärti 'our enemies
were all around us like peaks' (?) (TI S 1); qanı '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. -düri in
öñdürü 'in the east' <öñ 'front, fore'): türük bodun üčün
tün udımadım 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 udısiqim kälmädi күn-
tüz olursiqim kälmädi 'after I heard these words, I had no
wish to rest by day' (TI S 5), tün udımatı 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 amti 'now', bängü 'for-
ever': ilim amti qanı 'where is our (lit.: 'my') state now?'
(KT E 9), ol amti 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'),
qatiydi ~ qatiydi 'hard, firmly' (<*qatiγ 'hard, firm'),
yegdi 'better' (<yeg 'better'), yaraqliydi 'equipped with
weapons' (<yaraqliγ 'armed, having weapons'): bu sabimin
ädgüti äsid qatiydi 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),
qatiydi saqintim 'I mourned deeply' (KT N 11), [ilig] törüγ
yegdi qazγantim '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 yaraqliydi 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] barmiš
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', buqsiz ~ buqsiz 'abundantly, in abundance', qalısiz 'completely, wholly', kärgäksiz 'in abundance', sansız 'innumerably', üküş ~ üküs 'many, exceedingly', antaγ 'that much, so', ärtinü 'very, much', taqı 'more', idi 'never, by no means', kiçig 'little, less, least', näj 'any'.

1°. qop 'all, completely' (<*qo- 'to leave, let remain' + -p; see Deverbal Nouns, 25°): tört buluq qop yaγı ärmis sü süläpän tört buluqdaqi bodunuγ qop almis qop báz qilmis '(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 ölärmis '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): sabimın tükäti äsidgil 'hear my words completely!' (KT S 1), sabimın tükäti 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 süñüsüp 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), män 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 buqsiz 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°. nänča: See Interrogative Pronouns (3.2154.2°).

7°. buqsiz ~ buqsiz 'abundantly' (<buq 'want, deficiency' + -siz): sarıγ altun örüq kümüs qız qoduz ägri täbi aγı buqsiz 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°. qalısiz 'completely, all' (<*qalı 'rest, remainder' + -siz): on oq bodunı qalısiz taşıqdı 'the army of the On-Ok has marched off, all to a man' (TI N 9), on oq bodunı qalısiz taşıqmıs 'the On-Ok people have marched off to a man' (TI N 6), äbın barımın qalısiz qop kälürti 'he brought their properties and belongings without leaving anything behind' (KT N 1).

9°. kärgäksiz 'in abundance' (<kärgäk 'lacking, want' + -siz): bir tümän 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' (<*sän 'number' + -siz): ädgü özlik 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 ~ üküs: 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 bāglār 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 bāglārın bodunin ärtinü ti maγ itdi ögd[i] '(my father, the kagan,) profoundly glorified and praised the Turkish lords and people' (BK S 15).

14°. taqı 'more' (<*taq- 'to affix, attach'): tāqri bilgä qaγanqa [t]aqı isig küčüg bersägim bar ärmis 'apparently I had a wish for giving my further services to the Sacred Bilgä Kagan' (O R 2).

15°. idi 'never' (with negative): ötükän yišda yig idi yoq ärmis '(I concluded:) a land better than the Ötükän Mountains does not exist at all!' (KT S 4), ekın 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), üçägün qabisip sülälim idi yoq qısalım 'let us, we three, ally and wage war (against the Turkish kagan), and exterminate him' (TIE 4), türük bodun tämir 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 yämä bodun yämä kisı yämä idi yoq ärtäçi 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°. kiçig 'little, less, least': ilgärü šantun yazıqa tägi sülädim taluyqa kiçig 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 kiçig tägmädim 'I went on campaigns southwards up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet' (KT S 3).

17°. nän 'any': ötükän yir olurup arqış tirkış isar nän buγuγ yoq 'if you stay in the land of Ötükän and send caravans (from there), you will have no trouble at all' (KT S 8), nän yılsıγ bodunqa olurmadım 'I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people at all' (KT E 36).

The word nän is also used attributively: nän yerdäki qaγanlıγ bodunqa . . . 'if a people living anywhere and having a kagan . . .' (TII E 6); with reduplication: nän nän sabım ärsär bängü 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 ilkı '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', yiçä 'again, anew', yana id., ulayu 'first and foremost', aγ ilk ~ aγ ilkı '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 oγlanım biriki oγuşum bodunum . . . 'hear my words completely, first of all you, my younger brothers and my sons, joining you my folks and relatives' (KT S 1), äçim qaγan olurupan türük bodunuγ yiçä itdi igit(t) i 'having succeeded to the throne, my uncle, the kagan, organized and nourished the Turkish people anew' (KT E 16), [äçim qaγan] olurupan türük bodunuγ yiçä itdi yiçä 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 içikmiš (KT: içikmis) '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 içikdi '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 bodunuγ anta ölürmiš almiš 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': arıγu 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)āñ 'when, whenever' (TI E 3, N 5) ~ qačan(n)añ (TI E 4): qačan(n)āñ ārsār ol bizni ... ölürtäçi kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 3-4), etc.

3.25. Postpositions

The postpositions are: ara, aša, aşru, birlä, inγaru, 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. arγula- 'to pass through, break through', Uig. arquru 'transversal, widthwise'): üzä kök täñri asra yaγız yer qilintuqda ekın ara kisı oylı qilınmis '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 yarıqlıγ yaγıγ yältürmädim 'I have not let any armored enemy ride among this Turkish people' (TII E 4), ekın ara atig yaγı bolmis 'meanwhile, the Atig started hostilities' (O R 2), atig oγuz ara yeti ārān yaγı bolmis 'among the Atig and Oguz seven men started hostilities (against us)' (O F 5).

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

3°. aşru 'through' (<*āşur- 'to pass over, go beyond'): ekı ārig ud aşru sançdı '(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 yaşima čik bodun qırqız birlä yaγı boltı 'at my age of twentysix, 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 baγa tarqan birlä ilteris qaγan boluyin . . . 'having become kagan in the company of Bilgä Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan, Ilteriš . . .' (TI W 6-7), āčim qaγan birlä ilgärü yaşıl ögüz şantun 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: qaγanın birlä soğa yişda süğüşdümüz 'we fought against their kagan at the Soğa Mountains' (KT E 35), qaγanın birlä 'against their kagan' (BK E 27).

5°. qodı 'down, down along' (<qod- 'to put down'): sälänä 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'): käm käčä čik tapa sülädim 'I went on a campaign against the Čik beyond the Kem (River)' (BK E 26), aq

tärmil káčä oγurqalatdım 'I let (the soldiers) warm their backs beyond Ak-Tärmil' (TI N 1), qurıγaru yinčü ögüz káčä tāmır qapıγqa täge 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 bardıγ '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 yoriγur ärtig '(of you), those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions' (KT S 9), yir sayu barmiš bo[duñ yadaγın yalıñın] 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 yiriγaru oγuz bodun tapa ilgärü qıtañ tatañ bodun tapa birigärü tabγaç 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 tabγaç 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 süsi 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), täñri tæg täñridä bolmiš türük bilgä qaγan '(I,) the Heaven-like and Heaven-born Bilgä ('Wise') Kagan of Turks' (KT S 1; BK N 1), täñri tæg täñri 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 täğrä 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 äram älä tæg ärti 'in hunting he resembled a huge hawk' (KČ W 9), öz içi 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), körür közüm körmaz tæg bilır biligim bilmaz 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 täg governs the accusative case of the possessive stems and pronouns: anta kisrä inisi äcisın tæg qılınmaduq ärinč oγı 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), tılıγ 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); büntägı '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 күntüz olurmadım '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 baliq anı üçün ozdı 'it is why Bishbalik escaped (from being destroyed)' (BK E 28), antaγıñın üçün igidmiš qaγanıñın sabın almatın yir sayu bardıγ '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 bilmädükügin 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), tabγaç bodun täbligın kürlüg (for kürlügın) üçün 'since the Chinese people were deceitful and tricky' (KT E 6), täñri yir bulγaqın 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 süñüsdı qıtañqa yeti süñüsdı oγuzqa bes süñüsdı 'by virtue of his being wise and brave, Ilteriš Kagan fought seventeen times against the Chinese, seven times against the Qıtañ 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 [üçü]n 'by virtue of his wiseness, his courage and manly qualities . . .' (KČ W 7); täñri yarlıq(q) aduqın üçün . . . qaγan olurtum 'by the grace of Heaven, . . . I succeeded to the throne' (KT S 9), bilmädükın üçün biziñä yañiltuqın yazıntuqın üçün qaγanı ölti 'on account of their foolishness and their being traitorous to us, their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), inilı äçilı kıpsürtükın üçün bağlı bodunlıγ yoñşurtuqın 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), qazγantıuqın üçün 'since he won (lit.: 'because of his having won')' (TII E 5), tägdükın üçün 'since they attacked (us)' (O R 2).

The word üçün 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 post position 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 qadıraqan yišqa tägi kirü tämir qapıγqa tägi qonturmıš 'they

settled (the Turkish people) eastwards up to the Qadıraqan Mountains and westwards as far as the Iron Gate' (KT E 2), ilgärü šantıuγ 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), kısrä kün batsıqıñqa tägi 'westwards as far as the sunset' (O F 2), ilgärü yašıl ögüz šantıuγ yazıqa tägi sülädımız qurıγaru tämir qapıγqa tägi sülädımız '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°. kısrä 'after' (see Adverbs of Place, 4°. E): yaγuru qontuqda kısrä añıγ 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 kısrä el yitmis ičγınmis 'after that khan had died, the empire apparently went to ruin, collapsed and . . .' (O F 1), anta kısrä '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): kısrä oγlınța üzä äçüm apām bumın qaγan istämi qaγan olurmıš 'over the human beings, my ancestors Bumın Kagan and İstämi Kagan became rulers' (KT E 1), [näñ y] iłsıγ bodunta üzä olurmadım 'I did not become ruler over a wealthy and prosperous people' (BK E 21), içrä 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. iñaru id.): türük bodun anta inγaru 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 post-position. 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: qaqim ... täprikän yän anta yorimis 'my father ... (then) marched there, in the direction of Täprikän' (O F 5).

2°. With the ablative of nouns: tabγač biridin yän täg qitan' öndün yän täg bän yiridinta yan tägäyän '(you), Chinese, attack (them) from the south (lit.: 'from the direction of the south'), and (you), Qitan', 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, yämä. All of these conjunctions except artuqī are gerunds in -a, -i 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 -i): bunča barqīγ bādizig uzuγ ... [bilgä q]aγan atisī yol(l)uγ tigin män ay artuqī tört kün [olu]rup bitidim bādiztim 'all these constructions, statues and pictures, and artistical works ... I, Prince Yolluγ, Bilgä Kagan's nephew, inscribed and decorated, sitting down thirty-four days (lit.: 'a month plus four days')' (BK SW), otuz artuqī bir 'thirty-one' (lit.: 'thirty plus one') (BK S 9); see Cardinal Numerals (3.2161).

3°. biriki 'and' (lit.: 'joining') (<birik- 'to join, put together'): sabimün tükäti äsidgil ulayu ini yägünüm oγlanim 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 ärsär anča-taqī ärig yertä irsär anča ärig yertä bängü taš toqtdim bitid(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), qazγantuqin ücün udu özüm qazγantuqum ücün 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' (T II E 5-6).

6°. ulayu 'and' (lit.: 'connecting') (<ula- 'to unite, join, connect'): ögüm qatun ulayu öglärim äkälärim käliqünüm qunčuylarim 'my mother, the katun, and my stepmothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses . . .' (KT N 9), ekī šad ulayu ini yägünüm oγlanim bäglärim bodunum közi qašī yablaq boltači tip saqintim 'I worried that the eyes and eyebrows of the two šads and of my younger brothers, my sons, my lords and my people could have been ruined (by weeping)' (KT N 11), tonyuquq boyla baγa tarqan ulayu buyruq . . . 'Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan and (other) high officials . . .' (BK S 14), čor tigin kälip ulayu tört tigin kälip . . . 'Prince Čor came and four (other) princes came . . .' (KČ E 12).

After a gerundial phrase terminated by bašlayu 'leading, being at the head': kisrä tarduš bäglär kül čor bašlayu ulayu šadpīt bäglär önrä tölis bäglär apa tarqan bašlayu ulayu šad[pīt] bäglär 'to the west the Tardush lords, Kül Čor at the head, following him šadpīt lords; to the east the Tölis lords, Apa Tarkan at the head, following him šadpīt lords . . .' (BK S 13), säbig kül irkin bašlayu ulayu buyruq 'Säbig Kül Irkin at the head, following him (other) high officials. . .' (BK S 14); see Adverbs of Number (3.2176).

7°. yämä 'and, also, too' (<*yäm- 'to add, attach'; cf. Mong. neme- id.; see Poppe, Verg., p. 38):

A. Alone: bilgä qaγan ärmis alp qaγan ärmis buyruqī yämä bilgä ärmis ärinč alp ärmis ärinč 'wise kagans were they, brave kagans were they; their officials, too, were wise and brave' (KT E 3), qaγanī ölti buyruqī bäglārī 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 tüsdi 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 . . .': bäglārī 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 ayγučı[sī] yämä bän ök ärtim yaγ[icisī] 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 oγuzī yämä tarqinč ol temis '(both the Turkish people) is in disorder and the Oguz, their subjects, are displeased with (them)' (TI E 5), ol sabin 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: qaγan 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: üçün, teyin ~ tiyin, tip.

1°. üçün 'since, as, because' (see Postpositions, 10⁹) connects a predicative construction, which substitutes for a subordinate clause, to another clause, on which it depends: qutum bar üçün ülügüm bar üçün 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 üçün 'since I had fortune and good luck, . . .' (BK E 23), bäglārī bodunī tüzsiz üçün . . . türük bodun illädük ilin ičγinu 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 . . . qılmadim 'since I myself succeeded to the throne, I did not make the Turkish people. . .' (BK E 36), täñri yarliq(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 káčä tämir qapıγqa 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 sülādim] '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'): anī añtayīntip sülādim '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 ayγuči[sī] yāmā bān ök ärtim yaγ[īčisi] yāmā bān ök ärtim '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 ärtim '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 özüm ök qaγan qīsdīm 'then, since Heaven granted (me) insight, I myself made (him) kagan' (TI W 6).

2°. an adverb: biriγā tabγačiy öγrā qītanīγ yīriya oγuzuγ ükūs 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 töküti qara tārim yügürti isig küčüg bertim ök 'without getting sleep by night or rest by day, and shedding my red blood and sweating my black sweat, I have given my services (to my kagan and people)' (TII E 1-2), uzun yālmäg yāmā it(t)im oq arquy qarγuγ ulγartdīm 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) aγ ärsär ölürtäči kök '(the kagan of the

Turks), sooner or later, will definitely kill us' (TI E 3-4), qačan (n) aγ ärsär bizni ölürtäči kök 'he, sooner or later, will definitely kill us' (TI N 5-6), yañduq volta yāmā ölti kök 'those who were routed and dispersed were also killed in flight' (TI S 8), bini oγuzuγ ölürtäči k[ök] tir mән '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 ärmis ärinč alp ärmis 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 [ärmis] ärinč yablaq ärmis ärinč 'apparently their officials, too, were unwise and bad' (KT E 5), tāγri bilgā qaγanqa [t]aqī isig küčüg bersäγim bar ärmis ärinč 'apparently I had a wish for giving my services to the sacred Bilgä 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 tąg qilinmaduq ārinč oγlī qaγīn tąg 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 yirdä ädgüg 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/gü

This is an interrogative particle: azu bu sabimda igid bar γu 'or, is there any falsehood in these words of mine?' (KT S 10), bödkä körügmä bäglär gü 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/mü

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 nä (see Interrogative Pronouns, 2°).

3.276. The Particle a/ä

The particle a/ä is an interjection of address: bäglä-rim ä ter ärmis 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/-gü

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

The verbal noun in -γuluq/-gülük (< -γu + -luq), too, functions as an action noun (cf. Khwar. -maqliq/-mäklik: Eckmann, Fund., p. 126): yuyqa qalin bolsar toplayuluq alp ärmis yinčgä yoγun bolsar üzgülük alp ärmis 'if thin becomes thick, it is difficult to bend it, and if tender becomes hard it is difficult to break it, they say' (TIS 6-7).

The verbal noun in -γuči/-güči (< -γu + -či) functions as an agent noun: ayγuči 'counselor, chief executive' (TIS 3, E 4, N 5, TII S 5), barq itgüči 'builder, architect' (KT N 13), bitīg taš itgüči 'tombstone maker' (KT N 13).

3.2812. Verbal Noun in -maq/-mäk

The verbal noun in -maq/-mäk (= Mong. -maγ/-meg) functions as an action noun: armaq 'the act of deceiving' in armaqči 'a deceitful person'.

The verbal noun in -maqči/-mäkči functions as an agent noun: tabγač bodun ... armaqčisīn üčün '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), tün udīsīqīm kälmädi küntüz olursīqīm kälmädi 'I had no wish to sleep by night, and I had no wish to rest by day' (TIS 5), tün yämä udīsīqīm kälmäz ärti [kün yämä] olursīqīm kälmäz

arti id. (TI E 5), il tutsiqiqin bunta urtum yaqilip olsikiqin 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 unfaithful (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 qayanīγ ōgūm qatunuγ kōtūrūgmā (KT: kōtūrmiš) tāpri 'Heaven who has raised my father, the kagan, and my mother, the katur' (KT E 25; BK E 20-21), il birigmā tāpri 'Heaven who has granted the state' (KT E 25), bōdkā kōrūgmā bāglār 'the lords who are now obedient to (the throne)' (KT S 11), ōltāčičā saqiniγma tūrūk bāglār bodun 'the Turkish lords and people who were sorrowful as if they were to die' (BK E 2), tinsi oγli aytiγma taγ 'the mountain called Tinsi oγli ('the Son of Heaven')' (TII S 2-3), ilgārū [bariγma] bardīγ quriγaru bariγma bardīγ '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 ōlūgmā ōlti '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 inscriptions is his nephew, Yolluγ Tigin ('Prince Yolluγ')' (KTS 13).

The participle in -γma/-gmā does not occur in predicative function.

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

Stems ending in a vowel take the suffix as -ūr/-ūr: ba-y-ūr, ō-y-ūr, yaša-y-ūr, yori-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/-ūr, or as -īr/-īr, or as -ar/-ār: bar-ūr (KT N 1; BK E 29) ~ bar-īr (KT E 10), bir-ūr, ār-ūr, kir-ūr, kōr-ūr, qal-ūr, qorq-ūr; bil-īr, kāl-īr, tāg-īr (IB); it-ār, tāz-ār, bat-ar (MČ E 1). Polysyllabic stems generally take the suffix as -ūr/-ūr: bošγur-ūr, igid-ūr, qazγan-ūr, olur-ūr, saqin-ūr; but kālūr-īr (TII E 3), yaγut-īr (KT S 5; BK N 4), tasiq-ar (MČ E 5).

This participle denotes actions which take place at present: kōrūr kōzūm kōrmāz tāg bilir biligim bilmāz tāg bolti '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 ārkli 'being': kūl tigin yiti otuz yašīna qarluq bodun ārūr barūr ārkli yaγi bolti 'when Prince Kūl 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 [ār]ūr barūr ārkli yaγi bolti 'at my age of thirty-one, the Karluk people became an enemy who began to act freely and fearlessly' (BK E 29); ūzā t[āpri] kōbürgāsī ātārčā 'as if the bridge of Heaven above thunders' (BK W 3-4), ōnrāki ār yoγurča (for *yoγururča) idip i bar baš asdimiz 'having sent the vanguard forward as if kneading (the snow), we climbed over the wooded hill' (TI N 1-2).

The word bar 'exists, existing, there is/are' is, in origin, a participle in -r: bar < *bā-r (cf. Mong. bayi- 'to be, exist, have'): 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: biltükümün ödükümün bunča bitig bitidim 'with what I know and remember, I have inscribed all these inscriptions' (KČ S 3), bilmädükügin üčün 'on account of your having not know' (BK E 20), qazğan-tuqın üčün 'since he won' (lit.: 'because of his having won') (TII E 5), tānri yarlıq(q)aduqın üčün ... qazğan olurtum 'by the grace of Heaven, ... I succeeded to the throne' (KT S 9), bilmädükün üčün biziñä yañiltuqın yazintuqın üčün qazanı ulti 'on account of their foolishness and their having been traitorous to us, their kagan was killed' (BK E 16), olur-tuquma öltäçiçä säqiniγma türük bağlar bodun ägirip säbinip toqtamiš 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 glad, and their down-looking eyes looked upwards' (BK E 2), [qañim] qazğan učduqda 'when my father, the kagan, passed away' (BK E 13-14), bunča isig küčüg birtükğärü saqınmatı 'without taking into consideration the fact that (the Turkish people) have given their services so much (to the Chinese)' (KT E 10), yañduq yolta yämä ulti kök 'those who were routed and dispersed were also killed in flight' (TI S 8), etc.

2°. As a past participle: barduq yirdä ädgüg ol ärinč 'in the lands you went your (only) benefit was the following'

(KT E 24; BK E 20), türük bodun illädük ilin ičγinu idmis qazānladuq qazānın 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 körmädük qulqaqın äsidmädük bodunum 'my people in such numbers as have not been seen by eye and have not been heard by ear (before)' (BK N 11), sančduq yer 'the place where (we) pierced (the enemy)' (MČ W 7).

This verbal noun also functions as predicate. See Finite Forms.

3.2818. Verbal Noun in -miš ~ -mis (in MČ also -mis)

This verbal noun functions as follows:

1°. As an action noun: türük bodun tämir qapiγqa tinsi oγlı aytıγma taγqa tägmis idi yoq ärmis '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 qazān olurγalı santuγ baliq(q)a taluy ögüzkä tägmis yoq ärmis 'the Turkish people and the Turkish kagan had never reached the towns of Shantung (Plain) and the ocean since they were created and since he (i. e., the first Turkish kagan) was enthroned' (TI E 1) (lit.: 'their reaching did not exist').

2°. As a past participle: elsirämis qazānsiramis bodun 'the people who have become stateless and rulerless' (KT E 13), yir sayu barmis bo[dun] 'the people who had gone in (almost) all directions' (BK E 22), igidmiš qazān 'the kagan who has nourished (you)' (BK N 6), äčümüz apämiz tutmis yir sub 'the lands which were owned and ruled by our ancestors' (KT E 19), [qañimiz] äčimiz qazānmiš bodun 'the peoples who were conquered by our father and uncle' (BK E 22), anta qalmiši yir sayu qop toru ölü yoriγur ärtig '(of you,) those who survived there, utterly exhausted, were marching in (almost) all directions' (KT S 9), ida tašda qalmiši qubranip yeti yüz bolti 'those who had remained in woods and wilderness came together and amounted to seven hundred' (TI W 4), yaγmisi bän ärtim 'it was I who joined him' (TI W 5), etc.

For its occurrence in predicative function see Finite Forms.

3.2819. The Participle in -dači/-däči

The future participle in -dači/-däči (after l, n and r: -tači/-täči) is used attributively and predicatively (see Finite Forms): öltäči bodunuγ turgürü igit(t)im 'I brought the people to life who were going to die, and nourished (them)' (KT E 29), üküş öltäči anta tirilti 'many people who were going to die there came to life (again)' (BK E 31), ekī üč biγ sümiz kältäčimiz bar mu nä 'we probably have two or three thousand men to come (lit.: 'our army, our ones who will come')' (TI S 7), öltäčičä 'like those who are going to die' (BK E 2).

3.28110. ärkli

The participle in -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 yinčgä ärkli-g 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), ärür barür ärkli 'one who is free and independent' (KT N 1).

For the gerundial function of ärkli see below.

3.282. Gerunds

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

3.2821. The Gerund in -a/-ä, -i/-i, -u/-ü

With -a/-ä: aš-a (KT E 21; BK E 27) ~ as-a (TII W 2), bas-a (BK E 32; TII W 3), bintür-ä (TI N 1), ägir-ä (BK E 31; KT N 6), käč-ä (KT E 37, etc.), oz-a (KT N 7; BK E 31), sanč-a (KČ E 7), sür-ä (KT E 23; BK E 19), tid-a (KT N 11), tik-ä (BK S 9, 11), toγ-a (KT E 35, 37; BK E 27), tut-a (KT E 1, S 8; BK E 3), uč-a (KT E 16, SE; BK

E 20, S 10), yan-a (KT E 28; TI N 9), yañ-a (KT E 23; BK E 19, 31), yät-ä (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), äbir-ü (BK E 25; TI N 2, 4), ärt-ü (TII W 9), äsid-ü, ičγin-u (KT E 6; BK E 7) (~ičγin-i), irtür-ü, itin-ü, qazγan-u, qil-u, kör-ü, küzäd-ü, opla-y-u, opul-u, öntür-ü, sa-y-u 'informing' (TII W 7), si-y-u, sülä-y-ü, topul-u, tor-u, öl-ü, tutun-u, yaγur-u, yantur-u, yaratun-u, yat-u, yäl-ü, ye-y-ü ~ yi-y-ü (TI S 1), yit-ü, yitür-ü, yoγur-u (BK SE; TI S 8), yoqad-u, yubul-u (TI N 2), tirgür-ü (KT E 29).

Function: to denote actions simultaneous with the main action, to form adverbial complements: ol yılqa türgis tapa altun yišiγ aš-a [är]tis ögüzüg käč-ä 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 käč-ä kältimiz 'we have come (this far), by climbing over the Altun Mountains, and we have come (this far), by crossing over the Irtish River' (TII W 2), küli čor tarduš bodunuγ it-i ay-u olurti 'Küli Cor reigned organizing and ruling the Tardush people' (KČ E 2), qizil qanım töküt-i qara tärim yügürt-i isig küčüg bertim ök 'shedding my red blood and sweating my black sweat, I have given my services (to my kagan)' (TII E 2), anta qalmiši yir sayu qop tor-u öl-ü yoriyür 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 kälsär tid-a köñültä siγit kälsär 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 yät-ä 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), ušin 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. munḡa- '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 bardī '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 qišla-p yazıña oγuzγaru sü taşıqdımız 'having spent the winter at Amga-Korgan, in spring, we marched off against the Oguz' (KT N 8), süčig sabin yimşaq aγin ar-ip iraq bodunuγ anča yaγutir 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), buḡad-ip qaγan yälü kör temis 'having become utterly bored, the kagan said: 'ride fast!' (TI N 2), uruş qil-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 kisī ol sabiγ al-ip yaγuru bar-ip üküş kişī öltüg 'having heard these words, you unwise people went close to (the Chinese) and were (consequently) killed in great numbers' (KT S 7); aγit-ip 'having put to flight' (KT N 7; KČ E 7), aγri-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, qiz-ip, qobsar-ip 'having grieved' (KČ S 2), qod-up, qubran-ip, käč-ip, käl-ip, kälür-üp, kir-ip, kör-üp, olur-up, ökün-üp, ölür-üp, ötün-üp, sanč-ip, säbin-ip, sülä-p, sünüs-üp, (<sünüş-), täz-ip, ti-p, tiril-ip 'having come together' (KT E 12, etc.), tut-up, yaḡil-ip, yarat-ip, yañ-ip, yiy-ip, yori-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 yoγlämiş '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 buluḡdaqi bodunuγ qop almis qop baz qilmis '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 sünüglüg 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), sünüg batimī qarīγ söküpan kögmän yişiγ toγa yo[rrip] qirqiz 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 qodī yori-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 -mayin/-mäyin): bilgä tonuquq boyla baγa tarqan birlä ilteris qaγan bol-uyin biriyä tabγačiy öḡrā qitañiγ yiriya oγuzuγ üküş ök ölrüti 'having become kagan in the company of Bilgä Tonyukuk Boyla Baga Tarkan, Ilteriş killed the Chinese to the south, the Qitañ 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 adrilmalim azmalim 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 saqinmatī 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), antaγihın 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) [siñ]ar süsi äbig barqıγ yul-γali bardı siñar 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 tüsürtümüz '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 toplayali 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 ömüz sän bir tod-sar äčsiq ömüz 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 tirkiš i-sar nän buyuγ 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 aγı birür yaγuq är-sär ädgü aγı 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 tälinmä-sär türük bodun eliñin törügin käm 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 qısalım 'if possible, let us destroy (them) completely!' (TIS 4), tabyač oγuz qitan bučägü qabis-(s)ar qaltači biz 'if the Chinese, Oguz and Qitan, 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' (TI S 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 ḡis-ayın tedim 'shall I make (him) kagan?' I said (to myself)' (TI W 5), bän äbgärü tūsäyın '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 -ḡıl/-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); yaḡḡıl tidi 'join me!' he said' (TI W 5), yälmä qarḡü ädgüti urḡıl '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!' (TI S 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), köḡmän yir sub idisiz ḡalma-zun tiyin 'in order that the Köḡmän land would not be without owner!' (KT E 20; BK E 17).

1st person plural: -alim/-älim, on vocalic stems -lim/-lim: täqri bilgä qaγanta adrılma-lim azma-lim 'let us not be parted from the sacred Bilgä Kagan or go astray!' (O R 3), öqrä türk qaγanγaru sülä-lim 'let us wage war against the kagan of the Eastern Turks!' (TI E 3), altun yis üzä qabis-alim 'let us come together at the Altun Mountains!' (TI E 3), yan-alim 'let us go back!' (TI W 2), usar idi yoq qis-alim 'if possible, let us exterminate (the Turkish people) completely!' (TI S 4), sü yorı-lim 'let us march off with the army!' (TI N 11).

2nd person plural: -ıñ, also pure stem: sü bar-ıñ tedi altun yisda olur-uñ tedi 'you, army, go on marching!' he said; 'stay at the Altun Mountains!' he said' (TI N 6), türük oγuz bäglärı äsid-ıñ (BK: äsid) 'you, Turkish and Oguz lords and peoples, hear this!' (KT E 22), bunı körü bil-ıñ 'see these (inscriptions) and get a lesson (from them)!' (KT S 12), anı körüp anča bil-ıñ 'see it (i. e., this memorial) and learn its contents, as it is' (KT S 13), [anč]a saqın-ıñ anča bil-ıñ '(O Turkish lords and people), think of it in this way, and know it in this way!' (BK E 33), igid-ıñ 'nourish (the people)!' (BK N 13), ämgätmä-ıñ tolγatma-ıñ 'do not trouble and torment (them)!' (BK N 13), unäma-ıñ 'do not agree (with him)!' (TI N 11), tal atın tedim 'enter the water on horseback!' I ordered' (TI N 1), toquz oγuz bäglärı bodunı bu sabımin 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: -dım/-tım, -dın(-γ)/-tın(-γ), -dı/-tı, 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 yaşıma bis baliq tapa sülä-dim 'at my age of thirty I went on a campaign against Bish-balik' (BK E 28), süsın sanč-dım yabrıt-dım 'there I put their army to the lance, and destroyed' (BK E 31), yerči tilä-dim čolgi as ärı 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 üçün 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: täqrikänkä isig ber-tig 'thou hast given thy services to Täqrikän' (O F 6), qanıñın qodup içik-diñ 'you have abandoned your khan and submitted (again)' (lit.: 'thou hast abandoned thy khan and submitted') (TI W 3), käntü yañıl-tiy '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-diy 'you went' (BK E 19), qop anta alqın-tiy arıl-tiy '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 kiši (BK: kisı) öl-tüg 'you were killed in great numbers' (KT S 7; BK N 6), qul qıl-tiy '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-dı 'he ordered me, Bilgä Tonyukuk, as follows' (TI N 7), täzip bar-dı 'he fled' (BK E 40), altı ärig sanč-dı '(Prince Käl) stabbed six men with a lance' (KT N 5), sü [tä]gisintä yitinč ärig qılıčla-dı '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-dimiz 'we fell upon the Kirgiz while they were asleep' (KT E 35), qırqız qaγanın ölür-tümiz ilın al-timiz 'we killed the Kirgiz kagan and conquered their realm'

(KT E 36), bir yılqa biş yolı süñüş-dümüz 'we fought five times in a year' (KT N 4), tizligig sökör-tümüz başlıyıy yüküntür-tümüz 'we made the powerful kneel and the proud bow' (KT E 18), bodunuγ anča qontur-tümüz 'we thus settled the people' (KT E 21), buz-dümüz '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/-diγiz occurs in the following singular polite forms: uča bar-diγiz 'you passed away' (lit.: 'you went flying') (KT SE), küčlüg alp qaγanımda 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 bäglärı bodunı qop käl-ti 'the lords and people of the On-Ok all came' (TII W 7-8), bäglär 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 täg-dük-üm 'I arrived in the camp' (lit.: 'to the camp — my having arrived') (O R 2).

The suffix -duq/-dük forms the negative of the past tense in -miš (~ -mis): itinü yaratunu uma-duq yana ičikmiš (KT; ičikmis) '(the Turkish people) could not form and organize themselves well, and therefore they again submitted (to the Chinese)' (BK E 9; KT E 10), anta kisrä inisı äčsın täg qılınma-duq ärinč oγlı qaγın täg qılınma-duq ärinč 'then the younger brothers apparently did not resemble their elder brothers, and the sons apparently did not resemble their fathers' (KT E 5), qaγ yorıp elteris qaγanqa adrılma-duq

yañılma-duq '(my) father (always) marched (behind) İteriš Kagan and did not become separated from him or did not betray him' (O R 3), [bükäg]ükdä säkiz oγuz toquz tatar qalma-duq 'there were neither the Säkiz-Oguz nor the Tokuz-Tatar left in Bükägük (MČ E 1), qarluq isıñä kälmä-dük 'the Karluks apparently did not come to their allies' (MČ S 1), täñri 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-iñ 'O Turkish people, you will perish' (lit.: 'Turkish people — the necessity of thy death in the future') (KT S 6; BK N 5), türük bodun öl-sik-ig id. (KT S 7; BK N 5).

The forms of the first and third persons are not attested.

3. 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: bän anča te-r män 'I say as follows' (TII W 2), saqın-ür män 'I mourn' (lit.: 'one who thinks — I', i. e., 'I am the one who thinks') (BK W 6), kämkä ilig qazγan-ür män 'for whom am I conquering (these) countries?' (KT E 9), nä qaγanqa isig küčüg bir-ür män 'to which kagan am I giving my services?' (KT E 9; BK E 9), ti-r män 'I say' (TIS 3, 4).

1st person plural: näkä qorq-ür biz 'why should we be afraid of (them)?' (TII W 4).

2nd person plural: türük bäglär qop bil-ür siz 'Turkish lords, you all know that . . .' (KT E 34).

3rd person singular and plural: öd täñri yasa-r 'it is Heaven who determines lifetimes' (KT N 10), bäniñ bodunum anta är-ür 'my people will be there' (TIE 4), türük bilgä qaγan türük sir bodunuγ oγuz bodunuγ igidü olur-ür 'the Turkish Bilgä 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 öltäči 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 ölü-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 tašiqmiš 'my father, the kagan, marched off with seventeen men' (KT E 11), qara türgis bodunuγ anta ölü-miš al-miš 'there he killed and subjugated the common

the common Türgis people' (KT E 40), äčümiz apämiz yamī qaγan tört buluγuγ qis-mis yiγ-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 törümis '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), qanī süsī 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 yorisar 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 < *-mayači/-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/-ür, -ir/-ir) + ärtim, etc.; negative: -maz/-mäz + ärti. This form is used to express:

A. actions which were in progress at a point of time in the past: kül tigin bir qırq yaşayūr arti 'Prince Kül was thirty-one years old' (KT N 3), anta qalmışi 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 artimiz 'we were inhabiting then the northern slope of the Çoğay Mountains and Kara-Kum ('Black Sand')' (TI W 7), keyik yiyü tabışyan yeyü olurūr artimiz 'we were dwelling there, nourishing ourselves on big game and hares' (TI S 1), buzqunça kälir artimiz 'we were coming like a storm (?)' (OR 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 oγlanıqızda tayγunuqızda yegdi igidür artigiz 'you used to nourish (the people) better than your beloved sons and descendants' (KT SE), atıγ iqa bayūr artimiz 'we used to tie the horses to trees' (TI N 3), türk bodun tabγaçqa körür arti 'the Turkish people were subject to China (at that time)' (TI W 1).

Negative: -maz/-máz + artım, etc.: inisi äcisın bilmáz arti oγlı qaın bilmáz arti '(at that time) younger brothers did not acknowledge their elder brothers, and sons did not acknowledge their fathers' (BK E 18), tünyamä udisiqim kalmáz arti [kün yämä] olursiqim kalmáz 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) + ärmiş (~ärmis). This tense is used to express:

A. unwitnessed progressive actions in the past: türük bodun ölräyın uruγsiratayın tir ärmis '(the Chinese) reportedly said, 'I shall kill and exterminate the Turkish people' (KT E 10), azqına türk (bodun) yorıyūr ärmis 'the very few Turkish people seem to have been making progress' (TI S 2-3), ekın ara idi oqsız kök türük iti ança olurūr ärmis 'between the two (boundaries) they thus ruled organizing the Kök ('Blue') Turks who had no tribal organization at all' (BK E 14), nä qaγanqa isig küçüg birür män tir ärmis (BK E 9: ärmiş) '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 ärmis '(after such a people settled close to them, the Chinese) are said to plan (their) ill will there' (KT S 5), anta anıγ kisı ança boşγurūr ärmis (BK N 5: ärmiş) 'there ill-willed persons apparently made harmful suggestions as follows' (KT S 7), iraq bodunuγ ança yaγutır ärmis '(the Chinese) are said to cause remote peoples to come close (to them) in this manner' (KT S 5).

Negative: -maz/-máz + ärmiş (~ärmis): ädgü bilgä kisig ädgü alp kisig yoritmaz ärmis (BK N 4: ärmiş) '(the Chinese) did not promote the wise and brave persons' (KT S 6), bir kisı yaγılsar oγuşı bodunı bisükinqä tägi iqidmaz ärmis (BK N 5: ärmiş) '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/-máz + ärsär. This form is used to express real conditions in present and future time: kälir ärsär kür ökülür kalmáz 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 yoq bolmis arti anı yoγlataγın tedi 'the katun had died (some time ago); 'I shall hold her funeral', he said' (TI N 7), azça bodun täzmis arti on oq 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 biziğä 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 yoq bolu bar-mis arti 'the name of the Turkish people had almost completely vanished' (OF 3).

When this finite verb form is transformed into a participial phrase, the verb är- is replaced by bol-: sad atıy anta bermis boltuqda toquz oğuz atig yaγı ärmis bädük ärmis 'when (Täñrikän) gave him (i. e., my father) the title of šad, the Tokuz-Oguz and Atig started hostilities (against us). They were (dangerously) powerful, (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 küñ 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 bašlayu qazγanm[asar] türük bodun öltäči ärti yoq [bolt]ači ärti 'if I, together with (my) younger brother, had not led (the people) and had not got victories, the Turkish people would have been killed and annihilated' (BK E 33), ilteris qaγan qazγanmasar udu bän özüñ qazγanmasar il yämä bodun yämä yoq ärtäči ärti 'if Ilteriš Kagan had not won, and if I myself had not won, there would have been neither the state or the people' (TII E 4-5); see 3. 2227.

With ärmis: näñ yerdäki qaγanlıγ 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 qaγan qazγanmasar yoq ärti ärsär udu bän özüñ bilgä toñuquq qazγanmasar bän yoq ärtim ärsär 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 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 š t i r k i š i s a r n ä ŋ b u n u ɣ 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 ɣ 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 ɣ 'the Az and Kirgiz peoples' (KT E 20; BK E 17); b i r t ü m ä n a ɣ i a l t u n k ü m ü š 'a great quantity of treasure, gold and silver' (KT N 12), s a r i ɣ a l t u n ö r ü ŋ k ü m ü s q i z q o d u z ä g r i t ä b i a ɣ 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 qubratdīm '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 ärtim 'it was I who was his counselor and aide-de-camp' (TI W 7), äb-ig barq-iγ yulγali bardī '(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 ulγartdīm oq 'I have increased the fortifications and watchtowers' (TII E 3), yoγuγ qoraγiq-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-yañil- '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), ägir-säbin- 'to be pleased and glad' (BK E 2); ämgät-tolγat- 'to trouble and torment' (BK N 13), ičik-yükün- 'to submit and surrender' (TI N 4), it-yarat- 'to form and organize' (BK N 9), it-ay- 'to organize and govern' (KC E 2), it-igid- 'to organize and nourish' (KT E 16), it-yiγ- '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), yañil-yazin- '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 käliγ-ünüm qunčuylarīm 'my mother, the katun, and my stepmothers, my elder sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses . . .' (KT N 9); see Conjunctions (3.219). For numeral compounds see Numerals (3.216).

2°. With more than one conjunction: 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 tabγačiy '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 kül tigin özī 'my younger brother Prince Kül himself' (KT E 30), eltäbär özī '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 kün '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), alti yoli '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), kāligmä bāglār 'the lords who had come' (TII W 8), bödkä körügmä bāglār 'lords who are now obedient (to the throne)' (KT S 11), tinsi oγī 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 bilgä qaγan 'the Heaven-like ... Turkish Bilgä Kagan' (KT S 1), umay tǎg ögüm qatun 'my Umay-like mother, the katun' (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 oγīl 'male children worthy of becoming lords' (KT E 7), esilik qiz oγīl '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: šantun yazī 'the Shantung Plain' (BK E 15), yinčü ögüz 'the Yinčü ('Pearl') River' (KT S 3), ärtis ögüz 'the Irtish River' (TI N 11), kögmän yir sub 'the Kögmän territory' (KT E 20), buqaraq ulus 'the city of Bukhara' (KT N 12), kül tigin 'Prince Kül' (KT N 1), qu sāγün 'General Qu' (BK S 8), oγ tutuq 'Governor Oγ' (KT E 32), bilgä qaγan 'Kagan ('King') Bilgä' (KT S 1), türük bodun 'the Turkish people' (KT E 6), oγuz yaγī 'the hostile Oguz' (lit.: 'the Oguz enemy') (KT N 8), etc.

3°. The attribute is a noun provided with a possessive suffix: qaγim qaγan 'my father, the kagan' (KT E 11), ögüm qatun 'my mother, the katun' (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 atisi 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 oγīl yigän čor 'Yigän Čor, the son of Sir Irkin' (KČ E 9), etc.

4. 1212. Possessive Phrases

There are three types of possessive phrases: (1) the attribute is a noun without any case suffix and the head is a noun provided with the possessive suffix of the third person; (2) the attribute is a noun with the genitive suffix and the head is a noun with or without the possessive suffix of the third person; (3) the attribute is a pronoun of the first or second person provided with the genitive suffix and the head is a noun with the possessive suffix of the first or second person respectively.

1°. The attribute without any case suffix: kül tigin 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 bodunıγ atı küsi 'the name and fame of the Turkish people' (KT E 25), kül tiginıñ altunı-n kümüsi-n aγışı-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), tadıqıñ čorıñ boz [at] 'Tadıq 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 kültüg 'so famous' (KT E 4), öltäčičä saqınıγma '(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 ašsiz 'foodless in the inside' (KT E 26), tašra tonsiz '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 qaγanlıγda 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 üçün 'for the sake of the Turkish people', inim kül tigin birlä 'together with my younger brother Prince Kül', šantunγ yazıqta 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 toṅuquq/añīγ ol 'Bilgā Tonyukuk is evil' (TI N 10), oγuzī 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 sūṅūšdūmiz '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 batar ārkli sūṅūsdūm 'I fought in the evening, while the sun was setting' (MČ E 1).

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

5°. an ordinal numeral: tōrtūnč āzginti qadīzda sūṅūsdūm '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 saqintīm 'I (lit.: 'myself') mourned' (KT N 10), türük bāglār 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), kül 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), bāglik urī oγlur qul boltī 'your sons worthy of becoming lords became slaves' (KT E 24), qaṅim qaγan sūsī böri 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 tąg biz 'it seems as if we are holding the exterior with (our own) interior (i. e., with our own forces)' (TI S 6).

C. Without copula: körüg sabı antaγ 'the words of the scout (were) as follows' (TI S 2), sü bası inäl qaγan 'the commander-in-chief (is) Inäl Kagan' (TI N 7), ol yolun yorısar unç 'if we go that way, (it will be) possible' (TI E 7), bän bilgä toñuquq 'I (am) Bilgä Tonyukuk' (TII E 8), ol amtı añıy yoq 'they (are) not rebellious now' (KT S 3), iltä buγ yoq '(if the Turkish kagan stays at the Ötükän Mountains), (there will be) no trouble in the realm' (KT S 3), barduq yirdä ädgüg ol ärinç 'in the lands where you went, this (was) your only benefit:' (KT E 24), üç 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 äçim qaγan 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 tüşäyın 'I shall go down to the camp' (TI S 4), bän yiridınta yan tągäyın 'I shall attack from the north' (TI S 4), män toquz yegirmi yıl şad olurtum toq[uz yegir]mi yıl [qaγan olu]rtum 'nineteen years reigned I as şad, nineteen years as kagan' (BK S 9), biz ekı biγ ärtimiz 'we were two thousand' (TI S 9), ol bizni ... ölürtäci kök 'he will sooner or later kill us' (TI E 4).

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

(i. e., defeated) the Karluks and subjugated them' (KT N 2), süñüşdüimiz 'we fought' (KT E 37), uça bardıγız 'you passed away (lit.: 'you went flying')' (KT SE), bilgä qaγan ärmis alp qaγan ärmis 'wise kagans were (they), brave kagans were (they)' (KT E 3).

3°. Numeral as subject: ekısi 'two of them' in ekısın (KT E 38); see Cardinal Numerals (3.2161.2°).

4°. Participle as subject: içikigmä içikdi 'those who meant to submit submitted' (BK E 37).

5°. Verbal noun as subject: tün udışıqım kälmedi küntüz olursıqım 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') (TI S 5).

6°. Nominal phrase as subject: bodun boγuzı toq ärti 'the people's stomach was full' (TI S 1), türük qara qamaγ bodun ança timis 'the Turkish common people apparently said as follows' (KT E 8-9).

7°. Predicative construction as subject: türük bodun tämir qapıγqa tinsi oγlı aytıγma taγqa tągmis / 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 -miş (3.2218).

4.23. Agreement between the Subject and Predicate

4.231. Agreement in Person

Agreement in person is obligatory: bän ança 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 ätın it(t)i 'the Turkish lords abandoned the Turkish titles' (KT E 7), oγlitı qaγan bolmis ärinç '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 tırük tãñrisi tırük iduq yiri 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 katun had died' (TI N 7), özi/yañilti '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/basdi '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 tãñri 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: mãniñ sabimın simadı 'he did not reject my request' (KT N 11).

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

3°. The predicate is the negative noun yoq: iltã buñ yoq '(if the Turkish kagan stays at the Ötükän Mountains,) there will be no trouble in the realm' (KT S 3), nãñ 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: çiγañ bodunuγ bay qiltim / az bodunuγ üküš qiltim 'I made the poor people wealthy, I made the few people numerous' (KT S 9), bilgã qaγan ģrmis / alp qaγan ģrmis 'wise kagans were (they), brave kagans were (they)' (KT E 3), anta kisrä inisi qaγan bolmis ģrinč / oγliti qaγan bolmis ģrinč 'then the younger brothers came to the throne, the sons came to the throne' (KT E 4-5), özi yañilti / qaγanı ölti / bodunı küñ qul bolti 'he betrayed (us), their kagan was killed, their people became slaves and servants' (KT E 20), [siñ]ar süsi ģbig barqıγ yulγalı bardı / siñar süsi süñüşgãli kãlti '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 / yabiz ģrtimiz 'we were few and in a bad condition' (BK E 32).

The copula may be omitted in the second clause: yuyqa ģrkli toplayalı uçuz ģrmis / yinčgã ģrkli üzgãli 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 / aγisi yimšaq 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 yãmã (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 yamtar'iy it(t)im 'I sent Tudun Yamtar saying, 'start a campaign against the Karluks in the south!' (BK E 40), täpři bilgä qayanta adr'il-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 qayanim 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 saqin-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[nip] 'having thought 'I shall nourish (them)' (BK E 35).

4.27. Parenthetical Clause

[anta] kisrä — täpři yarlıq(q)azu — qutum bar üčün ülügüm 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 ayıučisı bilgä ärmis — qačan (n)äp 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)äp ärsär ol bizni — [qayanı alp ärmis] ayıučisı bilgä ärmis — qačan (n)äp ärsär ölürtäči kök id. (TI E 3-4).

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II. TEXTS

The Kül Tigin Inscription

South

(S1) tǎŋri tǎg, tǎŋridǎ bolmiš türük bilgä qayan bu ödkä¹ olurtum. sabimin tükäti äsidgil,² ulayu ini-yägündüm oylanım biriki oyušum bodunum, biriyä šadpit bäglär, yiriya tarqat buyruq bäglär, otuz [.....] (S2) toquz oγuz bägläri bodunī, bu sabimin ädgüti äsid, qatiγdi tıŋla! ilgärü kün toγsıq(q)a³ birigärü kün ortusıŋaru, qurıyaru kün batsıqıŋa yiriγaru tün ortusıŋaru, anta ičräki bodun [qop] m[an]a] k[örür]. [bunč]a bodun (S3) qop itdim. ol amtī añıγ yoq. türük qayan ötükan yiš olursar, iltä buŋ yoq. ilgärü šan-tuŋ yazıŋa tǎgi sülädim, taluyqa kičig tǎgmädim. birigärü toquz ärskinkä tǎgi sülädim, tüpütkä kičig [tǎg]mädim. qurıyaru yinčü ögüz] (S4) kǎčǎ tǎmir qapıyqa tǎgi sülädim, yiriγaru yir bayırqu yirıŋǎ tǎgi sülädim. bunča yirkä tǎgi yoritdim. ötükan yišda yig idi yoq ärmis;⁴ il tutsıq yir ötükan yiš ärmis. bu yirdä olurup tabγač bodun birlä (S5) tüzültüm. altun kümüš⁵ isgiti⁶ qutay buŋsüz anča birür. tabγač bodun sabī sūčig,⁷ aγısi yimšaq ärmis.⁸ sūčig⁹ sabın, yimšaq aγın arıp iraq bodunuy anča yaγutır ärmis.¹⁰ yaγuru qontuqda kisrǎ añıγ bilig¹¹ anta öyür ärmis.¹² (S6) ädgü bilgä kisig, ädgü alp kisig yoritmaz ärmis.¹³ bir kiši yaŋılsar, oγuši bodunı bisükıŋǎ tǎgi iqidmaz ärmis. sūčig¹⁴ sabıŋa, yimšaq aγısiŋa arturup öküs¹⁵ türük bodun öltüg. türük bodun, ölsikıŋ! biriyä čoyay yiš, tögültün (S7) yazı qonayın tisär, türük bodun, ölsikig! anta añıγ kiši anča bošγurür ärmis: iraq ärsär yablaq aγı birür, yaγaq ärsär ädgü aγı birür, tip anča bošγurür ärmis.¹⁶ bilig bilmǎz kiši ol sabıγ alıp yaγuru barıp öküš kiši¹⁷ öltüg. (S8) ol yergärü barsar, türük bodun, öltäči sän! ötükan yir olurup.

arqış tirkiş isar, nāḡ buḡuḡ yoq. ötükän yiş olursar, bāḡḡü il tuta olurtaçi sän. türük bodun, toqurqaq sän. āčsiq¹ tosiq ömāz sän, bir todsar āčsiq ömāz sän. antaḡ-
iñin (S9) üčün² igidmiş qaḡanıñin sabīn almatīn yir sayu
bardıḡ; qop anta alqıntıḡ ariltıḡ. anta qalmışı yir sayu qop
toru ölü yoriyūr ärtig. tāḡri yarlıq(q)aduḡın üčün, [ö]züm
qutum bar üčün qaḡan olurtum. qaḡan olurup (S10) yoq
çiḡañ bodunuḡ qop qubratdım³. çiḡañ bodunuḡ bay qiltım,
az bodunuḡ üküş qiltım. azu bu sabīmda igid bar ḡu? türük
bāḡlār bodun, bunı āsidiñ! türük [bodun, ti]rip il tutsiqıñın
bunta urtum, yañlıp ölsikiñin yāmā (S11) bunta urtum. nāḡ
nāḡ sabīm ärsār bāḡḡü taşqa urtum. aḡar körü biliñ. türük
matī bodun bāḡlār, bödkā körügmā bāḡlār ḡü yañıltaçi siz?
mān b[āḡḡü taş tabḡ]ač qaḡanta bādizçi kälürtüm,
bādizāt(t)im. māniñ sabīmın simadī. (S12) tabḡač qaḡanıñ
içrāki bādizçig it(t)i. aḡar adinç(ç)ıḡ barq yaraturtum;
için taşın adinç(ç)ıḡ bādiz urturtum. taş toqıtdım, köñül-
täki sabīmın u[rturtum. on oq oḡlıñ]a tatiña tägi
bunı körü biliñ. bāḡḡü taş (S13) toqıtdım. [t² u . .] el
ärsār, anča taḡı ärig yertā irsār, anča ärig yertā bāḡḡü
taş toqıtdım, bitīd(d)im. añı körüp anča biliñ. ol taş
[.]dım. bu bitig bitigmā atīsı yol(l)uḡ t[igin].

East

(E1) üzā kök tāḡri asra yaḡız yer qılıntuqda ekīn ara
kisī oḡlı qilinmis. kisī oḡlınta üzā äčüm apām bumīn qaḡan,
istāmi qaḡan olurmiş. olurupan türük bodunıñ ilin törüsīn
tuta birmis, iti birmis. (E2) tört buluḡ qop yaḡı ärmis.
sü sülāpān tört buluḡdaḡı bodunuḡ qop almıs, qop baz qılmıs.
başlıḡıḡ yüküntürmis, tizligig sökürmis. ilgärü qadırqan
yişqa tägi, kirü tāmīr qapıḡqa tägi qonturmis. ekīn ara
(E3) idi oqsız kök türük anča⁴ olurūr ärmis. bilgā qaḡan
ärmis. buyruḡı yāmā bilgā ärmis ärinç, alp ärmis ärinç.
bāḡlārı yāmā bodunı yāmā tüz ärmis. añı üčün ilig anča
tutmis⁵ ärinç. ilig tutup törüg itmis. özī anča (E4) käreḡäk
bolmis. yoḡçi siḡıtcı öñrā kün toḡsiqda bükli çöl(l)üg el,
tabḡač, tüpüt, apar, purum, qırqız, üç qurıqan, otuz tatar,
qıtañ, tatabı, bunča bodun kälipān siḡtāmıs,⁶ yoḡlāmıs.⁷
antaḡ kültüg qaḡan ärmis. anta kisrā inisī qaḡan (E5) bolmis

ärinç, oḡlıtı qaḡan bolmis¹ ärinç. anta kisrā inisī äcisīn
täḡ qılınmaduḡ ärinç, oḡlı qaḡın täḡ qılınmaduḡ ärinç. bi-
ligsiz qaḡan olurmis ärinç, yablaq qaḡan olurmis.²
buyruḡı yāmā biligsiz ärinç,³ yablaq ärmis⁴ ärinç. (E6)
bāḡlārı bodunı tüzsiz üčün, tabḡač bodun täbligın kürlüg⁵
üčün, armaḡçisīn üčün,⁶ inilī äçilī kipsürtükīn üčün, bāḡlı
bodunlıḡ yoḡşurtuḡın üčün,⁷ türük bodun illädük⁸ ilin içyīnu
idmis,⁹ (E7) qaḡanladuḡ qaḡanın yitürü idmis.¹⁰ tabḡač
bodunqa bāḡlik uri oḡlin¹¹ qul boltı,¹² esilik¹³ qız oḡlin¹⁴
küñ boltı.¹⁵ türük bāḡlār türük ätin¹⁶ it(t)i. tabḡačḡı bāḡ-
lār tabḡač ätin¹⁷ tutupan tabḡac qaḡanqa (E8) körmis, alig
yil isig küçüg birmis.¹⁸ ilgärü kün toḡsiqda¹⁹ bükli qaḡ-
anqa tägi sülāyü birmis,²⁰ qurıḡaru tāmīr qapıḡqa tägi
sülāyü birmis;²¹ tabḡac qaḡanqa ilin törüsīn²² ali birmis.²³
türük qara qamaḡ (E9) bodun anča timis;²⁷ illig bodun
ärtim; ilim amfi qanı? kāmka ilig qazḡanūr mān? tir
ärmis. qaḡanlıḡ bodun ärtim; qaḡanıñ qanı? nā qaḡanqa
isig küçüg birūr mān? tir ärmis.²⁵ anča tip tabḡač qa-
ḡanqa yaḡı bolmis.²⁶ (E10) yaḡı bolup itinü yaratunu uma-
duḡ, yana içikmis.²⁷ bunča isig küçüg birtükḡärü²⁸ saḡın-
matı, türük bodun²⁹ öltüräyīn, uruḡsiratayīn tir ärmis.
yoqadu barır ärmis. üzā türük tāḡrisı, türük iduḡ yiri
(E11) subi anča etmis;³⁰ türük bodun yoq bolmazun tiyin,
bodun bolçun tiyin, qaḡım il-teris qaḡanıḡ, öḡüm il-bilgā
qatunuḡ tāḡri töpüsīntā tutup yüg(g)ärü kötürmis³¹ ärinç.
qaḡım qaḡan yiti yegirmi ärin taşıqmıs. taşra (E12)
yoriyūr tiyin kü äsidip bañıqdaḡı taḡıqmıs, taḡdaḡı inmis,³²
tirilip yetmis³³ är bolmis.³⁴ tāḡri küç birtük üčün qaḡım
qaḡan stsı bōri täḡ ärmis,³⁵ yaḡı³⁶ qoñ täḡ ärmis.³⁷
ilgärü qurıḡaru sülāp ti[r]m[iş] qubrat[miş], [q]amaḡı (E
13) yeti yüz är bolmis.³⁸ yeti yüz är bolup elsirāmis qa-
ḡansiramıs bodunuḡ, küñādmıs quladmıs bodunuḡ, türük
törüsīn³⁹ içyīnmıs bodunuḡ äčüm apām törüsīncā yaratmis⁴⁰
boşḡurmis.⁴¹ tölis tarduş [bodunuḡ anta itmiş], (E14)
yabḡuḡ şadıḡ anta birmis.⁴² biriyā tabḡač bodun yaḡı ärmis,⁴³
yiriya baz qaḡan, toquz oḡuz bodun yaḡı ärmis;⁴⁴ qırqız,
qurıqan, otuz tatar, qıtañ, tatabı qop yaḡı ärmis. qaḡım
qaḡan bunča (E15) qırq artuḡı yeti⁴⁵ yoḡı sülāmıs,⁴⁶
yegirmi süñüs⁴⁷ süñüsmıs.⁴⁸ tāḡri yarlıq(q)aduḡ üčün⁴⁹
illigig elsirātmiş,⁵⁰ qaḡanlıḡıḡ qaḡansiratmiş; yaḡıḡ baz

qılmış;¹ tizligig sökürmis, ² başliγiγ yūküntü[rmis³. . . .
ilig] (E16) törüg qazγanıp uça barmis. qaγım qaγanqa
başlayu baz qaγanıγ balbal tikmis. ⁴ ol törüdə üzä äçim
qaγan olurti. äçim qaγan⁵ olurupan türük bodunuγ yiçä
itdi, igit(t)i. ⁶ çiyanıγ bay qilti, aziγ üküš qilti. (E17)
äçim qaγan olurtuqda⁷ özüm⁸ tarduš bodun üzä šad ärtim.⁹
äçim birlä ilgärü yašil ögüz šantuj yazıqa täge sülädimiz;
qurıγaru tämır qapıγqa täge sülädimiz. kögmän aša qı[rqız
yirıñä täge sülädimiz]. (E18) qamaγı biš otuz sülädimiz,
üç yegirmi süñüšdümiz, illigig ilsirätdimiz, qaγanlıγiγ
qaγansiratdimiz; tizligig sökürtümiz, başliγiγ yūküntür-
tümiz. türgis qaγan türükümiz¹⁰ [bodunumuz¹¹ ärti.
bilmädükün] (E19) üçün, ¹² biziñä yaγıluqın üçün¹³ qaγanı
ölti, buyruqı bağları yämä ölti, on oq bodun ämgäk körti.
äçümiz apämiz tutmis yir sub idisiz bolmazun¹⁴ tiyin az
bodunuγ itip yar[atıp.] (E20) bars
bäg ärti. qaγan at¹⁵ bunta biz birtimiz. siglim qunçuyγ
birtimiz. özi yaγılti, ¹⁶ qaγanı ölti, bodunı küñ qul bolti.
kögmän yir sub idisiz qalmazun tiyin az qırqız bodunuγ
yaratıp¹⁷ kältimiz. süñüšdümiz] (E21) yana
birtimiz. ilgärü¹⁸ qadırgan yišiy aša bodunuγ ança qontur-
tumiz, ança itdimiz. qurıγaru kängü tarmanqa¹⁹ täge türük
bodunuγ ança qonturtumiz, ança etdimiz. ²⁰ ol ödkä qul
qulluγ bolmiš ärti, ²¹ [küñ küplüg bolmiš ärti? inisi äçisin
bilmäz arti, oγlı qaγın bilmäz ärti] (E22) ança qazγanmis
itmis²² elimiz²³ törümüz ärti. türük oγuz bağları, bodun,
äsidip! ²⁴ üzä täñri basmasar, asra yir²⁵ tälınmäsär, türük
bodun, elin²⁶ törün²⁷ käm artatı [udaçi ärti]? türük
bodun, ärtin²⁸ (E23) ökün! kürägün üçün²⁹ igidmis³⁰
bilgä³¹ qaγanıñin³² ärmis³³ barmis ädgü elinä kântü yaγıltıγ,
yablaq kigürtüg. yaraqlıγ qantın kälip yafı eltdi?³⁴ süñüglüg
qantın kälipän sürä eltdi? iduq ötükän y[iš bodun, bardıγ!
ilgärü barıγma] (E24) bardıγ, qurıγaru barıγma bardıγ.
barduq yirdä³⁵ ädgüg ol ärinç: qanıñ subça³⁶ yögürti, sü-
ñükün³⁷ taγça yatdı; bağlık urı oγluğ³⁸ qul bolti, ³⁹ esilik
qız oγluğ kuñ bolti. ⁴⁰ bilmädük⁴¹ üçün, [yablaqıñın üçün
äçim qaγan uça bardı]. (E25) başlayu qırqız qaγanıγ balbal
tikdim. türük bodun[iγ]⁴² atı küsı yoq bolmazun tiyin, qaγım
qaγanıγ ögüm qatunuγ kötürmiš⁴³ täñri, il birigmä⁴⁴ täñri,
türük bodun atı küsı yoq bolmazun [tiyin, özümün ol

täñri] (E26) qaγan olurtdi ärinç. näñ yilsiy bodunqa¹
olurmadim; içrä ässiz, tašra tonsiz, yabiz yablaq bodunta
üzä olurtum. inim kül tigin birlä sözläšdimiz. qaγımiz
äçimiz qaz [γanmiš bodun atı küsı yoq bolmazun] (E27)
tiyin, türük bodun üçün² tün udimadim, ³ küntüz olurmadim. ⁴
inim kül tigin birlä, ekı šad birlä ölü yitü qazγantim. ança
qazγanıp biriki bodunuγ ot sub qılmadim. män [özüm
qaγan olurtuquma yir sayu] (E28) barmiš bodun ölü yitü,
yadaγın yalıñın yana kälti. bodunuγ igidäyin⁵ tiyin, yiri-
γaru oγuz bodun tapa, ilgärü qıtañ tatabı bodun tapa, biri-
gärü tabγaç tapa uluγ sü⁶ ekı yegir[mi sülädim,
süñüšdüm. anta] (E29) kisrä, täñri yarlıq(q)azu, ⁷ qutum
bar üçün, ülügüm bar üçün⁸ öltäçi bodunuγ tırgürü igit-
(t)im. yalıñ bodunuγ tonluγ, ⁹ çiyanı bodunuγ bay qiltim.
iγar elligä [iγar qaγanlıγda yeg qiltim. tört buluñdaqı]
(E30) bodunuγ qop baz qiltim, yaγısiz qiltim; qop maña
körti. isig küçüg birür. bunça törüg qazγanıp inim kül
tigin özi ança kargäk bolti. qaγım qaγan uçduqda inim kül
tigin yi[ti yašda qaltı?] (E31) umay tæg ögüm qatun
qutıña inim kül tigin är at bultı. altı yegirmi yašıña äçim
qaγan ilin törüsün ança qazγantı. altı çub soγdaγ tapa
sülädimiz. tabγaç oñ tutuq bis t[ümän sü kälti, süñüšdümiz?]
(E32) kül tigin yadaγın oplayu tægdi; oñ tutuq yurçın yaraqlıγ
äligin tutdı, yaraqlıγdı qaγanqa ançuladı. ol süg anta yoq
qışdımiz. bir otuz yašıña çäça säñünkä süñüšdümiz. aγ
ilkı tadiqıñ çorıñ boz [atıγ binip tægdi. ol at anta] (E33)
ölti. ekinti işbara yamtar boz atıγ binip tægdi. ol at anta
ölti. üçünç yegän silig bağıñ kädimlig toruγ at binip tægdi.
ol at anta ölti. yarıqınta yalmasınta yüz artuq oqun urtı;
yüzinä başıña bir t[ägürmädi.] (E34) tægdukün, türük
bağlar, qop bilir siz. ol süg anta yoq qışdımiz. anta kisrä
γ(i)r bayırqu uluγ irkin yaγı bolti. anı yañıp türgi yarγun
költä buzdumiz. uluγ irkin azqıña ärin tüzip bardı. kül
tigin [altı otuz] (E35) yašıña qırqız tapa sülädimiz. süñüg
batımı qarıγ söküpan kögmän yišiy toγa yorıp qırqız bodunuγ
uda basdımiz. qaγanın birlä soña yišda süñüšdümiz. kül
tigin bayırqun[iñ aq adıγı]r[iγ] (E36) binip oplayu tægdi.
bir ärig oqun urtı; ekı ärig ud ašru sançdı. ol tægdukä
bayırqunıñ aq adıγırıγ udlıqın siyu urtı. qırqız qaγanın
ölkürtümiz, ilin altımiz. ol yılqa tü[rgis tapa altun yišiy]

(E37) toya ärtis ögüzüg kãčã yorîdimiz. tûrgis bodunuy uda basdimiz. tûrgis qaγan süsî bolčuda otča borča kãlti. süñüšdümiz. kül tigin bašγu boz at binip tãgdi. bašγu boz k[.....] (E38) tutuzt[i] ekisin özi altuzdî. anta yana kirip tûrgis qaγan buyruqî az tutuquγ äligin tutdî. qaγanin anta ölürtümiz, ilin altimiz. qara tûrgis bodun qop içikdi. ol bodunuy tabarda qo[nturtumiz?.....] (E39) soγdaγ bodun itâyin tiyin yinčü ögüzüg kãčã tãmir qapîγqa tãgi sülâdimiz. anta kisrã qara tûrgis bodun yaγî bolmiš, kãñãris tapa bardî. biziñ sũ atî toruq, azuqî yoq ärti. yablaq kisî ä[r.....] (E40) alp ä[r biziñã tãgmiš ärti. antaγ ödkã ökündp kül tiginig az ärin irtürü it(t)imiz. uluγ süñüš süñüšmiš. alp šalçi aq atin binip tãgmiš. qara tûrgis bodunuy anta ölürmis almiš. yana yorip [.....]

North

(N1) [.....] birlã qošu tutuq birlã süñüšmiš, ärin qop ölürmis. äbin barimîn qalîsiz qop kãlürti. kül tigin yiti otuz yašîña qarluq bodun ärrür barür ärkli yaγî boltî. tamaγ îduq bašda süñüšdümiz. (N2) [kül] tigin ol süñüšdã otuz yašayür ärti. alp šalçi [aqin binip oplayu tãgdi. ekî ärig ud ašru sančdî. qarluquγ ölürtümiz altimiz. az bodun yaγî boltî. qara költã süñüšdümiz. kül tigin bir qîrç yašayür ärti. alp šalçi aqin (N3) binip oplayu tãgdi. az el-tãbãrig tutdî. az bodun anta yoq boltî. äçim qaγan ilî qamšay boltuqînta, bodun ilig ikãgü boltuqînta izgil bodun birlã süñüšdümiz. kül tigin alp šalçi aqin binip (N4) o[playu tãgd]i. ol at anta tûs[di]. izgil [bodun] ölti. toquz oγuz bodun kãntü bodunum ärti. tãñri yir bulyaqin üçün yaγî boltî. bir yılqa biš yolî süñüšdümiz. aq ilk toγu balıqda süñüšdümiz. (N5) kül tigin azman aqîγ binip oplayu tãgdi. altî ärig sančdî. sũ [t]ãgisintã yitinč ärig qiliçladî. ekinti quš-alyaqda ädiz birlã süñüšdümiz. kül tigin az yaγizîn binip oplayu tãgip bir ärig sančdî, (N6) toquz ärig ägirã toqîdî. ädiz bodun anta ölti. üçünč bo[l-çu]da oγuz birlã süñüšdümiz. kül tigin azman aqîγ binip tãgdî, sančdî; süsîn sančdimiz, ilin altimiz. törtünč çuš bašînta süñüšdümiz. türük (N7) bodun adaq qamšatdî.

yablaq bo[ltaç]i ärti. oza [k]ãlmis süsîn kül tigin aγitip toγra bir oγuš alpaγu on ärig toγa tigin yoγînta ägirip ölürtümiz. bisinč äzginti qadizdã oγuz birlã süñüšdümiz. kül tigin (N8) az yaγizîn binip tãgdi. ekî ärig sančdî, b[aliq(q)]a b[as]iqdî. ol sũ anta ö[lti]. amγa qorγan qîšlap yazıña oγuzγaru sũ tašiqdimiz. kül tigin äbig bašlayu aqit(t)imiz. oγuz yaγî ordūγ basdî. kül tigin (N9) ögsiz aqin binip toquz äran sančdî, ordūγ birmãdi. ögüm qatun ulayu öglãrim äkãlãrim kãliñünüm qunçuylarim bunča yãmã tirigî küñ boltaçi ärti, ölügî yurtta volta yatu qaltaçi ärtigiz. (N10) kül tigin yoq ärsär, qop öltãçi ärtigiz. inim kül tigin kãrgãk boltî. özüm saqintim. körür közüm kör-mãz tãg, bilir biligim bilmãz tãg boltî. özüm saqintim. öd tãñri yasar. kisî oγî qop ölgãli törümis. (N11) anča saqintim. közdã yaš kãlsär tîda, köñültã siγit kãlsär yanturu saqintim; qatîydi saqintim. ekî šad ulayu ini-yãgünüm oγlanim bãglãrim bodunum közî qašî yablaq boltaçi tip saqintim. yoγçi siγitçi qitanã tatabî bodun bašlayu (N12) udar säñün kãlti. tabγaç qaγanta isiyi likãñ kãlti; bir tûmãn aγî altun kümüş kãrgãksiz kãlürti. tûpüt qaγanta bölün kãlti. quriya kün batsiqdaqî soγud, bärçik ä[r, buqaraq ulus bodunta änik säñün, oγul tarqan kãlti. (N13) on oq oγlum tûrgis qaγanta maqaraç tamγaçi, oγuz bilgã tamγaçi kãlti. qîrçiz qaγanta tarduš inanču çor kãlti. barq itgüçi bãdiz yaratîγma bitig taš itgüçi tabγaç qaγan çiqanî çañ säñün kãlti.

North-East

kül tigin qon yılqa yiti yegirmikã uçdî. toquzunč ay yeti otuzqa yoγ ärtürtümiz. barqin bãdizîn bitig taš[in] biçîn yılqa yitinč ay yiti otuzqa qop alqd[imî]z. kül tigin ö[zî?] qîrç artuq[i y]iti yašik bulit bust[adî?] [.....] bunča bãdizçig tuyγut el-tãbãr kãlürti¹.

South-East

bunča bitig bitigmã kül tigin atisî yol(l)uγ tigin bitîdim. yigirmi kün oluruq bu tašqa bu tãmqa qop yol(l)uγ tigin bitidim. iγar oγlanîñizda tayγunuñizda yegdi igidür ärtigiz. uça bardîγiz. tãñr[idã?] tirigdãkiçã [.....?].

[—] kül tiginij altunin kümüsün ayışın barımın tör[t
biñ?] yilq[is]in ayıγma tuyγut bu[.....] bāgim tigin
yüg(g)ārū tāñ[ri.....] taš bitidim.
yolluγ tigin.

West

quridin [s]oγud erti. inim kül tigin [...] üçün öl[ü
yitu?] isig küçüg birtük üçün türük bilgä qaγan ayuqıqa
inim kül tiginig küzädü olurt[um]. inänču apā yarγan
tarqan ātiγ [b]ertim. [an]i ögtürt[üm].

Notes

Page	Note
231	1. /bu ödkä/ BK N1: <u>bödka</u>
"	2. /äsidgil/ BK N1: <u>äsid</u>
"	3. /toγsiq(q)a/ BK N2: <u>toγsiqıña</u>
"	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>
"	16. /ärmis/ BK N5: <u>ärmiš</u>
"	17. /kišī/ BK N6: <u>kisī</u>
232	1. /äčsiq/ BK N6: <u>äčsär</u>
"	2. /üčün/ BK N6: <u>üčün</u>
"	3. /qubratdīm/ BK N7: <u>qubrat(t)īm</u>
"	4. /kök türük anča/ BK E4: <u>kök türük iti anča</u>
"	5. /tutmis/ BK E4: <u>tutmiš</u>
"	6. /siytāmis/ BK E5: <u>siytāmiš</u>
"	7. /yoγlāmis/ BK E5: <u>yoγlāmiš</u>
233	1. /bolmis/ BK E5: <u>bolmiš</u>
"	2. /olurmis/ BK E6: <u>olurmiš</u>
"	3. /biligsiz ärinč/ BK E6: <u>biligsiz ärmis ärinč</u>
"	4. /ärmis/ BK E6: <u>ärmiš</u>
"	5. /kürlüg/ BK E6: <u>kürlügin</u>
"	6. /üčün/ BK E7: <u>üčün</u>

Page	Note
233	7. / <u>üçün</u> / BK E7: <u>üçün</u>
"	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>
"	17. / <u>ātīn</u> / BK E7: <u>at.</u>
"	18. / <u>birmis</u> / BK E8: <u>birmiš</u>
"	19. / <u>toγsiqda</u> / BK E8: <u>toγsiq(q)a</u>
"	20. / <u>birmis</u> / BK E8: <u>birmiš</u>
"	21. / <u>birmis</u> / BK E8: <u>birmiš</u>
"	22. / <u>törüsīn</u> / BK E8: <u>törüsīn</u>
"	23. / <u>birmis</u> / BK E8: <u>birmiš</u>
"	24. / <u>timis</u> / BK E8: <u>timiš</u>
"	25. / <u>ārmis</u> / BK E9: <u>ārmiš</u>
"	26. / <u>bolmis</u> / BK E9: <u>bolmiš</u>
"	27. / <u>ičikmis</u> / BK E9: <u>ičikmiš</u>
"	28. / <u>birtükgarū</u> / BK E9: <u>birtük(k)arū</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>yaγisī</u> / BK E11: <u>yaγisī</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>rüsīn</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>sūγūs</u> / BK E13: <u>sūγūš</u>
"	48. / <u>sūγūsmis</u> / BK E13: <u>sū[γūš]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 fol- lowed by [<u>qaγim</u>]/ <u>qaγan uçduqda özüm</u> <u>säkiz yašda qaltim</u>
"	5. / <u>äçim 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 fol- lowing 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>atıγ</u>
"	16. / <u>yaγilti</u> / BK E17: <u>yazıntı</u>
"	17. / <u>yarat[ip]</u> / BK E17: <u>i[tip] yaratıp</u>
"	18. Spelt: <u>l²gr²u</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 küγ küγlüγ bolmiš ārti</u>

<u>Page</u>	<u>Note</u>
234	22. /qazγanmis itmis/ BK E18: <u>qazγanmiš</u> <u>anča itmiš</u>
"	23. /elimiz/ BK E18: <u>ilim.</u>
"	24. /āsidiŋ/ BK E18: <u>āsīd</u>
"	25. /yir/ BK E18: <u>yer</u>
"	26. /eliŋin/ BK E19: <u>iliŋin</u>
"	27. /törüŋin/ BK E19: <u>törügin</u>
"	28. /ärtin/ 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. /qazγanīŋin/ BK E19: <u>qazγanīña</u>
"	33. /ärmis/ BK E19: <u>ärmiš...</u>
"	34. /eltdi/ BK E19: <u>iltđi</u>
"	35. /yirdä/ BK E20: <u>yerdä</u>
"	36. /subča/ BK E20: <u>ögüzčä</u>
"	37. /süŋüküŋ/ BK E20: <u>süŋüküg</u>
"	38. /oγluŋ/ BK E20: <u>oγluŋin</u>
"	39. /bolti/ BK E20: <u>qiltiγ</u>
"	40. /bolti/ BK E20: <u>qiltiγ</u>
"	41. /bilmädük/ BK E20: <u>ol bilmädükügin</u>
"	42. /bodunīγ/ 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. /udīmadīm/ BK E22: <u>udīmadīm</u>
"	4. /olurmadīm/ Spelt: <u>olurmad</u>
"	5. /igidäyīn/ BK E23: <u>igidäyin</u>
"	6. /uluγ sū/ is absent in BK E23
"	7. /yarliq(q)azu/ BK E23: <u>yarliq(q)aduq</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) täŋri täg, täŋri yaratmiš türük bilgä qazγan sabim: qazγim türük bilgä [qazγan.]ti sir, toquz oγuz, eki ädiz karäkulüg baġlarī bodunī! [. tū]rük täŋ[ri] (E2) üzä qazγan olurtum. olurtuquma öltäčičä saqīnīγma türük baġlar bodun ägirip säbinip toγta-miš közi yüg(g)ärü körti. bödkä özüm olurup bunča aγar törüg tört buluġdaqi [.]dim.¹ (E24) az bodunuγ üküš qiltim. iγar elligdä [i]γar qazγanliγda yeg qiltim. tört buluġdaqi bodunuγ qop baz qiltim, yaγisiz qi[lti]m; qop maγa körti. yeti yegirmi yašima taγut tapa sülädim. taγut bodunuγ buzdum, oγlīn yo[tuz]in yilqīsīn barīmīn anta altim. säkiz yegirmi yašima altı č[ub soγdaq] (E25) tapa sülädim. bodunuγ anta buzdum. tab[γač o]ŋ tutuq bes tümän sū kälti. iduq bašda süŋüşdüm. ol süg anta yoq qışdım. yegirmi yašima, basmīl iduq (qu)t oγušum bodun ärti, arqış idmaz tiyin sülädim. q[. . .]m, ičgärtim, qaliŋ[īn?] äbirü kälürtüm. eki otuz yašima tabγač (E26) tapa sülädim. čača säŋün säkiz tümän [sū] birlä süŋüşdüm. sūsīn anta ölürtüm. altı otuz yašima čik bodun qırqız birlä yaγī bolti. kām kăčä čik tapa sülädim. örpäntä süŋüşdüm. sūsīn sančdım. az [b]o[dunuγ altı]m [. . . . ič]-gärtim. yeti otuz yašima qırqız tapa sülädim. süŋüg batimī (E27) qarīγ söküpän kögmän yišīγ toγa yo[rīp] qırqız bodunuγ uda basdım. qazγanīn birlä soγa yišda süŋüşdüm. qazγanīn ölürtüm, ilin anta altim. ol yilqa türgis tapa altun yišīγ aša [är]tis ögüzüg kăčä yorī[dīm, türgis bodunuγ uda] basdım. türgis qazγan sūsī otča borča kälti. (E28) bolčuda süŋüşdümüz. qazγanīn yabγu[sī]n šadīn anta ölürtüm, ilin anta altim.

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

otuz yaşıma bes baliq tapa sülädim. altı yolı süñüşdüm, [..... sü]sın qop ö[lü]rtim. anta içräki nä 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 süñüşdüm. qarluq bodunuγ ölürtüm, anta altım. [.....bas]mül qara [.....] qarluq bodun tir[ilip kälti.....]m ö[lürtüm]. t[oquz oγu]z mäneñ bodunum ärti. täñri yer bulyaqın üçün, ödñ[ä] (E30) küni tägdük üçün yağı boltı. bir yılqa tört yolı süñüşdüm. aq ilkı toγu baliqda süñüşdüm. toyla ögüzüg yüzüti kächip süsı [.....] ekinti antırγuda süñüşdüm, süsın sançdım [..... üçünç çuš başınta sü]ñüşdüm. türük bodun adaq qamşat(t)ı, yablaq (E31) boltaçi ärti. oza yaña käligmä süsın aγıt(t)im. ^{1919-6ER 26749-0047-14}üküş öltäçi anta tirilti. anta tonra yilpaγutı bir oγuşuγ toña tigin yoγ[ınta] ağırä toqıdım. törtünç äzginti qadızda süñüşdüm. süsın anta sançdım, yabrıtđım. [.....] yabrıt [..... yaşı]ma amγı qorγan qışladuqda yut boltı. yazıña (E32) oγuz tapa sülädim. ilki sü taşiqmıš 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 süñüşgäli kälti. biz az ärtimiz, yabız ärtimiz. oγ[uz.....]t¹ yaγı?..... täñri] küç birtük üçün anta sançdım, (E33) yañdım. täñri yarlıq(q) - aduq üçün, män qazγantuq üçün türük bodun qazγ[anmiš? äri]nç. män iniligü bunça başlayu qazγanma [sar] türük bodun öltäçi ärti, yoq [bolta]çi ärti. [türük] bağlar [bodun anç]a saqınñ, ança biliñ. oγuz bo[đun.....]d¹ idmayın tiyin sülä[đim], (E34) äbın barqın buzdum. o[γuz] bodun toquz tatar birlä tirilip kälti. aγuda ekı uluγ süñüş süñüşdüm. süsın [buz]dum, elın anta altım. ança qazγan[ip.....täñri] yarlıq(q) - aduq üçün ö[züm] otuz artuqı ü[ç yaşıma.....]juq ärti. ödsig ötülüg ki[šı?] (E35) igidmiš al[p qazanıña ya]ñılıtı. üzä täñri, iduq yer sub, [äçim qa]-γan qutı taplamadı ärinç. toquz oγuz bodun yerin subın idip tabγaçγaru bardı. tabγaç [.....] bu yerdä kälti. igidäyin tiyin saq[inıp?.....] bodun [....] (E36) yazuqla [.....bi]riyä tabγaçda

atı küsı yoq boltı; bu yerdä maña qul boltı. män özüm qaγan olurtuqum üçün türük bodunuγ [.....]i qılmadı. [ilig] törüg yegdi qazγantım. id[.....] tirilip[y².....] (E37) [anta süñü]şdüm, süsın sançdım. 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 tabγaçqa kirti. ökünüp sülädim. suqun [.....o]γlın yotuzın anta altım. eki el-täbärlig bodun [.....] (E39) [.....] t[atab]ı bodun tabγaç qaγanqa körti. yala-baçı, ädgü sabı, ötügı kälmez 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 bolmiš, inisı bir qorγ[anqa?.....] (E41) [.....ar]qişi yälmädi. anı anıtayın tip sülädim. qoriγu 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 ödüşkä subsız kächdım. çoraqqa yägip yuluyçi [äri]g q[.....]s² kächinkä tägi [.....]

South

(S1) [.....tab]γaç 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 qi[ltim.....] (S5) yor[.....] (S6) süj[üşdüm?.....] (S7) [ber]tim. alp ärin ölürip [bal]bal qilu bertim. älig yaşıma tatabi bodun qitaında ad[rilti?.....]lkär ta'ya [.....] (S8) qu säjnün başadu tört tümän sü kälti. töñkäs ta'ya tägip toqıdım. üç tümän süg [ölürtü]m, b[ir tümän?.....]rsär [.....] ökt² m] tatabi [.....] (S9) ö[lü]rti. uluγ oylum a'rip yoq bolça quγ säjnünüg 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 qazγanu birtim.

bunça qazγanıp [qañim qayan i]t yıl onunç ay altı otuzqa uça bardı. laγzın yıl bisinç ay yiti otuzqa yoγ ärtürtüm. buquγ tutqu [.....] (S11) qañi lisün tay säjnün başad[u] bis yüz ärän kälti. qoqılıq ö[.....] altun kümüs kargaksız kälürti. yoγ yipariγ kälürüp tikä birti. čintan iyač kälürüp öz yar[.....] (S12) bunça bodun sačın qulqaqın [..... b]içdi; ädgü özlük atın, qara kisın, kök täyäjün sansız kälürüp qop qot(t)i. (S13) täñri täg, täñri yaratmış türük bilgä [qayan s]abim: qañim türük bilgä qayan olurtuqınta türük matı bāglār, kisrā tarduş bāglār kül čor başlayu ulayu şadpıt bāglār, öñrā tölis bāglār apā tarqa[n] (S14) başlayu ulayu şad[pıt] bāglār, bu [.....] taman tarqan, tonyuquq boyla ba'ya tarqan ulayu buyruq [.....] ič buyruq säbig kül irkin başlayu ulayu buyruq, bunça matı bāglār qañim qayanqa ärtiñü (S15) ärtiñü ti maγ i[tdi?.....t]ürük bāglārın bodunın ärtiñü ti maγ itdi ögd[i?..qañim] qayan [.....]ča a'yar tašıγ yoγun iγ türük bāglār bodun i[.....]irti. özümä bunça [.....]

North

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

[qañim] (N9) qayan, äçim qayan olurtuqınta tört buluñdaqi bodunuγ nänçä itm[iş.....] täñri yarlıq(q)aduq [üçün ö]züm olurtuquma [tört buluñdaqi] bodunuγ itdim yaratdım. [.....] qiltım. [...t]ürgis qayanqa

qizim[in.....] ärtiñü uluγ törün ali birtim. tür[gis qayan] (N10) qizın ärtiñü uluγ törün oyluma ali birtim. [.....] ärtiñü u]luγ [törün ali] birtim. [.....] ärtü[rtü]m [..... başliγ]iγ yöküntürtüm, tizligig sökürtüm. üzä täñri asra yer yarlıq(q)aduq üç[ün..] (N11) közün körmädük, qulqaqın äsidmädük bodunumın işgärü kün to[γsiqıña?] birigärü [.....]qa, qurıyaru [.....] sarıγ altunın, ürün kümüşin, qırγaylıγ qutayın, äkinlig äsg[itis]in, özlük atın, ad'irın, qara k[isın], (N12) kök täyäjün türükümä bodunuma qazγanu birtim, iti birtim. [.....]n² buñsız qiltım. üz[ä täñ]ri ärklig [.....] (N13) [.....] igidiñ. ämgätmäñ, tolyatmañ. [...m] türük bāglār, türük bodunum [.....] qazγanıp yañ[.....]a bu qayanıñda, bu bāglārig[dä, su]buñd[a adrılmasar?] tü[rük bodun] (N14) özün ädgü körtäçi säñ, äbiñä [ki]rtäçi säñ, buñsız boltaçi s[än..... anta] kisrā [tabyač qayan]a bädizçi qop k[älürtüm. mäniñ s]abimın simadı, ičräki bädizçig it(t)i. a'yar adınč(č)iγ barq yaratid(d)im; ičin tašın adınč(č)iγ bädiz [urturtum. taš toqıtdım; köñül-täki sabimın urturtum] (N15) on oq oγlıña tatiña tägi bunı körü biliñ. bāñgü taš [toqıtdım] toqıtdım, bitid(d)im. [.....] ol taš barqın [.....]

West

- (W1) [...] üzä [- - -]
- (W2) bilgä qayan u[çdi?]
- (W3) yay bolsar, üzä t[äñri]
- (W4) köbürgäsı ätarčä anč[a taqi?]
- (W5) ta'ya siγun ätsär, [anča?]
- (W6) saqınür män. qañim q[aγan]
- (W7) tašın özüm qayan [-?]

[-----]
[-----]

South-West

(SW) [- bilgä] qayan b[itigın?] yol(l)uγ tigin bitidim. bunça barqiγ bädizig uzuγ [.....] q[aγan atisı]

yol(1)uγ tigin mǎn ay artuqī tǔrt kǔn [olu]rup bitīdim, bǎdiz-
tim. yaγ[--].

The Tonyukuk Inscription

I. West

(W1) bilgǎ toǎnuquq bǎn ǔzǔm tabγač iliǧǎ qilintim.
tǔrk bodun tabγačqa kǔrǔr ǎrti. (W2) tǔrk bodun qanīn
bulmayin tabγačda adrīlti, qanlantī. qanīn qodup tabγačqa
yana ičikdi. tāǧri anča temis ǎrinč: qan bertim; (W3)
qanīǧin qodup ičikdiǧ. ičikdǔk ǔčǔn tāǧri ǔlǔtmis ǎrinč.
tǔrk bodun ǔlti, alqintī, yoq boltī. tǔrk sir bodun yerintǎ
(W4) bod qalmadī. ida tašda qalmisī qubranip yeti yǔz
boltī. ekī ǔlǔǧī atliγ ǎrti, bir ǔlǔǧı yadaγ ǎrti. yeti yǔz
kisīǧ (W5) uduzuγma uluγī šad ǎrti. yaγ(γ)il tidi. yaγmisī
bǎn ǎrtim. bilgǎ toǎnuquq. qaγan mu qisayīn tedim. saqin-
tim: toruq bǔqalī sǎmiz bǔqalī ıraqda (W6) bǔǧsǎr, sǎmiz
bǔqa toruq buqa teyin bilmǎz ǎrmis teyin anča saqintim.
anta kisrǎ tāǧri bilig bertǔk ǔčǔn ǔzǔm ǔzǔm ǔk qaγan
qīsdim. bilgǎ toǎnuquq boyla baγa tarqan (W7) birlǎ il-teris
qaγan boluyin biriyǎ tabγačīγ, ǔǧrǎ qītanīγ, yīriya oγuzuγ
ǔkǔs ǔk ǔlǔrti. bilgǎsī čabīsī bǎn ǔk ǎrtim. čoyay quzīn,
qara qumuγ olurur ǎrtimiz.

II. South

(S1) keyik yiyǔ, tabīsyan yeyǔ olurǔr ǎrtimiz. bodun
boγuzī toq ǎrti. yaγīmiz tāǧrǎ učuq tāǧ ǎrti; biz ašig (?)
ǎrtimiz. anča olurur ǎrkli oγuzduntan kǔrǔǧ kǎlti. (S2)
kǔrǔǧ sabī antaγ: toquz oγuz bodun ǔzǎ qaγan olurtī tir.
tabγačγaru qunī sǎǧǔnǔǧ idmis, qītanīγaru toǧra ǎsimig
idmis; sab anča idmis: azqīna tǔrk [bodun?] (S3) yorīyǔr
ǎrmis. qaγanī alp ǎrmis, ayγučisī bilgǎ ǎrmis. ol ekī
kisī bar ǎrsǎr sini tabγačīγ ǔlǔrtǎčī tir mǎn, ǔǧrǎ qītanīγ
ǔlǔrtǎčī tir mǎn, bini oγuzuγ (S4) ǔlǔrtǎčik tir mǎn.

tabyaç biridin yān tæg, qıtañ öñdün yān tæg, bān yiridinta yan tægāyīn. türk sir bodun yerintā idi yorımazun. usar idi yoq qısalım (S5) tir mān. ol sabıy āsidip tūn udısiqim kālmādi, küntüz olursiqim kālmādi. anta ötrü qağanıma ötüntüm. ança ötüntüm: tabyaç, oğuz, qıtañ buçāgū qabıs(s)ar (S6) qaltaçi biz. öz (i)çi tasın tutmis tæg biz. yuyqa ārkli toplayalı uçuz ārmis, yinçgā ārklig üzgāli uçuz; yuyqa qalın bolsar toplayuluq alp ārmis, yinçgā (S7) yoğun bolsar üzgölük alp ārmis. öñrā qıtañda, biriyā tabyaçda, qurıya quridinta, yirıya oğuzda ekı üç biñ sūmiz kältāçimiz bar mu nā? ança ötüntüm. (S8) qağanım [bān] özüm bilgā toñuquq ötüntük ötüncümin āsidü berti. köñ- lüñçā uduz tedi. kök öñüg yoğuru ötükan yisğaru uduztum. in(i)gāk kölikin toylada oğuz kälti. (S9) [sūsı üç biñ] ārmis. biz ekı biñ ārtimiz. sūñüsdümüz. tægri yarlıq(q)adı, yañdımız. ögüzkā tūsdi. yañduq yolta yāmā ölti kök. anta ötrü oğuz qopin kälti. (S10) tū[rk qağanıy] 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[ilın]yalı, türk qağan oluryalı santuğ balıq(q)a, taluy ögüzkā tægmis yoq ārmis. qağanıma ötüñüp sū eltdim, (E2) santuğ b[alıq(q)a] taluy [ögüz]kā tægürtüm. üç otuz balıq sidı. usın buntatu yurtda yatu qalūr ārti. tabyaç qağan yağımız ārti, on oq qağanı yağımız ārti; (E3) art[uq? qırqız] küçl[üg qağan yağımız] boltı. ol üç qağan öglāsip altun yīs üzā qabisalım temis. ança öglāsmis: öñrā türk qağanıyaru sülälim temis. aqaru sülāmāsār qačan (n)āñ ārsār ol bizni (E4) [qağanı alp ārmis], ayğuçisı bilgā ārmis, qačan (n)āñ ārsār ölürtāçi kök. üçāgūn qabisip sülälim, idi yoq qısalım temis. tūrgis qağan ança temis: bāniğ bodunum anta ārūr temis. (E5) [türük bodunı yāmā] bulyanç [o]l [temi]s, oğuzı yāmā tarqınç ol temis. ol sabın āsidip tūn yāmā udısiqim kālmāz ārti, kün yāmā olursiqim kālmāz ārti. anta saqıntıma. (E6) [ilk qırqız]q[a sū]lās[ar] [yeg? ār]mis tedim. kögmān yolı bir ārmis; tumis teyin āsidip bu yolun yorısar yaramaçi tedim. yerçi tilādim.

öölgi az ārī bultum, (E7) āsit(t)im: az yir y[olı?] anı b[irlā?] ... ār]mis, bir at-oruqı ārmis, anın barmis. aqar aytıp bir atlıy barmis teyin ol yolun yorısar unç tedim, saqıntım. qağanıma

North

(N1) ötüntüm, sū yorıtdım. tal atın tedim. aq tärnil kāçā oğurqalatdım. at üzā bintürā qarıy sökdüm; yoq(q)aru at yātā, yadağın, iğaç tutunu ayturtum. öñrāki ār (N2) yoğurça [idip] i bar baş asdımız. yubulu intimiz. on tūnkā yantaqı tuğ ābirü bardımız. yerçi yer yañilip boğuzlantı. buğadip qağan yālū kör temis. (N3) anı sub[qa] bard[imiz]. ol sub qodı bardımız. asanyalı tūsürtümüz. atıy iqa bayūr ārtimiz. kün yāmā tūn yāmā yālū bardımız. qırqızıy uqa basdımız. (N4) [usın?] sūñügūn ačdımız. qanı sūsı terilmis. sūñüsdümüz, sančdımız; qanın ölürtümüz. qağanqa qırqız bodunı içikdi yūkünti. yantımız; kögmān yisıy ābirü kältimiz, (N5) qırqızda yantımız. tūrgis qağanta körüg kälti, sabı antæg: öñdün qağanıyaru sū yorılım temis; yorımasar bizni, qağanı alp ārmis, ayğuçisı bilgā ārmis, qačan (n)āñ ārsār (N6) bizni ölürtāçi kök temis. tūrgis qağanı tasıqmis tidi, on oq bodunı qalısiz tasıqmis tir. tabyaç sūsı bar ārmis. ol sabıy āsidip qağanım bān ābgārū tūsāyın tidi. (N7) qatun yoq bolmis ārti; anı yoğlatayın tedi. sū barıñ tedi, altun yīsda oluruğ tedi. sū bası ināl qağan; tardus sad barzun tedi. bilgā toñuquq(q)a bağa aydı: (N8) bu sūg elt tidi, qiyinıy köñlünçā ay; bān sāñā nā ayayın tidi. kālir ārsār kör ökülür, kālmāz ārsār tilıy sabıy alı olur tidi. altun yīsda olurtumuz. (N9) üç körüg kisı kälti, sabı bir; qağan sū tasıqdı, on oq sūsı qalısiz tasıqdı tir. yaris yazıda tirilälim temis. ol sabıy āsidip qağanıyaru ol sabıy it(t)im. qanta yan sabıy yana (N10) kälti. oluruğ tiyin temis; yālmā qarıy ādüti uyğıl, basıtma temis. böğ(ü) qağan baqaru ança yidmis; apā tarqanıyaru içrā sab idmis: bilgā toñuquq anıy ol, üz ol; (N11) sū yorılım tedāçi; unāmañ. ol sabıy āsidip sū yorıtdım. altun yisıy yolsizin asdımız, ārtis ögüzüg kāçig-sizin kāçdımız. tūn aqıtdımız; bolçuqa tağ öntürü tæg-dimiz.

II. West

(W1) filiγ kälürti. sabī antaγ: yaris yazīda on tümän sü terilti tir. ol sabīγ äsidip bäglär qop[in] (W2) yanałim, arīγu bafī yeg tedi. bän anča ter män, bän bilgä tońuquq: altun yisīγ asa kältimiz, ärtis ögüzüg (W3) káčä kältimiz. kälmisī alp tidi, tuymadı. tãñri umay, iduq yer sub basa berti ärinč. näkä tázär biz? (W4) üküs teyin näkä qorqür biz? az teyin nä basınalım? tãgälim tidim. tãgdimiz, yulidimiz. ekinti kün (W5) örtčä qızıp kälti. süñüsdümiz. bizintä ekī uči sigarča artuq ärti. tãñri yarlıq(q)aduq üčün üküs teyin (W6) qorqmadimiz, süñüsdümiz. tardus sadra udī yandıımız. qaγanın tutdumiz. yabγusın sadın (W7) anta ölürti. äligčä är tutdumiz. ol oq tün bodunın sayu it(t)imiz. ol sabīγ äsidip on oq bäglärī bodunī qop (W8) kälti, yükünti. käligmä bäglärin bodunın itip yīγip azča bodun tãzmis ärti. on oq süsın sülättdim; (W9) biz yämä sülädimiz. anī ärt(t)imiz. yinčü ögüzüg káčä tinsi oγlı aytiγma bãñlig äk taγiγ ärtü

South

(S1) tãmir qapīγqa tãgi irtimiz. anta yanturtumiz. inäl qaγanqa [anıp ... t¹ saqa?] tãzik toqar[s¹ in ...] (S2) anta bärüki asuq baslıγ soγdaq bodun qop kälti, yükünti [...] türük bodun tãmir qapīγqa, tinsi oγlı (S3) tinsi oγlı aytiγma taγqa tãgmis idi yoq ärmis. ol yertä bän bilgä tońuquq tãgürtük üčün (S4) sarīγ altun, ürünj kümüs, qız qoduz, ägri tãbi aγī buñsiz kälürti. il-teris qaγan bilgäsın ü čün, (S5) alpın üčün tabγačqa yeti yegirmi süñüsdü, qıtanqa yeti sürüsdü, oγuzqa bes süñüsdü. anta ayγuči[sī?] (S6) yämä bän ök ärtim, yaγiči[sī] yämä bän ök ärtim. il-teris qaγanqa, türük b(ö)gü qaγanqa, türük bilgä qaγanqa

East

(E1) qapγan qaγan [yeti] otuz [..... anta ärti] qapγan qaγan olurtdum. tün udimatī (E2) küntüz olurmatī, qızıl qanım töküti qara tãrim yögürti (i)sig küčüg bertim ök. uzun yälmgä yämä it(t)im oq, (E3) arquy qarγuγ

ulγartdım oq. yanīγma yaγiγ kälürir ärtim. qaγanımın sü eltdimiz. tãñri yarlıq(q)azu (E4) bu türük bodun ara yariqlıγ yaγiγ yältürmädim, tögünlüg atıγ yögürtmädim. il-teris qaγan qazγanmasar (E5) udu bän özüüm qazγanmasar il yämä bodun yämä yoq ärtäči ärti. qazγantuqın üčün udu özüüm qazγantuqum üčün (E6) il yämä il boltı, bodun yämä bodun boltı. özüüm qarī boltum, uluγ boltum. nãñ yerdäki qaγanlıγ bodunqa (E7) büntägi bar ärsär nä buñı bar ärtäči ärmis? (E8) türük bilgä qaγan ilinjä bititdim. bän bilgä tońuquq.

North

(N1) il-teris qaγan qazγanmasar, yoq ärti ärsär, bän özüüm bilgä tońuquq qazγanmasar, bän yoq ärtim ärsär, (N2) qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yerintä bod yämä bodun yämä kisī yämä idi yoq ärtäči ärti. (N3) il-teris qaγan bilgä tońuquq qazγantuq üčün qapγan qaγan türük sir bodun yorıduqı bu. türük bilgä qaγan türük sir bodunuγ, oγuz bodunuγ igidü olurür.

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 qaγanin ičγīnī idmis. türk bodun ögrā kün toγsīqīña kisrā kün batsīqīña 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 tāñri ter ārmis: [.....]
- (F4) qapγan el-teris qaγan eliñā qīlīntīm. el-etmis yabγu oγlī, (i)sbara tamγan čor yabγu inisī bilgā isbara tamγan tarqan. aymaylīγ [... el]etmis atam [.....]
- (F5) ba[sa] tabγačda yīriyā atig oγuz ara yeti ārān yaγī bolmis. qarjīm [...] tāñrikān yān anta yorīmis, isig kūčīn bermis [ārti.....]
- (F6) tāñrikānkā isig bertīñ teyin yarlīq(q)amis, sad atīγ anta bermis boltuqda toquz oγuz atig yaγī ārmis, bādūk ārmis. tāñrikān yorī[mis]
- (F7) yabiz bat biz. aziγ ūkūsūg körtūg; ār [s² g ti?]. sül[āli]m ter ārmis. matī bāglārim ā ter ārmis, biz az biz teyin qorq [malīm?]
- (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 kälti; qarasin yiγdīm, bāgī qačdī. [....]γ ārti. tabγač

bodun [.....] toq̄idim, yīγdīm, basdīm,
 yaydīm. [.....] buzqunča (R2) kälir ärtimiz.
 ek̄in ara atig yaγī bolmis. tägmäçi män teyin saq̄intim.
 täñri bilgä qaγanqa [t]aq̄i (i) sig küčüg bersägim bar ärmis
 ärinč. tägdük̄in üçün [.....] sančdīm. äbkä
 tägdük̄üm. uruš q̄ilip (R3) tägip inimä oγluma anča ötlädim:
 qaγ yorip el-teris qaγanqa adrilmaduq, yañilmaduq. täñri
 bilgä qaγanta adrilmalim, azmalim teyin anča ötlädim.
 kerü bariγma bardī; bilgä qaγanñγ bodunī [... äliri]
 bardī, ülgän atqa (i) sig küčüg berti. (R4) üzä täñri qon'
 yilqa yetinč ay küčlüg alp qaγanım̄da adrīlu bardñγiz.
 bilgä atačim, yoγuγ qoraγirñi qu[rad]im. [su]b yer täñri
 öd[.....] kirür ärti.

Supplementary Inscription

- (Supp. 1) [atačim]qa bitig t[ašī]γ
 (Supp. 2) [toq̄it]dīm. bāñigū
 (Supp. 3) [tašīγ? urtu?]m. atačim
 (Supp. 4) [bil]gä at[ačī]m, [lū?]m
 (Supp. 5) [yilqa] bit[idim?]
 (Supp. 6) [külū]g är, ädgū q[an?]
 (Supp. 7) [.....]

The Balbal

(i)sbara tarqan balbalī

The Küli Čor Inscription

West

- (W1) [.....]n² üçün [.....] čiqan
 tonyuquq ātiγ bermis [...]
 (W2) [.....]tduqda yügtürmis, išbara čiqanküli
 čor bolmis [...]i čor [.....]
 (W3) [..... elteris] qaγan elintä qarip ädgū äbñgä körti.
 uluγ küli čor säkiz on yasap yoq bolt[i.....]
 (W4) [.....] özlükī boz at ärti. kädim b[äñizī?] alpī
 ärdämī anta kükädi. türk bodunqa u[.....]
 (W5) [.....]γr¹ čuluγan yaγī(t)uqda [küli] čor [.....]γ
 sančip öldrüp oγlın kisīsın bulun qī[lti?.....]
 (W6) [..... bu.] az elig tutdī. yer az [.....]rti. küli
 čor türk bodun bāglär [.....]
 (W7) [..... bi]lgäsın üçün, alpın
 ärdämın [üčü]n q[azγ]antī.
 (W8) [.....]lir. išbara bilgä
 küli čor kisī [.....]
 (W9) [.....] ärti. süñüs bolsar
 čärig itär ärti. ab ablasar äräm älä täg ärti [.....]
 (W10) [.....] sančdi. káčändä tümät
 sükä süñüsdi. küli čor oplayu tägip süsın [.....]
 (W11) [.....] altī [.....] bes baliqda tört
 sü[ñüs] süñüsdükdä küli čor oplayu tägip bulγayu [...]
 (W12) [..... tab]γačqa bunča süñüsüp alpın
 ärdämın üçün kü bunča tutdī [....]

East

- (E1) [..... išbara bilgä küli čor] oγlın
 [kisīs]ın uduztuq[ī al?]duqī [.]dükī yer alduqī.

- (E2) [.....] isbara bil]gä küli čor tarduš bodunuy
iti ayu olurti [.....]
- (E3) [....]γ özlükī binip o[playu tägi]p üč ärig sančdi.
t[ümätkä?] süñüsdükdä küli čor özlükī yägrän at binip [...]
- (E4) [...] anta kerü barip yinčü ögüzüg kääčä tämir qapıγqa,
täzikkä tägi sü[.....]ä qazγantī. toquz oγuzqa yeti
süñüs süñüsdükdä
- (E5) [.....]a tökdi. qıtan' tat[abi ...]dä bes süñüs
süñüsdükdä [küli č]or taq bilgäsi čabisi ärti, alpı bökäsi
ärti.
- (E6) [.....]küli čor yeti yašıña yeg ä[r[.....]rti.
[.....]yaš[iña] [.] azıγıy toq[uz ä[r ö]lürti. [qar]luq
yaγıt(t)uqda ätizdä süñüsdükdä
- (E7) [....]bilg]ä küli č[or] anta kisrä qarluqqa yäm[ä....
idil? aqı]n binip oplayu tägip sanča idip topulu önti. yama
aγıtıp [.....]
- (E8) [.....] sü sürti. qarluquy kääçgint[i], simad[i].
qarluq tapa [....]γalı barip azu ä[r[än] yana äbıñä süñüs
kigürti. qarluq atlanı. anča sön
- (E9) [...q]arluq yägrän ärmäkig arqāsın siyu urtı. qarluq
[n¹ .. n² turu. ...]γ ärtäbär özi kälti. sir irkin oγlı
yigän čor kälti.
- (E10) [.....]γalı sülädi. süñüsüp süsın
sančdi, elin altı, oγlın kisısın bu[ln] ad[i ant]aγ [b]asa
isbara bilgä küli čor [.....]
- (E11) [.....]rükä tat[ar bul.....]
ülügı anča ärmis ärinč. yaγıqa yalıñus oplayu tägip opulu
kirip özi qısγa kargäk bolti.
- (E12) [.....]n² qaγ[an] inisi [yäk] čor
tigin [kälip] ulayu [tör]t tigin kälip isbara bilgä küli čoruy
yoγlat(t)i; bädizın bädizät(t)i, olurt(t)i.
- (E13) [.....]üčü]n bu[.....] qazγantı, artuq yilqıγ
igit(t)i.

South

- (S1) [.....]y]äk t[igı]n kälti, tad[iqıñ?...] čorıñ oγlı
yigän čor kälti [...]
- (S2) [.....]ın üčün bunča bodun qobsarip yoγladı. bän
äzip b[itı]dim.
- (S3) [....] bilmäz biligin, biltükümün ödükümün bunča bitig
bitidim.
- (S4) [.....]m buñ[.....]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 midnight — all the peoples within these boundaries (are subject to me). This many peoples (S3) I have organized thoroughly. These peoples are not rebellious now. If the Turkish kagan rules from the Ötükän mountains there will be no trouble in the realm. I went on campaigns eastwards up to the Shantung plain; I almost reached the ocean. I went on campaigns southwards up to Tokuz-Ärsin; I almost reached Tibet. Westwards (S4) I went on campaigns up to the Iron Gate beyond the Pearl River, and northwards I went on campaigns up to the soil of Yir 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 Čoγay 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 İstämi Kagan became rulers. After they had become rulers, they organized and ruled the state and institutions of the Turkish people. (E2) (All the peoples living in) the four quarters of the world were hostile (to them). Having marched with the armies, they conquered all the peoples in the four quarters of the world and subjugated them. They made the proud enemies bow and the powerful ones kneel. They settled the Turkish people eastwards up to the Khingan mountains and westwards as far as the Iron Gate. They ruled (E3) (organizing) the

Kök ('Blue') Turks between the two (boundaries). Wise kagans were they, brave kagans were they. Their buyruqs (that is, high officials), too, were wise and brave, indeed. Both the lords and peoples were peacable. For this reason, they were able to keep the state under control. Having kept the state under control, they arranged the state rules and regulations. They (E4) thus passed away (lit.: 'became lacking'). As mourners and lamenters there came from the east, from where the sun rises, the representatives of the people of the Bükli plain, the Chinese, the Tibetan, the Avar, the Byzantium, the Kirghiz, the 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, İlderış 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 (İlderış) 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 Khingan 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 Qītań 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 katun. At the age of sixteen, for the sake of the realm of my uncle, the kagan, he accomplished the following: We went on a campaign in the direction of the territory of the Six-Sogdian colonies. The Chinese governor Oŋ (came with an army) of fifty (thousand men and we fought). (E32) Prince Kül rushed and attacked on foot. He took the governor's brother-in-law prisoner while he (i. e., the prisoner) had weapons in his hands, and presented him (i. e., the prisoner) to the kagan in this armed manner. There we destroyed that army. When he was twenty-one years old, we fought against (the army of) General Čača. First he (mounted) Tadiq 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-Yarğun. 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 Soņa 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 Kāñāris. 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-Alγaq. Prince Kül mounted his yellow(ish) black (horse) and attacked suddenly. He stabbed one man with a lance (N6) and stroke nine men

turning them around and around. The Ädiz people were killed (= defeated) there. Thirdly, we fought against the Oguz at Prince Kül mounted his yellowish white (horse), attacked and stabbed (the enemy) with a lance. We killed (that is, defeated) their army and conquered their realm. Fourthly, we fought at the headwaters of Čuš. The Turkish (N7) people tottered and were about to be put to rout. Prince Kül put their army, which had come assaulting, to flight. We surrounded and killed a Toγra squad consisting of ten champion warriors at the funeral of Prince Toγa. Fifthly, we fought against the Oguz at Äzginti-Qadiz. 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 Qıtań and Tatabı peoples, (N12) General Udár came. From the

Chinese emperor, İsiyi Likāñ 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 Basmil 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 Kōgmän mountains and fell upon the Kirgiz people while they were asleep. We fought with their kagan at the Soņa 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 ĩduq-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-Baliq. After I had crossed the Toγla river ordering (our men) to swim their army. Secondly, I fought at Antirγu (?) 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 Toņa squad consisting of champion warriors at the funeral of Prince Toņa. 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 Amγi (Amγa?) Qorγan. In the spring (E32) I went on a campaign against the Oguz. The first army had marched off; the second army was at home. The army of the Üč-Oguz came falling upon us. Thinking that we must have been out of horses and in a bad condition, they came in order to conquer us. One half of their army marched off in order to plunder our residences, the other half of their army came in order to fight. We were few and in a bad condition. The Oguz. . . Since Heaven gave us strength, there I put them to the lance, (E33) and put them to flight. Since Heaven was gracious and since I (myself) got victories, the Turkish people got victories. If I, together with my younger brother, had not led (the people) and had not got so many victories, the Turkish people would have been killed and perished. O (Turkish) lords (and people)! Think of (it) in this way, know (it) in this way! The Oguz people . . . In order not to send . . . I went on a campaign (against the Oguz?) (E34) I destroyed their residences. The Oguz people gathered and came (upon us) together with the Tokuz-Tatar. I made two great battles at Aγu. I put their army to rout and subjugated their tribes there. After having got so many victories By the grace of Heaven, (at the age of) thirty-three, I They betrayed (their) distinguished (?), esteemed (?) and (people?) — (E35) nourishing brave (kagan). Heaven above, the Holy Earth and Water (Spirits below) and the soul of (my uncle, the kagan), certainly did not like it. The Tokuz-Oguz left their lands and waters, and went towards China. . . . from China they came (back) to this land. I thought: 'I shall nourish (this people)' . . . the people. (E36) To the south, in China, their name and fame went to ruin; (here), in this land, they became slaves to me. Since I myself became kagan I did not

make the Turkish people I arranged and organized (the state) and the institutions better having come together (E37) (there) I fought and put their army to the lance. Those who meant to submit submitted to me and became subjects; and those who meant to die died. Having marched down along the Selenga, I destroyed their residences there, at the Qarγan glen they went up mountains. The Governor of the Uigurs, together with about one hundred men, fled towards east (E38) The Turkish people were hungry. I took that herd and nourished (them). At the age of thirty-four the Oguz fled away and surrendered to the Chinese. With regret, I went on a campaign (against the Oguz). With anger I captured their wives and children. The people owning two governors (E39) The 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 Kāčīn

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 Qītañ. 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 Qītañ. 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 sabres 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 — Kūl 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 Kūl 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 sabres (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 Baγa Tarkan, (W7) İteriš killed in great number the Chinese to the south, the Qıtañ to the east, and the Oguz to the north. It was I who was his counselor and his aide-de-camp. We were inhabiting then the northern slope of the Čoγay (mountains) and Kara-Kum.

II. South

(S1) We were dwelling there, nourishing ourselves on big games and hares. The people's stomach was full. Our enemies were like peaks (?) around us, and we were like a mountain pass (?). While we were dwelling in this manner, there came a scout from the Oguz. (S2) These were the words of the scout: 'Over the Tokuz-Oguz people a kagan has set himself as ruler.' said he. (The kagan of the Tokuz-Oguz) is said to have sent General Qu to the Chinese, and 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 Öŋ, I led (them) toward the Ötükän 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 Ötükän land. Having heard the news that (the Turks) settled themselves in the Ötükän land, there came all the peoples who were living in the south, in the west, in the north and in the east (and submitted to us).

I. East

(E1) We were two thousand and we had (two) armies. The Turkish people and the Turkish kagan had never reached the cities of Shantung and the ocean since they (were created) and since he (i. e., the first Turkish kagan) was enthroned. I requested my kagan (to go on campaigns), and went on campaigns. (E2) I caused the kagan and the army to reach the Shantung plain and the Ocean. He (i. e., the kagan) defeated twenty-two cities. Having not been able to sleep enough, he (i. e., the kagan) was stuck at the camp. The Chinese emperor was our enemy; the On-Ok kagan was our enemy; (E3) (Furthermore) the populous (Kirgiz and their) mighty (kagan) became (our enemy). These three kagans apparently consulted together and said: 'Let us come together at the 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) heat their backs. (Then) I ordered them to mount their horses and I broke through the snow. (Then) I ordered them to ascend upwards on foot, pulling the horses after them, and holding on to the trees. Having sent the vanguard (N2) forward as if kneading (the snow), we climbed over the wooded hill. We descended rolling. We went on going around the barriers (of snow) on the side (of the mountain) for ten nights. Since the guide had misled (us), he was slaughtered. Having become utterly bored, the kagan said: 'Ride fast!' (N3) (We) arrived at the

river 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

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

II. West

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

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

II. South

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

II. East

(E1) Qapγan Kagan, at (the age of) twenty-seven, ... I enthroned Qapγan Kagan. Without sleeping by night (E2) or getting rest by day, and letting my red blood pour and making my black sweat flow, I gave my services (to my kagans and people). I have sent (them) forward on far campaigns, (E3) I have made the fortifications and 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 İřbara Tamγan Tarqan, the son of El-etmiř Yabγu and the younger brother of İřbara Tamγan Ćor Yabγu. My noble ... father El-etmiř ... (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 Tăŋrikăn (that is, to take position on the side of Tăŋrikăn) and gave him his services ... (F6) When Tăŋrikăn became gracious, saying that 'You have given your services to me', and granted him (that is, my father) the title of řad, the Tokuz-Oguz and Atig started hostilities (against us). They were (dangerously) powerful, (too). Tăŋrikăn 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 Čiḡan Tonyukuk ... (W2) When ... (started hostilities), he raised (him) in rank; he (thus) became İšbara Čiḡan 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 Tümeät at Käčün. Küli Čor suddenly attacked and (put) their army (to the sword?) ... (W11) ... six ... At his four fights at Bish-Balyk, Küli Čor made sudden attacks (on the enemy) and disordered ... (W12) ... (Küli Čor) fought so many times against the Chinese and he gained so much fame by virtue of his courage and his manly qualities ...

East

(E1) (İšbara Bilgä Küli Čor's) capturing and taking the (wives) and children (of the enemy) away and ... his conquests (lit.: 'his conquering lands'). (E2) ... İšbara Bilgä Küli Čor reigned ruling and governing the Tarduš people ... (E3) He mounted his saddle-horse and (suddenly attacked) and killed three men. At war against the (Tümät?), Küli Čor mounted his private reddish-brown horse and ... (E4) ... Afterwards he went (forward), crossed over the Pearl River and (led) the army as far as the Iron Gate and the (land of the) 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 Qıtañ 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, ı, q, k, l, m, n, o, ö, p, s, ş, t, u, ü, y.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <u>ab</u> chase, hunt | <u>a. -in</u> BK N11 |
| <u>a. abla-</u> KČ W9 | <u>adınč(č)iγ</u> extraordinary,
wonderful |
| <u>abla-</u> to chase, hunt | <u>a. barq</u> KT S12, BK N14 |
| <u>a. -sar</u> KČ W9 | <u>a. bädiz</u> BK N14 |
| <u>ač-</u> to open, clear up | <u>adril-</u> to be separated |
| <u>a. -dimiz</u> TI N4 | <u>a. -fi</u> TI W2 |
| <u>āč</u> hungry BK E38 | <u>a. -u bar-</u> O R4 |
| <u>āč-</u> to feel hungry | <u>adrilma-</u> neg. of <u>adril</u> |
| <u>ā. -sār</u> BK N6 | <u>a. -lim</u> O R3 |
| <u>āčsiq</u> the state of being
hungry | <u>a. -duq</u> O R3 |
| <u>ā. tosiq</u> KT S8 | (<u>a. -azma-</u>) O R3 |
| <u>ā. ömāz sän</u> KT S8,
BK N6 | (<u>a. -yaqilma-</u>) O R3 |
| <u>adaq</u> foot | <u>aγ-</u> to ascend, go up |
| <u>a. qamšat</u> KT N7,
BK E30 | <u>a. -dī</u> BK E37 |
| <u>adγir</u> stallion | <u>aγar</u> heavy, important (cf.
<u>iγar</u>) |
| <u>a. -iγ</u> KT E36 | <u>a. tašiy</u> BK S15 |
| | <u>a. törüg</u> 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. -sīṅa 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

aγri- 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. -ti KČ E10, W11

a. -miš KT E40

a. -mis KT E2

? [al]duqī KČ E1

a. -γali 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. -in 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

alqin- to be destroyed, be ruined, be annihilated

a. -ti TI W3

a. -tiγ KT S9, BK N7

(öl- a. yoq bol-) TI W3

(a. aril-) KT S9, BK N7

alqinma- neg. of alqin-

al[qinma-zu]n teyin
O F8

alti six

a. čub soγdaq KT E31

a. č[ub soγdaq] BK E24

? [al]ti sir BK E1

a. yoli BK E28

a. otuz BK E26, S10

a. yegirmi KT E31

altun gold KT S5, BK S11, KT N12

[al]tun BK N3

sariγ a. TII S4

a. -īn KT SW

[altunī]n BK N11

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

(a. γī a. kümüš) KT N12

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

a. yis üzä TI E3

a. yisda TI N7, N8

a. yisīγ TI N11, TII W2

a. yisīγ BK E27

alt(u)z- to cause to capture

a. -dī KT E38

amγa geog. n. (cf. amγī)

a. qorγan KT N8

amγī cf. amγa

a. qorγan 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. üčün 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. bärüki
TII S2

a. ičräki KT S2, BK N2

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

a. ötrü TI S5, S9

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

sabī a. TI S2, TII W1

a. ödkä KT E40

a. külüg KT E4, BK E5

[ant]aγ [b]asa KČ E10

a. -iñin üčün KT S8, BK N6

antäg cf. antaγ

sabī a. TI N5

antirγu (? antarγu) geog. n.

a. -da BK E30

aγ most

a. ilk KT N4

a. ilkī KT E32, BK E30

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

aγaru dir. of ol ('toward him') TI E3

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

inanču a. yarγan tarqan KT W2

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

a. -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. tarqanγaru 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 oγuz a. OF5

türük bodun a. TII E4

ekīn a. KT E1, E2; BK E4; OR2

ari- to be exhausted, be fatigued

a. -γu TII W2

aril- to vanish, be destroyed

a. -fiγ KT S9

a. -[fiγ] BK N7

(alqin- a. -) KT S9, BK N7

armaqči tricky, deceitful

a. -sīn üčün KT E6

[armaqčis]in üčün
BK E6

arqa back, rump

a. -sīn KČ E9

arqiš caravan BK E25

a. tirkiš KT S8

[ar]qiš-i BK E41

arquy fort, fortification

a. qarγuγ TII E3

artat- to destroy, ruin

a. -i KT E22, BK E19

(a. -i u-) BK E19

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

a. [qirqiz] TI E3

a. yilqiy KČ E13
siğarča a. TII W5
yüz a. oqun KT E33
ay a. -ī tört kün BK SW
otuz a. -ī bir BK E28, S9
otuz a. -ī üç BK E34
otuz a. -ī tört BK E38
otuz a. -ī yeti KT E5
otuz a. -ī sākiz BK S2
qırq a. -ī yeti KT E5
qırq a. -ī [y]iti
 KT NE
bir tuman a. -i yeti
biğ 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. -ī (sü a.) KT E39
a. -in (aq a.) KT E40
 (özlik a.) BKN11, S12
ät name, reputation (cf. at)
ä. bir- BK E41
ä. -iy KT W2, KČ W1
ä. -in (tabγac ä.) KT E7
 (türük ä.) KT E7
at cf. ät
a. [bi]r- BK N13
är a. bul- KT E31
qaγan a. KT E20
a. -iy BK E17, OF6
a. -qa O R3
a. -ī (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. -ī küsī yoq bol-) KT E25, E25; BK E20, E21, E22, E36
ata father
a. -m ([el]etmis a.) O F4
atač beloved father
a. -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]γac 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. -iyma KT SW

a. -u KČ E2

(it- a. -) KČ E2

aymaγliγ noble, of high lineage (?)

a. (... el) etmis atam O F4

ayγuči counselor

a. -sı TI S3, E4, N5

ay[γ]uč[isı] TII S5

ayt- to say (to a superior)

a. -iyma (tinsi oγlı a.) TII W9, S3

a. -ip TI E7

ayuq dominion, realm

a. -ıqa (türük bilgä qaγan a.)

az few, a few, less

biz a. biz O F7

biz a. ärtimiz BK E32

a. bodunuγ KT S10, E29; BK N7, E24

a. ärin KT E40

a. teyin TII W4

a. -iγ BK E14, O F7

az yellow (of horse hair) ?

a. yaγızın KT N5, N8

az ethnic n. KČ W6

a. bodun KT N2, N3

a. bodunuγ KT E19, BK E16

a. [b]o[dunuγ] BK E26

a. ëlig KČ W6

a. eltäbärig KT N3

a. ärı TI E6

a. tutuquγ KT E38

a. yir TI E7

a. qırqız bodunuγ KT E20, BK E17

az- to go astray, be separated

a. -u KČ E8

azča a few

a. bodun TII W8

aziγliγ 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. aqıγ KT N5, N6

azu or KT S10

azuq food, provisions

a. -ı (biziγ sü ... a.) KT E39

ba- to tie, fasten

b. -yur ärtimiz TI N3

baγa small, lower in rank

b. tarqan BK S14, TI W6

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

b. -ı (isbara tarqan b.) O Bal.

(b. qıl-) BK S7

(b. qıs-) 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

(santuγ b.) TI E1, E2

(toγu 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. -diɣ KT E24, E24, S9; BK E19, E19, E20, N6

b. -di KT E34, E39; BK E20, E35, E40, E41, S10; OR3, R3

b.-dimiz TI N2, N3, N3

bard[imiz?] TI N3

b. -diriz OR4

b. -diɣiz 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; TIE7, 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

adinč(č)iy b. KT S12, BK N14

b. itgüči KT N13

b. -iy BK E32, SW

b. -in KT NE; BK E34, E37, N15

(äb b.) BKE32, 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. -dim BK E27, E27; OR1

b. -di KT N8

b. -dimiz 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

basiq- to thrust

b[asi]q-di KT N8

basin- to be overwhelmed

b. -alim TII W4

basit- to let the enemy make a surprise attack

b.! TII E3

basliɣ 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 (yüziɣä 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

başlıγ proud (lit.: 'having
a head')

b. -iy KT E2, E15,
E18; BK E13, E16

b. -[iy] BK E3

[başlıγ]iγ BK N10

bat no doubt, certainly

yabiz 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 (süñüg b. qarıγ)
KT E35, BK E26

batsiq the setting (of the
sun), sunset

b. -daqi (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. yirīñä KT S4,
BK N3

b. -niñ KT E36

b. -n[iñ] 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 (barqıγ 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. -iñ (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, everlasting;
forever (cf. bäriγü)

b. taš KT S11, S12,
S13; BK N8, N15

b. ... olurtači sän
KT S8, BK N6

bäniγü cf. bängü

b. [tašiy ?] O Supp. 2

bänilig sacred, holy,
blessed (?)

b. äk taγiy 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. -ir siz KT E34

b. -mäz biligin KČ S3

b. -mäz (bilig b. kisī)
KT S7, BK N6

b. -mäz ärti BK E18,
E18

b. -mäz ärmis TI W6

b. -mäz täγ 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 čabisī 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. bilmäz kisī KT S7

ańiy b. KT S5

b. ber- TI W6

b. -in (acc.) (ańiy b.)
BK N4

b. -in (instr.) (bilmäz b.) KČ S3

b. -im (bilir b.) KT N10

biligsiz unwise, incapable

b. qayan KT E5, BK E6

b. ärmis ärinç BK E6

b. ärinç 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

(adyiriy b. -) KT E36

(atın b. -) KT N3, N3, N9, E40, KT N2

(az ya'yızın b. -) KT N5, N8

bini acc. of bän

b. o'yzuy TI S3

bint(ü)r- to cause to mount

b. -ä (at üzä b.) TI N1

biy thousand (cf. biq)

ekı b. TI S9

yeti b. BK S1

ekı üç b. TI S7

bir one, a; the same; once

b. at oruqı TI E7

b. atlıy TI E7

b. ärig KT E36, N5

b. kisı KT S6, BK N4

b. qor[anqa] BK E40

b. o'yuş KT N7

b. o'yuşuy BK E31

b. ülügı TI W4

b. yılqa KT N4, BK E30

b. ärmis TI E6

sabı b. TI N9

b. t[ägürmädi] KT E33

b. todsar KT S8, BK N6

b. otuz KT E32

b. qırq KT N2

otuz artuqı 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. -miş 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. -tükğärü 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

(qazyanu 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

o'ylanım b. o'yuşum bodunum KT S1, BK N1

birlä with, together with, in the company of

äçim qayan b. KT E17, BK E15

ädiz b. KT N5

ekı şad 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

oγuz b. KT N6, N7

säkiz tümän [sü] b. BK E20

tabyač bodun b. KT S4, BK N3

toquz tatar b. BK E34

tonuquq boyla baγa tarqan b. TI W7

qayanın b. KT E35, BK E27

birmä- neg. of bir-

b. -di (ordūγ b.) KT N9

bis five (cf. bes, biš)

b. t[ümän sü] KT E31

b. yüz ärän BK S11

bisinč fifth, fifthly

b. ay BK S10

b. ... oγuz birlä süpüšdümüz KT N7

bisük relative, kin

b. -inä tägi KT S6

biš five (cf. bis, bes)

b. yoġi KT N4

b. otuz KT E18

bitī- to write, inscribe (cf. biti-)

b. -dim KT SE, SE; BK SW; KČ S3

biti- cf. bitī-

b. -dim KT SW, BK SW

b[iti]dim KČ S2

b. -gmä KT S13, SE

(bitīg b. -) KT S13, SE, KČ S3

bitīd- cf. bitīt-

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

bitīg writing, inscription

bunča b. KČ S3

bitig (cf. bitīg)

bu b. KT S13

bunča b. KT SE

b. taš KT N13

b. taš[in] KT NE

b. t[aš]iγ O Supp. 1

bitīt- 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 täγ b. TIS6

yabiz bat b. OF7

bizintä abl. of biz

b. ... artuq TII W5

biziñ gen. of biz

b. sü atī KT E39

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

bizni acc. of biz TI E3, N5, N6

bod clan, tribe, people TI W4

b. yämä TII N2

bodun tribes, people, nation KT E4, E9, E9, E9, E11, E22, E28, S2, S2, S10, S11; BK E2, E5, E8, E8, E9, E10, E19, E22, E25, E35, E37, E38, E41, S12, S15, N2, N3, N8; 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 tatabi b. KT E28, N11; BK E23

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

on oq b. KT E19, BK E16

soγdaq b. KT E39, TII S2

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

tarduš b. KT E17, BK E15

tatabi b. BK S7; t[atab]i b. BK E39

toquz oγuz 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. -iy (gen.) KT E25
b. -uy (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[uy] BK N12, [b]o[dunuy] 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 TII 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; OF5, R2; KČ W2
(b. ārti) TIN7
b. -tuqda OF1, F6
(b. kisrā) OF1
(-mis b.) OF6
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 OF3

b. -uyīn TII W7

(bodun b. -) BK E37, TII E6

(buṣsīz b. -) BK N14

(ikāgū b. -) KT N3

(il b. -) TII E6

(qaγan b. -) KT E5, E5; BK E5; TII W7

(qamšaγ b. -) KT N3

(qarī b. -) TII E6

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

(kārgāk b. -) KT E30, N10; KČ E11

(kūṅ b. -) KT E7, E24, N9; BK E7

(kūṅ qul b. -) KT E20, BK E17

(-māz tāg b. -) KT N10

(tāṅridā 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; OF5, R2

(yoq b. -) KT N3; BK E28, E33, E36, E40, S9; TI W3, N7; OF1, F3; KČ W3

(yut b. -) BK E31

bolču geog. n.

b. -qa TII 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

bošγur- to organize, form

b. -miš BK E12

b. -mis KT E13

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

bošγur- to teach, give advice, make suggestions

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

boyla a title

b. baγa tarqan BK S14, TI W6

boz gray KT E32, E33

b. at KČ W4

bašγu b. KT E37

bašγu b. at KT E37

bōdkā < bu ödkā (cf. öd) KT S11; BK E2, N1, N8

bōgū pers. n.

bōg(ū) qaγan TI N10

b(ō)gū q(aγan) qa TII S6

bokā champion warrior

b. -sī (alpī b.) KČ E5

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

bōri wolf

b. tāg KT E12, BK E11

bu this TII N3

b. bägläriḡ[dä] BK N13

b. bitig KT S13

b. qaγanında BK N13

b. ödkä KT S1

b. sabimda KT S10, BK N8

b. sabimin KT S2

b. süg TI N8

b. tāmqa KT SE

b. tašqa KT SE

b. türük bodun ara TII E4

b. yerdä BK E35, E36

b. yirdä KT S4

b. yolun TI E6

bučägü < bu üçägü

tabγač oγuz qitan b. TI S5

buq evil spirit

b. -uγ BK S10

būqa bull (cf. buqa) sämiz b. TI W6

b. -lī (toruq b. sämiz b.) TI W5

buqa cf. būqa

toruq b. TI W6

buqaraq geog. n. (Bukhara)

b. ulus bodun KT N12

bul- to find

b. -tum TI E6

b. -ti KT E31

(är at b. -) KT E31

bulγa- to disturb order

b. -yu KČ W11

bulγaq provocative, riotous

b. -in üçün KT N4, BK E29

bulγanč disordered, in disorder

b. [ol] TI E5

bulit cloud KT NE

bulma- neg. of bul-

b. -yin (qanin 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

tört b. KT E2, BK E3

b. -uγ (tört b.) O F1

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

bum(i)n pers. n.

b. qaγan KT E1, BK E3

bunča this much, this many, so many

b. aγar törüg BK E2

b. barqīγ bādizig uzuγ BK SW

b. bādizčig KT NE

b. bitig KT SE, KČ S3

b. bodun KT E4; BK E5, S12; KČ S2

(bunč) a bodun KT S2

b. isig küčüg KT E10, BK E9

b. mači bäglär BK S14

b. törüg KT E30

b. yirkä tägi KT S4

b. bašlayu BK E33

b. qazγanip BK S10

bu[nča] qazγanti KČ E13

b. süñüsüp 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 (usīn b.) TI E2

buṛ 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

buṇsīz 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

buṇsīz cf. buṇsīz

b. kālūr̄ti 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

bükli geog. n.

b. čöl(l)üg el KT E4,
BK E5

b. qaγanqa tāgi KT E8,
BK E8

büntäg (< bunī tāg) like this,
such

b. -ī TII E7

būṇ- 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. sāṇūn BK E26

č. sāṇūnkā KT E32

čaṇ pers. n. (= Chin.
Chang Kü-i)

č. sārūn KT N13

čäriḡ army KČ W9

čīyañ poor, needy, des-
titute KT E29, S10; BK
E23, N7

yoq č. KT S10, BK
N7

č. -iγ (acc.) KT E16,
BK E14

čīqan nephew, son of one's
aunt

č. -ī (tabyač qaγan č.)
KT N13

čīqan a title (?)

č. toṇuquq KČ W1

išbara č. küli čor
KČ W2

čintan sandalwood (< Skr.
candana)

č. iyač BK S11

čik ethnic. n.

č. bodun BK E26

č. tapa BK E26

čoγay 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; [kū]li č. KČ
E6

kūli č. toṇuquq KČ W2

[bil]gā kūli č. KČ E2

[bilg]ā kūli č[or] KČ
E7

išbara bilgā küli č. KČ
W8, E10

išbara čīqan küli č. KČ
W2

išbara tamγan č. yabγu
O F4

uluγ küli č. KČ W3

tarduš inanču č. KT N13

... č. tigin KČ E12

yigān č. KČ E9, S1

č. -iṇ (tadiqīṇ č.) KT
E32, E26

č. -uγ (išbara bilgā küli
č.) KČ E12

čoraq dry land

č. -qa BK SE

čöl steppe, plain, desert

č. -gi TI E6

č. -(l)üg KT E4, BK E5

(bükli č.) KT E4, BK E5

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

altī č. soγdaq tapa KT E31

altī č[ub soγdaq] tapa BK E24

čuluγan (?) a title (?)

[?uy]γ(u)r č. KČ W5

čuš geog. n.

č. bašīnta KT N6

ä interjection of address

bāglārim ä! O F7

äb tent, house, camp, campsite, home

ä. -ig KT N8, BK E32

ä. -kā O R2

ä. -dā BK E32

ä. -gārū TI N6

ä. -iñä BK N14

ä. -īn KT N1; BK E34, E37

(ä. barq) BK E32, E34, E37

(ä. barim) KT N1

äbir- to go around

ä. -ū TI N2, N4; BK E25

äči paternal uncle; elder brother (cf. äči)

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

ä. -miz (qaγīmiz ä.) KT E26, BK E22

ä. -lī (inilī ä.) KT E6

ä. -sīn KT E5, BK E18

äči cf. äčī

ä. -m qaγan KT E17; BK E15, E20, N9

äčü forefather, ancestor

ä. -m apām KT E1, E13; BK E3, E12

ä. -miz apāmiz KT E19, O F1

ädgü good; benefit O Supp. 6

ä. aγī KT S7, BK N5

ä. alp kisīg KT S6, BK N14

ä. bilgä kisīg KT S6, BK N4

ä. äbīñä KČ W3

ä. eliñä 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. urγil! 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. taγiγ TII W9

äkä elder sister

ä. -lārim (öglārim ä.) KT N9

äkin hem (?)

ä. -lig BK N11

älä hawk, vulture

ärām ä. täg KČ W9

älig hand

ä. -in tut- KT E32, E38

älig fifty

ä. yašīma BK S7

ä. yil KT E8

ä. -čä är TII W7

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

ä. -i bardī O R3

ämğäk trouble, suffering, torment

ä. kör- KT E19, BK E16

ämğätmä- not to torment

ä-ñ tolγatmañ BK N13

änik pers. n.

ä. säñün 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

öñräki 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

bošyürür ä. BK
N5, N5

öyür ä. BK N4

tir ä. BK E9

ya'yutir 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

bošyürür 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

ya'yutir ä. KT S5

yoqadu barir ä.
KT E10

yoriyür ä. TIS3

yoq ä. TI E1, TII S3

bar ärtäči ä. TII
E7

bilmäz ä. TIS6

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. TIS3, 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

ya'yuq 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. üçün)
 KČ W7, W12
äräm big, large, huge (?)
ä. älä tæg 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]ñč
 BK E33
kötürmis ä. KT
 E11
olurmis ä. KT
 E5; BK E6, E6
ölütmis ä. TI W3
temis ä. TI W2
tutmis ä. KT E3,
 BK E4
-duq ä. (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 (yagrän ä.) KČ
 E9
ärsin geog. n.

ä. -kä (toquz ä. tägi)
 KT S3, BK N3
ärt- to pass, lead
ä. -(t)imiz (anı ä.) TII
 W9
ä. -ü (taγıγ ä.) TII W9
ärtäbär cf. eltäbär
ä. özi KČ E9
ärtin- (?) to regret, repent (?)
ä. ! ökün! BK E19
ärtiñü 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. -iñ KT S10; BK E18, E18

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

ä. -ü ber- TI S8

asidmā- neg. of asid-

a. -dük (qulqaqın a. bodunumın) BK N11

asim pers. n.

ä. -ig (tonra a.) TI S2

asit- cf. asid-

a. -(t)im TI E7

ät- 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. qadızda BK E31

ä. qadızdä KT N7

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

e. biñ TI E1

e. biñ TI S8

e. üč BK E41

e. üč biñ TI S8

e. yegir[mi] KT E28, BK E23

e. otuz BK E25

e. ädz 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. kün TII W4

ekīn (for ekīnti) sü BK E32

ekinti KT N5 cf. ekīnti

e. kün BK S1

el people, state (cf. il) O F1

bükli čöl(l)uğ e. KT E4

e. -ig (az e.) KČ W6

e. -iñä KT E23, BK E19

e. -iñin KT E22

e. -imiz KT E22

e. -īn BK E34, KČ E10

e. -iñä O F4

e. -īntä KČ W3

el-etmis pers. n.

e. yabγu O F4

[el]etmis atam O F4

ellig having a state (cf. illig)

e. -dä ('iγar e.) KT E29

elsirä- to become stateless, lose independence

e. -mis qaγansiramis KT E13

elsirät- causative of elsirä-

e. -mis KT E15

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

e. ! TI N8

e. -dim TI E1

e. -dimiz TII E3

e. -di KT E23, E23

(sü e. -) TI E1, N8, TII E3

(sürä e. -) KT E23

(yaña e. -) KT E23

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

tuyγun e. KT NE

uyγur e. BK E37

e. -ig (az e.) KT N3

el-täbärlig having a governor-general

ekī e. bodun BK E38

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

e. qaγanqa O R3

qaγan e. qaγan O F4

[el-teris] qaγan KČ W3

esī lady (cf. esi)

e. -lik qız oγlin KT E7

esi cf. esī

e. -lik qız oγluγ KT E24

e. -lik qız oγlīn BK E7

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

e. -dimiz KT E21

e. -miš BK E10

e. -mis KT E11

(qontur e. -) KT E21

γu interrogative particle (cf. gü)

bar γ. KT S10, BK N8
gü interrogative particle
(cf. γu)

bāglār g. yañiltači
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

ičγīn- 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

(ičγīnu i. -) KT
E6, BK E7

(sanča i. -) KČ E7

(yitürü i. -) KT E7,
BK E7

idma- neg. of id-

i. -yīn tiyin BK E33

iduaq sacred, holy

i. bašda BK E25

tamaγi. bašda KT N1,
BK E29

i. štükän y[iš bodun]
KT E23

i. yer sub BK E35,
TII W3

türük i. yirī subi KT
E10, BK E10

iduaq(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. oγlanıñızda tayγunu-
ñızda 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. ašsiz 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'yni 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. oqsiz KT E3, BK
E4

i. yoq ärmis KT S4,
TII S3

i. yoq ärtäçi ärti
TII N2

i. yoq qısalım TI S4,
E4

i. yorımazun TI S4

igid false, lie

i. bar ɣu KT S10, BK
N8

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

i. -äyın KT E28; BK
E23; i. -ayın BK E35

i. -ıq BK N13

i. -miš KT S9; BK
E19, E35, N6

i. -mis KT E23

i. -ür ärtigiz KT SE

i. -ü olurür TII N4

igit- cf. igid-

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

i. -(t)i KT E16, BK E14,
KČ E13

ikägü two, two parts

i. bol- KT N3

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

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

i. -tä KT S3; [il]tä BK
N2

i. -im KT E9

i. -ıqın BK E19

i. -ı (äçim qaɣan i.)
KT N3

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

i. -ıqä TII E8; i. -ıqa TI W1

i. -im[iz] BK E18

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

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

il-bilgä pers. n.

i. qatunuɣ KT E11, BK
E10

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

i. qurıɣaru KT E12,
BK E11

ilig ruler

bodun i. KT N3

ilk first, at first

aɣ i. KT N4

aɣ i. -ı KT E32, BK
E30

ilki first

i. kün BK S1

i. sü BK E32

illä- to found a state

i. -dük ilın KT E6,
BK E7

illig having a state, in-
dependent

i. bodun KT E9, BK
E8

i. -ig KT E15, E18;
BK E13

ilsirät- to make stateless

i. -dimiz (illig i.) KT
E18

i. -miš (illig i.) BK
E13

ilt- cf. elt-

i. -di (yaña i.) BK E19

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

[il]täbär (qarluq i.) BK
E40

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

i. qaɣan TII S4, E4, N1,
N3

i. qaɣanıɣ KT E11, BK
E10

i. qaɣanqa TII S6

in- to go down, descend

i. -timiz TI N2

i. -miš BK E11

i. -mis KT E12

inanču a title (cf. inänču)

tarduš i. čor KT N13

inänču cf. inanču

i. apā yarɣan tarqan
KT W2

inäl pers. n.

i. qaɣan TI N7

i. qaʻanqa TII S1
ini younger brother
i. yägünüm KT S1, N11;
 BK N1
i. -lī äčilī KT E6, BK
 E6
i. -ligü BK E33
i. -m KT E26, E27,
 E30, E30, E31, W1,
 W1, N10; BK E21, E22
i. -mä O R3
i. -sī KT E4, E5; BK
 E18, E40; KČ E12; O
 F4
in(i)gäk cow, cattle
i. kölikin TI S7
ir- to be (cf. är-)
i. -sär KT S13
ir- to reach, come to,
 arrive (cf. är-)
i. -timiz TII S1
irkin a title
säbig kül i. BK S14
sir i. KČ E9
uluγ i. KT E34, E34
irtür- to cause to reach,
 cause to arrive (cf. är-)
i. -ü 'it(t)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. tamʻan tarqan
 O F4
i. tamʻan čor yabʻu
inisī O F4
isgiti silk, silk cloth (cf.
äsgiti)
i. qutay KT S5
isiyi (< Chin.) pers. n.
i. likän KT N2
istämi pers. n.
i. qaʻan KT E1, BK E3
išbara pers. n. (cf. isbara,
'isbara)
i. čiqan küli čor KČ
 W2
i. yamtar KT E33

išgärü forwards, east-
 wards (cf. ilgärü)
i. kün to [ʻysiqʻıŋa] BK
 N11
it- to form, organize (cf.
et-)
i. -äyın 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. - yiy-) 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
qabis- to come together,
 meet, join
q. -alim TI E3
q. -(s)ar TI S5
q. -ip TI E4
qač- to run away, flee
q. -di O R1
qačan when
q. (n)äŋ ärsär TI E3,
 N5
q. (n)äŋ ärsär TI E4
qadīrqaŋ geog. n. (Khingan
 mountains)
q. yiš BK E39
q. yišiy 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 (äzğänti 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]ürgis 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 qaγanin) O F2

q. -in KT E7

qaγanla- to make someone kagan

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

qaγanliγ having a kaghan, independent

q. bodun KT E9, BK E9, TII E6

q. -iγ KT E15, E18, BK E13

q. -da yeg BK E24

qaγansira- to become kingless, lose independence

q. -mis (elsirāmis q.) KT E13

qaγansirat- causative of qaγansira-

q. -dimiz KT E18

q. -miš BK E13

q. -mis KT E15

qal- 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. tasiq- TI N6, N9

qalma- neg. of qal-

q. -di (bod q.) TI W4

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

qalmiš the rest, remainder (cf. qalmis)

q. -i (anta q.) KT S9

qalmis cf. qalmiš

q. -i (ida tašda q.) TI W4

qamaγ all, entire; the whole, total

türük qara q.bodun KT E8, BK E8

q. -i KT E18; BK E11; [q]amaγi KT E12

qamıl geog. n. (Qomul, Hami)

qam[il] bañiq(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, [qaniñ] BK E20

qan khan, king TI W2

ol q. O F1

q. -ta yan TI N9

q. -injin (acc.) TI W3

q. -i. TI N4

q. -in TI W2, W2, N4

qani where? where is it

qaγanım q. KT E9, BK E9

ilim amfi q. KT E9

qanlan- to possess a khan

q. -fi TI W2

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

qan father O R3

q. -im

q. il-teris qaγanıγ KT E11, BK E10

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

q. qaγan süsı KT E12, BK E11

q. [qaγan] tašin BK W6

q. sad O F8

q. türük bilgä qaγan BK S13

q. türük bilgä [qaγan] BK E1

q. -imiz äčimiz KT E26

q. -i (... q. lisün tay säñün) BK S11

q. -in KT E5; BK E6, E18

qapγan regal name of Bögü Kagan

q. qaγan TII E1, E1, N2, N3

q. el-teris qaγan 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. -iy KT E35, BK E27, TI N1

qara black; ordinary, common; common people BK E29

q. kisin BK S12; q. k[isin] BK N11

q. tarim TII E2

q. bodun BK E41

q. turgis bodun KT E38, E39

q. turgis bodunuγ KT E40

türük q. qamaγ bodun KT E8, BK E8

q. -sin O R1

qara qüm geog. n.

qara q. -uγ TI W7

qara köi geog. n.

qara k. -tä KT N2

qarγan (? qaraγan) geog. n.

q. qisilta BK E37

qarγu watch, patrol, guard; watchtower TI N10

q. -γ TII E3

(arquy q.) TII E3

(yälmä 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]täbär BK E40

q. -uγ KT N2, KC E8

q. -qa KČ E7

qaš eyebrow

q. -ī (közī q.) KT N11

qatīγdī hard, firmly, well (cf. qatīγdi)

q. tiqla! KT S2

qatīγdi cf. qatīγdī

q. saqin- 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. -fim KT E27; BK E22, 36

q. -ti 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. -tuqin üčün TII E5

q. -ür män 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

qil- to make (cf. qiš-, qīs-)

q. -fim KT E29, E29, E30, E30, S10, S10; BK N7, N7, N9, N12, E23, E24, E24, E24; qī[lti]m BK E24

qī[ltim] BK E23, qī[iltim] BK S4

q. -ti BK E7, E7, E14, E14, E14, qī[lti] KČ W5

q. -fiγ 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

(tonluḡ q. -) BK
E23

(uruş 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. -fīm O F4

q. -mis KT E1

q. -tuqda KT E1

q[ilin]yal[i] (?) TI E1

qilinma- neg. of qilin-

q. -duq ārinč KT E5,
E5; BK E6, E6

qilin- cf. qilin-

q. -tim TI W1

qılma- neg. of qıl-

q. -dīm KT E27; BK
E22, E36

(ot sub q. -) KT
E27, BK E22

qırɣaɣlıy hemmed

q. qutayın BK N11

qırq forty

q. artuqı yeti KT E15

q. artuq[ı y]iti KT NE

bir q. KT N2

qırqız ethnic n. (Kirghiz)
KT E4, E14; BK E15;
qı[rqız] KT E17, [q]ırqız
BK E5

q. birlä BK E26

q. tapa KT E35, BK
E26

q. bodunı TI N4

q. bodunuɣ KT E20,
E35; BK E17, E27

q. qaɣanın KT E36

q. qaɣanıɣ KT E25,
BK E20

q. qaɣanta KT N13

q. yirınä tägi BK E15

q. -iɣ TI N3

q. -da TI N5

qıs- to suppress, subdue

q. -mis O F1

qış- to make (cf. qıl-,
qış-)

q. -ayın TI W5

q. -alim TI S4, E4

q. -dīm TI W6

(qaɣan q. -) TI
W5, W6

(yoq q. -) TI S4,
E4

qışɣa short KČ E11

qışıl glen, mountain-cleft

q. -ta (qaɣan q.) BK
E37

qış- to make (cf. qıl-,
qış-)

q. -dīm BK E25

q. -dımız 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

qıtań ethnic n. KT E4,
E14, E28, N11; BK E5,
E23; TI S5, S6; KC E5

q. tapa BK S2

q. tatabı bodun tapa
KT E28, BK E23

q. -iɣ TI W7, S3

q. -qa TII S5

q. -da BK S7, TI S7

q. -ɣaru TI S2

qıyin penalty, punishment

q. -iɣ ay- TI N8

qız female; girl; daughter

q. oɣluɣ KT E24

q. oɣlın BK E7, E7

q. oɣlin KT E7, E7

q. qoduz TII S4

q. -im[in] BK N9

q. -in (tür[gis qaɣan] q.)
BK N10

qız- to get red-hot, get
angry

q. -ip (örtčä q.) TII
W5

qızıl red

q. qanım TII E2

qobsar- (?) to mourn (?)

q. -ip KČ S2

(q. -yoɣla-) KC
S2

qod- to leave, abandon

q. -up TI W2, W3

qodı down, downward

ol sub q. TI N3

sälänä q. BK E37

qoduz woman, female slave

qız q. TII S4

qoqliq 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. -tumiz KT E21, E21;
BK E18; qo[nturtumiz]
KT E38

q. -mis KT E2, BK E4

qop all, completely

q. almis KT E2

q. alqd[imī]z KT NE

q. anta alqintiγ ariltiγ
KT S9, BK N7

q. baz qiltim KT E30,
BK E24

q. baz qilmis KT E2

q. bilir siz KT E34

q. . . . bitidim KT SE

q. içikdi KT E38

q. itdim KT S3

q. qot(t)i BK S12

q. qubratdim KT S10

q. qubrat(t)im 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. ö[lü]rtüm BK E28,
qo[p] [ölür]tüm BK S1

q. ölürmis KT N1

q. yaγi ärmis KT E2,
E14; BK E3

q. . . . yorıyür ärtig
KT S9

qopin all, all together (cf.
qopin)

bäglär q.tedi TII W1

qopin cf. qopin

oγuz q. kälti TI S9

qoraγ funeral, obsequies

q. -iγnī (yoγuγ q.) O R4

qorγan fort, fortress,
shelter, enclosure

amγa q. KT N8

amγi q. BK E31

qorγ[anqa]? BK E40

qorq- to fear

q. -ür biz TII W4

qorqma- neg. of qorq-

q. -dimiz TII W6

qorq[malim]? 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. -dim KT S10

q. -(t)im 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. qil- BK E7, E20

(küñ q.) KT E7,
E20, E24, N9;
BK E17

qulad- to become slave

q. -mis KT E13

(küñäd- q. -) KT
E13

qulluγ having a slave

q. bol- KT E21, BK
E18

qulqaq ear

q. -in (instr.) BK N11

q. -in BK S12

(saçin q. -in biç-) BK
S12

qum sand (in: qara qum)

qara q. -uγ olur- TI
W7

qunçuy princess

q. -uγ (siñlim 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 (yoγuq
 qoraγiḡnī 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. -iḡa (ögüm qatun q.)
 KT E31
(q. ülüg) BK E23
qut ärmäz misfortune (?)
[qut] ä. -kä O F8
qutay silk KT S5, BK N4
q. -īn (qir yaγliγ q.)
 BK N11
quz northern slope of a
 mountain
q. -īn (čöγay q.) TI
 W7
käč- to pass, cross over
k. -dim BK SE
k. -dimiz TI N11
k. -ip BK E30
k. -ä KT E37, E39;
 BK E27, E30; TII
 W3, W9; KČ E4
käčä beyond
aq tärmil k. TI N1
käm k. BK E26
yinčü ög[üz] k. KT
 S4, BK N3
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
kädim dress, general
 appearance
k. b[äñizī?] KČ W4
kädimlig dressed
k. toruγ at KT E33
käl- to come
k. -timiz BK E17; TI
 N4; TII W2, W3
k. -ti KT E28, E37,
 N12, N12, N12, N12,
 N13, N13, N13; BK
 E23, E25, E27, E28,
 E32, E32, E32, E34,
 E34, E35, E39, E41,
 S8, S11; TI S1, S8, S9,
 S10, N5, N9, N10; TII
 W5, W8, S2; O R1; KC
 E9, E9, S1, S1
k. -mis KT N7
k. -ir ärtimiz O R2
k. -īr ärsär TI N8
k. -mäz BK E39
k. -mäz ärti TI E5,
 E5
k. -mäz ärsär TI N8
k. -igmä BK E31, TII
 W8

k. -sär KT N11, N11
k. -ip KT E23, BK
 E19, KČ E12, [käli]p
 KČ E12
k. -ipän KT E4, E23;
 BK E5
kältäči those who will come
k. -miz (sümiz k.) TI
 S7
käliḡün 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
käm who KT E22, BK E19

k. -kə KT E9
kām geog. n. (Yenisei river)
k. kəčä BK E26
käntü one's own; one's self
k. bodunum KT N4
k. yañiltıy KT E23, BK E19
käñiris (käñäräs?) geog. n.
k. tapa KT E39
käñü tarban geog. n. (cf. käñü tarman)
k. tarbanqa tägi BK E18
käñü tarman cf. käñü tarban
k. tarmanqa tägi KT E21
käräkü tent (cf. käräkülüg)
käräkülüg nomad, nomadic
toquz oğuz ekī ädiz
k. bäglärī bodunī 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[iy] 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 qapıyqa tägi KT E2
kis sable
k. -īn (qara k.) BK S12, k[isīn] BK N11
kisī man, people KČ W8 (cf. kiši)
anıy 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. oylī KT E1, N10
k. oylīnta üzä KT E1, BK E3
k. -g KT S6, S6; BK N4, N4
k. -sīn (oylīn k.) KČ W5, E10; [kisīsīn] KČ E1
kisi cf. kisī, kiši
k. -ligü (ekī üč k.) BK E41
kisrā 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
kiši man, people (cf. kisī)
nä k. BK E28
üküş k. KT S7
ki[ši] 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. yisiy TI N4
k. yišiγ KT E35, BK E27
k. yolī TI E6
kök blue
k. öñüg TI S9
k. täñri KT E1, BK E2
k. täyänin 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

ölärtäçi k. TI N6

ölärtäçik (for ölärtäçi 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; TH E2, O R2, R3; isig küč(ü)n (for küč-üg?) O F5

küčlüg powerful, mighty

k. alp qaʻanımında O R4

küč[lüg qaʻan] 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. tiginıñ 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

[küli] čor KČ E6

[küli] čor KČ W5

k. čor toñuquq KČ W2

[bilgä] k. čor KČ E2

[bilgä] 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

[kdl]üg ar O Supp. 6

kümüs silver (cf. kümüş)

altun k. BK S11

[al]tun k. ašg[iti] qutay
BK N3

örüg k. TII S4

k. -in (altunin k.) KT SW

kümüş silver (cf. kümüs)

altun k. isgiti qutay
KT S5

aγī 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. ortusiqaru KT S2,
BK N2

k. toγsiq(q)a KT S2

k. toγsiqda KT E8, BK
E8

k. toγsiqiqa O F2

k. to[γsiqiqa] BK N11

k. -li (tünli k.) BK SE

küni envy, jealousy

ödinq[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

küñ 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

küñäd- to become slave
(for women)

k. -mis KT E13

(k. -qulad-) KT
E13

küñlüg having a female
slave

k. bol- BK E18

kür fraud, deceit

k. ökül- TI N8

küräğü unruliness

k. -pin 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

laγzīn pig

l. yil BK S10

likäñ pers. n. (= Chin. Liđ-
hiang)

isiyi l. KT N12

lisün pers. n. (= Chin. Li-
ts'ün)

l. tay säñün BK S11

lđ (< Chin. lung) dragon

l. yilqa O Supp. 4

maγ glory, honor (?), praise
(?)

m. it- BK S15, m. i[t-]
BK S15

(-in ärtiñü ti m.
it.-) BK S15

(-qa ärtiñü ärtiñü
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

matī 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

qazyanür m. KT E9

saqinür m. BK W6

ter män TII W2

tägmäči m O R2

māniq gen. of bān/mān (cf. bāniq)

m. bodunum BK E29

m. sabimin KT S11

mu interrogative particle

bar m. nā TI S7

qaγan m. qisayin TI W5

nā what; why; particle of probability (after mu)

n. buqī TII E7

n. qaγanqa KT E9, BK E9

n. kišī BK E2, E28

n. ayayin TI N8

n. basinalim 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)

bodunuγ n. itm(iš) BK N9

nāq any, whatever, whatsoever

n. buquγ yoq KT S8, BK N6

n. yerdaki TII E6

n. yilsiy bodunqa KT E26

n. n. sabim ārsār KT SW

n. n[āq] sab[im] ārsār BK N8

qačan (n)āq ārsār TI E3, N5

qačan (n)āq ārsār TI E4

oγlan children, sons

o. -im KT S1, N11; BK N1

o. -iγizda ... yegdi KT SE

(o. tayγun) KT SE

oγlit children, sons

o. -i KT E5, BK E5

oγul child, son

o. -um

on oq o. KT N13

uluγ o. BK S9

o. -uma BK N10

inimā o. O R3

o. -uq

qiz o. KT E24

urī o. KT E24

o. -uqin (urī o.) BK E20

o. -i KT E5; BK E6, E18

... čoriq o. yigān čor KČ S1

el-etmis yabγu o. O F4

kisī o. KT E1, N10

sir irkin o. yigān čor KČ E9

tinsi o. aytiγma TII W9, S2, S3

o. -in

qiz o. BK E7

urī o. BK E7, KT E7 (for oγli)

o. kisīsīn KČ W5, E10

o. [kisīsīn] KČ E1

o. yotuz[in] BK S3

o. yo[tuz]in BK E24

[o]γlīn yotuzin BK E38

o. -iqa

on oq o. tatiqa tāgi BK N15

[on oq oγlīn] tatiqa tāgi KT S12

o. -inta (kisī o. ūzā) KT E1, BK E3

o. -(i)n (for oγli) KT E7

oγul pers. n.

o. tarqan KT N12

oγurqalat- to let someone to warm his back

o. -dim TI N1

oγuš clan, tribe

bir o. alpaγu KT N7

o. -uγ (bir o.) BK E 31

o. -um

o. bodun BK E25

o. bodunum BK E25

o. -i bodunī KT S6

oγuz 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[γuz] bodun BK E34

o. bodun tapa KT E28, BK E23

o. bodunuγ TII N4

o. yaγī KT N8

o. bāglārī KT E22

toquz o. O F6; t[oquz oγu]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

üč o. süsī BK E32

o. -uγ TI W7, S3

o. -qa TII S5, toquz o. -qa KČ E4

o. -da TI S7

o. -duntan TI S1

o. -γaru KT N8

o. -ī 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

it(t)im o. TII E2

ulγartdim 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. bilmādükügin 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. tāqri BK E21

o. tōrūdā ūzā KT E16, BK E14

o. üč 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] TI E5

tarqīnč o. TI E5

ūz o. TI N10

olur- to sit; stay, dwell; succeed to the throne

o. ! TI N8

o. -uq! TI N7, N10

o. -tum KT E26, S1, S9; BK E2, E15, N1, S9; [olurta]m BK N7, olurt[um] KT W1, [olur-tum] BK S9

o. -tumiz TI N8

o. -ti 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 üčün 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 kalmä-) TI S5, E5

(tün udimatī kūn-tüz o. -mafī) TII E1-2

olurma- neg. of olur-

o. -dīm KT E26; BK E21, E22

olurmad (for olur-madīm) KT E27

(tün udim. - kūn-tüz o. -) KT E27, BK E22

olurt- causative of olur-

o. -dum TII E1

o. -dī KT E26; o. -[dī] BK E21

o. -(t)i KČ E12

(qaγan o. -) KT E26, BK E21, TII E1

(bādizīn ... o. -) KČ E12

on ten

o. ārig KT N7

o. tūnkā 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. oγliṅa tatīṅa tāgi BK N15

o. sūsī TI N9

o. sūsīn TII W8

onunč tenth

o. ay BK S10

oṅ pers. n. (? = Chin. Wang)

o. tutuq KT E31, E32

[oṅ 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. -siṅaru 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 käl- KT E37, BK E27

otuz thirty

o. yašima BK E28

o. yaša- KT N2

o. artuqī bir BK E28-29, S9

o. artuqī üç 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

üç 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 käl-) KT N7

(o. - yañ-) BK E31

oz- to be saved

o. -dī BK E28

ö- to think, remember

ö-yūr ärmis KT S5

ö[yūr ärmis]š BK N4

ö-māz sän KT S8, S8; BK N6, N6

ö-dükümün (biltükümün ö.) KČ S3

öd time, age KT N10,
O R4

ö. -kä

antaγ ö. KT
E40

bu ö. KT S1

ol ö. KT E21,
BK E18

öd gall

ö. -īp[ä] küni tæg-
BK E29

ödsig (?) dear, beloved
(?)

ö. ötüldg 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] (anı ö.) KT
W2

ögüz river

yaşil ö. KT E17, BK
E15

yinçü ö. BK N13

yinçü ög[üz] KT
S3

ö. -üg

ärtis ö. KT E37;
TI N11; TII W2

[är]tis ö. BK E27

toyla ö. BK E30

yinçü ö. KT E39,
TII W9, KC E4

ö. -kä TI S9, E1

[ögüzk]ä TI E2

ö. -čä yügür- BK E
20

ök particle of intensifi-
cation (cf. oq)

bän ö. TI W7; TII
S6, S6

özüm ö. TI W6

üküs ö. öltür- TI W7

bertim ö. TII E2

ökül- to be planned, be
thought

ö. -ür (kür ö.) TI
N8

ökün- to regret, repent

ö.! KT E23, BK
E19

ö. -üp KT E40, BK
E38

öl- to die, be killed,
perish

ö. -tüg KT S6, S7;
BK N5, N6

ö. -ti KT E19, E19,
E20, E33, E33, E33,
N4, N6, N8; BKE37;
O Supp. TI W3

ö. -ti kök TI S9

ö. -ügmä BK E37

ö. -täči

ö. bodunuγ KT
E29, BK E23

üküş ö. BK E31

ö. sän KT S8, BK
N6

ö. ärti BK E33

ö. ärtigiz KT N10

ö. -täčičä saqinīγma
BK E2

ö. -sikiγ KT S6, BK
N5

ö. -sikiγin KT S10, BK
N8

ö. -sikig KT S7, BK N5

ö. -gäli KT N10

ö. -d KT E27, E28;
BK E22, E22

ö[lü] BK N7

(ö. - alqin- yoq
bol-) TI W3

(ö. - yit-) KT E28,
BK E22

(tor- ö. -) KT S9

öldg dead

ö. -ī KT N9

öltür- to kill

ö-äyīn KT E10; öltür-
[ayīn] BK E9

ö. -tüm BKE26, E27,
E28, E29; BK S1, S3;

ö[lü]rtüm BK E28;
[öltürtü]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. -miš KT E40

ö. -mis KT E40

ö. -täči TI S3, S3

ö. -täči kök TI E4,
N6

ölärtäčik (for
ölärtäči kök) TI
S4

ö. -üp BK S7, KČ
W5

(ö. - al-) KT E40,
N2

ölä- 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. qağanγaru 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 qağanγaru 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. -iṅa 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 qulqaqin [b]ič BK S12

sad a high title (cf. šad)

qaṅim s. O F8

tardus s. TI N7

s. atiy O F6

s. -ra (tardus s.) TII W6

s. -in (yabγusin s.) TII W6

saqin- to think

s. -iṅ! BK E33

s. -tim KT N10, N10, N11, N11, N11, N11; TI W5, W6, E7; O R2

saqintima (for saqintim) TI E5

s. -ur män BK W6

s. -iγma (öltäčičä s.) BK E2

s. -matı KT E10, BK E9

saq[inip?]] 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

santuṅ geog. n. (= Chin. Shan-tung) cf. šantuṅ

s. balıq(q)a TI E1

s. ba[liqqa] 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 yori- 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
sänä dat. of sän
s. nä ayayīn TI N8
sänün general (< Chin. tsiang-kün)
čača s. BK E26
čaḡ s. KT N13
änik s. KT N2
qu s. BK S8
lisün tay s. BK S11
udar s. KT N12
s. -üg
quḡ s. BK S9
quñi s. TI S2
s. -kä (čača s.) KT E32
siḡtā- to wail (cf. siḡtā-)
s. -mis KT E4
(s. -yoḡlā-) KT E4
sīma- not to destroy (neg. of sī-); cf. sīma-, si-

s. -dī (qarluquḡ s.) KČ E8
si- to destroy, break
s. -dī (balīq s.) TI E2
s. -yu ur- KT E36, KČ E9
siḡt wail, cry of grief
s. (köḡültä s. käl-) KT N11
siḡtči lamenter
yoḡči s. KT E4, N11; BK E5
siḡtā- cf. siḡtā-
s. -miš BK E5
(s. -yoḡlā-) BK E5
siḡun deer
s. ätsär BK W5
silig pers. n.
yegän s. bāḡiḡ KT E33
sīma- neg. of si- (cf. sīma-)
s. -dī (sabimīn s.) KT S11, BK N14
sini acc. of sän
s. tabḡačīḡ TI S3
siḡar half, one of a pair
s. süsī BK E32
[siḡ]ar süsī BK E32

s. -ča artuq TII W5
siḡil younger sister
s. -im qunčuyuḡ KT E20
s. -im qu[nču]yuḡ 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. bodunuḡ TII N4
[? al]ti s. toquz oḡuz ekī ädiz BK E1
siz you (copulatively)
yaḡiltači s. KT S11
soḡdaq Sogdian, Sogdiana (cf. soḡ(u)d)
s. bodun KT E39, TII S2
s. tapa KT E31
soḡ(u)d Sogdian (cf. soḡ-daq)
s. bärčik är KT N2
[s]oḡ(u)d KT W1

soḡa geog. n.
s. yišda KT E35, BK E27
sök- to break through
s. -düm (qariḡ s.) TI N1
s. -üpän (qariḡ s.) KT E35, BK E27
sökür- to make someone kneel, (fig.) to subjugate
s. -tüm BK N10
s. -tümiz KT E18, BK E16
s. -miš KT E15
s. -mis BK E13
(tizligig s. -) KT E15, E18; BK E13, E16, N10
sön time
anča s. KČ E8
sözläš- to consult together, agree together
s. -dimiz KT E26, BK E21
sub water; river
ol s. TI N3
ot s. KT E27, BK E22

yir s. KT E19, E20;
BK E17

yer s. BK E35, TII W3

s. -(qa) (anī s.) TI N3

s. -ča yügür- KT E24

[su]buɣd[a] BK N13

s. -ī (yirī s.) KT E11,
BK E10

s. -īn (yerin s.) BK
E35

s. -īnaru (yerinārū 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

uluɣ s. KT E28

bes tūmān s. BK E25

on tūmān s. TII W1

tört tūmān s. BK S8

s. atī KT E39

s. basī TI N5

s. [t]āgisīntā KT N5

s. -g

bu s. TI N8

ol s. KT E32,
E34; BK E25

bir tūmān artuqī
yeti biq s. BK S1

üč tūmān s. BK
S8

s. -kā (tūmāt s.) KČ
W10

s. -miz

[ekī] süm[iz] TI
E1

ekī üč biq s. TI S7

s. -sī BK E39, O R1

qanī s. TI N4

qaqım qaɣan s.
KT E12, BK E11

on oq s. TI N9

siɣar s. BK E32,
[siɣ]ar s. BK E32

tabɣač s. TI N6

[tab]ɣač atlıɣ s. BK
S1

türgis qaɣan s.
KT E37, BK E27

üč oɣuz s. BK
E32

s. -sīn KT N6, N7;
BK E26, E26, E30,
E31, E31, E34, S1;
TII W8; KČ E10

süsi[n] BK E30,
[süs]in BK E28

yadaɣ 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. sabīna ... 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[lädim] BK S2,
N3

s. -dimiz KT E17, E17,
E18, E31, E35, E39;
BK E15, E15; TII W9

sül[lädimiz] BK
E15, s[ül]lädimiz]
BK E15

s. -miš BK E13

s. -mis KT E15

s. sār (sül[läs]ār) 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

(-ɣaru s. -) TI E3,
KT E12, BK E11

(... tapa s. -) KT
E31, E35; BK E24,
E25, E26, E26,
E26, E28, E32, S2,
S2

(sü s. -) KT E2, BK E3

sülämä- neg. of sülä-

s. -sär (aḡaru s.)
TI E3

sülät- causative of sülä-

s. -(t)im TII W8

sünüg lance (cf. sünüg)

s. batimi qariḡ KT
E35

sünüg cf. sünüg

s. batimī qariḡ BK
E26

s. -ün ač- TI N4

sünüglüg lancer, cavalry-
man armed with a lance
KT E23, BK E19

sünük bone

s. -ün (poss.) KT E24

s. -üg (poss.) BK E20

sünüs fight, battle (cf.
sünüş) KT E15; KČ W9,
W11, E4, E5, E8

(s. kigür-) KČ E8

(s. sünüs-) KT E15;
KČ W11, E4, E5

sünüs- to fight (cf. sünüş-)

s. -dümiz KT N1; TIS9,
N4; TIIN4, W5, W6

s. -di TIIS5, S5, S5;
KČ W10

s. -mis KT E15

s. -dükdä KČ W1, E4, E6

sünüs fight, battle (cf.
sünüs) KT E40; BK E13,
E34

[sü]nüs^ükdä KČ
E3

s. -üp 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

uluḡ s. KT E40

ekī uluḡ s. BK E34

s. -dä (ol s.) KT N2

(s. sünüş-) KT
E40, BK E34

sünüş- to fight (cf. sünüs-)

s. -düm BK E23, E25,
E26, E26, E27, E28,
E29, E30, E30, E31,
E34

[sü]nüş^ükdüm BK
E30, [sünüş]šdüm
BK E37, sünüş-
düm] BK S6

s. -dümiz KT E18, E32,
E35, E37, N3, N4, N4,
N5, N6, N6, N7; BK
BK E17, E28

s. -miš KT E40, N1

sü[nüş]miš BK
E13

s. -gäli BK E32

(sünüş s. -) KT
E40; BK E13,
E34

(-qa s. -) KT E32

(... birlä s. -) KT
N1, N3, N5, N6,
N7; BK E27

sür- to drive, drive away

s. -ti KČ E8

s. -ä KT E23, BK E19

(sü s. -) KČ E8

(s. -ä elt-) KT
E23

šad a high title (cf. sad)
KT E17, E27, N11; BK
E15, E21, S9; TI W5

š. -iḡ (yabḡuḡ š.) KT
E14, BK E12

š. -in (qaḡanin yabḡu-
[sī]n š.) BK E28

(š. olur-) BK S9

šadpīt a title (šadapit?)

š. bäglär KT S1, BK
S13

šad[pīt] bäglär
BK S14

šalči pers. n. (?)

alp š. aq atin KT E40

alp š. aqin KT N2, N3

alp š. [aq]in KT N2

šantunḡ geog. n. (= Chin.
Shan-tung) (cf. santunḡ)

š. yazīqa tāgi KT E17,
S13; BK E15

[š]antunḡ BK N2

tabar geog. n.

t. -da KT E38

tabḡač 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. qaḡan KT N13, TI
E2

t. qaḡaninḡ KT S12

t. qaḡanqa KT E7,
E8, E9; BK E8, E9,
E39

t. qaḡanta KT N12

[tabḡ]ač qaḡanta
KT S11

t. oḡ tutuḡ KT E31

tab[yač] oŋ tutuq
BK E25

t. atin KT E7

t. at[in] BK E7

t. iliqā 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. -yaru BK E35, TI
S2

tabyačγi being in China,
belonging to China

t. bāglār KT E7

[tab]yačγi bāglār
BK E7

tabiγan hare

t. ye- TI S1

tadiq pers. n.

t. -iŋ čoriŋ 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

(baliqdaqi t. -
taγdaqi in-) KT E12

taq the very

t. bilgāsī čabisī KČ E5

taqi more

[t]aqi isig kūčüg O R2

anča t. (spelt taqa) KT
S13

tal- to plunge, dive

t. atin! TI N1

taluy sea, ocean

t. ögüzdä TI E1

t. [ögüz]ä 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

altī čub soγdaq t.
KT E31

altī č[ub soγdaq]
t. BK E25

bes baliq t. BK E28

čik t. BK E26

qarluq t. KČ E8

qirqiz t. KT E35

qitaŋ t. BK S2

qitaŋ 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 üzä KT E17,
BK E15

t. bodunuγ KČ E2

tölis t. [bodunuγ] KT
E13, BK E12

t. inanču čor KT N13

tarqan a high title

apā tarq[an] BK S13
bilgā isbara tamγan t.
O F4

bilgä toñuquq boyla
baɣa t. TI W6
inänču apā yarɣan t.
 KT W2
isbara t. O Bal.
oɣul t. KT N12
taman t. BK S14
tonyuquq boyla baɣa t.
 BK S14
t. -ɣaru (apā t.) TI
 N10
tarqat pl. of tarqan
t. buyruq bäglär KT
 S1
tarqinč offended, dis-
 pleased
t. ol TI E5
tarman geog. n. (cf. tar-
ban)
känü t. -qa tägi KT
 E21
tas exterior, outside (cf.
taš)
t. -in (öz iči 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 (iči in t.) KT S12,
 BK N14
taš stone; rocky place, wil-
 derness KT S12, SW
bängü t. KT S12, S13;
 BK N15
bitig t. KT N13
ol t. KT S13
ol t. barqin BK N15
t. -iy BK N13
aɣar t. BK S15
bitig t[aši]ɣ O
 Supp. 1
t. -qa
bängü t. KT S11,
 BK N8
bu t. KT SE
t. -da (ida t.) TI W4
t. -in
qañim [qaɣan] 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. -inğa 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. saɣun BK S11
tayɣun (pl. of tay) colts,
 young horses; (fig.) sons
t. -uñizda (oɣlanıñizda
t. yegdi) KT SE
täbi camel
ägri 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
uçuq 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
qaṣin 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. -dük üčün BK E30
t. -düküm (äbkä t.) O R2
t. -dükīn ... bilīr siz KT E34
t. -dükīn üčün O R2
t. -ip KT N5; BK S8, SE; O R3; KČ W10, W11, E7, E11; [tägi]p KČ E3

(šdīṅ[ä] küni t. -)
BK E29-30
tägdük conflict, battle
t. -dä (ol t.) KT E36
tägi up to, as far as
bisükīṅä t. KT S6, BK N4
bunča yirkä t. KT S4
bükli qaṣanqa t. KT E8, BK E8
qaḍirqan yišqa t. KT E2
qīrqiz yiriṅä t. BK E15
käčinkä t. BK SE
kāṅü tarbanqa t. BK E18
kāṅü tarmanqa t. KT E21
kün batsiqiṅa t. O F2
on oq oylīṅa tatīṅa t. BK N15
[on oq oylīṅ]a tatīṅa t. KT S12
šantun yazīqa t. KT S3
tämīr qapīyqa t. KT E2, E8, E17, E39, S4; BK E4, E15, N3; TII S1
tāzikkä t. KČ E4
toquz ārsinkä t. KT S3, BK N3

yašil ögüz šantun yazīqa t. KT E17, BK E15
yer bayirqu yiriṅä t. KT S4
yir bayirqu yeriṅä t. BK N3
tägis contact, conflict
t. -īnta (sü t.) KT N5
tägmä- neg. of täg-
t. -dim KT S3, BK N3
[täg]mädim KT S3
t. -či män O R2
tämīr iron (in geog. n.)
t. qapīyqa KT E2, E8, E17, E39, S4; BK E4, E8, E15, N3; TII S1, S2; KČ E4
tämīr qapīy geog. n. (Iron Gate) cf. tämīr
tāṅri 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
tāṅ[ri] KT SW, t[āṅri] BK W3, [t]āṅri BK E21
t. umay TII W3
t. yer BK E29
t. yir KT N4
t. täg KT S1; BK N1, E1, E1, S13, S13
kök t. KT E1, BK E2
ol t. BK E21
t. bilgä qaṣan O R2, R3
t. töpüsintä KT E11, BK E10
t. yarliq(q)azu KT E29, BK E23, TII E3
t. -dä bolmiš KT S1, BK N1
tāṅr[idä] KT SE
t. -sī (türük t.) KT E10, BK E10
tāṅrikän Heaven-like O F6, F8
t. yän O F5
t. -kä O F6
tār sweat
t. -im (qara t.) TII E2
tärmil geog. n.
aq t. TI N1
täyāṅ 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
täzık ethnic n. (Arab)
 t. toqar TII S1
täzık cf. täzık
 t. -kä tägi KC E4
te- to say (cf. ti-)
 t. -dim TI W5, E6, E6, E7, N1
 t. -di TI S8, N7, N7, N7, N7; TII W2
 t. -r män TII W2
 t. -r ärmis O F3, F7, F7
 t. -mis TI E3, E3, E4, E4, E4, E5, N2, N5, N6, N9, N10, N10; [temi]s TI E5
 t. -mis ärinc TI W2
 t. -däci TI N11
 t. -yin TI W6, W6, S10, E6, E7; O F6, F7, R2, R3
tegin prince (cf. tigin)
kül t. KT N8

yäk t. KČ S1
teril- to come together, assemble (cf. tiril-)
 t. -ti (on tümän sü t.) TII W1
 t. -mis (qani süsi t.) TI N4
teyin because, in order to, for the purpose of (lit.: 'saying'); cf. tiyin
 az t. TII W4
üküs t. TII W4, W5
tärrikän al[qinmazun]
 t. O F8
türk bodun yitmäz(ü)n
 t. O F3
yuluq ärmäz(ü)n t. O F3
til words, tidings, information; informant (cf. til)
 t. -iγ TII W1
ti firm, hard, strong
ärtiñü t. maγ it- BK S15
ärtiñü ärtiñü t. maγ i[t-] BK S15
ti- to say (cf. te-)
 t. -dim TII W4
 t. -di TI W5, N6, N6, N8, N8, N8; TII W3

t. -r TI S2, N6, N9; TII W1
 t. -r män TI S3, S3, S4, S5
 t. -r ärmis KT E9, E9, E10
 t. -miš BK E8
 t. -mis KT E9
 t. -sär (... qonayın t.) KT S7
 t. -p KT E9, S7, N11; BK E9, E32, E40, E41, N5
 t. -yin KT E12, BK E35, TI N10
tid- to hold back
 t. -a (közdä yaš käl-sär t. ... saqintim) KT N11
tigin prince (cf. tegin)
bägin t. KT SW
özüm t. BK E14
t[ö]rt t. KČ E12
çor 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
toğa 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. -ä bir- BK S9, S11
 (balbal t. -) KT E16, E25; BK S9
til cf. til
 t. -iγ sabiγ al- TI N8
tilä- to wish, want
 t. -dim TI E6
tinsi (< Chin. T'ien-tsê 'Son of Heaven') (in geog. n.)
 t. oγli TII S2
 t. oγli aytiγma TII S3, W9
tinsi oγli geog. n. (cf. tinsi)
tiqla- to listen

qatıyđı t.! KT S2
tip in order to, with the intention of (lit.: 'saying')

anı ańıtayın 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

-ayın/ -äyın t. KT E28, E39; BK E23, E33
-maz/ -mäz t. BK E25, E39
-zun t. KT E11, E19, E20, E25; BK E10, E16, E17, E20, E21;
[-zun] t. KT E27;
[-z]un t. BK E22
-čun t. KT E11, BK E10

tizlig having knees, (fig.) powerful
t. -ig sökür- KT E2, E15, E18; BK E13, N10;
tizlig[ig] BK E3

to- to become full
t. -sıq KT S8, BK N6
 (äčsıq 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. -ıña (kün t.) BK N2
to[γsiqıña] BK N11
t. -ıña O F2
toγla geog. n.
t. ögüzdg 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. ärän KT N9
t. ärig KT N6
t. ärsinkä tägi KT S3
t. oγuz BK E1, O F6
t[oquz oγu]z BK E29
t. oγuzqa KČ E4
t. oγuz bodun KT E14; BK E12, E35; TI S2
t. oγuz bäglärī bodunī KT S2
t. tatar birlä BK E34
toquz ärsin geog. n. (see toquz)
toquz oγuz ethnic n. (see toquz)
toquz tatar ethnic n. (see toquz)
toquzunč ninth
t. ay yeti otuzqa KT NE
tolγatma- not to torment

t. -ŋ! (āmgätmäŋ t.)
BK N13

tonluŋ 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 oŋuš alpaju
KT N7

t. yilpaŋutī BK E31

t. āsimig TI S2

topla- to fold up, bend

t. -ŋuluq alp ārmis
TI S6

t. -ŋalī 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

toruŋ bay, reddish-brown

t. at KT E33

toruq lean, emaciated

t. buqa TI W6

t. buqalī sāmiz buqalī
TI W5

sū atī t. ... ārti KT
E39

tonyuquq a high title (cf.
toŋuquq)

t. boyla baŋa 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 baŋa 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. atīŋ TII E4

tök- to pour

t. -di KČ E5

töküt- to cause to shed

t. -i (qizil qanım t.)
TII E2

tölis ethnic n. (cf. tölis)

t. tarduš KT E13

tölis cf. tölis

t. tarduš BK E12

t. bāglār BK S13

törkär (?) geog. n.

t. (spelt t² ūŋks²)
taŋda BK S8

[tö]ŋkär (Thom. [..]-
lkr) taŋqa BK S7

töpü peak, summit, top

t. -sintā (tāŋri t.)
KT E11, BK E10

tört four

t. buluŋ KT E2, BK
E3

t. buluŋuŋ O F1

t. buluŋdaŋi KT E2;
BK E2, E3, E24, N9

t. süŋüs 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.
törū)

t. -g KT E3, E16, E30;
BK E2, E36, törū[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 (āćüm 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 qazŋan-) KT
E16, E30, E31

törū cf. törū

t. -gin BK E19

t. -sīn BK E8, [tš]-
rūsīn BK E11
törü- to be created, be
born
t. -mis KT N10
tu- to bar, block up,
obstruct
t. -mis TI E6
tudun a title
t. yamtarīy BK E40
tuγ barrier, obstacle
yantaqi 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. *tuotuoq)
qošu t. KT N1
oγ t. KT E31, E32
[o]γ 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

tümän ten thousand, immense
quantity BK N12
bir t. KT N1
bir t. artuqī yeti biγ
BK S1
bes t. BK E25
bis t[ümän] KT E31
on t. TII W1
säkiz t. BK E26
tört t. BK S8
üč t. BK S8
tümät ethnic n.
t. sükä KČ W10
tün night, at night KT
E27; BK E22; TI S5, N11;
TII E1
ol oq t. TII W7
t. yāmā TI E5, N3
t. ortusīgaru KT S2,
BK N2
t. -kā (on t.) TI N2
t. -lī künlī BK SE
(t. udīma- kün-
tüz olurma-) KT
E27, BK E22
(t. udīmati kün-
tüz olurmafī)
TII E1-2
tüpüt geog. n. (Tibet) KT
E4, BK E5

t. qaγanta KT N12
t. -kā KT S3, BK N3
türgi geog. n.
t. yarγun költä KT
E34
türgis ethnic n.
t. tapa BK E27
t. bodunuγ KT E37
qara t. bodun KT E38,
E39
qara t. bodunuγ KT
E40
t. qaγan KT E18, E37,
E38; BK E16, E27; TI
E4; tür[gis qaγan] BK
N9
[t]ürgis qaγanqa BK N9
t. qaγanta KT N13, TI
N5
t. qaγanī TI N6
türk ethnic n. (Turk,
Turkish); cf. türük
t. bodun TI W1, W2,
W3, E1; O F2, F3
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. qaγanyaru
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 qaγan KT S1,
W1; BK N1, E1, S13;
TII E8, N4

t. bilgä [qaγan]
BK E1, S13

t. bilgä qaγanq[a]
TII S6

t. b(ö)gü q[aγan]qa
TII S6

t. bodun KT E6, E10,
E11, E22, E25, E27,
S6, S7, S8, S8, S10,
N6; BK E7, E9, E10,
E19, E19, E21, E22,
E30, E33, E33, E38,
N5, N5, N6, N6, N8;
TI E4; TII S2

t. qara qamaγ bodun
KT E8, BK E8

t. mafi bodun bağlar
KT S11, BK N8

t. bodunın KT E1, BK
E3

t. bodunıγ (gen.) KT
E25, BK E20

t. bodunuγ (acc.) KT
E16, E21; BK E14,
E18, E36

t. bodunum BK N13

t. qaγan KT S3, BK N2

t. sir bodun TII N2, N3

t. sir bodunuγ TII N4

t. atın KT E7

t. atın BK E7

t. iduq yirī subī KT
E40

t. täqrisī KT E10, BK
E10

t. törüsün (for törüsīn)
KT E13; tü[rük tö]rüsīn
BK E11

t. oγuz 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 (ögüzkä t.) TI
S9

tüs[di] (ol at anta
t.) KT N4

tüsür- to cause to dis-
mount

t. -tümiz (asanyalı t.)
TI N3

tüz peaceful, agreeable

t. ärmis KT E3

tüzsiz discordant, dis-
agreeable

t. üçün KT E6, BK
E6

tüzül- to come to an am-
icable agreement, make
peace

t. -tüm (tabγaç bodun
birlä t.) KT S5

tü[zültüm] BK N3

u sleep

uqa bas- TI N3

uda bas- KT E35,
E37; BK E27

uśin 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. -đi KT NE

u. -duqda KT E30, BK
E14

u. -a bar- KT E16, SE;
BK E20, S10

učuq summit, peak (?)

u. täg TI S1

učuz easy TI S6

u. ärmis TI S6

ud thigh (cf. udlıq)

u. aśru sanč- KT E36,
N2

ud- to follow, pursue

u. -i yań- TII W6

udar pers. n.

u. säñün KT N12

uđi- to sleep

u. -sıqım TI S5, E5

u. -mafi (tün u. küntüz
olurmatı) TII E1

(u. -sıqı kälma-) TI
S5, E5

uđima- neg. of uđi- (cf.
uđima-)

u. -đim 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.! (könlüñčä 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. süñüş KT E40

ekī u. süñüş 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

(itinñ 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-m'in u.) KT S12

uruγsirat- to exterminate, to deprive someone of his descendants

u. -ayin (ölräyän 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. oγuz 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 oγuz ethnic n. (cf. üč)

üčägü three together (cf.
bučägü)

ü. -n qabisıp sülälim
TI E4

bučägü (< bu üčägü)
TI S6

üčün l. (post.) for, be-
cause of, on account of,
for the sake of (cf. üčün)

türük bodun ü. KT
E27

alpın ärdämın ü.
KČ W12

antaγıñın ü. KT S9

armaqçisın ü. KT E6

[bi]lgäsın ü. KC W7

[bilmädükın] ü. KT E19

täñri yir bulyaqın ü. KT
N4

kişürtükın ü. KT E6

kürägüñin ü. KT E23

täbligın kürlügın ü. BK E6

täbligın kürlüg (for
kürlügın) ü. KT E6

yañıluqın 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

[armaqçis]ın ü. BK E6

bilgäsın ü. TII S4

bilmädükügin ü. BK
E20

bilmädükın ü. BK E16

bulyaqın ü. BK E29

qazγantuqın ü. TII E5

kürägüñin ü. BK E19

tägdükın ü. O R2

yablaqıñın ü. BK
E20

yañıltuqın yazıntuqın
ü. BK E16

yonşurtuqın ü. BK
E7

anı ü. BK E28

2. (conj.)

qutum bar ü. KT E29,
BK N7

qutum ülügüm bar ü.
BK E23

bilmädük ü. KT E24

bertük/birtük ü. TI
W6; KT E12, W1; BK
E11, E32

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

tüzsiz 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. üküş) TII
W4, W5

ü. türük bodun KT S6

ü. ök ölürti TI W7

ü. -üg (aziγ ü.) O F7

üküş (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. kümüşın BK N11

üz evil-minded

ü ol (anıy ol ü ol)
TI N10

üz- to cut, break

ü. -gülük alp ärmis
TI W7

ü. -gäli uçuz TI S6

üzä 1. (adv.) above, on high
KT E1, E10, E22; BK E2, E18, N10, N12, W1, W3; O F3, R4; [ü]zä
BK E35

2. (post.) on, over; in accordance with, according to
BK E2

altun 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 šadiγ 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 üçün 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, harmless

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, approach

y. -u KT S5, S7; BK N6

(y. -u bar-) KT S7, BK N6

(y. -u qon-) KT S5

yaγut- to cause to come close

y. -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

yaγıqqa y. ... tæg-
KČ 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. yän)

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; KČ E7, E8

yantur- causative of yan-

y. -tumiz (anta y.) TII
S1

y. -u (köñültä siγit käl-
sär y. saqintim) KT N11

yañil- 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

yañilma- neg. of yañil-

y. -duq O R3

(adrılma- y. -) O
R3

yañiluq 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

inänču 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
bolıı) KČ W3

yaš age, age of life

y. -da (säkiz y. qal-)
BK E14

y. -ıma

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]ašıma BK S2

älig y. BK S7

[yaši]ma BK E31

y. -ımqa (tört yegirmi
y.) BK E15

y. -ıña

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. -dı KT E24, BK
E20

y. -u qal- KT N9, TI
E2

yañ- to scatter, disperse,
put to rout (cf. yay-)

y. -dım BK E33

y. -dımız TI S9, TII
W6

y. -duq TI S9

y. -ıp KT E34

y. -a KT E23; BK E19,
E31

(y. -a elt-) KT
E23, BK E19

(y. -ıp buz-) KT
E34

(oz- y. -) BK
E31

(sanč- y. -) BK
E33

yay summer

y. bolsar BK W3

y. -ın BK E39

yay- to scatter, disperse

(cf. yañ-)

y. -dım O R1

y. -mis O F1

yaz spring

y. -ın BK S2

y. -ıña KT N8

y. -ıña 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. -tı 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. qarʻu 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
buyruqı y. KT E3, E5; BK E6
buyruqı bağlārı y. KT E19, BK E16
biz y. TII W9
uzun yälmäg y. TII E2

yañilip ölsikiqin y. KT S10
yolta y. TI S9
ayʻuči[sı] y. ... yaʻi-či[sı] y. TII S6
bāglārı y. bodunı y. KT E3
bāglārı y. bodunı (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] ... oʻuzı y. TI E5
bod y. bodun y. kisı y. TII N2
bunča y. KT N9
yän in the direction of (cf. yan)
täñrikän y. O F5
biridin y. TI S4
öñdün y. TI S4
yät- to lead, tow with a rope
y. -ä TI N1
 (at y. -) TI N1

ye- to eat (cf. yi-) <toquz> y. BK E25
y. -yü (tabisʻan y.) TI S1
yeg better TII W2, KC E6
 -da y. qıl- BK E24
yegän pers. n.
y. silig bāgiq KT E33
yegdi better, in a better way
y. qazʻan- 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
yer earth; place, land, soil (cf. yir) KT E1; BK E18, N10; TI N2; KC W6, E1
täñri 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 (näñ y.) TII E6
y. -gärü KT S8
yer[gär]ü BK N6
y. -in (for yerin) subin BK E35
y. -ıntä TI W3, S4; TII N2
y. -inǵä (for yerinǵä) BK N3
y. -inǵärü (for yerinǵärü) subinǵaru BK E40
yerči guide TI E6, N2
yeti seven (cf. yiti)

y. ärän O F5
y. süñüs KČ E4
y. yašīna KČ E6
y. yołi KT E15
y. yüz KT E13, BK E11; TI W4, W4
y. biq BK S1
y. süñüs- TII S5
y. yegirmi BK E10, E24; TII S5
y. otuzqa KT NE
y. o[tuz] BK E26
[yeti] otuz TII E1
yetinč seventh (cf. yitinč)
y. ay O R4
yetmis seventy (cf. yetmiš)
y. är KT E12
yetmiš seventy (cf. yetmis)
y. är BK E11
yid- to send (cf. id-)
y. -mis (anča y.) TI N10
yig- to gather together, bring together
y. -ip TII W8
(it- y. -) BK N9, TII W8

yig- terrify (cf. yig-)
y. -dīm O R1
y. -mis O F1
yil year
[i]t y. BK S10
laʔzīn 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
qoñ y. KT NE, O R4
lū y. O Supp. 5
ol y. KT E36, BK E27
yilqī horses, horseherd, cattle
y. -ʔ BK E38, KČ E13
y. -sīn barimīn BK E24
y. -[sīn] BK E39
yilq[is]in KT SW
(y. barim) BK E24
(y. ay-) KT SW

(y. igid-) BK E38, KČ E13
yilpaʔut champion warriors, officers (cf. alpaʔu)
y. -ī (tonra y.) BK E31
yilsiy wealthy, prosperous
y. bodunqa KT E26
[y]ilsiy bodunta üzä BK E21
yiri north (cf. yiri, yiri)
y. -ya KT S1; TI W7, S7
yiri north (cf. yiri, yiri)
y. -yā O F2, F5
yis forest, wooded mountain (cf. yis, yis)
altun y. üzä TI E3
y. -iy
altun y. TII N11, TII W2
kōgmān y. TI N4
y. -da (altun y.) TI N7, N8
y. -ʔaru (ötükān y.) TI S8
yi- to eat (cf. ye-)
y. -yū (keyik y.) TI S1
yičä again, anew

y. itdi igit(t)di KT E16
y. itdi y. igit(t)i BKE14
yig- to terrify (cf. yig-)
y. -dīm O R1
yig better (cf. yeg)
-da y. KT S4, BK N3
yigirmi twenty (cf. yegirmi)
y. kīn KT SE
yimšaq soft KT S5, S5, S6; BK N4, N4, N5
yinčgā thin, tender TI S6
y. ärklig TI S6
yinčü pearl (in yinčü ögüz 'The Pearl River', i. e. Jaxartes or Syr Darya)
y. ögüz BK N3
y. ög[üz] KT S3
y. ögüzüg KT E39, TII S2, KČ E4
yinčü ögüz geog. n. (cf. yinčü)
yipar musk, scent
y. -iy (yoʔ y.) BK S11
yir earth; place, land (cf. yer) KT E22
tānri y. KT N4
az y. TI E7
ötükān y. KT S8
il tutsiq 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 mountain (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. ödüşkä 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 yiliti 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. -siγtä-/siγtä-) KT E4, BK E5

yoγla- cf. yoγlä-

y. -di (qobsariγ 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. čiyań KT S10, BK N7

buq y. KT S3

buquγ (poss.) y. KT S8

ańıγ 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, TIS9

y. -un (instr.) TIE6, E7

y. -sizin TII N11

y. -ī (kō gmān y.) TIE6

(yurt y.) KT N9

yoli time, occurrence

tört y. BK E30

biš y. KT N4

altı y. BK E28

qırq artuqı 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

yoŋsur- to cause to slander one another

y. -tuqın ūčün KT E6, BK E7

yorī- to march; make progress (cf. yori-)

y. -lim TII N5, N11

y. -[dīm] BK E27

y. -dīmiz KT E37

y. -duqı (türük sir bodun y. bu) TII N3

y. -yūr ārmis TIS3

[yorıy]ur ärtig BK N7

y. -sar TIE6, E7

y. -p KT E35

yo rīp BK E27

(sū y. -) TII N5, N11

(toru ölü y. -) BK N7

yori cf. yorī-

y. -mis O F5

yor[imis?] O F6

y. -yūr KT E12

y. -yūr ärtig KT S9

y. -p BK SE, O R3

y. -pan BK E37

(sū y. -) BK SE

(tašra y. -) KT E11, 12

(toru ölü y. -) KT S9

yorıma- neg. of yori-

y. -zun TIS4

y. -sar TII N5

yorīt- to cause to march (cf. yorit-)

y. -dīm (sū y.) TII N1, N11

yorīt- cf. yorīt-

y. -dīm KT S4

yor[itdīm?] BK S5

y. -maz ārmis KT S6

yo[rītmaz] ārmış 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 TII N2

yulı- to pillage, plunder

y. -dīmiz TII W4

y. -yañi BK E32

yufiγçi 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. -miš</u> BK E13
<u>yuyqa</u> thin TI S6	<u>y. -miš</u> KT E2; [<u>yü</u>]küntürmis BK E3, <u>yüküntü[rmis]</u> KT E15
<u>y. ärkli</u> TI S6	(<u>başlıγıγ y.</u>) KT E2, E15, E18; BK E13, E16, N10
<u>yüg(g)ärü</u> up, upwards, to a high place	<u>yüz</u> hundred
<u>y. kör-</u> BK E2	<u>y. artuq oqun</u> KT E33
<u>y. kötür-</u> KT E11, BK E10	<u>bis y. ärän</u> BK S11
<u>yügtür-</u> to cause to rise, to promote	<u>yeti y.</u> KT E13, E13; BK E11, E11; TI W4, W4
<u>y. -mis</u> KČ W2	<u>y. -čä ärin</u> BK E37
<u>yügür-</u> to run, flow	<u>yüz</u> face
<u>y. -ti</u> KT E24, BK E20	<u>y. -iñä</u> KT E33
<u>yüğürt-</u> to let flow	(<u>y. başıña</u>) KT E33
<u>y. -i</u> TII E2	<u>yüzüt-</u> to cause to swim
(<u>qara tärim y.</u>) TII E2	<u>y. -i</u> BK E30
<u>yüğürtmä-</u> not to let run	

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