

BALÁZS DANKA

The Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nāmā

A philological and linguistic analysis

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Szeged, 2016

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Acknowledgements

The accomplishment of the present work would not have been possible without the institutional framework and support of the *Turkological Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the University of Szeged*. I also would like to express my deep thanks for my professors, teachers, colleagues and family who contributed my work during the last decade I spent with reading the legend of *Oğuz Qağan* forth and back, again and again. I would like to thank for †Árpád Berta and Éva Kincses-Nagy who guided my first steps on this long way. Lars Johanson gave me very important insight for the linguistic analysis of this text during his stay in Szeged, together with Éva Ágnes Csató during my visit in Uppsala. I am deeply grateful to them. I would also like to thank for Julian Rentzsch for his very useful advices he provided me during his stay in Szeged, and for Peter Zieme, who made it possible that I could continue my work with the high resolution photograph of the original manuscript. Furthermore, I would like to thank Jens Peter Laut and László Károly who contributed my last steps of my work during my visit in Göttingen and Mainz respectively. I am also very grateful to Mónika Biacsi who corrected my mistakes with keen eyes and for her technical advices. Finally and most importantly, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, András Róna-Tas and also for Mária Ivanics, who were always there with their helpful directions and advices, and of course, I also owe to *Oguz Kagan* himself, and for those who are not mentioned here by name. Many thanks to all of them.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
AG	Desmaisons 1970
AOR	aorist
Ar.	Arabic
ART.INDEF	indefinite article
BA	Bang – Arat 1932 (1936)
CAUS	causative verb
CC	Codex Cumanicus
Chin.	Chinese
COMP	comparative
COND	conditional
CONV.IMPRF	imperfective converb
CONV.PRF	perfective converb
Cx	case marker
DAT	dative case
DTS	Nadeljaev 1969
ED	Clauson 1972
GEN	genitive case
Gr.	Greek
HF	high focal
IMP.2	second person imperative
IMP.3	third person imperative
INF	infinitive
INTRA	intraterminal
L	Lessing 1960
LF	low focal
LOC	locative case
Mo.	Mongolic
MT	Middle Turkic
NEG	negation
NF	non-focal
NN	denominal noun derivative
NV	denominal verb derivative
NOM	nominative case
NP	noun phrase
Osm.	Ottoman Turkic
PART.PRF	perfective participle
PAST	past tense
Per.	Persian
PLUR	plural
pm.	personal marker

PON	the Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nāmā
POST	postterminal
PP	Pelliot 1930 (1995)
PRO	prospective
PRO.DEM	demonstrative pronoun
PRO.Pl.2	personal pronoun, second person plural
PRO.Sg.1	personal pronoun, first person singular
PRO.Sg.2	personal pronoun, second person singular
PRS	present tense
PRT.INT	interrogative particle
Px	possessive suffix
Px.Pl.3	third person plural possessive suffix
Px.Sg.2	second person singular possessive suffix
Px.Sg.3	third person singular possessive suffix
Rad	Radloff 1891
RD	Jahn 1969
REFL	reflexive verb
RN	Nour 1928
Sans.	Sanskrit
Sg	singular
Sg.1	first person singular
Sogd.	Sogdian
SUBJ	subjunctive
ST	Steingass 1892 (2005)
Šč	Ščerbak 1959
TERM	terminative case
Tokh.	Tokharian
UK	Eraslan 1976
VN	deverbal noun derivative
VOC	vocative case
VV	deverbal verb derivative
WOT	Róna-Tas – Berta 2011
YZ	Bakır 2008
Z	Zenker 1866

1. Introduction

The only known manuscript of the Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nāmā (PON) is preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris (MS). It got to its present place from the private collection of the French orientalist, Charles Schefer (1820-1898) in 1899. Edgard Blochet (1900) and Hartvig Derenburg (1901) published catalogues about Schefer's collection.

The high-resolution photographs of the MS are available at the homepage of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (URL). There the MS is referred to as 'Oghuz Name', dated to the 15th century, its language is called 'Eastern Turkic', and the plot is given as 'The history of the mythic founder of the Turkic race, Attila'. If clicked on the image, the name of the mythic founder is given as "Oughouz".

The manuscript is written in a cursive version of Uygur script, it consists of 21 folios (42 pages). The folios are sized approximately 185x120 mm. The folios are covered into a volume. Each recto side of the folios are numbered with Latin numbers in the upper right corner (1-21), however, according to the plot, in reverse order. Thus, the text starts on 21v.¹ The order of images at the homepage of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* follow each other, and I refer to them according to this numbering, but I will refer to the number of pages as they are given correctly by Ščerbak 1959 (see below).

The manuscript is damaged by water on folios 10v, 10r, 9v, 9r (pages 23–26) and is torn in an increasing measure on the sides of folios 6–1 (pages 31–42). The damaged text is restored on folios 4r and 3v (pages 36 and 37) by a second hand, probably by a previous scholar who worked on the manuscript. The whole text is 376 lines long. The text is fragmentary, it lacks its beginning and its end. The exact circumstances, date and place of the genesis of the text are unknown, as the manuscript in hand has no colophone. The reason I found it proper to designate this version of Oğuz-nāmā as Pre-Islamic is that the plot of the text does not contain any explicit reference to Islam. This question is further discussed in *Chapter 8.: Interrelatedness of the different Oğuz-nāmā versions*. The text narrates a part of the Oguz legend well-known among Turkic peoples, namely the birth and deeds of the protagonist Oguz Kagan until the end of his rule.

The earliest accessible edition of the PON was prepared by Wilhelm Radloff (1890: 291-292), in which he published the first eight pages of the manuscript, and translated the whole text to German (Radloff 1891: x-xiii) and published the text in printed Uygur script

¹ Here I refer to folios according to the numbering of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, but I refer to page numbers of the manuscript as they are correctly given in Ščerbak 1959.

(1891: 232-244). Riza Nour (1928) adopted the text to Arabic script, transcribed it to the Latin alphabet, and translated it to French. This edition also contains notes and the black and white, barely readable facsimile of the text. Paul Pelliot (1930, Turkish reprint 1995) provided critical comments on Riza Nour's edition. The next edition of the PON with comments on the text was made by Bang and Rahmeti (1932), which was also translated to Turkish (1936). The newest, although already more than sixty years old edition of the PON is Ščerbak's (1959), which contains the transcription of the text in Cyrillic alphabet, its Russian translation, and comments on the text. Muharrem Ergin (1988) republished Bang and Rahmeti's translation. A Hungarian translation of the PON has been made by Zsuzsa Kakuk (1985), which is based on Band-Rahmeti 1932).

A number of papers has also been published concerning the PON. Sinor (1950) proposed an etymology for the name of the protagonist, connecting the name to the Turkic word *öküz* 'ox', and to the picture drawn on the first page of the manuscript. He divides the text into two parts according to the plot, and he claims that the first part belongs to the ancient Kirgiz mythology, while the second to the ancient Oguz one.

Faruk Sümer (1959) has published a long paper about *Oğuz-nāmās*. He cites two references to *Oğuz-nāmā* versions in Turkic historical sources that may be identified with the PON. The first one is from the Ottoman historian Ali Yazījzādā, who served Sultan Murad II. (1404-1454). Yazījzādā mentions an *Oğuz-nāmā* written in Uygur script, which he did not include into his translation of Rašīd ad-Dīn's *Ĝāmī at-Tawāriḥ*. The other report is of Šükruallah, who went to Tebriz as an envoy of Sultan Murad II. Sümer (1959: 387) indicates that these two reports refer to one and the same text, but he cautiously does not identify this or these texts with the PON. One cannot exclude the possibility that (one or both of) these reports mention the PON itself, but the information given is not enough neither to identify the text itself nor its age of writing down. Sümer (1959) supposes that the PON was written after the 12th century, in Iran, based on the proper names occurring in the text. He thought that the text was written by an Uygur *baḫšī* (scribe skilled in the use of Uygur script), who listened to Turkmen epic singers (because the plot of the text is connected to Oguz-Turks).

I would like to mention here that there is a third, earlier report about an *Oğuz-nāma*, which may also be identified with the PON. Chronologically the first report is made by Ibn ad-Dawādārī from the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century (Graf 1990: 182-183). This report informs us about a written *Oğuz-nāmā*, which has been performed with musical accompaniment. This text mentions Oguz Kagan, and includes the story of Tepegöz

(known from the *Kitāb-i Dede Korkut*), which the PON does not contain. However, there is no information in Ibn ad-Dawādārī's report about the age and the script of the text.

Sir Gerard Clauson attempted to classify the PON among the Turkic historical monuments from the point of view of language and script. In his 1962 (reprint 2002) collection of articles about Turkic language history he mentions the PON several times (Clauson 1962 [2002]: 29, 31, 115). He places the language of the PON between Karakhanid Turkic (11th century) and Chagatay Turkic (15th century) in time. This time the town of Xwārazm was an important literary centre, located in south of the Aral Sea. The literary language was an Oguz (Turkmen) variety, which had been written down with Arabic script. Actually he repeats this opinion in his etymological dictionary (ED xxiii, §41) where he classifies the PON as a 13th century Xwārazm-Turkic text. He names the script-variant of the PON 'official Mongolian alphabet', but he adds that variant is unique concerning its orthographical features. In a later article (Clauson: 1964 16-17), he considers the scribe a wandering *baḫṣī* from the 13th-14th century, thus, as Sümer did, he separates the scribe of the text from the one who told it. He considers the language of the PON (and the speaker of the language) Turkmen, since that is the only language among the southwestern or Oguz group of Turkic languages in which – similarly to the PON – the word *bōri* denotes 'wolf'.

Ercilasun (1988) considers Oguz Kagan's legend and the *Kitāb-i Dede Korkut* two, already completely separate traditions, where the later is based on the former. At Ibn ad-Dawādārī's age, it seems that this separation had not yet taken place.

Gömeç (2004) connects the PON to the Ottoman history and the Mongolian conquest based on its plot. He thinks that the PON should be used as a starting point for a research on the Oğuz-nāmās since it contains Pre-Islamic features.

Balkaya (2008) points out that the handling of geographical space in the PON is opaque, the place names occurring in the text rather serve as scenery for the plot, than to sign the exact geographical places of the ongoing events.

Gariper (2011) examines the motifs of collective consciousness in the PON and compares them to those appearing in a particular piece of modern Turkish Poetry (Yahya Kemal's *O Rüzgâr*).

I am aware of several university master theses, which have been written about this text. Simon (2008) makes a comparison on the motifs appearing in the PON and the Muslim Oğuz-nāmā versions. Ratcliffe (2013, URL1) gives a good summary on the previous research on the text, discusses the most debated problems of the PON, and situates it in the Turkic and steppe epic cycles as well as in the Middle Asian historical background.

It is well observable that the literature about the PON attempts to date the text based on its plot, and on the fact that it is written in Uyğur script. Pelliot and Clauson recognized the importance of the language as a tool of classification, but they considered only the (Mongolic elements of) the lexicon. The terminology in the Turkish literature *Uyğur harfli*, *Uyğur yazılı* ('in Uyğur script') and *Uyğurca* ('in Uyğur language') is often used synonymously, which is, of course, erroneous.

In general, the greatest problem with the previous editions in the one hand, is that neither of them contain the whole, well-readable facsimile of the manuscript. On the other hand, neither of the main editions mentioned above contain a systematic description of the text's language. They do refer to paleographical, orthographical, linguistic, philological, etc. problems *one by one*, but they do not really consider the individual problems *type by type* in a unified framework. Since some readings are ambiguous due to problems of several types of the aforementioned problems, the previous editions could not solve all of them. As a result, Turkology knows about the text, and research had been made on it from several points of view, but it is no wonder that experts on the field consider the PON as a 'doubtful' text, and no new edition has been presented about it in the last almost six and a half (!) decades. Moreover, the translations of the text in various languages, which are circulating among the experts of the field, do often contain several mistakes, or are simply obscure in certain places as a consequence.

The present work tends to overcome both of the mentioned problems. First of all, it contains a facsimile of the manuscript, which opened a way to its paleographical examination, in order to give a parallel transliteration and transcription of the text. Secondly, the present work offers a solution to the linguistic questions arising with the text in a systematic way, starting from the phonological level until the grammar of the text. This work, however, does not contain a whole syntactic description for the following reason: The corpus offered by this text is very limited, so such a description would have been at least incomplete. As the PON is a historical text, no native speaker can be found to verify or refute the possible results of a systematic description. Of course, as far as syntactic problems are concerned, I discuss them at the individual examples.

At the discussion of the cited examples, I always refer to their location in the manuscript with the following formula: 'X/Y Z'. In this formula X stands for the page number as it is given in *Chapter 3. Facsimile, Transliteration, Transcription and Translation*, in the upper left corner of the page. Y stands for the number of the line as it is given above each

page of the manuscript. Z stands for the number of the grapheme sequence² in a line, starting from the top of the page. The 'Z' part of the formula is mostly used in *Chapter 2. Paleography*. For example, 34/8 9 refers to the ninth grapheme-sequence in the eighth line of page 34: *-lar* 'PLUR'. Of course longer citations may take up more than one line or they may begin in one line and finish in another. The reference-formula points to the page and line in which the example begins.

² It is important to keep in mind that certain suffixes may be written separately from the word stem, thus one word may be written in several sequences.

2. Paleography

The main aim of the present chapter is to give a paleographical description on the PON. The Uygur script was getting out of use among the Turks at the time when this Oğuz-nāmā version must have been taken down, but it looks back to a quite long, almost eight century-long history. During these centuries the technique of writing down the Uygur script and the forms of its letters went through a gradual change, although this process has not yet been researched with a broad perspective. Of course, papers concerning this topic have been published, and I would like to present a small review of them in the following.

AuS1 (15-16) indicates that instead of the Syrian Estrangelo script, the Uygur script originates from an unknown Semitic script which is based on the Sogdian script, thus there was an intermediate stage between the Sogdian and the Uygur script. This latter one was the base of the later Mongolian, Manchu, and Kalmuk script. It also mentions the books in hand at the time – which were recovered by the four German expeditions – were block printed, most probably a technique adopted from China. The direction of the script of the texts are right to left, and later from up to down, the lines following each other from left to right. The work also presents the printed forms of the individual letters, and the symbols of punctuation.

Arat (1987) (originally published in 1937) searches for the answer of the original order of letters in the Uygur alphabet, and their original sound value. He takes the abecedary given by Kāšgārī's DLT where the individual Uygur letters are given in one order, and their Arabic counterparts are written under the individual letters. He compares them with three other abecedaries, one preserved in Ankara, and another one which belongs to the Timurid era, and one found in Hamidiye Library. He fixes the alphabetical order as follows: a, v, χ, z, q, y, k, δ, m, n, s, b, č, r, š, t, l, š, m, k, which more or less corresponds to that of the Arabic alphabet, and other Semitic alphabets. He assumes that the order of the Uygur alphabet originates from the Sogdian alphabet, or another one, on which the Sogdian was based on.

Gabain (1964) made a very detailed, but rather descriptive work on Old Turkic manuscripts: She describes the place and process of their recovery, the paper and its technique of production, and the equipments of writing. She also provides a detailed description of the different forms of books, and the arrangement of the sides or sheets. There is an orthographical description of the different kinds of alphabets. She does not explicitly give information on how to date the individual manuscripts, however the alphabet, writing device or their co-ocurrence may also give a hint on that. For example, the Manichean manuscripts are exclusively written with calamus, as well as the earlier Uygur Buddhist texts. The newer

Buddhist texts are written rather with brush. Thus the calamus is the older device to write, which has been gradually replaced by the brush, opening way to the newer cursive ductus.

AuS2 (17-18) is a bit more informative than **AuS1**, and mentions that the Uygur script had been used between the 8th and 14th centuries, in the earlier stages to write down Turkic religious texts of Buddhism, Manicheism, and in smaller proportion Christianity. Later it had been used to secular purposes as well. It had been adapted to Mongolian in the 13th century, and, in the 15th century was also used to create and copy Muslim texts as well. At this stage one has to consider possible influence of Mongolian script in terms of orthography and the shape of the graphemes, and influence of Arabic script in terms of the orthography. AuS2 also discusses the orthography in more details. Considering the paleography, it indicates that the ductus of the early Buddhist texts is more angular than the late Manichean texts, and the former is the one which provided base for the ductus of the Mongolian script. The change of the direction of the lines from horizontal to vertical is dated to the 11th century. The Uygur script had been written to paper with several techniques: with calamus providing the angular forms of letters, with brush in a more cursive way, and with blockprint.

Laut (1992) examines the different methods of correction and proof in Uygur texts. He distinguishes different types, like corrigenda and superscript, and comes to the conclusion that these corrections are made in the texts because 1. The scribe looked for the mistakes and wanted to correct them in order to accomplish a higher quality work. This is specific for older texts, which have been made for order. 2. During the copying of texts, mistakes or already non-understandable words and phrases had been corrected for the lucidity or the better style of the text. This is rather characteristic in case of newer texts or those which were created for inner use, not for order. He also comes to the conclusion that the presence of such corrections proves that these texts were copied not after dictation, but by reading.

Tekin (1993) gives a short, but compact description on the history of the spread and development of the technology of writing among the Turks. Although his explanations and etymologies are sometimes oversimplifying, the description of the technology of paper production is more illustrating than that we find in Gabain 1964. It is pointed out that the technique of writing is dependent on the type of paper used, namely the writing with calamus needs thicker paper, while the writing with brush is possible on thinner paper as well (Tekin 1993: 32). What one can learn about the techniques of book-making and printing is also in overlap with Gabain 1964, but does not really bring anything new.

Maybe the most useful part of the book is that it summarizes the viewpoints what should be kept in view while preparing the paleographical description of a manuscript. These

include exterior (the form of the tome, ink, script, the arrangement of foils, pagination etc.) and interior (colophone, embossment etc.) features, since these information may help dating the manuscript (51-77).

Doerfer (1993), in his work tries to classify the Old Turkic corpus using 30 criteria. One of them (Nr. 1) is a paleographic (namely, whether the given text is printed or not) the others are orthographic (Nrs. 2-4), phonetic (Nrs. 5-9), morphological (Nrs. 10-29), and lexical (Nr. 30). He also stresses not only chronological, but also geographical and sociolinguistic points of view, reflecting to the fact that Old Turkic probably had never been a homogenous language. The corpus is divided into five chronological layers, with internal subdivisions. The important chronological borderline concerning the printing is that the first printed text is from 1248 (Doerfer 1993, 26 and 91), so all the printed texts can be only younger (layer 3, 4, 5)

Although Doerfer did not use it as a criterion, the type of script can be also used as an auxiliary tool of dating: if one follows the tables on pages 96-111, one can see the following script types: "kall." (=calligraphic) "fast/ziemlich kall." (= almost calligraphic) "leicht kursiv", "kursive" and "Blockdruck". In the layers 1a-1d, mostly calligraphic script type is used with a few examples of "fast kall." and "leicht kursiv" script types. In layers 1d/2a on "leicht kursiv" becomes more frequent, while in 2b "kursiv" appears. In layer 3 the picture is very colourful, one can find all types in nearly equal proportion, and later "kursiv" becomes gradually dominant to "leicht kursiv". This means that a manuscript with the "leicht kursiv" script type probably can be no older than the 10th century, while the "kursiv" script type mostly belongs to 11th century and later era, according to the tables on pages 84, 86, 87. This has probably to do with the technique of writing, e.g. the preference of brush to the calamus, and thus, the type of paper used (cf. Tekin 1993).

Wilkens (2003) is a good example in practice for the qualitative description of a folio of a manuscript (see above Tekin, 1993). The catalogue gives the following information of the individual folios: A general description, the state of the paper (including colour, consistence, damage), the state of the stringhole if there is any, the number of the lines on the folio (verso and recto if the foil is two-sided), the distance between the lines, the size of the paper, the size of the script mirror or the length of the lines, the location of the siglum, and other special remarks. However it does not give information on the type of the script.

Moriyasu (2004: 228-229) classifies the Uygur script to four groups according to its style of script: square, semi-square, semi-cursive and cursive. (The square type is the oldest stage, which is not in the scope of his examination, and he does not consider semi-cursive

style to a group "on its own right", see endnote nr. 12, but then he does not indicate whether he puts together this group with semi-square of cursive style, probably the latter.) He proposes that the civil documents under his examination can be divided into two main groups: those which are written in semi-square style, and those which are written in cursive style. According to him the first group is older (10-11th century, written in the Uygur Kingdom of the eastern Tien-shan region), and the second group is younger (written by the Uygurs of the Mongolian Empire, 13-14th century), keeping in view that documents in semi-square script may belong to a later period as well. Thus, he adds several more criteria to be able to judge the (old) age of a manuscript, which are in overlap with the orthographical criteria of Doerfer 1993, and several more lexical criteria which are not included there. On the other hand, he considers documents in cursive style almost exclusively to be young.

Now, one must compare the findings of Moriyasu to that we have seen in Doerfer 1993. One may easily equate Doerfer's "kall." with Moriyasu's "square" style, but with the other groups, difficulties appear. It is due to several reasons: 1. Doerfer did not consider the script style as a criterion, thus his terminology may be more opaque than that of Moriyasu's. 2. Doerfer examined a broader corpus than Moriyasu, who considered only the civil documents, thus one cannot see such a sharp borderline in Doerfer's corpus as Moriyasu indicates. 3. Moriyasu does not indicate which group's subgroup is the "semi-cursive" style. If we examine a bit more, maybe Doerfer's "leicht kursiv" corresponds to Moriyasu's "semi-square", since their earliest dating is more or less overlap (10-11th century), and this style keeps on to later stages. Moriyasu also allowed this possibility. On the other hand, Doerfer's label "kursiv" appears at texts much older (frequently from the 11th century on) than that of Moriyasu's (13-14th century), thus at this point, Doerfer's label is much broader and opaque, even if we include Moriyasu's "semi-cursive" label in it which is indicated, to be a transitional stage.

So far we have seen a brief history of the use of paleographical methods in the framework of Turkology, and the results that it achieved: The history of development of the technique of writing and the help it provided in dating texts. These results were used as tools to arrive to cultural-historical conclusions concerning the region where these texts were written.

My approach to this method is somewhat different. I decided to put my text under paleographical examination to be able to identify the grapheme set of the version of the script, to extract the archetypes of the individual graphemes, which can help to make the precise transliteration of the text, because the spellings of words in the manuscript are not always

unambiguous. This method could otherwise prove useful. Identifying the grapheme set of other texts or text groups might also be used to identify scribe schools or individual scribes.

Here I use the terminus grapheme in the following sense: Graphemes are visual depiction of sounds of speech, where there are systematic form-sound correspondences. This definition is necessary in order to consider, for example <-’>, <-n> (without dot) and <-z> as different graphemes. Although in the Uygur script <-z> has a shorter "tail" than <-n>, they don't differ in form in the PON at all. However I considered them as different graphemes, because they mark different sounds. Of course, in some cases it is not always easy to decide whether an <-n> or <-z> is to be read.

The method I followed is to take ten (or – in the case of certain graphemes or grapheme combinations, due to the fact that they do not appear as many times in the text – less) examples of the allograph of a certain grapheme in order to be able to extract the archetype. I refer to the individual instances as it is given in the introduction. Concerning the order in what the graphemes are shown, I did not follow the alphabetical order, but rather an order which is based on the similarities between the shapes of the graphemes.

2.1 The grapheme <’>

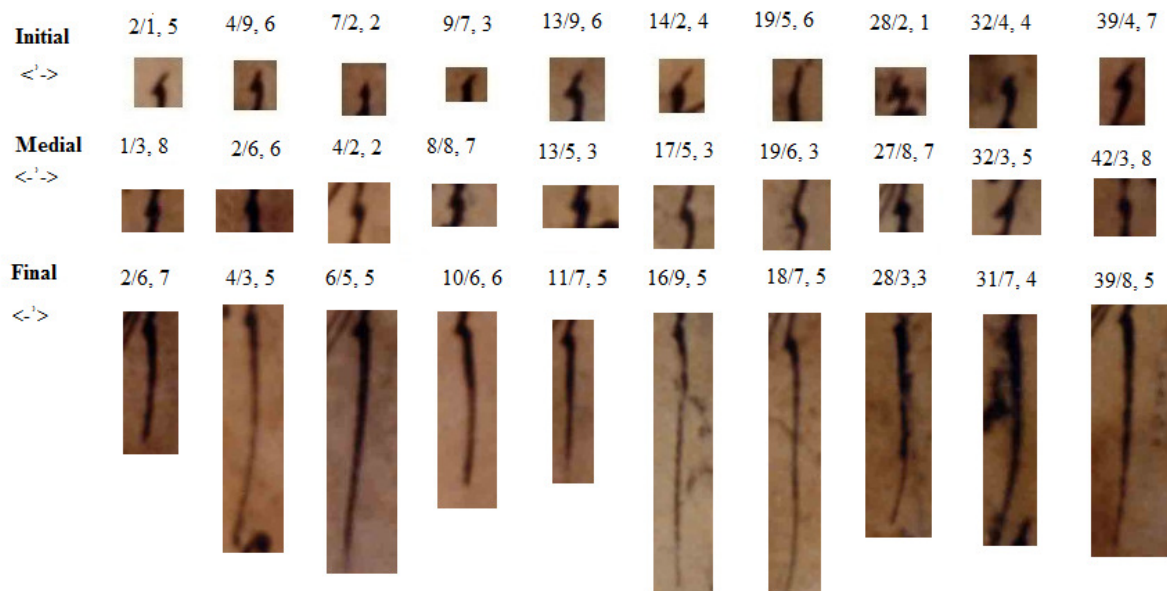


Figure 1. <’> in initial, medial and final positions.

2.2 The grapheme <y>

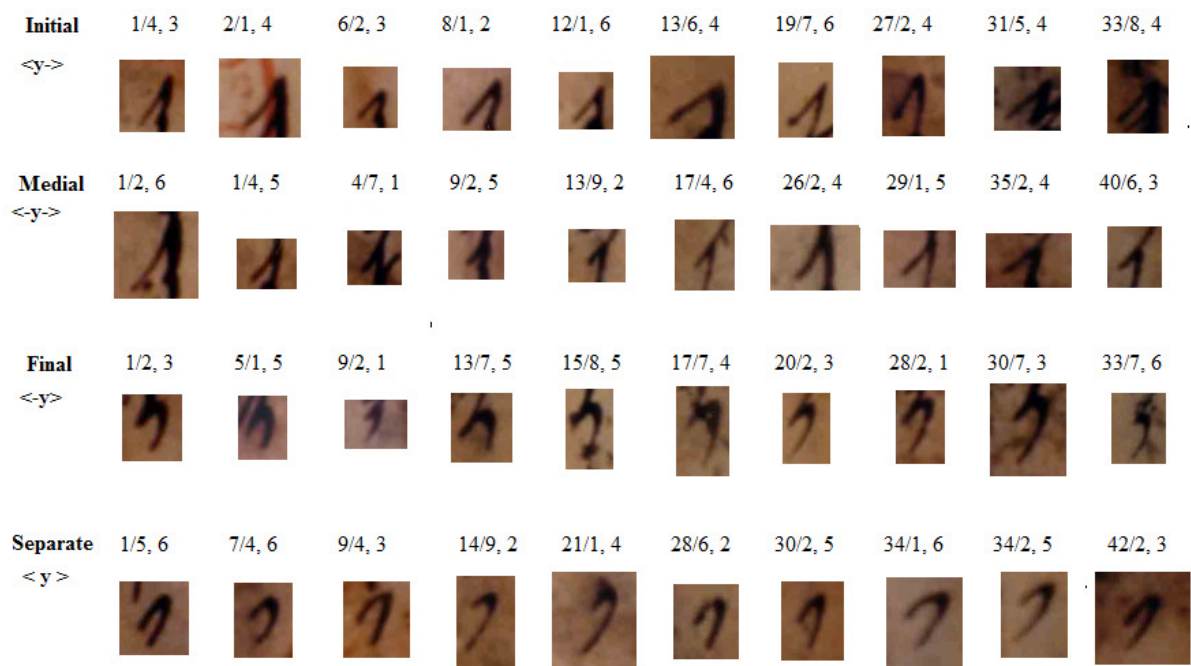


Figure 2. <y> in initial, medial, final, and separate positions.

2.3 Distinguishing <'> and <y>

In the case of <'> and <y> the above examples show quite unambiguous forms. However, in medial positions there are cases where <'> and <y> are not easily distinguishable, due to the cursive script-style of the manuscript. This is a problem, since one of the most striking orthographical features of the text is that there are plenty of words containing etymological /i/, /i/, or /e/ where one would expect <y>-spelling, are *clearly* spelled with <'> (see Chapter 5.1-5.5). For now, I transliterated these graphs as <Y>, to distinguish them either from <'> or <y>. These *ambiguous* cases can appear after almost all graphemes. (I did not find examples after <y>, <w>, <š>, <č>) Here are a set of examples, together with the preceding grapheme (cf. Figure 1 and Figure 2, medial positions)

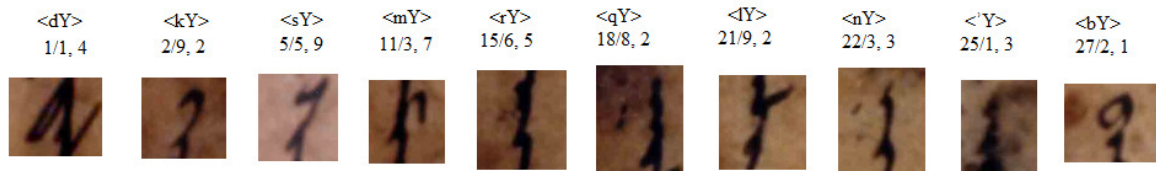


Figure 3. <Y>.

Another set of counter-examples are those when we find these ambiguous spellings in cases where there is etymological /a/ or /ä/, thus <'> would be expected. Such cases are more rare, a total of 11. All examples are after and <k>, with one exception 13/3 5, which is after

<d>. Graphemes and <k> share the common feature that they extend right from the main vertical axis of the script, thus, the strokes started from their curving part may slide more to left from the axis, as the scribe's hand is in motion. These examples suppose, that in ambiguous cases after and <k>, <'> should be transliterated (cf. **Figure 1, 2, 3**, and the ligatures below).



Figure 4. Ambiguous cases of <Y> where <'> is expected.

2.4 The grapheme <n>

As it is known, the grapheme <n̄>³ differs only in a diacritical dot from <'>. They may be both totally the same if the diacritical dot is missing. Here are set of examples for <n̄>:

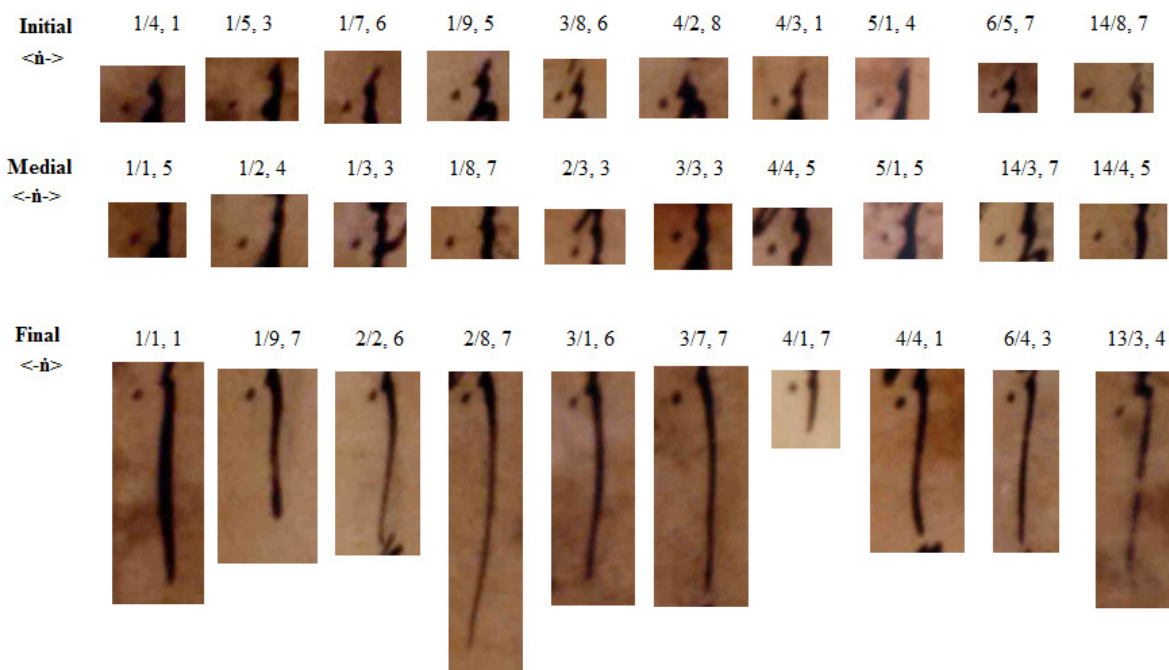


Figure 5. <n̄> in initial, medial and final positions

For the undotted <n>, there are less examples: There is only one example in initial position while there are nine medial position. In the cases of 9/2, 7 and 13/1, 7 the examples are instances of the graphemes in one and the same sequence. I distinguished them with *a* and *b* respectively.

³ I use the symbol dotted <n̄> for the grapheme denoting /n/ with a diacritic dot. This symbol, of course, does not equate for the symbol *n̄* used in Tibetology describing the velar nasal /ŋ/.

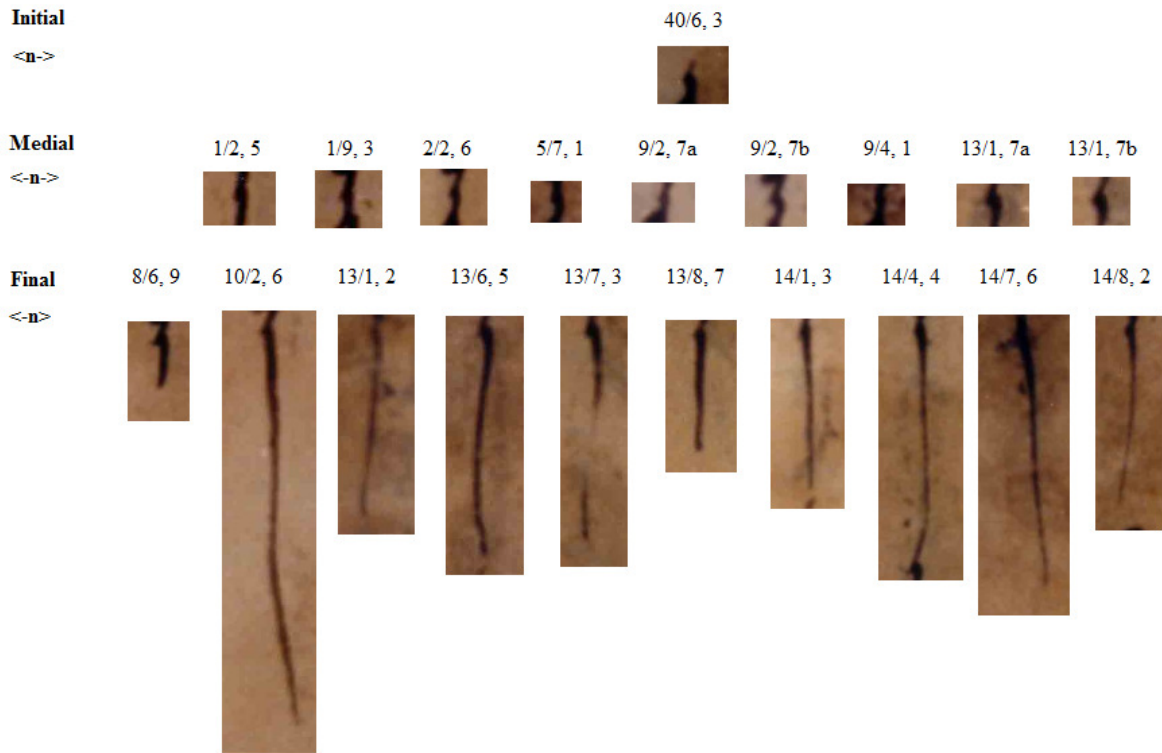


Figure 6. Undotted <n> in initial, medial and final positions.

2.5 The grapheme <-z>

The grapheme <-z> occurs only in final position. In this text, in opposition with older texts written in Uygur script, it has a long tail, sometimes even longer than that of final <n> or <'>, and often used as a line-filler. Thus, it is indistinguishable from final <- '> and final undotted <-n>, and one can conclude to its identity of being <z> only from the context.

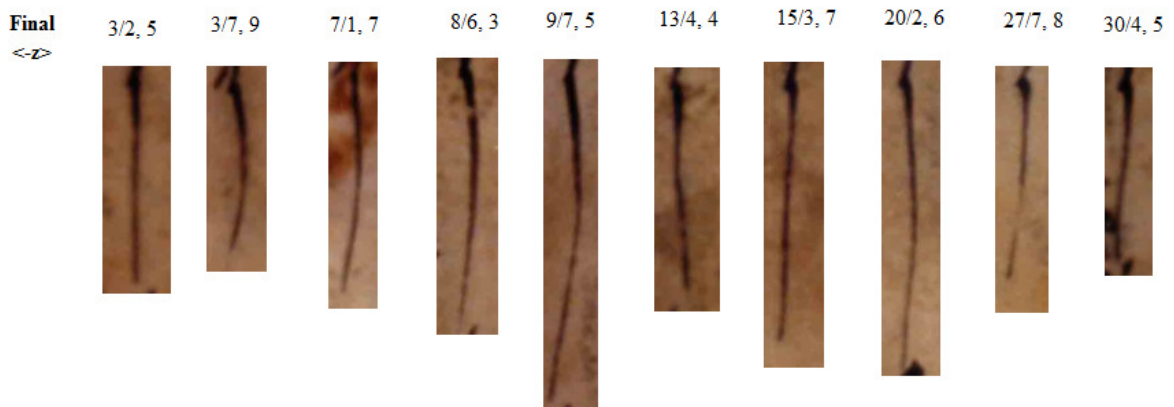


Figure 7. The grapheme <-z>.

Here we must stop for a moment. In Bang 1936, there is a grapheme sequence which is read *y(e)z* 'brass' (**Figure 8**, 6/2/6). This reading is based on the context, which puts this word in

opposition with *tämür* 'iron'. In the note attached to this part of text, it is written that the final grapheme would be a <-z> or an <-s> without the final stroke curving back. In this case, the second instance also could be read as <kwz> *köz* 'eye' instead of <kwl> *köl* 'lake', and the new reading would still fit the context: *alından bir köll/köz arasinda bir iğaç kördi* 'in the front, **in the middle of a lake/just vis-á-vis** he saw a tree'. These would be the only instances for this variant, and still, these instances could be simply read as <l> (cf. **Figure 27**) Thus I do not accept Bang's reading and I transliterate these words as <yl> and <kwl>.

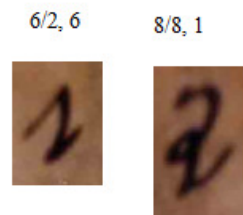


Figure 8. Possible candidates for <-Z>.

2.6 The grapheme <w>

The grapheme <w> is quite easily distinguishable, after graphemes extending to right from the vertical axis of the line (for example and <k>), it may be not filled, see instance 8/8, 1 on **Figure 8**, and also **Figure 15**, and **19**. In final position, the grapheme has a long 'line-filler' tail, which distinguishes it from final <-b> (**Figure 16**), except in the ligature <bw> (**Figure 15**.)

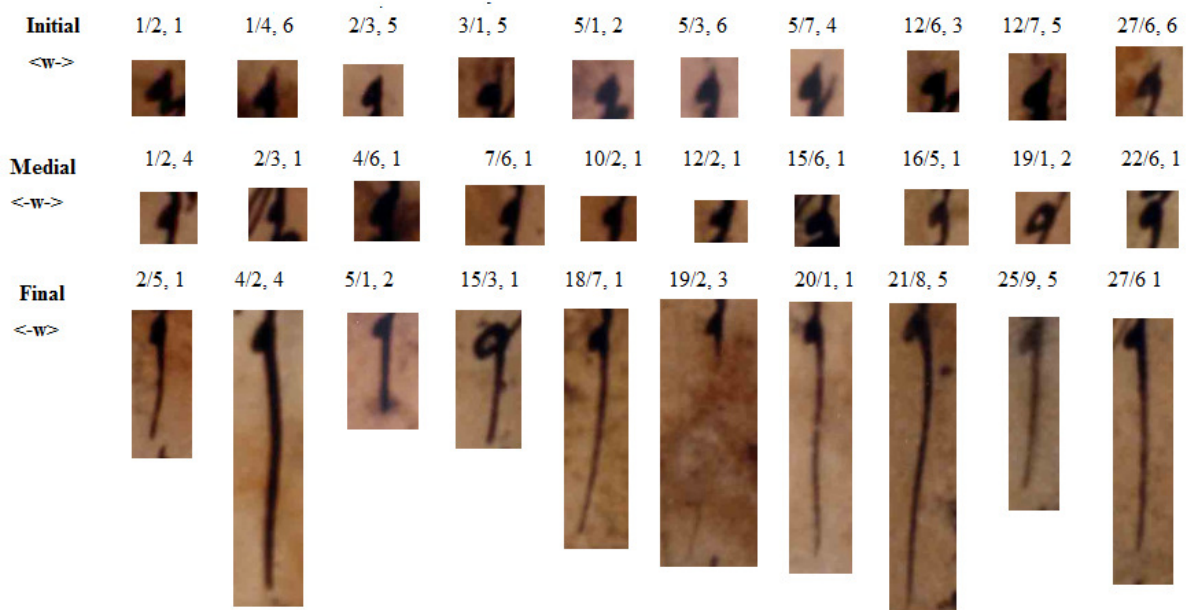


Figure 9. <w> in initial, medial and final positions.

As we have seen in the case of <'> and <y>, there are some examples where <w> is not easily distinguishable from <'>. **Figure 10** presents the examples when it can be doubted whether <w> or <'> is to be transliterated. In the upper row there are examples which seem <'> quite clearly, although the other instances of the respective words contain <w>. These are transliterated as <'>. The lower row shows examples which rather seem too small, blurred or carelessly written <w>. These are transliterated as <W>.

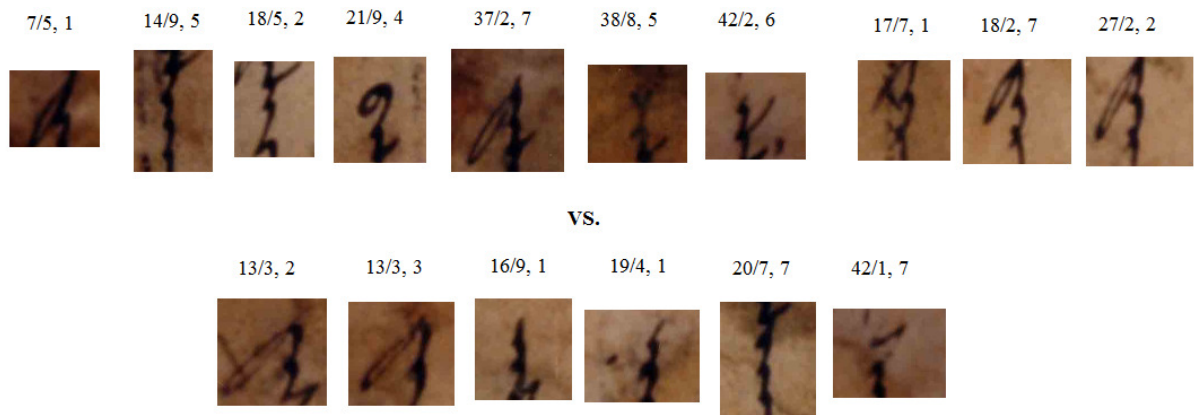


Figure 10. Distinguishing <w> from <'>.

2.7 The grapheme <q>

The grapheme <q> also has dotted <q̇> and undotted <q> variants in this manuscript. The punctuation of diacritics is arbitrary, and the two graphs are interchangeable. There is no trace of the expected <q> : <ġ> (= <q̇>) opposition. There is only one instance of separate <q̇>.

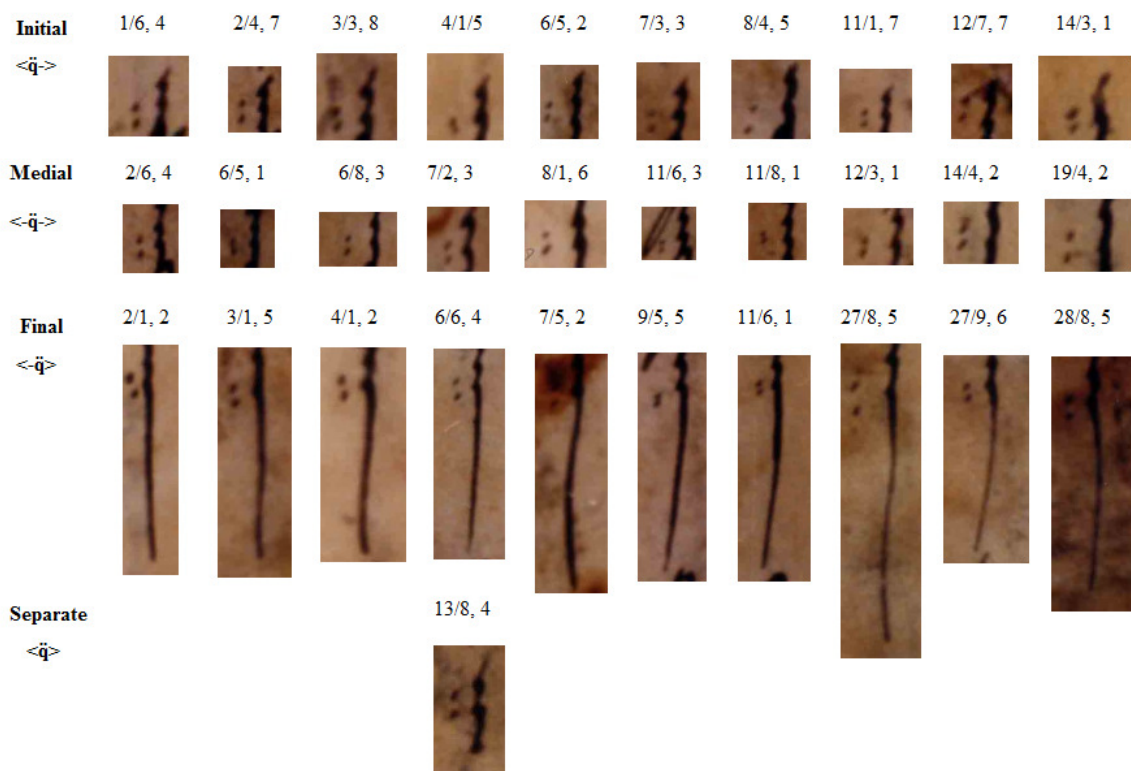


Figure 11. <q̣> in initial, medial, final and separate positions

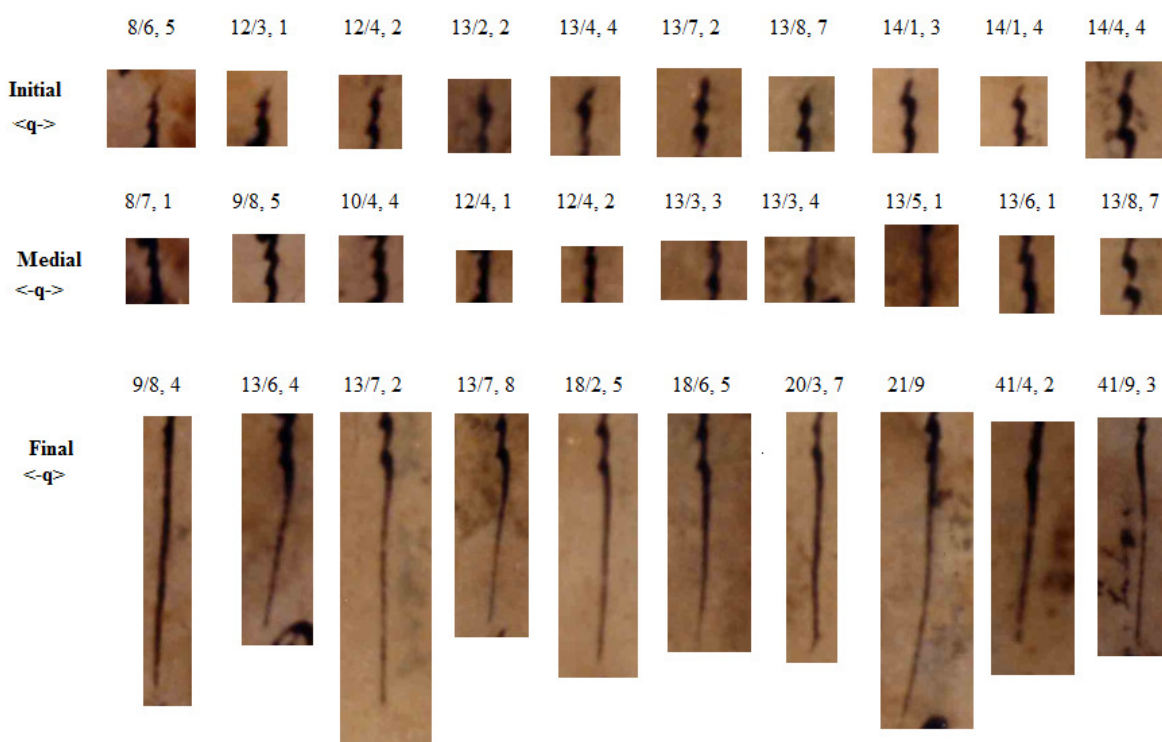


Figure 12. Undotted <q> in initial, medial and final positions.

2.8 The grapheme

The following graphemes (, <k>, <s> and <š>) share the common feature that they extend right from the main axis of the script. The next grapheme starts at the point where they arrive back to the line of the axis. I consider these grapheme combinations as ligatures. I prepared a row of examples of them in combination with all the three vowel marking grapheme (<'>, <y>, <w>), but other combinations are also possible of course). I provided a row of examples of their final forms as well.

For combinations of <b'> in medial position, there are only seven examples.



Figure 13. Combinations <b'> in initial and medial positions.

The combination of <by> occurs mostly in initial position. The only example for medial position is [9/7, 5]. The other possible candidates are those put on the right side of the figure, but the keen eye may see that those graphemes do not extend right from the axis. These are actually combinations of <wy> (cf. **Figure 9**) and they are all inflected forms or derivations from the same lexeme, *sev-* (or, based on the data here, more correctly, *sew-*) 'to like, love etc.'.



Figure 14. Combinations <by> in initial and medial positions, compared to medial <wy>.

The grapheme <w> in combination with has two different variants in final and in isolated position: One without tail, and one with a long tail which can be used as a line-filler. I present here all the instances of medial, final, and isolated positions (cf. **Figure 9**. in *Chapter 2.6*).



Figure 15. Combinations <bw> in initial, medial, final and separate positions.

The final <-b> has never got a long tail like <w>, see **Figure 9** above.



Figure 16. <-b> in final positions.

2.9 The grapheme <k>

Figure 17 is a set of examples for the combination <k'>. In the lower row, the first three instances seem to have an additional <'> as part of the grapheme (and the sequence could be transliterated as <k''>). We find a few similar examples in the cases of <s> and <š> as well. Since such examples are very few, it is more likely that they are a type of spelling mistake made by chance, and not another variant of the grapheme. In any case, I transliterated them with capital <K> to distinguish them from the others. At instance 1/4, 5, it looks like that a <y> is combined with <K>, in the word <'ryK'k> *erikäk* 'male' (~ OT *erkäk*). This is a unique case, there are no further such combinations from the paleographic point of view. However there are several cases that /rk/ combinations are spelled as <r'k> or <rwk>, marking an

anaptyctic sound, and there is another case where such a sound is spelled with <y>: 14/6 <'myr'q̄> *amīraq* 'friendly, benign' (~ OT *amraq*). There is one final thing to mention concerning **Figure 17** Examples [11/1, 2] and [28/3, 2] look like medial <r> (see **Figure 31**), but their reading is <k>. It looks like that the scribe wrote final <k> (**Figure 20**) by mistake, then corrected himself going on with the rest of the word. Since these cases are also rare, I transliterated also as <K>, hoping it will not cause any problem to distinguish them from the "<k''>"-type.

What we can see on **Figure 18**, is a very illustrative example for the difficulties to distinguish <'> and <y> from each other. Instance [40/6, 3] is in the Mongolian loanword *nökär* 'companion, bodyguard', which is spelled with <'> anywhere else in the text. However, the grapheme-sequence here is hardly distinguishable from medial <ky> (cf. also **Figure 3** and **4**). The combination of <ky> is otherwise quite rare in the text in non-initial position, and all the instances are presented here.



Figure 17. Combinations <k'> in initial and medial positions.

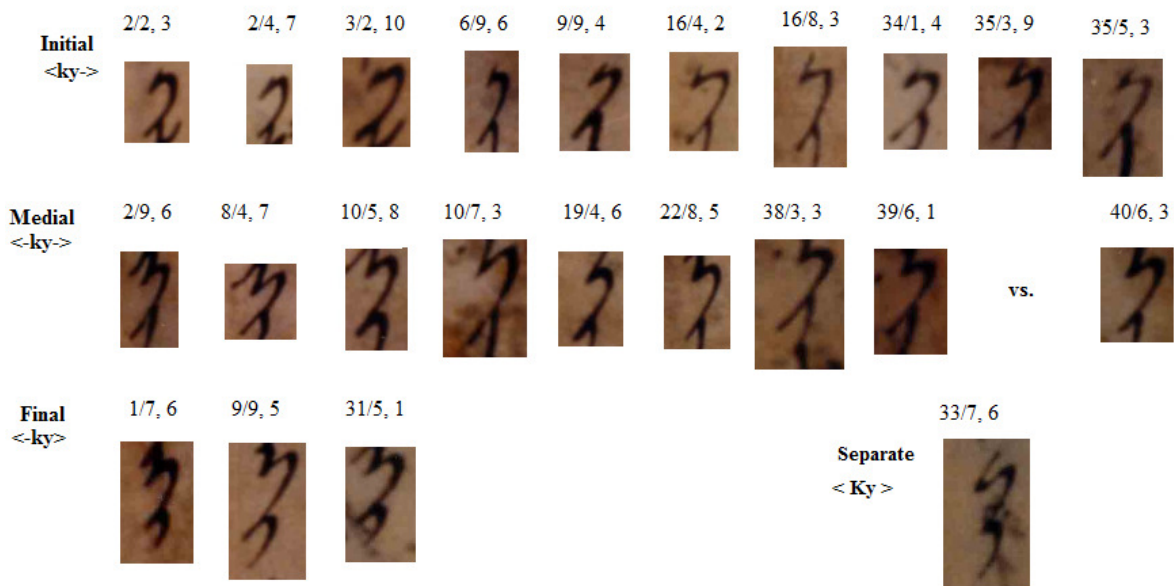


Figure 18. Combinations <ky> in initial, medial, final, and separate positions.

This is also the case with the non-initial combinations of <kw>. All the instances of them are on **Figure 19**. It is quite visible that in the case of this grapheme combination, just as in the case of <bw>, the grapheme <w> is very often 'holed' as the scribe's brush started and drifted in a wider camber.



Figure 19. The combinations <kw> in initial, medial and final/separate positions.

The final form of <k> is different from 'normal' <k>. It is very similar to that of <r>, the difference between them is that final <k> has a long tail.

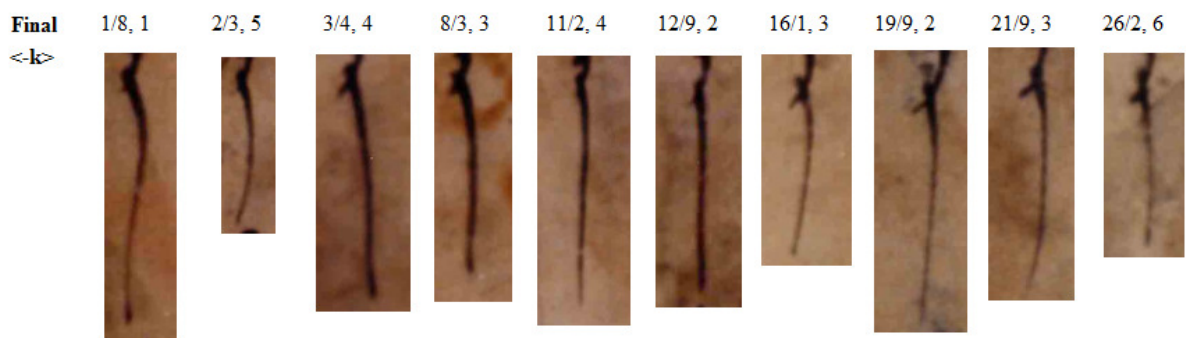


Figure 20. <k> in final position.

2.10 The grapheme <s>

Similarly to the case of <k>, there are two variants of <s>, one "containing" an <'> and one not. All the instances of non-initial combination of <s'> (of both versions) are presented here. In the transliteration I distinguished them as <s> : <S> (= <s'>).

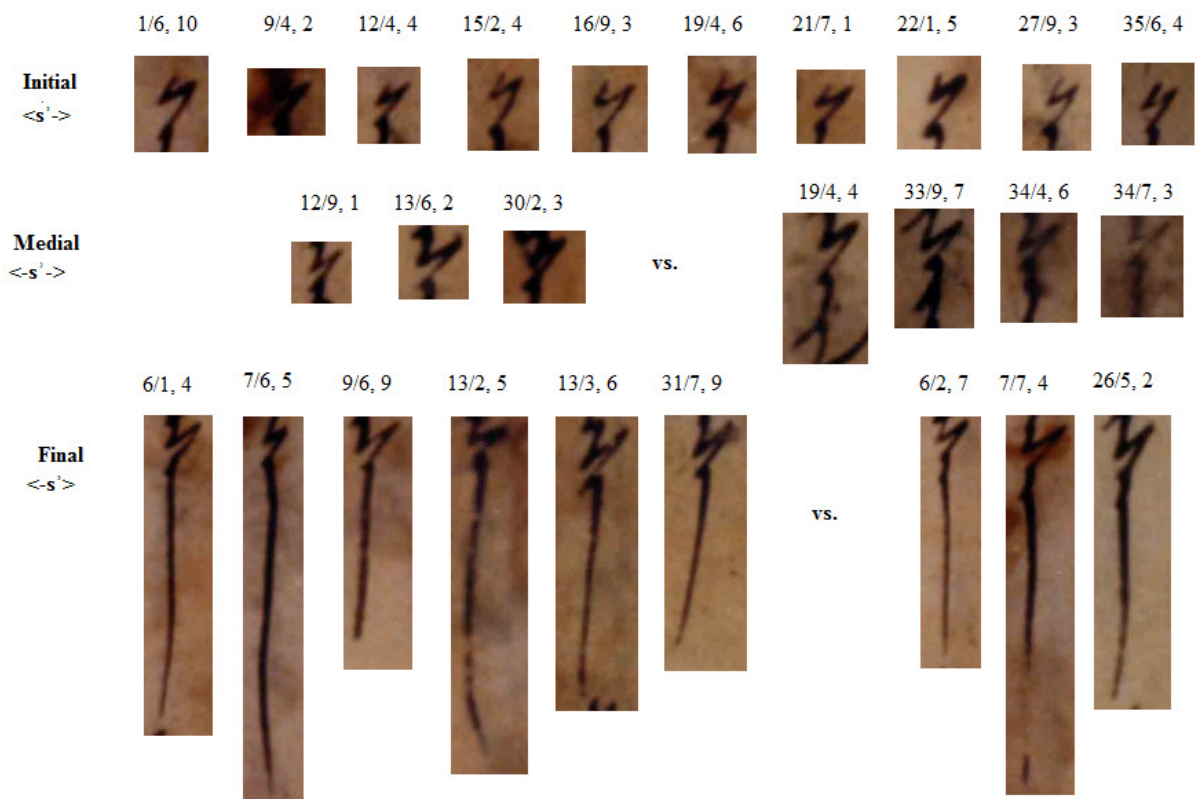


Figure 21. The combination <s'> in initial, medial, and final positions.

The combination <sy> is again quite rare in non-initial positions, and all the instances are presented here. Instance [1/7, 6] is questionable and is transliterated with <Y>.

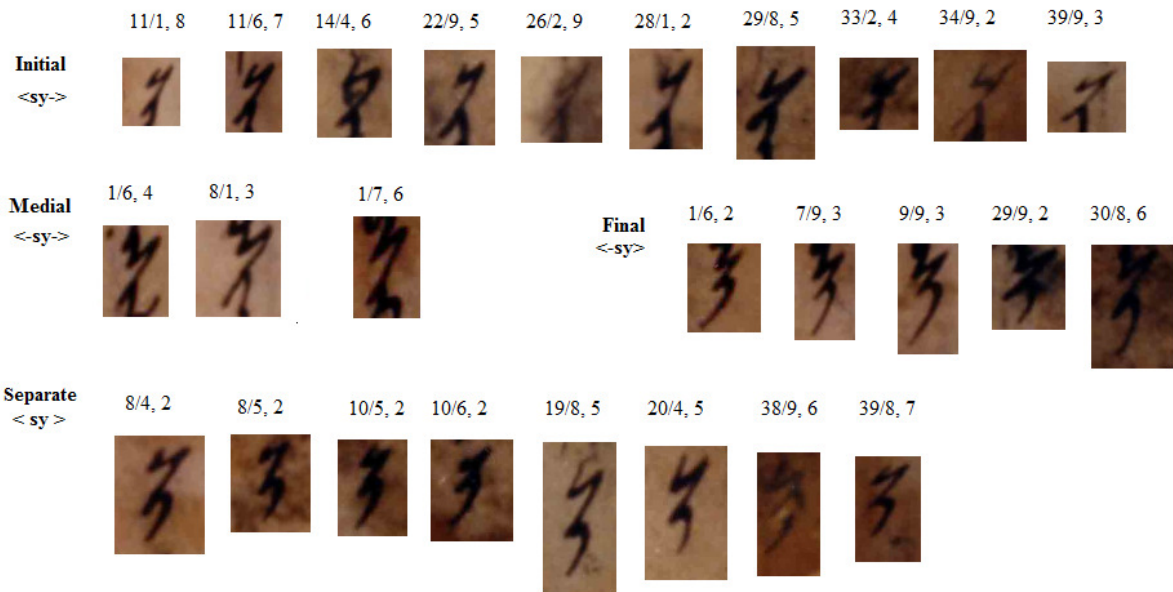


Figure 22. The combination <sy> in initial, medial, final, and separate positions

All the instances of final and separate <sw> are presented on **Figure 23**. The <w> in sequence <sw> does not have the hole as we saw it in the case of <kw> and <bw>, maybe because the preceding <s> does not contain a camber.

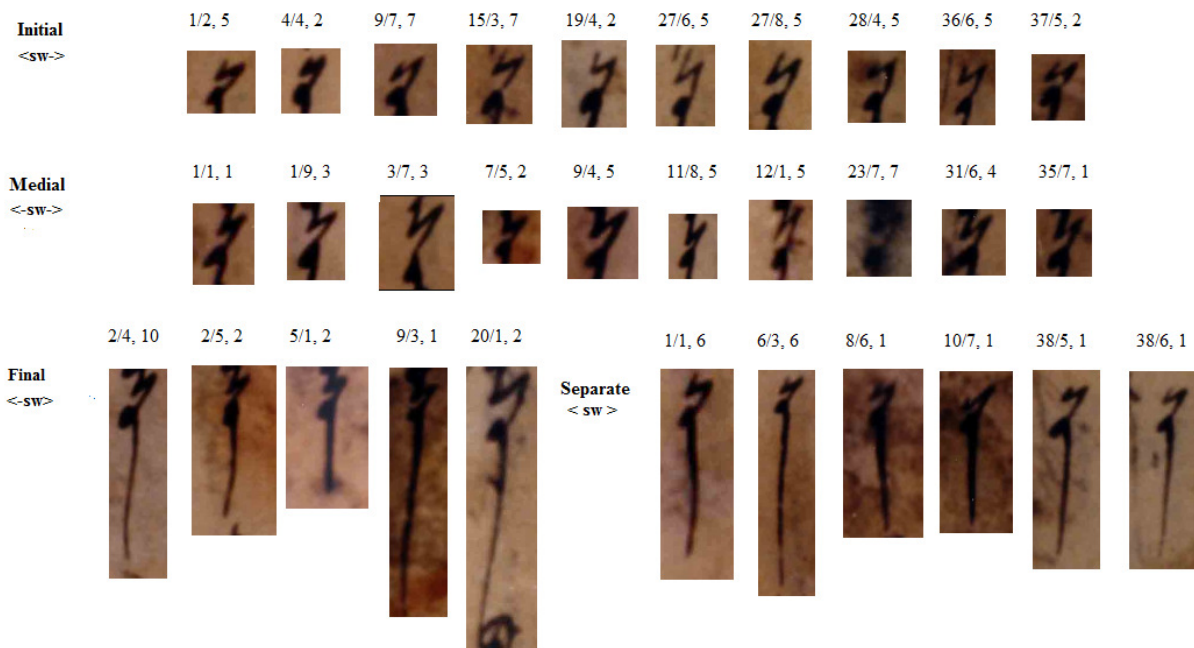


Figure 23. The combination <sw> in initial, medial, final, and separate positions.

The grapheme <s> does not have a final form, instead we always find <-z>. Their distribution is complementary. I do not, however, consider <-z> simply as the final form of <-s> because as we will see below, final <š> exists, and this grapheme differs from <s> only in two diacritic dots.

2.11 The grapheme <š>

The grapheme <š> is distinguished from <s> with diacritics. The opposition between /s/ and /š/ is always marked, except once, see the instance of <sy> at 11/1 8, at **Figure 22**. All the combinations of <š'> are presented. In the case of grapheme <š> we see the same mistake. (<Š> = <š'>) just as in the case of <k>, and <s>. The combination <š'> does not occur in final or separate positions.

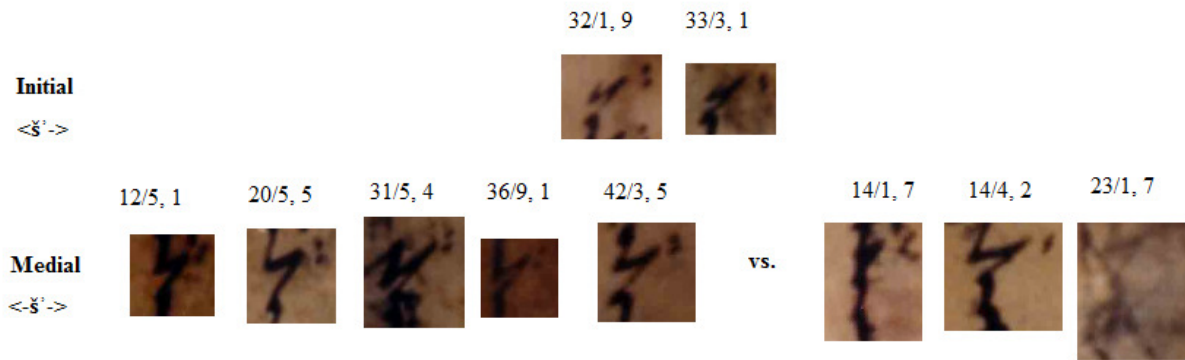


Figure 24. The combination <š'> in initial and final positions.

The combination <šy> does not occur in initial position. There could be one example occurring once, the Mongolian word *širä* 'table' which is spelled <syr'> (also could be read as *sira* 'row', but *širä* fits the context). It may be influence of Mongolian orthography, but there is the counter-example, the Mongolian loanword *tüšimäl* 'seer, visionary' is spelled with <š> (instance 35/8, 8).

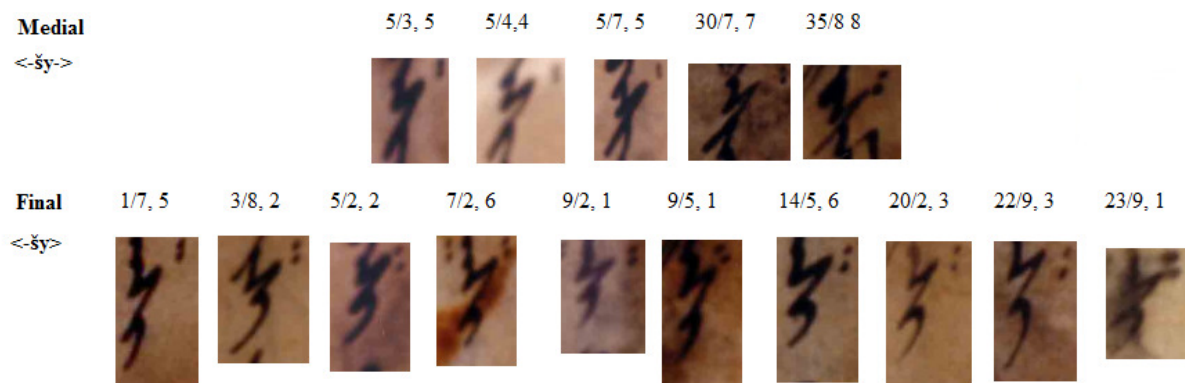


Figure 25. The combination <šy> in medial and final positions.

Figure 26 contains all instances of the combinations <šw> in initial and final positions. In medial position, there are more instances.



Figure 26. The combination <šw> in initial, medial and final positions.



Figure 27. <š> in final position.

2.12 The grapheme <d>

The grapheme <d> has no isolated form. It is written with a single line, without lifting the brush. There is no grapheme <t> in the set (which would be otherwise identical to a combination of <w'> in a cursive style), both /d/ and /t/ are spelled with <d>.



Figure 28. <d> in initial, medial, and final positions.

2.13 The grapheme <l>

The grapheme <l> has no isolated form. The tail of the grapheme usually curves upwards with a subtle camber.

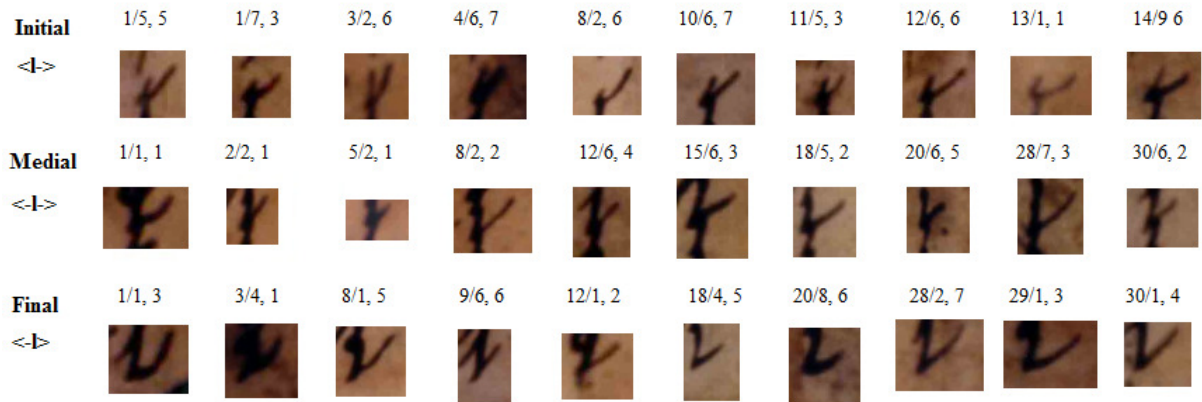


Figure 29. <l> in initial, medial, and final positions.

2.14 The grapheme <m>

The tail of the grapheme curves downward with a sharp camber. In the case of final <m>, the instance 4/5, 4 shows us how to write the grapheme. It is a downward stroke, then the tail is led back to the endpoint of the stroke, probably without lifting the brush. There is only one instance of isolated <m>.

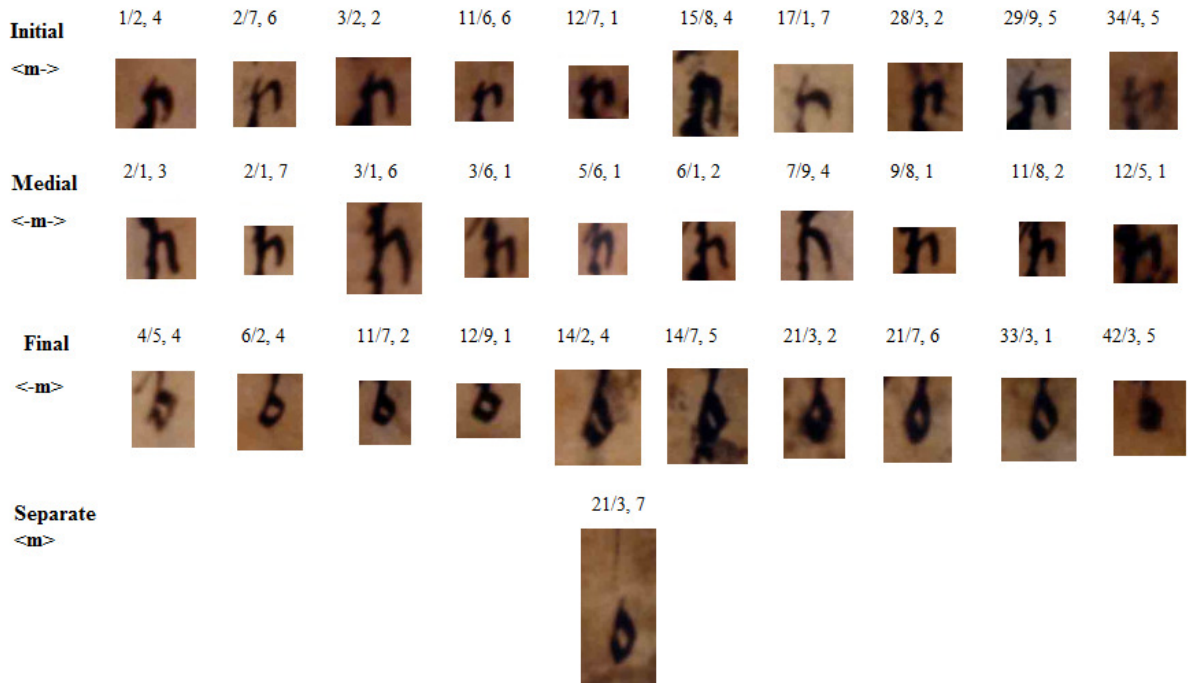


Figure 30. <m> in initial, medial, final and isolated positions.

2.15 The grapheme <r>

The grapheme <r> has only one instance in the text in initial position. There is no separate form. In the only case of example 10/9, 6, it has got a long tail as final <-k> (cf. **Figure 20**), though its reading is clearly <r>, in the word <č'R-l'q̄> /ʃarliḡ/ 'decree'. I transliterated it as <R>.

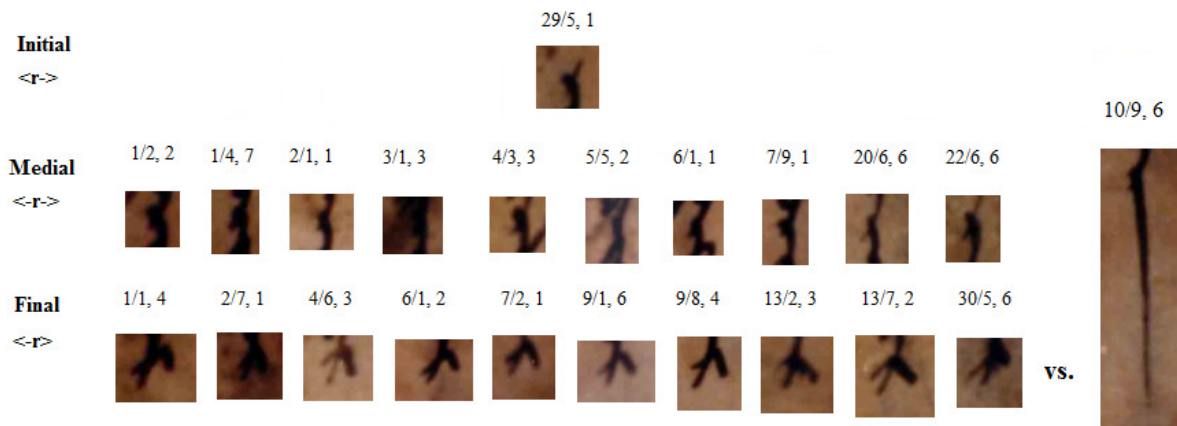


Figure 31. <r> in initial, medial and final positions.

2.16 The grapheme <č>

There is no isolated form of <č>.

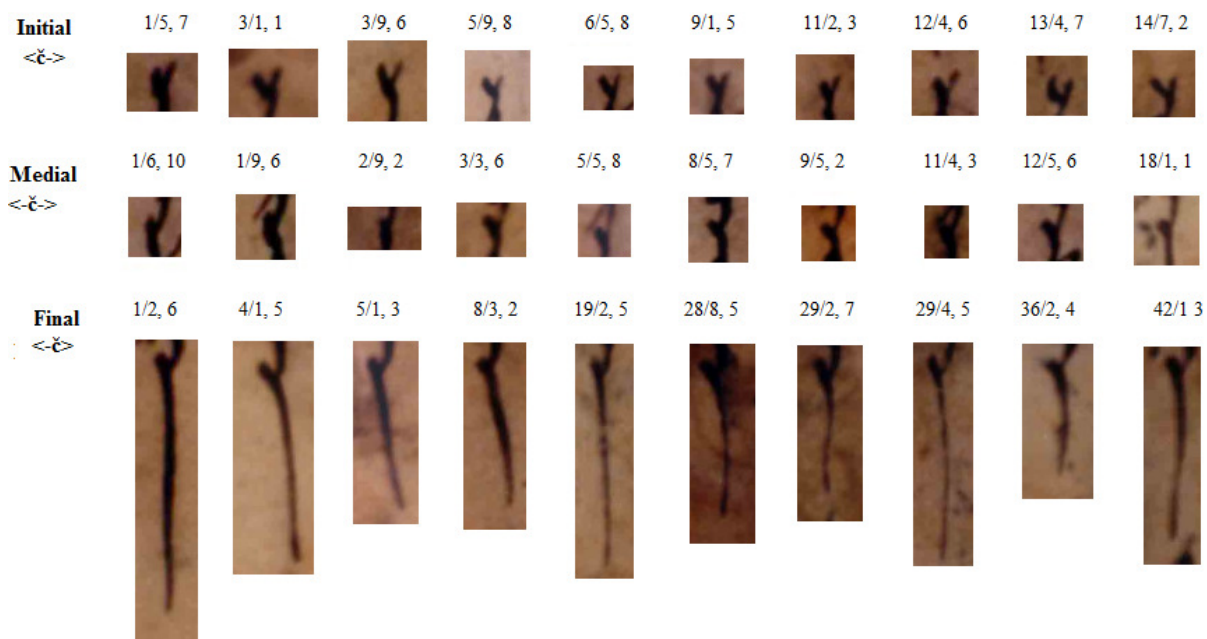


Figure 32. <č> in initial, medial, and final positions.

2.17 Archetypes of the graphemes

After giving an exemplar of the instances of the graphemes in every possible positions and variations, we may try to extract the archetypes of the graphemes, the images what existed in

the scribe's mind (I did not draw the ligatures in all positions, but they implicitly look like the combination of their non-ligature counterparts):

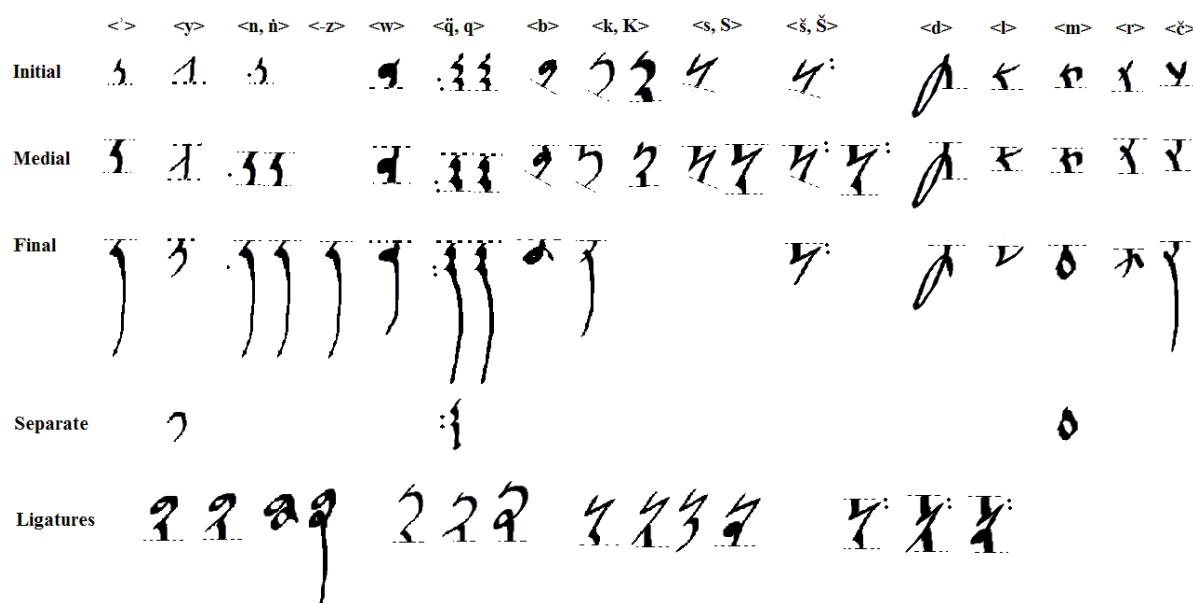


Figure 33. The archetypes of the grapheme set of the PON.

2.18 The "monster"

Having archetypes of the graphemes at hand, we might turn to the problem of the infamous monster which appears in the text. The previous editions of the text tried also to decipher the word referring to it, the solutions so far are not convincing, due to the difficult transliteration of word, or words. Here are the instances:

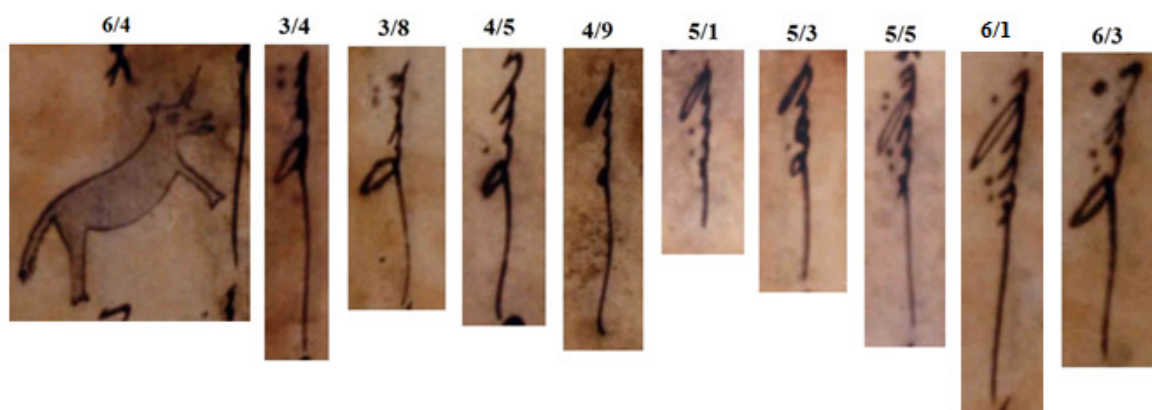


Figure 34. The picture of the creature and the words referring to it

The idea that these instances are not one and the same word is not new (Bang 1936: 35), and quite obvious. Thus they should be divided into groups. I think they could be divided into two main groups with two subgroups each: Ia: 3/4, 3/8; Ib: 4/5, 6/3 ; IIa: 4/9, 5/3; IIb 5/1, 5/5, 6/1.

Concerning group Ia, instance 3/8 can have the following transliteration: <q̇'y'/?>/<q̇'yn/?>. The last grapheme looks like <d>, however, in any other cases <d> does not have a long tail (cf. **Figure 28, 33**). I will return to this later. Similarly, instance 3/4 could be transliterated as <q̇'Y/?>, or <q̇''/?>. As far as I can judge, it consists of one less grapheme than 3/8.

Group Ib is very similar to Ia, but it can be seen clearly that instance 4/5 starts with <k> thus the transliteration of it could be <kyyñ/?> or more precisely <kyYñ/?>. This is also true for instance 6/3, keeping forward that the dot next to the <k-> is not the part of the grapheme (it is also bigger than the other diacritics), may be a contamination or a drop of ink fallen from the brush. From the other two diacritic dots, the first one is also superfluous, but it is still there for some reason. The spelling of 6/3 should be also something like <kyyñ/?>.

Summing up so far group Ia and Ib has the following spellings:

Ia: 3/4 <q'Y/?>, 3/8 <q'yn/?>

Ib: 4/5 <kyYñ/?>, 6/3 <kyyñ/?>

These instances should refer to one word, possibly of non-Turkic origin, since the scribe could not decide (probably after hearing) how to write down the initial sound.

Now let's turn to group II. Instance 4/9 has quite clear spelling, <d''w>, however, combination like <''> is impossible, so one must assume that an undotted <q> or <n> should be read somewhere. Instance 5/3 has a diacritic, but one of the graphemes is unreadable. It should be something like <d''ñw>.

Group IIb differs from IIa that their last grapheme is <k>, not <w>. Instance 5/1 could be spelled as <d'ñnk>. The position of diacritic dots to each other supposes that one has to read two <ñ>-s, not a simple <q̇> (cf. **Figure 11**, where it can be seen that first <q> is written, and then after lifting the brush, the two diacritics). Instance 5/5 is very interesting. It could be read as <q̇dyñk>, but the keen eye may see that this initial <q̇> is not like the ones presented at **Figure 11**. On the picture of instance 5/5, it is also visible that it is very close to the preceding word-final grapheme. I suppose that it is added *subsequently*, may be because a later reader also did not understand the word, and somehow wanted to uniformize them with the instance at Ia. (which appear first in order in the text). This additional <q̇> should be handled separately. Otherwise the word is similar to 5/1, but here one grapheme is also missing, and the one after <d> seems like a <y> or <Y> having a diacritic dot. Its spelling is something like <dyñk>. Instance 6/1 is very similar to that of 5/5 with two differences. An initial <ñ> is written before the grapheme <d>, which is similar in type to that of the possibly subsequently added <q̇> in 5/5, I suggest to handle it separately for now. After the grapheme

<d> an additional <y> is written. Its spelling is thus <dyýňk>. Summing up, group two has the following spellings:

Ia 4/9 <d'nnw>, 5/3 <d'nňw>

Ib 5/1 <d'ňnk>, 5/5 <[q̣]dýňk>/<[q̣]dňnk>, 6/1 <[ň]dyýňk>/<[ň]dyňnk>

These instances again should be considered as one and the same word.

Returning to the unknown grapheme of group I, the case can be similar to that of instance 5/5, and 6/1. Originally these graphemes could have been final <-k>-s. This is less probable since Ia contains <q> which occurs in back-vocalic environment while <-k> would suppose a front-vocalic one. It also could have been <č> or even a combination <č'>, with the loop added subsequently, starting from the endpoint of <'> and ending in the endpoint of <č>, from downwards to upwards, as the loop of <d> otherwise be written. So we can count with the following possibilities in the case of group I:

Ia: 3/4 <q'Y[č]>/<q'Y[č']>, 3/8 <q'yn[č]>/<q'yn[č']>

Ib: 4/5 <kyYň[č]>/<kyYň[č']>, 6/3 <kyýň[č]>/<kyýň[č']>

I cannot decide here the exact spelling of the words, but this analysis of spelling brings one step closer to the result. Of course, the words in the two groups should be synonymous or otherwise semantically related to each other.

3. Facsimile, transliteration, transcription and translation

Before presenting my text edition, I found it suitable to explain some general principles according to which I made my transliteration and transcription.

During the transliteration, I kept as strictly as I could to transliterate all the grapheme-sequences according to their spelling in the manuscript, based on the palaeographical analysis in *Chapter 2*. I emphasize 'as strictly as I could' because the manuscript is damaged and blurry at certain places.

Of course, there are many words and bound morphemes which are spelled inconsequently. Such inconsequences include the spelling of diacritic dots. In the text edition, I always marked if diacritics are put or not. During the discussion of spellings throughout the work, however, I set the marking of diacritics aside where it has no importance. The spelling variants (with regard to diacritics) of the words (in the case of verbs, their stems) are listed in the *Appendix: Lexicon* with their location of occurrence in the text.

The orthography of the PON is most inconsequent in the marking of vowels. I followed the principles for their transcription listed below.

1. If a word contains etymological open *ä* or closed *e* in first syllable, and the written form of a word is fluctuating, I always transcribed the instances according to their written form. For example, *erdi* 'was' (~ OT *är-* 'to be' ED 193) is read and transcribed as *erdi* with written forms <'yrdy> (9/1) and <yrdy> (3/1), and as *ärdi* when it is written as <'rdy> (2/6).

2. If a word contains etymological *ï* or *i*, and such vowel is written with <'>, I transcribed such instances with *ï* or *i* respectively. For example, <y'lqy> (30/1) is read and transcribed as *yïlqi* (~ OT *yïlqi* 'livestock' ED 925) and <d'l'dy> (13/1) as *tilädi* 'he wished' (~ OT *tilä-* 'to seek, desire' ED 492)

3. The question of the openness/closedness of the vowel of the demonstrative pronoun *bu* in the PON cannot be solved here. The orthography of the PON – as it is written in Uygur script – does not distinguish between *o* and *u*. The letter <w> may render any labial vowel regardless of its openness. Erdal & Schönig (1990: 132), based on Old Turkic monuments in Brāhmī script, proposes that in OT the demonstrative pronoun was *bo*, and its declensional stem showed fluctuation as *mun+ / mon+*. In the declensional paradigm of the demonstrative pronoun, Erdal (2004: 199, cf. T.19a in *Chapter 7.3.2*) gives the nominative as *bo*, the genitive case as *munuŋ / monuŋ*, and the oblique case (p. 201) as *montag*. This practically

means that the declensional stem of *bo* is mostly *mun+* or *bun+*. I followed this pattern in my transcription of the PON, keeping forward that there are several hundred years of chronological distance between OT and the PON.

4. In certain word stems there are additional vowels written, which are not present in their OT etymons. Such vowels are transcribed according to their marking, for example <qwrwq m'z> (27/3) is read and transcribed as *qoruqmaz* 'does not fear' (~ OT *qorq-* 'to fear, be afraid' ED 651), <'myr'q> (17/6) as *amıraq* 'friendly' (~ OT *amraq* 'benign, friendly' ED 162) and <q'r'q> (2/2) as *qırıq* 'many' (~ OT *qırq* 'forty' ED 651), for this last example, cf. § 2. above.

5. In certain words, there are additional vowels written on morpheme-boundaries, which etymologically neither belong to the (absolute) word stem nor its suffixes (if there are any). Such vowels are analysed as anaptyctic sounds, and transcribed with °. For example <'č'q'č> (28/8) is read and transcribed as *ač°gıč* 'key' (~ OT *ačxuč* 'key' Erdal 1991: 358), <'wq' qw lwq> (35/8) as *uq°guluq* 'clever' (~ OT *uq-* 'to understand' ED 77) and <'y'm'n> (3/6) as *°yaman* 'evil' (~ OT *yaman* 'bad, evil' ED 937).

6. The vowels of the suffixes with (originally) twofold vowel harmony are transcribed depending on the vocalization of their stem. For example, the vowel of the locative case marker <d'> is transcribed as *a* in back-vocalic words and as *ä* in front vocalic words. In some cases of suffixes with twofold vowel harmony, we find unusual spelling (and vocalization) with labial vowel. These are transcribed with *o* and *ö* in back and front vocalic words respectively. For example, if the ablative case marker +*DAn* is written as <dwn>, it is transcribed as +*don* and +*dön* respectively, and in the only case (1/8) when the comparative suffix +*rAK* is spelled with <w> (in front vocalic environment), it is transcribed as +*rök*.

7. The vowels of the suffixes with fourfold vowel harmony are transcribed according to their spelling, and depending on their vocalic environment, keeping forward that they are often spelled with <'>, see § 2. For example the derivative +*IVK* has varying forms, such as <lwq> (+*luq*), <l'k> (+*lik*) and <l'q> (+*liq*), etc.

I followed the principles concerning the consonants in the transcription as described below.

1. Fluctuating <y> ~ <č> at different instances of one and the same word are transcribed as *y* and *ĵ* respectively, according to the written form of the instance. For example, <y'lqwz> (7/2) is read and transcribed as *yalguz* 'alone', while <č'lqwz> (9/1) as *ĵalguz* (~ OT *yalyus* 'alone, only, solitary' ED 930).

2. Fluctuating word-initial <y> ~ \emptyset at different instances of one and the same word are transcribed as *y* and \emptyset respectively, according to the written form of the instance. In the cases where the orthography does not mark initial vowel with word initial <'>, it is still assumed

that the word is meant to be with initial vowel. For example, <'yl kwn> (19/1) is read and transcribed as *elkiin* 'people' while <yyl kwn> (3/5) as *yelkiin*. The instances written as <yl kwn> (10/9) are still transcribed as *elkiin* (OT *el* 'realm' ED 121 + Mo. *kümiin* 'man, person, people' L 501).

3. Fluctuating <w> ~ spellings at different instances of one and the same word are always transcribed as *w*. For examples <'w> (8/7) and <'b> (12/1) are always read and transcribed as *aw* 'hunt, wild game' (~ OT *av* 'wild game, hunting wild game' ED 3).

4. I assume (voiceless-voiced) consonant assimilation on morpheme-boundaries. The reason for this is explained in *Chapter 7.2.2 Declension*.

5. There is no evidence that word-final *k* is weakened when it gets in intervocalic position due to suffixation, thus, it is not marked in the transcription. For example, <'wnk lwk y> is read and transcribed as *önglüki* 'face, complexion' +i Px.Sg.3 > 'his appearance', and not as **önglügi* (~ OT *öng* 'colour' ED 167 + *IXK*).

I also conferred the previous editions of the text mentioned in *Chapter I. Introduction*. I provide the different readings of them in footnotes. Since these editions use different systems of transcription, in the following, I briefly introduce the main principles of the previous transcriptions. In general, I only quote the readings of the previous editions when these readings are presumably based on different spelling from the one provided here, or a different lexeme is read.

Since Radloff 1891 published the original text not in transcription but in printed Uyghur letters, I transliterated his readings. The printed Uyghur script of Radloff always marks word-initial aleph to indicate word-initial vowel. The original text however, does not always does so. For example, the word *uſbo* at 1/2, is transliterated as <'wſbw> by Radloff, while we find the written form <wſbw> in the facsimile. Similarly word initial *a-* is spelled by him as <'> while in the facsimile we find only <'> I did not include these differences in the footnotes, only when it is relevant.

Nour's transcription is more or less adopted to modern Turkish orthography. He consistently transcribes every word-initial <d-> as *d-* and every <k-> in front vocalic environment as *g-*. He does not distinguish front <k> and back <q>, he transcribes them as *k* and *g* regardless to the vocalic environment. He transcribes <nk> as *ng*, except in suffixes where he uses *ŋ*. He transcribes the converb *-p* as *-b*. He transcribes closed /e/ as *i*. He always take Radloff's additions on the text. I did not mark these differences in the footnotes.

Bang-Arat's transcription is made according to the following principles: They do not make difference between front and back *k*, but they do so between front and back *g*. They do mark

when word-internal *z* is spelled with <s> as well as when word-initial *t* is spelled with <d>. They mark in their transcription if word-initial <'> is not spelled in order to indicate word-initial vowel. They mark in their transcription if *i* or *ĩ* is spelled with <'>, and the cases when first-syllable *ö* and *ü* is spelled with <w> instead of <wy>. They mark closed *e* as *i*. They consistently transcribe all ablative case markers with *i* or *ĩ*, when it spelled with <'>. These are not included in the footnotes.

Ščerbak's cyrillic transcription distinguish front and back *k* and *g*. He transcribes <nk> as *ŋ*. He transcribes word-initial <d-> as *d-* in front vocalic environment and as *t-* in back vocalic one. He distinguishes closed *e* and *i*, however, he considers every first-syllable *ä* as closed *e*, regardless to its marking in the manuscript. He transcribes the converb *-p* as *-b*. He always transcribes the negative form of the aorist <m'z> as *-mas/-mes*. These differences are not included in the footnotes.

I used the following abbreviations for the previous editions: Rad = Radloff 1891, RN = Nour 1928, BA= Bang-Arat 1932 (1936), and Šč = Ščerbak 1959.



1/

- 1) bwlswn̄ q̄yl d' b d' dYl' r' n̄wn̄k⁴ ' nk' q̄w sw⁵
- 2) wšbw dwrwr <picture> d' q̄y mwnd' n̄⁶ swnk s' wyñč
- 3) [d']bdYl' r kn⁷ kwñl' r d' n̄⁸ bYr kwñ⁹ ' y q̄' q̄' n̄
- 4) n̄wn̄k kwSw¹⁰ y' r' b¹¹ kwd' dy¹² ' yryK' k¹³ wqwl dwq̄wrdy
- 5) wšwl wq̄wl n̄wn̄k wnk lwk y č' r' q̄y¹⁴ kwk
- 6) ' yrdy ' q̄Ysy ' d' š q̄Ysyl ' yrdy kws l' r y ' l¹⁵ s' čl' ry q̄' š l' r y
- 7) q̄' r' ' rdy l' r ' rdy¹⁶ y' q̄šy n̄' bsYky l' r d' n̄¹⁷
- 8) kwrwk lwk rwk¹⁸ yrdy wšwl wq̄wl ' n̄'
- 9) sy n̄yñk kwkswndwn̄ wq̄wz n̄y ' yčyb mwñdwn̄¹⁹

- 1) bolsun̄ḡil t̄ap t̄adil̄ar anung ang^ogusu²⁰
- 2) ušbo turur <picture> taq̄i mundan song sewin̄č²¹
- 3) tapt̄ilar k̄an̄ä künl̄ärd̄än bir kün ay qağan-
- 4) nung²² közü yarip küd̄adi²³ erik̄äk²⁴ oğul tuğurd̄i
- 5) ušol oğulnung öngl̄üki čirağ̄i kök
- 6) erdi ağız̄i ataš q̄iz̄il erdi közl̄ari al sačlar̄i qašlar̄i
- 7) qara ärd̄il̄ar ärd̄i²⁵ yaq̄ši²⁶ n̄awsikil̄ärd̄än²⁷
- 8) körügl̄ükrök²⁸ erdi ušol oğul ana-
- 9) s̄in̄ing kögüz̄ünd̄ön oğuzn̄i içip²⁹ mundon³⁰

(1) [...] Let be [...]! - they said. The memory of that (2) is this: [picture of a bull] After this they found joy. (3) One of the days, *Moon Kagan* (*ay qağan*) (4) laboured for a long time. She gave birth to a male child. (5) The complexion and face of that child was blue, (6) his mouth was fire-red, his eyes were scarlet, his hair and eyebrows (7-8) were black. He was more beautiful than wonderful fairies. That child (9) drank the colostrum from his mother's breasts,

⁴ Rad <' n̄yñk>

⁵ Rad <' n̄kq̄w sw>,

⁶ Rad <mwñdyñ>

⁷ Rad <k' n̄' >

⁸ Rad <kwynl' r-dyñ>

⁹ Rad <kwyn>

¹⁰ Rad <kwysw>

¹¹ Rad <y' rwb>

¹² Rad. <bwd' dy>

¹³ Rad <' yrk' k>

¹⁴ Rad <čyr' q̄y>

¹⁵ Rad <y' l> RN yal

¹⁶ Rad <' yrdy-l' r ' yrdy>

¹⁷ Rad <n' bsyky-l' r-dyñ>

¹⁸ Rad <kwrwk-lwk-r' k>

¹⁹ Rad <mwñdyñ> BA mundin

²⁰ RN ankkusu, BA angağusu, Šč añağusu

²¹ RN suvinj, BA sevinç, Šč sevinč

²² BA kağan-nug

²³ RN butadi, BA bodadi, Šč bodadi

²⁴ RN irkek, BA irkek, Šč erkäk

²⁵ RN irdi ler arti

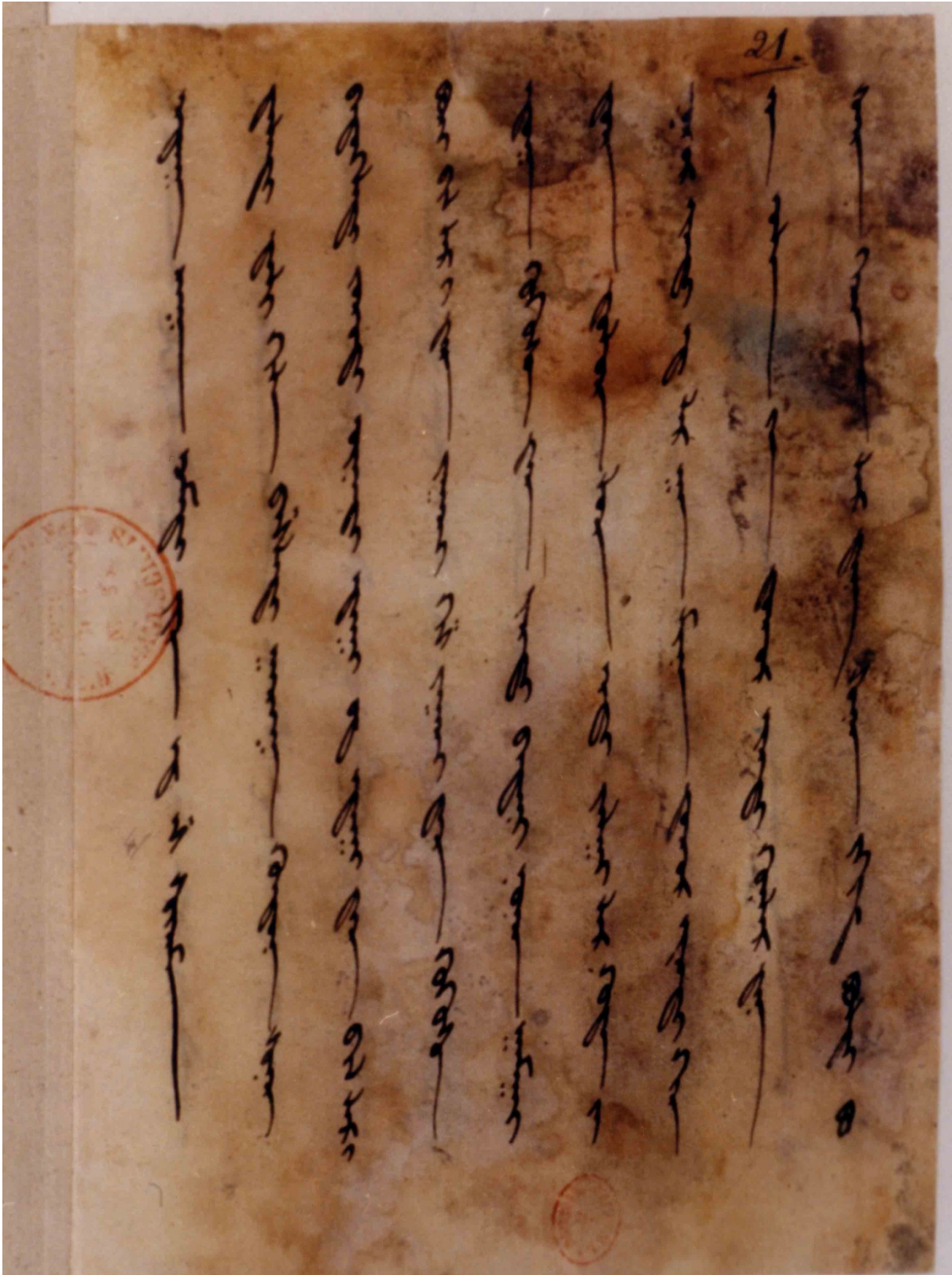
²⁶ RN ya ši

²⁷ RN nabsiki-ler-din BA napsiki-ler-din Šč napsikil̄ärd̄än

²⁸ RN görük-luk-rak, BA körök-lüg-rek, Šč körükl̄ügräk

²⁹ RN yi cib

³⁰ RN mundin, BA mundin, Šč mundun



2/

- 1) 'rd'q'r'q³¹ 'čm'dy³² yyK'd'š swyrm'
- 2) d'l'dy³³ d'ly³⁴ kyl' b'sl'dy'q'r'q³⁵ kwndwñ³⁶ swñk
- 3) b'dwkl'dy ywrwdy'wyn'dy'd'qy wd'd'qy d'k bYl'l'r'y³⁷
- 4) bwry byl'l'r'y³⁸ d'k yq'ry³⁹ kyš yq'ry⁴⁰ d'k kwksw
- 5) 'dWq kwksw d'k 'yrdy b'd'ny nwnk⁴¹ q'm'qy
- 6) dwk dwlwklwk 'rdy y'lqy l'r⁴² kwd' y'
- 7) [d]wrwr 'yrdy 'd l'r q' myñ' dwrwr 'yrdy kyk
- 8) 'w 'wl' y' dwrwr 'yrdy kwñl'r d'n⁴³
- 9) swñk kYč' l'r d'n⁴⁴ swñk ykyd bwldy bw

- 1) artıqraq içmädi yeg ät aš sorma⁴⁵
- 2) tilädi tili kelä başladı qirıq kündön song
- 3) bädüklädi⁴⁶ yörüdi oynadı adaqı ud adaqı täg belläri
- 4) böri belläri täg yağiri kiş yağiri täg kögüzü
- 5) aduğ kögüzü täg erdi badaninung⁴⁷ qamağı
- 6) tük tülüklüg ärdi yilqılar küdä-yä
- 7) turur erdi atlarğa minä turur erdi kik
- 8) aw awlaya turur erdi künlärdän
- 9) song keçalärdän song yigit⁴⁸ boldı bo

(1-2) after this he did not drink anymore. He wished (to get) rather meat, food and wine. He started to speak.(lit. his tongue started to come). After many (lit. forty) days,(3) he grew up, walked and palyed. His feet were like the feet of ox, his waists (4) were like a waist of a wolf, his shoulders were like a the shoulders of a sable, his chest (5) was like a chest of a bear. The whole of his body (6-7) was full of hair. He was always pastured animals, he always mounted horses, (8) he always hunted game, then after days, (9) after nights he became a young man. At this

³¹ Rad. <'rdyq-r'q>

³² Rad. <'yčm'dy>

³³ Rad. <dyl'dy>

³⁴ Rad. <dyly>

³⁵ Rad. <qyryq>

³⁶ Rad. <kwndyn>

³⁷ Rad. <b'l'l'r'y>

³⁸ Rad. <b'l'l'r'y>

³⁹ Rad. <y'qry>

⁴⁰ Rad. <y'qry>

⁴¹ Rad. <byd'ny-nwnk>

⁴² Rad. <yylqy>

⁴³ Rad. <kwñl'r-dyn>

⁴⁴ Rad. <kyč'-l'r-dyn>

⁴⁵ RN soyrma BA sürme, Šč sürmä

⁴⁶ RN badukladi

⁴⁷ RN biteni-nüj BA bedeni-nüng Šč bedäninüng

⁴⁸ BA igid

3/

- 1) č'qd' bw yyrd' byr wlvq' 'wrm' n' b'r yrdy
- 2) kw b mwr' n' l' r kw b 'wkwz l' r b' r 'yrdy bwnd' kylk' n'
- 3) l' r kyk kw b kw b bwnd' 'wčq' n' l' r qwš kw b kw b⁴⁹ 'yrdy
- 4) 'wšwl' '[wr]m' n' 'yčnd'⁵⁰ b' dwk byr q' Y[č']⁵¹ b' r
- 5) 'yrdy y' lqy⁵² l' r ny yyl kw n'⁵³ l' r ny yyr 'yrdy b' dwk
- 6) 'y' m' n'⁵⁴ byr kyk 'yrdy byrk' 'mkq'⁵⁵ byrl'
- 7) yl kw n' ny b' swb yr dy wq wz q' q' n' byr yryz⁵⁶
- 8) q' q' z⁵⁷ kyšy 'yr dy bw q' ynč[']⁵⁸ ny 'wl' m' q'⁵⁹ dyl' dy kw n'
- 9) l' r d'⁶⁰ byr kw n' 'wq' čyqdy čyd' byrl'

- 1) čagda bo yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdi
- 2) köp möränlär⁶¹ köp ögüzlär bar erdi bunda kelgän-
- 3) lär kik köp köp bunda učqanlar quš köp köp erdi
- 4) ušol [or]man içindä bädük bir [monster]⁶² bar
- 5) erdi yilqılarni yelkünlärni yer erdi bädük⁶³
- 6) °yaman bir kik erdi berkä ämgäq birlä
- 7) elkünni basup erdi oğuz qağan bir eres⁶⁴
- 8) qaqız⁶⁵ kiši erdi bo [monster]ni⁶⁶ awlamaq tilädi kün
- 9) lardä bir kün awğa čıqtı jıda⁶⁷ birlä

(1) time, at this place there was a great forest. (2-3) There were many streams and rivers (in it). The game coming here were many, the birds flying here were many. (4) In that forest there was a big [monster]. (5-6-7) It constantly ate the livestock and the people. It was a big bad beast. It had oppressed the people with suffering (lit. trouble and torture). *Oguz Kagan* was a manful (8) and tempered man. He wanted to hunt down this monster. (9) One day, he went to hunt. He rode with javelins,

⁴⁹ Rad. the facsimile contains <kw b> twice, while in Radloff's text it is written only once.

⁵⁰ Rad. <'yčynd'>

⁵¹ Rad. <qy'd>

⁵² Rad. <yylqy>

⁵³ Rad. <'yl-kwyñ>

⁵⁴ Rad. <'m' n'>

⁵⁵ Rad. <'mk' n'>

⁵⁶ Rad. <'yryn'>

⁵⁷ Rad. <q' q' n'>

⁵⁸ Rad. <qy'd>

⁵⁹ Rad. <'wl' m' q'>

⁶⁰ Rad. <kw n'-l' r-dyñ>

⁶¹ RN muran-lar

⁶² RN kiät, BA kıyand(kat), Šč qiat

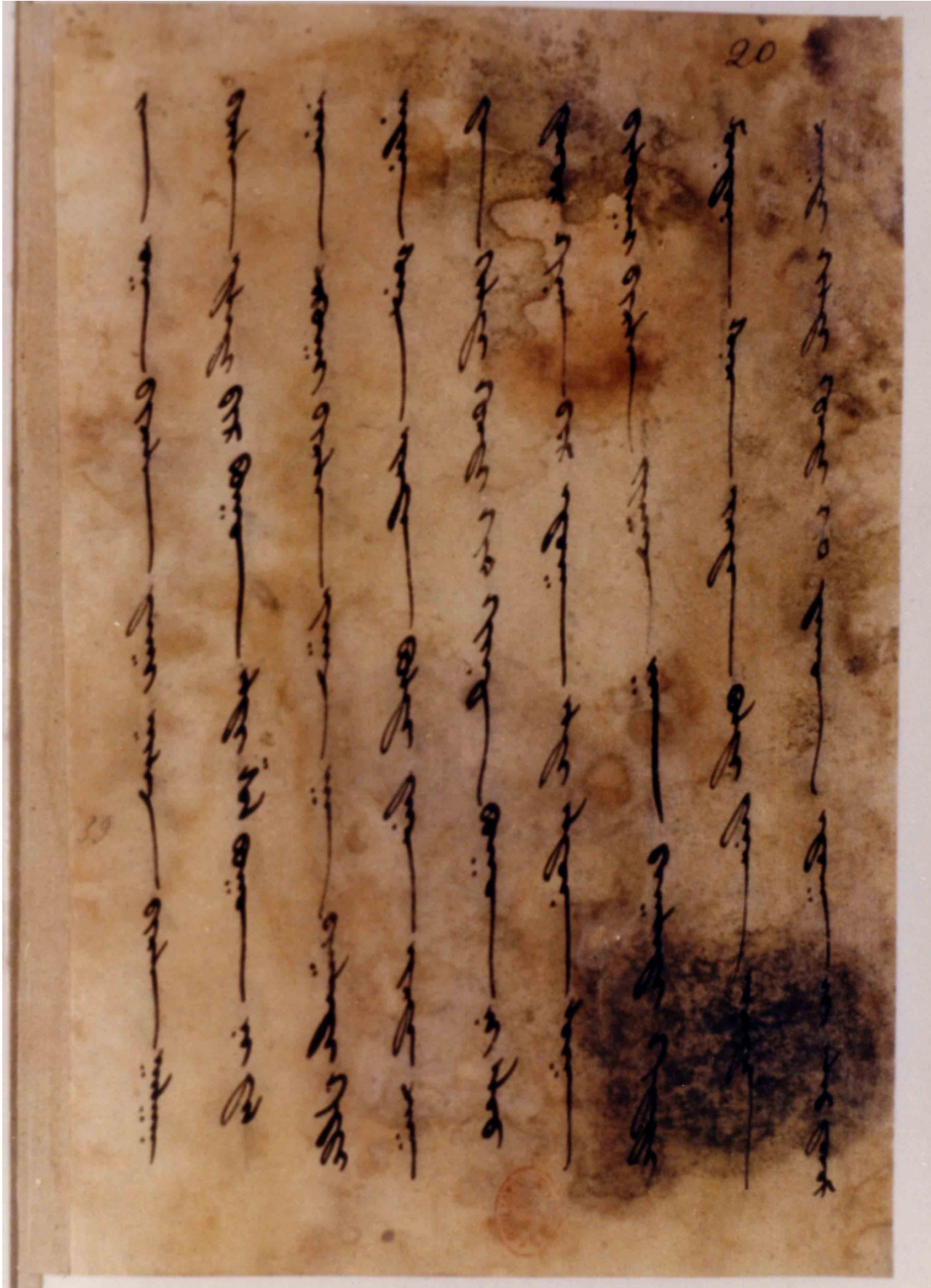
⁶³ RN baduk

⁶⁴ RN irik

⁶⁵ RN kagan, Šč qağaz

⁶⁶ RN kiät-ni, BA kıyand(kat)-ni, Šč qiat-ni

⁶⁷ RN jide



4/

- 1) y' 'wq byrl' d'qy qYl'č byrl' q' lq' n
- 2) byrl' 'dl' dy byr bwq̄w 'ldy šwl bwq̄w ny d' l
- 3) nwnk čwbwq̄y byrl' 'yq' č q' ⁶⁸ bYql' dy kyddy
- 4) 'nd' n' ⁶⁹ swnk 'yrd' bwldy d' nk 'yrd' č' q̄
- 5) d' k' ldy ⁷⁰ kwrđy kym kyynd bwq̄w ny 'lwb
- 6) dwrwr kyn' byr 'dwq̄ 'ldy 'ldwn lwq̄
- 7) bylb' q̄y byrl' yyq' č q' b' ql' dy kyddy
- 8) mwndwn ⁷¹ swnk 'yrd' bwldy d' nk 'yrd'
- 9) č' qd' kYldy kwrđy kym d' 'w ⁷² 'dwq̄ ny 'l' b' ⁷³ dwrwr

- 1) ya oq birlä taqı qilič birlä qalqan
- 2) birlä atladı bir buğu aldı šol buğunı tal-
- 3) nung ⁷⁴ čubuqı birlä iğaçqa ⁷⁵ bağladı ketti
- 4) andan song ertä boldı tang ertä čağ-
- 5) da kaldi körđi kim [monster] ⁷⁶ buğunı alup ⁷⁷
- 6) turur kenä bir aduğ aldı altunluğ
- 7) belbağı birlä yığaçqa bağladı ketti
- 8) mundon ⁷⁸ song ertä boldı tang ertä
- 9) čağda ⁷⁹ keldi körđi kim [monster] ⁸⁰ aduğnı alıp ⁸¹ turur

(1) bow and arrows, as well as with sword and shield. (2-3) He took a deer. He tied that deer to a tree with a willow twig, then went away. (4-5) After that it became morrow. He came at dawnbreak, and he saw that the [monster] has taken the deer. (6-7) Then he took a bear. He tied it a tree with his gold-ornamented waistbelt, then went away. (8-9) After this it became morrow. He came at dawnbreak and saw that the monster has taken the bear.

⁶⁸ Rad. <yyq' č-q'>

⁶⁹ Rad. <'ndyn>

⁷⁰ Rad. <kyldy>

⁷¹ Rad. <mwndyn>

⁷² Rad. <d' nnk>

⁷³ Rad. <'lwb>

⁷⁴ BA tal-nug

⁷⁵ RN yığaj-ga, Šč (y)iğaçqa

⁷⁶ RN kiät, BA kıyand(kat), Šč kiät

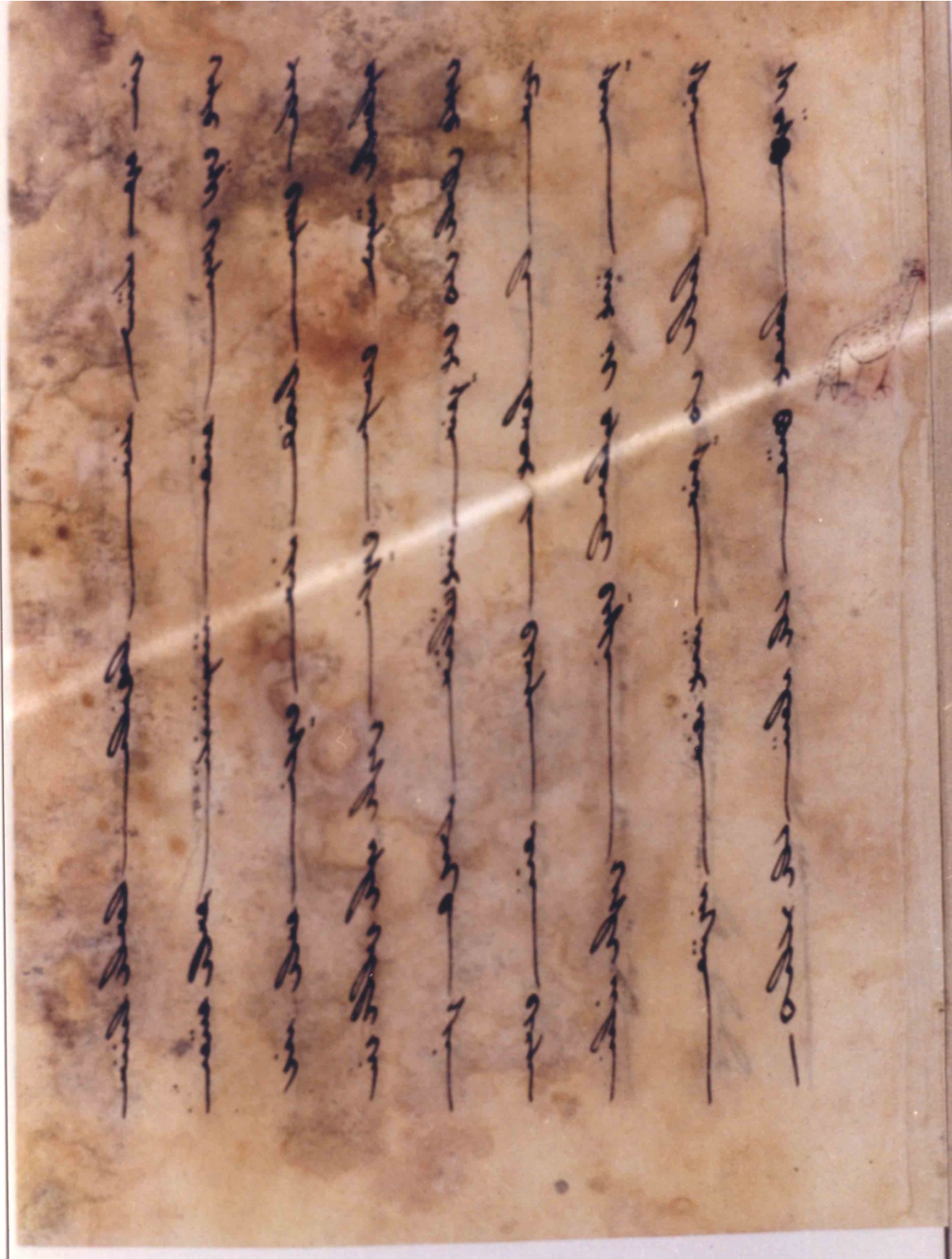
⁷⁷ BA alıp

⁷⁸ RN mundin

⁷⁹ RN cikdi

⁸⁰ RN kiät, BA kıyand(kat), Šč qiat

⁸¹ Šč alub



5/

- 1) kn⁸² wsw⁸³ 'yq'č'nyñk⁸⁴ dwbñd⁸⁵ dwrdy⁸⁶ d'ñnk
 - 2) k'lyb b'sy byrl' 'wq'wz q'lq'nyñ 'wrdy wq'wz
 - 3) čyd' byrl' d'[n]ñw⁸⁷ nyñk b'syñ wrdy 'ny
 - 4) wldwrdy q'l'č⁸⁸ byrl' b'syñ k'sdy 'ldy kyddy⁸⁹ kn⁹⁰
 - 5) k'lyb kwrdy⁹¹ kym byr⁹² šwnk q'r [q]dñnk⁹³ 'yč'kw sYñ
 - 6) ym'k⁹⁴ d' dwrwr y' byrl' 'wq byrl'
 - 7) šwnk q'r ny wldwrdy b'syñ k'sdy 'ñd'ñ⁹⁵
 - 8) swñk d'dy kym šwnk q'r ñwnk 'ñkq'w
 - 9) sy wšbw dwrwr⁹⁶ bwq'w ydy⁹⁷ 'dwq ydy⁹⁸ čyd'm⁹⁹
- <picture>

- 1) känä özü¹⁰⁰ iğačnïng tübindä¹⁰¹ turdi [monster]¹⁰²
 - 2) kälip baši birlä oğuz qalqanin urdi oğuz
 - 3) jida birlä [monster]ning bašin urdi anı
 - 4) öldürdi qilič birlä bašin kästi aldi ketti känä
 - 5) kälip kördi kim bir šungqar [monster]¹⁰³ ičägüsin
 - 6) yemäktä turur ya birlä oq birlä
 - 7) šungqarnı öldürdi bašin kästi andan
 - 8) song tädi kim šungqarnung anggu
 - 9) si¹⁰⁴ ušbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jidam
- <picture>

(1) Then he stood at the root of the tree himself. The monster (2) came and struck the shield of *Oguz* with its head. *Oguz* struck the monster's head with his spear and (4) killed it. He cut its head off with sword, took it and went away. Then (5-6) he came and saw that a falcon is eating the innards of the monster. With bow and arrow, (7) he killed the falcon and cut its head off. Then he said: "The memory of the falcon is exactly this. It ate the deer and ate the bear, my spear
[picture of the falcon].

⁸² Rad. <k'ñ'>

⁸³ Rad. <'wšw>

⁸⁴ Rad. <yyq'č-nyñk>

⁸⁵ Rad. <dwbyñd'>

⁸⁶ Rad. <twrdy>

⁸⁷ Rad. <d'ñ'd>

⁸⁸ Rad. <qylyč>

⁸⁹ Rad. <k'ddy>

⁹⁰ Rad. <k'ñ'>

⁹¹ Rad. <kwyrdy>

⁹² The word is missing from Radloff's edition.

⁹³ Rad. <qy'dnyñk>

⁹⁴ Rad. <yym'k>

⁹⁵ Rad. <'ñdyn>

⁹⁶ Rad. The word <qy'd> is added after this word.

⁹⁷ Rad. <y'dy>

⁹⁸ Rad. <y'dy>

⁹⁹ Rad. The word <qy'd-ny> is added after this word.

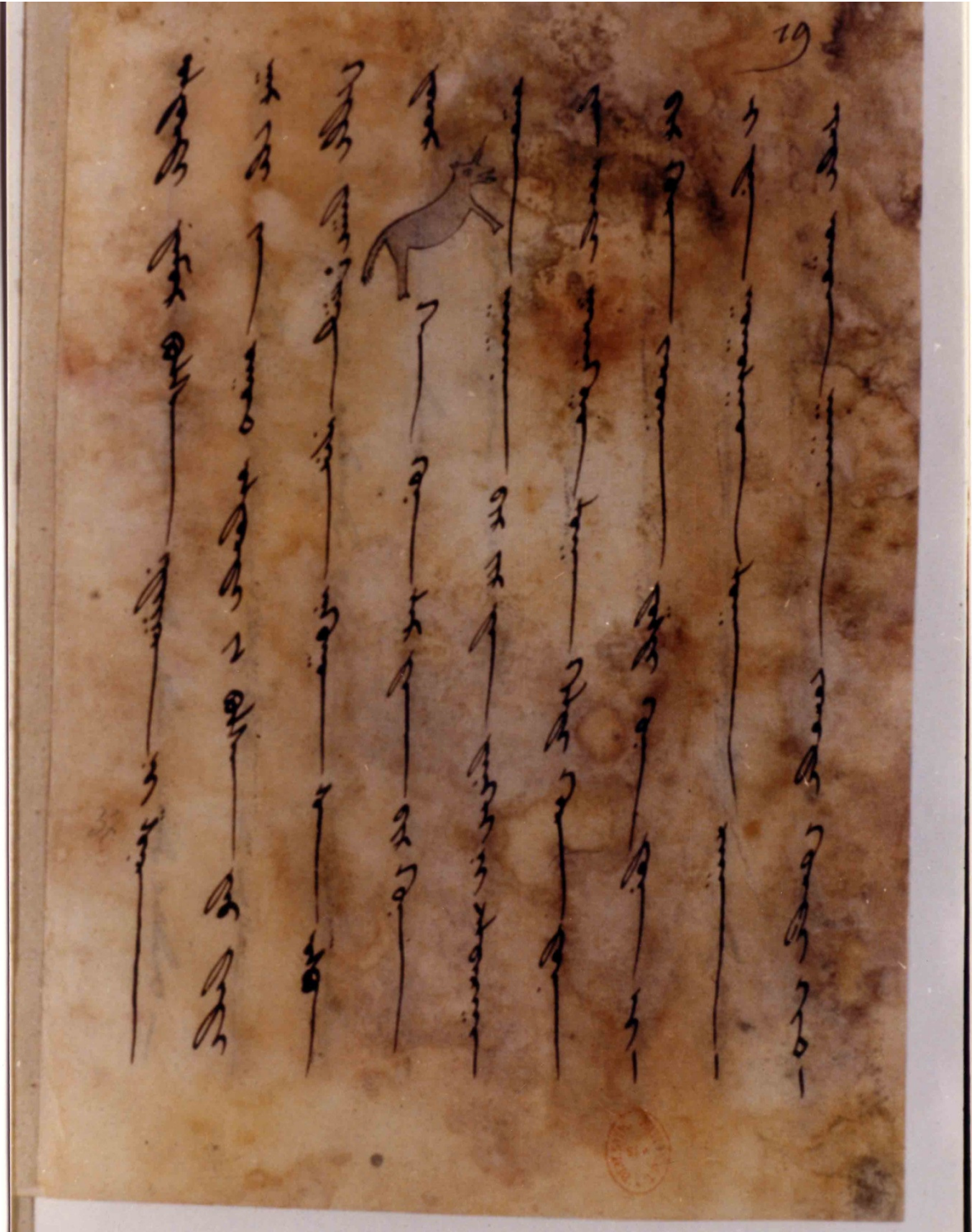
¹⁰⁰ RN ošo, BA oşu, Šč oşu

¹⁰¹ RN yigaj-niñ tubinde, Šč (y)iğačnïñ tüb(i)ndä

¹⁰² RN kiät, BA kıyand(kat), Šč kiät

¹⁰³ RN kiät-niñ, BA kıyand(kat), Šč kiät-niñ

¹⁰⁴ RN añku-si BA ang(a)ğ'u-si, Šč añ(a)ğ'u-si



6/

- 1) 'wldwrđy d' mwr bwls' [n]dyňnk¹⁰⁵ ñy šwnk
- 2) q' r ydy¹⁰⁶ y' wqwm¹⁰⁷ 'wldwrđy yl¹⁰⁸ bwls' d' b d' dy
- 3) kyddy d' qy kyň[č'] ñyňk 'ňkwq̄w sw¹⁰⁹ 'wšbw
- 4) dwrwr [picture] kn¹¹⁰ kwñ l' r d' byr kwñ
- 5) wq̄wz q' q' ñ byr yyr d' d' ñkry ñy č' lb' r q̄w
- 6) d' 'Yrđy q' r' ñkq̄w lwq̄ kYldy kwk dwñ
- 7) byr kwk y' rwq̄ dwšdy kwñ dwñ 'y
- 8) 'y d' n¹¹¹ q̄wq̄wlq̄w lwq̄ r' q̄
- 9) 'yrđy 'wq̄wz q' q' ñ ywrwđy kwrđy kym

- 1) öldürdi tümür bolsa [monster]nī¹¹² šung-
- 2) qar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yel¹¹³ bolsa täp tädi
- 3) ketti taqī [monster]nīng¹¹⁴ ang'gusu¹¹⁵ ušbo
- 4) turur [picture] känä künlärdä bir kün
- 5) oğuz qağan bir yerdä tängrini¹¹⁶ jalwargu¹¹⁷
- 6) da erdi qarangguluq keldi köktön
- 7) bir kök yaruq tüšti kündön ay¹¹⁸
- 8) aydan qoğulğuluqraq
- 9) erdi oğuz qağan yörüdi körđi kim

(1-2) killed it for it is iron. The falcon ate the [monster], my bow and arrow killed it for it is (like the) wind." – he said, (3) and went away. So the memory of the monster is exactly this. (5-6) [picture of a one-horned creature] One of the days, in a place, *Oguz Kagan* was praying to the Sky, (when) it became dark, (and) from the sky, (7-8) a blue lightbeam descended. It was more glowing than the sun or the moon. (9) *Oguz Kagan* walked (closer) and he saw that

¹⁰⁵ Rad. <ñkyqd>

¹⁰⁶ Rad. <y' dy>

¹⁰⁷ Rad. the word <šwnk-q' r-ñy> is added to this one.

¹⁰⁸ Rad. <y>

¹⁰⁹ Rad. <' ñkq̄w-sw>

¹¹⁰ Rad. <k' ñ'>

¹¹¹ Rad. <'y-dyñ>

¹¹² RN kiät-nī, BA kıyand(kat)-nı, Šč kiätñi

¹¹³ BA y(e)s

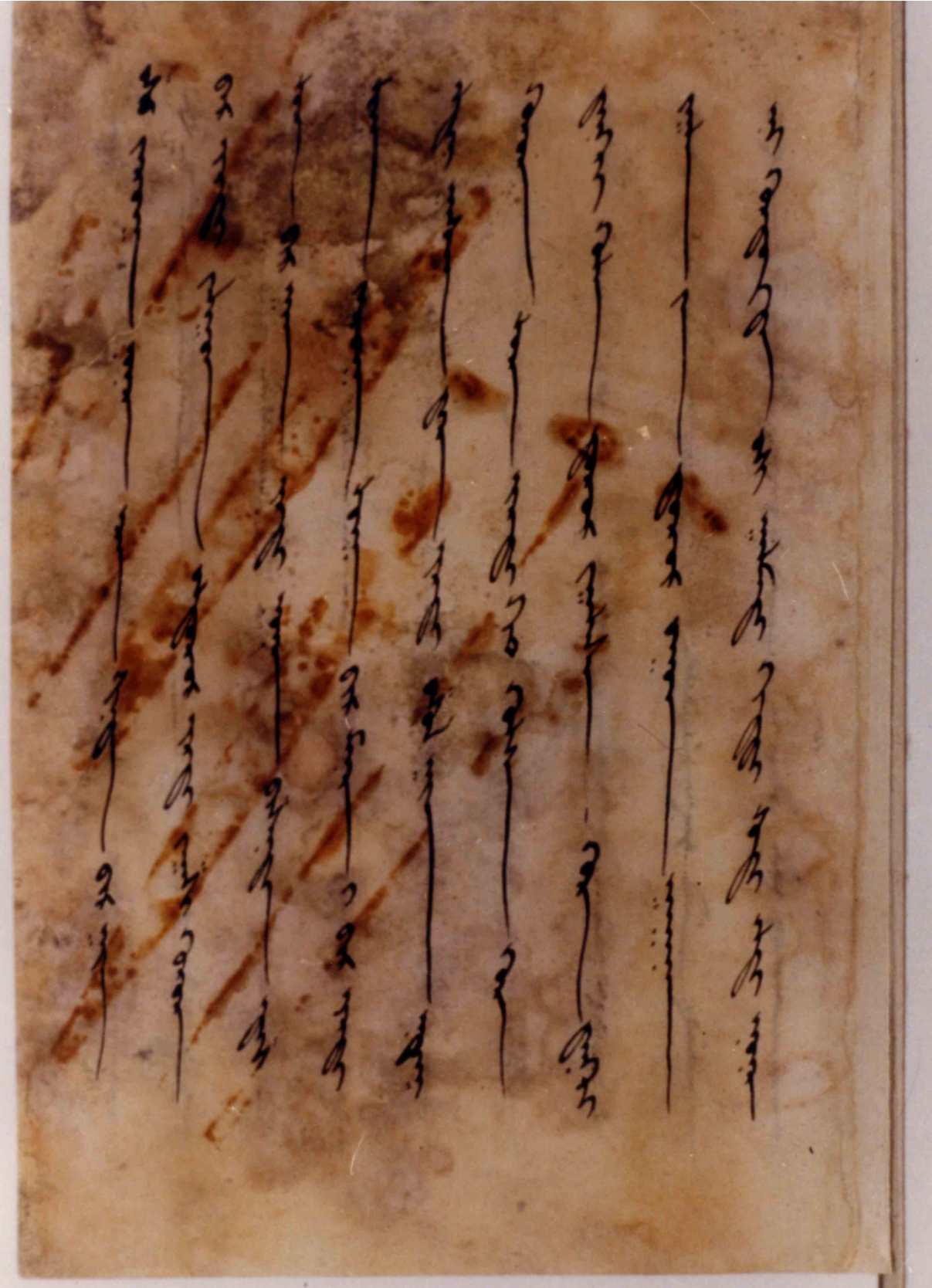
¹¹⁴ RN kiät-nīñ, BA kıyand(kat)-nıng, Šč qiät-niñ

¹¹⁵ RN anku-su

¹¹⁶ RN tañri-nī

¹¹⁷ RN calbarka

¹¹⁸ Šč aya(n)



7/

- 1) wšbw y'rwq' nwnk 'r' synd' byr qyz
- 2) b'r 'yrdy y'lqwz wldwrwr 'yrdy y'qšy kwrwk
- 3) lwk byr qYz 'yrdy 'nwnk bYš'nd'¹¹⁹ 'd'š
- 4) lwq y'rwq' lwq' byr m'nk y b'r 'yrdy
- 5) 'ld'n'¹²⁰ q'swq t'k 'yrdy wšwl qyz 'nd'q
- 6) kwrwk lwk 'yrdy kym kwls' kwk
- 7) d'nkry kwl' dwrwr yql'S'¹²¹ kwk d'nkry
- 8) yql' y'¹²² dwrwr wq'wz q'q'n
- 9) 'ny kwrwdkd' wsy q'lm'dy kyddy swdy 'ldy 'nwnk

- 1) ušbo yaruqnung arasında bir qiz
- 2) bar erdi yalguz olturur erdi yaqši körüg-
- 3) lük bir qiz erdi anung başında ataš-
- 4) luğ yaruqluğ bir mängi bar erdi
- 5) altın¹²³ qazuq täg erdi ušol qiz andağ
- 6) körüglük erdi kim külsä kök
- 7) tängri¹²⁴ külä turur iğlasa¹²⁵ kök tängri¹²⁶
- 8) iğlaya¹²⁷ turur oğuz qağan
- 9) anı kördüktä usi¹²⁸ qalmadı ketti sewdi¹²⁹ aldı anung

(1-2-3) in the middle of this lightbeam, there was a girl. She was sitting alone. She was a very beautiful girl. On her head, (4) there was a fiery, shining mole. (5) It was like the *Pole Star* (lit. "golden stake"). That girl was so (6) beautiful, that whenever she laughs, the *Blue (7) Sky* (*kök tängri*) also laughs, when she cries, the *Blue Sky* (8) also cries. When *Oguz Kagan* (9) saw her, he got out of his mind, fell in love with her, and took her.

¹¹⁹ Rad. <b'šynd'>

¹²⁰ Rad. <'ldwn'>

¹²¹ Rad. <yyql's'>

¹²² Rad. <yyql'-y'>

¹²³ RN altn, BA altun

¹²⁴ RN tañri

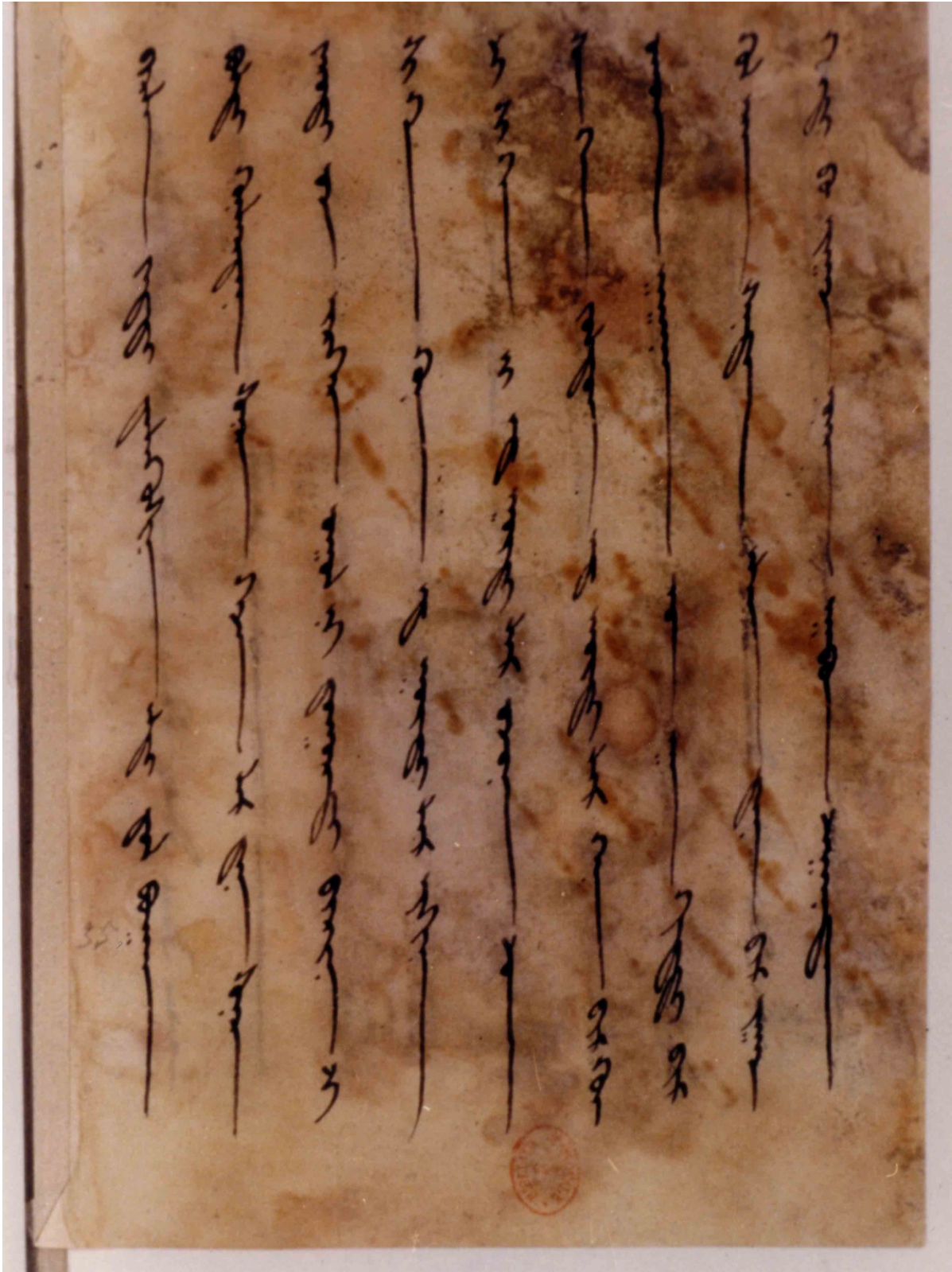
¹²⁵ Šč y(i)ğlasa

¹²⁶ RN tañri

¹²⁷ RN yigla-ya Šč y(i)ğlaya

¹²⁸ Šč özi

¹²⁹ RN sodi, BA s(e)vdi, Šč sevdi



8/

- 1) byrl' y' ddy d'l'kwsyn¹³⁰ 'ldy dwl bwq'z
- 2) bwldy kwñl'rd'n¹³¹ swñk k'č' l'r d'n¹³² swñk¹³³
- 3) y'rwdy 'wč' yrk'k wqwl ñy dwqwrdy byryñ čy
- 4) sy k' kwñ 'd qwydy l'r 'ykyñ
- 5) čy sy k' 'y 'd qwydy l'r wčwn čw
- 6) sw k' ywldwz 'd qwydy l'r k'n¹³⁴ byr kwn
- 7) wqwz q'q'n 'w q' kyddy byr
- 8) kwl 'r' s'nd'¹³⁵ 'l' n d'n¹³⁶ byr yq' č
- 9) k[wr]dy bw 'yq' č' nwnk q'bw č'q'nd'¹³⁷

- 1) birlä yattı tilägüsin aldı töl boğus¹³⁸
- 2) boldı künlärdän song kečälärdän song
- 3) yarudı üç erkäk oğulñı tuğurdı birinči-
- 4) sigä küñ at qoydılar ikin-
- 5) čisigä ay at qoydılar üçünčü-
- 6) sügä yulduz at qoydılar känä bir küñ
- 7) oğuz qağan awğa ketti bir
- 8) köl arasında¹³⁹ alından bir iğaç¹⁴⁰
- 9) k[ör]di¹⁴¹ bo iğaçnung¹⁴² qawučaqında

(1-2) He lied with her, and he took what he desired. Embryo(s) conceived. After days and nights, (3) she laboured. She gave birth to three male children. For the first one, (4) they gave the name *Sun* (*kün*). For the second one, (5) they gave the name *Moon* (*ay*). For the third one, (6) they gave the name *Star* (*yulduz*). Then one day (7) *Oguz Kagan* went to hunt. (8-9) In the middle of a lake, in front of him, he saw a tree. In the hollow of this tree,

¹³⁰ Rad. <dyl'kwsyn>

¹³¹ Rad. <kwñl'rdyn>

¹³² Rad. <k'č'-l'r-dyn>

¹³³ Rad. The word <kwsy> is added after this one.

¹³⁴ Rad. <k'n'>

¹³⁵ Rad. <'r'-synd'>

¹³⁶ Rad. <'lyz-dyn>

¹³⁷ Rad. <q'bw-č'qynd'>

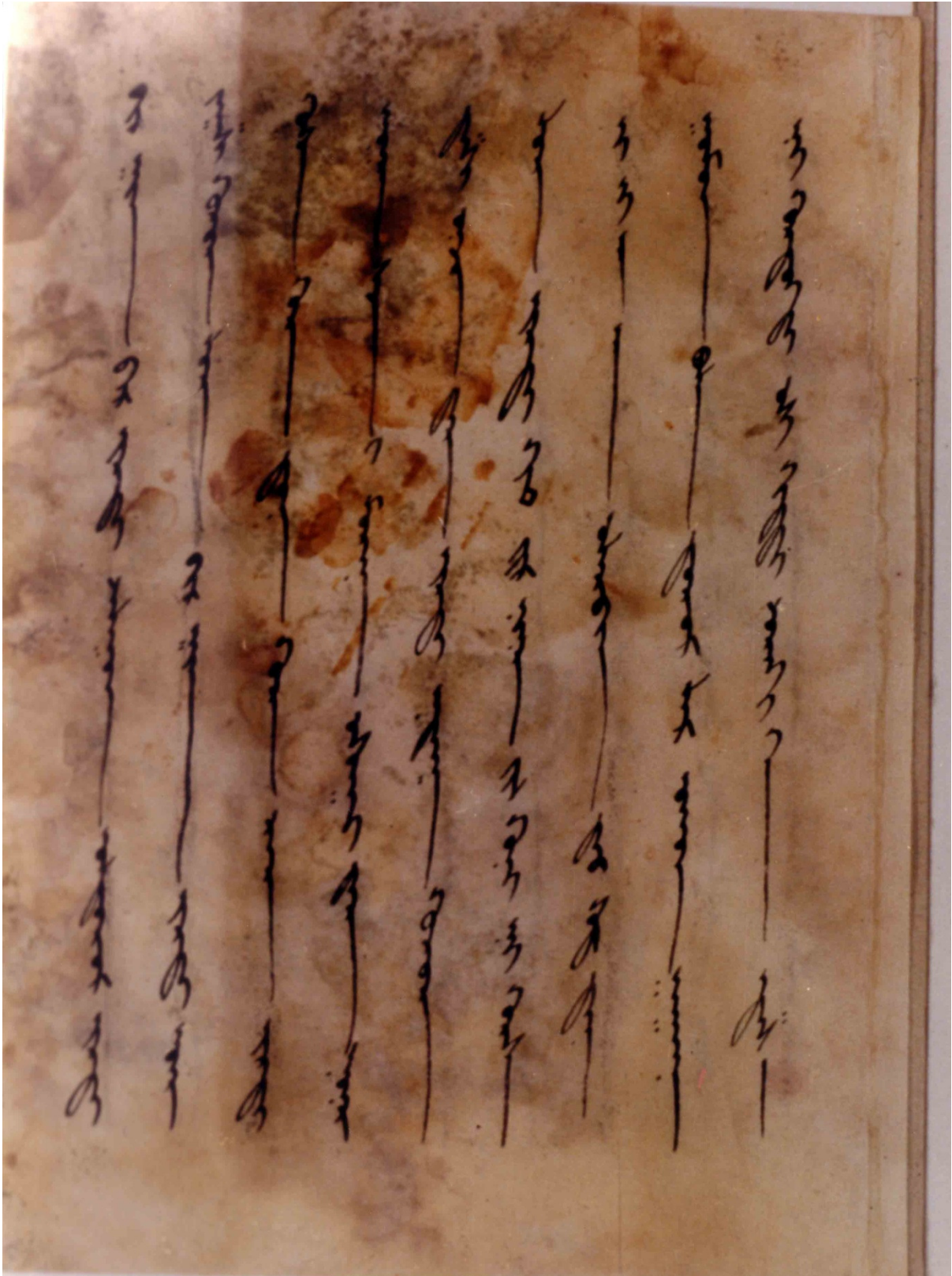
¹³⁸ RN tol bogaz , BA döl boğaz, Šč töl boğaz

¹³⁹ Šč aras(i)nda

¹⁴⁰ RN yigaj Šč (y)iğaç

¹⁴¹ RN k.. idi

¹⁴² RN yigaj-nuñ Šč (y)iğaçnuñ



9/

- 1) byr qyz b'r 'yrdy č'lq wz 'wldwrwr 'yrdy
- 2) y'qšy kwrwk lwk byr qyz 'yrdy 'nwnk
- 3) kws¹⁴³ kwk dwn¹⁴⁴ kwk r'k 'yrdy
- 4) 'nwnk s'č y mwr'n wswqy d'k 'nwnk
- 5) d'šy¹⁴⁵ wnčw d'k 'yrdy 'nd'q kwrwk
- 6) lwk 'yrdy kym yyr nynk yyl kwny 'ny kwrs'
- 7) 'y'y'q'q¹⁴⁶ 'wl'rbyz t'p swd d'n¹⁴⁷
- 8) qwmwz bwl' dwrwr l'r 'wqwz q'q'n
- 9) 'ny kwrwdk' 'wsy kyddy čwr'ky k' 'd'š

- 1) bir qiz bar erdi jalguz¹⁴⁸ oturur erdi
- 2) yaqši körüglük bir qiz erdi anung
- 3) közü¹⁴⁹ köktön¹⁵⁰ kökräk¹⁵¹ erdi
- 4) anung sači mörän 'suği¹⁵² tag anung
- 5) tiši¹⁵³ ünčü tag erdi andağ körüg-
- 6) lük erdi kim yerning yelküni¹⁵⁴ anı körsä
- 7) ay ay aχ aχ¹⁵⁵ ölibiz¹⁵⁶ täp süttän
- 8) qumuz bola tururlar oğuz qağan
- 9) anı kördüktä usi¹⁵⁷ ketti jüräkigä¹⁵⁸ ataš

(1) there was a girl. She was sitting alone. (2) She was a very beautiful girl. Her (3) eyes were bluer than the sky. (4) Her hair was (wavy) as the river ('s water). Her (5) teeth were like pearls. She was so beautiful, (6) that whenever the world's people saw her, (7-8) they said: "Oh, oh, we will die!" then, they were (like) koumiss (which becomes) from milk. When *Oguz Kagan* (9) saw her, he got out of his mind, fire fell into his heart,

¹⁴³ Rad. <kwsy>

¹⁴⁴ Rad. <kwk-tyñ>

¹⁴⁵ Rad. <dyšy>

¹⁴⁶ Rad. <' ' ' ' >

¹⁴⁷ Rad. <swd-dyñ>

¹⁴⁸ RN calaguz

¹⁴⁹ RN gözi

¹⁵⁰ RN gök din

¹⁵¹ RN gök jek

¹⁵² RN muran ösüki

¹⁵³ Šč tiši

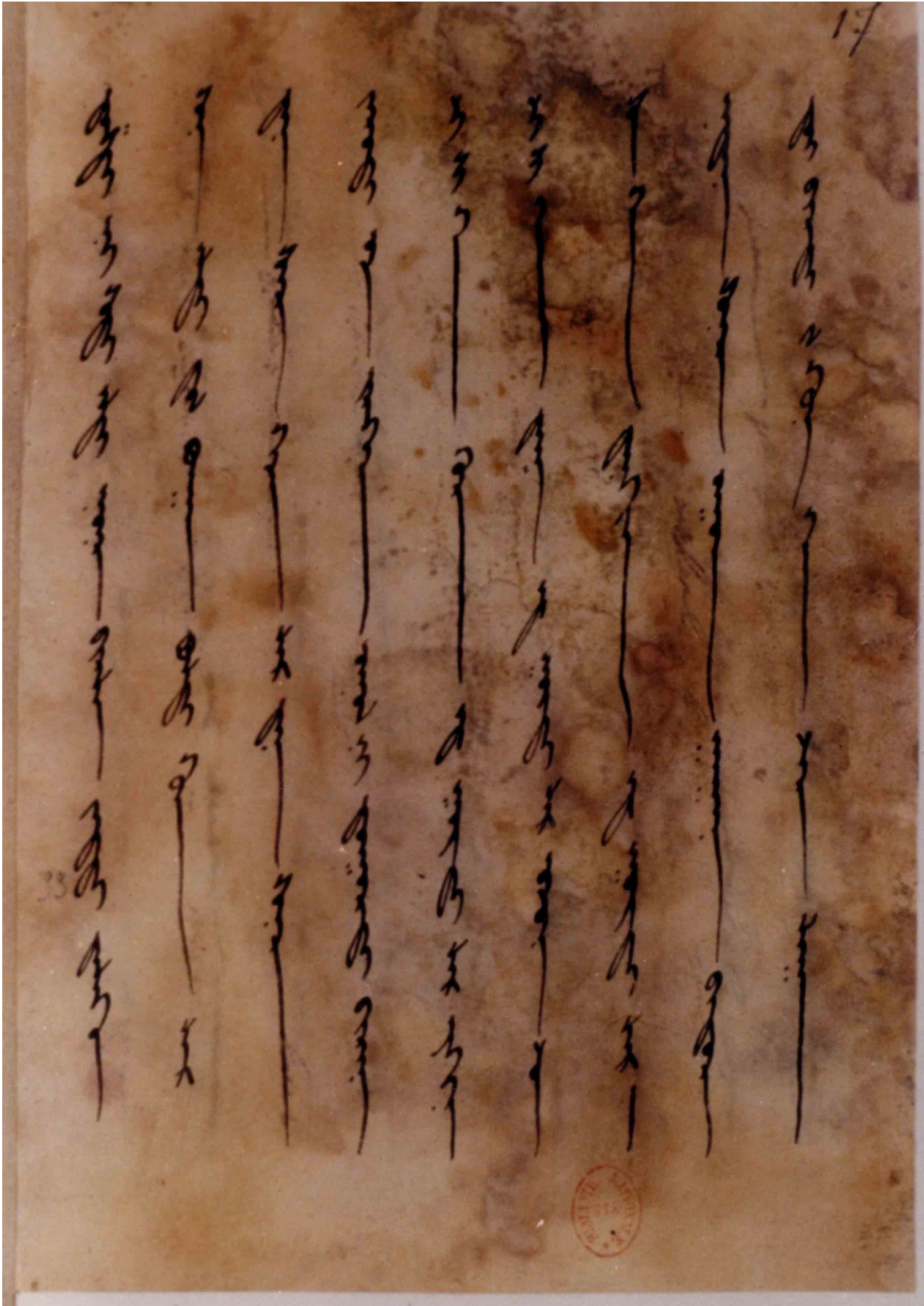
¹⁵⁴ RN il günü Šč el küni

¹⁵⁵ RN ya ya

¹⁵⁶ RNolarbiz, BA ölerbiz Šč ölerbiz

¹⁵⁷ Šč özi

¹⁵⁸ RN curegi-ge



10/

- 1) dwšdy 'ny swdy 'ldy 'nwnk¹⁵⁹ byrl' y' ddy d'l'kw
- 2) swñ 'ldy dwl bw'qz¹⁶⁰ bwldy kwn l'r
- 3) d'n¹⁶¹ swnk kYč' l'r d'n¹⁶² swñk¹⁶³
- 4) y'rwdy 'wč 'yrk'k 'wqwl ny dwqwrđy byryñ
- 5) čy sy k' kwk 'd qwydy l'r 'ykyñ
- 6) čy sy k' d'q' d qwydy l'r 'wčwn čw
- 7) sw k' d'nkyz 'd qwydy l'r
- 8) 'nd'n¹⁶⁴ swñk wq wz q'q'n bYdwk
- 9) dwy byrđy yl kwñ k' č'R l'q¹⁶⁵

- 1) tüšti anı sewdi¹⁶⁶ aldı anung birlä yattı tilägü-
- 2) sün aldı töl bogus¹⁶⁷ boldı künlär-
- 3) dän song kečälärdän song
- 4) yarudı üç erkäk oğulñı tuğurdı birin-
- 5) čisigä kök at qoydılar ikin-
- 6) čisigä tağ at qoydılar¹⁶⁸ üçünčü-
- 7) sügä tängiz at qoydılar
- 8) andan song oğuz qağan bedük
- 9) toy berdi elküngä jarlıg

(1-2) he fell in love with her. He took her, lied down with her, and took what he desired. Embryo(s) conceived. (3) After days and nights, (4) she laboured. She gave birth to three male children. For the first one (5) they gave the name *Sky* (*kök*). For the second one, (6) they gave the name *Mountain* (*tağ*). For the third one, (7) they gave the name *Sea* (*tängiz*). (8-9) After that *Oguz Kagan* gave a great feast. He announced an order to the people,

¹⁵⁹ Rad. <'nyñk>

¹⁶⁰ Rad. <dwl bwq'z>

¹⁶¹ Rad. <kwñ-l'r-dyñ>

¹⁶² Rad. <k'č'-l'r-dyñ>>

¹⁶³ Rad. The word <kwsy> is added after this one.

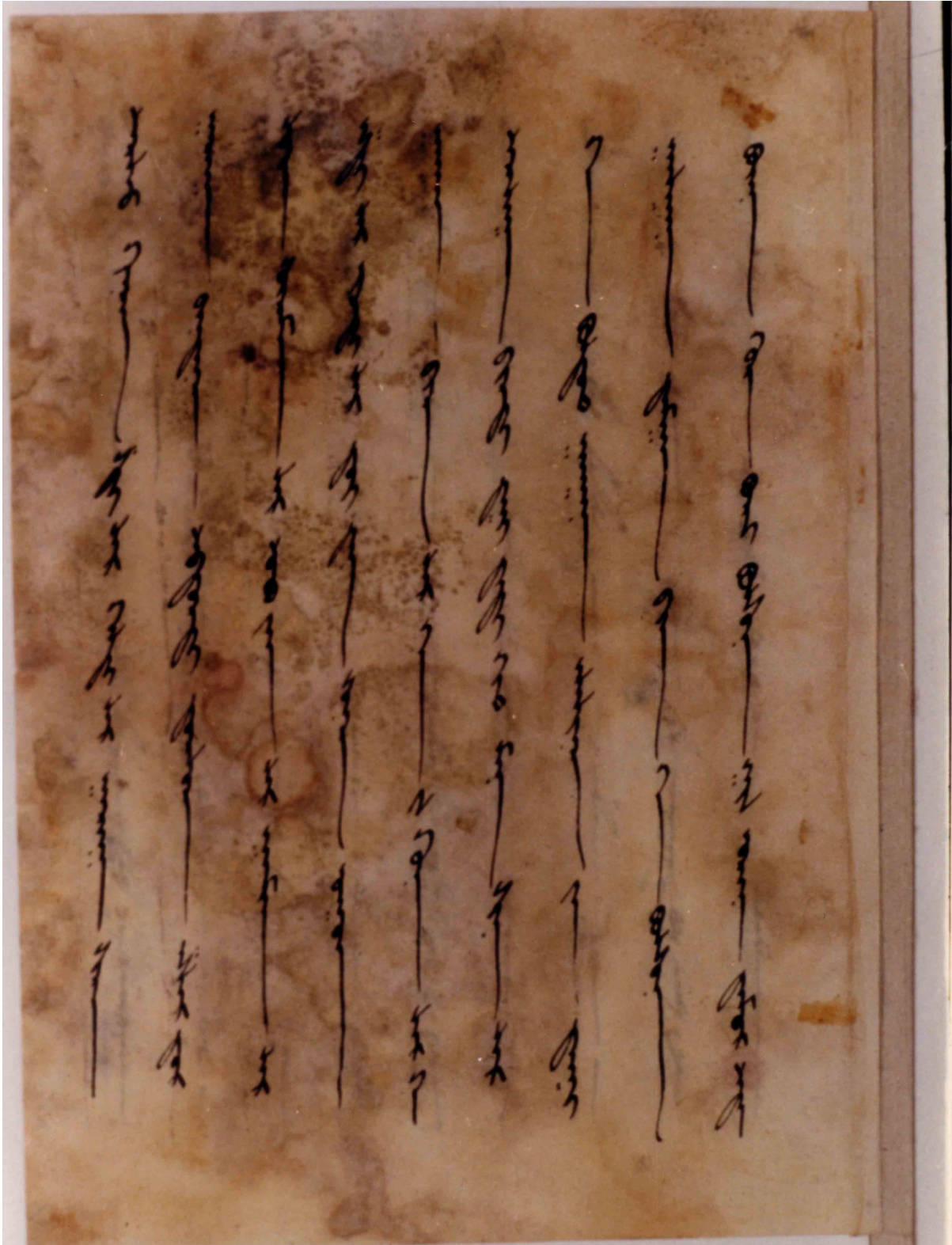
¹⁶⁴ Rad. <'ndyñ>

¹⁶⁵ Rad. <č'rlyq>

¹⁶⁶ RN sodı, BA s(e)vdi, Šč sevi

¹⁶⁷ RN tol bogaz, BA döl boğaz, Šč töl boğaz

¹⁶⁸ BA kaydı-lar



11/

- 1) č'rl' b kyñk' šdy l' r k' ldy¹⁶⁹ l' r q' r' q'¹⁷⁰ syr¹⁷¹
- 2) q' r' q'¹⁷² b' nd' ñk¹⁷³ č' bdwrđy dwrlwk' šl' r dwr
- 3) lwk swyrm' l' r čwbw y' ñ l' r q' mYz l' r¹⁷⁴
- 4) 'šdy l' r ' yčdy l' r dwy d' ñ¹⁷⁵ swñk' wq'wz
- 5) q' q' ñ byk l' r k' yl kwñ l' r k'
- 6) č' rl' q'¹⁷⁶ byrđy¹⁷⁷ d' qy¹⁷⁸ d' dy kym m' ñ syñ l' r
- 7) k' bwldwm q' q' ñ ' l' lyñk y' d' qy
- 8) q' lq' ñ d' mq' byz k' bwlswn¹⁷⁹
- 9) bwy' ñ kwk bwry bwlswn qyl' wr' ñ d' mwr č' d'¹⁸⁰

- 1) čarlap kengäštilär keldilär qiriq širä
- 2) qiriq bandang¹⁸¹ ĵapturđi türlüg ašlar tür-
- 3) lüg sormalar¹⁸² čubuyanlar qimizlar
- 4) aštilar¹⁸³ ičtilär toydan¹⁸⁴ song oğuz
- 5) qağan beglärgä elkünlärgä
- 6) ĵarlüg berdi taqı tädi kim män senlä-
- 7) gä boldum qağan alalıng ya taqı
- 8) qalqan tamğa bizgä bolsun
- 9) buyan kök böri bolsunğıl uran¹⁸⁵ tämür ĵida¹⁸⁶

(1-2-3-4) and they assembled for council. He ordered (them) to build many tables and many benches. They gorged and swilled various foods and drinks, jujube fruits and qoumiss. After the feast, *Oguz* (5-6-7) *Kagan* gave order to the *begs* and the people. So he said: "I became kagan for you, let us take bows and (8) shields! Let the distinguishing mark (*tamga*) be good luck (*buyan*) for us! Let the grey wolf be our warcry! Iron javelins,

¹⁶⁹ Rad. <kyldy-l' r>

¹⁷⁰ Rad. <qyrq>

¹⁷¹ Rad. <šyr' >

¹⁷² Rad. <qyrq>

¹⁷³ Rad. <bynd' ñk>

¹⁷⁴ Rad. <' qm' -l' r>

¹⁷⁵ Rad. <dwy-dyn>

¹⁷⁶ Rad. <č' rlyq>

¹⁷⁷ Rad. <b' rdy>

¹⁷⁸ Rad. <d' qy>

¹⁷⁹ Rad. the element <qyl> is added after this word.

¹⁸⁰ Rad. <čyd' >

¹⁸¹ RN binteñ, BA bandeng Šč bendäng

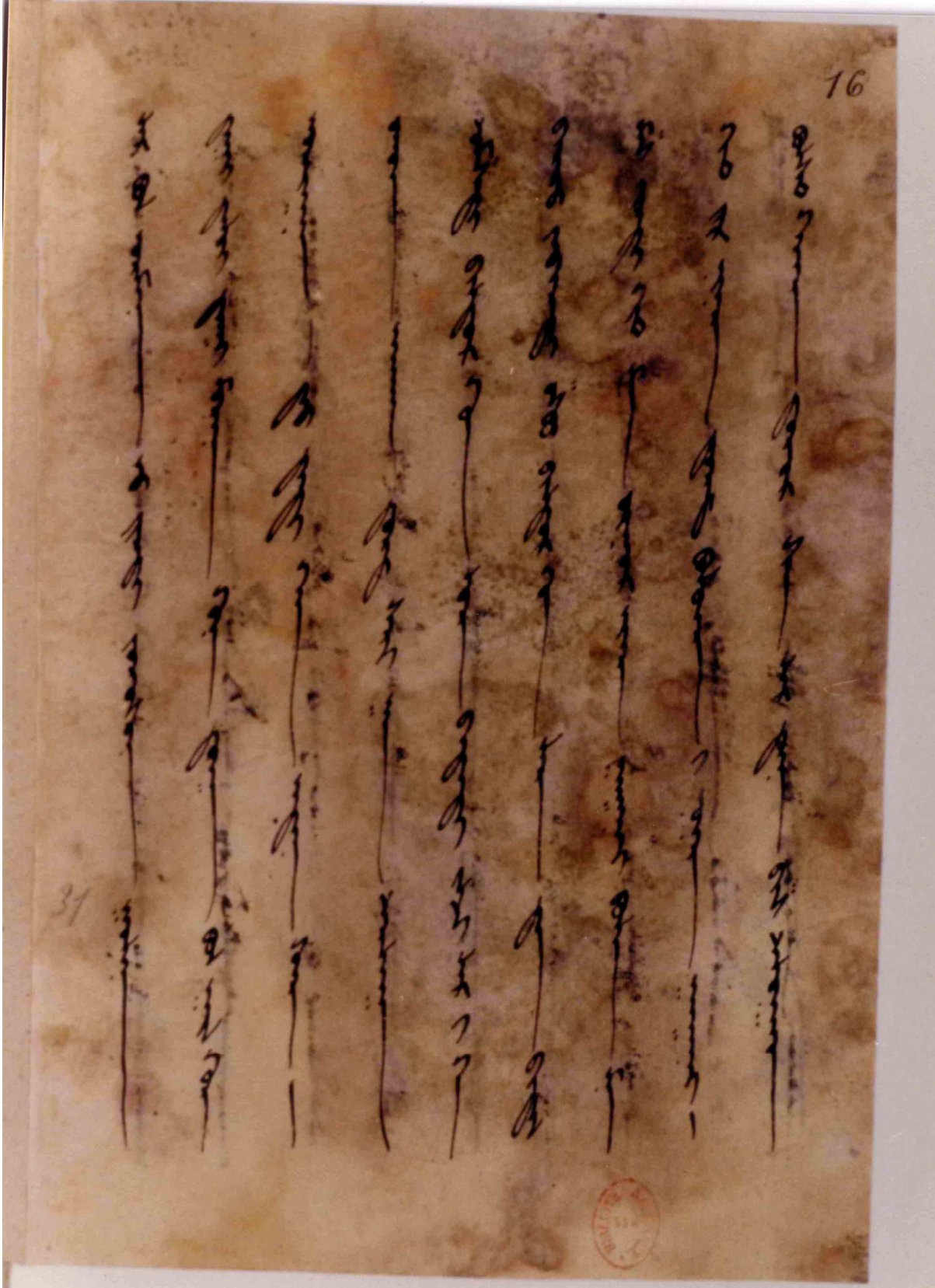
¹⁸² RN soyrma-lar, BA sürme-ler

¹⁸³ BA aš(a)dı-lar, Šč aš(a)dılar

¹⁸⁴ RN toy-den

¹⁸⁵ RN oran

¹⁸⁶ RN ĵide



12/

- 1) l' r bwl¹⁸⁷ ' wrm' n' ' b yyrd' ¹⁸⁸ ywrwswñ qwl' n
- 2) d' qy d' lwy d' qy mwr' n kwn¹⁸⁹ dwq bwl¹⁹⁰ qyl kwk
- 3) qwryq' n d' b d' dy kn' ¹⁹¹ ' nd' n' ¹⁹² swnk
- 4) wqwz q' q' n dwr d' s' ry q' ' č' rl' q' ¹⁹³
- 5) čwmš' dy byldwr kw lwk b' d' dy ylčy l' r y k' ¹⁹⁴
- 6) bYrYb y' b' rdy¹⁹⁵ wšbw byldwr kw l' k' ¹⁹⁶ d' bYdYl
- 7) m' š' ' yr dy kym m' n' ¹⁹⁷ wyqwr nynk q' q' n' y bwl' m' n
- 8) kym yyr n' ynk dwr d' bwlwnk y n' wnk q' q' n' y
- 9) bwls' m k' r' k dwrwr sYn l' r d' n' ¹⁹⁸ bYš' ¹⁹⁹ č' lwnq' w

- 1) lar bol orman aw yerdä yörüsün qulan²⁰⁰
- 2) taqı taluy taqı mörän²⁰¹ kün tug²⁰² bolgıl kök
- 3) qorığan²⁰³ täp tädi känä andan song
- 4) oğuz qağan tört sarığa jarlıg
- 5) jumšadi bildürgülük²⁰⁴ bitidi elčilärigä
- 6) berip yibardi ušbo bildürgülükta²⁰⁵ bitil-
- 7) miš erdi kim män²⁰⁶ uyğurnıng qağanı bola män
- 8) kim yerning tört bulungünung²⁰⁷ qağanı
- 9) bolsam käräk turur senlärdän baš²⁰⁸ čalungu-

(1-2) become (like/as many as) forest! Wild asses shall run on the hunting grounds (2) as well as rivers and streams! *Sun*, be (our) banner, *Sky* (be our) dome!" – he said. Then, after that (4-5) *Oguz Kagan* sent orders to the four directions, he wrote a message. To his envoys (6) he gave and sent it. In that message (7) it was written that 'I am the kagan of the *Uygur* (*uyğur*), (8-9-13/1) who (thus) should be the kagan of the four corners of the world. From now on, I expect obeisance (lit. bowing of head) from you.

¹⁸⁷ Rad. The elements <swñ qyl> are added after this word.

¹⁸⁸ Rad. <yyrd' ' w> The two words are in reverse order.

¹⁸⁹ Rad. <(' w)kwz>

¹⁹⁰ Rad. The element <swñ> is added after this word.

¹⁹¹ Rad. <k' n' >

¹⁹² Rad. <' ndyñ>

¹⁹³ Rad. <č' rlyq>

¹⁹⁴ Rad. This line is missing.

¹⁹⁵ Rad. <yyb' rdy>

¹⁹⁶ Rad. <byldwr-kw-l' r>

¹⁹⁷ Rad. <myñ>

¹⁹⁸ Rad. <syñ-l' r-dyñ>

¹⁹⁹ Rad. <b' š>

²⁰⁰ RN kolan

²⁰¹ RN muran

²⁰² RN dek

²⁰³ RN kurıgan, BA kurıkan, Šč qurıqan

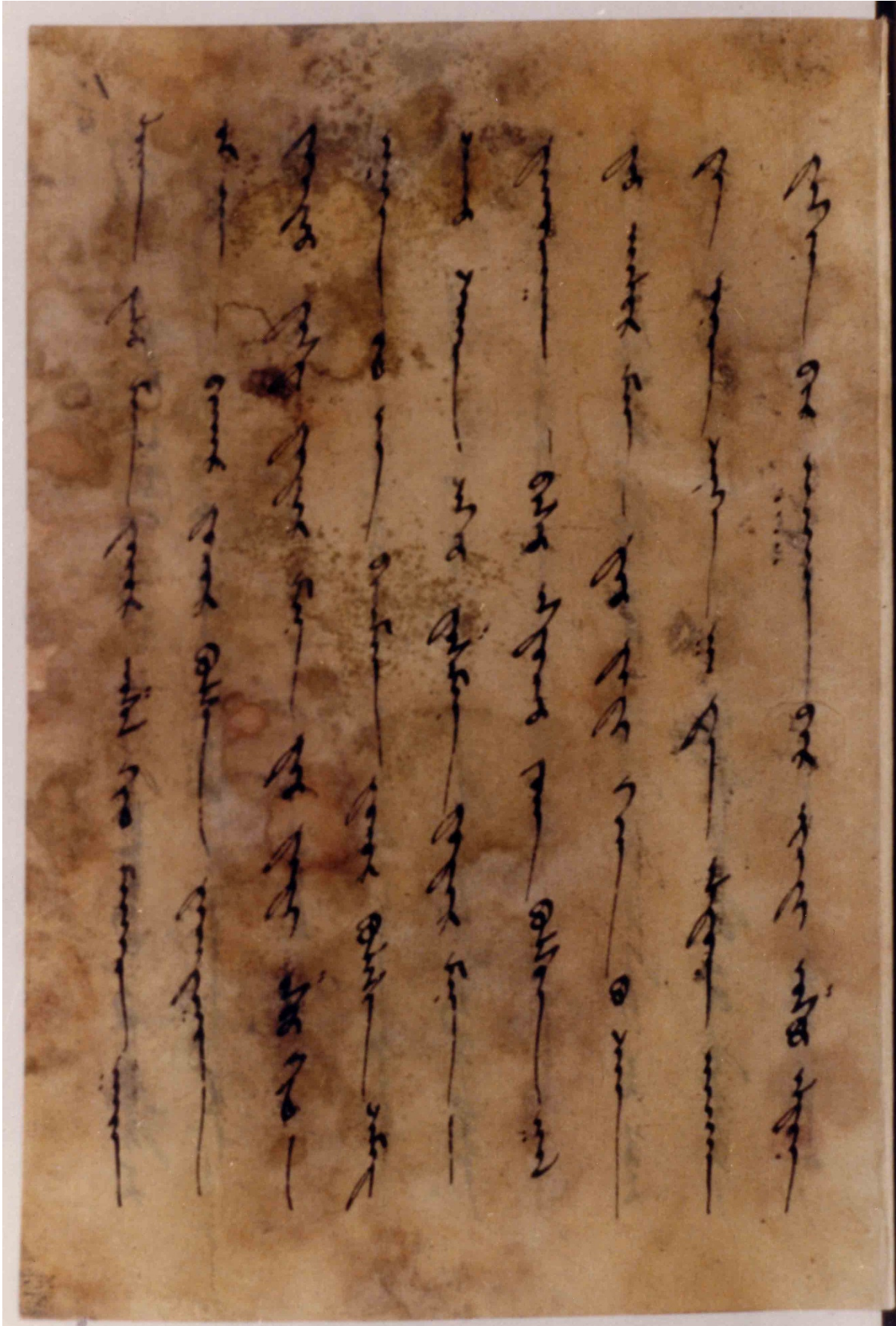
²⁰⁴ RN biltur-gü-ler

²⁰⁵ RN biltur-ge-ler

²⁰⁶ RN min

²⁰⁷ RN bölün-i-nün

²⁰⁸ RN biš



13/

- 1) lwq d'l'b²⁰⁹ m'n dwrwr 'wšwl²¹⁰ kym m'n'nk²¹¹ q'yz²¹²
- 2) wm q' b'q'r dwrwr bwls' d'r'dq̄w²¹³
- 3) d'rdYb dWsd dWd'r m'n dYb d'dy wšbw²¹⁴ kym
- 4) 'q̄z²¹⁵ wm q' b'qm'z dwrwr bwl's'²¹⁶ č'm'd
- 5) č'q'b²¹⁷ č'r'k²¹⁸ č'k'b²¹⁹ dwšm'n dwd'r m'n
- 6) d'qwr'q̄ b's'b²²⁰ 'sdwr'b²²¹ ywq bwlswn q̄'l²²²
- 7) d'b q'lwr²²³ m'n d'b d'dy kn'²²⁴ bw č'q
- 8) d' 'wnk č'nk' q̄²²⁵ d' 'ldwn q'q'n
- 9) d'k'n bYr q̄'q'n b'r 'yrdy 'wšbw 'ldwn

- 1) luq tilap män turur °ušol kim mäning ağız-
- 2) umğa baqar turur bolsa taritqu²²⁶
- 3) tartip dost tutar män täp tädi ušbo kim
- 4) ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolasa²²⁷ čamat²²⁸
- 5) čaqip²²⁹ čäriğ čäkip dušman tutar män
- 6) tağuraq basip asturip yoq bolsunğil
- 7) täp qilur män täp tädi känä bo čağ-
- 8) da ong jangaqta²³⁰ altun qağan
- 9) tägän bir qağan bar erdi ušbo altun

(1-2-3) (From) those who are going to heed my words (lit. who would look at my mouth), I will take tribute, and consider them as friends. – he said. (For) those who (4) are not going to heed my words (lit. to look at my mouth), I will burst into anger (5), raise an army, and consider them as enemies. (6) Crushing them and hanging them up quickly, 'Let you Perish!' (7) I will say and do. – he said. Then at this time (8-9) on the right side, there was a kagan named *Golden Kagan* (*altun qağan*). This *Golden*

²⁰⁹ Rad. <tyl'b>

²¹⁰ Rad. <'wšwl>

²¹¹ Rad. <m'nyñk>

²¹² Rad. <'q̄yz>

²¹³ Rad. <d'rdq̄w>

²¹⁴ Rad. The word is missing.

²¹⁵ Rad. <'q̄yz>

²¹⁶ Rad. <bwls'>

²¹⁷ Rad. <č'q̄yb>

²¹⁸ Rad. <č'ryk>

²¹⁹ Rad. <č'kyb>

²²⁰ Rad. <b'syb>

²²¹ Rad. <'sdwryb>

²²² Rad. <bwlswn-q̄yl>

²²³ Rad. <q̄ylwr>

²²⁴ Rad. <k'n'>

²²⁵ Rad. <č'nk'q̄>

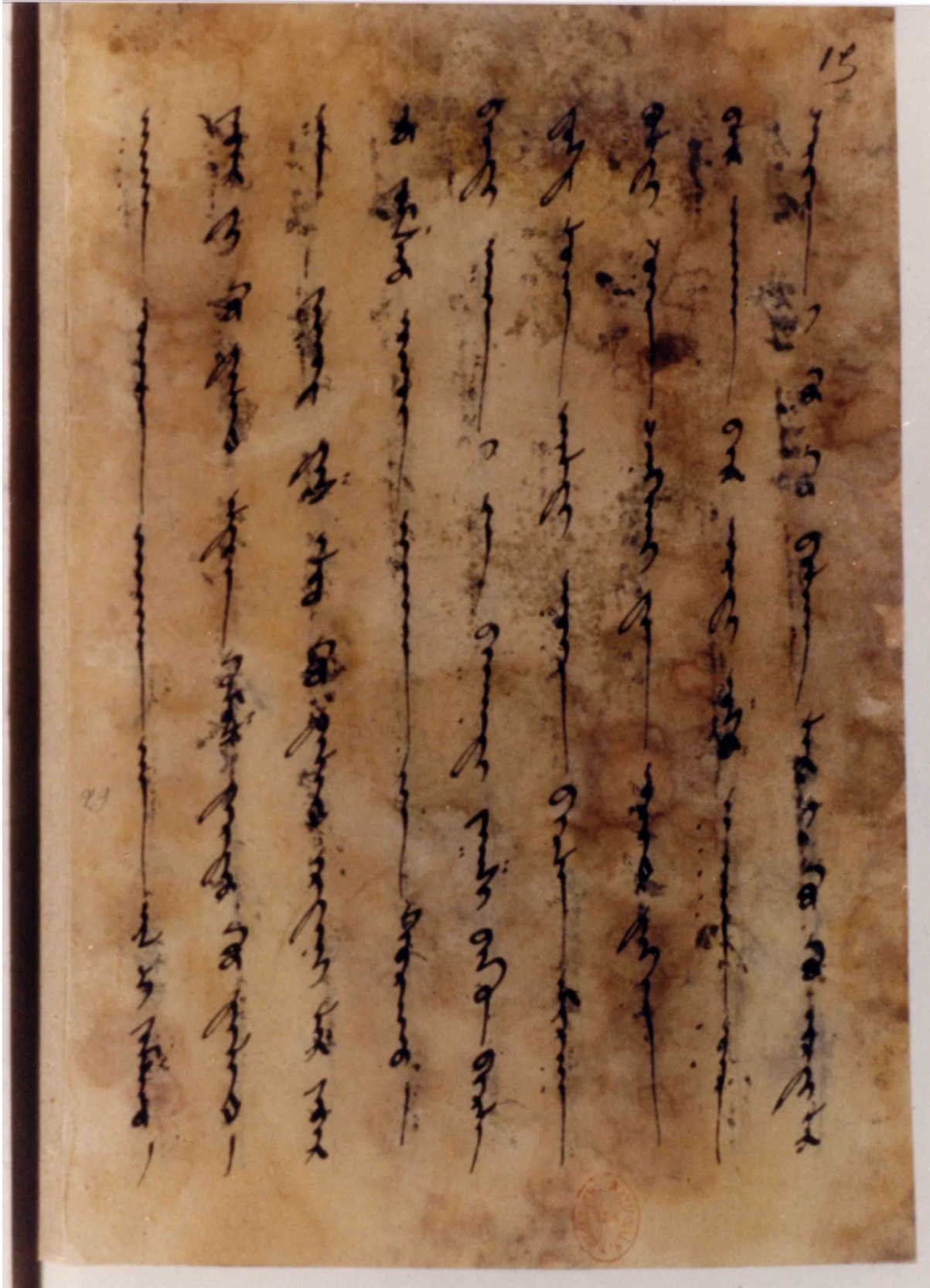
²²⁶ BA darıdığ, Šč taratğu

²²⁷ RN bolsa, BA bolsa

²²⁸ BA çımad

²²⁹ RN cakar

²³⁰ RN cañ-ka-da



14/

- 1) q̄'q̄'n ''wqwz²³¹ q'q'n q' 'yl čy ywmš'b
- 2) y'b'r dy²³² kwb d'l'm²³³ 'ldwn kwmwš d'rdYb kwb d'IYm
- 3) q̄'z y'q̄wd d'š 'lwb²³⁴ kwb d'IYm 'rd'ny²³⁵ l'r y'b'r
- 4) wb²³⁶ ywmš'b 'wqwz q'q'n q' sywrq'b²³⁷
- 5) bYrdy 'q̄'z²³⁸ y q' b'q̄'ndy²³⁹ y'q̄šy bYkw²⁴⁰ byrl'
- 6) dwsd lwq qYldy 'nwnk bYrl' 'myr'q̄
- 7) bwldy čwnk č'nk'qy d' 'wrwm d'k'n
- 8) b'r²⁴¹ q'q'n b'r ''rdy²⁴² 'wšbw q̄'q̄'n nwnk
- 9) č'rYk y kwb kwb b'l'q̄²⁴³ l'r y kwb kwb 'yrdy l'r

- 1) qağan °oğuz qağanğa elči yumšap
- 2) yibärdi²⁴⁴ köp tälüm altun kümüş tartip köp tälüm
- 3) qiz yaqut taš alup²⁴⁵ köp tälüm ärdänilär yibär-
- 4) üp²⁴⁶ yumšap oğuz qağanğa soyurqap
- 5) berdi ağıziğa baqındi yaqši be(r)gü birlä
- 6) dostluq qıldi anung birlä amıraq
- 7) boldi čong jangaqida²⁴⁷ urum tägän
- 8) bir qağan bar erdi ušbo qağannung
- 9) čäriği köp köp baliqları köp köp erdilär

(1) *Kagan* sent an envoy to *Oguz Kagan*. (2) He dragged a lot of gold and silver [from his treasury], a lot of (3) valuable ruby stones he took, a lot of jewel gems he sent (4) and gave to *Oguz Kagan* (5) (as a gift). He heeded his words, and with his good tax (6) he made friendship, and became peaceful with him. (7-8) On the left side, there was a kagan named *Urum* (*urum*). This kagan's (9) army were many, his towns were many.

²³¹ Rad. <'wq̄wz>

²³² Rad. <yyb'r-dy>

²³³ Rad. <d'lym>

²³⁴ Rad. <'lyb>

²³⁵ Rad. <'yrd'ny>

²³⁶ Rad. <yyb'r-yb>

²³⁷ Rad. <swywrq̄'b>

²³⁸ Rad. <'q̄yz>

²³⁹ Rad. <b'q̄yndy>

²⁴⁰ Rad. <b'kw>

²⁴¹ Rad. <byr>

²⁴² Rad. <'yrdy>

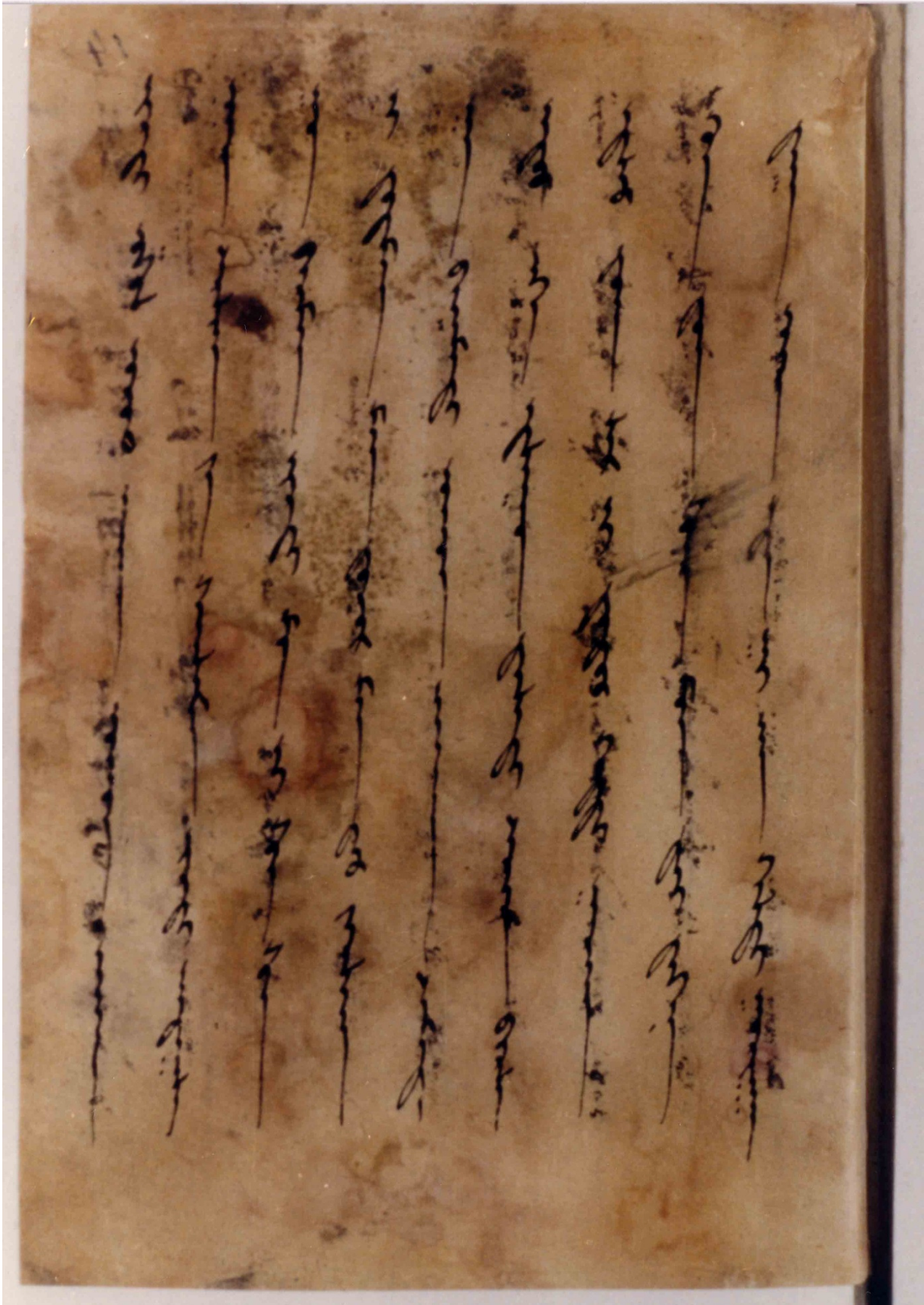
²⁴³ Rad. <b'lyq̄>

²⁴⁴ RN yibar-dī

²⁴⁵ BA alip, Šč alip

²⁴⁶ RN yibar-ib, BA yiber-ip, Šč yebär-ib

²⁴⁷ RN caᅅgi-da



15/

- 1) 'yrdy 'wšwl 'wrwm q'q'n 'wqwz q'q'n
- 2) nwnk č'rlYq yn s'ql'm'z 'yrdy q'd'ql'
- 3) qw b'rm'z 'yrdy mw ny swz swz
- 4) ny dwdm'z m'n dwrwr m'n d'b y'rl'q²⁴⁸
- 5) q' b'qm'dy 'wqwz q'q'n č'm'd
- 6) ''dwb 'nk' 'dl'qw d'l'dy²⁴⁹ č'rYk byrl'
- 7) 'dl'b dwq l'r ny dwdwb k[']ddy²⁵⁰ q'r'q²⁵¹
- 8) kwñ dwñ swñk mwz d'y d'k'n
- 9) d'q nwnk 'd' qy q' kYldy qwryq'n

- 1) erdi ušol urum qağan oğuz qağan
- 2) nung jarliğin saqlamaz erdi qatıqla-
- 3) ğu²⁵² barmaz erdi munı söz söz-
- 4) ni tutmaz män turur män täp yarliğ-
- 5) ğa baqmadı oğuz qağan čamat²⁵³
- 6) ätüp²⁵⁴ anga atlağı tilädi čäriğ birlä
- 7) atlap tuğlarnı tutup kätti²⁵⁵ qirıq
- 8) kündön song muz tai²⁵⁶ täğän
- 9) tağnung adaqığa keldi qoriğan

(1-2-3-4) This *Urum Kagan* did not heed *Oguz Kagan's* order, and he did not go to join (lit. to be mixed up with) him. He said: "I will not heed (lit. hold) these (empty) words" and (5) did not obey. (5-6-7) *Oguz Kagan* got angry, and wanted to ride against him. He went riding with the army and holding the banners. After many (8-9) days, he arrived to the feet of a mountain named *Ice Mountain* (*muz tay*).

²⁴⁸ Rad. <y'rlıq>

²⁴⁹ Rad. <dyl'dy>

²⁵⁰ Rad. <kyddy>

²⁵¹ Rad. <qyryq>

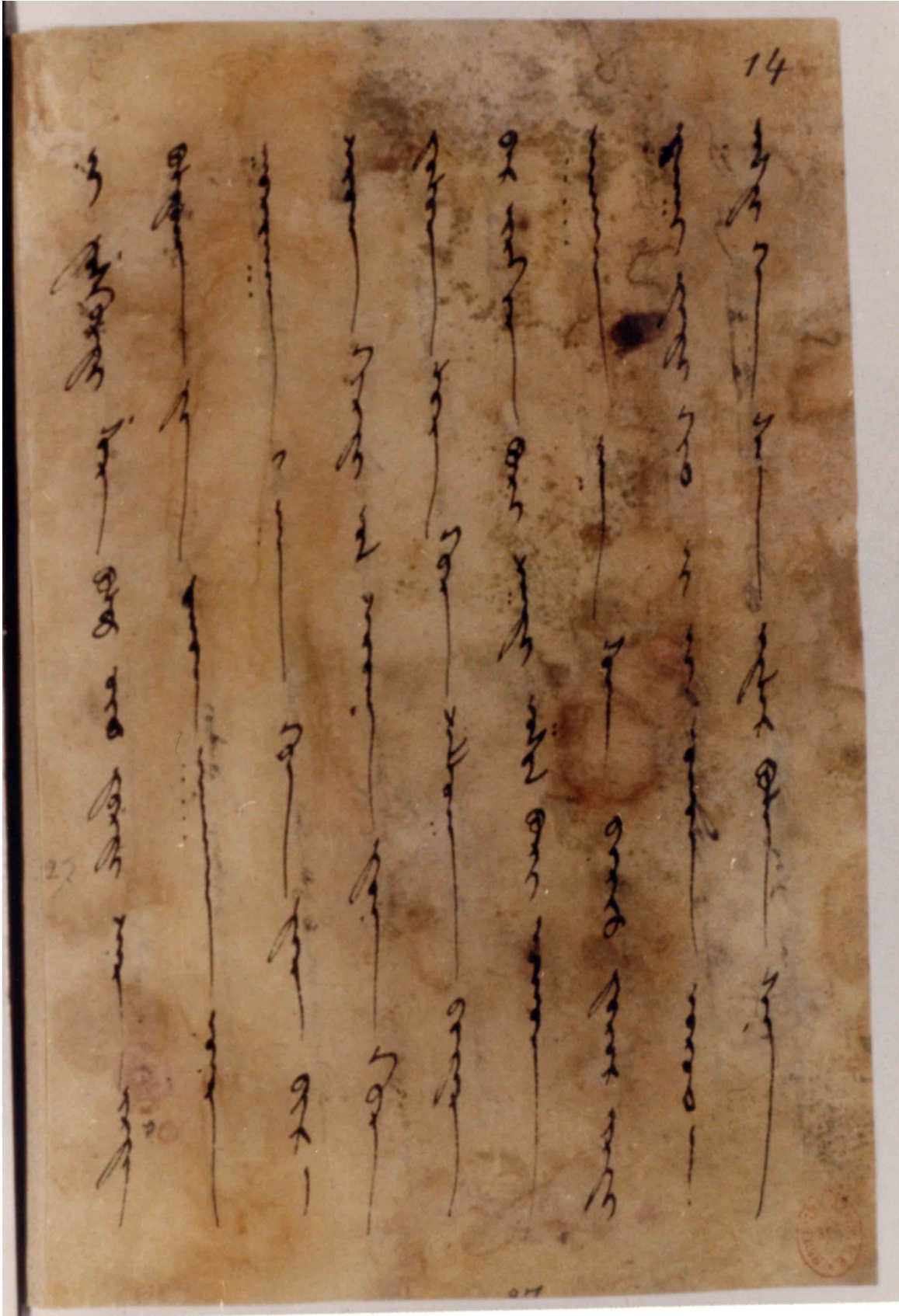
²⁵² RN kb "kib"

²⁵³ BA çımad

²⁵⁴ RN atub, BA atup, Šč atub

²⁵⁵ RN gitdi, BA kiddi, Šč ketti

²⁵⁶ RN tag, Šč tağ



16/

- 1) ny dwškwrdy šwk bwlwb 'wywb dwrdy č' nk²⁵⁷ 'yrd'
- 2) bwldwq d' 'wqwz q' q' n' nwnk
- 3) qwryq' n' y q' kwn d' k byr
- 4) č' rwq kyrdy 'wl č' rwq dwn²⁵⁸ kwk
- 5) dwlwk lwk kwk č' llwq bYd' k²⁵⁹
- 6) b' r²⁶⁰ 'yrk' k bwry č' qdy²⁶¹ 'wšwl bwry ' 'wqwz²⁶²
- 7) q' q' n' q' swz bYrYb dwrwr 'yrdy
- 8) d' qy d' dy kym 'y 'y 'wqwz 'wrwm
- 9) 'Wsdy k' s' n²⁶³ 'dl' r bwl' s' n²⁶⁴

- 1) nī²⁶⁵ tūškürdi šük²⁶⁶ bolup uyup turdī čang ertä
- 2) bolduqta oğuz qağannung
- 3) qoriğaniğa²⁶⁷ kün täg bir
- 4) ĵaruq kirdi ol ĵaruqton kök
- 5) tülüklüg kök ĵallug²⁶⁸ bedik²⁶⁹
- 6) bir erkäk böri²⁷⁰ čiqti ušol böri °oğuz
- 7) qağanga söz berip turur erdi
- 8) taqi tädi kim ay ay oğuz urum
- 9) üstigä sän atlar bola sän²⁷¹

(1) He set the camp, became silent and slept. At dawnbreak, (2-3-4) a sun-like lightbeam entered to *Oguz Kagan's* tent. From that lightbeam, a grey (5) furred, grey maned big (6) male wolf stepped forward. That wolf (had) made a promise (lit. gave word) for *Oguz Kagan*. (8) So it said: "Oh, oh, *Oguz*, you are going to ride against *Urum*!"

²⁵⁷ Rad. <d' nk>

²⁵⁸ Rad. <dyñ>

²⁵⁹ Rad. <b' dyk>

²⁶⁰ Rad. <byr>

²⁶¹ Rad. <čyqdy>

²⁶² Rad. <' wqwz>

²⁶³ Rad. <syñ>

²⁶⁴ Rad. <syñ>

²⁶⁵ BA -in

²⁶⁶ RN šok

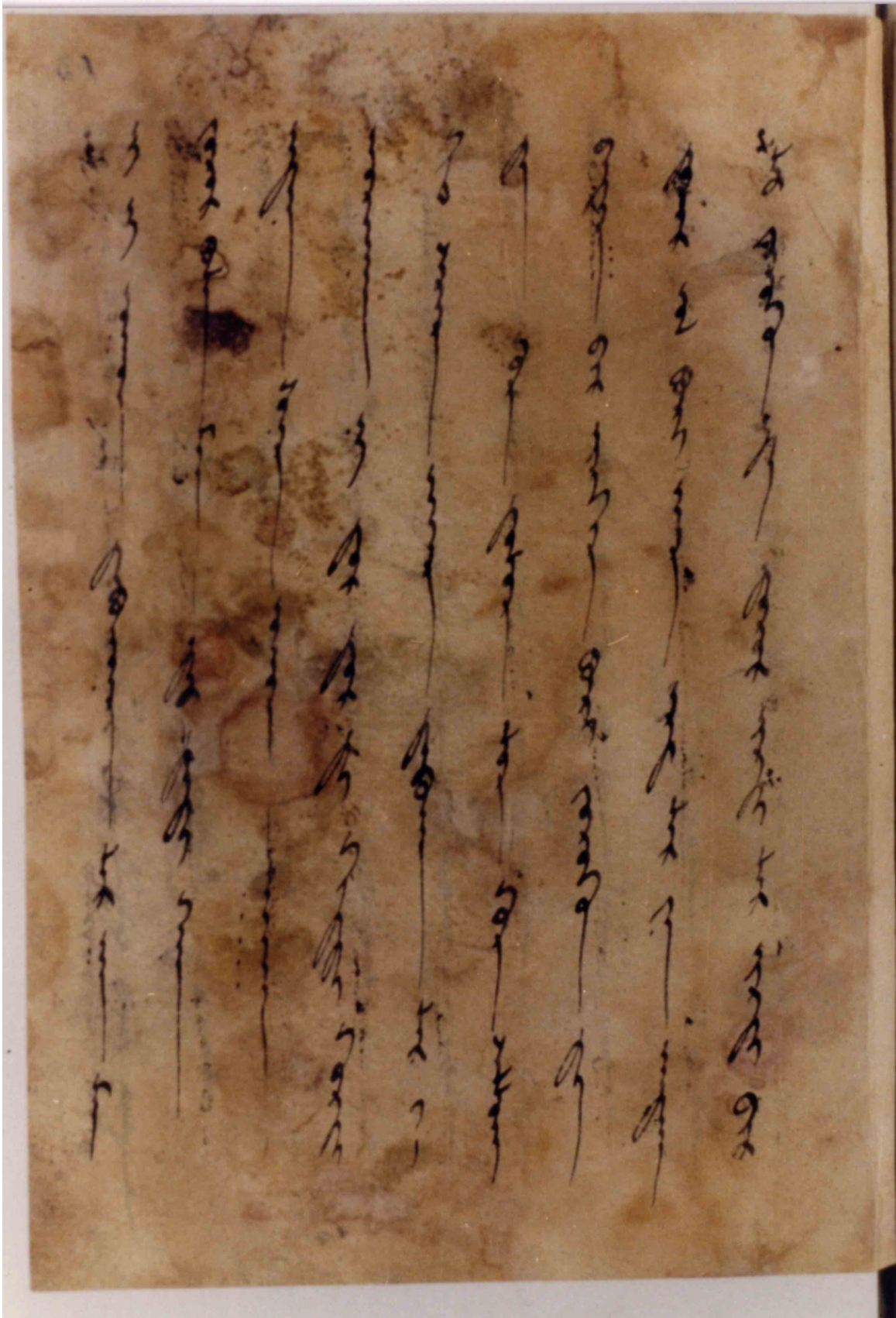
²⁶⁷ RN kurigan, BA kurikan, Šč qurıqan

²⁶⁸ RN cellük

²⁶⁹ Šč bedük

²⁷⁰ RN buri

²⁷¹ RN bola-sän



17/

- 1) 'y 'y 'wq̄wz d'bwqwnk l'r q̄' m'n
- 2) ywrwr bwl' m'n d'b d'dy k'n'
- 3) 'nd'n²⁷² swñk 'wq̄wz q̄'q̄'n
- 4) q̄wr'q'n²⁷³ ñy dwr dwr dy kyddy kwrdy²⁷⁴
- 5) kym č'r'k'n'nk²⁷⁵ d'bwq l'r y
- 6) d' kwk dwlwk lwk kwk č'llwq
- 7) b'd'k²⁷⁶ bYr 'yrk'k bwry ywrwkw d'
- 8) dwrwr 'wl bwry n'nk²⁷⁷ 'rd l'r yñ q'd'q
- 9) l'b ywrwkw d' dwrwr 'yrdy l'r 'yrdy byr

- 1) ay ay oğuz tapuğunglarğa män
- 2) yörür bola män täp tädi känä²⁷⁸
- 3) andan song oğuz qağan
- 4) qoriğanni²⁷⁹ türdürdi ketti kördi
- 5) kim čäriğ²⁸⁰ning tapuğları-
- 6) da kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ²⁸¹
- 7) bedik²⁸² bir erkäk böri²⁸³ yörügüdä
- 8) turur ol böri²⁸⁴ning artlarin qatıq-
- 9) lap²⁸⁵ yörügüdä turur erdilär erdi bir

(1) Oh, oh, *Oguz*, I am going to walk in your vicinity! – it said. Then, (2) after that *Oguz Kagan* (3) broke up his camp and went away. He saw (5) that in the (broader) vicinity of the army, (6) the grey furred, grey maned (7) big male wolf is walking. (8-9) They were following (more or less) the back of that wolf. čall

²⁷² Rad. <'ndyn>

²⁷³ Rad. <q̄wryq̄'n>

²⁷⁴ Rad. <kwrydy>

²⁷⁵ Rad. <č'ryk-ñyñk>

²⁷⁶ Rad. <b'dyk>

²⁷⁷ Rad. <nynk>

²⁷⁸ RN gne

²⁷⁹ RN kurıgan, BA kurıkan, Šč qurıqan

²⁸⁰ RN cerik-niñ, BA çerig-ning, Šč čerig-niñ

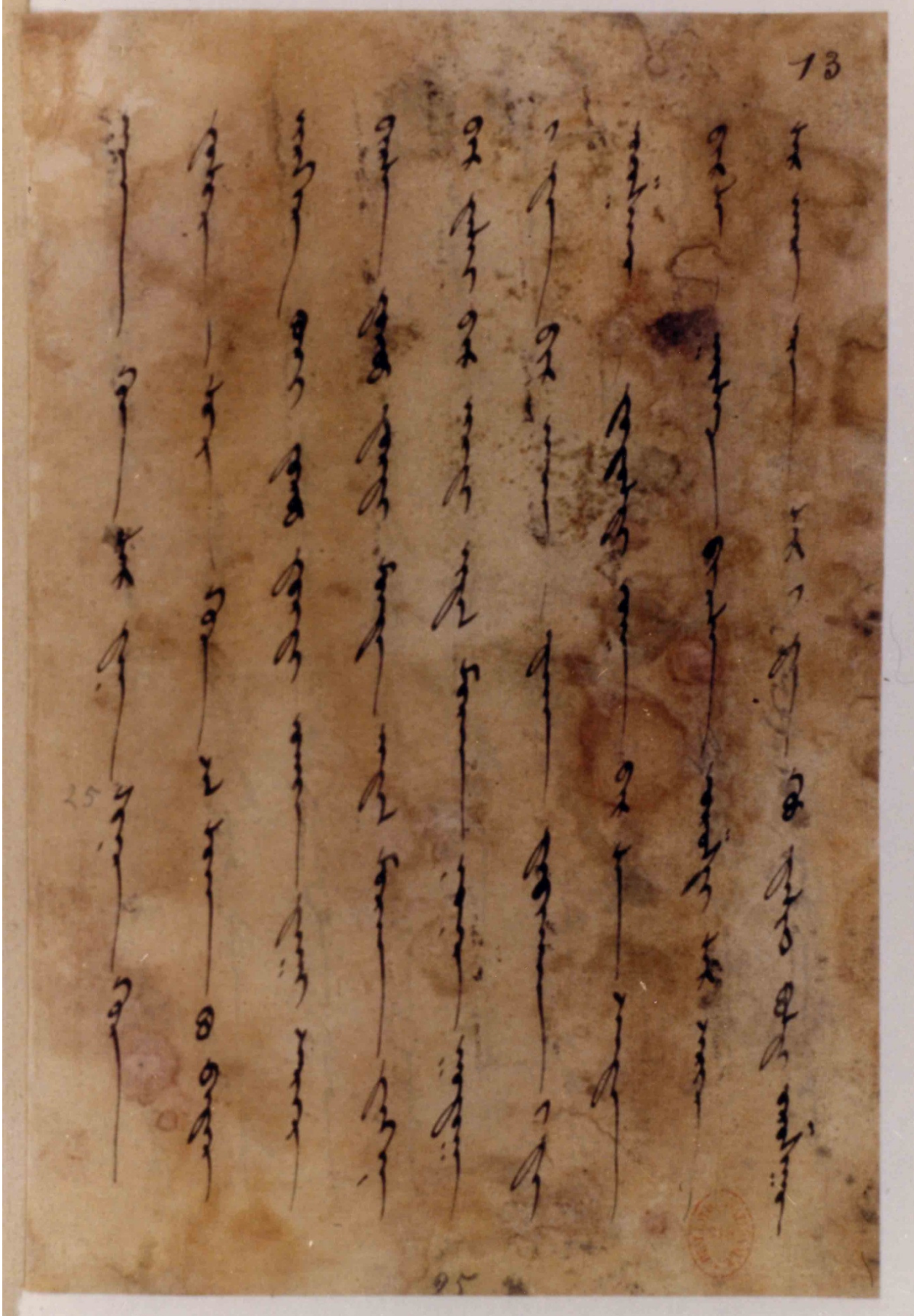
²⁸¹ RN cellük

²⁸² RN badik Šč bedük

²⁸³ RN buri

²⁸⁴ RN buri-niñ

²⁸⁵ RN katak-lab, BA kadağ-lap, Šč qatağ-lab



18/

- 1) n'č²⁸⁶ kwn l' r d' n²⁸⁷ swñk kwk
- 2) dwlwk lwk kwk č' l lwq bw b' d' k²⁸⁸
- 3) 'yrk' k bwry dwrwb dwrdy 'wqwz d' qy č' rYk
- 4) byrl' dwrwb dwrdy mwnd' 'Yd' l²⁸⁹ mwr' n d' k' n
- 5) b' r²⁹⁰ d' l' y b' r 'Yrdy 'yd' l²⁹¹ mwr' n nwnk qwdwq
- 6) y d' byr q' r' 'd' q d' bYqq²⁹² y d'
- 7) 'wrwšq̄w dwdwldy 'wq̄ byr l' č' d'²⁹³
- 8) byr l' q̄Yl' č²⁹⁴ byrl' 'wrwšdy l' r č' ryk
- 9) l' r n' nk²⁹⁵ 'r' l' r y d' kw b d' lym bwldy 'wrwšq̄w

- 1) näčä²⁹⁶ künlärdän song kök
- 2) tülüklüg kök jallug²⁹⁷ bo bedik²⁹⁸
- 3) erkäk böri²⁹⁹ turup turdī oğuz taqī čärig
- 4) birlä turup turdī munda etil mörän³⁰⁰ tögän
- 5) bir taluy³⁰¹ bar erdi etil mörännüng³⁰² quduğ-
- 6) ĩda bir qara °tağ³⁰³ tapīgğīda³⁰⁴
- 7) urušqu tutuldī oq birlä jīda³⁰⁵
- 8) birlä qīlič birlä uruštilar čärig-
- 9) läarning aralarīda köp tālim³⁰⁶ boldī urušqu

(1) After a few days, this grey (2) furred grey maned big (3) male wolf stopped. *Oguz* (4-5) also stopped with the army. There was a mass of water here, named *Etil* (*etil*) river. At the bank of *Etil* river (6) in the vicinity of a black mountain, (7) a battle was fought (lit. a fight was held). With arrows, spears (8-9) and swords they fought. Between the armies, the fight was became much,

²⁸⁶ Rad. <nyč' >

²⁸⁷ Rad. <dyñ >

²⁸⁸ Rad. <b' dyk >

²⁸⁹ Rad. <'ydyl >

²⁹⁰ Rad. <byr >

²⁹¹ Rad. <'ydyl >

²⁹² Rad. <d' byq̄ >

²⁹³ Rad. <čyd' >

²⁹⁴ Rad. <q̄ylyč >

²⁹⁵ Rad. <nyñk >

²⁹⁶ RN nije, Šč nečä

²⁹⁷ RN cel lük

²⁹⁸ RN badik, Šč bedük

²⁹⁹ RN buri

³⁰⁰ RN muran

³⁰¹ RN talay BA dalay Šč talai

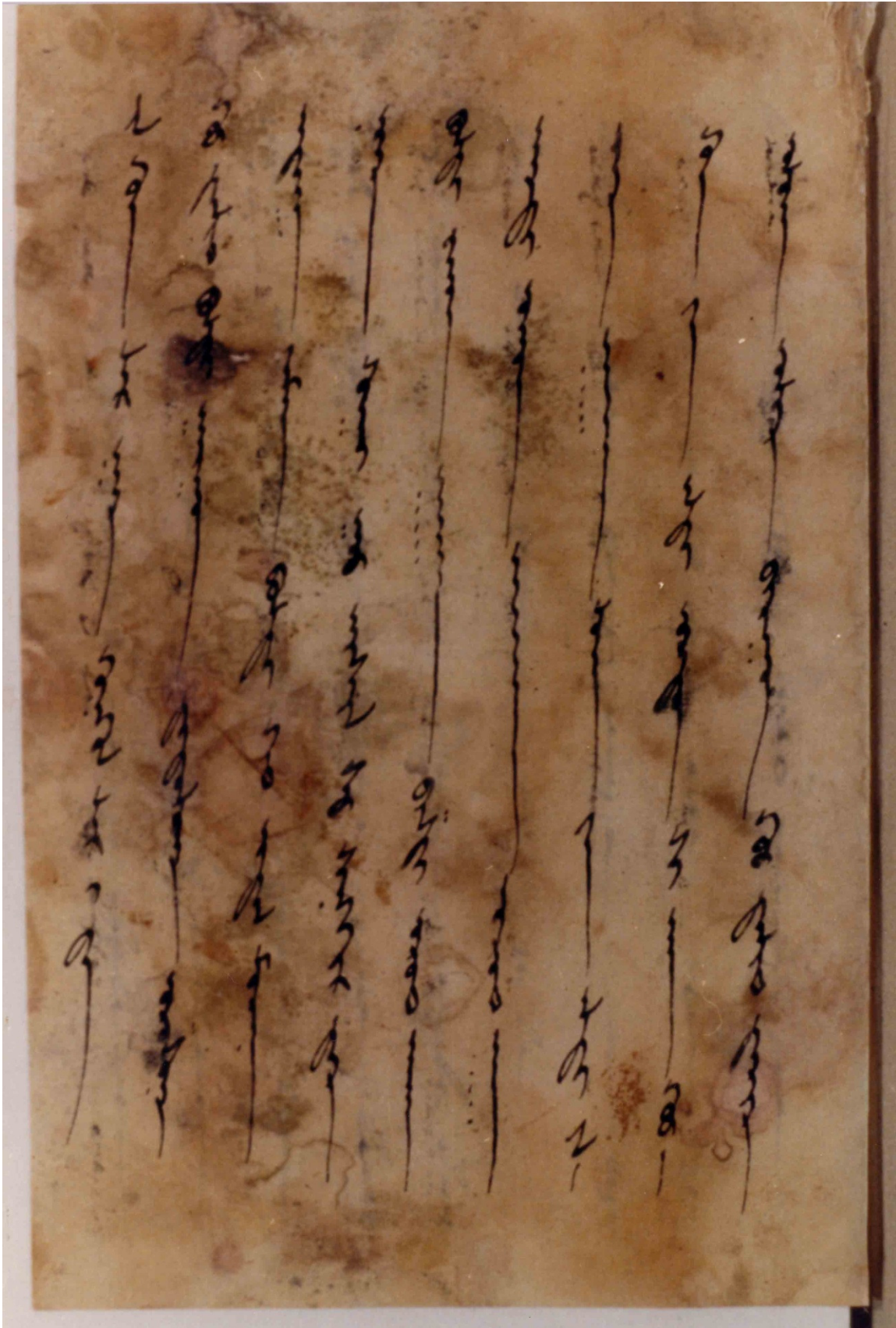
³⁰² RN muran-nuñ

³⁰³ RN adaq

³⁰⁴ BA dapık-ı-da Šč tapīgğīda

³⁰⁵ RN jide

³⁰⁶ RN dalim Šč telim



19/

- 1) 'yl kwn l'r n'nk³⁰⁷ kwñkw l'r y d'
- 2) kw b d'lym bwldy q'yqw dwdwlwnč 'wrwšwnč
- 3) 'nd'q y'm'n bwldy kym 'Yd'l³⁰⁸ mwr'n
- 4) nWñk swqy qyb qySyl s'b s'ñkkyr³⁰⁹ 'd'k³¹⁰
- 5) bwldy wqwz q'q'n bYšdy 'wrwm q'q'n
- 6) q'čdy 'wqwz q'q'n 'wrwm q'q'n
- 7) nwnk q'q'n lwq yn 'ldy yl
- 8) kwn yn 'ldy 'wrw sy q' kw b
- 9) 'wlwq' 'wlwk bYrqw kw b d'lym d'ryk³¹¹

- 1) elkünlärning köngülläridä
- 2) köp tälüm³¹² boldi qaygu tutulunč urušunč
- 3) andağ yaman boldi kim etil mörän³¹³
- 4) nüng suğı qip qizil säp sänggir³¹⁴ oäg³¹⁵
- 5) boldi oğuz qağan bašti³¹⁶ urum qağan
- 6) qačtı oğuz qağan urum qağan-
- 7) nung qağanluqin aldı el-
- 8) künin aldı ordusığa köp
- 9) uluğ ölüg bargu köp tälüm tirig

(1-2) In the hearts of the people, the sorrow became much. The capturing and fight (3) became so terrible, that the river *Etil's* (4) water became blood-red, like cinnabar. (5) *Oguz Kagan* attacked, *Urum Kagan* (6-7) fled. *Oguz Kagan* took the kaganate of *Urum Kagan* [as well as] (8) he took his people. To his warcamp, a lot of (9) inanimate goods and a lot of animate

³⁰⁷ Rad. <ñyñk>

³⁰⁸ Rad. <'ydyl>

³⁰⁹ Rad. <syb syñkkyr>

³¹⁰ Rad. <d'k>

³¹¹ Rad. <dyryk>

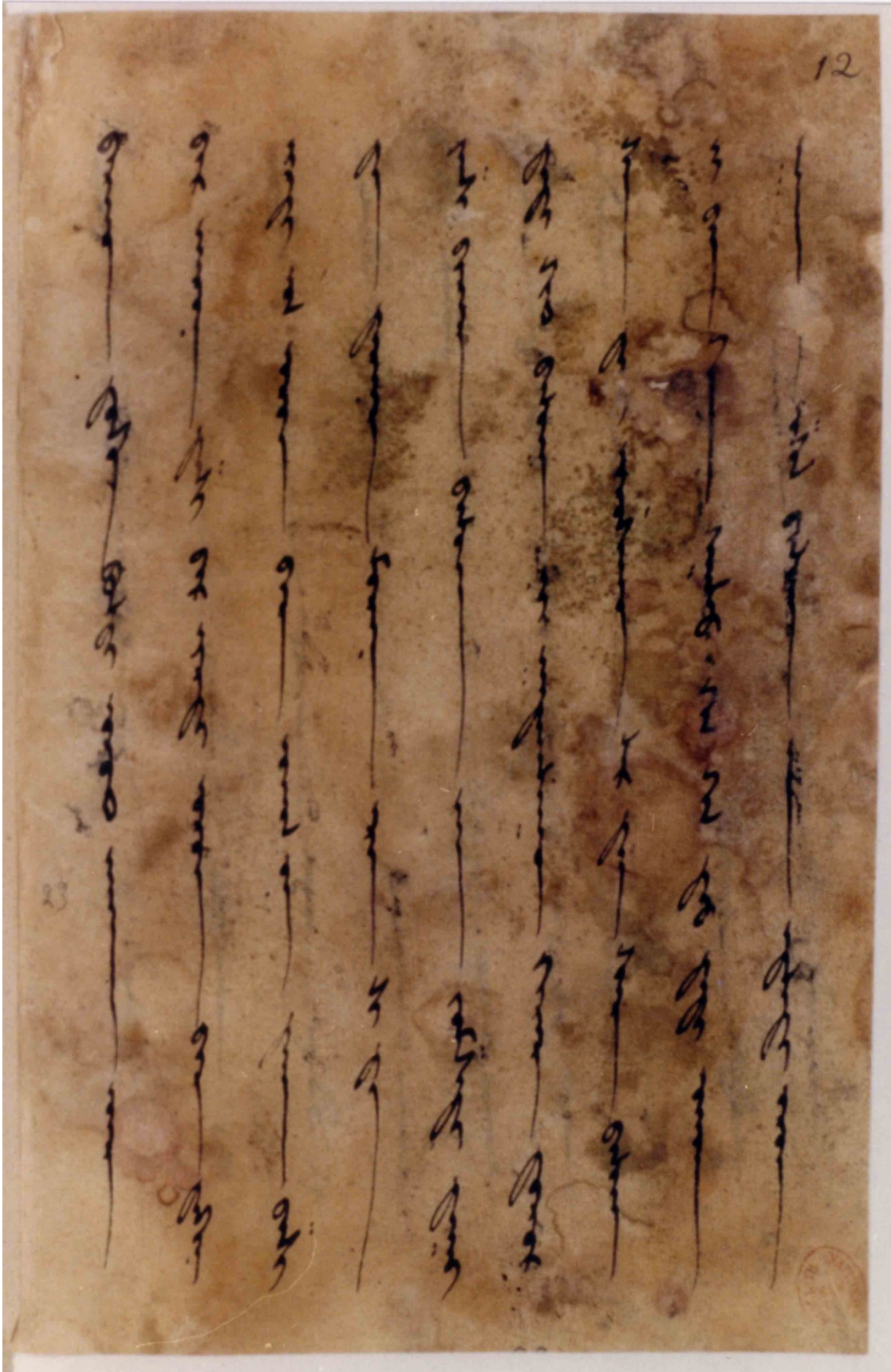
³¹² RN yalim Šč telim

³¹³ RN muran

³¹⁴ RN sib siñgir, Šč sip siñgir

³¹⁵ RN dek, BA deg, Šč däg

³¹⁶ BA baš(a)dä,



20/

- 1) b'rqw dsww bwldy 'wrwm q'q'n nwnk
- 2) b'r³¹⁷ q'rwñ d'šy b'r 'yrdy 'wrwz b'k³¹⁸ d'k'ñ
- 3) 'yrdy 'wl 'wrwz b'k³¹⁹ 'wqwl wñ d'q b'šy
- 4) d' d'r'ñk mwr'ñ 'r' sy d'
- 5) yqšy³²⁰ b'r'k³²¹ b'lwq q' ywms' dy d'qy
- 6) d'dy kym b'lwq ñy q'd'ql'qw k'r'k dwrwr
- 7) s'n d'[q]y 'wrwšqw l'r d'n³²² swnk b'lwq
- 8) ny b'z³²³ k' s'ql' b'k'l k'l³²⁴ d'b d'dy 'wqwz
- 9) q'q'n 'wšwl b'lwq q' 'dl'dy 'wrwz

- 1) bargu tusu³²⁵ boldi urum qağannung
- 2) bir qarundaši³²⁶ bar erdi urus bæg³²⁷ tągän
- 3) erdi ol urus bæg³²⁸ oğulun³²⁹ tağ baši-
- 4) da täring³³⁰ mörän³³¹ arasida
- 5) yaqši bärük³³² baluqqa yumšadi taqi
- 6) tädi kim baluqnä qatiglağu³³³ käräk turur
- 7) sän taqi uruščulardan song baluq-
- 8) ni bizgä saqlap kalgil täp tädi oğuz
- 9) qağan ušol baluqqa atladı urus

goods became reward. *Urum Kagan* had (2) a brother. He was called *Urus Beg* (*urus bæg*). (3-4-5) 'That *Urus Beg* sent his son to a good, well fortified town (being located) on the top of a mountain in the middle of deep river. So (6) he said: 'The town must be fortified. (7-8) Concerning you, after the battles, (with which) you defended the town for us, come!' – he said. *Oguz* (9) *Kagan* rode against that town. *Urus*

³¹⁷ Rad. <byr>

³¹⁸ Rad. <byk>

³¹⁹ Rad. <byk>

³²⁰ Rad. <y'qšy>

³²¹ Rad. <byryk>

³²² Rad. <dyñ>

³²³ Rad. <byz>

³²⁴ Rad. <kyl kyl>

³²⁵ Šč tüšü

³²⁶ RN karun-taši

³²⁷ RN big, Šč beg

³²⁸ RN big, Šč beg

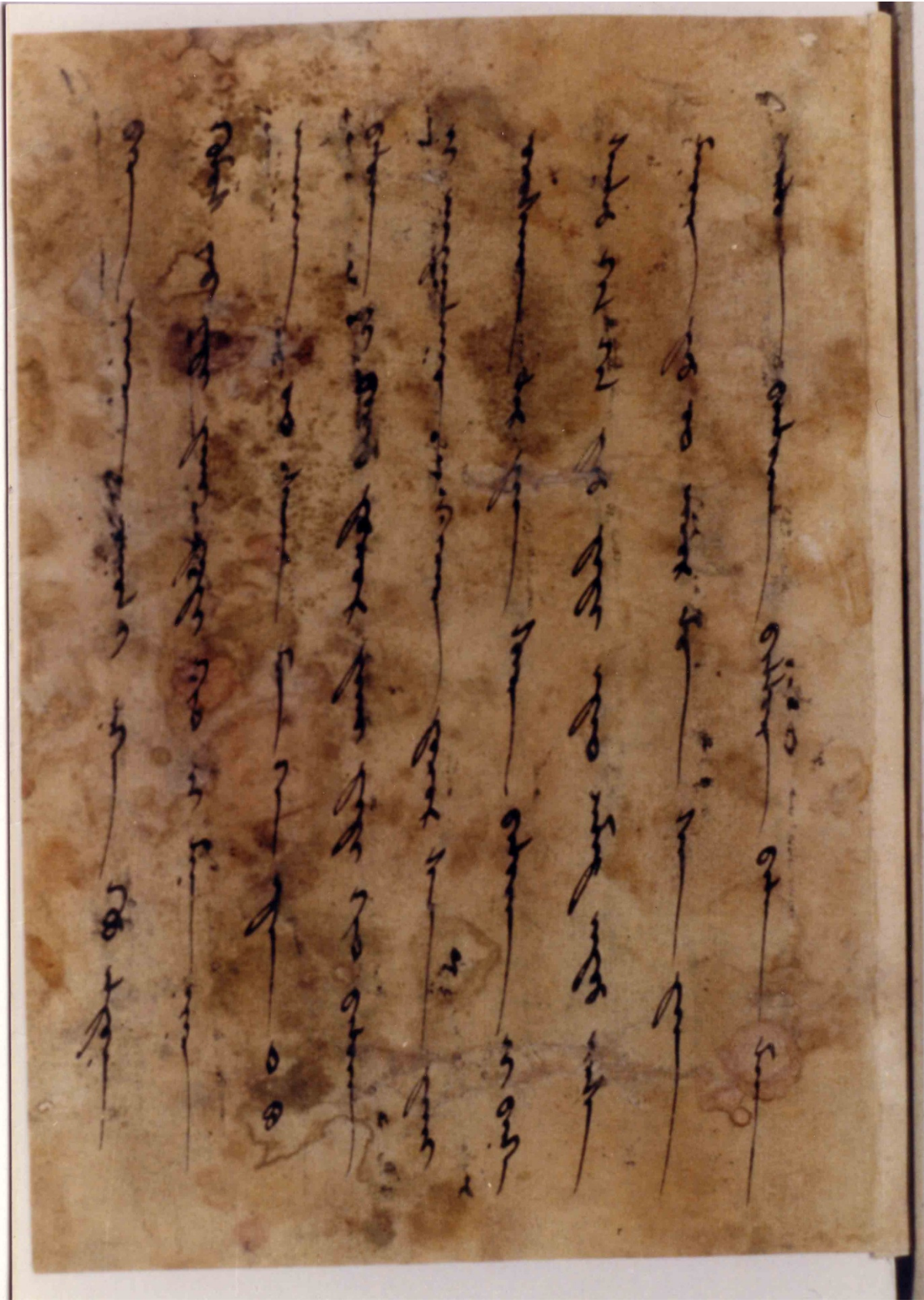
³²⁹ RN the word *big* is added after this one.

³³⁰ RN taraj, Šč teraj

³³¹ RN muran

³³² RN birik, Šč berik

³³³ RN kataklagu, BA kadağlağu, Šč qatağlağu



21/

- 1) b'k n' nk³³⁴ wqwl y' nk' kw b' ldwn
- 2) kwmwš y' b[']rdy³³⁵ d' qy d' dy kym 'y m' n' ny nk
- 3) q' q' n' wm s' n' m' n' k' 'd' m' bw
- 4) b' lwq ny b' rYb³³⁶ dwrwr d' qy d' dy kym b' lwq
- 5) ny q' d' ql' qw k' r' k dwrwr s' n' d' qy
- 6) 'wrwšqw l' r d' n³³⁷ swnk b' lwq ny b' nk'
- 7) s' ql' b' kYl k' l³³⁸ d' b' d' dy 'd' m' č' m' d' ' 'dwb '[y]rs'
- 8) m' n' wn k' d' b' wm 'yrwr mw s' n' d' n³³⁹
- 9) [č] 'rlw[q] bqlYq³⁴⁰ bYllwk b' l³⁴¹ m' n

- 1) bāgning³⁴² oğulī anga köp altun
- 2) kümüş yibārdi³⁴³ taqī tādi kim ay mǎnning
- 3) qağanum sǎn³⁴⁴ mǎngā atam bo
- 4) baluqnī berip³⁴⁵ turur taqī tādi kim baluqnī
- 5) nī qatīglağu³⁴⁶ kārāk turur sǎn taqī
- 6) urušqulardan³⁴⁷ song baluqnī bāngā³⁴⁸
- 7) saqlap kelgil tǎp tādi atam čamat³⁴⁹ ātūp³⁵⁰ ersä
- 8) mǎnüng tapum erür mü sǎndān
- 9) ĵarluğ bağlīg³⁵¹ bellüg bola mǎn³⁵²

(1-2) *Beg*'s son sent him a lot of gold and silver. So he said: 'Oh, you are my (3) kagan! My father (4) has given me this town, and so he said: 'The town (5) must be fortified. Concerning you, (6-7) after the battles (with which) you defended the town for us, come! – 'If my father got angry (with me), (8-9) will be there any satisfaction for me? (From now on,) I will be known (as one who is) depending on your order.

³³⁴ Rad. <byk-nynk>

³³⁵ Rad. <yyb'rdy>

³³⁶ Rad. <byrwb>

³³⁷ Rad. <dyñ>

³³⁸ Rad. <kyl kyl>

³³⁹ Rad. <dyñ>

³⁴⁰ Rad. <b'ylwq>

³⁴¹ Rad. <byl'>

³⁴² RN big-niñ, Šč begniñ

³⁴³ RN yib-ardi

³⁴⁴ RN olan

³⁴⁵ RN biriüb, Šč berüb

³⁴⁶ RN kataklagu, BA kadağlağu, Šč qatağlağu

³⁴⁷ RN urušku-lar-den

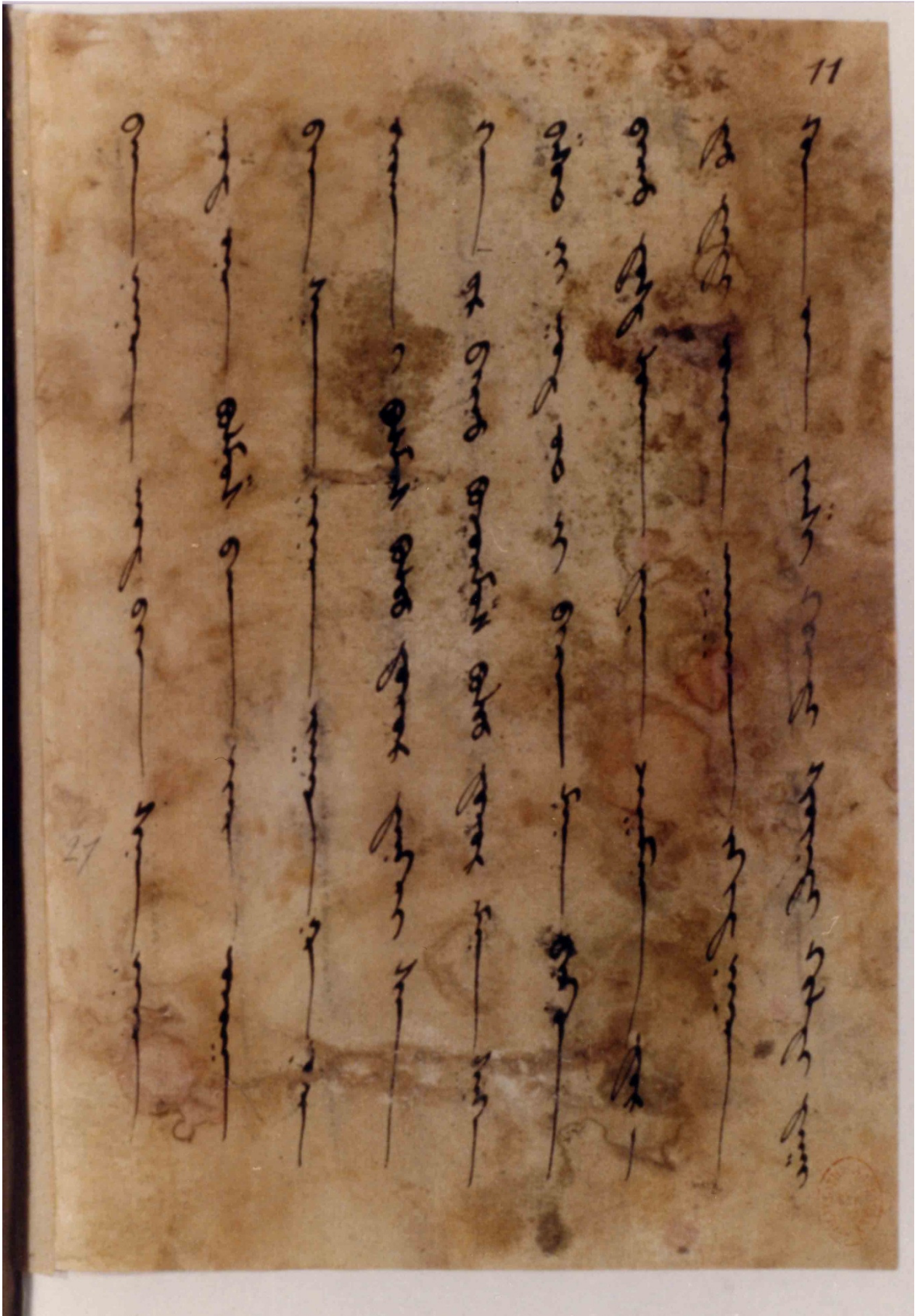
³⁴⁸ RN baña, Šč bengä

³⁴⁹ BA çımad

³⁵⁰ RN atub BA adup Šč atub

³⁵¹ RN bilik BA b(a)ğluğ, Šč bailuq

³⁵² RN bile men, Šč bilämän



- 1) b'z n' nk³⁵³ qwd b'z³⁵⁴ sYn n' nk³⁵⁵
- 2) qwd wnk bwlmwš b'z³⁵⁶ nynk 'wrwq̄
- 3) b'z³⁵⁷ s'n nYnk 'yq̄ č nk [n]w[n]k³⁵⁸
- 4) wrwq y bwlmwš bwlwb dwrwr d' nkry s' n
- 5) g' yyr bYr' b³⁵⁹ bwčwrmwš bwlwb dwrwr m' n³⁶⁰ s' nk'
- 6) b'šwm ny qwd wm ny byr³⁶¹ m' n b' [r]kw³⁶²
- 7) b' r' b³⁶³ dwsd lwq d' n³⁶⁴ č' qm' z³⁶⁵ dwr
- 8) d' b d' dy 'wqwz q' q' n ykyd n' nk³⁶⁶
- 9) swz wn yqšy³⁶⁷ kwrđy sywyndy kwldy d' qy

- 1) bizning qutbız³⁶⁸ senning
- 2) qutung bolmuš bizning uruğ-
- 3) bız³⁶⁹ sānning iğaçingnung³⁷⁰
- 4) uruği bolmuš bolup turur tāngri³⁷¹ sän-
- 5) gä yer berip bujurmaš bolup turur män sāngä³⁷²
- 6) bašumni qutumni berä män bergü³⁷³
- 7) berip dostluqtan³⁷⁴ čiqmaztur³⁷⁵
- 8) täp tädi oğuz qağan yigitning³⁷⁶
- 9) sözüni yaqši³⁷⁷ kördi sewindi³⁷⁸ küldi taqi

(1-2-3-4) From now on, our regal charisma (*qut*) has become your regal charisma. From now on, our heredity (*uruğ*) is the heredity of your lineage (*iğaç*). (From now on,) the Sky (5-6) has given and ordered the world for you. I (hereby) give my head and my regal charisma for you. (7) Paying tribute, (I) will (never) quit from friendship." (8-9) – he said. Oguz Kagan liked the words of the youngster, he was glad and laughed. Then

³⁵³ Rad. <byz-nyñk>

³⁵⁴ Rad. <byz>

³⁵⁵ Rad. <s' n-nyñk>

³⁵⁶ Rad. <byz>

³⁵⁷ Rad. <byz>

³⁵⁸ Rad. <'yq̄ č-wnk-nyñk>

³⁵⁹ Rad. <b' ryb>

³⁶⁰ Rad. <myñ>

³⁶¹ Rad. <b' r'>

³⁶² Rad. <bykw>

³⁶³ Rad. <byryb>

³⁶⁴ Rad. <dyñ>

³⁶⁵ Rad. <čyqm' z>

³⁶⁶ Rad. <'ykyd-nyñk>

³⁶⁷ Rad. <y' qšy>

³⁶⁸ BA kud-(i)bız, Šč qut(i)bız

³⁶⁹ BA uruğ-(i)bız, Šč uruğ(i)bız

³⁷⁰ BA iğaç-(u)ng-nung, Šč (y)iğaç(u)ñnuñ

³⁷¹ RN tañri, Šč teñri

³⁷² RN saña, Šč sengä

³⁷³ RN bigü, BA bigü

³⁷⁴ RN dost-luk-den

³⁷⁵ RN çıkmaz dur(ur men), Šč tur(urmän)

³⁷⁶ RN igit-niñ, BA igid-ning, Šč y(i)gitniñ

³⁷⁷ BA y(a)kşı, Šč y(a)qši

³⁷⁸ RN sivindi, BA sivindi, Šč sevindi



- 1) 'ydddy kym m'ñ k' kwb 'ldwñ yw[m]š' b s' n³⁷⁹
- 2) b'lwq ñy y' qšy s' q'l' b s' n d' b d' dy 'nwnk
- 3) 'wč[wn] 'ñk' s' ql' b' d q[wy]dy dwsd lwq
- 4) [qy]ldy kn³⁸⁰ č'[r]Yk by[r]l' [...][...]³⁸¹
- 5) ['y]d['l]³⁸² d'k'n mw[r']n [k']³⁸³ k'čdy³⁸⁴ ['y]d['l]³⁸⁵ d'[k]n³⁸⁶
- 6) [b']d[wk]³⁸⁷ byr n'[nk]³⁸⁸ d[wrwr]³⁸⁹ [wq wz] q'q' n' ny
- 7) [...]dy³⁹⁰ d['q]y d' dy kym ' [y]d' l n' nk³⁹¹ [w]swq y d' n³⁹²
- 8) n[w]čwk³⁹³ k[yč]' r b['z]³⁹⁴ d' b d' dy č' ryk d' byr
- 9) yqšy³⁹⁵ b'k³⁹⁶ b' r 'yrdy 'nwnk 'dy 'wlvq '[w]rd[w]

- 1) aytü³⁹⁷ kim mängä köp altun yumšap sän³⁹⁸
- 2) baluqnı yaqši saqlap sän täp tädi anung
- 3) üçün³⁹⁹ anga saqlap at qoydı dostluq
- 4) qıldı känä čärig birlä [...]⁴⁰⁰
- 5) etil tägän mörängä⁴⁰¹ kečti⁴⁰² etil tägän⁴⁰³
- 6) bedük bir näng⁴⁰⁴ turur⁴⁰⁵ oğuz qağan anı
- 7) [kör]di⁴⁰⁶ taqı tädi kim etilning 'suğıdan⁴⁰⁷
- 8) nüčük⁴⁰⁸ kečärbiz⁴⁰⁹ täp tädi čärigdä bir
- 9) yaqši bäg bar erdi anung atı uluğ ordu

(1) he told: 'You have sent me a lot of gold, (2) you have defended the town well.' (3) Because of that he named him *Saqlap* (*saqlap*) and made (4) friendship (with him). Then with the army [...] (5) He passed to the river named *Etil*. (The one) named *Etil* (6) is a great thing. *Oguz Kagan* (7) saw that. Then he asked: 'Through the water of the *Etil*, (8) how will we pass?' –he spoke. In the army, (9) there was a good *beg*. His name was *Great Horde* (*uluğ ordu*)

³⁷⁹ Rad. <k'ñ'>

³⁸⁰ Rad. <k'ñ'>

³⁸¹ Rad. <č'ryk>

³⁸² Rad. <'ydyl>

³⁸³ Rad. <dyñ>

³⁸⁴ Rad. <kyčdy>

³⁸⁵ Rad. <'ydyl>

³⁸⁶ Rad. <d...y'ñk>

³⁸⁷ Rad. <b'dyk>

³⁸⁸ Rad. <q'q'n>

³⁸⁹ Rad. <dwrdy>

³⁹⁰ Rad. <swrdy>

³⁹¹ Rad. <yd'l-ñyñk>

³⁹² Rad. <'wk wz-y-dyñ>

³⁹³ Rad. <...>

³⁹⁴ Rad. <b'ñ>

³⁹⁵ Rad. <y'qšy>

³⁹⁶ Rad. <byk>

³⁹⁷ RN eitdi

³⁹⁸ RN gne

³⁹⁹ RN ičün

⁴⁰⁰ RN [...] cerik, BA oğuz qağan, Šč oğuz qağan

⁴⁰¹ RN muran-din

⁴⁰² BA keldi

⁴⁰³ RN dñn yañ

⁴⁰⁴ RN kagan, BA müren, Šč müren

⁴⁰⁵ RN tururdi

⁴⁰⁶ RN sordi

⁴⁰⁷ RN suk-ı-den, BA suğ-ı-dın

⁴⁰⁸ RN miniüb, BA nečük, Šč nečük

⁴⁰⁹ RN gicer ben

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24/

- 1) b'k⁴¹⁰ 'yrdy 'wsl[wq] ⁴¹¹ [...] ⁴¹² bYr [']yr⁴¹³ 'yrdy
- 2) [kwr]dy [kym] [...] [d']⁴¹⁴ [kwb] d[' l' m] [d' l] [l' r] kwb d' lym
- 3) [...] [l' r] [...] ⁴¹⁵ [...] b[...] [...] l [č' ğ' č] ⁴¹⁶ [l' r]
- 4) [...] ⁴¹⁷ [...] [...] [...] k' s[...] ⁴¹⁸ [' q' č] ⁴¹⁹ l' r d'
- 5) y' ddy ky[č]dy [' wqwz] [q' q' n] s' [w]ynč ⁴²⁰ ' ' ddy ⁴²¹ k[w]ldy
- 6) d' qy ' [y]ddy kym ' y ' y s' n [mwn] ⁴²² d' ⁴²³ b' k
- 7) bwlwñk [qy]bč' q d' k' n s' n b' k ⁴²⁴ [bwl]wñk
- 8) d' b d' dy d' [qy] [' yl]k' rw kyddy [l' r] [' n]d' n ⁴²⁵ swnk
- 9) wqwz q' q' n kn ⁴²⁶ kwk dwlwk lwk

- 1) bāg⁴²⁷ erdi usluġ [...] ⁴²⁸ bir er ⁴²⁹ erdi
- 2) kōrđi kim [...]da ⁴³⁰ kōp tālim tallar ⁴³¹ kōp tālim
- 3) [...]lar [...] ⁴³² [...] b[...] [...] l ⁴³³ jīġačlar- ⁴³⁴
- 4) [...] ⁴³⁵ [...] [...] kās[...] ⁴³⁶ iġačlarda
- 5) yattı kečti oġuz qaġan sewinč ätti ⁴³⁷ küldi
- 6) taqı aytı kim ay ay sän munda ⁴³⁸ bāg
- 7) bolung qipčağ taġan sän ⁴³⁹ bāg bolung ⁴⁴⁰
- 8) täp tädi taqı ilgärü kettilär ⁴⁴¹ andan song
- 9) oġuz qaġan känä kök tülüklüg

(1) *Beg*. He was a clever and [...] man. (2) He saw that [...] a lot of branches and a lot of (3) [...]s. [...] the trees (4) [...] on the trees (5) he laid and crossed. *Oguz Kagan* was glad and laughed. (6-7) Then he told: 'Oh, oh, you shall become a *beg* here, you shall become a *beg* named *Kipchak* (*qipčağ*)! (8) – he said. Then they went ahead. After that (9) *Oguz Kagan* [saw] the grey furred,

⁴¹⁰ Rad. <'wsbw t'ñk>

⁴¹¹ The word seems to be written by a foreign hand. The form of <l> is different from the others. See *Chapter 2.13*.

⁴¹² Rad. adds the word <bwldwq-d'>

⁴¹³ Rad. <y'yr>

⁴¹⁴ Rad. <'ydy' yr>

⁴¹⁵ Rad. <'yq'č-lwq yr>

⁴¹⁶ Rad. <'yq'č>

⁴¹⁷ Rad. <'nyñk>

⁴¹⁸ Rad. <k'sdy>

⁴¹⁹ Rad. <'yq'č>

⁴²⁰ Rad. <swñk>

⁴²¹ Rad. <'yddy>

⁴²² Rad. <m'ñ>

⁴²³ Rad. <d'k>

⁴²⁴ Rad. <d'b>

⁴²⁵ Rad. <dyñ>

⁴²⁶ Rad. <k'ñ'>

⁴²⁷ RN tang i

⁴²⁸ RN ...luk ...luk, Šč uqġulug

⁴²⁹ RN yir

⁴³⁰ BA bu yerdä, Šč quduġida

⁴³¹ RN dek yir

⁴³² RN iġac-luk yir, Šč yīġačlar bar erdi

⁴³³ BA uşol Šč oşbu beg oşul

⁴³⁴ RN iġac-lar, BA iġaç-lar

⁴³⁵ RN niñ BA m....

⁴³⁶ RN kesdi, BA kesdi, Šč kesti

⁴³⁷ RN başdan kitdi, BA s(e)winč attı, Šč sevinč attı

⁴³⁸ RN men dek

⁴³⁹ RN cosun

⁴⁴⁰ RN sen dek bolsun

⁴⁴¹ RN gitdi kim, Šč ketti...



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- 1) kwk č' llwq ' Y[r]kYk⁴⁴² bwry kwrđy⁴⁴³ ' wšbw kwk⁴⁴⁴
- 2) bwry ' wq wz q' q' n [q'] ' yddy kym ' mdy
- 3) č' r[' k]⁴⁴⁵ byrl' [m]w[n] d[wn] [' d]l[' n]k⁴⁴⁶ [q' q' n]
- 4) ' dl' b ' yl kwn⁴⁴⁷ l' r ny byyk l' r ny kYldwr
- 5) kyl m' n s' n k' b' šl' b ywl ny kwrkwr wr
- 6) mñ⁴⁴⁸ d' b d' dy d' [n]k ' yrdY bwld[wq] d'
- 7) wq wz q' q' n kwrđy kym ' yrk' k bw[r]w⁴⁴⁹
- 8) č' ryk n' nñ⁴⁵⁰ d[' bwq] l' r y d' yw[rw]Kw
- 9) d' dwrwr swñdy⁴⁵¹ ylk' rw kyddy wq wz

- 1) kök jalluğ⁴⁵² erkäk böri⁴⁵³ körđi ušbo kök
- 2) böri⁴⁵⁴ oğuz qağanga aytđi kim amđi⁴⁵⁵
- 3) čäriğ birlä mundon atlang⁴⁵⁶ qağan⁴⁵⁷
- 4) atlap elkünlärni begläрни⁴⁵⁸ keldür-
- 5) gil män sängä bašlap yolni körgürür⁴⁵⁹
- 6) män täp tädi tang ertä⁴⁶⁰ bolduqta
- 7) oğuz qağan körđi kim erkäk⁴⁶¹ börü⁴⁶²
- 8) čäriğning tapuğlarıda yörüğü-
- 9) dä turur sewindi⁴⁶³ ilgärü ketti oğuz

(1) grey maned male wolf. That grey (2) wolf told to *Oguz Kagan*: 'Now (2), *Kagan*, ride out with the army, (4) and bring the people and *begs* [with you]. (5) I will lead you and show you the way! (6) – he said. When it became dawn, (7) *Oguz Kagan* saw that the male wolf (8-9) is marching in the vicinity of the army. He was glad and went ahead. *Oguz*

⁴⁴² Rad. <'yrk'k>

⁴⁴³ Rad. <kwyrđy>

⁴⁴⁴ Rad. <kwyk>

⁴⁴⁵ Rad. <č'ryk>

⁴⁴⁶ Rad. <'dl' d' dy 'wq wz>

⁴⁴⁷ Rad. <kwyñ>

⁴⁴⁸ Rad. <m'ñ>

⁴⁴⁹ Rad. <bwry>

⁴⁵⁰ Rad. <ñyñk>

⁴⁵¹ Rad. <sywyñdy>

⁴⁵² RN cellük

⁴⁵³ RN buri

⁴⁵⁴ RN buri

⁴⁵⁵ RN imđi, Šč emđi

⁴⁵⁶ RN atla dedı uguz BA atl(a)ng, Šč. atla

⁴⁵⁷ BA oğuzm Šč. oğuz

⁴⁵⁸ RN tyiri-ler-ni

⁴⁵⁹ RN görsür-rür

⁴⁶⁰ RN irti

⁴⁶¹ RN yirkek

⁴⁶² BA böri

⁴⁶³ RN sevindi BA s(e)vindi, Šč s(e)v(i)ndi



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- 1) q̄'q̄'n byr čwq̄wr d'n⁴⁶⁴ 'yq̄yr 'd q̄' myñ'
- 2) dwrwr 'yrdy 'wšbw⁴⁶⁵ 'yq̄yr 'd ny b'k⁴⁶⁶ čw[q] sywywr
- 3) 'yrdy čwld' 'wšbw 'yq̄yr 'd kwsd['n]⁴⁶⁷ 'y'dw⁴⁶⁸
- 4) q̄čdy⁴⁶⁹ kyddy mwñd' 'wlwq̄ byr d['q] b'r
- 5) 'yrdy 'wyS' 'wsd[wn d']⁴⁷⁰ dwñk t['q]y [m]wz
- 6) b'r dwrwr 'ñwñK b'šy s[wqw]q̄ d'n⁴⁷¹ 'b'q̄
- 7) dwrwr 'ñwñk 'w[čwn] 'n[wnk] 'dy m[wz] d['q]
- 8) dwrwr 'wq̄wz q̄'q̄['n] n'nk⁴⁷² 'dy mwz d['q]
- 9) 'yčyk' q'č['b]⁴⁷³ kyddy 'wq̄wz q'q'n mwñd'n⁴⁷⁴

- 1) qağan bir čuqurdan⁴⁷⁵ ayğir atqa minä
- 2) turur erdi ušbo⁴⁷⁶ ayğir atnı bäk čoq sewür⁴⁷⁷
- 3) erdi jolda⁴⁷⁸ ušbo ayğir at közdän yitü⁴⁷⁹
- 4) qačtı ketti munda uluğ bir tağ bar
- 5) erdi üzä⁴⁸⁰ üstündä tong taqı muz
- 6) bar turur anung başı soğuqtan ap aq
- 7) turur anung üçün⁴⁸¹ anung⁴⁸² atı muz tağ
- 8) turur oğuz qağannıng atı muz tağ
- 9) içigä qačıp ketti oğuz qağan mundan

(1-2) *Kagan* always mounted a spotted stallion. He used to love that stallion very much. (3) On the way this stallion got lost from sight and (4) fled. There was a great mountain here. (5-6) Above on its top there was frost and ice. Its top was pure white because of the cold. (7) Because of that its name was *Ice Mountain* (*muz tağ*). (7-8) *Oguz Kagan's* horse fled and went into the *Ice Mountain*. By this, *Oguz Kagan*

⁴⁶⁴ Rad. <dyñ>

⁴⁶⁵ Rad. <'wšwl>

⁴⁶⁶ Rad. <byk>

⁴⁶⁷ Rad. <kwysdyñ>

⁴⁶⁸ Rad. <yydy>

⁴⁶⁹ Rad. <q'čdy>

⁴⁷⁰ Rad. <'wysdwn-d'>

⁴⁷¹ Rad. <dyñ>

⁴⁷² Rad. <ñyñk>

⁴⁷³ Rad. <q'čyb>

⁴⁷⁴ Rad. <mwñdyñ>

⁴⁷⁵ RN cukur-den, BA çokur-din, Šč čoqur tan

⁴⁷⁶ RN ošol, BA ušol

⁴⁷⁷ RN sivor, BA siv(i)yür, Šč sev(ä)yür

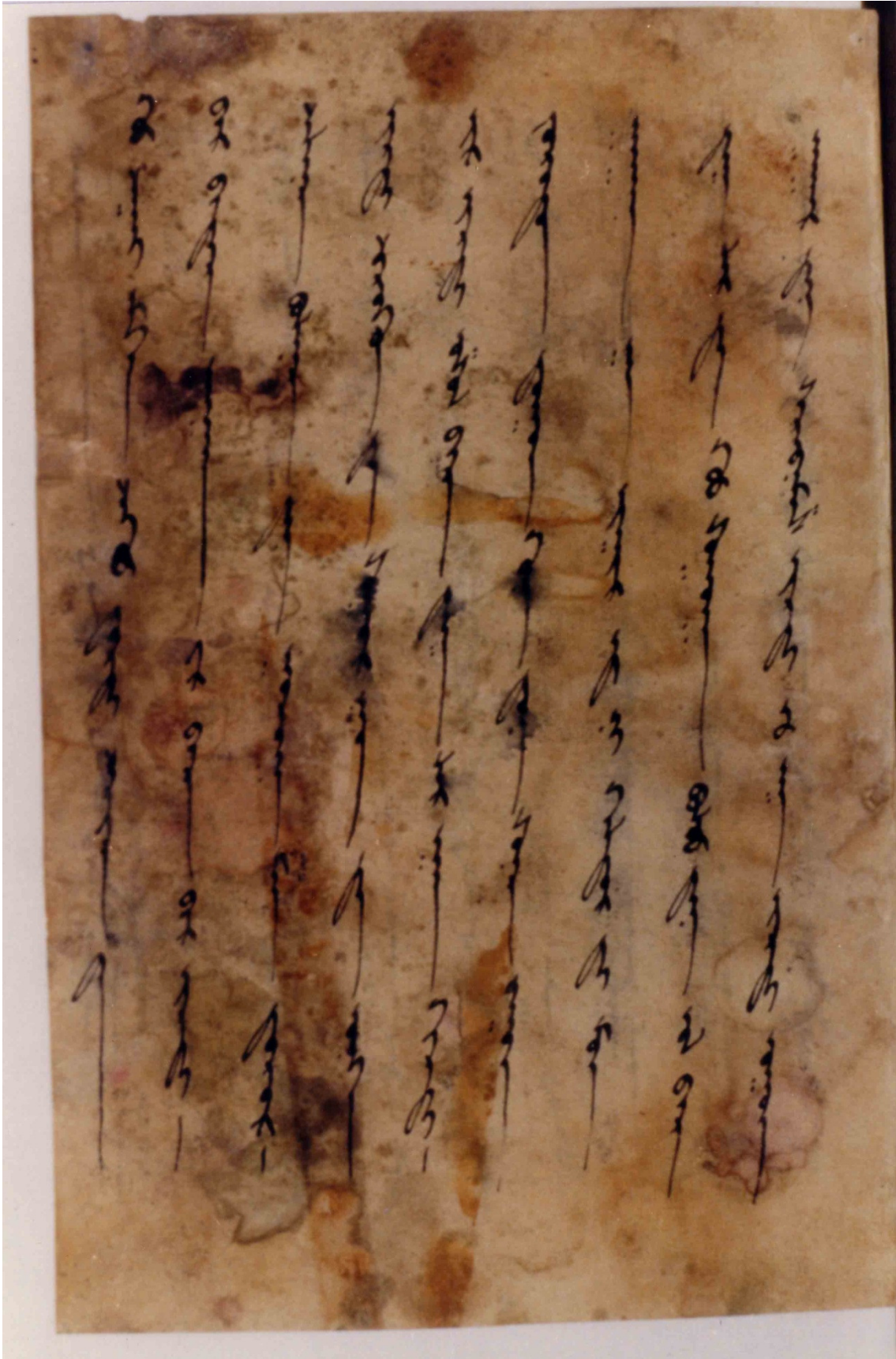
⁴⁷⁸ RN cölde

⁴⁷⁹ RN yitib

⁴⁸⁰ BA öse, Šč öšä

⁴⁸¹ RN ucun

⁴⁸² RN anun



- 1) kwb č'q'y⁴⁸³ 'mkq⁴⁸⁴ č'kwb⁴⁸⁵ dwrdy č'ryk d'
- 2) b'r bYd'k⁴⁸⁶ q'q'z⁴⁸⁷ yr b'k⁴⁸⁸ b'r 'yrdy
- 3) č'l'nk bwl'nk d'n⁴⁸⁹ qwrwq m'z dwrwr
- 4) 'yrdy čwrwk⁴⁹⁰ d' swqwr qw d' 'wnk'
- 5) 'yr 'yrdy 'wšwl byk d'q'l'r q' kyrdy
- 6) ywrwdw⁴⁹¹ dwq wz kwñ dwñ⁴⁹² swñk wq wz
- 7) q'q'n q' 'yqyr 'd ny k'ldwr dy⁴⁹³ mwz
- 8) d'q'l'r d' kwb swq wq bwlwb d'n⁴⁹⁴ 'wl b'k⁴⁹⁵
- 9) q'q'r d'n⁴⁹⁶ s'r' bñm š⁴⁹⁷ 'yrdy 'b 'q' 'yrdy 'wq wz

- 1) köp čigay⁴⁹⁸ ämgäq⁴⁹⁹ čaküp turdi čärigdä
- 2) bir bedik⁵⁰⁰ qaqiz⁵⁰¹ er bäg bar erdi
- 3) čaling bulıngdan⁵⁰² qoruqmaz⁵⁰³ turur
- 4) erdi jörügüdä soğurguda öngä⁵⁰⁴
- 5) er erdi uşol beg tağlarğa kirdi
- 6) yörüdü toquz kündön song oğuz
- 7) qağanğa ayğır atnı keldürdi muz
- 8) tağlarda köp soğuq boluptan ol bäg
- 9) qağardan sarunmıš⁵⁰⁵ erdi ap aq erdi oğuz

(1) had suffered a lot. In his army (2) there was a great tempered man, a *beg*. (3) He did not get scared of (some) hide-and-seek. (4) 'He was a man (who is) first at marching and enduring cold. (5) That *beg* entered the mountain, (6-7) he walked away. After nine days, he brought the stallion for *Oguz Kagan*. (8) Because it was very cold in the *Ice Mountains*, that *beg* (9) was covered by snow, he was pure white. *Oguz*

⁴⁸³ Rad. <č'qy>

⁴⁸⁴ Rad. <'mk'k>

⁴⁸⁵ Rad. <čykw>

⁴⁸⁶ Rad. <bydyk>

⁴⁸⁷ Rad. <q'q'n>

⁴⁸⁸ Rad. <byk>

⁴⁸⁹ Rad. <dyñ>

⁴⁹⁰ Rad. <čyrwk-w-d'>

⁴⁹¹ Rad. <ywrwdy>

⁴⁹² Rad. <kwñdyn>

⁴⁹³ Rad. <kyldwr-dy>

⁴⁹⁴ Rad. <d'>

⁴⁹⁵ Rad. <byk>

⁴⁹⁶ Rad. <dyñ>

⁴⁹⁷ Rad. <s'r'byñmyš>

⁴⁹⁸ RN caknı, Šč čağı

⁴⁹⁹ RN emke, BA emgek, Šč emgäk

⁵⁰⁰ Šč bedük

⁵⁰¹ RN kagan, Šč qağaz

⁵⁰² RN çalañ bulañ-den, BA çalang bulang-dın, Šč çalañ bulañdan

⁵⁰³ RN görük-mez, Šč quruqmas

⁵⁰⁴ RN oña, BA oñğa, Šč oña

⁵⁰⁵ BA sar'unmıš



- 1) q̄'q̄'n sywñč⁵⁰⁶ byrl' kwldw⁵⁰⁷ 'yddi kym
- 2) 'y s'n⁵⁰⁸ mwñd'⁵⁰⁹ byk l'r K' bwlq̄yl b'šlyq̄
- 3) mñ⁵¹⁰ mnKyl'b⁵¹¹ s'ñk' 't bwlswn q̄'q̄'r l'q̄⁵¹²
- 4) d'b d'dy kw b'rd'ny swywr q̄'dy 'yl k' rw kyddy
- 5) k'n⁵¹³ ywl d' bYdwk⁵¹⁴ byr 'wy kwr dy bw 'wy ñwnk
- 6) d'q̄'m y 'ldwn d'n⁵¹⁵ 'yr dy dwnk lwq̄⁵¹⁶ l'r y dq̄y⁵¹⁷
- 7) kw mws dwn q' lq' [n] l'r y⁵¹⁸ d' mwr d'n⁵¹⁹ 'yr dy l'r
- 8) 'yr dy q̄' bwlw [q] 'yr dy 'č' q̄' č⁵²⁰ ywq̄ 'yr dy
- 9) č'ryk d' [b] Yr yq̄šy⁵²¹ č' b' r⁵²² 'yr b' r' 'yr dy 'ñwnk

- 1) qağan sewinč⁵²³ birlä küldü⁵²⁴ aytı⁵²⁵ kim
- 2) ay sän munda⁵²⁶ beqlärgä bolgıl başlıq
- 3) män⁵²⁷ mängiläp⁵²⁸ sängä⁵²⁹ at bolsun qağarlıg⁵³⁰
- 4) täp tädi köp ärdäni soyurqadi ilgäri ketti
- 5) känä yolda bedük⁵³¹ bir üy kördi bo üynüng⁵³²
- 6) tağamı altundan⁵³³ erdi tünlgüqlari⁵³⁴ taqı
- 7) kümüştün qalqanlari⁵³⁵ tämürdän⁵³⁶ erdilär
- 8) erdi qapuluğ erdi aç'güc⁵³⁷ yoq erdi
- 9) čärigdä bir⁵³⁸ yaqşı čäbär⁵³⁹ er bar erdi anung

(1) *Kagan* laughed with joy. He told: (2) Oh, you shall become the leader for the *begs* here, (3) (For) I am happy, thy name shall be *Snowy* (*qağarlıg*)! (4) – he said. He gifted him a lot of jewel gems, and went ahead. (5-6) Then on the road he saw a big house. The walls of this house were made of gold. Its windows were (7) of silver, its shutters were of iron. (8) It was closed, and there was no key. (9) In the army there was a good, clever man. He

⁵⁰⁶ Rad. <sywñč>

⁵⁰⁷ Rad. <kwldy>

⁵⁰⁸ Rad. <syñ>

⁵⁰⁹ Rad. <mwñdy>

⁵¹⁰ Rad. <m'>

⁵¹¹ Rad. <m'r'l'b>

⁵¹² Rad. <q̄'q̄'r-lwq̄>

⁵¹³ Rad. <k'n'>

⁵¹⁴ Rad. <b'dwk>

⁵¹⁵ Rad. <dyñ>

⁵¹⁶ Rad. <twñk-lwk>

⁵¹⁷ Rad. <d'q̄>

⁵¹⁸ Rad. <q̄'l'q̄-l'ry>

⁵¹⁹ Rad. <dwn>

⁵²⁰ Rad. <'čq̄wč>

⁵²¹ Rad. <y'q̄šy>

⁵²² Rad. <čyb'r>

⁵²³ RN syünj, BA siv(i)nç, Ščsev(i)nč

⁵²⁴ RN güldi

⁵²⁵ RN eitdi

⁵²⁶ RN muntı

⁵²⁷ BA ma

⁵²⁸ RN marlab BA m(e)nglep

⁵²⁹ RN sağa

⁵³⁰ RN kakar-luk

⁵³¹ RN baduk

⁵³² RN evi-nuğ

⁵³³ RN altun-den

⁵³⁴ RN tün-lük-ler-i, BA dung-luk-lar-i, Šč tunluqlari

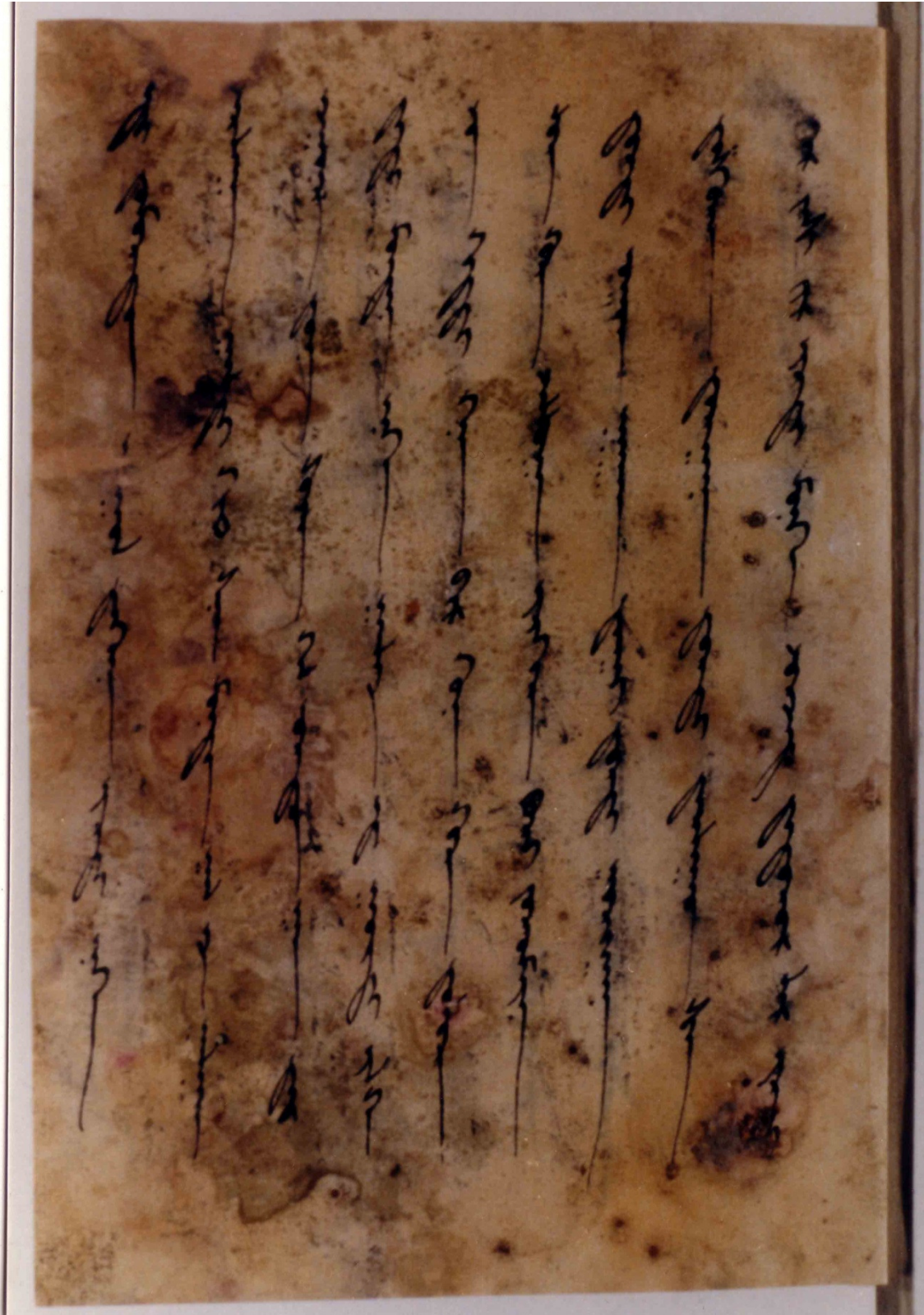
⁵³⁵ RN kalak-lar-i, BA kalik-lar-i, Šč qaliq(a)lari

⁵³⁶ RN temür-dün, Šč temürdün

⁵³⁷ RN ackuc, BA açkuc, Šč a

⁵³⁸ RN ir

⁵³⁹ RN cibar



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- 1) 'dy dwmwrđw '[...]qwl⁵⁴⁰ d'k'n' 'yrđy 'nk'
- 2) č'rl'q̄⁵⁴¹ q̄'ldy⁵⁴² kym s'n mwñd' q̄'l'č'q̄'lq̄'n
- 3) 'čq̄wnk dwn swnk k'l' wrđw q̄' d'b
- 4) d'dy mwñd'n⁵⁴³ 'nk' q̄'l'č' d'q̄wydy 'yl k'⁵⁴⁴
- 5) rw kyddy kn'⁵⁴⁵ byr kwñ kwk dwlwk
- 6) lwk kwk č'llwq̄ 'yrk'k bwry ywrwm' yñ
- 7) dwrđy⁵⁴⁶ 'wq̄wz q̄'q̄'n d'q̄y dwrđy q̄wrYq̄'n
- 8) dwškwr' dwrq̄'n dwrđy d'rl'q̄w syz⁵⁴⁷
- 9) bYr y'sy yyr 'yrđy mwñk' čwrč'd⁵⁴⁸ d'dwrwr l'r' yrđy

- 1) atī tōmürtü⁵⁴⁹ qağul tągän erdi anga
- 2) ĵarlıg qıldi kim sän munda qal aç qalqan⁵⁵⁰
- 3) açqungdon song käl orduğa täp
- 4) tädi mundan anga qalač at qoydi ilgä-
- 5) rü ketti känä bir kün kök tülük-
- 6) lüg kök ĵalluğ⁵⁵¹ erkäk⁵⁵² böri⁵⁵³ yörümäyn
- 7) turdi⁵⁵⁴ oğuz qağan taqı turdi qoriğan⁵⁵⁵
- 8) tüşkürä turğan turdi tarlağusüz⁵⁵⁶
- 9) bir yazı yer erdi munga ĵürčäd⁵⁵⁷ tatururlar⁵⁵⁸ erdi

(1) was named as *Tömürtü Kagul* (*tömürtü qağul*). To him, (2) he ordered: 'You, stay (here) and open (*qal aç*) the shutters! (3) After you opened it, come to the warcamp! (4) – he said. Thus he gave him the name *Kalach* (*qalač*). and (5) he went ahead. Then one day the grey furred (6) grey maned male wolf did not walk (further), (7-8) it stopped. *Oguz Kagan* also stopped. Setting his camp, he stopped. It was an uncultivated, (9) flat land. They have ever called this *Jurched* (*ĵürčäd*).

⁵⁴⁰ Rad. <q̄'q̄wl>

⁵⁴¹ Rad. <č'rlyq̄>

⁵⁴² Rad. <q̄yldy>

⁵⁴³ Rad. <mwñdyn>

⁵⁴⁴ Rad. <'ylk'>

⁵⁴⁵ Rad. <k'n'>

⁵⁴⁶ Rad. <dwrwr>

⁵⁴⁷ Rad. <syñ>

⁵⁴⁸ Rad. <čwrčyd>

⁵⁴⁹ RN tumurtu

⁵⁵⁰ BA kalık, Šč qalıq(a)

⁵⁵¹ RN cellük

⁵⁵² RN yirkek

⁵⁵³ RN buri

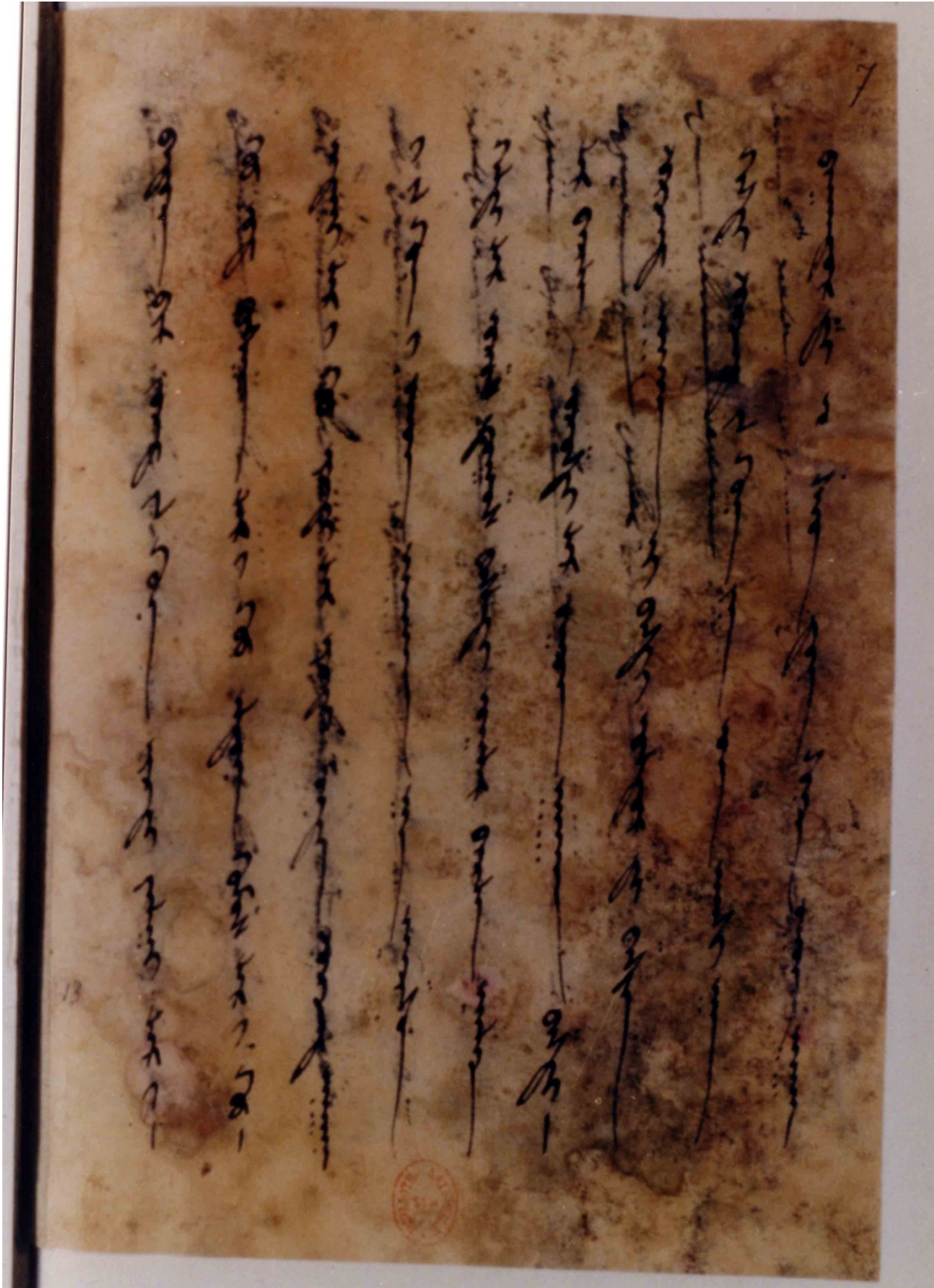
⁵⁵⁴ RN turur

⁵⁵⁵ RN kurıgan, BA kurıkan, Šč qurıqan

⁵⁵⁶ RN tarlağusın

⁵⁵⁷ RN curcıt, Šč ĵürĵit

⁵⁵⁸ RN dedürür-ler, BA dedürür-ler, Šč dedürürlär



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- 1) b'dwk⁵⁵⁹ byr yurd yl kwñ 'yrdy y'lqy⁵⁶⁰ l'r y
- 2) kw b'wd bws'q l'r y kw b'ldwñ kwmwš l'r y kw b
- 3) 'rd'ny l'r y kw b'yrdy l'r 'yrdy mwñd' čwrč'd⁵⁶¹ q'q'n
- 4) y 'yl kwñ y wq wz q'q'n q'q'ršw
- 5) k'ldy⁵⁶² l'r 'wrwš dwqws⁵⁶³ b'sl'dy 'wql'r bYrl' q'l'č⁵⁶⁴
- 6) l'r b'rl'⁵⁶⁵ 'wrwšdy l'r 'wq wz q'q'n b'sdy⁵⁶⁶
- 7) čwrč'd⁵⁶⁷ q'q'n ny b'sdy 'wldwr dy b'syn
- 8) kYsdy čwrč'd⁵⁶⁸ yl kwñ yn⁵⁶⁹ 'wz⁵⁷⁰ 'q'sy⁵⁷¹ q'
- 9) bYq'ndwr dy⁵⁷² 'w[rw]šqw dwñ swñk 'wq wz q'q'n

- 1) bedük bir yurt elkün erdi yilqıları
- 2) köp ud buzağları köp altun kümüsları köp
- 3) ärdäniläri köp erdilär erdi munda jürčäd⁵⁷³ qağan-
- 4) i elküni oğuz qağanğa qaršu
- 5) kældilär uruš toquš başladı⁵⁷⁴ oqlar birlä qilič-
- 6) lar birlä uruštilar oğuz qağan baštı⁵⁷⁵
- 7) jürčäd⁵⁷⁶ qağanni bastı öldürdi başın
- 8) kesti jürčäd⁵⁷⁷ elkünün öz ağıziğa
- 9) baqınturdi urušqudon song oğuz qağan

(1) It was a great country and people. Their livestock (2) were many, their herds (lit. oxen and calves) were many, their gold and silver was much, (3) their jewel gems were many. Here, the *Jurched Kagan* (4-5) and people came against *Oguz Kagan*. A fight started. With arrows and swords, (6) they fought. *Oguz Kagan* attacked, (7-8-9) he crushed the *Jurched Kagan* and killed him. He cut off his head. He made the *Jurched* people to heed his words. After the fight, *Oguz Kagan's*

⁵⁵⁹ Rad. <bydwk>

⁵⁶⁰ Rad. <yylqy>

⁵⁶¹ Rad. <čwrčyd>

⁵⁶² Rad. <kyldy>

⁵⁶³ Rad. <twqws>

⁵⁶⁴ Rad. <qylyč>

⁵⁶⁵ Rad. <byrl'>

⁵⁶⁶ Rad. <b'sdy>

⁵⁶⁷ Rad. <čwrčyd>

⁵⁶⁸ Rad. <čwrčyd>

⁵⁶⁹ Rad. <kwñyn>

⁵⁷⁰ Rad. <'wyz>

⁵⁷¹ Rad. <'qysy>

⁵⁷² Rad. <b'qyndwr-dy>

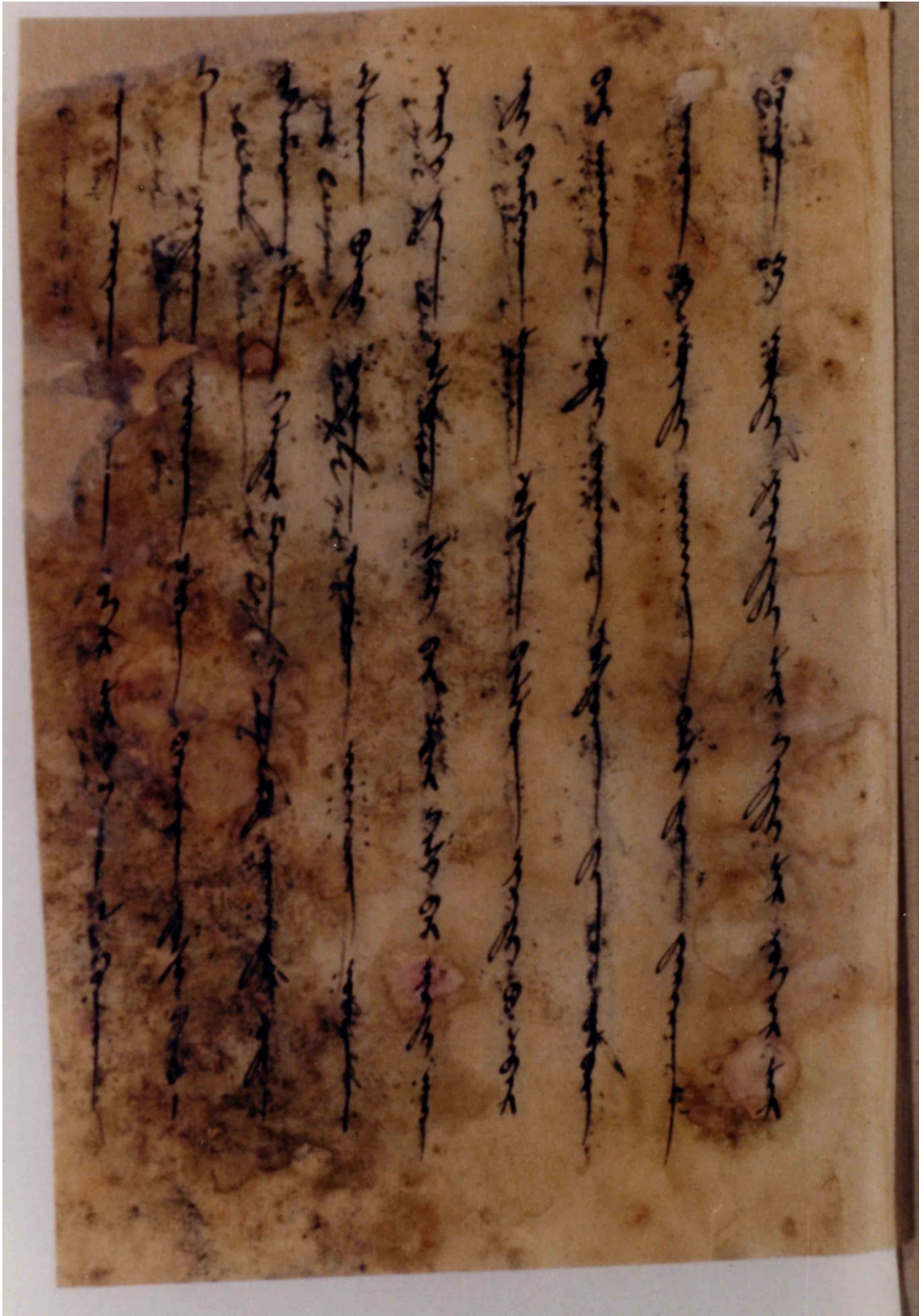
⁵⁷³ RN curcüt, Šč jürjüt

⁵⁷⁴ BA başlandı Šč başlandı

⁵⁷⁵ BA baş(a)dı

⁵⁷⁶ RN curcüt, Šč jürjüt

⁵⁷⁷ RN curcüt, Šč jürjüt



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- 1) [nw]nk č'ryk [y] k' [n]wk' r'⁵⁷⁸ l' r' y k' yl kwñ⁵⁷⁹
- 2) yk' 'nd' q' wIWq'⁵⁸⁰ wlvk b' r'q w dwšdy kym
- 3) ywkl' m' k k' kyldwr m' k k'⁵⁸¹ d' q' q' d' l' r'⁵⁸² wd
- 4) 'sl' q' bwldy 'nd' wq wz q' q' n' n'wñk
- 5) č'ryky d' 'wslwq yš' y b' r'⁵⁸³ č' b' r'⁵⁸⁴ kyšy b' r' 'yrdy 'n'wñk⁵⁸⁵
- 6) 'dy b' r' m' q' l' q' č'wswñ byll[']k'⁵⁸⁶ 'yrdy bw č' b' r'⁵⁸⁷
- 7) b' r'⁵⁸⁸ q' n' q'⁵⁸⁹ č' bdy q' n' q'⁵⁹⁰ wsdwñ d' 'wlvk⁵⁹¹
- 8) [b']r'q w n' y q' wydy q' n' q'⁵⁹² b' šy d' d' r' Yk⁵⁹³
- 9) b' r'q w n' y q' wydy d' r' ddy⁵⁹⁴ l' r' kyddy l' r' n'wK' r'⁵⁹⁵ l' r'

- 1) nung čärigigä nökarlärigä⁵⁹⁶ elkün-
- 2) igä andağ uluğ⁵⁹⁷ ölüğ bargu tüšti kim
- 3) yüklämäkkä⁵⁹⁸ keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud
- 4) azlıq⁵⁹⁹ boldi anda oğuz qağannung
- 5) čärigidä usluğ yaqši⁶⁰⁰ bir čäbär⁶⁰¹ kiši bar erdi anung⁶⁰²
- 6) atı barmaqlıg jösun bellig erdi bo čäbär⁶⁰³
- 7) bir qanqa⁶⁰⁴ japtı⁶⁰⁵ qanqa⁶⁰⁶ üstündä ölüğ
- 8) bargunı qoydı qanqa⁶⁰⁷ başıda tiriğ
- 9) bargunı qoydı tarittılar kettilər nökarlä⁶⁰⁸

(1) army, bodyguards and people (2) gained so much inanimate goods that (3-4) an insufficiency of beasts of burden (lit. horse, mule, ox) turned out to load (the goods) on and carry it away. There in *Oguz Kagan's* (5) army, there was an intelligent, good, clever man, his (6) name was *Barmaklig Josun Bellig* (*barmaqlıg jösun bellig*). This clever (man) (7) built a *qanqa*. To the top of the *qanqa*, the inanimate (8) goods he put, in front of the *qanqa*, the animate (9) goods he put. They dragged it and went away. All the bodyguards,

⁵⁷⁸ Rad. <nwkyr>

⁵⁷⁹ Rad. <'yl-kwyñ>

⁵⁸⁰ Rad. <'wlvq>

⁵⁸¹ Rad. <kyldwr m' k- k'>

⁵⁸² Rad. <q' q' d' yr>

⁵⁸³ Rad. <byr>

⁵⁸⁴ Rad. <čyb' r>

⁵⁸⁵ Rad. <'nyñk>

⁵⁸⁶ Rad. <byllyk>

⁵⁸⁷ Rad. <čyb' r>

⁵⁸⁸ Rad. <byr>

⁵⁸⁹ Rad. <q' n' q>

⁵⁹⁰ Rad. <q' n' q>

⁵⁹¹ Rad. <'wlvk>

⁵⁹² Rad. <q' n' q>

⁵⁹³ Rad. <dyryk>

⁵⁹⁴ Rad. <d' rddy>

⁵⁹⁵ Rad. <nwkyr>

⁵⁹⁶ RN noker-ler-i-ge

⁵⁹⁷ BA uluğ, Šč uluğ

⁵⁹⁸ RN yuklemek-ge

⁵⁹⁹ RN azlak

⁶⁰⁰ RN išay, BA yaşkı, Šč išai

⁶⁰¹ RN cibar

⁶⁰² RN anıñ

⁶⁰³ RN cibar

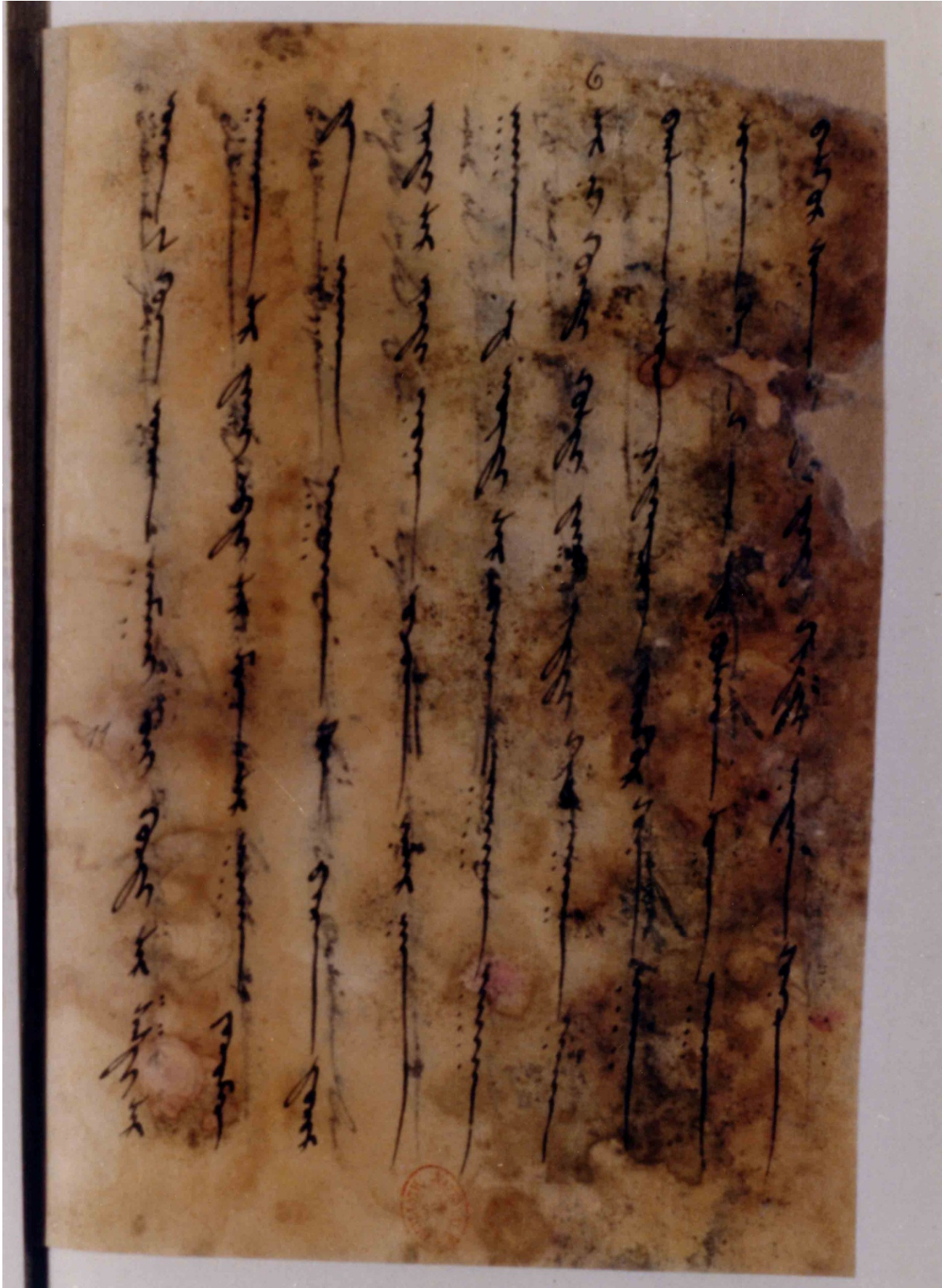
⁶⁰⁴ RN kankn

⁶⁰⁵ BA çaptı, Šč çaptı

⁶⁰⁶ RN kankn

⁶⁰⁷ RN kankna

⁶⁰⁸ RN noker



- 1) nwnk yl kwñ nwnk q̄'m'q̄y mwñy kwrđy⁶⁰⁹ l'r š'šdy l'r
- 2) q̄'nq̄⁶¹⁰ l'r d'q̄y č'bđy l'r mwñ l'r q̄'nq̄⁶¹¹ ywrwm'k
- 3) d'q̄'nq̄'q̄'nq̄⁶¹² swz bYr' dwrwr
- 4) 'yrđy l'r 'yrđy 'nwnk 'wčwn 'ñl'r q̄'
- 5) q̄'nq̄⁶¹³ 'd q̄wyđy l'r 'wqwz q̄'q̄'n q̄'nq̄⁶¹⁴
- 6) l'r ñy kwrđy kwldy⁶¹⁵ d'q̄y 'yddy kym q̄'nq̄' q̄'nq̄⁶¹⁶
- 7) byrl' 'wlwk ñy⁶¹⁷ dYryk [y]wrwkwr swñ q̄'nq̄'
- 8) lwq̄⁶¹⁸ s'ñ k⁶¹⁹ 'd bwlq̄w lwq̄ q̄'nq̄⁶²⁰
- 9) b'lkwr swñ⁶²¹ d'b d'dy kyđdy 'ñd'ñ⁶²² swñk

- 1) nüng elkünnüng qamağï munï kördilär şaştılar
- 2) qanqalar⁶²³ taqï japtılar⁶²⁴ munlar qanqa⁶²⁵ yörümäk-
- 3) tä qanqa qanqa⁶²⁶ söz berä turur
- 4) erdilär erdi anung üçün⁶²⁷ anlarğa⁶²⁸
- 5) qanqa⁶²⁹ at qoydılar⁶³⁰ oğuz qağan qanqa⁶³¹ -
- 6) larnï kördi küldi taqï ayttı⁶³² kim qanqa qanqa⁶³³
- 7) birlä ölügni tirig yörügürsün qanqa-
- 8) luğ⁶³⁴ sängä at bolguluq qanqa⁶³⁵
- 9) bälgürsün⁶³⁶ täp tädi ketti andan song

(1) and people saw this and astonished, (2) and they built *qanqas* as well. These *qanqas*, while moving, (3-4) were giving the voice '*qanqa qanqa*'. Due to that, they (5-6-7) were given the name *qanqa*. *Oguz Kagan* saw the *qanqas* and laughed. Then he told: 'Let the living make the lifeless walk with the *qanqas*! You with the *qanqa* (*qanqaluğ*), (8) a name is to be for you, let the *qanqa* (9) manifest it!' – he said, then went away. After that

⁶⁰⁹ Rad. <kwyrđy>

⁶¹⁰ Rad. <q̄'nq̄>

⁶¹¹ Rad. <q̄'nq̄>

⁶¹² Rad. <q̄'nq̄'q̄'nq̄>

⁶¹³ Rad. <q̄'nq̄>

⁶¹⁴ Rad. <q̄'nq̄>

⁶¹⁵ Rad. This word is missing.

⁶¹⁶ Rad. <q̄'nq̄'q̄'nq̄>

⁶¹⁷ Rad. This element is missing.

⁶¹⁸ Rad. <q̄'nq̄-lwq̄>

⁶¹⁹ Rad. <s'ñ-q̄'>

⁶²⁰ Rad. <q̄'nq̄>

⁶²¹ Rad. <bylkwr-swñ>

⁶²² Rad. <'ñdyñ>

⁶²³ RN kangn-lar

⁶²⁴ BA çaptı-lar, Šč čaptılar

⁶²⁵ RN kangn

⁶²⁶ RN kang gangn

⁶²⁷ RN ucun

⁶²⁸ RN anlr-ka

⁶²⁹ RN kangn

⁶³⁰ RN kaydı-lar

⁶³¹ RN kangn

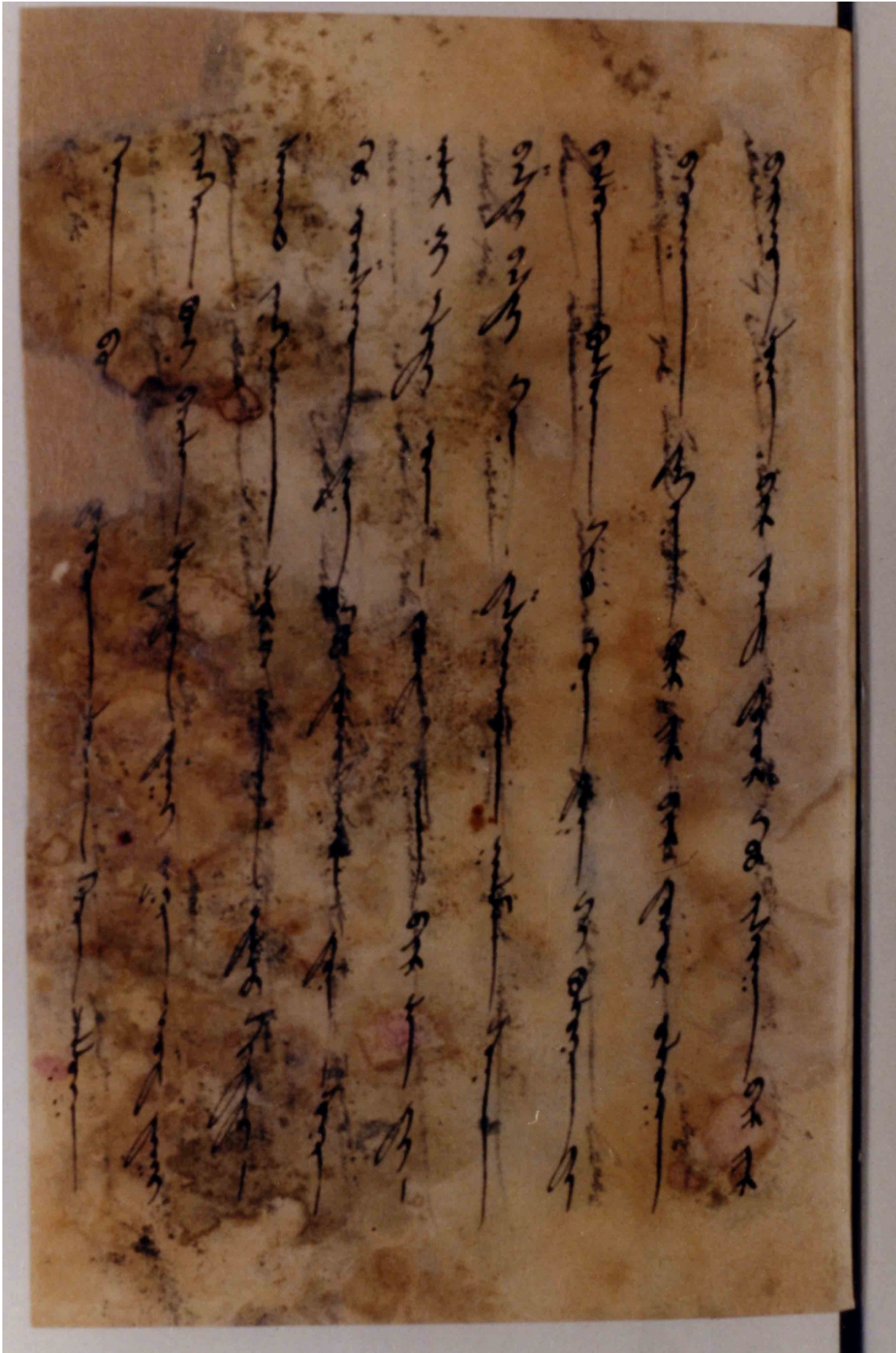
⁶³² RN eitdi

⁶³³ RN kangn kangn

⁶³⁴ RN kang-luk

⁶³⁵ RN kang

⁶³⁶ Šč bilgürsün



33/

- 1) kn⁶³⁷ bw [kwk] dwlwk lwk kwk č'llwq̄
- 2) 'yrk'k bwry byrl' syndw d'q̄y d'ñk qwd d'q̄y
- 3) š'q̄'m⁶³⁸ y'ñkq̄'q̄ l'r y q̄' 'dl'b kyddy
- 4) kwb 'wrwšq̄w d'n⁶³⁹ kwb dwqwšq̄w dwñ swñk
- 5) 'nl'r ñy 'ldy 'wz ywrd y q̄'⁶⁴⁰ byr l' dy
- 6) b'šdy b'sdy k'n⁶⁴¹ d'šq̄'rwñ q̄'lm' swñ
- 7) b'llwk⁶⁴² bwlswn kym kwñ dwñ ky bwlwnk d'
- 8) b'r'q̄'⁶⁴³ d'k'n byr yyr b'r dwrwr 'wlwq̄
- 9) b'rqw lwq̄ byr ywrd dwrwr kwb 'ySyq̄ byr yyr

- 1) känä bo kök⁶⁴⁴ tülüklüg kök jallug⁶⁴⁵
- 2) erkäk böri⁶⁴⁶ birlä sindu⁶⁴⁷ taq̄i tangqut taq̄i
- 3) šağam⁶⁴⁸ yingğaqlariğa⁶⁴⁹ atlap ketti
- 4) köp urušqudan köp toqušqudon song
- 5) anlarni aldi öz yurtiğa birlädi⁶⁵⁰
- 6) bašti⁶⁵¹ basti känä tašqarun qalmasun
- 7) bällüg bolsun kim kündünki⁶⁵² bulungda⁶⁵³
- 8) baraq⁶⁵⁴ tägän bir yer bar turur uluḡ
- 9) barguluḡ⁶⁵⁵ bir yurt turur köp işiḡ bir yer

(1) with this grey furred, grey maned (2-3) male wolf, he rode out and went until the borders of *India* (*sindu*), *Tangut* (*tangqut*), and *Syria* (*šağam*). (4) after a lot of fights and battles, (5) he took them and united them into his own country. (6) He attacked and crushed (them). Without having (anything) left out, (7) let it be (perfectly) known, that in the southern corner (of the world) (8) there is a place named *Barak* (*baraq*^o). (9) It is a land with great (amount of) goods. It is a very hot place.

⁶³⁷ Rad. <k'n'>

⁶³⁸ Rad. <š'q̄ym>

⁶³⁹ Rad. <dwñ>

⁶⁴⁰ Rad. <ywrđy-q̄'>

⁶⁴¹ Rad. <k'n'>

⁶⁴² Rad. <byllwk>

⁶⁴³ Rad. <b'r'q̄>

⁶⁴⁴ RN The word is missing.

⁶⁴⁵ RN cellük

⁶⁴⁶ RN buri

⁶⁴⁷ RN sintü

⁶⁴⁸ RN šakim

⁶⁴⁹ RN yankuk-lar-i-ka, BA yangğaq-lar-ı-ğa, Šč yañğaq-lariğa

⁶⁵⁰ RN bir-me-di

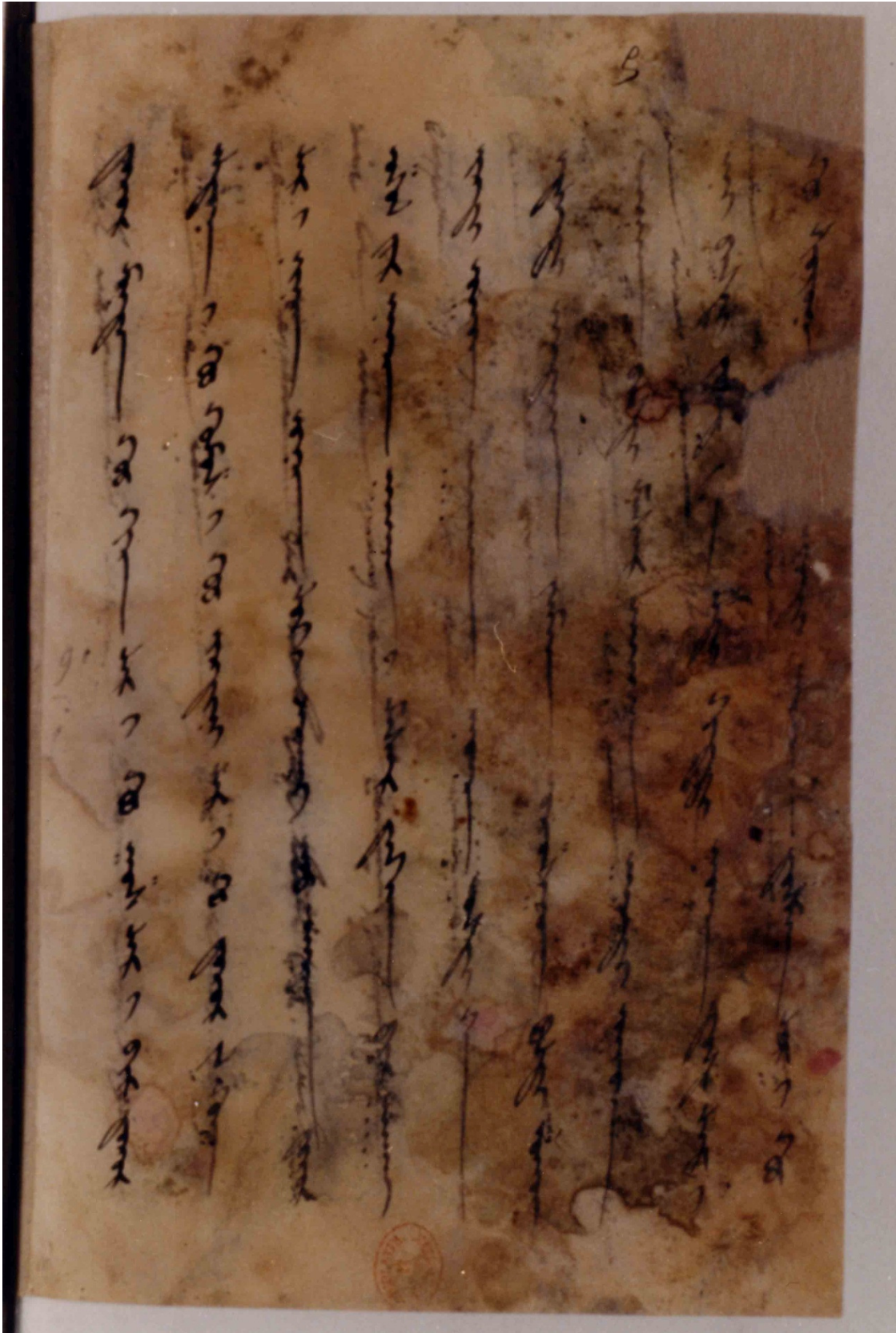
⁶⁵¹ BA baş(a)dı

⁶⁵² RN gün-tün-ki

⁶⁵³ RN bölün-de

⁶⁵⁴ RN bacaka, BA barkan, Šč baraka

⁶⁵⁵ RN birkü-lük



34/

- 1) dwrwr mwnd' kwb kyk l' r y⁶⁵⁶ kwb qwš l' r y bYr⁶⁵⁷ dwrwr
- 2) 'ldwn y kwb kwmwš y kwb 'yrđny⁶⁵⁸ l' r y kwb dwrwr 'yl kwñ
- 3) l' r y nŷnK 'wnk lwky č' r' qy⁶⁵⁹ q' b q' r' dwrwr
- 4) 'wšwl yyr n' nk⁶⁶⁰ q' q' n' y m' S' r d' k' n' byr q' q' n'
- 5) 'yrđy 'wq wz q' q' n' nwnk 'wsdy k'
- 6) 'dl' dy q' d' q'⁶⁶¹ y' m' n' 'wrwšqw bwldy 'wq wz
- 7) q' q' n' b' šdy⁶⁶² m' S' r q' q' n' q' čdy 'wq wz
- 8) 'ny b' sdy ywrd y[n] '[l]dy kyddy 'nwnk dwsd l' r y
- 9) kwb sywywnč⁶⁶³ [...] ⁶⁶⁴ 'yrđy 'nwnk dwšm' n' l' r y kwb

- 1) turur munda köp kıklari köp qušlari bar turur
- 2) altuni köp kümüši köp erdinilari köp turur elkün-
- 3) lărining önglüki čirađi qap qara turur
- 4) ušol yerning qađani misir⁶⁶⁵ tăđan bir qađan
- 5) erdi ođuz qađan anung üstigă
- 6) atladı qatıq⁶⁶⁶ yaman urušqu boldı ođuz
- 7) qađan baštı⁶⁶⁷ misir⁶⁶⁸ qađan qačtı ođuz
- 8) anı bastı yurtin aldi ketti anung dostlari
- 9) köp sewünč [...] ⁶⁶⁹ erdi ⁶⁷⁰ anung dušmanlari köp

There are many games and many birds here. (2) Its gold is much, its silver is much, and its jewel gems are many. (3) The complexion and the face of its people is pure black. (4) The kagan of that place was a kagan named *Egypt (misir)*. (5-6) *Oguz Kagan* rode against him. It became a chaotic and terrible fight. *Oguz* (7) *Kagan* attacked, *Egypt Kagan* fled. *Oguz* (8-9) crushed him, he took his country, and went away. His friends were [...] very glad, his enemies

⁶⁵⁶ Rad. <kyk-l'-ry>

⁶⁵⁷ Rad. <b'r>

⁶⁵⁸ Rad. <yrd'ny>

⁶⁵⁹ Rad. <čyr'qy>

⁶⁶⁰ Rad. <nŷnk>

⁶⁶¹ Rad. <'nd'q>

⁶⁶² Rad. <b'sdy>

⁶⁶³ Rad. <sywywnč>

⁶⁶⁴ Rad. <lyk>

⁶⁶⁵ RN macar, BA masar, Šč masar

⁶⁶⁶ RN mundak, BA andađ, Šč andađ

⁶⁶⁷ BA baš(a)dı

⁶⁶⁸ RN macar, BA masar, Šč masar

⁶⁶⁹ RN siviünc (lik), BA siviñç[-ler], Šč sevinč(lig)

⁶⁷⁰ BA dapdı



- 1) q' yqw l' r [...] ⁶⁷¹ wqwz [...] ⁶⁷² b' šdy
- 2) s' [n] ' qw lwq syz ⁶⁷³ n' m' l' r y' lqy ⁶⁷⁴
- 3) l' r ' ldy ywrd y q' ' wy k' ⁶⁷⁵ dwšdy kyddy
- 4) kn' ⁶⁷⁶ č' šq' rwn' ⁶⁷⁷ q' lm' swñ kym
- 5) byllwk bwlswn kym ' wqwz q' q' n' nwnk
- 6) č' ny d' ' q' s' q' l lwq mw[z] ⁶⁷⁸ s' č lwq
- 7) ' wswñ ' wslwq b' r' ⁶⁷⁹ q' rd kyšy dwrwr b' r' ' yrdy
- 8) ' wq' qw lwq ⁶⁸⁰ dswñ byr yyr ⁶⁸¹ ' yrdy dwšym' l' ⁶⁸²
- 9) ' yrdy ' nwnk ' dy ' wlwq dwrwk ' yrdy kwñ

- 1) qaygular [...] ⁶⁸³ oğuz [qağan] ⁶⁸⁴ bašti ⁶⁸⁵
- 2) sanaguluqsiz ⁶⁸⁶ namälär yilqı-
- 3) lar aldı yurtığa üygä ⁶⁸⁷ tüšti ketti
- 4) kenä taşqarun ⁶⁸⁸ qalmasun kim
- 5) bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung
- 6) janıda aq saqalluğ moz ⁶⁸⁹ saçluğ
- 7) uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi
- 8) uq' guluq ⁶⁹⁰ tüzün ⁶⁹¹ bir yer ⁶⁹² erdi tüšimäl
- 9) erdi anung atı uluğ türük erdi kün-

[found] a lot of sorrow. *Oguz* [*Kagan*] attacked, (2-3) and he gained uncountable things and livestock, (then) he went and settled in his country, at home. (4) Without having (anything) left out, (5-6) let it be (perfectly) known, that next to *Oguz Kagan* there was a white bearded, grey haired, (7) sharp minded (lit. long minded) old man. (8) He was a wise and well-behaved man, a seer (*tüšimäl*). (9) His name was *Great Turk* (*uluğ türük*).

⁶⁷¹ Rad. <bwldy>

⁶⁷² Rad. <q' q' n' ' ny>

⁶⁷³ Rad. <syn-qw-lwq-syn>

⁶⁷⁴ Rad. <yylqy>

⁶⁷⁵ Rad. <yk' >

⁶⁷⁶ Rad. <k' n' >

⁶⁷⁷ Rad <t' šq' rwn>

⁶⁷⁸ Rad. <mwr>

⁶⁷⁹ Rad. <byr>

⁶⁸⁰ Rad. <' wq-qw-lwq>

⁶⁸¹ Rad. <' yr>

⁶⁸² Rad. <dwšm' n' >

⁶⁸³ RN boldı, BA dapdı, Šč taptı

⁶⁸⁴ RN kagan anı, BA kağan, Šč qağan anı

⁶⁸⁵ BA baş(a)dı

⁶⁸⁶ RN sin-ku-luk-sin

⁶⁸⁷ RN evi-ge, BA ö(y)i-ge, Šč üyigä

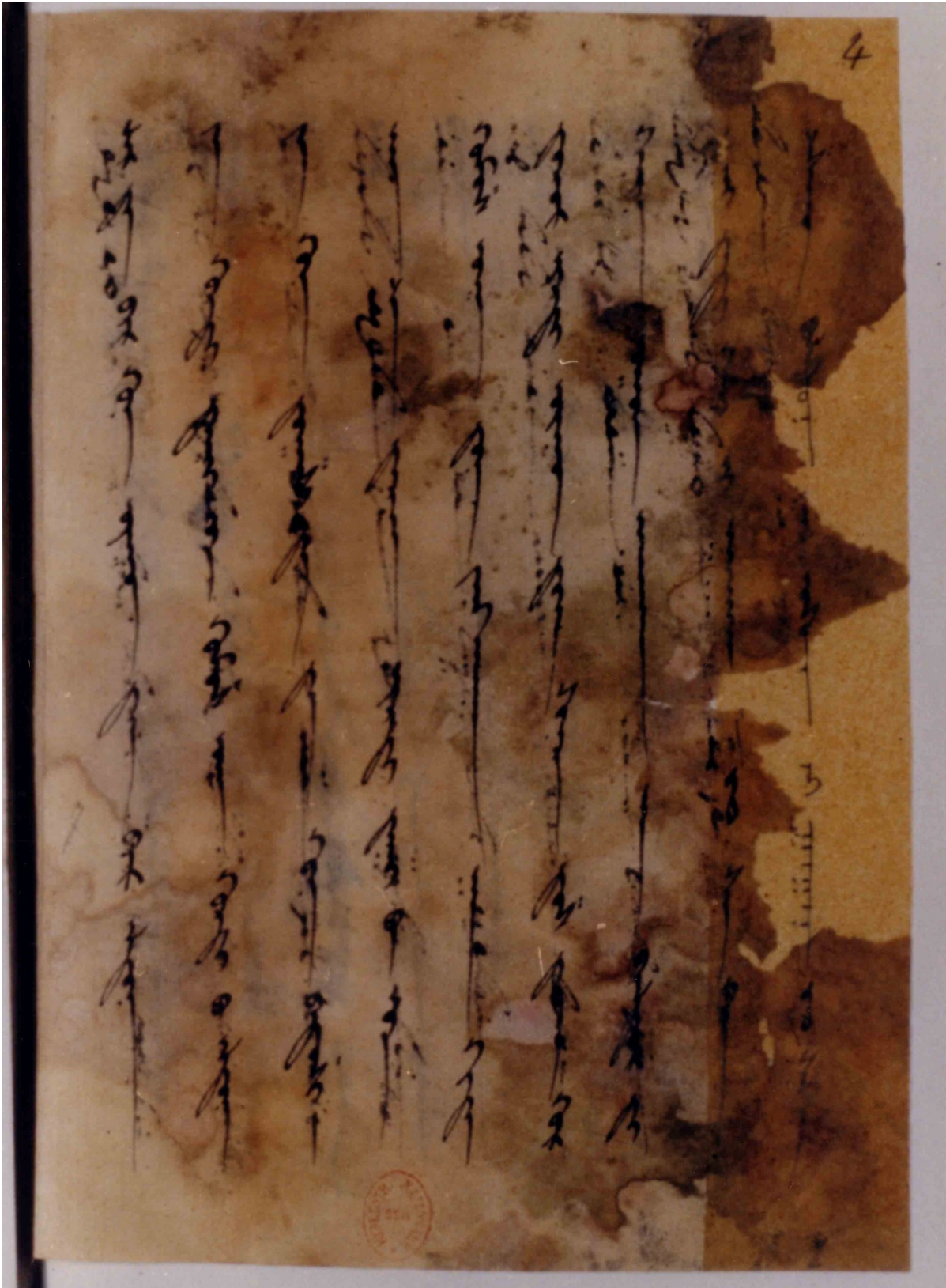
⁶⁸⁸ BA çaşka-run, Šč çaşqarun

⁶⁸⁹ Šč muz

⁶⁹⁰ RN oku-ku-luk, BA uk-ğu-luğ

⁶⁹¹ RN tesun

⁶⁹² RN ir, Šč er



36/

- 1) l' r d' byr kwñ 'wyq̄w d' byr 'ldwñ
- 2) y' kwrđy d' q̄y⁶⁹³ 'wč kwmwš 'wq kwrđy bw 'ldwñ
- 3) y' kwñ dwq̄ 'šy d'⁶⁹⁴ d' kwñ b' dwšy
- 4) q̄ 'č' d' k' n⁶⁹⁵ 'yrđy d' q̄y bw 'wč
- 5) kwmwš 'wq̄ dwñ y' nkq̄ 'q̄ q̄ 'kyd'
- 6) dwrwr 'yrđy 'wyq̄w dwñ swñk dwš d' kwr-
- 7) k' n' yñ 'wq̄wz q̄ 'q̄ 'n q̄ ' b' ldwr dy⁶⁹⁶
- 8) [d']q̄y d' dy k[y]m 'y q̄ 'q̄ 'n wm s' n k'
- 9) čš' q̄w⁶⁹⁷ bwls[wn] [q̄] l'⁶⁹⁸ 'wsw[n]⁶⁹⁹ ['y] [q' q' n] wm⁷⁰⁰ s' nk'⁷⁰¹

- 1) lärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun
- 2) ya kördi taqı üč kümüş oq kördi bo altun
- 3) ya kün tuğışıda⁷⁰² da kün batuşı⁷⁰³ -
- 4) ğača täggän⁷⁰⁴ erdi taqı bo üč
- 5) kümüş⁷⁰⁵ oq tün yingğaqqa⁷⁰⁶ ketä
- 6) turur erdi uyqudon song tüštä⁷⁰⁷ kör-
- 7) ğänin oğuz qağanğa bildürdi
- 8) taqı tädi kim ay qağanum sängä
- 9) jaşağū⁷⁰⁸ bolsunğil uzun⁷⁰⁹ ay qağanum sängä⁷¹⁰

(1-2) One of the days, while sleeping, he saw a golden bow as well as three silver arrows. This golden (3-4) bow had reached from the East until the West. Then these three (5) silver arrows were going to the North. (6-7) After sleeping, he told what he saw in the dream to *Oguz Kagan*. (8-9) So he said: 'Oh, my *kagan*, let life be long for you! Oh, my *kagan*,

⁶⁹³ Rad. The word is missing.

⁶⁹⁴ Rad. <dwq̄wšy-dyñ>

⁶⁹⁵ Rad. <d'kk'n>

⁶⁹⁶ Rad. <byldwr-dy>

⁶⁹⁷ Rad. <č'šq̄w>

⁶⁹⁸ Rad. The element is missing.

⁶⁹⁹ Rad. The word is missing.

⁷⁰⁰ Rad. <ym>

⁷⁰¹ Rad. <...>

⁷⁰² RN doguşı-dan, BA doğışı-d(ı)n, Šč toquşidan

⁷⁰³ RN batışı

⁷⁰⁴ RN deken, BA degen, Šč te(k)kän

⁷⁰⁵ RN gumüş

⁷⁰⁶ RN yañkik-ga, BA yangğak-ka, Šč yañğaqqa

⁷⁰⁷ RN duş-da

⁷⁰⁸ RN casku, Šč jaš(a)ğū

⁷⁰⁹ RN The element -ğil and the word *uzun* is missing, just as at Rad. BA düşün

⁷¹⁰ RN The word is missing



- 1) dwrlwk bwlsw[n] [q̄]yl dwswn [...] [...] [...] ⁷¹¹
- 2) d'ńkry b'rdy dwšwm d' k[']ldwr swñ ⁷¹² d'l'
- 3) dwrwr yyr ⁷¹³ [n]y 'wrwq̄ wñk q̄' bYrdwr swñ
- 4) d'b d'dy 'wq̄wz q̄'q̄'n 'wlwq̄ dwrwk
- 5) ñwñk swz wñ yq̄šy ⁷¹⁴ kwrđy 'wkwdwñ
- 6) d'l'dy ⁷¹⁵ 'wkwdw ⁷¹⁶ k' kwr' q̄'ldy ⁷¹⁷ 'nd'n ⁷¹⁸
- 7) swñk 'yrd' bwlwb d' 'q̄' l'r ñy 'yñy
- 8) l'r ñy č'rl'b k'ldwr dy ⁷¹⁹ d'q̄y 'yddy kym 'y m'ñwñk ⁷²⁰
- 9) kwñkwł wm 'w ñy d'l'b ⁷²¹ dwrwr q̄'ry bwlq̄w md'n ⁷²²

- 1) türlük ⁷²³ bolsunğil tüzün ⁷²⁴ [...] ⁷²⁵
- 2) tängri bärdi tüşümdä ⁷²⁶ kaldürsün tola ⁷²⁷
- 3) turur yerni uruğungğa berdürsün
- 4) täp tädi oğuz qağan uluğ türük-
- 5) nüng sözün yaqši ⁷²⁸ kördi ögütün
- 6) tilädi ögütüğe körä qıldi andan
- 7) song ertä bolupta aqalarni ini-
- 8) lärnä jarlap kaldürdi taqi aytı ⁷²⁹ kim ay mänüñg ⁷³⁰
- 9) köngülüm awni ⁷³¹ tilap turur qarı bolğumdan ⁷³²

(1) let mood (as a ruler) be gentle for you (during your life)! [...] (2-3) The Sky shall bring [what] he gave in my dream, shall he order to give the whole world to your heredity!' (4-5-6) – he said. *Oğuz Kagan* liked *Great Turk's* words, he asked for his advice, and he acted according to it. Then, (7-8) at dawnbreak, he called for the elder and younger sons and brought them. So he said: 'Oh, my (9) heart longs for hunt! Because I am old,

⁷¹¹ Rad. <byz-k' kwk>

⁷¹² Rad. <kyldwr-swñ>

⁷¹³ Rad. <y'r>

⁷¹⁴ Rad. <y'q̄sy>

⁷¹⁵ Rad. <dyl'dy>

⁷¹⁶ Rad. <wkwdy>

⁷¹⁷ Rad. <q̄yldy>

⁷¹⁸ Rad. <'ñdyñ>

⁷¹⁹ Rad. <kyldwr-dy>

⁷²⁰ Rad. <m'ñyñk>

⁷²¹ Rad. <dyl'b>

⁷²² Rad. <bwlq̄w-mdyñ>

⁷²³ RN türlük BA dürlük Šč tör(ü)lük

⁷²⁴ RN du-sun

⁷²⁵ RN biz-ge gök, BA ne-gü kök, Šč bengä kök

⁷²⁶ RN dušum-da

⁷²⁷ RN tile, BA dala, Šč talai

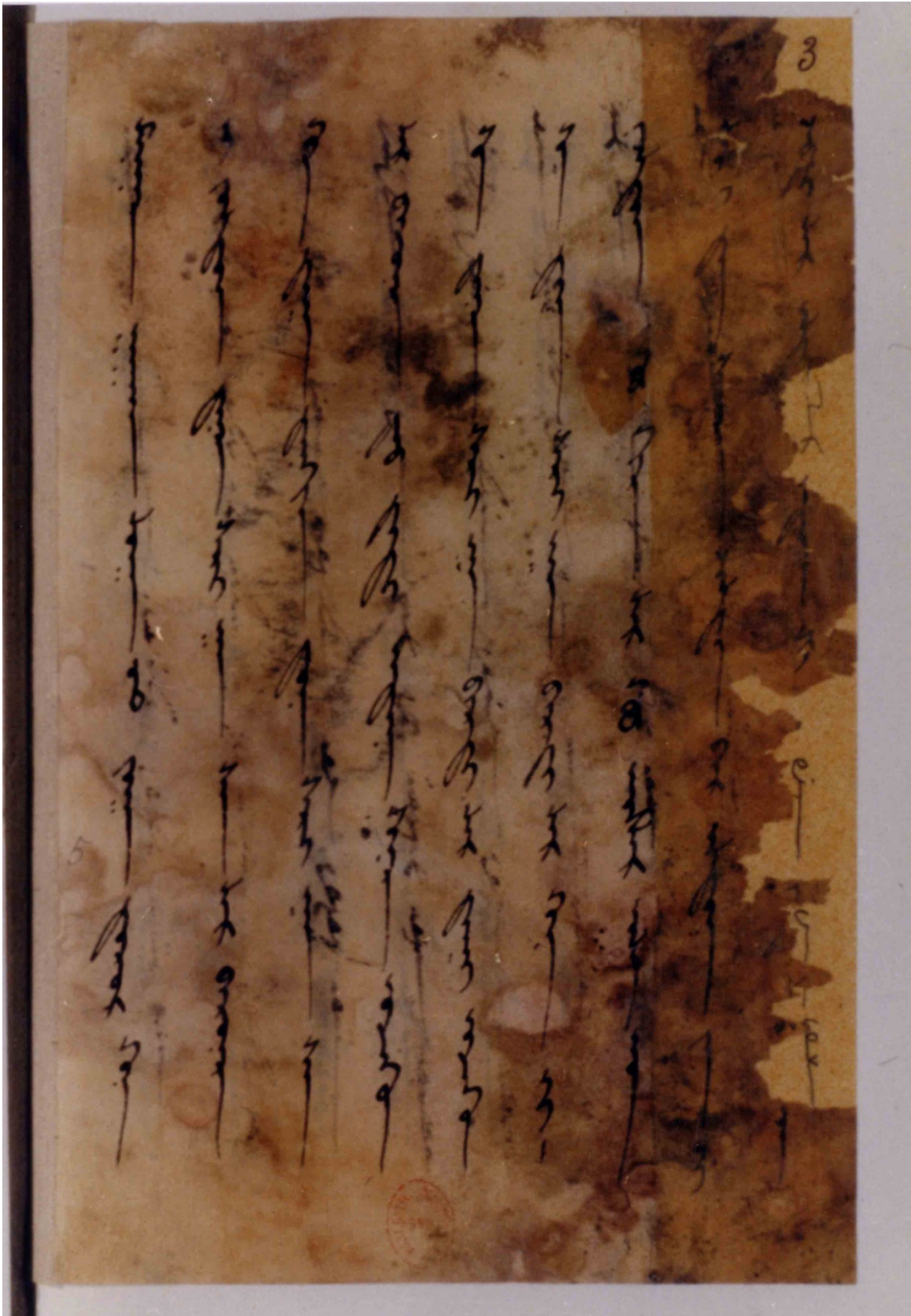
⁷²⁸ BA y(a)kşı, Šč y(a)qši

⁷²⁹ RN eytdi

⁷³⁰ RN mening

⁷³¹ RN u-ni

⁷³² RN bulgu-mdan



- 1) m' n' nk⁷³³ q' q' z lwq⁷³⁴ wm ywq dwrwr kwn
- 2) 'y ywldwz d' nk s' ry q' s' n⁷³⁵ l' r b' rwñk
- 3) kwk d' q' d' nkyz dwn s' ry q' s' n⁷³⁶
- 4) l' r b' rwñk d' b' d' dy 'nd' n⁷³⁷ swñk 'wč' kw
- 5) sw d' nk s' ry q' bYrdy l' r⁷³⁸ d' qy 'wč' kw
- 6) sw dwn s' ry q' b' rdy l' r kwn 'y
- 7) ywldwz kwk kyk l' r kwk qwšl' r 'wl' qw
- 8) [l' r] y d' [n]⁷³⁹ s[wñk] č' ld⁷⁴⁰ b' r⁷⁴¹ 'ldwn y' [n]y
- 9) č['] bdy l' r⁷⁴² 'ldy [...] ⁷⁴³ d' sy [q' b' r]dy [l' r]⁷⁴⁴ [...]wz⁷⁴⁵

- 1) mäning qačizluqum⁷⁴⁶ yoq turur kün
- 2) ay yulduz⁷⁴⁷ tang sarıga sänlär⁷⁴⁸ barung
- 3) kök tağ tängiz⁷⁴⁹ tün sarıga sän-
- 4) lär⁷⁵⁰ barung täp tädi andan song üçägü-
- 5) sü tang sarıga bardılar taqı üçägü-
- 6) sü tün sarıga bardılar kün ay
- 7) yulduz köp kıklär köp qušlar awlağü-
- 8) larıdan song jolda⁷⁵¹ bir altun yanı
- 9) taptılar⁷⁵² aldı[lar] atasıga bärdilär [oğuz]⁷⁵³

(1) my quick-temperedness does not exist anymore. *Sun*, (2) *Moon, Star*, you shall go to the East! (3-4) *Sky, Mountain, Sea*, you shall go the the West!' – he said. After that three (5) of them went to the East, and three (6) of them went to the West. *Sun, Moon*, (7-8-9) and *Star*, after they hunted down many games and birds, found a golden bow on the way, they took it, and gave it to their father. *Oguz*

⁷³³ Rad. <m' nyñk>

⁷³⁴ Rad. <q' q' n-lwq>

⁷³⁵ Rad. <syñ>

⁷³⁶ Rad. <syz>

⁷³⁷ Rad. <' ndyñ>

⁷³⁸ Rad. <b' rdy-l' r>

⁷³⁹ Rad. <dyñ>

⁷⁴⁰ Rad. <čwld' >

⁷⁴¹ Rad. <byr>

⁷⁴² Rad. <čybdy-lar>

⁷⁴³ Rad. <l' r>

⁷⁴⁴ Rad. <byrdy-l' r>

⁷⁴⁵ Rad. The word is added in the first line of the next page.

⁷⁴⁶ RN kagan-luk-um, Šč qağazluğum

⁷⁴⁷ RN yuldyz

⁷⁴⁸ RN siz-ler

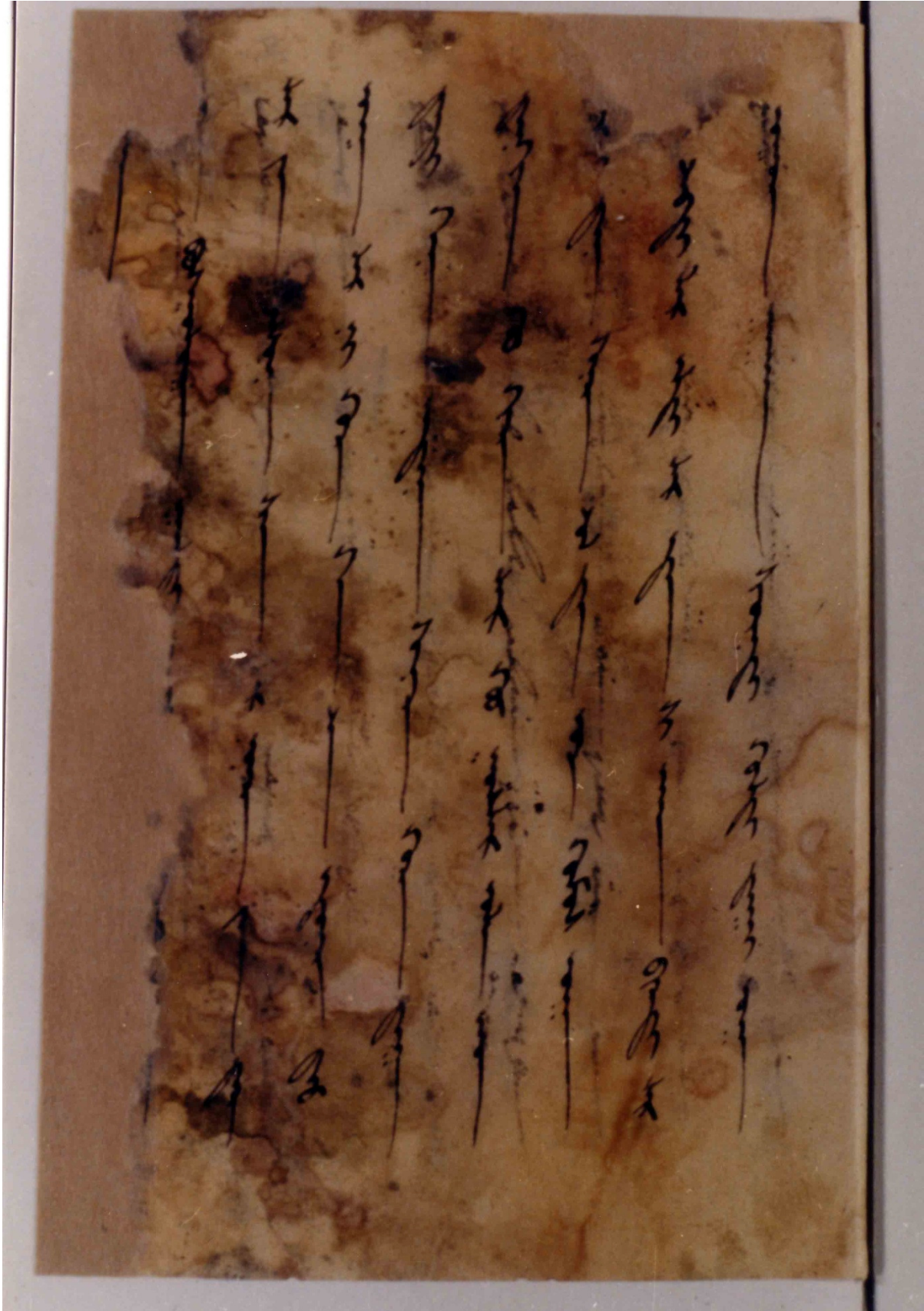
⁷⁴⁹ RN teñir

⁷⁵⁰ RN siz-ler

⁷⁵¹ RN cilde

⁷⁵² BA čaptı-lar, Šč čaptılar

⁷⁵³ RN The word is written in the first line of the next page, as well as at Šč.



39/

- 1) [...q'n] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] ⁷⁵⁴
- 2) ['wč] bwsqwlwq q'ldy ⁷⁵⁵ [...] [...] [kym] [...] [...] ⁷⁵⁶
- 3) l'r y' [bw]lswn sYn [l'r] nwnq y' d'k
- 4) 'wq l'r ny kwk k' č' 'dwnk d'b
- 5) d'dy k'n ⁷⁵⁷ 'nd'n ⁷⁵⁸ swnk kwk d'q
- 6) d'nkyz kwk kyk l'r kwk qwšl'r 'wl'qw
- 7) [l'r] y d'n ⁷⁵⁹ swnk čwl d' 'wč kwmwš 'wq
- 8) [ny] č'bdy l'r ⁷⁶⁰ 'ldy l'r 'd' sy q' ⁷⁶¹ byrdy l'r
- 9) 'wq wz q'q'n sywyndy kwldy d'qy 'wq

- 1) [qağan sewindi küldi taqı yanı] ⁷⁶²
- 2) üç buzguluq ⁷⁶³ qıldı [taqı ayttı] ⁷⁶⁴ kim [ay aqa-]
- 3) lar ya bolsun senlärmüng ⁷⁶⁵ ya täg
- 4) oqlarnı kökkäčä atung täp
- 5) tädi känä andan song kök tag
- 6) tängiz köp kıklär köp qušlar awlağ-
- 7) larıdan song jolda ⁷⁶⁶ üç kümüş oq-
- 8) nı taptılar ⁷⁶⁷ aldılar atasığa berdilər
- 9) oğuz qağan sewindi ⁷⁶⁸ küldi taqı oq-

(1-2) *Kagan* [was glad, laughed, and] he broke the bow into three pieces. [Then he said: "Oh, elder sons,] (3) The bow shall be yours! Like the bow, (4) you shall shoot the arrows until the sky!" – he said. (5) Then after that *Sky, Mountain* (6-7-8) and *Sea*, after they hunted down many games and many birds, found three silver arrows on the way. They took it, and they gave it to their father. (9) *Oguz Kagan* was glad, laughed, and

⁷⁵⁴ Rad. <'wq wz q'q'n sywyndy kwldy d'qy y'-ny>

⁷⁵⁵ Rad. <qyldy>

⁷⁵⁶ Rad. <d'qy 'y ydy kym 'y 'q'>

⁷⁵⁷ Rad. <k'n'>

⁷⁵⁸ Rad. <'ndyn'>

⁷⁵⁹ Rad. <dyn'>

⁷⁶⁰ Rad. <č'bdy l'r>

⁷⁶¹ Rad. <q'>

⁷⁶² RN uguz kagan siündi güldi dakı ya-nı, BA oğuz kağan sivindi küldi dakı ya-nı, Šč oğuz qağan sevindi küldi taqı anı

⁷⁶³ RN bozbuluk

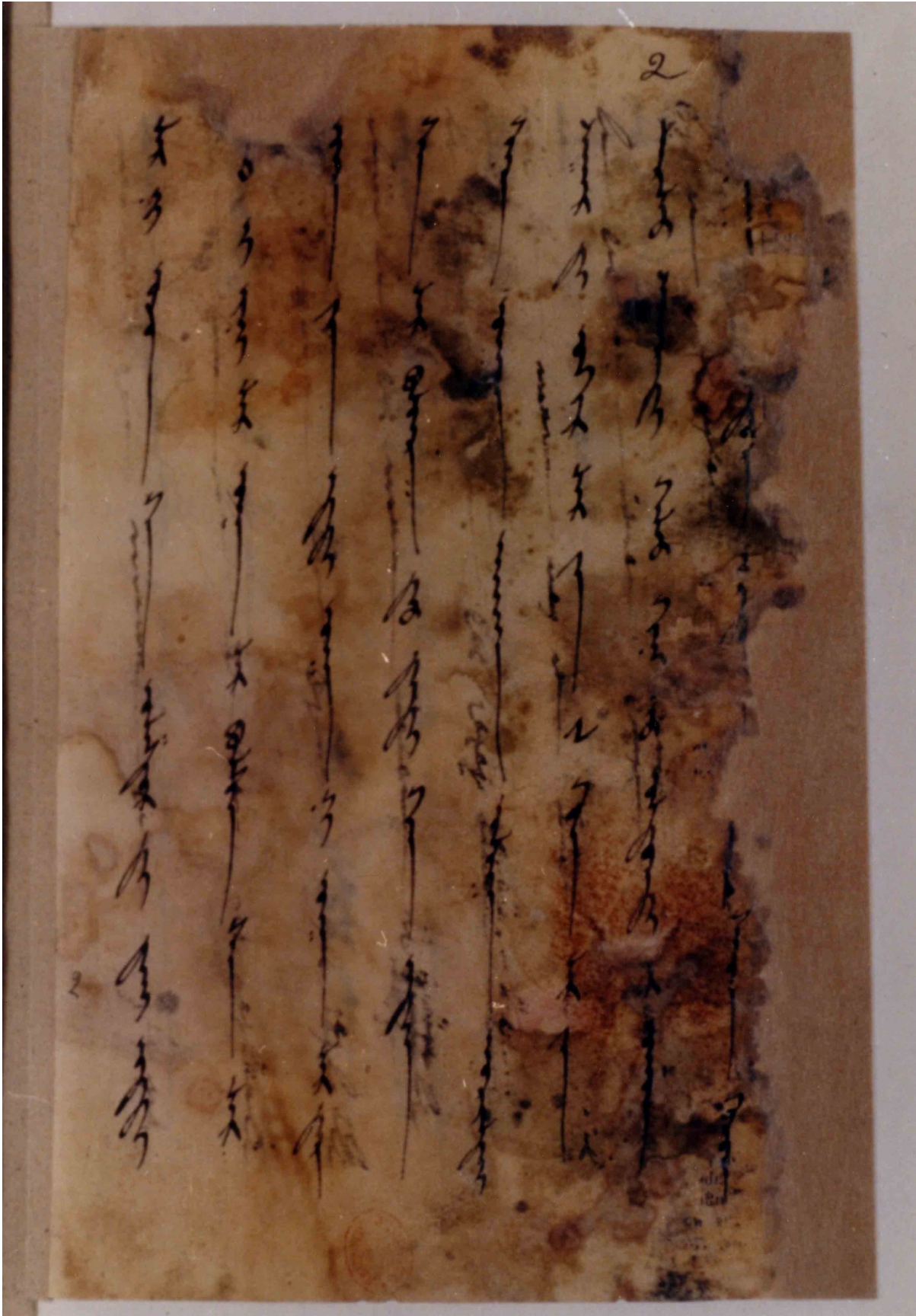
⁷⁶⁴ RN eytdi

⁷⁶⁵ RN siz-ler-nün

⁷⁶⁶ RN cöl-de

⁷⁶⁷ BA çaptı-lar, Šč çaptılar

⁷⁶⁸ RN sivindi, BA sivindi, Šč sevindi



40/

- 1) l' r nŷ 'wčw k' 'wl'šdwr dy dqy 'Yddy
- 2) [ky]m 'y 'yňy l' r 'wq̄ l' r bwlswn s' n⁷⁶⁹ l' r
- 3) nwnk y' 'ddy 'wq̄ nŷ 'wq̄ l' r d' k
- 4) s' n⁷⁷⁰ l' r bwlwnk d' b d' dy kn⁷⁷¹ 'nd' n⁷⁷²
- 5) swnk 'wq̄wz q' q' n 'wlwq̄ qwry' ld' y
- 6) č' q' r dy⁷⁷³ nwkYr l' r yn yl kwn l' r yn
- 7) č' rl' b⁷⁷⁴ č' q' rdy⁷⁷⁵ k' l' b⁷⁷⁶ kyňk['š] 'b⁷⁷⁷ 'wldwrdy [l']r 'wq̄wz
- 8) [q']q' n [by]dwk ['w]rd[w] [...] ' [š]qw⁷⁷⁸ kwrwk
- 9) [...]

- 1) larni üçügä üläštürdi⁷⁷⁹ taqi aytti⁷⁸⁰
- 2) kim ay inilär oqlar bolsun sänlär-
- 3) nüng⁷⁸¹ ya attı oqnı oqlar täg
- 4) sänlär⁷⁸² bolung täp tädi känä andan⁷⁸³
- 5) song oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay⁷⁸⁴
- 6) čaqirdi nökerlärin⁷⁸⁵ elkünlärin
- 7) čarlap čaqirdi kälip kengäšip⁷⁸⁶ olturdılar oğuz
- 8) qağan bedük [ordu] [...] ⁷⁸⁷ körüg-⁷⁸⁸
- 9) [...] [ong yaqi da]⁷⁸⁹

(1) he distributed the arrows among the three of them. So he said: (2) 'Oh younger sons, the arrows shall be yours! (3-4) The bow shot the arrows, you shall become (like) the arrows!' – he said. Then after that (5-6-7) *Oğuz Kagan* called a great council. He summoned the bodyguards and the people. They came and consulted (for a long time). *Oğuz* (8) *Kagan* great [warcamp] [...]. (9) On the right side

⁷⁶⁹ Rad. <sy>

⁷⁷⁰ Rad. <sy>

⁷⁷¹ Rad. <k' n' >

⁷⁷² Rad. <' ndyň>

⁷⁷³ Rad. <č' qyr-dy>

⁷⁷⁴ Rad. <č' r-l' b>

⁷⁷⁵ Rad. <č' qyrdy>

⁷⁷⁶ Rad. <k' lyb>

⁷⁷⁷ Rad. <kyňk' šyb>

⁷⁷⁸ Rad. <d' ...>

⁷⁷⁹ RN ulašdur-dī

⁷⁸⁰ RN eytdi

⁷⁸¹ RN siz-ler-niň

⁷⁸² RN sizler

⁷⁸³ RN undin

⁷⁸⁴ RN kurultay

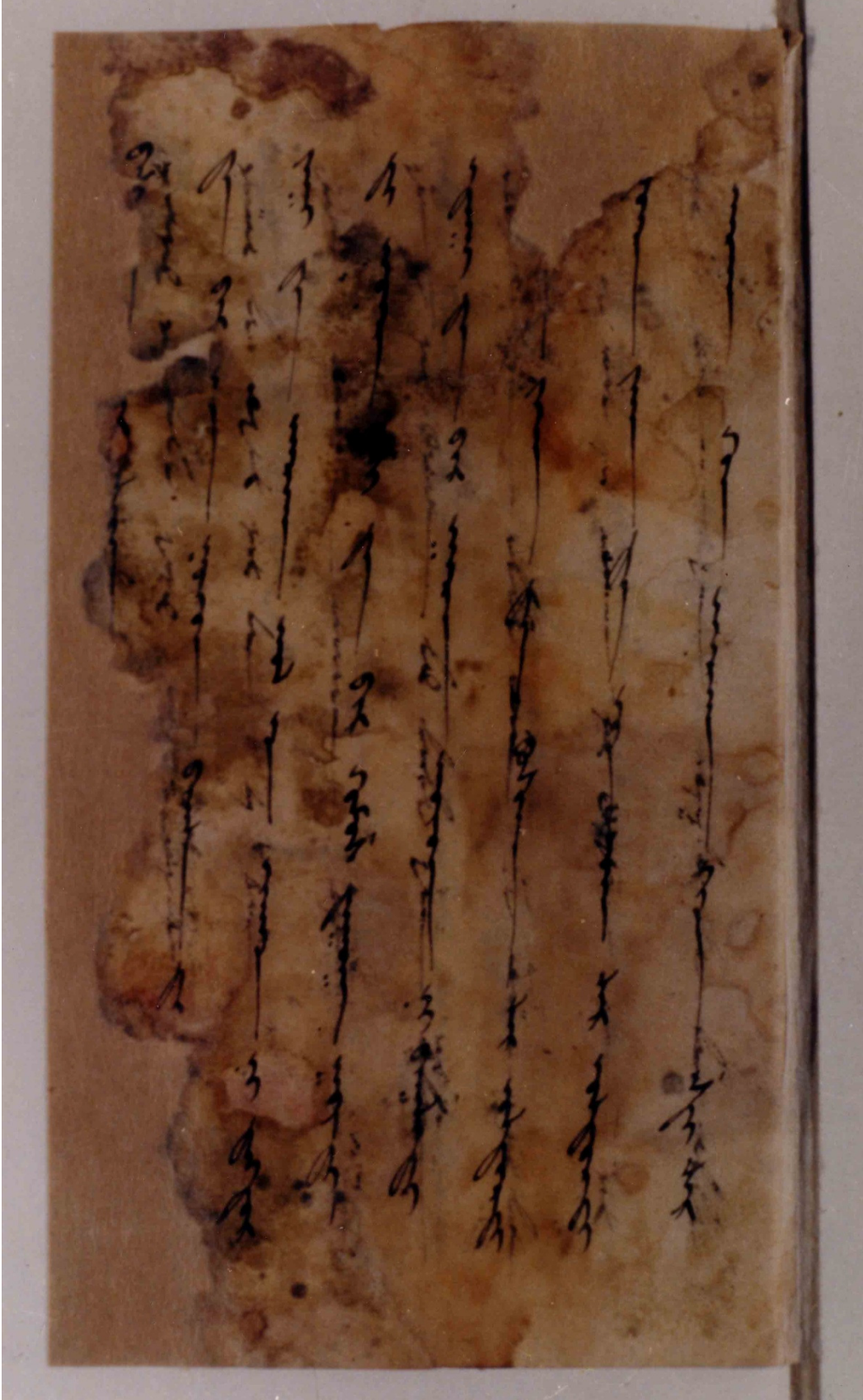
⁷⁸⁵ RN nokir-ler-in

⁷⁸⁶ RN kinkšib

⁷⁸⁷ RN da ... senüň Šč ordu-da

⁷⁸⁸ BA and Šč does not reconstruct anything here.

⁷⁸⁹ RN öň yaki-da



41/

- 1) [...] ⁷⁹⁰
- 2) b' [šy d] ' [by]r 'l[d]wn [...] [...] [...] ⁷⁹¹
- 3) d' b'r ⁷⁹² ' [q] q̄w'wn ⁷⁹³ b' q'l' dy [...] ⁷⁹⁴
- 4) y' q̄y d' q' r' q' ⁷⁹⁵ qwl' č' 'Yq' č' ny d' kdwr
- 5) dy 'nwnk [b']šy d' bYr kwmwš d' q̄wq̄ q̄wydy
- 6) 'd' q̄Y d' b'r ⁷⁹⁶ q' r' q̄wywn ny b' q'l' dy
- 7) [...] ⁷⁹⁷ y' q' d' bwsqw l' r' 'wldwrđy
- 8) čwnk y' q' d' 'wč' 'wq' ⁷⁹⁸ l' r' 'wldwrđy
- 9) q' r' q' ⁷⁹⁹ kwn q' r' q' ⁸⁰⁰ kyč' 'šdy l' r

- 1) [q̄ir̄iq qol ač iġačnī tiktürdi anung] ⁸⁰¹
- 2) bašida bir altun [taġuq qoydī adaqī-] ⁸⁰²
- 3) da bir aq qoyun baġladī [čong] ⁸⁰³
- 4) yaqida q̄ir̄iq qol ač iġačnī ⁸⁰⁴ tiktür-
- 5) di anung bašida bir kümüš taġuq qoydī
- 6) adaqida bir qara qoyunnī baġladī
- 7) [ong] ⁸⁰⁵ yaqta buzuqlar olturđi
- 8) čong ⁸⁰⁶ yaqta üç oqlar ⁸⁰⁷ olturđi
- 9) q̄ir̄iq kün q̄ir̄iq kečä aštīlar ⁸⁰⁸

(1) he erected a pole of forty fathoms. (2) Onto its top, he put a golden hen. To its neath, (3) he tied a white sheep. On the left side, he erected a(nother) pole of forty fathoms. (5) Onto its top, he put a silver hen. (6) To its neath he tied a black sheep. (7) *The Broken (buzuqlar)* sat on the right side (8) the *Three Arrows (üç oqlar)* sat on the left side. (9) For many days and many nights, they gorged

⁷⁹⁰ Rad. <q̄yryq̄ q̄wl' č' 'yq' č'-ny dykdwr-dy ' 'nwnk>

⁷⁹¹ Rad. <d' q̄wq̄ q̄wydy ' 'd' q̄y>

⁷⁹² Rad. <byr>

⁷⁹³ Rad. <qwywn>

⁷⁹⁴ Rad. <čwnk>

⁷⁹⁵ Rad. <q̄yryq̄>

⁷⁹⁶ Rad. <byr>

⁷⁹⁷ Rad. <'wñk>

⁷⁹⁸ Rad. <'wčwq̄>

⁷⁹⁹ Rad. <q̄yryq̄>

⁸⁰⁰ Rad. <q̄ryq̄>

⁸⁰¹ RN k̄ir̄ik kulac iġac-nī tiktürdi anuġ, BA and Šč agrees on this reconstruction.

⁸⁰² RN takuk kodī adakī,

⁸⁰³ RN cöŋ

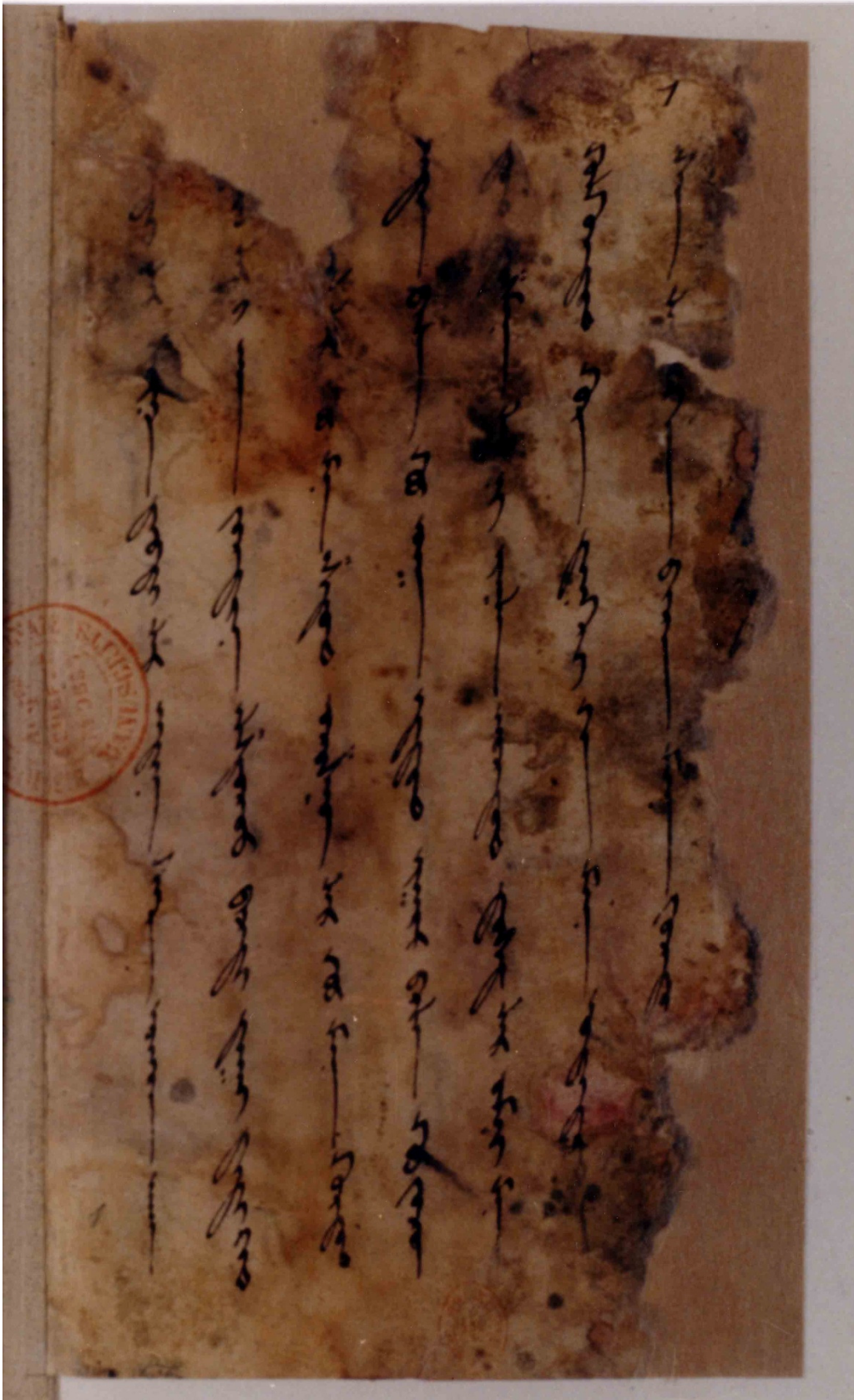
⁸⁰⁴ Šč y(i)ġačnī

⁸⁰⁵ RN on

⁸⁰⁶ RN cöŋ

⁸⁰⁷ RN uc cuk-lar

⁸⁰⁸ BA aš(a)dī-lar, Šč aš(a)dīlar



42/

- 1) ['yč]dy⁸⁰⁹ l' r [sy]wyñč d' bdy l' r ' nd' ñ⁸¹⁰ sWnk ' wq wz q' q' n
- 2) ['wqwl] l' r y q' ywrđyñ ' lšdwrwb⁸¹¹ byrđy d' qy d' dy kym
- 3) [...] ⁸¹² ['w]qwl l' r kw b mñ⁸¹³ čš' dwm⁸¹⁴ ' wrwšq w l' r kw b m' ñ kwrđwm⁸¹⁵
- 4) č' d⁸¹⁶ b' s⁸¹⁷ kw b ' wq ' ddwm ' yqyr brl⁸¹⁸ kw b ywrw
- 5) dwm dwšm' ñ l' r ñy ' yqł' qwrđwm dwsd l' r wmñy mñ⁸¹⁹
- 6) kwłkwrđwm kwk⁸²⁰ d' ñkry k' m' ñ ' wd' dwm
- 7) s' n⁸²¹ l' r k' bYr' m' ñ ywrđw[m] [d...] [k...] ⁸²²
- 8) [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]
- 9) [...]

- 1) ičtilär⁸²³ sewinč⁸²⁴ taptılar andan song oğuz qağan
- 2) oğullarığa yurtın ülāštürüb⁸²⁵ berdi taqı tādı kim
- 3) [ay] oğullar köp män jašadum⁸²⁶ uruščular köp män kördüm
- 4) jida⁸²⁷ basa⁸²⁸ köp oq attum ayğır birlä⁸²⁹ köp yörü-
- 5) düm dušmanlarnı iğlağurdum⁸³⁰ dostlarumnı män
- 6) külgürdüm⁸³¹ kök tängriğä män ötädüm
- 7) sänlärgä⁸³² berä män yurtum [...] ⁸³³
- 8) [...]
- 9) [...]

(1) and swilled, and found joy. After that *Oguz Kagan* (2) divided his country in the favor of his sons. So he said: (3) "Oh, sons, I lived long, I saw many battles, (4) I threw many javelins and shot many arrows, and I walked much with the stallion. (5-6) I made my enemies cry, (and) I made my friends laugh. I carried out my obligation to the *Blue Sky*, (7) (so) I (hereby) give my country to you." [...]

⁸⁰⁹ Rad. <'yrđy>

⁸¹⁰ Rad. <'ñdyñ>

⁸¹¹ Rad. <'wl'šdwrwb>

⁸¹² Rad. <'y>

⁸¹³ Rad. <m'ñ>

⁸¹⁴ Rad. <y'š'dwm>

⁸¹⁵ Rad. <kwyrđwm>

⁸¹⁶ Rad. <čyd>

⁸¹⁷ Rad. <byrl'>

⁸¹⁸ Rad. <byrl'>

⁸¹⁹ Rad. <m'ñ>

⁸²⁰ Rad. <kwyk>

⁸²¹ Rad. <syz>

⁸²² Rad. <d' b d' dy>

⁸²³ RN ...di-ler

⁸²⁴ RN sevinc, BA siviñç, Šč sevinč

⁸²⁵ RN ulšdurub, BA el(i)šdürüp, Šč ül(ä)štürüb

⁸²⁶ RN ašadum, BA ašdum, Šč aštum

⁸²⁷ RN jide

⁸²⁸ RN bile, BA bile, Šč bilä

⁸²⁹ RN b rle, BA b(i)rle, Šč b(i)rlä

⁸³⁰ RN yigla kordum, Šč y(i)ğlağurdum

⁸³¹ BA küldürdüm, Šč küldürdüm

⁸³² RN siz-ler-ge, Šč sizlärgä

⁸³³ RN yurdu m deb dedi, BA yurdum dep dedi

4. Notes on the text

1/1 *bolsunġil*: Among the previous editions BA (p. 32) and Šč (p. 64) mention that the suffix *-sunġil* does not appear elsewhere, only in the PON, but here several times (11/9, 13/6, 36/9, 37/1), always with the verb *bol-* 'to be(come)'. The suffix probably consists of two elements: a Sg.3 imperative suffix *-sun*, and an element which is known as the Sg.2 imperative *-ġil*. This latter is probably can be associated with the Sg.2 imperative form of OT *qil-ϕ* 'Do!' In the PON, the morphological opposition can be set in second person as \emptyset : *-GII* and in third person as *-sUn* : *-sUnGII*. The semantic surplus carried by the forms containing *-GII* might be a 'strong wish' or 'command'. See *Chapter 7.8.4*.

1/1 *angġu/ang^oġu*: The word appears three times in the text (1/1, 5/8 and 6/3) in different written forms each time <'nk'qw> <'nkqw> and <'nkqwq> respectively. BA (p. 32) tried to derive the word from the noun *ang* 'understanding, intelligence' (ED 164) with the NV derivative(s) +A- and +U-. Their translation is 'resim' ('picture'). Šč (p. 64) supposed the same process with a different stem (*ang* < *äng* 'ščekka, lico'). Another solution was proposed by Sertkaya (1993: 364): He connected the word to OT *yangqu* 'echo' (ED 949), with a loss of initial *y-*. A problem with this solution is that echo refers to an audible phenomenon, while here the denotations of the word are clearly visual ones, namely the pictures of the creatures. I think that PP's early proposal (p.8-9) is the correct one: The word is an VN derivation with the stem *ang-* 'to remember, call to mind' (ED 168) with the derivative element *-GU* (see *Chapter 6.1.2.6*), and the meaning of the word is 'reminder, memory' or the like. The different spellings show anaptyctic sounds which are – strangely enough – marked by the orthography in the PON (see also *Chapter 5.6*).

1/3 *künlärdä(n) bir kün*: It would be tempting to translate the expression as 'Once upon a time...' i.e. the beginning of a tale, but it probably wouldn't be the correct translation. The expression occurs three times in the text (1/3, 6/5, 35/9-36/1), but in the third case, it does not mark the beginning of a new story, it simply marks that an uncertain time passes between two episodes of the plot. Actually these episodes might not even necessarily follow each other in chronological order. I simply translated it as 'One (of the) day(s).'

1/4 *ay qaġannung közü yarıp* <*bwd'dy/kwd'dy*>: BA (p.11): 'Ay kağanın gözü parladı, doğum ağırları başladı'; Šč (p.22): ozarilis' glaza Aj-Kağan. The sentence is problematic in

several points. PP (pp. 8-9) discusses them in details, but leaves them open. Here I will discuss only the linguistic questions. First, it is uncertain whether the main verb of the sentence co-refers with the expression *közü yarup* [eye+Px.Sg.3 shine+CONV.PRF], or not. If it does, both verbal forms has the subject *Ay qağannung közü* [Moon *qağan* eye+Px.Sg.3] ', in the second case, the subject of the main clause is *Ay qağan*. According to the quoted translations, Šč proceeds from the first case, while BA does so from the second one.

The word *yarup* is spelled as <y' r'b>, the possible readings are discussed in details at (PP p. 9). and both BA (p. 32-34) and Šč (p. 64-65) agrees on that it is the OT verb *yaru-* 'to shine' (ED 956). The reading of the verb in similar contexts (8/3, 10/4) is surely *yaru-* <y'rw->, but without *közü*. I also agree with them in the point that (*közü*) *yaru-* 'for eyes to shine' is probably a terminus technicus of tocology, I suppose the meaning 'to labour, parturitiatiate'. The verb *yaru-* occurs in the PON only in such contexts.

Concerning the main verb, all the previous editions proceeded from the spelling of <bwd'dy>: RN (p. 31) *buta-*'to give birth' PP (p. 9) considers also *bütä-* (without meaning). BA (p.34) and Šč (p.65) reads *boda-* the former deduce the verb from *bod* 'stature' (ED 296) with +A-, while the latter identifies it with *bodu-* 'to dye sg' (ED 300). For this latter reading, a reflexive form with -(X)n- could be expected to be correct, as *bodu-* is a transitive verb. On the other hand, the derivative -(X)n- seems to carry no reflexive meaning in the PON. (see *Chapter 6.1.4.2*), consider also PON *atla-* 'to ride out' vs. MT *atlan-* 'to stride' (ED 58), which supposes that reflexivity is not expressed by morphological means. In this case Šč may be ultimately correct.

It could be another solution if the word were spelled as <kwd'dy> (cf. **Figure 19** in *Chapter 2.9* and the other <kw> grapheme sequences in the same page). In this case the reading would be *küädädi*. The OT correspondent for the verb is *küüd-* 'to wait' (ED 701) without stem-final vowel, but note that in 2/6 the word occurs as *küädä-yä* <kwd' -y'> (where -*yä* is cautiously considered to be a line filler by BA: 35, and more strictly by Clauson ED 701). Thus *közü yarup-* and *küädä-* would be non-coreferential and the translation would be literally 'Ay Qağan's eyes shone, and (she) waited/were expectant', more freely 'Ay Qağan laboured for a long time', and further 'then she gave birth to a male child'.

1/5 *önglüki čirağü*: PP: (p.11) and Šč (p. 65) deduce the first part of the expression from OT *öng* '1. the front 2. colour' (ED 167), which is ultimately correct with the second meaning, and with the derivative element -*IVK*, see *Chapter 6.1.1.2*). The second element is a bit problematic because of its spelling <č' r'qy> (PP p. 12 discusses it in details). The word is

correctly identified with Mo. *čirai* (PP: 12, BA: 34, Šč: 65). For the first syllable <'> instead of <y>, see *Chapter 5.2* and *5.3*, for the second syllable <q>, see *Chapter 5.6*. The expression is a coordinate nominal compound, see *Chapter 6.2.3.1*)

1/9 *oğuzni ičip artıqraq ičmädi*: PP (14-16) discusses the problem whether the name of the protagonist *Oğuz* is based on this phrase, or not. He recognises the connection of them within the PON, and refers to RD and AG where a (somewhat different) motif is expressed about that the newborn *Oğuz* rejects the milk of his non-Muslim mother (See also *Chapter 8.1*). The spelling (and probably the pronunciation) of the OT word *ağuz/ağuz* 'colostrum, the first milk produced after parturition' (ED 98) and that of the name *Oğuz* is no doubt coincides in the PON, both of them are <'wqwz>. The actual etymology of the name *Oğuz* for the tribe or tribal confederation is not necessarily based on OT *ağuz* of course, but here I find it plausible that a folk etymology is to be seen, as in the case of personal (and hence tribal) names of *Saqlap*, *Qipčaq*, *Qarluğ*, *Qanğaluğ*, *Qalač*, *Buzuq* and *Üčoq* occurring later in the text. Actually the whole sotry seems to be composed in order to interpret these names, thus to interpret the (contemporary) order of the world. The connection between the name *Oğuz* and the word *oğuz* < OT *ağuz* fits perfectly to the inner logic of the text, which must mirror the knowledge (or at least intesion) of the storyteller to connect these names with the (implicit or explicit) stories of folk etymologies. BA does not comment on this question , while Šč (p. 66) only explains the form *oğuz* < *ağuz/ağuz* with further Turkic data.

2/1 *yig/yeg ät aš sorma/sürmä tilädi*: The problems with this sentence and its reading by RN is discussed by length by PP (pp. 16-20). BA (p. 35) makes a short note on the word *yig* 'čiğ, pişmemiş'. Šč (p. 66) cites RN's (p.32) note that he corresponds the word *yig* to MT *yigi* 'what is eaten, food'. On the same page, he cites data for *sürmä* in the meaning 'wine, vodka, etc.' based on a secondary meaning 'to distill' (*gnat' vodku*) of the OT verb *sür-* 'to drive away' (ED 844). The DTS (p. 518) cites only the PON. The problems actually stem in the spelling of the word *yig/yeg* <yyk> and in that of *sorma/sürmä*. The word spelled as <yyk> can be indeed *yig* 'raw' which word is mostly extinct from modern languages (ED 910), or *yeg* 'better' (ED 909) here in adverbial meaning 'rather'. The spelling <swyrm'> of *sorma/sürmä* is unusual, at least for this text. In the whole PON we find only three instances for <wy> spelling of first syllable front labial vowels, from which two is this word, and the third one is *üzä* 'high, above' <'wys'> in 26/5. All the other instances of first syllable (-)ö- and (-)ü- are spelled with a simple <w>. The question whether <wy> is meant to mark first syllable front labial vowel at

all in the PON seems legitimate, but the scarcity of the data in hand will leave it open. I would still keep the possibility that <swyrm'> is the representation of OT *sorma* 'something sucked in, wine, beer' (ED 852). At least some of the nouns *ät aš sorma* may make up a compound, see *Chapter 6.2.4.4*.

2/6 *yilqilar küdä-(yä) turur erdi*: The verb seems to correspond to OT *küd-* 'to wait, tend to sheep, etc.' (ED 701). PP and Šč does not make comments on the word. See the note on 1/4 above.

3/4 *monster*: This word is problematic from the paleographic point of view. There are at least two words which refer to the creature depicted by picture on page 6 of the manuscript. I discussed the possible spellings of each (a total of 9) instances in *Chapter 2.18*. All the spellings of the instances differs in some details. According to my analysis, the instances can be classified into two main groups with two subgroups in each one. The instances belong to the following classes: Ia 3/4, 3/8 with an approximate original spelling of <q'y[n]č[']>; Ib: 4/5, 6/3 ~ <kyynč[']>. In the second group the instances are the following: IIa: 4/9, 5/3 ~ <d'nnw> and IIb 5/1, 5/5, 5/6 ~ <dYnnk>, keeping forward that an additional initial <q> may have been added to 5/5, and an initial <n> to 5/6 in a later point of time. I also suppose that the original <č> graphemes are reshaped to something similar of <d> later in group Ia and Ib, therefore I assume that the readings ending in *-t* or *-d*, as *qa'at* supposed by PP (p. 23-26), as *qiyand (qat)* by BA (35-36) and as *qiat* by Šč (67-68) are incorrect. Unfortunately, I cannot suppose better readings for the words, but I think they are of non-Turkic origin.

3/6 *°yaman*: The spelling of the word is <'y'm'n>. Cf. the note on 9/4 *mörän °sugü* <wswqy>below.

3/6 *berkä ämgäq*: The word is a coordinate compound (see *Chapter 6.2.3.1*), where the first element *berkä* is of Mongolian origin <*berke* 'hardship, trouble' (L 99). The spelling of the second word is problematic and is discussed by PP (p. 35-36), BA (p. 36) and Šč (p. 68). The word occurs two times in the text (also at 27/1), both with the same spelling, which is, according to me <'mkq>, and the word is the correspondent of OT *ämgäk* 'pain, agony' (ED 159). The final <q> (without diacritics) was read as *-än* or *-äz* in the previous editions. Such spelling is unexpected in a case of an etymologically front vocalized word, but a similar example occurs at 28/6, <dwnklwq>~ OT *tünglük* 'smoke-hole of a tent, window' (ED 520).

The reason of such spellings is unclear, but is probably the same in the case of both words. It might suppose the readings *ämğäχ* and *tünglüχ* respectively, but this is only my speculation. I kept the front vocalized readings of both words based on the spelling <'mkq> instead of <'mqq>.

3/7 *eres qağiz*: The expression may be read as <yryz/yryn> and <q'q'z/q'q'n> PP (p. 26-27) BA (p. 36) and Šč (p. 68-69) agree on that the expression is a coordinative compound, see *Chapter 6.2.4.2.1*, and on that the first element is a copy of the Mo. word *eres* 'straight, bold, outright' (L 323). I accept this reading, it fits well to the context. About the second element, PP gives *qağas*, BB *qağiz* and Šč *qağaz*. PP however, does not give meaning, and Šč also mentions only that it should be synonymous with the first element. BA derives this element from *qaq-* 'to strike, to tap to knock on' (ED 609) with a derivative element *-(X)z*. This derivative can be taken both transitive and intransitive verbal stems, and in the latter case it derives an adjective denotes the subject of the verb (Erdal 1991:323-327). This fits to our needs, however *qağiz* seems to be the only derivation with *-(X)z* in the PON (See *Chapter 6.1.2.9*). The word occurs once more at 27/2 and as a derivation *qağizluq* at 38/1. I would add that the verbal stem *qaqi-* 'to be angry, to abuse' (ED 609) seems more appropriate as the verbal stem of *qağiz*. The context suggests that the meaning of the compound should be 'quick-tempered' or the like.

6/2 *yel*: The word is written as <yl>. PP (p. 30-32) discusses in length the possibility (proposed by Radloff 1891) whether it should be read as *y(e)l* 'wind' or *y(ä)z* 'copper'. He supposes the first reading. BA (p. 37) reads *y(e)s* 'copper' and adds that the final <-s> does not have the lower streak. Šč (p. 69) reads also *y(e)l* 'veter'. The reading *y(ä)z / y(e)s* is incorrect from the paleographic point of view, as I pointed out in *Chapter 2.5*.

6/8 *qoğulğuluqraq*: The etymology of the word is difficult. PP (32-33) supposes that the ultimate stem of the word is *qiv* 'divine favour' which usually co-occurs and synonymous with *qut* (ED 579). This would even be possible if we read <qwqwl> as *quwul-* (cf. OT *qidiğ* ~ PON *quduğ* 'rim, river-bank' and PON *suwī* <swqy> 'water+Px.Sg.3'), but the translation of the word would not fit into the context. BA (p. 37) is uncertain but cites a Lebedi data as *kōlak* < **koğul-aq* 'yanan kömür'. Šč (70-71) proceeds from a stem *qoğ* 'iskra' which he quotes from Radloff 's dictionary (= Chagatay *qoğ* 'der Funkel' II: 515). The word is present in OT: *qoğ* 'dust', in some South Siberian Turkic languages as *qoq* 'ashes, scurf', Khakass. *χoχ*

'burning ashes' and in Ottoman Tukic it exists with the meaning 'hot ash, spark' (ED 609). Thus the meaning here 'spark, ember, glow' of the stem seems secondary. The segmentation of the word would be thus *qoġ+U-(X)l-GUIUk+rAK*. The meaning is 'more glowing than...'

8/1 *töl boġus*: The word is a coordinative compound (see *Chapter 6.2.3.1*). The first element is discussed by PP (34-35) in length, and he speculates in the right direction, but does not give certain answer for the meaning. BA (p. 37) and Šč (p. 71) points correctly out that the first element is the OT word *töl* 'progeny, descendants' (ED 490) Šč shortly writes that the second element is copy from Mo., but does not cite data. The OT word *boġuz* 'throat' (ED 322) has the meaning 'pregnant (of an animal)', but Clauson points out that the connection between the two meanings is obscure. The PON is the oldest text in which this meaning is attested. I accept Šč's opinion. The corresponding Mo. word is *boġus* 'embryo, fetus' (L 113). The second-syllable spelling with <'> for labial vowel in <bwq'z> is not uncommon for Mo. words in the PON.

8/8 *alindan*: The written form of the word is <'l'n-d'n/l'z-d'n>. PP (p. 35) supposes the first spelling, with the reading *alin* 'forehead' (ED 147) +ABL. BA (p. 38) reads *al* 'front, facing, prior position' (ED 121)+Px.Sg.3+ABL. Šč (p. 71) joins PP. Both analysis is possible, and choosing either of them won't change the translation substantively.

8/9 *qawučaq*: The word occurs only once in the PON. RN (p. 37) identifies the word as the diminutive form of *qapu* ~ OT *qapiġ* 'door, gate' (ED 583). The OT *-ġ/-g* is preserved in the PON, at least the orthography marks it. Note, however, that there is another possible instance for the word *qapu* at 28/8, as *qapu-luġ* '*having a gate' (see *Chapter 6.1.1.1*) PP (p. 35-38) also draws attention to the parallel part at AG, where the word is connected to the ethnonym *Qipčaq* and which I discuss in *Chapter 8.3* and *8.6*. Note that there is no connection between this word and that of the *Qipčaq* according the PON. BA (38) considers the word as a diminutive form of *kabuk/kavuk* 'oyuk' ~ OT *kovuk* 'hollow' (ED 583). This may be ultimately right, but I found no further instances for the derivative in the PON. Šč (p. 72) supposes the meaning 'nebols'saja pokryška ili oboločka' based on the Ottoman parallel *qabuġaq*. This reading however does not fit the context. I suppose that the etymon of the word is OT *qoburčaq*, *qaburčaq* 'a wooden case' MT *qaburčūq* 'aġaç içi oyularak yapılan,yahut aġaç kabuġundan yapılan hokka, kutu' (WOT 562-563).

9/4 *mörän* *°suġi*: PP (p. 38-39) draws attention to that the word written as <wswq> should be either a variant of the OT word *suw* 'water' (ED 783), or an unusual *usuβi* ~ *usu'i* form of the Mo. word *usu(n)*. BA (p. 38) reads <wswqy> as *osugī* and identifies the word as the OT *osug* 'a way of using something' (ED 245). BA also points out that *osug* here may be an erroneous spelling of *suġi* 'water + Px.Sg.3' (cf. 19/3-4 *etil möränniing suġi* 'the water of the river Etil'). They translate the sentence *anung sači mörän osugī tæg* 'saçı ırmak gibi dalgalı idi' Šč (p. 72) suggests that the meaning of *usug* <wswq> cannot be else than 'voda, potok'. He proposes that the data in question is a contamination of the Mo. word *usu(n)* 'water, body of water' (L 887) and the OT word *suġ* <*suw*, 'water', cf. (ED 783). The form <wswq> occurs once more in the PON at 23/7 *etilning °suġi*, but the spelling is blurred. This instance is read as *suġi* by BA and as *usuġi* by Šč. There is also an instance of *suġ* 'water' with unambiguous spelling of <swq> at 19/4. It is clear by the context that both <wswq> forms are to be understood as instances of *suġ* 'water'. The reason of their unusual spelling with initial <w> is unclear, however there are a few parallel spellings with initial <'> in illabial environment in the following cases: 3/6 *°yaman* 'evil' <'y'm'n>, 18/6 *°taġ* <'d'q> 'mountain' and possibly 19/4 *°täġ* <'d'k> 'like, similar to'.

9/7-8 [...] *süttän qumuz bola tururlar* '(they) became (sour) koumiss from (sweet) milk.': BA (p.39) mentions that the meaning of the expression may be 'büyük bir muhabbet hasretini çekmek' ('to feel a great desire by love'). PP and Šč does not make comment on the expression. BA's translation is '(tatlı) süt (acı) kımız olurdu' (p.15). Šč translates it as 'moloko prevraščalos' v kumys'. In both translations the actant is the milk which becomes koumiss. In the Turkic sentence we find milk+ABL, which excludes the possibility for milk to be the actant. The copula *tururlar* is in the plural, which verifies that actant of the sentence is a group, namely *yerning yelküni* 'the people of the world' The ethnological background of the expression is not entirely clear for me, nor the way how the people become koumiss from milk.

11/3 *čubuyan*: PP (p. 41) points out the previous reading of RN as *čübiüdäl* ~ *čubudal* 'meat meal' (cf. Mo. *čöbüdel* 'remnants of meat, waste meat' L 200) is incorrect. He supposes the reading *čubuyan* 'candied fruit'. BA (p. 39) and Šč (p. 72) agrees on this reading. The word has both Old Turkic and Written Mongolian correspondent: OT *čibiqan* 'jujube fruit' (ED 396); Mo. *čibaġ-a(n)* ~ *čibuġ-a* 'jujube, prunes, dried plums, a kind of date' (L 174). The ED

supposes that the word is ultimately of Indian origin. The -y- in the instance in the PON supposes that it is a borrowing from Mongolic, as the intervocalic -g- is further weakened.

11/4 *aš-* : PP (p.40) BA (p. 39) draw attention that the word *aša-* 'to eat' (ED 256) should be seen here, which is a derivation of the OT *aš* 'food' (ED 253) with the NV derivative +A-. BA and Šč transcribe it at all instances as *aš(a)-*, but there is no trace of <'> for marking the second syllable /a/. There are similar derivations with the loss of second-syllable /a/, such as *baš-* 'to attack' ~ OT *baša-* 'to wound' (ED 377) < *baš* 'wound' (ED 376)+A-. At 36/9, RN and Šč read *cas̄ku/ĵaš(a)ġu* respectively which could be connected here: ~ OT *yaša-* 'to live (long)' (ED 976) < *yaš* 'a year of one's life' (ED 975) +A-. However, their reading is incorrect, the written form of the word there is <čš'qw> *ĵ(a)ša-ġu*. On the derivative +A-, see *Chapter 6.1.3.1*.

11/8 *tamġa bizġä bolsun buyan* PP (p. 42-43) points out that there are several difficulties with this sentence and the whole verse in general. He correctly identifies the *buyan* with the Sanskrit word *punya* (cf. ED 386), which BA (p. 39) did not manage, and they did not translate the word (p. 17). Šč (p. 32 and p. 73) translates it as 'prosperity, blessing' ('blago, blagodat' ') Clauson notes that the OT word became a loanword in Mo. and that the occurrence of *buyan* in Xwarazmian Turkic (where he classifies the PON) is a reborrowing from Mongolian. He cites this passage at *buyan* with the translation 'let merit be our *tamġa*' (ED 386) and with that of 'let virtue be our distinguishing mark' under *tamġa* (ED 504). I agree with the ED that here *buyan* is reborrowing from Mo. There it took the secondary meaning 'good luck, fortune, prosperity' (L 132). This corresponds to Šč's translation, and fits better to the context than 'merit, virtue'.

My translation is the following: Let the distinguishing mark (*tamġa*) be good luck (*buyan*) for us! i.e. We shall be distinguished by good luck [from the others]!

12/1 [...] *law yerdä yörüsiin qulan ltaqï taluy taqï mörän lkün tuġ bolġil kök qoriġan – tep tedi*: It is not entirely clear in the verse that to which sentence does the line *taqï taluy taqï mörän* belong. The verse consists of 8 lines, with 8 syllables in each line. PP (p. 42-46) discusses this verse in length, and he gives the translation for the line in question 'Encore des mers! Encore des fleuves' ('More seas! More rivers!'), but he does not really explain it why. I cannot accept this translation since *taqï* does not mean 'more' in the PON, it is always used as a conjunctive 'and, then'. BA (p. 17) also translates it simply as 'daha deniz daha müren

(ırmak)', and does not comment further on it. Šč (p. 33) also does not make further comments on it, his translation is '[tekut] morja i reki' (seas and rivers [(?shall) flow]). 73-74), which is ultimately correct. The problem with the line *taqı taluy taqı mörän* is that while all the other lines in the verse contain a finite verb, this one does not, consequently it is not obvious what *taluy* 'sea' and *mörän* 'river' do. The solution for the problem should be searched in the syntax of the verse: normally the Turkic sentence has an SOV order, while in this verse it is transformed to SVO in order to arrange end rhyme in *-an/-än* between all the eight lines. Thus the arguments of the finite verbs appear behind them instead of before them. In this case *aw yerdä yörüsün qulan taqı taluy taqı mörän* should be considered as one finite sentence, where the argument of the verb is *qulan taqı taluy taqı mörän* and *taqı* coordinates the nouns. If so, the verb *yörü-* 'to walk, march' has to be understood metaphorically in the case of *mörän* and *taluy*. The translation I suppose is 'Wild asses shall run on the hunting grounds as well as rivers and streams!'. Note that *taluy* does not mean 'sea' in the PON, the word is almost synonymous with *mörän*. The other instance of *taluy* is: 18/4-5 *munda etil mörän tögän bir taluy bar erdi* 'There was a (great) stream here, named Etil river.'

The problem of the last line *kün tuğ bolğil kök qoriğan* 'Sun, be (our) banner, Sky (be our) dome' is different: Normally it should be something like *kün tuğ bolğil, kök qoriğan [bolğil]*, or *kün tuğ, kök qoriğan bolğil* with a finite verb after *qoriğan*. The reason for the unusual sentence pattern, however, is the same I pointed out above: to keep the end rhyme and number of syllables of the line.

13/4-5 *čamat čaq-*: and 21/7-8 *čamat üt-*: The word *čamat* is spelled as <č'm'd> and has many possible readings with <č> ~ č, ĵ, either of the <'> ~ a, ä, ĩ, i and <d> ~ t, d. The vocalisation may be both front and back. I kept Ščerbak's transcription. The earlier editions (PP: 48-49; BA: 40, Šč 75) mostly agree on that the meaning of *čamat* is something like 'anger' based on the context, and on that the word may be of Mongolic origin. The correspondent Mo. word may be *ĵim-e* 'conduct, manner of behavior, blame, reprimand' (in plural *-d*); or *ĵimed-* 'to accuse, to blame, to reprimand' (L 1056). Both of the instances are part of a verbal compound, in the second instance the verb may be both *at-* 'to throw' or *üt-* 'to make'. See also *Chapter 6.2.1.3*.

14/5 *begü*: The word is spelled as <bykw>, but it is clear from the context that the word is identical with *bergü* 'something which ought to be, or is, given; tax' (ED 362), which appear several times elsewhere in the PON. PP (p. 57) mentions that the word is spelled in the same

way in 22/6, which is not entirely the case: It is spelled as <by[r]kw>, but nevertheless the <r> is hardly readable. He also points out that the other possible reading *beg* 'chieftain' with -ü (Px.Sg.3) is not probable. I basically agree with him. BA (p.17) translates *begü* as 'hediye' and also draws attention to the strange spelling (p. 41). Šč (p. 76) gives the meaning of *begü* as 'gospodin' (p. 76) and translates the phrase *yaqšī begü* as 'slavnyj rycar' ' in context (p. 36).

14/6 *amīraq*: <'myr'q> PP (p. 58) identifies this word with Old Turkic *amraq* 'benign, friendly' (ED 162). He adds that the word exists in Mongolian as *amaraq* in the same meaning. Šč (p. 78) simply notes that the word in the PON is borrowed from Mo. I think none of the above statements are completely true. Clauson notes (ED 162) that *amraq* 'benign, friendly' with the extended meaning 'beloved dear' became a loanword in Mo. as *amarag* 'love, friendship' and in Modern languages the trisyllabic forms of the word are reborrowings from Mo. He cites the correspondent part of the PON.

In Mo. *amarag* 'love, affection, beloved, dear, darling' (L 36) ~ *amurağ* (L 40) neither contains word-final -q nor matches in meaning to OT *amraq*. (cf. PP). The context of the PON supposes neither of the meanings of Mo. *amarag*, it is simply 'friendly' like in OT, thus it should not be a reborrowing from Mo. (cf. Šč and ED). Still it is not easy to explain the second syllable -r-. It is not unusual that the orthography of the PON marks anaptyctic sounds in certain positions, such as *qirīq* <q'r'q> ~ OT *qirq* 'forty' (ED 651); *bārik* <b'r'k> ~ OT *bārk* 'firm' (ED 361) with <'>. In environment of labial vowels such sounds may be marked with <w>: *qoruq*- <qwrwq> ~ OT *qorq*- 'to fear, be afraid' (ED 651). The marking of such sounds may fluctuate between <'> and <w>, see the note on 1/1 *anggu/ang'gu*. There is another instance where an anaptyctic sound is marked by <y>: 1/4 *erikāk* 'male', however, the case of *amīraq* would be the only one, where an anaptyctic occurs between /m/ and /r/.

15/2 *qatīqla*:- PP (p. 59-60) reads the word as *qataqla*- '-ile birleşmek'. He cites the sentence at 20/6 as *baluq-ni qataqlağu kārāk* with the translation 'şehir korumak gerek'. The translations are correct each, but the reading *qataqla*- is incorrect. BA (p. 41) reads the word as *qadağla*- based on the Mo. word *qadağala*- 'preserve, conserve, save' (L 902). Their reading and translation in the correspondent place is *kadağlağu barmaz erdi* 'onun arkasından gitmezdi' (BA p.19). Šč (p. 77) gives the meaning 'prisoednjat'sja' ('to join') which is correct for this instance.

There are four instances with the spelling <q'd'ql'-> in the text at 15/2, 17/8, 20/6 and 21/5. There is also an adjective spelled as <q'd'q> at 34/6. The previous editions were

confused with the reading and translation of these instances, and they are problematic indeed. I think there are two different verbs to be seen behind these instances, which had homophonous etymons in OT. They are 1. *qat-* 'to mix two things, to add sg (Acc.) to sg (Dat.)' (ED 594) and 2. *qat-* 'to be hard, firm' (ED 595). The instances at 20/6 and 21/5 *baluqni qatiqlağu kārāk turur* 'The town must be fortified.' (lit. to be made hard, firm) are derived from 2. *qat-* with the derivative element *-(X)G* (see *Chapter 6.1.2.1*) and *+lA-* (See *Chapter 6.1.3.2*). If Mo. *qadağala-* can be connected here, it is this *qatiqla-* verb.

The instance at 34/6 is probably a derivation of 1. *qat-*, *qatiq* 'something which is mixed' (ED 598) with the derivative *-(X)K* (see *Chapter 6.1.2.2*): *qatiq yaman uruŝqu boldi* 'It became a chaotic (lit. mixed up) and terrible fight.', but the reading of *qatiğ* 'hard, tough, firm' (ED 597) as 'massive' also fits to the context.

The remaining two instances may either belong to 1. *qat-* or 2. *qat-*: 15/2 *qatiqlağu barmaz erdi* 'He did not go to join (with *qatiqla-* : lit. to be mixed up with) him.' Or: 'He did not go to make him strong (with *qatiqla-*). The last instance is 17/8 *ol bōrining artlarin qatiqlap yörüğüdä turur erdilär erdi* 'They were following the back of that wolf.' (with *qatiqla-* : lit. joined and go after, based on the meaning 'to join' of the previous instance.) or 'They were following the back of that wolf (closely)' (with *qatiqla-* cf. OT *qatiğdi* 'tightly, firmly' ED 599 < *qatiğ* 'hard firm'). I chose the former reading *qatiqla-* in this last instance because *art* 'back' is in the plural, which seems to mean '(a broader area of) the back (part)', see *Chapter 7.7* examples (204)-(205).

Even if there were two separate *qatiqla-* and *qatiqla-* in the lexicon of the PON's idiom, it is not sure at all if either the narrator or scribe was aware of the (historical-linguistic) difference between them. I preferred the reading *qatiqla-* in the case of the later three instances.

15/8 *muz tai*: PP (61) draws attention to the fact the name is spelled as <mwz t'y>, but he supposes the reading as *muz tağ* 'Ice Mountain'. BA (p. 18) gives the reading as *muz day* but in the translation 'Muz Tağ' is given. In the comments (p.42) it is mentioned that this form may be a misspelling. Šč (p.36) reads the name as *muz tağ* 'Ledjanoj gora'. He neither makes comments on this instance of the name nor on the other instances later in the text. The name occurs three more times in a different episode of the text at 26/7 and 26/8 as *muz tağ*, and in 27/7 as *muz tağlar*, where it plays an important role. It is a good question whether these latter instances refer to the same place which is mentioned at 15/8, or two different mountains should be distinguished with the name *muz tağ*, or finally, there are two separate mountains,

one with the name *muz taġ*, and another one, where the spelling <muz t'y> of the name of the mountain allows the reading *-tai/-tei* for the second element <t'y>. In this very final case it would be possible that this second element is a Mo. comitative. The first element may be still the Turkic word *muz* 'Ice', or the Mo. word *mösü(n)* 'ice' (L 550). The comitative of the word is *mösütü* 'Icy' (L 551) in Written Mongolian. In this final case, the translation of the passage would be 'A mountain called "Icy" '. However, we neither find another instance of *-tai* in the text, nor such cases when different Mo. inflexional suffixes are added to Turkic elements.

16/1 *šük* PP: - BA do not comment on the word. They translate it as 'silent(ly)' ('sessizce') (p. 19) Šč translates *šük bolup* as 'he stopped (moving)' ('ostanovilsja') (p.27). He cites Old Uygur *šük* 'still' ('nepodvižno') as a parallel (p. 77). According to the ED (p. 867), *šük* is an early loanword in Turkic from Sogdian with the meaning 'quiet, silent, still'. This sentence is cited there and translated as 'he became silent and slept'.

16/1 *čang ertä* <č'nk 'yrd'>: The expression is a coordinate compound. The first element is spelled with <č-> here, while it occurs three more times (4/4, 4/8, 25/6) in the text in the same compound with initial <d-> as *tang ertä* 'morrow' and in the subordinate compound *tang sari* 'east' (38/2, 38/5). PP does not comment on this problem. BA (p. 42) note that it is improbable that a *t- > č-* sound change took place, since such one is unattested in Turkic languages. They assume that the word was spelled with <t-> in an original manuscript ('asıl metin') and the copier ('müstensih') confused <t-> with <č->. This implies the assumption that the PON is a copy. Šč (p. 77) cites BA but does not get closer to the solution.

Further data in the PON (cited by Šč, and partly BA) are the following: *čašqarun* (with <č-> 33/6) ~ *tašqarun* (<d-> 35/4) 'outside'; *čap-* (<č-> 38/9, 39/8) 'to find' (~ *tap-* <d-> 1/3, 42/1 in the verbal compound *sewinč tap-* 'to be glad, to rejoice' lit. 'to find joy'). Such a fluctuation of written forms is difficult to explain indeed. BA may be right, but it does not explain why the spellings are inconsequent and why we don't find other instances of words with initial *t-* (or *ta-*, as all the examples suggest). Another solution may be that these instances were *percieved* as initial *č-* by a scribe, who wrote the text after hearing (and had native competence in a different dialect than the narrator). Kakuk (1976: 51-52) notes on Caucasian Kipchak languages (Karachay-Balkar, Kumyk, Noghay) that unvoiced plosives may be aspirated, and she cites *tap-* 'to find' as an example. We might speculate a similar process here, so in the instances with <č-> might render an aspirated *t^h-*.

17/1 *tapuğ*: PP (p. 62) reads the word as *tapuq/tapiq*, and argues that the word should be translated as 'front'. BA (p. 43) note that the word should mean 'service' ('hizmet'), but translates *tapuğunlarga* as 'in front of you' ('senin önünde') in the text (p.19). Šč (p.77) gives the meaning 'service' ('služba'), but translates similarly to BA.

The word occurs three more times at 17/5, 18/6 (spelled as <d'bYqq>), and 25/8. BA and Šč compares it to the OT word *tapiğ* 'service' (ED 437), which is a derivation of *tap-* 'to serve' (ED 435) with *-(X)G*. The ED cites the PON under *tapiğ* and notes that word 'seems to mean something like nearness' (ED 437), which is correct. This meaning, however cannot be deduced from *tap-* 'to serve'. The stem of the derivation must be *tap-* 'to find' (ED 435). See also *Chapter 6.1.2.1*.

19/4 *etil möränniing suği*: Already PP (p. 64-65) has noted that the unusual (hypercorrect) spelling <swqy> of OT *suv* 'water' (ED 783)+ Px.Sg.3 is due to that in the Written Mongolian orthographic tradition hiatus is marked with <q> and <k> in back and front vocalised words respectively. Thus the word stem is not *suğ* as in some South Siberian Turkic dialects. He gives the reading as *su ʔ* < *suvʔ*. BA (p. 43) basically agrees with PP, while Šč did not make any comments here. I discuss the problem in length in *Chapter 5.6*.

19/4 *säp-sänggir*: In his long note PP (p. 65-67) connects the word to the Persian coordinate compound *sim* 'silver' + *šingärf* 'cinnabar' and gives the meaning 'cinnabar, vermilion' (cf. Per. *sīm-shagarf* 'cinnabar' ST 718). BA (p. 44) and refers Šč (p. 78) to PP.

19/5 *oğuz qağan baštī* BA (p. 44) mentions that the verb *baš-* is shortened form of *baša-*. It is transcribed as *baš(a)-*, and translated as 'yenmek' ('to win'). Šč (p. 79) considers the word as 'one of the most difficult words' of the PON. He transcribes it as *baš-* and translates it as 'pobeždat' 'to win'. *baš-* 'to attack' (ED 377) has undergone a similar process as *aš-* 'to eat', see the note on 11/4 *aš-* above, and *Chapter 6.1.3.1* on the morphology of the word.

20/6 *qatiğla-* see the note on 15/8 *qatiğla-* above.

21/7-8 *atam čamat ätiüp ersä mänüing tapum eriür mü*: This utterance and the next one is difficult to interpret. We find the following translations in the previous editions: PP (p. 70): 'Eğer benim babam [sana] öfkelenmişse, bu benim isteğimden midir?' ('If my father got angry [on you], is it by my wish?'). BA (p.21): Babam (sana) kızdı ise, bu benim suçum mudur? ('If

my father got angry [on you] is it my fault?'). The note on the part (BA p. 44) verifies that their translation 'benim suçum' is based on the word *tap* 'istek arzu' as Pelliot's. Šč (p. 42): *Esli otec moj razgnevaetsja, byt' li [togda] moej vole [=vlasti].* ('If my father got angry, is it by my wish?). Clauson also cites this sentence ('If my father gives disagreeable orders, is it any satisfaction to me?) under *tap* 'satisfaction, sufficiency' (ED 434).

The above editions all made their comments on the word *tap*, however the first clause of the utterance is more interesting. The meaning of *čamat čaq-/ät-* is already commented above, but here it is not clear who is the one the father (Urus Beg) gets angry with, as it is not expressed. There are two possibilities: Oguz Kagan (the addressee) and Urus Beg's son (the speaker). PP and BA interpreted the first possibility, Šč gave a neutral translation, while Clauson seems to choose implicitly the second possibility. I think he is right, only so we will understand the reason why Urus's son will deny his father and put himself under Oguz's protection with his next sentence (see below). Thus I gave the translation 'If my father got angry (with me), might be there any satisfaction for me?'

21/8-9 *sändän jarluğ bağliğ (<bqIYq>) bellüg bola (<b'l'>) män:* The problems with this utterance originate from the negligent spellings of its words, and its syntax is difficult at the same time. PP (p. 71) correctly identifies the predicate as *bellüg bol-* 'to become known', but he reads word *bağliğ* as *baaluq* ~ OT *baliq* 'town' (ED 335). BA (p. 21) gives the translation 'ben senin emrini yerine getirmeğe hazırım' ('I am ready to execute your orders'). This translation is based on the interpretation of *bağluğ bellüg* 'lit. bound-waisted' from the modern Turkish phrase *bel bağla-* 'to gird up one's loins' with a metaphorical meaning 'to prepare resolutely for an undertaking'. They admit that they are not sure about this solution, and add that in this case there should be *sening jarluğinga* in the text. (p. 44-45) Šč (p.80) cites PP and BA, but criticize only PP's proposal. His reading is *sendän jarluq bailuq bellük bilämän* 'Vlast', bogatstvo i mudrost' mne vedomy ot tebja.' ('Power, richness and wisdom from you is known for me') (p. 42)

I think BA read the sentence correctly, but their interpretation is not correct. I agree with PP that the predicate of the sentence is the verbal compound *bellüg bol-* 'to become known' which appears two more times at 33/7 and 35/5 (See *Chapter 6.2.1.3*). The verb *bol-* is misspelled. I also analyse *jarluğ bağliğ* as a complex compound (See *Chapter 6.2.4.2.4*) with the approximate meaning 'command-bound' See also *Chapter 6.1.1.1* for +IVG added to phrases. In this case, *sändän* 'from you' would be a complement of *jarluğ bağliğ*.

22/7 *dostluqtan čiqmaztur* All the previous editions reconstruct *-tur(ur män)* in the end of the line. PP does not make a comment on this form. BA (p. 45) think the copyist forgot to copy the parts in the paranthesis in the beginning of the next line. Šč (p. 80) does not make any particular comments, only cites a parallel for the phrase *dostluqtan čiq-* 'to leave friendship'.

I interpret the ending *-tur* with the phonological erosion of the copula verb *turur*. See *Chapter 7.8.3.7*

26/1 *čuqurdan*. PP (p. 75) reads *čuqur* as 'spotted' (~ Mo. *čoqur, čouqur* 'variegated, spotted, dappled' L 199), but he does not explain *-dan*. BA (p. 45) identifies *čuqur* as a foreign word, however, they do not specify 'foreign'. They deduce from the 'strange use of' *-dan* that *čuqur* should be a clan or city name. Šč (p. 81) reads *čoqur tan aiğir at* and gives the translation 'stallion of bay colour' ('žerebec gnedoj masti'). He analyses *čoqur tan* as a compound of Mo. *čoqur* 'variegated' ('pegij') and Per. *tan* 'body' ('telo').

I accept BA's reading in the sense that I consider *-dan* morphologically as an ablative case marker. The inflected noun *čuqur+ABL* is in adjectival position, see *Chapter 7.5*. Thus, I analyse *čuqurdan ayğir at* as a complex compound, see *Chapter 6.2.4.2.2*.

27/1 *köp čigay* (<č'q'y>) *ämğaq* (<'mkq>) *čäk-*: PP (p. 76-77) corrects the earlier readings of RN *čaği/čağni* as *čigay* 'poor, destitute' (< OT *čigan'*, ED 408). He supposes the reading *ämğäk* instead of RN's *ämğä* for <'mkq>. BA (p. 46) also notes that the final *-k* in *ämğäk* is misspelled (see the note on 3/6 *berkä ämğaq* above). Šč (p. 82) notes that final <k> of *ämğäk* can be read with difficulties. He cites a Middle(?)-Uzbek parallel *azob čekmok* 'to suffer' (ispytyvat' mučenija') for *ämğäk čäküb* 'has suffered (inner pain)' ('preterpevaja vnutrennie mučenija'). Clauson cites the part as *ämğäk čäkip turdi* 'endured many sufferings' under *ämğäk* 'pain, agony' (ED 159).

According to my analysis, *čigay ämğaq* is a coordinate compound, which constitutes a complex compound together with the verb *čäk-*. There are several such examples in the PON, see *Chapter 6.2.4.1.3*.

27/3 *čalīng bulīng* <č'l'nk bwl'nk> PP (p. 77-78) notes that the expression in question must be a compound, which's elements are nouns derived from verbs. He supposes *čal-* 'to knock down' (ED 417) and *bula-* < *bulğa-* 'to stir (liquid), to confuse' (ED 337). He cites also *bulğaq* with 'the well-known meaning' of 'confusion in combat' ('siyasî karışıklık') and 'hand-to-hand fighting, melee combat' (gögüs göğüse savaş). BA (p. 46) considers this expression as a

reduplicated compound of the Turkish *telefon mefeleon* type. They cautiously identify the first element either with OT *yaliŋ* 'naked' (ED 929) or *alaŋ* 'level open ground' (ED 147) with a prothetic initial *y-*. Šč (p. 82) reads *čalang bulang*. His analysis is similar to that of PP's from *čal-* and *bul(a)-*. He also notes that the first element *čalang* or *jalang* may be the OT word of the expression *čalang yer* 'saline black earth on which there is no vegetation, as if it had been burnt' in *Kāšgarī*'s dictionary (ED 420).

I propose that *čaliŋ buliŋ* is a coordinate compound, where each element is an inflected verb: *čal-* 'to knock down' (ED 417), MT 'çalmak, hırsızlık etmek' (WOT 215), and *bul-* 'to find' (ED 332) (see *Chapter 6.2.3.6*), where both verbs are in IMP.2 (see *Chapter 7.8.4*). For the marking of *i* with <'> (see *Chapter 5.3*). I translated *čaliŋ buliŋ* as 'hide-and-peek' (lit. steal-and-find). Note that the structure of the English correspondent is very similar to that of *čaliŋ buliŋ*. I think that such a translation fits well to the context, as Oguz's stallion disappears (*közdän yit-*) and the task of the hero is to find it, in which he excels.

27/4 *jörügüdä soğurguda öngä er erdi* PP (p. 78-80) argues long that the verb *jörü-* is the correspondent of *yörü-* 'to walk' (<OT *yori-*'to walk, march' ED 957), but does not offer a solution for *soğur-*. He also does not take side for the reading of the word *onga/öngä* <'wnk'>. BA (p 46) interprets *soğur-* as a causative form of OT *soği-* 'to be cold' (ED 806). They think that *onga/öngä* is a derivation of *ong-* for which they do not give meaning, may be OT *ong-* 1. 'to thrive, prosper' 2. 'to turn pale' (ED 168-169); or *ön-*, for which they give the meaning 'to be well' and which I could not attest. Šč (p. 82) interprets *soğurgu* as 'cold' ('xolod') from a (causative) verbal stem *soğur-* 'to freeze' ('morozit' '), and he identifies *onga* 'tough' ('vynoslivj') with an OT word *ongay* 'agile' ('lovkij') (cf. OT *ongay* 'easy' ED 191).

First, I think that the verb *soğur-* is not a causative derivation of OT *soği-* 'to be cold', as I argue about it in *Chapter 6.1.4.1.3*. I also find the analysis of <'wnk'> from the verbal stem *ong-* problematic. I propose this word is an inflected (dative) form of *öng* 'front' (ED 167). For inflected nouns as adjectives see *Chapter 7.5*.

27/8 *soğuş bolupta* PP-, Šč-, BA (p. 46) notes it without a particular comment. On the construction *bolupta*, see *Chapter 7.8.7.4*

27/9 *qağardan sarunmiš* <s' r' bnm' š>: *qağar* is a hypercorrect spelling for OT *qar* 'snow' (ED 641). There are several other such spellings in the PON, which I discuss in details in *Chapter*

5.6. PP draws attention that despite the written form <s'r'bn->, the word should be read as *sarin-* or *sarun-* (~ OT *sarin-* 'to be wrapped' ED 854). BA (p. 47) supposes again that it is a mistake taken place during copying the text, they assume an original <s'r-'wn> form. Šč (p. 82) cites some additional parralel examples for *sarun-* 'to be wrapped' (pokrybat'sja, okutyvat'sja). Note that <w> is well distinguishable from (cf. Figure 9. in *Chapter 2.6* and Figure 13. in *Chapter 2.8*). The reason why *sarun-* is spelled as <s'r'bn>, however, still remains unclear.

28/3 *mānglāp* <m'Kl'b>: PP reads *mirlāp* <m'rl'b> as *mir+IA-p* from Per. *mir* < Ar. *emir* 'prince, chief, leader'. BA (p. 47) segments the word as *māngü-lāp* (in their translation 'edebiyen'), and they note that <K> looks similar to <r>, see **Figure 17.** in *Chapter 2.9*. Šč (p. 82) reads *m(e)nglāb* and comments on PP's reading that it does not fit well to the context.

28/5 *bo üyniing tağamī altundan erdi tünğlüqlarī taqī kümüštün qalqanlarī* <q'lq'[n]-l'ry> *tämürdän erdilär erdi*: PP (p. 82) and BA (p. 47) correctly identify the hypercorrectly spelled *tağam* with OT *tam* 'wall' (ED 502), see *Chapter 5.6*. PP and BA translate *tünğlük* as 'window' – the original meaning is 'smoke-hole of a tent' (ED 520). BA attempt to etymologize the *tünğlük* from *tütün* 'smoke'(ED 457), which cannot be proved as already PP has pointed out. PP reads <q'lq'[n]> as <q'l'q> *qalağ* 'cage framework of a building' ('yapı kafesi') or *qaliq* 'floor (of a building)' ('kat'). BA leave their reading of <q'l'q> as *qaliq* 'çatı' ('roof') unexplained. For *tunğluq/tünğlüq*, Šč (p. 83) simply notes that it is back-vocalised variant of *tünğlük* 'window'. He, however, reads *qaliq(a)* for the third mentioned element of the house, and translates it as 'dver' '. He identifies it with the Mo. word *qağalğa* (>* *χālğa*) 'gate, door' ('vorota, dver' '). (Mo. *qağalğ-a(n)* 'gate, door' L 906).

My reading for <q'lq'[n]> is *qalqan* which may be here the reborrowing of the OT word *qalqan* 'shield' (ED 621) from Mo. *qalq-a* 'shield, screen, bulwark' (L 922), in the concrete meaning '(window) shutter'.

28/8 *qapuluğ* PP -. BA (p. 47) analyse the word as *qapul-uğ* 'closed'. Šč (p. 83) analyses the word as *qapu+luğ* 'having a gate' ('imejuščij dveri'), but finally he gives the translation 'closed' ('zapertyj').

I discuss the problem of the derivation of *qapuluğ* at example (37), *Chapter 6.1.1.1* (for the possibility *qapu+luğ*) and *Chapter 6.1.2.1*. (for *qapul-uğ*).

29/9 *munga jürčäd tatururlar erdi* PP does not make comment on the form *tatururlar*. BA (p. 48) and Šč (p. 83) analyse *tatururlar* as a causative of *tä-* 'to say, to speak' (ED 433) > *te-tür-* 'to have sy to say sg' (ED 459)

I think that the form *tatururlar* is problematic to interpret as a causative verb, since the first and second actant of the verb is not specified. I suppose instead that the form should be analysed as *tä-* [-A *tur-*][*ur (-lar) er-*]- *di*. Where the converb and auxiliary verb *-A tur-* expresses iterative actionality. The converbial form must have gone through phonological erosion, that's why we find *tätur-* instead of **täyü tur-* or the like (see. *Chapter 7.8.3.7*). The aorist and inflected copula *-ur er-* expresses intraterminality in the past: +PAST(+INTRA), see *Chapter 7.8.3.5.2*.

31/7 *qanqa* PP -. BA (p. 49) also spells the word as <q'nq' > and they give the reading *qanğa*. Šč (p. 52-53) also reads *qanğa* without any particular comments. I preferred the reading *qanqa* as /ŋ/ is spelled <nk> even in back-vocalised words.

33/6 *čašqarun*: see the note on *čang ertä* above.

35/8 *tüšimäl*: PP (p. 90), BA (p. 51) and Šč (p. 85-86) all agree that the word is a copy of Mo. *tüsimel* [tüşimel] 'official, functionary' (L 857) < *tüsi-* 'to prop, assist; to rely on, count on' (L 856). Šč adds that the word refers to a person who performs magic rituals. I agree on this idea, the context supposes an implicit meaning 'seer' of *tüšimäl*. It is common in the PON that names are interpreted with folk etymologies. I assume that *tüšimäl* here is reinterpreted by its phonetic similarity with *tüš* 'dream' (ED 559), and *tüšimäl* goes through the following semantic change: Mo. *tüšimäl* 'official' > '(mystic) counselor' > (by folk etymology) 'seer, visionary' < 'one who sees the dream' << OT *tüš* 'dream'.

37/1 *türlük*: PP- BA (p. 51) read the word as *türlük* and they suppose that it is a contraction of *türüglük* ~ OT *tiriglik* 'life, existence' (ED 546) Šč (p. 86) reads *tör(ü)lük* 'power, governing' ('vlast', upravlenie') from OT *törü* 'power of the leader or government' ('vlast' knjazja, pravitel'stvennaja vlast' ') ~ *törü* 'traditional, customary, unwritten law' (ED 531).

türlük is a noun and the subject of the sentence. I assume that *türlük* is a derivation of *tür* (discussed by the ED at the same entry as *törlüg*, p. 546) < Mo. *düri* (halha *dür*) 'shape, kind, complexion, appearance, expression of the face' (L 282) The meaning of the output

maybe 'presence or mood (which mirrors on the expression of the face)' See example (43), Chapter 6.1.1.2.

37/1-2 [...] *tängri berdi tüšümdä keldürsün*: The difficulties of the translation of the sentence are due to that some words are missing from the beginning. The possible analysis of *tängri berdi* 'god-given' as an adjective of *tüš* 'dream' would mean that the first actant of the sentence is to be reconstructed for the missing part. BA do not make particular comment on it. They reconstruct the missing part as [*nä-gü kök*] and translate the sentence as 'Gök Tanrı düşümde verdiğini hakikate çıkarısın.' (p. 29). Šč also does not comment on the sentence. He reconstructs [*bengä kök*]. His translation is 'Nisposlalo svjaščennoe nebo [mne] (znamenie) vo vremja sna. Pust' sveršitsja [ëto]. (p. 58). Both translations implies the analysis of the subordinate clause of *keldürsün* with SVO syntax. I find Šč's translation forced, as the Turkic text does not contain anything with the meaning 'sign' (znamenie). I accepted BA's reading and made my translation according to that.

37/2 *tola* <d'l'> *turur yer*: PP (p. 93) makes a short comment that he does not accept RN's translation. He reads *tilä turur* without translation. BA (p. 51) interprets *tala* <d'l'> as a mistake of the copier instead of *tola* <dlw'>. They give the translation 'the whole world' ('bütün dünya'). Šč (p. 58) reads *talai turur yerni* with the translation 'the grabbed world' ('zaxvačennye zemli'). He derives *talai* from a verbal stem *tala-* 'to raid, acquire through war, to rob'. ('grabit', zaxvatyvat' v rezul'tate sraženij, otbirat') ~ OT *tala-* 'to damage, pillage' (ED 492). The morphology of *talai* in Šč's analysis is not clear for me.

I agree with BA's translation. **tola* could be a converb from *tol-* 'to be filled' (ED 491). With the copula verb *turur*, the translation of the phrase *tola turur* is 'being full' > 'whole', as an adjective of *yer* 'world' < 'ground' (ED 954). It must be a misspelling indeed, either if the PON is a copy or not.

5. Phonological and phonetic features based on the orthography⁸³⁴

5.1 The Uygur script and the script version of the PON

The Uygur script is a letter-script of Semitic origin, which is based on the Sogdian alphabet. This latter goes back to the Aramaic script. It reached the Turks by Sogdian Buddhist monks. Table 1. introduces the sounds rendered by the individual letters, and compares it with the sound-marking system of the PON. (For the Old Turkic phoneme-set, see Erdal 1998, 138-140; more detailed Erdal 2004, 37-84).

T.1 Comparison of the Old Turkic Uygur script⁸³⁵ and the grapheme-set of the PON.

Name	Letter(s)	Old Turkic Uygur script	PON
Aleph	<ʾ>	initial V, or /ä/	(Initial V) /a/, /ä/, /i/, /i/
	<ʾʾ>	/a-/	-
Beth	<v>	/v/	-
Gimel	<ġ>(=<q̇>)	/g/ [ġ]	/k/ [q], /g/ [ġ]
Waw	<w>	/o/, /u/, /ö/, /ü/	/o/, /u/, /ö/, /ü/, /w/
Waw + yod	<wy>	first syllable /ö/, /ü/	-
Zain	<-z>	/z/	/-s/, /-z/
Zain, two dots	<ž>	ž (only in loanwords)	-
Heth	<h>	[χ]	-
Heth, two dots	<q>	/k/ [q]	/k/ [q], /g/ [ġ]
Yod	<y>	/y/, /i/, /i/	/y/, /i/, /i/
Kaph	<k>	/k/ [k], /g/ [g]	/k/ [k], /g/ [g]
Lamedh	<d>	/d/	/t/, /d/
Mem	<m>	/m/	/m/
Pe		/b/, /p/	/b/, /p/, /w/
Nun	<n>	/n/	/n/
Tsadi	<č>	/č/	/č/, [j]</y/
Resh	<r>	/r/	/r/
Shin	<s>	/s/	/s/, /z/
Shin, two dots	<š>	/š/	/š/
Tau	<t>	/t/	-
hooked Resh	<l>	/l/	/l/

⁸³⁴ The present chapter is a united and corrected form of the articles Danka 2014 and Danka 2015b. I would like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that the conclusion drawn in this chapter is partly reconsidered compared to that of the articles.

⁸³⁵ Based on Kara 1996: 540

If we examine the version of the script more precisely, we can see that it differs from the Old Turkic Uyghur script. Basically it contains less graphemes. The following general remarks can be made on the orthography:

There are no solid rules to mark the quality of a given sound precisely. This leads to fluctuating spellings of the individual lexemes, which fortunately allows us to draw conclusions about certain phonetic (and phonological) phenomena of the dialect of the text. In other words, the orthography of the text is rather phonetic than phonologic.

In the marking of consonants, the orthography does not distinguish *fortis* : *lenis* consonants with different letters. This opposition has partly been marked in the Old Turkic Uyghur script: <q>:<ḡ>, <s>:<z>, <t>:<d> (but may render both /b/ and /p/; <k> may render [k] and [g]). In the PON the marking of the fortis and lenis consonants coincides in one way or in another:

1. <ḡ>(<ḡ>) [ḡ],[q]; <q> [ḡ],[q]. The two graphemes are very similar to each other. According to the cursive ductus of the PON, the two can be distinguished only by the diacritic dots, but the use of diacritics is completely spontaneous in the PON, for example <ḡ' q' n>, <q' q' n> *qaḡan*.

2. The orthography of the manuscript does not make distinction between /s/ and /z/. The manuscript uses the graphemes <s> and <-z> in the following way: Their distribution is complementary, <-z> (looks identical with <->) always occur on the end of a grapheme sequence, marking both /-s/ and /-z/, while <s> can occur only on the initial or internal part of a grapheme sequence, marking both /(-)s-/ and /-z-/.

3. The <t> is completely absent in the PON. <d> marks both /t/ and /d/.

4. <č> marks both /č/ and /y/ [j]. This latter sound did not exist in Old Uyghur.

According to my opinion, the non-distinction of *fortis:lenis* opposition is only an orthographic feature, since this opposition exists in Old Uyghur as well as in all modern Turkic languages.

The vowel-marking of the PON also differs from Old Uyghur: In first syllable, the text does not distinguish front and back vowels (*aleph* <'> /a, ā/; *yod* <y> /ī, i/; *waw* <w> /o, u, ö, ü/), while this distinction has been existed in Old Uyghur in first syllables (for details, see *Chapter 5.2.4* and the table below).

The most striking feature of the orthography of the PON is that in many cases a vowel which could have been expected to be marked with <y> in Uyghur script is marked by <'>. I will argue below that this is not a simple orthographical practice.. Although <'> is not always

distinguishable from <y> (cf. *Chapter 2.3*), in my argumentation I chose examples where this difference is clear.

5.2 The Uygur script and the Old Turkic vowel-system.

To understand the problem it is necessary to know that Uygur scrip as script of ultimately Semitic origin. According to the threefold vowel system of the Semitic languages, contains three basic vowel-graphemes: : <'> /a/, <y> /i/, <w> /u/. These graphemes originally marked consonants /' /, /y/ /w/ respectively.

For the analysis below I apply the element-based approach of government-phonology (Harris 1994). According to this theoretical framework, the (vowel-)phonemes are not distinguished by [+] features, but based on the presence or absence of the following elements: {A, I, U}. The element {A} marks openness, {I} marks frontness, and {U} marks labiality. The quality of a vowel phoneme depends on which elements are contained by the individual phoneme. According to the traditional [+] distinctive marks, these elements can be described as the following:

- (1){A} [+open, –front, –round]
- {I} [–open, +front, –round]
- {U} [–open, –front, +round]

These elements correspond one to one to the phonemes of the Semitic vowel-system, and their marking: : {A} /a/ <'>; {I} /i/ <y>, {U} /u/ <w>.

The vowels /a/, /i/, /u/ thus are qualified as simple ones, since they contain only one element, and stand in threefold privative opposition (**Figure 35**).

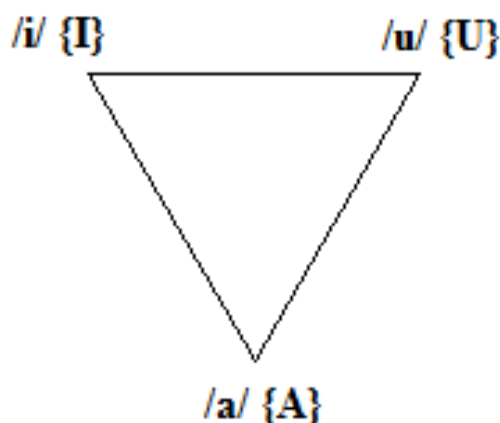


Figure 35: The threefold Semitic vowel-system

The Old Turkic vowel-system, in which the script containing 3 basic vowel-graphemes was applied, is totally different of that of the Semitic one. It contains a total of 9 vowel-phonemes: /a/, /o/, /i/, /u/, /ä/, /e/⁸³⁶, /ö/, /ï/, and /ü/. The system originally contained long vowels as well, but these coincided with their short counterparts during the Old Turkic period. I do not go into the details here.

To describe the Old Turkic (short) vowel-set, one element was not always enough of course, since the system contains more than three vowels. Thus, according to the theoretical framework applied here, some of the vowels contain more than one element. Form the simpler to the more complex, these can be described as the following:

- (2)Vowels containing one element: /a/ {A}; /i/ {I}; /u/ {U}
- Vowels containing two elements: /ä/ {AI}; /o/ {AU}; ü {IU}
- Vowel containing three elements: /ö/ {AIU}

From the list above, two phonemes are still excluded: /e/ and /ï/. /e/ contains the same elements as /ä/ {AI}, but – by the influence of the /i/ {I} in the following syllable – {I} became dominant in it, so /e/ differs of /ä/ in that the head relations had changed in /e/ : /ä/ {AI} and /e/ {AI}.

The phoneme /ï/ is somewhat special, since its place in the system is not determined by the presence, but the *absence* of elements (not open, not front, and not round). The /ï/ is thus should be considered as neutral, and I use the mark { @ } for this. The following argument is based on the assumption of this neutral quality of /ï/. The Old Turic vowel system is illustrated by **Figure 36**:

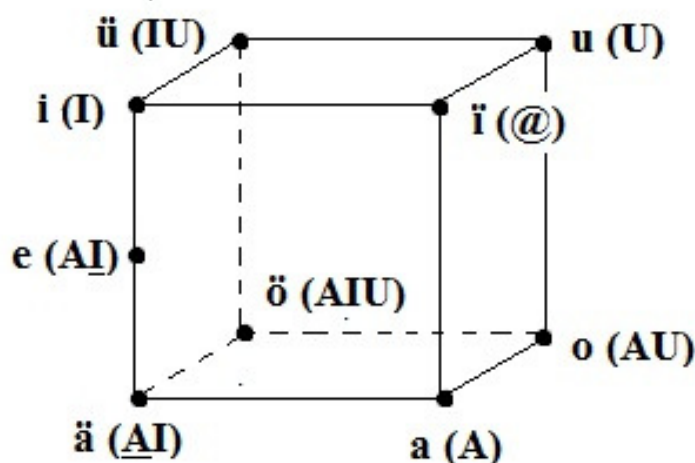


Figure 36. The Old Turkic vowel system

⁸³⁶ The phoneme /e/ in Old Turkic appeared from long /ä:/ and have joined [e], which was an allophone of short /ä/, when the syllable following /ä/ contained /i/ (Erdal 2004: 45). The scripts applied to Old Turkic mark it differently from /ä/ [ä], mostly with <y>. The Yenisey-group of the Old Turkic runiform inscriptions use a distinct grapheme <e>. The version of Uygur script of the PON discussed here also marks /e/ with <y>.

5.2.1 *The phonological interpretation of the neutral element*

The simple vowel phonemes (= /a/, /i/, /u/) containing {A, I, U} represent the vertices of the triangle depicted in **Figure 35**, which corresponds to an oral cavity oriented to the left. The element { @ } is located *between* the vertices, in the area of the triangle. If we consider the {A, I, U} elements as basic colours, and their combinations as mixed colours, the neutral element corresponds to the canvas. In a language the neutral vowel can appear in positions which are sensitive to reduction or to the phonetic environment. Such positions are for example those in which vowel-harmony takes place. The actual quality of the element { @ } as well as the neutral element of a given language can differ from language to language (Harris 1994, 108-135).

5.2.2 */i/ as the neutral phoneme of the Old Turkic vowel-system*

In the following, let us examine whether the interpretation of /i/ as { @ } is valid or not.

The presence of the opposition /i:/i/ in Old Turkic is debated. In first syllable there are minimal pairs, the velar /i/ mostly appear in the vicinity of /k/ [q] and /g/ [g̃]. There are minimal pairs in which there is no /k,g/: *tin* 'breath, spirit' : *tin* 'halter'; *süz-* 'to ooze' : *siz* 'you (pl.)'; *tī:t-* 'to tear to shreds' (and *tīt* 'larch tree') : *tit-* 'to renounce'. These examples verify that /i/ and /i/ are two distinct phonemes, instead of allophones in the vicinity of /k,g/ (Erdal 2004, 52-59).

The phoneme /k/ contains the following elements: { @, ?, h } where { @ } is the place of formation (velum), { ? } is the plosive element and { h } is the noise element. The allophone [k] appears in the vicinity of vowels containing { I } element (/ä, i, ö, ü/), while [q] in the vicinity of vowels not containing { I } (/a, ä, o, u/). Thus, we have to assume that the two allophones are distinguished by an { I }, which's presence depends on the presence of a vowel, from which the { I } can spread to /k/.

I would like to stress that the analysis of Old Turkic [k] as { @, ?, h, I } and that of [q] as { @, ?, h } is a mere assumption, and I do not conclude here that the real pronunciation of [k] had been palatalised, since such a statement could not be verified in the absence of reliable volume of voice. The reason I choose this analysis is simplicity: In this way the difference between [k] and [q] can be grasped in the same way as the difference between /u/ {U} and /ü/ {UI}, etc., which can be completely verified (see below). According to this analysis, it is not

necessary to introduce a place-element which distinguishes velar [k] and uvular [q], as they are commonly referred in Turkological literature. This analysis of Old Turkic /k/ also corresponds to the discussion in *Chapter 5.2.1*, since its place of formation is { @ }, which is sensitive to phonetic environment, and in the case of suffixes, to vowel harmony.

Similar to /k/, /g/ can be analysed as the set of elements { @, (?), h } (the presence of the plosive element is debated), to which de voiced {L} element is to be added. The distribution of [g] and [ġ] is the same as of [k] and [q], so the difference between them is the presence or absence of {I}, depending on the environment.

In Old Turkic the change /i>/i/ is known in the vicinity of /č, š, n', y/, which are also consonants containing the palatal element {I}, so the requirements of the spreading of {I} are given. In these cases the Old Turkic opposition /i:/i/ disappears, which – considering the sensitivity to environment of { @ } – supports the { @ } interpretation of the Old Turkic /i/.

5.2.3 The <'>-spelling of /i/ in Old Turkic

We can find the following information about the <'>-spelling of /i/ in Erdal's grammar:

(1) In pre-classical texts written in scripts of Semitic origin (Sogdian, Uygur, Manichean) the <'>-spelling of /i/ can be observed, mainly in the former two, but it is not general. Erdal (2004: 91) considers it as mere graphic fluctuation.

(2) In texts written in Brāhmī script, in the vicinity of /g, r, l/ , an /i>[a] change can be observed, which is considered by Erdal as a phonetic change, namely lowering. He interprets it as the appearance of /i/ in the above environment is " psychologically assigned to the /a/ and not the /i/ phoneme" (Erdal 2004: 91).

(3) The <'>-spelling of [i] is frequent in fourfold synharmonic suffixes in the case of /X/ [i, i, u, ü]. Rarely, in the case of suffixes, [i] is also spelled with <'>. This is also interpreted by lowering by Erdal (2004: 44)

5.2.4 The vowel-marking of Old Turkic Uygur script

During the adoption of the Sogdian script to Old Turkic, new strategies were needed to render Turkic vowels, which are alien for the original Semitic system. These are /ä/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /ö/, /ü/. These strategies included certain combinations of the graphemes existing in Sogdian script.

Table 2. summarises the strategies used by the Uygur script to describe the Old Turkic vowel-phonemes. The data given before the comma marks the position of first syllable, and the data after the comma marks non-first syllable position. In the case of /e/, the '-' means that this phoneme does not occur in non-first syllable in Old Turkic. In the case of /o/ and /ö/ it means that the closedness of non-first syllable labials cannot be determined in texts written in Uygur script because of the innate features of the script. I generally transcribed them as *u* and *ü*. '()' refers to word-initial position, thus according the orthographic convention the word-initial vowels are always introduced by a radical <'>. This radical <'> does not add information to the description of the qualities of the phoneme (except /ä/), more or less it means 'word-initial vowel'.

T.2 The vowel-marking of the Uygur script

/i/ {I} <'>y>, <y>	/ü/ {UI} <'>wy>, <w>	/i/ {@} <'>y>, <y>~<'>	/u/ {U} <'>w>, <w>
/e/ {AI} <'>y>/<'>, -	/ö/ {AUI} <'>wy>, -		/o/ {AU} <'>w>, -
/ä/ {AI} <'>, <'>		/a/ {A} <'>', <'>	

As it can be seen, the Uygur script is imperfect, since it is unable to mark the Old Turkic vowel phonemes precisely. There is no one-to-one phoneme-grapheme correspondence, although the marking intuitively tends to grasp the (dominant) elements of the phonemes, with more or less success.

The Uygur script can grasp and cover only the {U}-element of the phonemes of the Old Turkic vowel-system.

The Uygur grapheme <y> marks only *primarily* the element {I} (see /i/, /e/, /ö/, /ü/, but not /ä/). However, its *secondary* interpretation is the absence of {A} and {U}. We can see similar fluctuation in the case of <'> as well. The primary interpretation of <'> is {A} (see /a/, /ä/), the secondary one is the absence of {I} and {U}. Thus, in the case of the graphemes <'> and <y>, if not the primary interpretation is authoritative, the secondary interpretation is being activated. The secondary one is the *absence* in both cases, which corresponds to the {@} quality of /i/. Since the Semitic legacy of the script is that the graphemes rendering vowels originally cover only the vertices of the triangle shown on **Figure 37**, and the {@}-element of the /i/ is *in* the area of the triangle, the /i/ phoneme – since there is no functional grapheme for it – can be marked only in the indirect way discussed above (see. **Figure 37**, cf. **Figure 35**).

Ultimately, the reason of the fluctuation of the marking of /i/ is that the script simply contains no functional grapheme to render /i/.

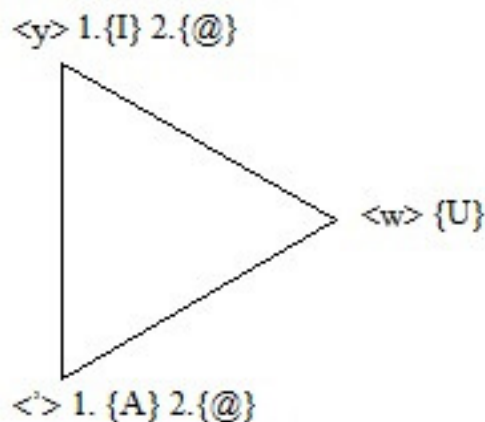


Figure 37. The element-marking of the vowel-graphemes in Uygur script.

5.3 Data in the PON

Above we saw why the vowel-marking of the Old Turkic in Uygur script is fluctuating in the case of /i/. I mentioned in the introduction that the PON is a Middle-Turkic text, and is written with a *version* of Uygur script, which, by reasons of chronological distance, differs from Old Turkic Uygur script. However, the basic principles of the script remained the same. Based on this, I assume that the discussion above is valid for the script version of the PON as well, and I intend to interpret the data below from this perspective. I give the number of occurrences with <'> and <y>-marking next to the listed data, with the following format: (x_{n1} vs. x_{n2})

5.3.1 <'>-marking of back /i/ before /g, r, l/

Based on Old Turkic, as it can be expected, in back vocalic environment before /g, r, l/, there are numerous examples for the <'> marking of /i/. Actually this is the case in most of the data in hand. Here I give only one example for each consonant.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|
| (3) /q̄ir̄q/ ~ <q̄r̄q> 'forty, many' | x7 vs. 0 |
| /ȳil̄q̄i/ ~ <ȳl̄q̄y> 'livestock' | x4 vs. 0 |
| /č̄iḡay/ ~ <č̄q̄y> 'poor' | x1 vs. 0 |

5.3.2 <'>-marking of back /i/ before consonants other than /g, r, l/

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| (4) /q̄il̄ič̄/ ~ <q̄yl̄č̄>, <q̄l̄č̄> 'sword' | x4 vs. 0 |
| /q̄iz̄/ ~ <q̄z̄> 1. 'girl' 2. 'valuable' | x1+x1 vs. 0 |

<i>/q̄im̄iz/</i> ~ <q̄myz> 'koumiss'	x1 vs. 0
<i>/t̄iš/</i> ~ /tiš/ ~ <d̄š> 'tooth'	x1 vs. 0

5.3.3 <'>-marking of front /i/ before /g, r, l/

(5) <i>/tilä-/</i> ~ <d̄l̄-> 'to wish'	x7 vs. x1
<i>/bir/</i> ~ <b̄r̄> 'a/an'	x7 vs. x30
<i>/birlä/</i> ~ <b̄rl̄> 'with'	x2 vs. x23
<i>/tirig/</i> ~ <d̄r̄k̄> 'living'	x2 vs. x1
<i>/til̄</i> ~ <i>/t̄il̄/</i> ~ <d̄l̄> 'tongue, speech'	x1 vs. 0
<i>/čäriḡ/</i> ~ <č̄r̄k̄> 'army'	x3 vs. x12
<i>/bildür-/</i> ~ <b̄ldwr-> 'to explain'	x1 vs. x2

We see that forms spelled with <'> include also data containing /i/, however, they are not anymore in majority. This could be considered as normal, since the expected spelling in this environment is <y> of the {I}-element. In these cases the interesting thing is exactly that we find <'> marking at all.

5.3.4 <'>-marking of front /i/ before consonants other than /g, r, l/

(6) <i>/tälim/</i> ~ <d̄l̄m̄> 'many, much'	x3 vs. x4
<i>/täriḡ/</i> ~ <d̄r̄nk̄> 'deep'	x1 vs. 0
<i>/tiktür-/</i> ~ <d̄kdwr-> 'to erect' +CAUS.	x1 vs. 0
<i>/biṭi-/</i> ~ <b̄d̄-> 'to write (with calamus)'	x1 vs. 0
<i>/yit-/</i> ~ <ȳd̄-> 'to get lost (of sight)'	x1 vs. 0
<i>/ič-/</i> ~ <č̄-> 'to drink'	x1 vs. x3

5.3.5 Unusual spellings of etymological round vowels

In this script version, we find unusual spelling not only in the position of /i/ or /i/. This phenomenon can be observed also instead of expected <w> in some cases. There is a set of data in which we clearly find <'> marking of round vowels (cf. **Figure 10** in *Chapter 2.6*).

The list here is exhaustive.

(7)	
<i>/taluy/</i> <d̄ly> 'a large body of water'	x1 vs. x1
<i>/bol-/</i> <b̄l̄-> 'to become'	x1 vs. x46
<i>/tol-/</i> <d̄l̄-> 'to be filled'	x1 vs. x0
<i>/yol/</i> <č̄l̄> 'road'	x1 vs. x4
<i>/yaru-/</i> <ȳr̄-> 'to labour (with child)'	x1 vs. x2
<i>/altun/</i> <ld̄n̄> 'gold'	x1 vs. x12
<i>/bedük/</i> <b̄d̄k̄> 'great'	x3 vs. x8

In the case of another set of data, it is not clear whether <w> or <'> is written at the underlined points (cf. again **Figure 10** in *Chapter 2.6*). Nevertheless, I cited them here.

(7b)

<i>/uluḡ/</i> <'wlWq> 'big, great'	x1 vs. x8
<i>/tut-/</i> <dWd-> 'to hold, to consider'	x1 vs. x3
<i>/dost/</i> <dWsd> 'friend'	x1 vs. x2
<i>/song/</i> <sWnk> 'after'	x1 vs. x28
<i>/üst/</i> <'Wsd> 'upper part'	x1 vs. x3
<i>/baluq/</i> <b'lWq> 'town'	x2 vs. x6

There is one more such instance: the genitive case marker *+nXng* <nWnk> in 19/4, see below.

The last cited data, *baluq* originally contained /i/, not /u/ (ED, 335), however, in the PON there are spelling of <b'lwq> in 7 more cases. For this reason I found practical to list it in this group of data.

5.3.6 <'> spelling in the position of fourfold morphophonemes

The closed illabial vowels spelled with <'> also occur in suffixes which contain the fourfold morphophoneme /X/. The realisation of /X/ can be [i, i, u, ü], depending on the quality of the vowel in previous syllable: /a, i/ > [i], /ä, i/, /e/ > [i] /o, u/ > [u], /ö, ü/ > [ü]. We have the most examples in the cases of the perfective gerund *-(X)p* and genitive case marker *-nXng*.

5.3.6.1 The spelling of the vowel of the perfective gerund *-(X)p*

The gerund *-(X)p* occurs 34 times in the text. 16 of the examples are spelled with <w>, 9 of them are after vowel containing {U}, 7 of them are after vowels not containing {U}. We find spelling <-yb> in the cases of 3 different lexemes (/ič-/ 'to drink', /ber-/ 'to give', /kel-/ 'to come'), a total of five times (1+2+2 respectively). All of the <yb> spellings are after vowel containing {I} but not {U} (/e/ and /i/). We must add that spelling of /kel-/ and /ber-/ also fluctuates throughout the text. In the case of /ber-/, there is <b'ryb> both times, in the case of /kel-/ there is <k'lyb> one time and <kylyb> two times.

The gerund *-(X)p* is spelled as <-b> 13 times, once after /u/. In the remaining 12 cases it is distributed equally between positions after vowels containing {I} but not {U} (/e/, /ä, i/), and that containing neither {I} nor {U} element (/a, i/).

5.3.6.2 The spelling of the vowel of the genitive case marker *+nXng*

The genitive case marker *+nXng* occurs 54 times in the text. 33 of them the suffix-vowel is spelled with <w>, mostly after vowels not containing {U}, focused around two lexemes (*qaḡan* 'kagan' and the declinative stem *an+* of the demonstrative pronoun *ol*). Now the

discussion of the reason of this phenomenon would lead away from the subject from the present study.

We find spelling <(+)nynk> 6 times. These 6 cases are distributed among almost all of the possible environments, but in all cases after stem-vowel containing no {U}. We find also examples of fluctuating spellings in the cases of vowels preceding the case marker: *čäriḡ+nin* 'army+Gen.' <č'ryk+n'nk> ~ <č'r'k+n'nk>.

Figure 38 shows that the spelling <'> occurs in a proportion of 2-2,5 against <y>, if we take all occurrences in the text, independently from the frontness or backness of the phonetic environment.

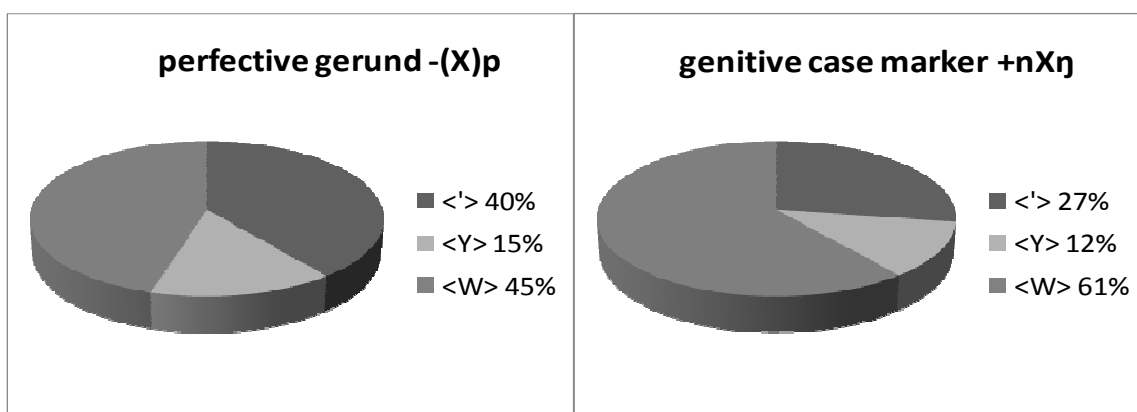


Figure 38. The spelling of the morphophoneme /X/ in the suffixes -(X)p and +nXŋ

Considering the data we can see that the phenomenon under discussion can be observed a) in word stems first and non-first syllables, as well as out of word stems, b) in the environment of almost any consonant, c) in the environment of front or back vowels and d) in some cases in positions of etymological round vowels. (cf. *Chapter 5.3.5*). Thus, in the PON, the spelling <'> occurs much more widely than the cases described by Erdal, and while the phonetic environment was relevant in OT, it seems that in the PON it is not anymore.

5.3.7 Homograph spelling in the PON

The vowel-spelling procedure discussed above lead to homographic forms in the PON. Thus we find lexemes with etymologically different phonetic shape, spelled in the same way in the PON. The data in hand can be divided into three groups.

i) Same environment of frontness or backness, where the vowel-phoneme of the word pair differs only by an {A} element, and both words occur in the text.

- (8) /qil-/ 'to do something' ~ /qal-/ 'to stay, remain' <q'l->
 /qilič/ 'sword' ~ /qalač/ 'tribal name' <q'l'č>

/tiš ~ tiš/ 'tooth' ~ */taš/* 'stone' < d'š >
/til ~ til/ 'tongue, speech' ~ */tal/* 'willow' < d'l >

ii) The same as in (8), except that one part of the word pair does not occur in the PON, although it is well attested in old and modern Turkic languages, so it can be assumed that the spoken dialect of the PON also contained it (these are marked with *):

(9) */qiz/* 1. 'girl' 2. 'rare' ~ **/qaz/* 'goose' < q'z >
/qırq/ 'forty, many' ~ **/qaraq/* 'eyeball, pupil' < q'r'q >
/yit-/ 'to get lost (of sight)' ~ **/yet-/* 'to reach' < y'd->

iii) Different environment of frontness and backness, the parts of the word pair differ in two elements: The presence or absence of {A} and {I}.

(10) */ič-/* 'to drink' ~ */ač-/* 'to open' < 'č->
/bir/ 'a/an' ~ */bar/* 'particle expressing existence' < b'r >
/yit-/ 'to get lost (of sight)' ~ */yat-/* 'to lie, lie down' < y'd->

In the case of this last group we can speak about real homography, in the case of (8) and (9) it is also possible that parts of the word pairs are homophonous. In this case we should assume that the opposition between /a/ and /i/ disappeared in the dialect of the PON. I do not consider it probable, and in the following I will argue that oppositions between the vowels did not disappear, only redistributed.

5.4 Phonological interpretation of the text of the PON

Because of the considerable amount of data, I assume that the vowel-marking procedure of the PON is not only orthographical fluctuation, but covers real phonetic phenomenon. The superficial symptom of this is that in back vocalic environment the phoneme /i/ and the realization [i] of /X/ are spelled with <'> in most cases, and this spelling can be observed in cases of /i/ as well. In our present framework we have three possibilities for the interpretation of such a phonetic phenomenon: 1) lowering, (spreading of {A} element), 2) reduction (detaching elements), 3) redistribution of head relations. **Figure 39** illustrates these processes.

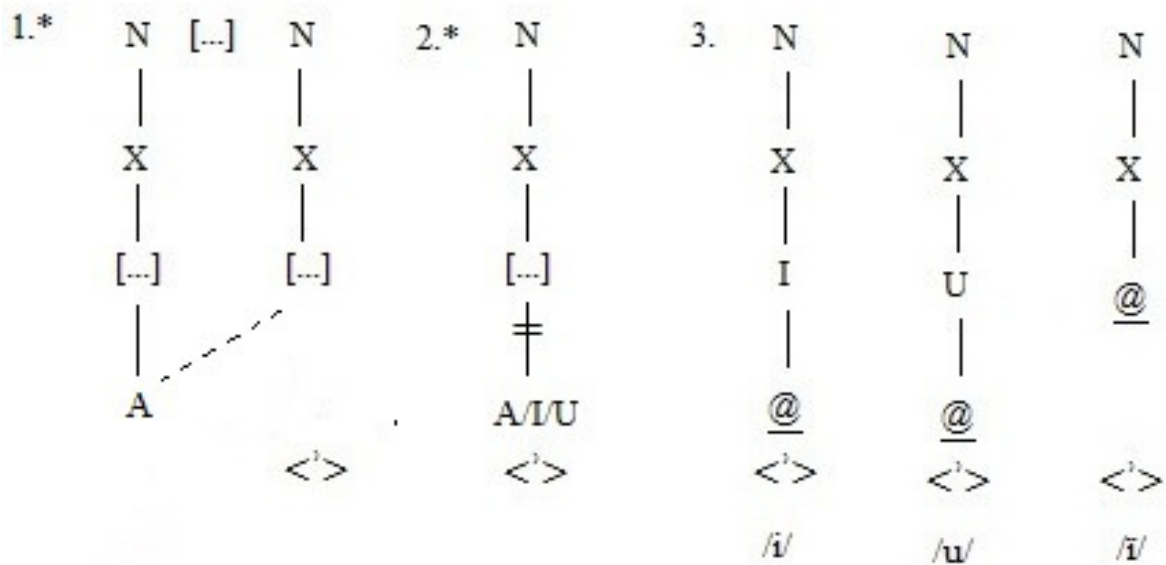


Figure 39: 1. lowering, 2. reduction 3. redistribution of head-relations.

Let us see the possibilities one by one.

1) According to the theoretical framework of government-phonology, in the case of lowering, we have to assume the element {A} spreads to the position of vowel not containing {A}. According to our data in hand, it can not be executed, since most of the data does not contain {A} element at all.

2) In the case of reduction we must determine which element will be detached. We can exclude {A} since the data in hand etymologically does not contain {A}. The detachment of {U} also could interpret only a very small fragment of the data (see *Chapter 5.3.5*), and the central problem would go untouched. With detachment of {I} the *front:back* opposition would disappear between the vowels. Again, according to our data (see *Chapters 5.3.3* and *5.3.4*) this is not the case, since in the majority of the corresponding data we find <y> spelling. Thus, we can exclude reduction as well.

3) In the mirror of all data, only one possibility remains: in the data spelled with <'>, the {@} element becomes dominant, while in the case of /i/ there is no real change, and its position in the system did not change. In the meantime, we have to keep it forward that according to the above discussion, the orthography marks the dominant element in the cases of data in question.

It is a further argument for the validity of the above statement that we do not know such a wide vowel-opening process among the modern Turkic languages what our data would

show, but we do know redistribution of head-relations of the vowel system among the Volga Turks, namely in modern Tatar and Bashkir.

It is well-known that a Volga-Kipchak vowel system went through a total shift compared to that of Old Turkic, which happened in two steps connected to each other: (1) The original mid-closed vowels became closed ones (their {A} element detached), then (2) in order to preserve the phonological opposition, the original closed vowels became "reduced", in other words, their pronunciation became vague. This process went together with centralisation (Berta 1998, 283). According to government-phonology, this means that in the cases of the original closed vowels the element { @ } became dominant.

I do not state here, however, that the idiom of the PON would be a predecessor of modern Volga-Kipchak languages, I simply state that the process observed in the vowel-marking of the PON *may* be similar to that is present in Volga-Kipchak. Even if the 'vowel-shift' in the PON is similar to the Volga-Kipchak one, this is only one similar phonological feature between these languages.

At the present state of the research – due to the dubiousness of other factors, such as the (exact) distance in time between the PON and Volga-Kipchak, possible areal and contact-linguistic phenomena, etc. – direct or indirect connection between the idiom of the PON with Tatar and Bashkir cannot be proved, and it is out of the scope of the present work.

5.5 The possible vowel system of the PON based on the vowel marking of its script variety

If we accept the assumption that vowel system of the PON went through a 'vowel shift' similar to that of the Volga-Kipchak and we fit this vowel system behind the script-version of the PON, then we may get an answer for the unusual spellings in the PON.

T.3 shows the possible reflexes of the Old Turkic vowels (bold), and that which graphemes could render them in the PON.

The possible shift of the round vowels is actually hid by the script, since there it only marks the element {U}. Thus, with a few exceptions cited in *Chapter 5.3.5*, the shift can not really be grasped in the cases of vowels containing {U}. In word stems, we can see more examples in vowels containing {I}, however, in the majority of cases the orthography marks the original quality. The original /i/ is almost always marked by <'>, which method is applied more frequently than in Old Turkic. The <'> spelling became dominant against <y> in the vast majority of cases in the positions sensitive to vowel harmony. It seems that for the scribe

it was more adequate to spell centralised /i/ with <'>, although its realisation did, but its place in the system did not change.

T.3 The shift of vowel system of the PON, and its marking with Uygur script.

2.centralization	/i/ > /ě/ {@I} <y>/<'>	/ü/ > /õ/ {@IU} <w>	/i/ > /ĩ/ {@} <y>/<'>	/u/ > /õ/ {@U} <w>/<'>
1. closing	/e/ > /i/ {AI} <y>/<'>	/ö/ > /ü/ {AIU} <w>		/o/ > /u/ {AU} <w>
	/ä/ {AI} <'>		/a/ {A} <'>	

As a conclusion, we can say that despite its imperfectness, the orthography of the PON tends to provide the spelling according to the pronunciation, from which one can get information about the features of the dialect recorded by the text. The vowel system of the PON may have gone through a shift similar to that we know from Volga-Kipchak, but this shift may have not yet accomplished.

5.6 Hypercorrect forms

The orthography of the PON seems to show influence of Written Mongolian orthography in the way of marking primary or secondary long /ā/ sounds by the grapheme-sequence <'q'>. Several words occur in the text with this hypercorrect orthography, which are already registered in the previous editions of the PON, but no exhaustive examination has been made covering the whole text. On a second glance, the keen eye may find more examples, but written with <'qw>, <'qy>, etc.

The aim of the present chapter is to investigate these words with hypercorrect orthography, and to attempt to determine the quality of the sounds marked by <VqV>.

In order to reach our goal, it is subservient to introduce briefly the history of Mongolic sounds marked by <VqV> in Written Mongolian.

The parallels of Written Mongolian grapheme sequences <'q'>, <'qw>, <'qy> etc. in modern Mongolic languages are secondary long vowels or diphthongs due to the result of reduction and disappearing of an earlier /g/ in intervocalic position. The orthography of the Chinese transcription (end of 14th century) of the Secret History of Mongols (the dating of

the original text is not sure, probably mid-thirteenth century⁸³⁷) allows the conclusion that in contemporary spoken Mongolian the process of loss of the intervocalic /g/ had already been started, and it had a so-called 'hiatus' in intervocalic position. Pre-Classical and Classical written Mongolian, however, preserved the marking of intervocalic /g/. Scholars still argue about the actual quality of this etymologic /g/ in 14th century Mongolian language, but the detailed argument of the topic is not the subject of the present study. The two most recent opinions are the following:

According to Miller's (2002) very detailed analysis, that the sound in question had been a laryngeal or uvular weak spirant [ɦ] which developed from a *[ǰ], and this [ǰ] is marked by <k> or <q̃> in Written Mongolian. Janhunen (2003) derives the intervocalic „hiatus” from a „Pre-Proto-Mongol” *p which developed into *χ and the language of the Secret History shows this sound as a laryngeal [h]⁸³⁸.

Now we can turn to the data of the PON. In every example I gave the locus of the given words in the manuscript as X/Y where X stands for the number of the page, and Y for the number of the line on the page. This also means that every example I give are word instances and not lexemes, however, many of them occur only a single time in the text. Consider the following examples:

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| (11a) <q'q'r> 27/9 | ~ OT <i>qār</i> 'snow' ED 461 |
| (11b) <q'q'r-l'q> 28/3 | 'proper name, Karluk' < OT <i>qār</i> +IXg ⁸³⁹ |
| (12) <q'q'd'r> 31/3 | ~ OT <i>qatir</i> 'mule' ED 604, قاطر Z 682a |
| (13) <š'q'm> 33/3 | ~ ar. <i>šām</i> شام 'Syrien, Damaskus' Z 536a |
| (14) <d'q'm> 28/6 | ~ OT <i>tām</i> 'wall' ED 502 |

As we can see, the spelling of <'q'> is unmotivated in the sense that none of the words contains an etymological /g/. In the examples (11a), (11b) and (14) the vowel of the word stems goes back to etymological Old Turkic long /ā/. The etymon of example (13) goes back

⁸³⁷ The problem and research history of the question about the age of the original text and how it was edited later is most recently summarized by Rachewiltz 2006: xxix-liii.

⁸³⁸ According to András Róna-Tas (personal communication), the analyses of Miller and Janhunen complement each other as they describe different stages of the same process: 1. VpV > 2. VβV > 3. VγV > 4. VɦV > 5. VV. Miller describes stages 3. and 4., while Janhunen describes stages 1., 3. and 4. but without considering voicing. The fluctuation of *debel* 'long garment, dress, robe' (L 238) with *degel* (both voiced, showing stages 2. and 3.) however, suppose that Janhunen is wrong at this point. Stations 3. 4. are marked with <VgV>/<VǰV> by Uygur-Mongolian script, however the Chinese transcription shows stage 4.

⁸³⁹ The context provides a folk etymology of the Turkic tribal name. In the text the protagonist gives the name because the *beg* is covered by snow, this verifies that the word formative element of the word corresponds to Old Turkic +IXg, although it is homographous with +IXK.

to an Arabic word which also contains a long /ā/. Example (12) etymologically contains no long vowel. The spelling of *qatir* as <q'q't'r> might show that the word contained a secondary long vowel in the first syllable in the variety of the scribe or the speaker (see below).

As we have seen, all the examples contain <'q'> spelling, which suggests that they had been pronounced with long /ā/ at the time of the compilation of the text. The spelling of the words suggests that the scribe had competence in written Mongolian. The fact that these spellings, with the exception of (12), contain etymologic long vowel, also suggest that the spoken Mongolian variety known by the scribe had contained already secondary long /ā/, which developed from the disyllabic /aga/ sequence. The fact that they appear in the PON showing a later stage may mean two things: 1. Either the PON is later than the 14th century, (or at least than the copy of the Secret History), or 2. The Mongolian dialect which is echoed in the PON is more progressive in this aspect. Now let us turn to the next example:

(15) <d'qwr'q> 13/6 ~ OT *tawraq* 'speed, hurry, quick' ED 443

The Old Turkic word had never contained etymological /g/. The corresponding sound of Old Turkic /aw/ is spelled by <'qw>. I assume that the instance occurring in the PON contains a diphthong with a labial element (marked by <w>), which developed from the phoneme sequence /aw/. I will return to its closer quality later. Another case is visible at example (16):

(16) <d'rl'qw-syz> 29/8 ~ OT *tarlağ*, *tarla* ED 546 ~ *tariğlağ* 'a cultivated field' ED 541 +SXz

In this case the instance of the word is spelled by <w> again however the etymon of the word lacks a labial element. The word can only be derived from *tarlağ*.⁸⁴⁰ The phoneme sequence /ag/ is spelled also with <'qw>, thus its pronunciation must had coincided with that of /aw/. This phenomenon which is typical of Kipchak languages, occurs already in the Italian part of the Codex Cumanicus from the 13th century: *tarlov* 'Ackerfeld' (Grønbech 1942: 236).

Another word may be added to our list so far, which seems to be Mongolian origin, although it is somewhat problematic:

(17) Chag. قوریا *kurja* (=qoriya) 'Mauer, Hütte (Z 716c) ~ Mo. *qoriy-a(n)* 'enclosure, camp' (L 967), *qoruğ-a* (L 968)

(17a) <qwryq'n> 12/3

(17b) <qwryq'n> 14/9

⁸⁴⁰ It would be possible to subtract a word formative –GUSIz element (with the opposite meaning of –GUIUK, however, a verb stem *tarla- < *tariğla- could not be dated, only the derivated form *tarlağ* < *tariğlağ* (ED 541)

- (17c) <qwryq'n> 15/3
 (17d) <qwr'q'n> 17/4
 (17e) <qwryq'n>/<qwr'q'n> 29/7

The problem here is that if the scribe had competence in (Written) Mongolian, why didn't he use the Written Mongolian form of this word? Instead, he used again the spellings <yq'> and <'q'> for the phoneme sequence /iya/ or /uğa/ (the Written Mongolian spellings are <yy-'> or <wq-'> respectively). In any case, based on the examples cited above, the pronunciation of the word should have contain a diphthong (<yq'> spellings) or long vowel (<'q'> spelling[s]), which more or less corresponds to the written form in Arabic script of the Chagatay data.

Until this point, we saw hypercorrect examples which, with the exception of the form *qoruğ-a*, never contained etymological /g/ but are spelled so by the Mongolian orthography, thus allowing the assumption that they contained a diphthong or long vowel. Now let us turn to another group of data, which seems to fall under the same orthographic rule, but the reason of their spelling is different. These words have the syllable-structure (C)VgVC, and fall under the phonotactic rule that if they take suffix with initial consonant, the second-syllable vowel disappears. In these cases however, the spelling of the words in question does mark second-syllable vowel:

- (18) *ağiz*+Px3(+Cx) 'his/her mouth' > **ağzi*
 (18a) <'qysy>/<'q'sy> 1/6
 (18b) <q'yz-wm-q'> 13/1(sic)
 (18c) <'q'z-wm-q'> 13/4
 (18d) <'q'z-y-q'> 14/5
 (18e) <'q'sy-q'> 30/8

Example (18b) is misspelled, the diacritic dots are put next to the first two <'>-s, not the second two ones. In (18a) it is not completely clear that whether a <y> or an <'> to be read in the second syllable (the only difference between the two graphemes in this text is their length). In these cases, the data can be analyzed in two ways: 1. The morphophonetic rule mentioned above is not valid (allowing the readings of *ağzi*, *ağzumğa*, etc.); 2. The second syllable vowel is a part of an <'q'> or <'qy> sequence again, thus it is to be read together as a secondary long vowel (*āzi*, *āzumğa*, etc.) or with a similar hiatus as in Middle-Mongolian: (*a'izi*, *a'izumğa*, etc.), regardless of whether the rule above-mention morphophonetic rule is valid or not. Based mainly on (18c), (18d) and (18e), and on (19) cited below, I assume that the second possibility (number 2.) is valid here.

- (19) OT *yağir* 'a saddle-gall' > 'shoulders' (ED 905)

(19a) <yq̣'ry> 2/4 occurring two times in the same line

Clauson cites the corresponding part of the PON as *yağrī kiš yağrī teg* 'his shoulders like a sable's shoulders' (ED 905), however, the spellings of the word-instances both times are as in (19a), as the diacritic dots occurs immediately after the word-initial <y>. The problem with the spelling of the word is that after the word-initial /y/ no vowel sign occurs. If Clauson's reading (based on BA's) is correct, and the word *yağır* is to be seen here, then we can see the same grapheme-sequence as in (17a), (17b) and (17c), but it covers the expected OT phoneme-sequence /yaği/. Now I don't consider the problem of marking /ya-/ with a single <y>, but emphasize the fact that the second syllable <'> in (19a) instead of <y> suggests that the reading of the grapheme sequence <yq̣'> in (19a) and <'q̣'>/<'qy> in (18) should imply a secondary long vowel or with a hiatus (which may have eventually further developed into a diphthong) respectively (in the case of (19a), with or without /y-/).

Further data can be observed with similar morphophonetic environment with labial vowels:

(20) *kögüz'* chest, breast' (ED 714) +Px3 > **kögzü* 'his or her breasts'

(20a) <kwkwzwndwn> 1/9

(20b) <kwkwzww> 2/4

(20c) <kwkwzww> 2/5

(21) *oğul* '(male) child' (ED 83) +Px3 > **oğli* 'his/her son'

(21a) <'wqwl-wn> 20/3

(21b) <'wqwl-y> 21/1

The next group of data shows that the hiatus- (or diphthong-) marking <VqV> can overarch morpheme-boundaries:

(22) (chag. چیرای, چیرا *čira, čiray* 'Gesicht, Wange' (Z 378a) <Mo. *čiray* (L 191)+Px3

(22a) <č'r'qy> 1/5

(22b) <č'r'qy> 34/3

(23) <swqy> 19/4 ~ OT *suw* 'water' ED 783 + Px3

Again, in (22) and (23) there is no etymological /g/, <'qy> and <wqy> marks word-final hiatus or diphthong to which a vowel-initial suffix had been added.

Some instances of deverbal nominal formative –*GU* points that the pronunciation of this formative already had diphthongal value:

(24) OT *aŋ-* 'to remember, call to mind' (ED 168) –GU +Px3⁸⁴¹

(24a) <'nk'qw-sw> 1/1

(24b) <'nkqw-sy> 5/8

(24c) <'nkwqw-sw> 6/3

(25) <'wq'-qw-lwq> 35/8 ~ uq- 'to understand something' (ED) 77 –GUIXk

The “second syllable” vowel graphs in (24a), (24c) and in (25) could be also analyzed as anaptyctic sounds⁸⁴², but according to the proposal I made above, these data also belong here. The sequences <'qw> and <wqw> should mark a diphthong or secondary long-vowel respectively.

To sum up so far, the orthography of the text marks <VqV> grapheme-sequences in positions in which it is not expected. This single orthographic phenomenon, however, covers several phonetic phenomena, which probably end up in results close to each other, a long vowel, an intervocalic hiatus, or diphthong. The tables below summarize the data, and compares markings of the phoneme-sequences. I underlined the phoneme-sequences.

⁸⁴¹Sertkaya (1993) proposes that this word is identical with OT *yaŋqu* 'echo' (ED 949) with the loss of the word-initial /y-/. The system he draws out in his article about the loss of /y-/ and other phonetic features seem plausible, but in the case of this word the meaning 'echo' is improbable. This word refers to pictures in the text, which are visual depictions of things and not audial ones. The etymology I propose above, that this word derives from the verbal stem *aŋ-* with the formative –GU and ultimately means 'reminder' or 'memory' is simpler on one hand, and hasn't got this catachresis on the other, since one of the basic functions of a picture is to remind.

⁸⁴² For the existence of anaptyctics see <*kwrwk-lwg*> ~ *körk+lXg*, <*qwrwq-m'z*> ~ *qorq-mAz*, <*d'r'ddy*> ~ *tart-DX* etc. The rule could be formalized as [(C)Vr°CC_ ← (C)VrC+C_]. In the cases of (24a), (24c) and (25) the phonetic environment is different, and could be formalized as [(CVG°GW ← (C)VG+GW], which in the end provides a /VgV/ sequence, marked as <'qw> and <wqw> respectively. This could be (and I think it must be) read as diphthong or secondary long vowel, thus it ends up in the same result anyway. Another reason that the anaptyctic sounds are improbable in this position that /ŋ/ is not plosive in itself in this variety, if the nasal velar is in the environment of a velar or guttural plosive, the sound-sequences are marked as <nkk>/<nkq>, see 19/4 <s'b s'nkkyr> *säpsänggir* 'cinnabar' 36/5 <y'nkq'q> *yinggaq* 'directon'.

T.4 Phonemes marked by <VqV> in illabial environment.

Grapheme-sequence	Phoneme-sequence	Lexemes	Instances	Type
<yq'>	/yaği/	yağır +i	2/4, 2/4	triggered
	/iya/	qoriyan	12/3, 14/9, 15/3 (29/7)	word stem
<'q'>	/ā/	qār	27/9	
		qārluğ	28/3	
		tām	28/6	
		šām	33/3	
	/ā/ (?</a/)	qātir	31/3	
	/aği/	ağiz +i	(1/6). 13/4, 14/5, 30/8	triggered
<'qy>	/ayi/	çiray +i	(1/6), 13/1	
			1/5, 34/3	morpheme-boundary

T.5 Phonemes marked by <VqV> in labial environment.

<'qw>	/aw/	tawraq	13/6	word stem
	/ağ/	tarlağ+siz	29/8	
	/ğu/	uq°ğuluğ	35/8	anaptyctic
añğu		1/1		
<wqw>/<wkw>	/oğu/, /ögü/	oğul (+i/un)	20/3,21/1	triggered
		kögüz+ü(+Cx)	1/9, 2/4, 2/5	
<wqy>	/uwı/	suw+i	19/4	morpheme-boundary

For better transparency, one should try to find one-to-one correspondences between phonemes and graphemes in the above sequences. More precisely, the question is: What phonemes may a grapheme mark in this sequences? T.6 summarizes the combinations found in T.4 and T.5.

T.6 Phonemes corresponding to graphemes in <VqV> sequences

<y q ' >			<' q ' >			<' q y >			<' q w >			<w q w > <w k w >			<w q y >		
ya	ğ	(i)	i	y	a	a	ğ	(i)	a	w	-	-	ğ	u	u	w	i
i	y	a	a	-	a	a	y	i	a	ğ	-	o	ğ	(u)			
			a	ğ	(i)				-	ğ	u	ö	g	(ü)			

One of the most important features seen in T.4 and T.5 that several words have fluctuating spelling. These are *ağiz*+Px3, *qoriyan* among the illabials, and the formative –GU among labials.

The most easy way to analyze them seems to be the <q> element of the sequence. Phonetically it shows a zero element, as it can be seen on the primary long vowels which are marked by <'q'>. In these cases the scribe understood the long vowels as a Mongolian secondary one, the 'hiatus' left by the disappearance of an etymological /g/ is filled by the preceding vowel through secondary lengthening. The cases of <'q'z> *agüz* 'mouth' seem to confirm this assumption, with the omitting of the second-syllable /i/ and the 'hiatus' left by it causes the preceding vowel to lengthen, thus providing the pronunciation [āzi/a'izi]. When the two vowel-marking graphemes mark vowels of different quality, however, we get a different picture. In the cases of <yq'>, we can see a hiatus or diphthong (or vowels with palatal coarticulation) of different origin. In the case of *qoriyan*, as the Arabic spelling of the word also suggests, we can see an [i̯a] diphthong, in which the [a] element is dominant, and this is the cause why it could also be spelled as <'q'>. In the case of /yağ(i)/ the spelling of the word is actually a misspelling, but a systematic one, based on the similar phonetic quality of the sequence <yq'> = [yā] </yağ(i)/ and <yq'> = [i̯a] /iya/.

The <'qy> spelling of *agüz* shows that the omitted second-syllable vowel leaves some trace, thus ending in [a'i]. This ends up in a similar result in the case *čiray+i* where the end of the word already had been a diphthong [aⁱ], otherwise it should have been spelled as *<čyr'yy> or, in the case of a stem-final vowel, *<čyr'sy>.

The overlapping spellings of the different phoneme-sequences suggest that phonetically they are very close to each other, while the instances of individual lexemes, which are spelled differently, suggest that the diphthongs containing an [i̯] element are either unstable or their pronunciation are not very far from [ā].

The fact that *čiray+i* has got a syllabic morpheme which is spelled the same way as if it would be a single diphthong, raises the question whether these diphthongs should be considered rhythmically monosyllabic or disyllabic?

In the cases containing <w> we must see a diphthong containing a labial element. The main question here still remains that whether these sequences should be read as mono- or disyllabic? The spellings of *oğul+Px*, *kögiüz+Px* and *suw+Px* may allow a disyllabic reading, but all the other data suggest monosyllabic one, with the labial element being dominant (the 'hiatus' imagined by the scribe filled by the labial element). This would mean that the last syllable of the word stem, together with the possessive suffix, which is a syllabic morpheme itself, should be counted as a single syllable which seems to be unlikely.

The pronunciation of <'qw> and <wqw> again must have been very slightly different, if at all. This assumption is supported by the following example:

(26) <'wqwz> 1/9 ~ OT *ağuz/ağuz* 'colostrum, first milk' (ED 98)

The text contains several false etymologies of tribe names (according to the inner logic of the text) originating of granted names based on deeds. Although not explicitly, the name of the protagonist also belongs to this type. The name of the protagonist, *Oğuz* <'wqwz>, appears *only after* the following sentence:

(26a) 1/8 *ušol oğul anasining kögüzüindön oğuz-ni içip mundon
artıq-raq içmädi yeg üt aš sorma tilädi*

'That child drank the colostrum from his mother's breasts, after this
he did not drink anymore. He wished (to get) rather meat, food and wine'

In this this sentence the reflex of the Old Turkic word *ağuz/ağuz* 'colostrum'⁸⁴³ is spelled <'wqwz>. The spelling of *ağuz* and that of the protagonist's name *oğuz* (which is implicitly connected to *ağuz*) coincides in the text, so the false etymology of the name is based on the coinciding pronunciation of Old Turkic *lağul* and *loğul*, thus the case must be similar in the other data cited above as well.

The question still remained that how many syllables a <VqV> or <VkV> sequence had, and in parallel another question is still to be asked: Is the <VqV> and <VkV> spellings for diphthongs and secondary long vowels relevant only in hypercorrect forms and the data introduced above, or should all <VqV> spellings (for original Turkic /VgV/ sequences as well which do not belong to the *ağiz*-type) to be read similarly?

The data cited above could be identified in the way that the scribe wrote a grapheme-sequence which originally marked two syllables, but in many cases it marks only one in a given word, thus, the number of the syllables of a word is different than expected. The PON shows the form of rhythmic prose, non-versed and versed parts following each other, the versed parts can be identified by grammatical or non-grammatical rhyme. The grammatical rhyme is typical feature of the Turkic verse, along with verse-lines consisting of 7, 8, or 11 syllables (Zhirmunsky 1969: 336-337). In order to solve the questions above, we must identify the verses in the PON which contain <VqV> or <VkV> sequences, and count the syllables in the individual lines. Whichever (mono- or disyllabic) reading of the <VqV> and <VkV> sequences fulfill the syllable-number requirement of the versed line, that must be the correct one.

⁸⁴³ The etymology of the word is discussed in details in Róna-Tas 1970, 291-295. According to this the Bulgar-Turkic etymon of the word shows initial labial vowel, based on the Mongolic parallels. On the Turkic side, we find *ağuz* at Kāšgārī and in Ottoman Turkic and Azeri, but the QB and some modern languages show secondary *lağul* > *loğul*. The example in the PON belongs to this latter group.

Unfortunately, this method is not without problems. It is not always easy to locate a verse or decide whether it is a verse or not, because the verse-seeming parts do not always fulfill the above requirements. Thus, as far as I have seen, an exhaustive investigation from this point of view is not possible. However, I would like to introduce some examples. The numbers behind the lines show the number of the syllables within the line.

(27) 28/2 *ay sän munda beglärgä bolgıl başlıq (11)*
män mäniläp sängä at bolsun qağarlıg (11)

‘Oh, you shall become the leader of the *begs* here,
 (For) I am happy, thy name shall be *Snowy*!’

In example (27) the number of the syllables will be correct only if we read the highlighted sequence as one syllable.

(28) 42/3 [ay] [o]ğullar köp män (y)aşadum (8?)
uruşqular köp män kördüm (8)
ñida basa köp oq attum (8)
aygır birlä köp yörüdüm (8)
duşmanlarnı iğlağurdum (8?)
dostlarumnı män külgürdüm (8)
kök tängriğä män ötädüm (8?)
sänlärgä berä män yurtu[m] (8)

‘Oh sons, I lived long,
 I saw many battles,
 I threw many javelins and shot many arrows,
 I walked much with my stallion.
 I made my enemies cry,
 I made my friends laugh.
 I carried out my obligation to the Blue Sky,
 I give my country for you.’

In example (28) we see the opposite. The causative –GUr- after a stem-final vowel gives the expected number of syllables if we read the /VgV/ sequence as two syllables. The same is true for the *tängri* +*ğä*. In the first line of this verse, the correct syllable-number will be present only if *oğul+lar* would be read with two syllables. In this case however, it would break the rhythm present in the following lines. In *oğul+lar* and *iğla-ğurdum* the /VgV/ sequence stands before a consonant cluster, and it would be possible that the cluster blocks the monosyllabic pronunciation. In example (29) we see the opposite:

(29) 32/6 *qanqa qanqa birlä ölügni tirig yörügürsün (14)*
qanqaluğ sängä at bolguluq qanqa bälğürsün (14)

'Let the living make the lifeless walk with the *qanqas*!
You with the *qanqa*, a name is to be for you, let the *qanqa* manifest (it)!

In example (29) the number of syllables will be correct only if the highlighted part is read as single syllable, which contradicts the corresponding part in (28). We can see another instance of *oġul* in (30):

(30) 1/8 *ušol oġul anasining* (7)
köğüzündön oġuznī ičip (7)
mundon artıqraq ičmädi (8)
yeg ät aš sorma tilädi (8)
tīli kelä bašladī (7)
qirīq kündön song bädüklädi yörüdi oynadı (15=8+7)

'That child, from his mothers
breasts, drank the colostrum
after this he did not drink anymore.
He wished (to get) rather meat, food and wine.
He started to speak.
After many days, he grew up, walked and played.'

The grammatical rhyme-structure of (30) *xxaaaa* is not perfect, since the last syllables of the first two lines (*-nīng* and *-ip* respectively) do not match with those of *-di/-di*, but the text part can be considered as a verse anyway. The syllable number of the lines will be correct only if we consider *all the three* highlighted parts mono-syllabic.

(31) 4/2 *bir buġu aldī šol buġunī talnung čubuqī birlä* (14=7+7)
iġačqa baġladī ketti (7)
andan song ertä boldī (7)
tang ertä čaġda kälđi (7)
körđi kim<kyynd>buġunī alup turur (9+?)
kenä bir aduġ aldī altunluġ belbaġī birlä (14=7+7)
yīġačqa baġladī ketti (7)
mundon song ertä boldī (7)
tang ertä čaġda keldi (7)
körđi kim<d''w>aduġnī alip turur (10+?)

'He took a deer. That deer, with a willow twig
He tied to a tree, then went away.
After that it became morrow.
He came at dawnbreak,
and he saw that the [monster] has taken the deer.
Then he took a bear. With his gold-ornamented waistbelt,
He tied it to a tree then went away.
After this it became morrow.
He came at dawnbreak,
and saw that the [monster] has taken the bear.'

Example (31) is very valuable from the point of view that two parallel episodes follow each other. Although, the correspondent lines do not follow exactly the same syntactic structure, they differ slightly, but the lines still keep the syllable number strictly. They will follow the syllable numbers only if the highlighted parts are considered mono-syllabic. It is probable that it is true for the lines in which the '[monster]' occurs, even if the words for '[monster]' have no correct reading so far (see *Chapter 2.18*). Consider however, example (32):

(32) 34/6 **oġuz qaġan baštī** (6)|
mīsīr qaġan qačtī (6)|
oġuz anī bastī (6)|
yurtin aldī ketti (6)|

'Oguz Kagan attacked,
 Egypt Kagan fled.
 Oguz crushed him,
 he took his country and went away.'

(32) is a very strong counterexample for the ones introduced so far. The structure of the lines follows a very strict pattern, and the number of syllables will fit only if every single word are considered disyllabic including *mīsīr*, which contains an anaptyctic sound, (which is written as <m's'r>).

We saw that applied in a verse, the /VgV/ sequences of similar phonetic shapes in similar environments have a dual nature: they can behave as mono- or disyllabic. They can be monosyllabic even if they cross morpheme-boundaries, thus they adapt the syllable number requirement of the verse-line:

monosyllabic		disyllabic
(27) qaġar līg	~	(32) qaġan
(29) yörü- ġür -	:	(28) iġla- ġür -
(31) bel+ baġ+i	~	(28) tāngri+ gä
(30) oġuz	:	(32) oġuz

Thus <VqV>, <VkV> sequences mark diphthongs, primary or secondary long vowels on the phonetic level. The marking fluctuates, and there are overlaps between the markings of different diphthong types, allowing the conclusion that their pronunciation was hardly distinguishable for the scribe.

Script and language must be considered separately. Script is always used by a scribe, and language is used by a speaker. Of course, these two can be the same person during creating a text, but this is not at all necessary. According to the observations above, I assume

that in the case of the PON we must assume two different persons as scribe and as speaker. This assumption is already made by Sümer (1959: 388-389) and Clauson (1964: 16-17): An Uygur *baχši* wrote down a Turkmen singer's performance.

Hypercorrect forms and fluctuating sound-marking shows us the phonetic level that the scribe *perceives*. This phenomenon is due the scribe's lack of confidence what he perceives. Thus his phonological basis is different of that of the speaker's. The scribe surely had competence in (written and spoken) Mongolian, otherwise he wouldn't have used a Mongolian orthographic feature to mark long vowels. To go one step further, I would risk that his mothertongue may have been Mongolian, since he perceived and wrote down primary long vowels as secondary ones developed from two syllables. His primary phonological basis did not contain solely long vowels of this type. On the other hand, the Turkic variety he took down, seems to preserve some primary lengths even in this very late stage, even if they had not already been in phonological opposition.

The scribe, by his 'mistakes', provided information of the speaker's phonetic level. The syllabic adaptability of the sounds marked by <VqV> and <VkV> verifies the diphthongal phonetic value, at least on the phonetic level, as [g] and [ǰ] seem to be not pronounced. The spellings <VqV> and <VkV> otherwise do not contain /g/ in Written Mongolian, thus, the orthography mainly hides this feature. The question still remains whether the *speaker's* phonological basis still contained intervocalic /g/. His ability to apply /VgV/ as disyllabic sequences supposes that the answer is positive. However, on the phonetic level, the pronunciation of intervocalic /g/ must have been close to zero. The speaker's language must have been a Kipchak variety, as the coincidence of the phoneme sequences /aw/ (15) and /aǰ/ (16) on the phonetic level supposes (cf. *Chapter 5.5*). This must be the reason of the presence of hypercorrect forms in the text, i.e. their coinciding spellings with words containing etymologic /g/.

As a final conclusion, I would correct Pelliot's (1930 [1995]: 98-99, 103), Sümer's and Clauson's (see above) point with the following: 1. The speaker who told the story was the Kipchak speaker, not the scribe. The scribe knew Written Mongolian, and a spoken Mongolic variety in which the <VgV> > /VV/ development has already finished, as he wrote down primary Turkic long vowels as two syllables. May be this variety was his primary code, but at least he knew a different Turkic dialect than the speaker. 2. The text is not a copy, but a primary one, it had been written after dictation. Pelliot (1930 [1995]: 98-99, 103) must have been correct to point out the 15th century for the creation of the manuscript, as the Mongolian sound development had already been finished in the variety known by the scribe.

6. Word Formation

6.1 Derivation

The most important guideline along which the present examination will be done is that already set up by Erdal (1991: 26): "Both the base and the suffix of synchronous formations have to be attested." This practically means that at least one pair of stem and its derivation, and another instance of a derivation with the given suffix is necessary to be able to examine its function. Due to the limitedness of the corpus, it does not mean that if this minimal amount of data is not present in the text a given derivative is not productive, it simply means that the variety of the PON cannot be fully described in this respect. Actually, most of the derivatives described for Old Turkic and are attested in the PON fall to this doubtful category. The case of the the nomen actoris *-čI* is a very illustrative example: The suffix occurs only in the lexeme *elči* 'envoy'. Neither the etymological stem *el* 'realm' occurs independently in the text (only in the lexicalised compound *elkün* '[common] people') nor do other derivatives with *-čI*. Even if so, nobody would assume that *-čI* is unproductive in the language of the PON, as its corresponding forms are commonly used in all historical and modern Turkic languages. Led by an intention of exhaustiveness, I listed these cases at the end of the discussion of the main types of derivatives.

As we find more derivations without attested stems than stem-derivation pairs, I found more subservient to approach the categorization of the derivatives from the direction of the product than that of the stem: I discuss first the derivatives which derived nomina with two subcategories: denominal noun (NN) and deverbal noun (VN), and then the derivatives which derive verbs with the correspondent subcategories denominal verb (NV) and deverbal verb (VV). Within these categories, the individual derivatives will be discussed in the order of their relative commonness. I cite only one relevant instance for each discussed data, even if there are more instances in the text.

6.1.1 The formation of denominal nomina (NN):

6.1.1.1 *+IVG* ~ OT *+IXg*

The far most common NN derivative in the PON is *+IVg*. It derives exclusively adjectives from nouns. The noun phrase containing the derivative in *+IVg* has the construction *X+IVg Y*,

and the basic meaning 'Y having X'. There is a set of clear pairs for this construction, including *ataš* 'fire' which is a global copy from an Iranian language.

(33)

23/1 *altun* 'gold'

4/6 *altun-luğ belbaği* 'waistbelt ornamented with gold'

9/9 *ataš* 'fire'

7/3 *ataš-luğ yaruq-luğ bir mąngi* 'a fiery and shining mole'

6/7 *yaruq* 'light(beam)'

7/9 *us* 'intelligence'

24/1 *us-luğ* [...] *bir er* 'a clever and [...] man'

+IVG may also be added to noun phrases, in such cases the output is an attributive compound.

(see Chapter 6.2.2.6)

(34)

31/8 *bargu* 'goods'

33/9 [*uluğ bargu*]-*luğ bir yurt* 'a land rich in goods'

9/4 *sač* 'hair'

35/6 [*moz sač*]-*luğ* 'grey haired'

7/9 *us* 'intelligence'

35/7 [*uzun us*]-*luğ* 'sharp minded'

35/6 [*aq saqal*]-*luğ* 'white bearded'

16/5 *kök tüliüklüğ kök jalluğ* 'a grey-furred and grey-maned'

The output of this derivative also appears as proper names. The connection between the stem and the derivation is explained by the text itself with folk etymology.

(35)

qar <q'q'r> 'snow'

qar-liğ <q'q'r-l'q> 'proper name (lit. snowy)'

qanqa 'cart'

qanqa-luğ 'proper name (lit. one having carts)'

There is another proper name at 31/6 *barmaqlig jösun bellig* which ought to be mentioned here. This man is the one who would get the name *qanqaluğ* mentioned above for inventing 'a kind of cart, the *qanqa*. This name is a talkative one: *barmaq* ~ برmq , برmq 'Finger, Stab, Speiche einer Rades' (Z 192a) with +IVG. *jösun* is possibly from Mo. *yosu(n)* 'usage, principle, method' (L 435). The final element is *bellig/bellüg* 'known' ~ بللی , بللو *bellü/belli* 'bekannt, sicher, offenbar' (Z 208b), may be a contraction of *belgüliüg* 'manifest, significant, visible' (ED 341). The word *bellig* also appears in the verbal compound *bellüg bol-* 'to become known' at 33/7 and 35/5, with the Ottoman correspondence *bellü olmak* 'bekannt werden' and بللمك *bellemek* 'sich etwas merken' (Z 208b). The etymological stem of these lexemes is **bel*, possibly an erroneous back-formation from *belgü* 'sign, mark' (ED 340) but there seems to be no semantic connection with 2/3 *bel* 'waist'.

The syntactic structure of the construction *barmaqlig jösun bellig* is not entirely clear, the meaning (based on which meaning of *barmaq* is understood) may be something like '(the

one) who knows the method of the wheelarm' (*barmaq* 'wheelarm'+*IVG* *jos*-method+?Px.Sg.3+?ACC), or '(the one) who knows crafty methods' (*barmaq* 'finger' ~ *barmaqlig* 'having (crafty) fingers')

There are three more data which belong or may belong here, the first is *bağ-liğ* bound to, dependent from' (ED 314). The stem *bağ* 'bond, tie, belt' (ED 310) does not occur independently, only as the head of the compound 4/7 *belbaği* [waist+tie+Px.Sg.3] 'waistbelt'. *bağliğ* appears only in the following sentence⁸⁴⁴:

- (36) 21/9 *sändän [jarluğ bağ]-liğ bellüg bola män*
 PRO.Sg.2+ABL command bond+IVG known become+CONV.IMPRF pm.
 '(From now on,) I will be known (as one who is) depending on your order!'

It seems sure here that *bellüg bol-* is the same verbal compound discussed above, and that *jarluğ bağliğ* is a complex compound [command+bound] (see 6.2.4.2.4). What is not clear for me whether *sändän* is a complement of *jarluğ bağliğ*, or only of *jarluğ*, in which case the bracketing would be the following: [[*sändän jarluğ*] *bağliğ*], cf. ex. (191) in *Chapter 7.5* for nouns with case markers as adjectives.

The second is 28/8 *qapuluğ*, which appears as a nominal predicate. Since the stem does not occur independently, it is not clear how to segment the derivation. There are two possibilities: *qap-ul-uğ* 'closed' or *qapu+luğ* 'having a gate', but both are problematic. In the first case, the verbal stem would be the passive form of **qap-* 'to cover' (ED 580), which can be reconstructed only from its derivations (*qapığ* 'gate', *qapaq*, *qapğaq* 'lid, cover') already in Old Turkic. If it has a derivated form in the PON, that could mean that the word was in contemporary usage, unless *qap-ul-uğ* 'closed' was a petrified lexeme. The other possibility is that the word is the correspondence of *qapığ-liğ* 'having a door' (ED 584) with the stem *qapu(w)* < *qapığ* 'gate' (ED 583). The ED does not refer to any of the cited entries. The problem with *qapu(w)* is that the orthography of the PON always marks the the word-internal and word-final /g/, even if there are examples where the spirantization and the labialization of the /g/ in question is attestable (see *Chapter 5.6*). There can be one possibly parallel example cited, but it is also problematic itself: 21/8 *tapum* which has a Px.Sg.1 but, the stem may be the correspondence either the Old Turkic *tap* 'satisfaction', (ED 434, the relevant part of the PON is cited in the entry), *tapi* 'satisfaction' (ED 436), or *tapu(w)* < *tap-ığ* 'service' (ED 437). The form *tapuğ* 'vicinity' is also present in the text, but it is a derivation from *tap-* 'to find',

⁸⁴⁴ The whole context of example (36) is about the vow of loyalty of Urus Beg's son to Oguz. For the social background of the belt as a sign of rank, see the entry *kor* at Berta – Róna-Tas 2011: 567-570.

and not of *tap-* 'to serve', see 6.1.2.1. Whatever is the case with *qapuluğ*, the first version (*qap-ul-uğ*) fits more in the context (see also the note on 28/8 in *Chapter 4*):

(37) 28/8 *kän yolda bedük bir üy kördi [...] qapuluğ erdi açqıç yoq erdi*

'Then on the way he saw a big house. [...] It was closed/*It had a gate, (but) there was no key.'

The third data in question is *törlüg/türlüg*. According to the ED (546) the Old Turkic word *törlüg* 'sort, kind' is not a derivation from *tör+IVG*. *törlüg* is a noun, and is not an adjective, as in all the examples cited by the ED *törlüg* appears in phrases with complements. I assume that the word in question is not the Old Turkic *törlüg*, but a derivation of *tür* (discussed by the ED at the same entry as *törlüg*) < Mo. *düri* (halha *dür*) 'shape, kind, complexion, appearance, expression of the face' (L: 282) with *-IVG*, with an adjectival output 'various, all/different kinds of', and it should be separated from *türlük* see example (43) below.

(38) 11/2 *türlüg ašlar türlüg sormalar ċubuyanlar qımızlar aštilar içtilär*

'They gorged and swilled various foods and drinks, jujube fruits and qoumiss'

6.1.1.2 +IVK ~ OT +IXk

The other quite well-attested NN derivative is +IVK. As we can see from the data in hand, +IVK derives abstract nouns from nouns (N>N) or adjectives (A>N), with the exception of example (41). The wide variety of functions seen in Old Turkic (Erdal 1991: 121-130) is not tracable in the PON, only the above-mentioned two. Of course, this may be due to the lack of further data. Just as +IVG, we have example that +IVK is added to a foreign element.

(39) N>N

42/5 *dost* 'friend'

22/7 *dost-luq* 'friendship'

11/7 *qağan* 'kagan'

19/7 *qağan-luq* 'kaganate, empire'

27/4 *öng* '1. front part, 2. colour' 1/5 *öng-lük ċiray* 'face, complexion'

At first glance, 28/6 *tünglüq* 'window' (spelled as <dwnglwq>) would also belong here, but its stem **tüŋ* is not attestable in Old Turkic (ED 520). The OT form *tügünük* 'the smoke hole in the top of a tent' (ED 485) may be also connected to a stem **tüŋ* with a similar dissolution process of the **ŋ > gVn* as in the case of *ń > yVn* in OT *qoń* 'sheep' > *qoyun* (ED 631). Alternatively, it may either go back to *tütün* 'smoke' (ED 457) +*lük* with phonetic reduction or *tün* 'night' (ED 513). A secondary, anaptyctic *g* may have been inserted on the morpheme-boundary in both case. In either case, even if it is a derivation with +IVk, it is fully lexicalised without any transparency in the PON.

In the next example we find an adjective as the stem. See the note 3/7 in *Chapter 4*.

(40) A>N

27/2 *qaqiz* 'quick-tempered' 38/1 *qaqiz-luq* 'quick-temperedness'

As 6/6 *qarangguluq* 'darkness' has only a derivated form, we cannot tell whether its stem belong to group (39) or (40). In Old Turkic, it had both nominal and adjectival use (ED 662).

It is hard to decide about the following examples (41-43) whether they belong to +IVK or +IVG. The problem of distinguishing +IVK and +IVG is well-known in Old Turkic texts written in Uygur script, due to the general orthographical features of it (Erdal 1991: 121), and the PON is no exception. Another problem is that the following examples appear as nominal predicates: It is not possible to decide whether they would be nouns or adjectives. With the exception of *bašliq*, the stems also do not appear independently. I cited them here as I find more probable that they belong to +IVK. In example (41) the function labelled as 'B1' by Erdal (1991: 123): 'status assigned to persons (N>A)' fits well to the context. Thus the meaning of *bašliq* is someone who meant to be a *baš* 'head, leader'.

(41) 28/2 *sen munda beglärgä bolgöl [baš-liq]*

'You shall be the [(assigned as) leader] for the *begs* here!'

In example (42) the stem is an adjective. As +IVG is added to nouns and noun phrases only, I consider *azliq* to belong here, with the meaning 'insufficiency'. The subject of the sentence will be *azliq*, and not *at qağatir ud* 'beasts of burden (lit. horse(s) mule(s) and ox(en))', with the predicate *azliq bol-* 'to be(come) insufficient' as one would think for the first glance. This latter should be a coordinate compound with the meaning something like '(a broad category of) beasts of burden' which is then subordinated to *azliq* (see 5.2.4.1.2). For the second translation marked by a '*', the word *az* 'few' would have been, so to say, sufficient.

(42) 31/4 *yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä [[at qağatir ud] az-liq] boldi*

A [insufficiency of [beasts of burden]] turned out to load (the goods) on and carry it away.

*The [the beasts of burden] turned out to be insufficient to load (the goods) on and carry it away.

Example (43) is problematic because it is not entirely clear what *törlüg/türlük* <dwrlwk> means in the sentence. It is a noun for sure and the subject of the sentence. I assume that the word in question has the same stem as *türlüg* in example (38), but the output is based on a different shade of meaning, namely 'appearance or expression of the face'. The output is more abstract maybe 'presence or mood (which mirrors on the expression of the face)' respectively. The example is a felicitation towards the ruler, which is composed in a verse and most probably with an implicate meaning.

- (43) 36/8 *ay qağanum sängä jaşqu bolsunğil uzun*
ay qağanum sängä tüir-lük bolsunğil tüziin
 'Oh, my kagan, let life be long for you!
 Oh, may kagan, let mood (as a ruler) be gentle for you (during your life)!

6.1.1.3 +(X)nčX

The derivative for ordinal numerals is +(X)nčX. There are two attested stem-derivation pairs in the PON. It has a unified form compared to Old Turkic. In this latter the pairs are *bir~birinč* (ED 367), *ekki~ekkinti* (ED 111) and *üč~üčünč* (ED 29). The question whether the final vowel of the formative is a Px, can be answered negatively due to the fact that all the examples found in the text is inflected with Px.Sg.3 +(s)X.

- (44)
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 36/1 <i>bir</i> 'indefinite pronoun' | 8/3 <i>bir-inči</i> 'first' |
| 8/3 <i>üč</i> 'three' | 8/5 <i>üč-ünčü</i> 'third' |
| | 10/5 <i>iki-nči</i> 'second' |

6.1.1.4 +AGU ~ OT +(A)gU

The collective derivative +AGU is still productive in the PON, according to the two attested pairs. A third instance is given by BA (p. 28) as *nägü* (*nä* 'what' +AGU) at 37/1, however, the manuscript is damaged there. It is restored, and the spelling <b'n-k' kwk> is added there secondarily, possibly by Šč (p. 58), since his edition contains this reading.

- (45)
- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 3/4 <i>ič</i> 'inner part' | 5/5 <i>ič-ägü</i> 'innards, internal organs' |
| 8/3 <i>üč</i> 'three' | 34/8 <i>üč-ägü</i> 'three of them' |

6.1.1.5 +GAK ~ OT +gAk

The productivity of the formative +GAK is improbable. Erdal describes its function to form 'metaphorical names for body parts', and considers it obsolete already in Old Turkic (1991: 74). There is only one possible pair, and both parts have a common phonetic change *y- > j-* (spelled with <č>), cf. OT *yan* 'hip, side, flank' (ED 940) ~ **yan-ğaq* 'the cheek bone, side' (ED 948).

- (46)
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 35/6 <i>jan</i> 'side' | 13/8 <i>jan-gaq</i> 'side, wing (of an empire)' |
|------------------------|---|

The meaning of *ǰanǰaq* in the PON has got nothing to do with a body part 'cheek bone'. Although the semantic development is plausible, it is not traceable in the PON. As the ED (948) points out, *ǰanǰaq* is 'side' or rather more concretely 'wing of an empire'. However, Clauson is wrong about the confusion of *ǰanǰaq* with *yǰngǰaq* 'direction', in the PON. The latter occurs at 33/5, 35/6 and spelled as <y'ngq'q> with <y> and <ngq> while *ǰanǰaq* as <č'ng'q>, and their meaning can also be differentiated by the context.

6.1.1.6 +kI

The converter suffix +kI occurs in one instance in *kündünki* and can be placed into a pair with *kün*. It co-occurs with the orientational formative +dXn which corresponds to the data in Old Uyghur (Erdal 2004: 186-187). It is not entirely sure whether the concrete meaning of *kün-dünki* is 'eastern' (as it would correspond to *kün tugsukdunki yel* 'eastern wind' cited by Erdal) or 'southern'. The latter, however fits more to the context.

(47)

1/3 *kün* 'day, sun' 33/7 *kündün -ki bulung* 'the southern corner (of the world)
lit. 'the corner of the world in the direction of the sun'

yilqı 'livestock', which is common in the PON may be connected to this formative as Clauson (ED 915-916) mentions it, but there is neither trace of transparency of *yilqı* (*yil* 'year' + *kI*) nor the stem *yil* 'year' can be found in the text.

6.1.1.7 Further attested (NN) derivatives: +čI, +sXz, +dAš, +čAK and +dXn

The following derivations occur once in the text each, and their stem do not occur independently. Not much can be said of such instances. It seems that that the diminutive +čAK is not productive in the variety of PON as *qawučaq* deviates from its etymon *qaburčaq* 'box, coffin' (ED 586) both in its phonetic form and meaning, therefore it must be fully lexicalised.

(48)

+čI	14/5 <i>el-či</i> 'envoy'
+sXz	29/8 <i>tarlaǰu-sız</i> 'uncultivated' (lit. without a cultivated field)
+dAš	20/2 <i>qarun-daš</i> '(male) sibling, brother'
+čAK	8/9 <i>qawu-čaq</i> 'mew, cavity'
+dXn	33/7 <i>kündünki</i> 'southern'

6.1.2 The formation of deverbal nomina: (VN)

6.1.2.1 $-(X)G \sim OT -(X)g$

In Old Turkic, the formations with $-(X)g$ refer to the subject if the base verb is intransitive, to the object if the verb is transitive, or to the action itself. (Erdal 1991: 169). Among the lexemes attested in Old Turkic, the action noun is the best represented (Erdal 1991: 172). The meaning of the formations with $-(X)g$ can be both abstract or concrete. It is often difficult to distinguish $-(X)g$ from the formative $-(O)k$, due to the orthographical features of the writing systems used for Old Turkic, since not all of them distinguish /g/ and /k/ in all environments. The Uygur script of the PON falls to this group. Formations with $-(X)g$ can have both concrete and abstract meaning. The output of the formations can be both nouns and adjectives. Erdal mentions that $-(X)g$ is more often used to derive nouns, while $-(O)k$ is rather used to derive adjectives (Erdal: 1991: 176).

Now let us turn to the data in the PON. The quality of the final gutturals of the data cited here is determined based on the corresponding entries of the ED. Most of the derivations from intransitive verbs are adjectives. All the nouns derived with $-(X)g$ have concrete meaning. As it was pointed out at $+IXG$, example (37), the instance *qapuluğ* is problematic, because it cannot be surely decided to which group it belongs.

As we look through the data, we mostly find readily derived forms in the PON with only two stem-derivation pairs. One stem is intransitive, the other is a transitive verb. When *tap-* occurs independently (and not in the verbal compound *sewinč tap-* 'to find joy'), it is spelled with initial <č->, and may not be connected with *tapuğ* anymore.

(49) $V_{\text{intrans}} > A$

9/7 *öl-* 'to die'

32/7 *öl-üç* 'lifeless'

32/7 *tiri-g* 'alive, living'

33/9 *isi-ğ* 'hot'

28/8 *?qapul-uğ* 'closed'

20/6 *qat-iğ-lağ* 'the act of making massive, fortified'

(50) $V_{\text{intrans}} > N$

18/5 *qud-uğ* 'riverbank'

(51) $V_{\text{trans}} > N$

38/9 *tap-* <č'b> 'to find'

18/6 *tap-uğ* 'vicinity'

4/7 *bel[ba-ğ]i* 'waistbelt'

6.1.2.2 -(V)K ~ OT -(O)k

Just as -(X)g, -(V)K forms nouns and adjectives, and it forms objects of transitive verbs and subject of intransitive verbs. The distinction between -(X)g and -(O)k is the following: Nominals formed by the latter rarely describe the event itself, with *ämgak* 'pain' among the exceptions (Erdal 1991: 261). I recorded the formative in question as -(X)K with fourfold suffix-vowel because of *artıqraq* <'rd'q-r'q> (~OT *artoq* ~ *artuq* 'additional', ED 204) , which contains no trace of labial vowel. We have the following data in the PON for derivations with -(V)K. It can be seen that there are no perfect stem-derivation pairs:

(52) V>A

39/2 <i>buz-ğuluq</i> 'fragment'	41/7 <i>buz-uq</i> 'broken'
27/4 <i>sögu-r-ğu</i> 'being cold'	26/6 <i>sögu-q</i> 'cold'
	2/1 [<i>art-ïq</i>]raq 'more'
	12/9 <i>kärä-k</i> 'necessary'
	3/4 <i>bedü-k</i> 'great'
	14/6 <i>amıra-q</i> 'friendly'
	?34/6 <i>qat-ïq</i> 'chaotic'

(53) V>N

8/3 <i>yaru-</i> 'to start to labour'	7/1 <i>yaru-q</i> 'light'
	7/5 <i>altun [qaz-uq]</i> 'Pole Star' (lit. 'golden pole')
	3/6 <i>ämğä-q</i> 'suffering'

The form *buzğuluq* in (52), (which contains the stem *buz-* 'to damage, destroy' ED 389) is clearly a noun with the concrete meaning 'fragment'. *yaru-* 'to shine' (ED 956) always appear in a context in which it seems to be rather a terminus technicus for giving birth, and its contact with the Old Turkic meaning is rather metaphorical. There is observable phonetic deviation from the Old Turkic forms among the derivations. Along with *artıqraq*, *käräk* (~ OT *kärgäk* 'necessary' ED 742) and *ämğäq* <'mkq> (OT ~ *ämgak* 'pain' ED 159) can be mentioned here. The trisyllabic form *amıraq* 'friendly' (with clear spelling of <'myr'q> ~ OT *amra-q* 'benign, friendly' ED 162) may also belong here, and it is probably not a reborrowing of the Mo. *amarağ* 'love, beloved, dear' (L 36). See the note on 14/6 in *Chapter 4*. For 34/6 *qatıq* 'chaotic' see the note on 15/2 in *Chapter 4*.

Let us look through the data of both -(X)G and -(X)K again. Compared to the relative high number of derived lexemes, we find the only attestable stem-derivation pair *öl-* ~ *ölüg* in example (49), which fits perfectly with both form and meaning. A large proportion of the derivations with -(X)K without attested stems also deviate from their Old Turkic form. This

fact leads us to the assumption that these two derivatives were hardly productive in the variety of the PON, if at all.

The above assumption is supported by the fact that three of the derivations listed here, namely *qatıq* ~ **qatığ*, *bağ* in *belbağı* and *bedük* has verbal correspondent with +*IA*- see below in example (67) in *Chapter 6.1.3.2*. To this three *yüklä*- 'to load on' (< [yü-k]+lä- *yü- > *yük* 'load, burden' > *yüklä*- 'to load on' (ED 910, 912)) may be added, but the nominal base of this latter is not attestable in the PON. According to Erdal (1991:258) *yük* 'a load, burden' is also a derivation in *-(O)k* (connected to the verbal stem *yüd*- 'load'). The verbal origin of the base nouns were not transparent anymore for the speaker.

6.1.2.3 *-(X)G+IVK* vs. *-(X)K+IVG*

Old Turkic derivations with *-(X)g* and *-(X)k* may be further derived as nouns. The most frequent expansions are with *-IXK* and *-IXg* respectively, ending in the combinations *-(X)g+IXk* and *-(O)k+IXg*. The combination of *-(X)g+IXg* is also attested in Old Turkic. Erdal discusses such expansions at the end of the respective chapters.

He does not consider the combination *-(O)k+IXg* as a derivative on its own, but two separate derivatives which are not fused. He claims the *-(O)k+IXg* combinations to have pure denominal character, just as +*IXg*. (Erdal 1991: 153, 259). The stem-derivation pair *yaruq* 'light' ~ *yaruqluğ* 'shiny (having light) ' of the PON cited in example (33) clearly falls to this category, supported by the fact that the connection between *yaru*- 'to start to labour (<to be or become bright' , ED 956) and *yaruq* 'light' almost lost the semantic connection, thus *yaruqluğ* is a denominal derivation from *yaruq*.

He is more cautious with the combination *-(X)g+IXk* (Erdal 1991: 221-222). He quotes *Kāšğarī*'s description of a combination *-(X)gIXk*, which could be paraphrased as the following: '*The participle formed by -(X)gIXk describes that one ought to perform the base verb*'. The derivation thus refers to the agent of the main verb. Erdal also quotes some Old Uygur examples, but he notes that the Old Uygur examples qualify their objects of the base verb, instead of the agent. He considers the combination transparent without additional meaning, and not as a derivative on its own.

Besides *yaruqluğ*, we have two derivations in the PON to consider, which are derived with one of the above combinations, but with no attested stems with *-(X)G* or *-(X)K*. Stem-derivation pairs can be established, however only with their verbal stems, as their assumed nominal bases do not occur independently. The derivations are adjectives, and connected together.

(54)

8/9 *kör-* 'to see'

1/8 *kör-üKlüK*

37/5 *yaqšī kör-* 'to like'

7/2 *yaqšī kör-üKlüK bir qiz*

The nominal stem for the first derivation should be *körk* 'something visible, shape, form, beauty' (ED 741), with marked second syllable-vowel. *körüg* 'spy' can be excluded. The derivation *körklüg* 'having the shape of, beautiful' (ED 743) is also well-attested in Old Turkic. Clauson also cites *yaqšī körüklüg* 'very beautiful' of the PON here. However, I think the latter needs some attention: The verbal compound *yaqšī kör-* means 'to like sg' (see also *Chapter 6.2.1.3*), with some additional meaning compared to the meaning of the parts (lit. good see). I think Clauson's translation of *yaqšī körüKlüK* 'very beautiful' is incorrect at some point. The intensification of adjectives happens with *köp* (*Chapter 7.5.1*). If we analyse *yaqšī körüklüg* as 'beautiful', then we reach this meaning if we translate *körüklüg* itself 'having the shape of' to which we can add *yaqšī* 'having a good shape (=beautiful)'. As we have seen with the instance 1/8, *körüklüg* has this meaning already. I assume that *yaqšī körüKlüK* is a direct derivation from *yaqšī kör-* with *-(X)GIVK*. In this case the qualified noun is the object of the verb as in Old Uygur. The meaning of *yaqšī körüglük* would be 'something worthy or meant to like' hence 'attractive, appealing' which is actually not far from 'beautiful', only the steps are different to reach this meaning. As we also don't have an independent **körük* form between *kör-* and *körüKlüK*, it also cannot be excluded from the synchronic point of view that we have *körüglük* 'meant or worthy to see' hence 'well-shaped, attractive'. This would also mean that *-(X)Gl(X)K* is a deverbal nominal derivative on its own in the PON.

6.1.2.4 *-(V)š ~ OT -(X)š*

-(X)š usually denotes the action itself (Erdal 1991: 172), and does so in the PON as well. In Old Turkic, if *-(X)š* is added to cooperative verbs with *-(X)š-*, then the morph *-(X)š-* is lost, but its content is not. (Erdal 1991: 265). Thus *uruš toquš* 'battle' of the PON is more likely to be connected to *uruš-* and *toquš-* than to *ur-* and the unattested **toqi-/toqu-* 'to pierce'. On the other hand, one cannot find a clear stem-derivation pair for *tuğiš* 'birth' and *batuš* 'descend', but here we see the opposite: It is not likely that they would be connected to **tuğüş-* 'to give birth together' or **batuš-* 'to descend together' (55).

(55)

18/8 *uruš-* 'to fight (each other)'

30/5 *uruš toquš* 'battle'

33/4 *toquš-qu* 'fighting'

5/2 *ur-* 'to strike'

1/4 *tuğ-ur-* 'to give birth'

36/3 *kün [tuğ-ış]i* 'East' (lit. the birth of Sun)

36/3 *kün[bat-uş]i* 'West' (lit. the descend of Sun)

6.1.2.5 *-(X)nč* ~ OT *-(X)nč*

As in Old Turkic, *-(X)nč* derives action nouns, or in other words the derivations with *-(X)nč* refer to the action or state described by the verb (Erdal 1991: 275). The attested data is found in (56), but are not without problems. The semantic connection between *tutul-* and *tutulunč* is not entirely clear. The former appears in the context *uruşqu tutuldi* 'a battle was fought (i.e. held as an occasion)', and not much later, *tutulunč* occurs as *uruşunč tutulunč andağ yaman boldi kim ...* 'the fighting and holding (of captives?) was so terrible, that...'. The identical derivation suggests that *uruşunč tutulunč* is a juxtaposition, but *tutul-* and *tutulunč* can be semantically connected together only if we consider *uruşunč tutulunč* as a subordinate compound 'the holding of battle (as an occasion)'.
The content of *sewinč* seems to connect it more to *sewin-* than to *sew-*, similarly to *uruş-* and *uruş* in (55).

(56)

22/9 *sewin-* 'to be glad'

28/1 *sew-inč* 'joy'

7/9 *sew-* 'to like, to love'

30/5 *uruş-* 'to fight each other'

19/2 *uruş-unč tutul-unč* 'fighting and capturing'

18/7 *tutul-* 'to be held'

It is mentioned by Erdal (1991: 275-277) that *-(X)nč* once may have been a combination of *-(X)n-(X)š* or a crasis of (non-reflexive) verbs ending in *°n-* derived with *-(X)š*. On the other hand, *uruş-* and *tutul-* show no trace of such thing, suggesting that *-(X)nč* has no morphological restrictions to be added to a verbal stem. It is hard to find a distinction between the usage of *-(X)š* and *-(X)nč*. Even if we disregard the content of the base verbs, and prefer only the morphological point of view, we cannot say that *-(X)š* is added to underived verbs while *-(X)nč* is added to deverbal verbs, because *sew-* ~ *sewinč* does not fit the picture. Only *sewin-* ~ *sewinč* would, but in this case we should also consider *uruş-* and *toquş-* as the verbal stem as *uruş* < **ur-Xš-Xš* and *toquş* < **toqi-š-Xš*. These two derivatives seem rather competing forms as *uruş* ~ *uruşunč* suggests.

6.1.2.6 *-GU*

-GU (and *-GUIUK*) are called projection participles because they are used for presenting projections of expectations, evaluations and intentions. (Erdal 2004: 301) As both may

negated with the negative verb stem *-mA-*, they both belong inflexional morphology (Erdal 2004: 303). Some *-GU* forms got lexicalised already in Old Turkic, which are also attested in the PON such as 19/2 *qayǵu* 'sorrow', and 22/6 *bärgü* 'tax'. Some of such lexicalised items had already undergone of phonetic changes as well, like 14/5 *begü ~ bärgü*. These examples are not the result of active word derivation process in the PON, however, there are still a few examples with concrete meaning which makes *-GU* worthy to mention here. The data with *-GU* are all nouns and can be divided into three groups: 1) the derivations are the subjects of the particle expressing existence: (57) . 2) the derivations refer to the actions described by the base verb(58), and 3) the derivations are the objects of intransitive verbs (59).

(57) Particle_{exist} > N_{subject}
33/8 *bar* 'existent'

19/9 *öläg bar-ǵu* 'inanimate goods'
20/1 *tirig bar-ǵu* 'animate goods'

(58) V_{intrans} > N_{action}
16/1 *uyu-* 'to sleep'
42/2 *aša-* 'to live'

36/1 *uy-qu* 'the action of sleeping'
36/9 *jaša-ǵu* 'life'
5/8 *ang-ǵu, ang-(°)-ǵu, ang-(u)-ǵu* 'memory'

(59) V_{trans} > N_{object}
14/2 *tart-* 'to pull'
2/2 *tilä-* 'to wish'

13/3 *tarit-qu tart-* 'to collect tax'
8/1 *tilä-gü* 'object of desire, wish'

The pairs in (57) and (58) are interesting. The Old Turkic correspondent of *uyqu* is *udiq* 'sleepy, asleep'. *udi-* 'to sleep'-(*O*)*k* is replaced by *uyqu* < **udigü* in Middle-Turkic (ED 46). The form *uyqu* is still problematic, since one would expect the form **uyüǵu* or **uyǵu* based on the form **udigü*. It is probable that *barǵu* 'goods' replaced *barq* 'movable property' (ED 359) as a result of a similar process. According to Clauson, the stem of *barq* is the particle *bar* expressing existence, with the derivative -(*O*)*k*. There may be some confusion with *bar-* 'to go' since we find the form *barǵu* in Zenker's dictionary (p. 161a) with the meaning 'das Gehen, der Gang'. The corresponding entry of the DTS (p. 83) gives the translation 'dobyča', but refers only to the PON. I think the correct translation for the PON is the one given by Clauson for *barq*.

According to my opinion, the varying forms of *angǵu* are neither derivations from *ang* '+A-' or *ang+U-* as Bang (1936: 32) and Ščerbak (1959: 64) propose (with different etymologies, see the note on 1/1 in *Chapter 4*.), nor a deviant form of *yangqu* 'Echo' as Sertkaya (1993: 364) does. It is rather a *-GU* form of the verbal stem *ang-* 'to remember, call to mind' (ED 168).

From the synchronic point of view, I find it also possible that 29/8 *tarlağusiz* 'uncultivated' (lit. without a cultivated field)' cited in example (48) belongs here. In this case, the instance of *-GUSXz* would be the negative counterpart of *-GU*, however the assumed stem **tarla-* 'to cultivate' is unattestable. The other possibility is that *tarlağusiz* is analysable as $\langle d^{\prime}rl^{\prime}qw \rangle$ *tarlaw* $\langle tarlağ \langle tariğlağ$ (ED 541) $+sXz$, see the explanation on (16) in *Chapter 5.6*.

6.1.2.7 *-GUIUK* and *-GUIUKsIz* in the PON.

In Old Turkic *-GUIXk* belongs to the domain of inflexional morphology (Erdal 1991: 121), and it expresses necessity (Erdal 2004: 303). This is true in the PON for the stem-derivation pair 1/1 *bol-* 'to become' ~ 32/8 *bolğuluq* 'necessary (to be)' but the following instances have concrete meaning as nouns (60) or as adjectives (61). *bildürgülik* 'message' is the subject of the verbal stem, *buzğuluq* 'fragment' is the result of the action and *baş čalunğuluq* refers to the action itself. In the case of *qoğulğuluqraq* we find an intensified form with *+raq*, however the etymology of the verbal stem **qoğul-* is uncertain, may be a transitive denominal verb **qoğu-* 'from **qoğ* 'dust, hot ash, spark' (ED 609) with the passive *-(X)l-*.

(60) V > N

36/7 *bildür-*

12/5 *bildür-gülik* 'message'

39/2 *buz-ğuluq* 'fragment'

12/9 *baş čalun-guluq* 'obedience' 'lit. bowing head'

(61) V > A

6/8 [*qoğul-ğuluq*]raq 'gleaming'

35/8 *uq-(°)-ğuluq* 'intelligent'

There is a lonely instance of *-GUIUKsIz* at 35/2, *sanağuluqsiz* 'uncountable'. According to Erdal (2004: 152), *-gUIUKsXz* adjectives describe entities as connected with an action which should not be carried out.⁸⁴⁵ The instance here differs from the Old Turkic usage that *-GUIUKsIz* expresses impossibility.

6.1.2.8 *-GXč* ~ OT *-gUč*

There is one instance with this derivative, which can be put in a pair with its verbal stem. *-GUč* derives words denoting instruments in Old Turkic, and (62) in the PON has the same function. Without additional data, nothing more can be said about it.

(62)

⁸⁴⁵ It differs from Old Turkic *-mAgUIXk* (which is not attested in the PON) in not reflecting the wish of the speaker/writer but rather his opinion concerning prohibitions.

29/2 *ač*- 'to open'

28/8 *ač*-(^o)-*gič* <'č' q' č> 'key'

6.1.2.9 Further attested (VN) derivatives: -*mA*, -*Un*, -(*V*)*z*

The following instances cannot be put into stem-derivation pairs in the PON. According to the context, the instances *eres qaqiz* and *bedik qaqiz* describe some kind of manly attributes as adjectives. (see the note on 3/7, Chapter 4.). *eres qaqiz* <'yryz q'q'z> seems to be a coordinate compound (see 5.2.3.3), but one can only speculate about the etymology of its parts. *eres* may be a copy of Mongolian *eres* 'straight, decided, outright' (L 323) and *qaqiz* can be a derivate of with -(*X*)*z* (Erdal 1991: 323-327) from either **qaq*- 'to strike, tap', **qaqi*- 'to be angry' (ED 609) or even **qiqir*- 'to shout' (ED 612).

(63)

-*mA*

2/1 *sür-mäl/sor-ma* 'wine'

-*Un*

35/8 *tüz-ün* 'well-behaved, gentle'

-(*V*)*z*

3/8 *eres qaqi-z* 'quick-tempered'

27/2 *bedik qaqi-z* 'great tempered'

6.1.3 The formation of denominal verbs (NV)

There are only two denominal verbal derivatives we can discuss in this chapter, and there are some which are only listed without sufficient data. These two derivatives +*A*- and +*lA*- were the most common ones already in Old Turkic. Both can derive transitive and intransitive verbs. Erdal (1991: 415-416) discusses certain phonotactical and morphological restrictions which influence the distribution of +*A*- and +*lA*- but the data in the PON do not allow us to make any further comments on them. Both derivatives may be added to mono- or disyllabic stems as well as to word stems and derivations. However, there is only one case when +*A*- is added to an (etymologically) derived word: *sana*- 'to count' <*sa*- 'to count' (ED 781) +*n* +*A*-. *sana*- replaced *sa*- quite early (ED 835), and probably **san* was not transparent for the speaker/writer of the PON. On the other hand, there seem to be an active process of adding +*lA*- to earlier VN derivations, see below.

6.1.3.1 +*A*-

There is only one attested stem-derivation pair for the verbs derived with +*A*- . Another possibility would be 2/2 *til/til* <d'l> 'tongue' ~ 2/2 *tilä*- 'to seek, to wish' <d'l'>, but neither Clauson (ED 492) nor Erdal (1991 418-429) connect them together. Looking at the data in

(64) from the strict synchronical point of view, one could assume a NV derivative+Ø- (added to nouns with -š) and may add *uruš* ~ *uruš-* and *toquš* ~ *toquš-* (see -(X)š above). Of course, this is not the case, it is rather an erosion of the phonological shape of the derivations to be seen here. Thus *aš-* < **aš*+A- 'to eat' and *aša-* ~ *jaš-* < **yaš*+A- in (64) avoid to be homophonous. This also suggest that *aš-* and *baš-* 'to attack' (ED 377) < *baš* 'wound' (ED376) +A- was not transparent as a derivation for the speaker anymore. This, and the fact that there is a quite broad list of derivations with +A- without attested stems in (64), points to the direction that +A- tended to be unproductive in the variety of the PON.

- (64)
- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 11/2 <i>aš</i> 'food' | 11/4 <i>aš-</i> 'to eat' |
| | 19/5 <i>baš-</i> 'to attack' 'to succeed?' |
| | 42/3 <i>aša-</i> 'to live' ~ 36/9 <i>jaša-ğu</i> 'life' |
- (65)
- | | |
|--|--|
| | 2/2 <i>til-ä-</i> 'to wish' |
| | 42/3 <i>aš-a-</i> 'to live' ~ 36/9 <i>jaš- qu</i> 'life' |
| | 11/1 <i>keng-ä- š-</i> 'to assemble' |
| | 1/4 <i>bod-a-</i> 'to labour, to parturitate' |
| | 20/5 <i>yum(u)š-a-</i> 'to send' |
| | 2/3 <i>oy(u)n-a-</i> 'to play' |
| | 35/2 <i>san-a- ğuluqsız</i> 'uncountable' |

6.1.3.2 +lA-

This derivative is very well-attested. Based on the context of the PON, slight semantic differences can be detected in the derived verbs in (66) compared to the correspondent entries of the ED. *bir+lA-* 'to unify' seems to be a young derivation, as neither the ED nor Erdal's list (1991: 429-455) of verbs in +lA- does not mention it.

- (66)
- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 3/9 <i>aw</i> 'hunt' | 2/8 <i>aw aw-la-</i> 'to hunt wild game' |
| 2/7 <i>at</i> 'horse' | 4/2 <i>at-la-</i> 'to set out' |
| 5/7 <i>baš</i> 'head' | 30/5 <i>baš-la-</i> 'to be the leader' |
| 36/1 <i>bir</i> 'one' >PRO.INDEF | 33/5 <i>bir-lä-</i> 'to unify' |
| | 20/8 <i>saq-la-</i> 'to protect' |
| | 28/3 <i>mängi-lä-</i> 'to rejoice' |
| | 7/7 <i>ığ-la-</i> 'to cry, to weep' |
| | 37/8 <i>çar-la-</i> 'to call to, to summon' |

The instances in (67) are further derivations from deverbal nomina with -(O)k and -(X)g (see above).

(67)

34/6 <i>qatiq</i> 'chaotic, mixed up'	15/2 <i>qatiqla-</i> 'to follow (closely), to join'
4/7 <i>belbaği</i> 'waistbelt'	4/3 <i>bağ-la-</i> 'to tie'
28/5 <i>bedük</i> 'big'	2/3 <i>bädiük-lä-</i> 'to become great'
	31/3 <i>yük-lä-</i> 'to load on'
	20/6 <i>qatiğ-la-</i> 'to make strong, fortify'

As I stated above, it seems that the stems of the +*lA-* verbs were not transparent anymore in the variety of the PON, and a new opposition were established between the verbs and their corresponding nouns:

(68) OT V : [V-(O)K] ~ [V -(X)g] > N
PON N : [N + <i>lA-</i>] > V

6.1.3.3 Further attested (NV) derivatives: +*(A)r-*, +*(X)k-*, +*(X)rkA-* and +*I-*

Again, there is a list of attested derivatives with only instances and without stem-derivation pair in (69). Among these the derivation with +*(X)k-* is surely not transparent, as the Old Turkic form of *čiq-* 'to go out' is a crasis of <*tašiq-* (*taš* 'exterior' +*(X)k-*). The meaning of *soyurqa-* deviates from its Old Turkic correspondent *tsoyurqa-* 'to have pity on someone' (ED 556) (OT **tsoy* < Chin. *tz'ü* 'kind, merciful' +*(X)rkA-*) both in form and meaning. It is most probably a copy of Mongolian *soyurqa-* 'to deign, condescend, grant' (L: 724) with further semantic development.

(69)

+ <i>(A)r-</i>	32/9 <i>bälgü-r-</i> 'to manifest'
+ <i>(X)k-</i>	16/6 <i>čiq-</i> 'to go out' < OT <i>taš-iq-</i> (ED 562)
+ <i>(X)rkA-</i>	28/4 <i>soyurqa-</i> 'to give present' < OT <i>tsuy-urqa-</i>
+ <i>I-</i>	12/5 <i>bit-i-</i> 'to write'

6.1.4 The formation of deverbal verbs (VV)

6.1.4.1 Causative verbs

Causative formatives denote the causations of events or actions whose subjects differ from the instigator. These are the following in Old Turkic: -*gUr-* , -*(X)t-*, -*(U)r-*, and -*(X)z-* (which is not attested in the PON), and the compound formative -*tUr-* (< -*(X)t-Ur-*). This compounding process happened before the first Turkic monuments arose. Causative formatives can be added to both transitive and intransitive verbs (Erdal 1991: 709). The attested causative formatives in the PON are -*DUr-*, -*GUr-*, -*Ur-* and -*(X)t-*.

6.1.4.1.1-DUr- ~ OT -tUr-

The causative verbs with *-DUr-* do not differ much from their Old Turkic equivalents (70). *tür-dür-* 'to have something wrapped up', however, is not attested elsewhere. The entry of the DTS (599) quotes the PON only. It is a question whether *čaptur-* <č'bdwr-> is the causative of *tap* ~ *čap-* <č'p-> 'to find' (ED 435). As I pointed out earlier, when *tap-* occurs independently, and not as the part of the compound *sewinč tap-* 'to find joy' (5.2.1.3, ex. (94)), it is spelled with initial <č>. ⁸⁴⁶ The Old Turkic causative of *tap-* 'to find' is *tap-uz-* 'to ask someone a riddle' (Erdal 1991: 758) This form of causative is not attested in the PON.

The attested causatives of deverbal verbs are derived with *-DUr-* (71).

(70)

12/6 <i>ber-</i> 'to give'	37/3 <i>ber-dür-</i> 'to let sy give sg'
4/9 <i>kel-</i> 'to come'	25/4 <i>kel-dür-</i> 'to bring sg'
1/3 <i>sewinč tap-</i> /42/1 <i>čap-</i> 'to find joy'/to find'	11/2 <i>čap-tur-</i> 'to have sy make sg' <i>?jap-tur-</i> to have sy to build sg?
	13/6 <i>as-tur-</i> 'to hang sy'
	36/7 <i>bil-dür-</i> 'to have sy know sg'
	40/4 <i>tik-tür-</i> 'to have sy erect sg'
	17/4 <i>tür-dür-</i> 'to have sy rolled up'

(71)

14/5 <i>baqin-</i> 'to care for sg'	30/9 <i>baqin-tur-</i> 'to have sy care for sg (for his own behalf)'
	40/1 <i>üläš-tür-</i> 'to have someones to divide sg among themselves'

6.1.4.1.2 -GUr- ~ OT -gUr-

All the attested instances of *-GUr-* can be put to stem-derivation pairs. One can observe a change in the distribution of this form of causative, as the Old Turkic equivalents were all derived with a different causative suffix. This shows that *-GUr-* was highly productive in the variety of the PON. It even replaced the otherwise well-attested *-DUr-* in *körgür-* and *külgür-*. Both verb stems are monosyllabic, contain a front labial and end in a sonorant. This may be a factor of phonetic distribution, but *türdür-* in (70) is a counterexample.

(72)

7/7 <i>igla-</i> 'to weep'	42/5 <i>igla-gur-</i> 'to have sy weep'	OT
4/5 <i>kör-</i> 'to see'	25/5 <i>kör-gür-</i> 'to show'	<i>igla-t-</i>
2/4 <i>yörü-</i> 'to walk'	32/7 <i>yörü-gür-</i> 'to have sg walk, to drag'	<i>kör-tür-</i>
22/9 <i>kül-</i> 'to laugh'	42/6 <i>kül-gür-</i> 'to make sy laugh'	<i>yori-t-</i>
6/7 <i>tüš-</i> 'to descend'	16/1 (<i>qoriğan</i>) <i>tüš-kür-</i> 'to make sg descend'	<i>kül-tür-</i>
		<i>tüš-ür-</i>

⁸⁴⁶ It is clear from the context that that the instance 42/1 *čap-* <č' b> is a phonetic variant of *tap-* and not that of the verb *yap-* ~ *jap-* 'to build or do something' (ED 871). If the instance at 11/2 is *japtur-*, it is the only instance of OT *yap-* ~ *jap-* in the text.

6.1.4.1.3 Further attested causative derivatives: *-(U)r-* and *-(X)t-*

The remaining two formatives cannot be put into a pairs with their stems (73). *tuğur-* is the only sure example for *-Ur-*, which doesn't have to be the output of an active derivation process. *soğur-* at 27/4 is another possible candidate, but on the one hand, the Old Turkic correspondent form is *soğit-*, on the other hand, the sentence in which *soğur-* occurs does not need any causative content. It is rather possible the *soğur-* is a form of phonetic deviation from the verb stem. *-(X)t-* can be attested only in the words *ät-* 'to do' and *ayt-* 'to say'. The former, if belongs here, may be a very old derivation of *är-* 'to be' and is not transparent anymore, at least not in the PON, where *er-* 'to be' occurs mostly with closed *e* while *ät-* with an open *ä*. *ayt-* (< *ay-* *-(X)t-*), on the other hand simply means 'to say' without any causative content. It seems that *-(X)t-* is unproductive in the PON.

(73)	
<i>-(U)r-</i>	1/3 <i>tuğ-ur-</i> 'to give birth' 27/4 ? <i>soğur-</i>
<i>-(X)t-</i>	16/6 <i>ä-t-</i> 'to make, to do' 23/1 <i>ay-t-</i> 'to say'

6.1.4.2 The OT *-(X)n-* in the PON

The formative *-(X)n-* in Old Turkic is described by Erdal (1991: 585) to derive

- a) reflexive (the agent and the object of the verb is the subject)
- b) medial (the action is carried out for the benefit of he subject) and
- c) antitransitive (the action emanates from the subject itself) verbs .

The pairs with *-(X)n-* of the PON show medial meaning:

(74)	
15/5 <i>ağiz+Px+DAT baq-</i> 'to look at sy's words '	14/5 <i>ağiz+Px+DAT baq-in-</i> 'to care sy's words, to subdue' (for own benefit)'
10/1 <i>sew-</i> 'to like, to love'	22/9 <i>sew-in-</i> 'to be glad'
	12/9 <i>baš čal-un- ğuluq</i> 'to bow head'
	27/9 <i>sar-un-</i> 'to be wrapped'

The remaining two instances are better to be put in context in order to understand.

(75) 12/9 *senlärdän baš čalunguluq tiläp män turur*

PRO.PI.2+ABL head bow-(X)n- -GULUK wish PRO.Sg.1 stand+AOR.

(From now on,) I expect you to bow your heads (on your own behalf, otherwise...)

After this request, an ultimatum is given, what would happen to those who would show respect and to those who wouldn't. Thus, *baš čalun-* 'to bow heads (for your own benefit)' also seems to have medial meaning (although by outer pressure), where the base is the verbal compound **baš čal-* 'to bow head' (see also example (94), *Chapter 6.2.1.3*). It is not entirely clear in (75) whether the ablative case is governed by *tilä-* 'to expect something (from someone)', or its function is to designate the source of *baš čalun-*.

(76) *ol beg qardan sarunmiš erdi*

PRO.DEM *beg* snow+ABL. to cover-(X)n-PART.PRF be+PAST

'That beg was covered by snow'

In example (76), we don't see neither reflexive, medial nor antitransitive meaning in *sarun-*. The source of action is in the ablative case. Although Erdal (1991: 639) claims that *-(X)n-* verbs are never passive in Old Turkic, it seems that in the PON such a meaning is possible, which must be a result of later development of *-(X)n-* (see *-(X)l-* below). The sentence could be paraphrased as **ol begni qar sarmiš erdi* 'The snow has covered that *beg*', where the agent is the snow and the object is the *beg*, thus two different entities. This only instance is unfortunately not enough to draw the conclusion that the passive *-(X)l-* has the allomorph *-(X)n-* in certain phonetic environments.

6.1.4.3 The OT *-(X)l-* in the PON

The formative *-(X)l-* derives passive verbs. "A verb is passive if the subject is represented as taking no initiative in the occurrence of the event (Erdal 1991: 651)". This is the case for the only stem-derivation pair we have. The other two (possible) instances are problematic (see *Chapter 6.1.1.1* for *qapulug* and *Chapter 6.1.2.7* for *qogulguluq*).

(77)

12/5 *biti-* 'to write'

12/6 *biti-l-* 'to be written'

?28/8 *qap-ul- uğ* 'to be closed'

? 6/8 *qoğu-l-ğuluqraq* 'gleaming'

6.1.4.4 The Old Turkic *-(X)š-* in the PON

Actions carried out by more than one participant in cooperation, competition, or against each other is described by the cooperative derivative *-(X)š-* (Erdal 1991: 552). There is only one

<i>-(V)z</i>	attested
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T.7.3 Denominal verb derivatives in the PON

<i>+A-</i>	improductive
<i>+lA-</i>	productive
<i>+(A)r-</i>	attested
<i>+(X)k-</i>	attested
<i>+(X)rkA-</i>	improductive
<i>+I-</i>	attested

T.7.4 Deverbal verb derivatives in the PON

<i>-DUr-</i>	productive
<i>-GUr-</i>	productive, distribution changed
<i>-(U)r-</i>	attested
<i>-(X)t-</i>	improductive
<i>-(X)n-</i>	productive, function changed
<i>-(U)k-</i>	attested
<i>-(X)l-</i>	attested
<i>-(U)š-</i>	attested

6.2 Compounding

Along derivation, compounding is an important and highly productive way of word formation in the PON. The present chapter aims to identify and classify compounds in the PON, and highlight the problems of doing so in texts written in a dead language.

Compounds are generally defined as a lexical unit which consist of at least two words, and they show some phonological and/or grammatical isolation from normal syntactic usage. The constituents of compounds are (usually) free forms of open word classes (cf. Fabb 1998: 66; Bauer 2001: 695; Bisetto & Scalise 2006^(?847): 1; Aikhenwald 2007: 24).

The classification and the terminology used for the individual classes of compounds are very heterogenous, and they differ mostly according to the cross-linguistic or language-specific approach of the linguist. Bisetto & Scalise (p. 4-6) summarise the classifications found in the earlier literature, and give no less than nine different classifications other than theirs. There is more or less agreement among them that the following main types exist cross-linguistically:

1. Subordinate (also called Tatpuruṣa, endocentric, determinative): The compound has a head and a modifier. The meaning of the compound represents a sub-class of the meaning of the head. The head belongs to the same word-class as the whole compound, such as *apron string*

2. Attributive (also called Kharṁdhāraya, sometimes classified as a subclass of the previous one): The modifier describes an attribute of the head, such as *blackbird*, *woman doctor*

3. Coordinate (also called Dvandva, copulative, aggregative, appositional): The meaning of the compound is a union of the meaning of its components. There is a coordinative relation between the components, instead of a head-modifier one. Such as *Austria-Hungary*.

4. Exocentric (also called Bahuvrīhi, possessive): This type is defined by the absence of a head, or, as Aikhenvald (2007: 30) defines it as 'exocentric compounds denote something which is different from either of its components' *greybeard* and *greeneyed* are examples of this type.

5. Synthetic (semi-synthetic, verbal, verbal-nexus): This type is defined as being based as compounds whose head elements are derived from verbs, and the modifying element in the

⁸⁴⁷ The paper is found on the internet as a manuscript at URL2. It neither contains information about its publication nor page numbering. The latest title among the references is dated to 2005.

compound is interpreted as an argument of the verb from which the element is derived (Bauer 2001: 701), such as *truck-driver* or *home-made*.

However, the arrangement of the different types and the relation between them (whether one type is a subtype of another or not) is not well defined.

The problems of the terminology and classifications are discussed by Bisetto & Scalise (URL1) in details. They propose an universal classification based on 'consistent' criteria as the following (p 9.):

1. Subordinate⁸⁴⁸ compounds: a) endocentric⁸⁴⁹, b) exocentric⁸⁵⁰
2. Attributive compounds: a) endocentric, b) exocentric
3. Coordinate compounds: a) endocentric, b) exocentric

Aikhenvald (2007: 24-28) gives criteria by which compounds can be identified and distinguished from syntactic phrases. Neither of them are claimed to be universal, thus compounds have to be defined on language-internal criteria. These are namely 1) orthographical, 2) phonological, 3) morphological, 4) morphosyntactic and 5) semantic.

A few descriptions of compounds has been made for Turkish and modern Turkic languages.

Johanson (1998: 50) gives a concise summary of compounds for Turkic languages.

Kornfilt (1997: 472-482) describes compounds in modern Turkish according to their components, but she does not classify them into the above categories. She distinguishes nominal and verbal compounds, the distinction is based on the head-element of the given compound. She includes reduplicated elements among compounds.

Göksel – Kerslake (2005) discuss reduplication (p. 90-93) and compounding (p. 95-99) separately. In that chapter *Compounding* only nominal compounding is discussed. They give two types (based on morphosyntactic criteria): 1) bare compounds and 2) -(s)I compounds. Noun compounds' modifiers can be clauses, and -(s)I compounds are recursive.

Compound verb forms are discussed under their Chapter 13.3.2 *Nominal-verb compounds*.

⁸⁴⁸ Including the 'Synthetic' type, at least the example *taxi driver* is recorded as a subordinate compound.

⁸⁴⁹ "Endocentric is a term which refers to a group of syntactically related words where one of the words is functionally equivalent to the group as a whole (there is a head inside the group). Endocentricity include noun and verb phrases where the constituent items are subordinate to the head, and also some types of co-ordination." (Crystal 2003: 161)

⁸⁵⁰ As opposed to endocentric, "exocentric is a term which refers to a group of syntactically related words where none of the words is functionally equivalent to the group as a whole." (Crystal 2003: 170). Exocentric (or Bahuvrīhi) compound describes a type of compound in which an entity is characterized without either of the constituents directly naming it. Examples include *loudmouth* (a person 'whose mouth speaks loudly') and *scarecrow* (an object whose job is to 'scare crows') (Crystal 2003: 47).

Turning to Old Turkic, Erdal (1991) discusses only derivation, despite the title 'Old Turkic Word Formation'. Erdal (2004) discusses the Old Turkic correspondences of the most common types of compounding noted for Turkish, in different chapters. However, none of them bears the title 'Compounding'. The subordinate type of compounds are discussed under his chapter 4.12 *Complex nominal phrases* (380-390). The author considers all compounds which might be interesting for us now as syntactic phrases, and not compounds (lexical units).

It is indeed a good question (avoided by Erdal) whether the examples cited below are compounds or phrases in Old Turkic, cf. *[[beš täñri] yarokı]* 'the light of the fivefold god', *[[burçan-lar] tamgasi]* 'the seal of the Buddhas' and *[[oglu-m] savı]* 'news from my son' where the modifiers are phrases or inflected nouns. It is sure however, that the syntactic structure of the cited examples in Old Turkic (partly) match to those what are discussed as compounds for modern Turkish. Thus, the historical predecessors of the modern Turkish compounds are present in Old Turkic, and should be considered here.

What is considered as *-(s)I* compounds at Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 96-98), are discussed along with the genitive constructions by Erdal in chapter 4.121 *'Nominal phrases with possessive satellites'* (2004: 381-383). There are examples such as *täñri yeri* 'divine land', *çan süsi* 'royal army' with 'unmarked satellites'.

Under his 4.122. *'Nominal phrases with descriptive satellite'* Erdal (2004: 383-388) includes what is referred as 'bare compounds' at Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 94-95).

Compounds with a verbal head (called 'set expressions') are discussed under *Chapter 6. Notes on the Lexicon* by Erdal (2004: 532-533).

Browsing the literature, it is easy to realize that the classificatory criteria and terminology (not to mention the scope of the terminology) is not unified even for the description of modern or historical Turkic languages.

Except Erdal, none of the authors on Turkic compounds pay attention whether the compounds are endocentric or exocentric. Aikhenvald (2007: 30) uses exocentricity in the sense that "Exocentric compounds denote something which is different from either of its components". In other words, their meaning is unpredictable from the meaning of their components.

Tables 8-10. contain the examples found in the cited chapters of Johanson 1998 (J), Kornfilt 1997 (K), Göksel & Kerslake 2005 (G) and Erdal 2004 (E), arranged by Bisetto & Scalise's classification. Thus Table 8-10. give us a preliminary skeleton about what types of compounds are to be expected generally in Turkic languages with some regard for morphological semantic subtleties within each classes, which has been paid attention to in the

processed literature about Turkic compounds. Of course these tables include only examples, and the list is extendable. This skeleton will be fleshed out with the data found in the PON.

T.8 An exemplar of subordinate compounds in Turkic

Example	Components	Output	Meaning	Endo./Exo
<i>alma terek</i> (J)	[N+N]	N	apple tree	Endo
<i>yel t�nri</i> (E)	[N+N]	N	Wind God	Endo
<i>orkun �g�z</i> (E)	[N+N]	N	Orkhon River	Endo
<i>okul kitabı</i> (K) <i>ev kapısı</i> (J) <i>otob�s bileti</i> (G) <i>t�nri yeri</i> (E) <i>�an s�si</i> (E)	[N+N+Px.Sg.3]	N	textbook house-door bus ticket divine land royal army	Endo
<i>okuma kitabı</i> (K)	[N+N+Px.Sg.3]	N	textbook	Endo
<i>Ađrı Dađı</i> (G)	[N+N+Px.Sg.3]	N	Mount Ararat	Endo
<i>ocak ayı</i> (G)	[N+N+Px.Sg.3]	N	January	Endo
<i>bilgisayar</i> (K)	[N+A]	N	computer	Exo
<i>yurtsever</i> (K)	[N+A]	A	patriotic	Endo
<i>unutma beni</i> (K)	[V+(infl.) + N+(infl.)]	N	forget-me-not (a kind of flower)	Exo
<i>�ala kalem</i> (K)	[V+(infl.) + N]	Adv	(to write) busily	Endo
<i>gazete oku-</i> (K)	[N+V]	V	to read newspaper	Endo
<i>karşı gel-</i> (G)	[N+V]	V	to oppose	Endo
<i>ara kir-</i> (E)	[N+V]	V	to intercede	Endo
<i>yardım et-</i> (G) <i>alay et-</i> (K)	[N+V]	V	to help to mock	Endo
<i>yemek ye-</i> (K) <i>yol yori-</i> (E) <i>nom nomla-</i> (E)	[N+V]	V	to eat to travel to preach	Endo
<i>pişman ol-</i> (K)	[A+V]	V	to regret	Endo
<i>mecbur kal-</i> (G)	[A+V]	V	to be obliged	Endo
<i>�abuk git-</i> (K)	[Adv+V]	V	to hurry	Endo
<i>t�nri bol-</i> (E)	[N+V]	V	to die	Exo

T.9 An exemplar of attributive compounds in Turkic

Example	Components	Output	Meaning	Endo/Exo
<i>�t�z</i> (E)	[N+N]	N	(flesh) body	Endo
<i>demir kapı</i> (K) <i>taş k�p�r�</i> (J)	[N+N]	N	iron gate stone bridge	Endo
<i>kadın �đretmen</i> (J) <i>erkek kardeř</i> (G)	[N+N]	N	woman teacher brother	Endo
<i>T�rk �ocuklar</i> (G)	[N + N+(infl.)]	N	Turkish children	Endo
<i>ak�đer</i> (G) <i>karabiber</i> (G)	[A+N]	N	lungs pepper	Endo
<i>karafatma</i> (G)	[A+N]	N	cockroach	Exo
<i>kırkayak</i> (K)	[Num+N]	N	centipede	Exo
<i>isig �z</i> (E)	[A+N]	N	life	Exo
<i>d�z taban</i> (K) <i>qaraqaş</i> (J)	[A+N]	A	flat-footed with black eyebrows	Exo
<i>kardan adam</i> (K)	[N+(infl.) + N]	N	snowman	Endo
<i>dostum Ali</i> (J)	[N+(infl.) + N]	N	my friend Ali	Endo
<i>s�t beyaz</i> (K)	[N+A]	A	milk-white	Endo
<i>cin fikirli</i> (K)	[N+A]	A	clever, crafty	Endo
<i>dini b�t�n</i> (K) <i>k�zi yaroq</i> (E)	[N+(infl.)+A]	A	sincerely religious bright-eyed	Exo
<i>a� g�zli</i> (K)	[A+A]	A	greedy	Exo
<i>delikanlı</i> (K)	[A+A]	N	young man	Exo
<i>anadan dođma</i> (K)	[N+(infl.) + V+(infl.)]	A	stark naked	Exo

T.10 An exemplar of coordinate compounds in Turkic

Example	Components	Output	Meaning	Endo./Exo
<i>anne baba</i> (K)	[N+N]	N	parents	Endo
<i>alış veriş</i> (J)	[N+N]	N	trade	Endo
<i>iş güç</i> (J)	[N+N]	N	effort	Exo
<i>yer suv</i> (E)	[N+N]	N	country	Exo
<i>film milim</i> (G,K) <i>telefon mefevon</i> (J) <i>çoluk çocuk</i> (K,J,G)	[N+N]	N	film and the like telefon and the like family	Exo
<i>aş azuk</i> (E) <i>töz yiltiz</i> (E) <i>tsuy erinçü</i> (E)	[N+N]	N	food root sin	Endo
<i>säv- amra-</i> (E)	[V+V]	V	to like	Endo
<i>kanlı canlı</i> (K)	[A+A]	A	vigourous	Endo
<i>bay barımlıg</i> (E)	[A+A]	A	rich	Endo
<i>gündüz gece</i> (K)	[Adv+Adv]	Adv	night and day	Endo
<i>düşe kalka</i> (K)	[Adv+Adv]	Adv	falling and rising	Endo
<i>dedikodu</i> (J) <i>kaptı kaçtı</i> (K)	[V+(infl.) + V+(infl.)]	N	gossip private bus	Exo Exo
<i>vurdum duymaz</i> (K)	[V+(infl.) + V+(infl.)]	A	thick skinned	Exo

Note that certain combinations of components appear in several classes. [N+N] compound exist in all three types. There are [N+A] combinations among subordinate and attributive compounds, and there are [A+A] combinations among attributive and coordinate compounds. This means that compounds cannot be classified based on only syntactic criteria, semantic and morphological criteria are also necessary.

Now we can turn to data in the PON. I will attempt identify and classify the compounds in the text. I will subgroup them according to their components. Provided that we are dealing with a written text in a dead language, we should attach some notes on the criteria what will be used for identifying compounds. What is more important, due to the limitedness of the corpus and the lack of a speaker who could judge what is possible and what is not in her/his language, we will not be able to state what *is not* possible, only what *is* possible. For example, there may be lexical elements which do not occur elsewhere in the text, only as part of compounds. It does not necessarily mean that the given word *cannot* appear as an independent lexeme (like the second element of *çoluk çocuk*) in the language, only that it *does not* appear in the PON. In such instances the component which does not occur independently will be written in bold. The following criteria are based on Aikhenwald's with slight differences.

Orthographical (ORT): Some compounds may be written together, however, the PON doesn't have strict ortographical rules.

Phonological (PHO): Stress is not marked by the orthography. I would rather replace it with phonetic criterion, see example (92) and (93)

Morphological (MOR): It is a useful criterion, but only with a limited scope. Uninflected compounds could not be identified with it.

Morphosyntactic (MSY): It may be useful with similar limits of (MOR).

Semantic (SEM): Semantic non-compositionality may be identified with cautious examination of the context.

Parallelism (PAR). Compounds may be identified with the help of semantically or syntactically similar elements in a similar relation as in the above exemplars.

6.2.1 Subordinate Compounds

6.2.1.1 Subordinate compounds of the structure [N+N] > N

(MSY) the most easily detectable structure where two nouns are juxtaposed but the semantic relation between them is asymmetric. There is no morphological marker between them to express this relation.

(80) [Proper name + *at* 'name'] > N 'the name (of) ...'

<i>kün at</i> 'the name Sun'	8/4
<i>ay at</i> 'the name Moon'	8/5
<i>yulduz at</i> 'the name Star'	8/6
<i>kök at</i> 'the name Sky'	10/5
<i>tag at</i> 'the name Mountain'	10/6
<i>tängiz at</i> 'the name Sea'	10/7
<i>qanqa at</i> 'the name <i>qanqa</i> '	32/5

(81) [N+title] > N 'proper names of persons'

<i>oğuz qağan</i> 'Oguz Kagan'	common in the whole text
<i>ay qağan</i> 'Moon Kagan'	1/3
<i>altun qağan</i> 'Altun Kagan'	13/9 '
<i>urum qağan</i> 'Urum Kagan'	15/1, 19/5, 19/6, 20/1
<i>jürčäd qağan</i> 'Jurched Kagan'	30/7
<i>misir qağan</i> 'Egypt Kagan'	34/7
<i>urus beg</i> 'Urus Beg'	20/2, 21/3
<i>uluğ ordu beg</i> 'Great Horde Beg'	23/9

These constructions usually co-occur with *tä-gän* [say+ PART.PRF] 'called'.

13/8 *kän bo čağda ong jangaqta [altun qağan] tägän bir qağan bar erdi*
'Then this time on the right side, there was a kagan called '*Altun Kagan*'.

Erdal (1991: 76-77) showed that the Old Turkic class marker derivative +*kAn* for honorifics is a suffixed form of the title *χan* (?~ *qağan*), which was still used as an enclitic element in

compound titles in Classical Mongolian. Thus the lexemes formed with this derivative historically go back to compounds. This is an indirect evidence why to consider the above examples as compounds.

- (82) [N+N] > N 'geographical proper name'
etil mörän 'the river Volga' 18/4, 18/5, 19/3

The example is (PAR) with the Old Turkic example *orkon ögüz* 'the Orkhon river'

- (83) [N+N] > N 'directions'
tün yingǵaq [night + direction] 'North' 36/5
tün sari [night + direction] 'West' 38/3, 38/6
tang sari [dawn + direction] 'East' 38/2, 38/5

It seems strange that *tün yingǵaq* and *tün sari* has almost synonymous heads, but their denotation is different. Based on the context, *tün yingǵaq* is opposed to *kün tuǵıši* 'East' and *kün batuši* 'West' (see below). The latter two are the endpoints of a bow, which shoots the arrow in the (presumably perpendicular) direction of it, which, since it contains *tün* 'night' cannot be else than North. *tün sari* and *tang sari* are opposed to each other. *tün sari* could also mean North, but *tang sari* [dawn + direction] verifies that this opposition is an East : West one. This contradiction supposes that these (or some of these) compounds are ad hoc built ones, although it is hard to imagine how would a language has got no fixed elements for the names of the points of the compass.

- (84) [N+N] > N
aw yer [hunting/wild game + place] 'hunting place' 12/1

It cannot be surely decided whether *aw* means 'wild game' or 'hunting (for wild game)' (ED 3). When *aw* occurs independently, it means the latter. In the compound *kik aw awla-* 'to hunt wild games' (see (136) below) it means the former. In any case the meaning of the compound would be only slightly different.

6.2.1.2 Subordinate compounds of the structure [N+N+Px.Sg.3] > N

The first and most important problem of identifying this type of compound is that its structure may coincide with that of the genitive construction (see also *Grammar: the genitive case*).

In Old Turkic, the case marking of the possessor is not obligatory in the genitive construction. It is obvious that the latter construction historically goes back to the former, in

the sense that compounds of this type were historically genitive constructions, and the ambiguity was already present in Old Turkic.

The problem has been dealt in 16th century Ottoman Turkic as well. Römer (2000: 110) concludes in her article that "Unmarked genitive constructions and embedded sentences are compounds. Apparently complex noun phrases could still be regarded as a whole even if other elements came in between."

In the case of modern Turkish, Kharytonava (2009: 119-120) concludes that "while the nominal head of a Nominal Compound is always a bare noun and cannot be modified or take any arguments, the non-head can represent a Nominal Phrase." However, she does not mention anything about the possible obligatoriness of the genitive case marking of the genitive constructions.

The difference between the genitive construction and this type of nominal compounds could be caught as the following:

Genitive construction:	[NP(+Gen.)] + [NP(+Plur.)+Px.Sg.3(+Cx)]
Subordinate compound:	[NP+ N+ Px.Sg.3(+Cx)]

For the illustration of the problem, consider the following example:

(85) 4/7 *belbaği* 'waistbelt' ~ *Oğuz qalqanı* 5/3 'The shield of Oğuz'

belbaği is a clear example of a compound, which is written in one word, thus having the (ORT) criterion. *Oğuz qalqanı*, on the other hand, is a clear example of a genitive construction, where the possessor is a given person, but the construction lacks the genitive case marker.

The corpus of the PON is too small to be able to investigate the exact behaviour of the two types of constructions. The data in hand is neither enough to assume that they behave differently, nor to assume that one could find a clear border between them.

The following examples bear the (SEM) criterion, and be securely identified as exocentric compounds:

(86) 36/3 *kün tuğışi* [Sun + birth +Px.Sg.3] > '(the place of) the birth of the Sun' > 'East'
 36/3 *kün batuşi* [Sun + sinking +Px.Sg.3] > '(the place of) the sinking of the Sun' > 'West'

Along with the examples (175)-(177) presented in *Chapter 7.2.2.4* and (203)-(204) in *Chapter 7.7* the following instances can be cited:

- (87) 2/4 *böri belläri* 'the waists of a wolf'
 2/3 *ud adaqi* 'the feet of an ox'
 2/5 *aduğ kögüzü* 'the chest of a bear'
 2/4 *kiş yağri* 'the shoulder of a sable'
 9/4 *mörän 'suğü* 'river's water'
 30/8 *jürčäd elküni* 'the people of the Jurched/the Jurched people'

There is one case in which the modifier of the compound is a phrase in which the components are conjuncted with *taqi* 'and'

- (88) 33/2 [*sindu taqi tangqut taqi šağam*] *yिंगgaqlari*
 'the directions of India, Tangut, and Syria'

6.2.1.3 Subordinate compounds of the structure [N+V] > V

Identifying this type of compounds is problematic. Many of the possible candidates occurs only once in the text, and none of them occurs more than thrice. Thus, they cannot be tested whether the modifier can be moved away from the verbal head, or whether another element can be inserted between the head and the modifier.

The modifiers must be uninflected nouns or other parts of speech, but it is still possible that they are indefinite objects (without accusative case marking) of the transitive verbal heads. However, the (PAR) criterion is still useful.

- (89) [N+V] > V compounds with the verbal head *bol-* 'to become'

<i>ertä bol-</i> 'to dawn'	4/4, 4/8, 37/7
<i>bellüg bol-</i> 'to appear, to become known'	21/9, 33/7, 35/5
<i>tusu bol-</i> 'to be to one's advantage'	20/1

- (90) [N+V] > V compounds with the verbal head *ät-* 'to do';
 (PAR) *alay et-* 'to mock' *yardım et-* 'to help' or with *at-* 'to throw' (PAR) *laf at-* 'to chatter' *göz at-* 'to run an eye over' *çığlık at-* 'to utter a loud scream' *yalan at-* 'to tell lies' *imza at-* 'to sign'

<i>čamat ät-/at-</i> 'to become angry'	15/5, 27/7
<i>sewinč ät-/at-</i> 'to be glad'	24/9

The verb *ät-* is spelled as <'d->, which would indicate in Uyğur script that the word initial vowel is *a-*, thus, the verb could be also *at-* 'to throw, to shoot'. However, such spelling never occurs in the text except the examples cited here. The reading of *at-* could imply a sudden motion in the meaning of the verb, which could fit for the context. The only base I can refer to is the parallel examples in modern and Ottoman Turkish, cited above.

čamat ät-/at- is otherwise problematic, because the modifier *čamat* is a doubtful word. The context suggests that its meaning is 'anger' and the like (see also the note on 13/4-5 in Chapter 4.).

(91) [N+V] > V compounds with the verbal head *qil-* 'to do'

<i>dostluq qil-</i> 'to make friendship'	14/6, 23/3
<i>jarliġ qil-</i> 'to order'	29/2

The examples in (91) are the only possible candidates. (PAR) examples could be Turkish *namaz kıl-* 'to pray' and *mümkün kıl-* 'to make possible'. In Turkish, this verb is used very rarely, but in Old Turkic, it was often used to make compound verbs (ED 616).

(92) [N+V] > V compound with internal object.
(PAR) *yemek ye-* 'to eat', OT *nom nomla-* 'to pray'

<i>taritqu tart-</i> 'to take tax' (lit. 'to pull what is to be pulled')	13/2
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(93) [N+V] > V compounds with alliteration between the head and the modifier
(PAR): Johanson 1998: 50 cites compounds – although of different types – which "include alliteration and rhyme formations" such as Turkish *karıkoca* 'married couple' and Kazakh *kiyim-kešek* 'clothing'

<i>čamat čaq-</i> 'to become angry'	13/5
<i>čäriġ čäk-</i> 'to gather army'	13/5
<i>jarliġ jumša-</i> 'to send order'	12/5
<i>jarliġ čarla-</i> 'to announce order'	11/1

Note that *čamat čaq-* and *jarliġ jumša-* occur with different verbal heads as well, *čamat ät-* (90) and *jarliġ qil-* (91) and *jarliġ čarla-* (93) respectively. The verbal head of the *jarliġ jumša-* occurs with *y-* three other times, but here it is written (and probably pronounced) with *ĵ-* because of alliteration with *jarliġ*. This may be used as a (PHO) criterion.

(94) [N+V] > compounds with non-light verbal head

<i>sewinč tap-</i> 'to be glad'	1/3, 42/1
<i>baš čalun-</i> 'to obey'	12/9
<i>söz ber-</i> 'to make promise'	16/7,
<i>dost tut-</i> 'to consider as friend'	13/3
<i>dušman tut-</i> 'to consider as enemy'	13/5

The verb *tap-* 'to find' occurs in this form only in connection with *sewinč* 'joy'. When it occurs independently (with the same meaning, two times) it is spelled with <č> and the context makes it clear that it is the phonetic variant of *tap-* and not that *yap-* > *ĵap-* 'to build'. This suggests that *sewinč tap-* 'to find joy' is a compound with (PHO) criterion. *sewinč tap-* always

refer to a collective action, while *sewin-* 'to be glad' is an individual one, as their inflection (PLUR vs. Sg. respectively) shows.

baš čalun- has a (MOR) criterion. The derivative *-(U)n-* is added to *baš čal-* 'to bow head', and not only to *čal-* (see *Chapter 6.1.4.2*). This fact verifies that the construction is a compound.

söz ber- has a (SEM) criterion: The context verifies that the meaning of the construction is 'to (make a) promise'.

dost tut- and *duşman tut-* has (MSY) criterion. The verb *tut-* 'to hold' (ED 451) governs (marked or unmarked) accusative. Thus *dost tut-* and *duşman tut-* would mean 'to hold a(n) friend/enemy'. The context verifies that *dost* and *duşman* are not the objects of *tut-*, since the objects of the constructions are explicit (underlined in the citation): 13/1 *uşol kim ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa [...] dost tutar män [...] uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa [...] duşman tutar män* 'those who will heed my words [...] I will consider as friends [...] those who will not heed my words [...] I will consider as enemies.'

6.2.1.4 Subordinate compound of the structure $[N+V(infl.)] > N$

(95) *qolač* 'fathom' 41/4

Although Clauson (ED 618) claims that the OT word *qulač* 'fathom, the distance between the finger-tips of two outstretched arms' is impossible to deduce from the compound of *qol* 'upper arm' (ED 614) *ač-* 'to open' (ED 18), he refers to *Kāšgarī* who suggests exactly that it means 'open out the arms' which would go back to the analysis *qol ač* [arm + open + IMP.Sg.2]. Of course this analysis could be only *Kāšgarī*'s speculation or a folk etymology, but even if it is, it may show that his language competence allowed such a type of compounding strategy. Whatever the case is, I considered it reasonable to cite this example here.

6.2.1.5 Subordinate compound of the structure $[A+V] > V$

(PAR) *pişman ol-* 'to regret'

(96) *şük bol-* 'to become silent' 16/1

This is the only possible candidate in the PON with this structure.

6.2.1.6 Subordinate compounds of the structure $[Adv+V] > V$;

(PAR) *karşı gel-* 'to oppose'

(97) <i>yaqşı kör-</i> 'to like'	22/9, 37/5
<i>qarşu kel-</i> 'to oppose'	30/4

yaqşı kör- 'has a (SEM) criterion' as the context verifies that it does not mean 'see well', but 'to like'. *qarşu kel-* has a precise correspondent in modern Turkish.

6.2.1.7 Subordinate compound of the structure [Particle+V] > V

(PAR) OT *yoq bol-* (ED 895) 'to cease to exist'.

(98) <i>yoq bol-</i> 'to perish'	13/6
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6.2.2 Attributive compounds

The most important question of identifying attributive compounds in the PON is how do we distinguish attributive compounds of the structure [A+N] from adjectival phrases? The behaviour of the indefinite article *bir* might provide us a useful (MSY) criteria.

6.2.2.1 The behaviour of the indefinite article *bir* in the PON

There is no definite lexical element for definite article in the PON, but indefiniteness is marked, as in Turkish (Kornfilt 1997: 273), "with the indefinite article *bir*, which is the same word as the numeral meaning 'one'."

In Turkish, the numeral and the indefinite article behaves syntactically different: the article follows any adjective in the noun phrase, and immediately precedes the noun, while the numeral is phrase-initial. (Kornfilt 1997: 106)"

bir güzel, olgun elma 'one nice, ripe apple' : *güzel, olgun bir elma* 'a nice, ripe apple'

In the PON however, we find two different set of data. In the first set, the indefinite marker of the noun phrase behaves just as in Turkish, it is located between the head and the modifier. The data in [] refers to one semantic unit.

(99) <i>bädiük bir [monster]</i>	'a big <i>monster</i> '	3/4
<i>uluğ bir tağ</i>	'a great mountain'	26/4
[<i>yaqşı körüglük</i>] <i>bir qız</i>	'a [beautiful] woman'	7/3, 9/2
<i>bädiük bir [yurt elkün]</i>	'a great [country and nation]	30/1
[<i>uluğ barguluğ</i>] <i>bir yurt</i>	'a [rich]land'	33/9

bädük bir üy

'a big house'

28/5

This holds true even if there are more than one modifier. In the data quoted from 24/1, the second modifier is unreadable due to damage of the manuscript, but it cannot be anything else.

(100) <i>uq°guluq tüziin bir yer</i> (sic!)	'a intelligent, well-behaved man'	35/8
<i>ataşluğ yaruqluğ bir mängi</i>	'a glowing, shining mole'	7/4
<i>usluğ yaqşī bir er</i>	'a clever, good man'	24/1
<i>bädük yaman bir kik</i>	'a big bad beast'	3/6

If the modifier of the noun is a subordinated clause or a postpositional phrase, the position of *bir* does not change:

(101) <i>altun qağan tögän bir qağan</i>	'a kagan called <i>Altun Kagan</i> '	13/9
<i>ätıl mörän tögän bir taluy</i>	'a stream called <i>Etil</i> river'	18/5
<i>urum tögän bir qağan</i>	'a kagan called <i>Urum</i> '	14/8
<i>baraq° tögän bir yer</i>	'a place called <i>Baraq</i> '	33/8
<i>mısır tögän bir qağan</i>	'a kagan called <i>'Egypt</i> '	34/4
<i>kün tög bir jaruq</i>	'a sun-like light(beam)'	16/3

In the second set however, the indefinite marker *bir* precedes the modifier:

(102) <i>bir uluğ orman</i>	'great forest'	3/1
<i>bir kök yaruq</i>	'a blue light(beam)'	6/7
<i>bir qara tağ</i>	'a black mountain'	18/6
<i>bir yaqşī beg</i>	'a good man'	23/9
<i>bir altun ya</i>	'a golden bow'	36/1, 38/8
<i>bir altun tağuy</i>	'a golden fowl'	41/2
<i>bir kümüš tağuy</i>	'a silver fowl'	41/5
<i>bir aq qoyun</i>	'a white sheep'	41/3
<i>bir qara qoyun</i>	'a black sheep'	41/6
<i>~üč kümüš oq)</i>	'three silver arrows'	36/1, 39/7

There is no example when the *bir* precedes the modifier and it is a subordinated clause or a postpositional phrase.

Göksel – Kerslake (2005: 185), distinguish between *bir* as an indefinite article preceding an adjective and *bir* 'one', which always precedes the adjective. According to them, "placing the adjectival left of *bir* has the effect of making the sequence [adjective+head] be perceived as a semantic unit." Thus *uluğ bir tağ* in (99) denotes a great member of the class of mountains, whereas *bir uluğ orman* (102) denotes a member of the class of great forests.

We find examples in which *bir* precedes more than one modifier:

(103) <i>bir [čuqurdan aygür at]</i>	'a spotted stallion horse'	26/1
<i>bir [bedik qaqüz er bæg]</i>	'a great fierce man <i>beg</i> '	27/2
<i>bir [yaqši čäbär er]</i>	'a good clear-minded man'	28/9
<i>bir [eres qaqüz kiši]</i>	'a quick-tempered person'	3/7

This phrase pattern would allow only definite reading in Turkish. Consider the example 28/9 (which is very similar to 27/2) for the possible translations: *čärigdä bir yaqši čäbär er bar erdi*

- (a) *def.* 'In the army there was (only) one good and clear-minded man (and no more)'
 (b) *indef.* 'In the army there was a good and clear-minded man.'

The translation (a) is not plausible if consider that *Oguz Kagan* granted several promotions to his soldiers throughout the story. Consider also the example at 3/7, where the numeral reading of *bir* is impossible: *oğuz qağan bir eres qaqüz kiši erdi* 'Oguz Kagan was a quick-tempered man'

If we look through the examples, we will see that in all of the examples *bir* has rather the indefinite article reading, except 36/1 in (102), where both reading is possible, because in that *bir* 'one' could be opposed to *üç* 'three'. However such opposition is not necessary, since it fits well to the other similar examples in the one hand, and the context implies that it is not 'one of the golden bows (mentioned before)'. Instead, it is a 'golden bow (introduced to the plot right now)'. This opposition might be applied as a criterion to distinguish between the readings of 'the phrases when the indefinite article *bir* preceding the adjective, and the phrases containing *bir* 'one'. However, if we compare the two sets, it seems that the location of *bir* is indifferent within the noun phrase concerning indefiniteness, when the modifiers are one or more adjectives. Unfortunately, except example 36/1, there is no data in the PON where *bir* clearly would mean 'one', thus no comparison can be made in the behaviour of *bir* 'one' and *bir* 'a'.

Some further data can be cited, which are clearly extensions of the second set, still with indefinite article reading of *bir*. Here there are modifiers both before and after *bir*. In such pattern Turkish would allow only the numeral meaning of *bir*. See example (5) of Yüksekser (2003: 165). In the translations of the next example, the location of *bir* is marked with |.

(104) <i>tarlağusüz bir yazı yer</i> '	'an uncultivated flat land'	29/9
<i>usluğ yaqši bir čäbär kiši</i>	'a clever, good clear-(minded) man'	31/5
<i>kök tülükliüg kök jalluğ bedik bir erkäk böri</i>		16/6, 17/7
'a grey furred, grey maned, great male wolf		
<i>aq saqalluğ moz sačluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kiši</i>		35/7
'a white bearded, grey haired, sharp minded old man'		

In these data the indefinite article *bir* appears before the last modifier. This would allow two interpretations:

1) The syntax of the Turkic variety of the PON allows the indefinite article either before or after the last modifier of the head. This interpretation may hold true if we analyse the several modifiers of example (103) as coordinate compounds.

2) The behaviour of the indefinite article *bir* is exactly the same as in Turkish., keeping forward the distinction made by Göksel and Kerslake. In this case, one should analyse the adjective after *bir* as one semantic unit with the head, thus the heads are attributive compounds, and data in (103) are complex compounds, where the attributes are coordinate compounds themselves (see *Chapter 6.2.4*, below).

The position after the indefinite article *bir* turned out to be an (MSY) criterion. What we have to do now is to classify the data occurring after *bir*. Among the above data we find attributive compound of the structure $[N+N] > N$ and $[A+N] > A$.

Here we shall make a short turn-out about distinguishing nouns and adjectives. Braun & Haig (2000), based on five criteria⁸⁵¹, proposes that nouns and adjectives in Turkish are the endpoints of a prototype scale, on which more "nouny" more "adjectival" and "neutral" elements can be placed. It is obvious that due to the limitedness of the PON as a corpus, the criteria used for living Turkic languages for distinguishing nouns and adjectives are hardly applicable.

Johanson (2006) argues that despite of some borderline cases, the category of nouns and adjectives are separate in Turkic. He gives a very practical list of examples of South Siberian nouns and adjectives according to which nouns are words used to refer to entities, answering the questions 'who?' and 'what?' Typical examples are words referring to animates, body parts and words referring to physical objects and natural phenomena. Adjectives describe properties of entities, answering the questions 'how?' and 'what kind of?' The typical examples are words describing dimensions, age, value and colour, and semantic types of physical property of speed.

⁸⁵¹Braun, F. & Haig, G (2000: 89-90) gives five such (three positive and two negative) criteria for modern Turkish: 1. the ability of intensifying reduplication (*dop-dolu* 'totally full') 2. gradability 3. ability to appear in the frame X (*bir*) Y (We are already talking about the position after *bir*) 4. Occurrence with *+II* (OT *+IXg*) and *+sIz* (typical for nouns, but not adjectives) 5. Triggering compound marker (*+(s)I*) when juxtaposed with a noun. This latter criteria also does not seem functional as the PON has the following example 30/3 *jürčäd qağan* : 30/7 *jürčäd qağan-i* 'The *qağan* of the Jurched' and possibly 26/7 *muz tağ* ~ 15/8 *muz taği* (the latter word spelled as <d'y>) 'Ice mountain'

Among the above data (adding up parallel data occurring in the text) the following subtypes can be distinguished. All of the subtypes of modifiers are included in Johanson's (2006: 60-62) list.

6.2.2.2 Attributive compounds of the structure $[N+N] > N$.

(105) This subtype includes examples only where the modifier is a noun referring to material (PAR: *taş köprü, demir kapı*):

<i>altun ya</i> 'golden bow'	36/2 36/3, 38/8
<i>kümüüş tağ</i> 'silver fowl'	41/5
<i>kümüüş oq</i> 'silver arrow'	36/2, 36/5
<i>muz tağ</i> 'Ice Mountain' (proper name)	26/7, 26/8, 27/5, 27/8
<i>altun qazuq</i> 'Pole Star' (proper name)	7/5

(106) The modifier noun refers to sex (PAR: *kadın öğretmen, erkek kardeş*):

<i>erkäk böri</i> 'male wolf'	16/6, 17/7, 18/3, 25/1, 25/7
<i>erkäk oğul</i> 'male child'	1/4, 8/3, 10/4
<i>ayğir at</i> 'stallion horse'	26/2, 27/7

6.2.2.3 Attributive compound of the structure $[A+N] > N$

(107) The modifier refers to colour:

<i>aq qoyun</i> 'white sheep'	41/3
<i>qara qoyun</i> 'black sheep'	41/6
<i>qara tağ</i> 'black mountain'	18/6
<i>kök yaruq</i> 'blue light'	6/7
<i>kök böri</i> 'grey wolf'	11/9, 25/2

(108) The modifier noun refers to age:

<i>qart kişi</i> 'old man'	35/7
----------------------------	------

(109) The modifier refers to internal attributes of human beings:

<i>čäbär kişi</i> 'clear-minded, clever man'	31/5
<i>yaqşi beg</i> 'good beg'	23/9

(110) The modifier refers to external dimensions of geographical entities:

<i>uluğ orman</i> 'great forest'	3/1
<i>yazı yer</i> 'flat land, plain'	29/9

The following data may belong here, but there is no criteria:

(111) The modifier refers to external dimension of a human being

<i>uluğ türük</i> 'Great Turk' (proper name)	35/9, 37/5
--	------------

(112) The modifier refers to animateness of the head:

<i>ölüg bargu</i> 'inanimate goods'	19/9, 31/2, 31/8
<i>tirig bargu</i> 'living goods, livestock'	20/1, 31/8

6.2.2.4. Attributive compound of the structure [Num+N] > N

(113)

üç oqlar 'three arrows' > Proper Name 41/8

Turkish *qırqayaq* [forty+foot] 'centipede' is a (PAR) example. The context and the fact that plural agreement after numerals does not occur in the text (see *Chapter 7.1.*) makes clear that the example is a compound and it has a (MOR) criterion.

6.2.2.5 Attributive compound of the structure [N+A] > A

This type is also possible. The head position (of a nominal phrase or a compound) is primary to nouns and the modifier position is primary to adjectives, but both can occupy either slot (Johanson 2006: 63).

There is only one such example, with (PAR) *süt beyaz* 'milk white':

(114) *ataş qızıl* 'fire-red'

1/6

6.2.2.6 Attributive compounds derived from adjectival phrases with +IVG

Erdal (1991: 148) showed that the NN derivative +IXg can be added to adjectival phrases. The following examples belong to this type. The phrases to which +IXg is added are not compounds themselves, but the whole unit becomes a compound after adding +IXg. The output is an adjective. This type more or less corresponds to the structure of English [green+eye]-d.

These examples cannot be paralleled with *cin fikirli* [N+A] 'clever crafty' since it has different structure and bracketing: the readily derived *fikirli* 'having idea' is attributed by *cin* '(like a) genie'

(115) [aq saqal]+luğ 'with white beard'	35/6
[moz saç]+luğ 'with grey hair'	35/7
[uzun us]+luğ 'with long memory'	35/7
[uluğ barğu]+luğ 'with great (amount of) goods'	33/8

6.2.3 Coordinate compounds

6.2.3.1 Coordinate compounds of the structure [N+N] > N

One of the most easily recognisable type of compounds. It differs from the subordinate type of the same structure that the components are semantically related to each other. OT *tsuy erinčü* 'sin' (ED 236) is a (PAR) example.

(116) The components are synonymous Turkic and Mongolian words:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| a) <i>elkün</i> '(common) people' | 10/9, (common in the text) |
| OT <i>el</i> 'realm' (ED 121) + Mo. <i>kün</i> < <i>kümüin</i> 'man, person, people' (L 501) ⁸⁵² | |
| b) <i>töl bogus</i> 'embryo' | 8/1, 10/2 |
| OT <i>töl</i> 'progeny, foetus' (ED 491) + Mo. <i>bogus</i> 'embryo, fetus' (L 113) | |
| c) <i>önglük čiray</i> 'complexion' | 1/5, 34/3 |
| OT <i>öŋ</i> 'front part' (ED 167)+ <i>IXk</i> + Mo. <i>čiray</i> 'face, appearance' (L 191) | |

In example (116), the components of the compounds are synonymous. However, the first element is etymologically a Turkic word, while the second one is Mongolian. It is interesting that none of the components of these compounds found independently in the text. *elkün* is always written together, thus having the (ORT) criterion, and is always inflected as one word (MOR), most probably it was not transparent to the speaker anymore. It even appears in other coordinate compounds, see (118). The morphological behaviour of *önglük čiray* is different. It occurs twice, and both the components are inflected (with Px.Sg.3) independently.

A similar example to the above ones is (117):

- | | |
|---|------|
| (117) [<i>berkü ämgäq</i>] <i>birlä</i> (spelled with <q>) 'with suffering' | 3/6' |
| Mo. <i>berke</i> 'hardship, trouble' (L: 99) + OT <i>ämgäk</i> 'pain, agony' (ED 159) | |

However, the order of the Turkic and Mongolian components is inverse, and *ämgäq* occurs also independently. The following example has the same (MSY) criterion as the attributive ones discussed above, it occurs after the indefinite article *bir*:

- | | |
|---|------|
| (118) <i>bedük bir</i> [<i>yurt elkün</i>] 'a big country' | 30/1 |
| OT <i>yurt</i> 'dwelling place' (ED 958) + <i>elkün</i> 'people' (see above). | |

The morphological behaviour of coordinate compounds is ambivalent, and either both parts can be inflected or only the latter. I have already mentioned *elkün* and *önglük čiray* as examples, but one and the same compound may behave differently. Consider the following examples:

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| (119) <i>altun kümüš</i> 'gold and silver' > 'treasure' | |
| a) [<i>altun kümüš</i>]- <i>läri</i> '[gold and silver]+Px.Pl.3' | 30/2 |
| b) <i>köp</i> [<i>altun kümüš</i>] 'many [gold and silver] | 7/5, 21/1 |

⁸⁵² This etymology, instead of Clauson's *elgün* 'people' < *el* 'realm' and a collective derivative +*gün* (ED 121) is suggested by Prof. András Róna-Tas (personal communication).

c) <i>köp tälīm</i> [<i>altun kümüš</i>] 'a lot of [gold and silver]'	14/2
d)[<i>altun-i</i>] <i>köp</i> [<i>kümüš-i</i>] <i>köp</i> '[gold+Px.Sg.3] many [silver+Px.Sg.3] many'	34/2
(120) <i>ya oq</i> 'bow and arrow' > 'hunting equipment'	
a) [<i>ya oq</i>]- <i>um</i> '[bow and arrow]+Px.Sg.1'	6/2
b) [<i>ya oq</i>] <i>birlä</i> 'with [bow and arrow]'	4/1
c) [<i>ya</i>] <i>birlä</i> [<i>oq</i>] <i>birlä</i> 'with [bow] (and) with [arrow]'	5/6
(121) <i>ud buzaġ</i> 'ox and calf' > 'livestock'	
[<i>ud buzaġ</i>]- <i>ları</i> '[ox + calf] + Px.Pl.3	30/2
(122) <i>sač qaš</i> 'hair and eyebrows' > 'hair (on the head)'	
[<i>sač</i>]- <i>ları</i> [<i>qaš</i>]- <i>ları</i> '[hair]+Px.Pl.3 [eyebrow]+Px.Pl.3	1/6
(123) <i>yılqı yelkün</i> 'livestock and people' > 'living beings'	
[<i>yılqı</i>]- <i>larnı</i> [<i>yelkün</i>]- <i>larnı</i> '[livestock]+Px.Pl.3 [people]+Px.Pl.3	3/5

According to examples (116) - (123) , the following hierarchy can be set in the morphological and syntactic behaviour of [N+N] > N coordinate compounds, which can be considered to steps towards lexicalisation, Nr. 1 being the final one.

1. The two components are written together, and behave exactly as one word (116a).
2. Only the latter of the two components is inflected: (119a), (120a), (121)
3. The two components get a single modifier or postposition: (117), (118), (119b),(119c), (120b)
4. Both the components are inflected separately (116c), (122), (123)
5. The components participate in different, but juxtaposed phrases:(119d), (120c),

Nr. 1. is a clear (ORT) criterion, Nr. 2 is a (MOR) one, and Nr. 3 is a (MSY) one. It is a good question where one should draw the borderline between compound and phrases? Are the examples of Nr.4. compounds or phrases? While their components are two morphological words, they belong to a pattern of regular compounding strategy (cf. (116)- (117)). Example (123) even shows another (PHO) criterion, namely that *yelkün* has an initial *y-* in order to alliterate with *yılqı*, cf. *jarliġ jumša-* in example (93).

(124) *tang ertä* 'morrow' 4/4, 4/8, 16/1, 25/6,

Example (124) occurs too many times to avoid, but otherwise it does not have a criterion. Clauson (ED 202) mentions that *ertä* 'early morning' is usually associated with *tang* and cites other Middle Turkic (Chagatay) parallelisms.

- (125) [N+N] > N with identical derivation (PAR) *alışveriş* 'trade'
uruş toquş 'battle' 30/5
tutulunç uruşunç 'fighting and capturing' 19/2

The components of the instances in (125) do not occur independently.

6.2.3.2 Coordinate compound of the structure [N+N]+IXg > A

- (126) [**tük** *tülük*]+IXg '(completely) hairy' 2/6

There is only one example of this type. The first component does not occur independently. It is a late form of OT *tü* 'hair (of the body)' (ED 431) and is coordinated with its own derivate, the unit is then derived further.

6.2.3.3 Coordinate compounds of the structure [A+A] > A

Some of the following candidates are acutally extracted from (100), these are the adjectives preceding the indefinite article *bir*. Except *ataşluğ yaruqluğ*, which has a (PAR) as *canlı kanlı* 'vigorous' (and identical derivation), they do not have a criterion except that some of them consist of synonymous components.

- (127a) *usluğ yaqşı* 'intelligent and good' 24/1
bedük yaman 'big and bad' 3/6
qatıq yaman 'chaotic and terrible' 34/6
uq^oğuluq tüzün 'reasonable and disciplined' 35/8
ataşluğ yaruqluğ 'fiery and shiny' 7/3

The following instances may also be added here, however the etymologies of the components are uncertain (see 6.1.2.9).

- (127b) *eres qaqız* '~quick-tempered' 3/8
bedik qaqız '~mighty' 27/2

6.2.3.4 Coordinate compound of the structure [Num+Num] > Num

- (128) *köp tälim* 'a great many' 18/9, 19/2, 19/9, 24/2

This compound occurs many times, but *tälim* 'many' (ED 499) do not occur independently. It may be a parallel type of English *cran-berry*, *rasp-berry* where only *berry* is an independent lexeme.

6.2.3.5 Coordinate compounds of the structure [V+V] > V

(PAR) OT *säv- amra-* 'to like'

Examples (129) and (130) are very interesting. Their instances show that in coordinate verbal compounds the order of the components are interchangeable. The instances in example (129) occurs in very similar contexts. Although its components are not synonymous as those of the others, the fact that they can appear in any order verifies that the actions denoted by them are executed simultaneously, which verifies that it is a compound.

Example (132) seems to have a (SEM) criterion, as it appears only in contexts related to celebrations. Note that *aš-* 'to eat' does not occur independently.

(129) *kengäš- kel- /kel- kengäš-* 'to assemble to consult'

a) *kengäš-tilär kel-dilär* [consult+PAST+Pl.3]+[come+PAST.Pl.3] 11/1

b) *kelip kengäšip (olturdilar)* [come+CONV.PRF]+[consult+CONV.PRF] 40/7

(130) *yumša- yibär-* 'to send'

a) *yumša-p yibär-di* [send+CONV.PRF]+[send+PAST.Sg.3] 14/1

b) *yibär-üp yumša-p (... berdi)* [send+CONV.PRF]+[send+CONV.PRF] 14/4

(131) *čarla- čaqir-* 'to summon'

čarla-p čaqir-di [cry out+CONV.PRF] [call out+PAST.Pl.3] 40/7

(132) *aš- ič-* 'to raven, to carouse'

11/4, 41/9

aš-tilär ič-tilär [eat+PAST.Pl.3]+[drink+PAST.Pl.3]

The inflexion of examples (129) - (132) show a parallelism to examples (116)-(123). Either both components can be inflected separately, or only the latter one, in which case the former component is non-finite. Note that in (129b) and (130b) the compound are in non-finite clauses, thus both verbs are non-finite, and we cannot predict how would they behave in a finite clause. In any case they can correspond to either mentioned version.

yibär- is already a lexicalised and non-transparent construction from OT **idu bär-* [send (ED 36)+CONV.IMPRF + give] 'to send for someone else's benefit', which can be a component of coordinate compounds on its own, and went through phonological reduction (cf. *elkün*). All of the examples have common arguments. The instance 11/4 of *aš- ič-* is very illustrative: *türlüg ašlar türlüg sormalar čubuyanlar qımızlar aštilär içtilär* 'they gorged and swilled different kinds of food and wine, date fruits and koumiss'.

The above hierarchy can be applied here as the following:

1. The components aren't transparent anymore, and the construction is fully lexicalised: *yibär-*
2. Only the latter of the two components takes finite inflections (130a), (131) ?(129b), ? (130b)
3. Both components take finite inflections (129a) , (132), ?(129b), ?(130b)

Theoretically (129b) and (130b) may belong to either group 2. or 3., their non-finite position in the sentence hides their behaviour.

Group 3. here supports the argument that despite that the components of Turkic coordinate compounds behave ambiguously in inflexion, and may look like two morphological words, they are compounds and not phrases.

6.2.3.6 *Coordinate compounds of the structure [V(infl.) + V(infl.)] > N*
(PAR) *kaptı kaçtı* 'private bus' *dedikodu* 'gossip'

(133) *čaling buling* [steal+IMP.2 find+IMP.2] 'hide-and-seek' 27/3

This construction has been read as *čalang bulang* and translated three different ways by the three main editors of the PON, see the note on 27/3 in *Chapter 4*.

My proposal is given above. The reading of the second syllable vowels is allowed by the orthography <č'l'nk bwl'nk>. The meaning 'to steal' of the Old Turkic word *čal-* is not recorded in the ED (p. 417), but it is present in Middle Turkic (WOT 215), and it is well-known in modern Turkish. The translation 'hide-and-seek' fits well to the context (shortly *Oguz's horse escaped and disappeared among the mountains, His beg however, was not afraid of hide-and-seek*). The only problem I see with this proposal is that *bul-* 'to find' does not occur elsewhere in the text, and the word which is used in this meaning is *tap-* ~ *čap-* 'to find'

6.2.4 Complex compounds:

There is a number of compounds in which the elements are compounds themselves, some of them can be even interpreted several ways. It is not always easy to give a proper translation, but all examples seem semantically transparent to me.

6.2.4.1 Subordinate complex compounds:

6.2.4.1.1 Subordinate compound of the structure [N+N coor.]+N > N

(134) [*qanqa qanqa*] *söz* 'the voice *qanqa qanqa*' 22/9

Although the sentence in which this compound appears has the main verb *ber-* 'to give', I would not consider it as the part of (134), since *söz ber-* has the meaning 'to promise' (see ex. (94)).

6.2.4.1.2 Subordinate compound of the structure [N+N+N coor.]+N > N

(135) *at qağatir ud azliq* 'insufficiency of beasts of burden' 31/4

Example (135) is the only example where three N-s are coordinated together, and such class of coordinate compounds is not attested independently.

6.2.4.1.3 Subordinate compounds of the structure [N+N coor.] +V > V

(136) [*töl boğus*] *bol-* 'to conceive (for a fetus)' 8/2, 10/2
[*tang ertä*] *bol-* 'to dawn' 16/1, 25/6
[*çığay ämgäq*] *çäk-* 'to suffer' 27/1
[*kik aw*] *awla-* 'to hunt game' 2/8

6.2.4.2 Attributive complex compounds:

Examples (137)-(139) are all appear after the indefinite article *bir*, see example (103).

6.2.4.2.1 Attributive compounds of the structure [A+A coor.] + N > N

(137) [*yaqşı çäbär*] *er* 'good and clear-minded man' 28/9
[*eres qaqız*] *kişi* 'quick-tempered person' 3/7

In *yaqşı çäbär*, *yaqşı* 'good' could be also analysed as an Adv, (if we recognise them as compounds and not enumeration), but cf. *usluğ yaqşı* in (127a). Theoretically the order of the components in coordinate compounds is interchangeable (see exs. (129) and (130), thus either **yaqşı usluğ* and **çäbär yaqşı* are possible patterns, and there is nothing suggesting the Adv. reading of *yaqşı* in (137).

6.2.4.2.2 Attributive compound of the structure N(infl.) + [N+N attr.] > N

(PAR) *qardan adam* 'snowman'

(138) *çuqurdan* [*aygır at*] 'a spotted stallion' 26/1, 26/2, 27/7

6.2.4.2.3 *Attributive compounds of the structure [A+A coor.] + [N+N attr.] > N*
 (139) [*bedik qağız*] [*er bæg*] 'a great and tempered *beg* man' 27/2

Example (139) is actually a combination of the patterns of the modifier in (137) and the head in (138).

6.2.4.2.4 *Attributive compound derived from an [N+N sub.] compound with +IXg > A*

(140) [*jarliğ bağ*]+*liğ* 'tied to order, dependent' 21/9

6.2.4.3 *Coordinative complex compound*

This type is the coordination of the type shown in (115). It occurs many times as some kind of epic attribute of the male wolf who leads Oguz on his journey.

(141) [[*kök tülük*]+*lüğ* [*kök jal*]+*lüğ*] 'grey furred and grey maned' 16/4-5 (common)

We can see that complex compound may involve compounds of each type. Most commonly coordinate compounds are involved, but there are two examples, (138) and (139), when one of the components is an attributive compound, and once, in (140), it is a subordinate one. The coordinate compounds are structurally the simplest [N+N] > N ones. Only nouns and adjectives are involved in compounds as components.

6.2.4.4 *Complex compounds with several possible interpretations:*

The bracketing of the following examples is possible in several ways.

(142) *jurčäd qağani elküni* 30/3
 a) [N+[N+Px.Sg.3 N+Px.Sg.3 coor.]] 'the Jurched Kagan and (the Jurched) people
 'the Kagan and people of the Jurched'

This way the meaning of coordinate compound would be 'nation' Cf. *el xan* in the civil documents (ED 121-122 *el*).

b) [[N+Px.Sg.3 sub.] + N+Px.Sg.3] 'the people of the Jurched Kagan'

Such a pattern would be the only one. I consider a) more probable, see the comments after (141).

(143) *yeg/yig ät aš sorma tilädi* 'he rather wanted meat-food and wine' 2/1

The ambiguity of this sentence is due to the ambiguous reading of the word *yeg/yig* <yyk>, which does not occur elsewhere in the text. *yeg* means 'better' in Old Turkic, as a base of

comparison (ED 909), here interpreted as 'rather'. In the other case, *yig* means 'raw' (ED 910). The other nouns are *ät* 'meat' *aš* 'food' *sorma* 'wine'. There are the following two main possibilities:

- a) Adv. + N + N + N + V+PAST.Sg.3
- b) A + N + N + N + V+PAST.Sg.3

Provided that [N+N] compounds can be either subordinate, attributive, and coordinate compounds, I would not translate all the possible combinations. It is probable that *aš* and *sorma* are in coordinaton cf. OT *aš ičkü* 'food and drink' (ED 24) and *aš- ič-* in example (132). Otherwise the reader may choose only arbitrarily from the possible translations, and I chose the above one given in (143).

Tables 13-15 sum up the list and classification of the compounds found in the PON. We see that this strategy of deriving new lexical elements is a highly productive one, even combinations of the individual strategies occur.

T.13. Subordinate compounds in the PON

Example	Components	Out-put	Meaning	Endo/Exo	Criteria
<i>X at</i>	N+N	N	'the name of X'	Endo	MSY
<i>X qağan</i> <i>X beg</i>	N+N	N	'proper name'	Endo	MSY
<i>etil mörän</i>	N+N	N	'the river Volga'	Endo	MSY, PAR
<i>tün yingǵaq</i> <i>tün sarı</i> <i>tang sarı</i>	N+N	N	North West East	Exo	MSY, SEM
<i>aw yer</i>	N+N	N	'hunting place'	Endo	MSY
<i>qanqa qanqa söz</i>	[N+N coord.] + N	N	'the voice <i>qanqa qanqa</i> '	Endo	MSY
<i>at qağatır ud</i> <i>azlıq</i>	[N+N+N coord.] +N	N	'insufficiency of beasts of burden'	Endo	MSY
<i>belbağı</i>	N+N+Px.Sg.3	N	'waistbelt'	Endo	ORT, PAR
<i>kün tuǵısi</i> <i>kün batuşı</i>	N+N+Px.Sg.3	N	East West	Exo	SEM
<i>böri belläri</i> <i>ud adaqi</i> <i>aduǵ kögüzü</i> <i>kiş yaǵrı</i> <i>jürčäd elküni</i>	N+N+PLUR.Px.Sg.3 N+N+Px.Sg.3	N	'the waists of a wolf' 'the feet of an ox' 'the chest of a bear' 'the shoulder of a sable' 'the Jurched people'	Endo	PAR
<i>sindu taqi</i> <i>tangqut taqi</i> <i>şagam</i> <i>yingǵaqlari</i>	NP+N+PLUR+Px.Sg.3	N	'the directions of India, Tangut, and Syria'	Endo	-
<i>jürčäd qağani</i> <i>elküni</i>	N+[N+Px.Sg.3 + N+Px.Sg.3]	N	'the Jurched nation'	Endo	(PAR)
<i>ertä bol-</i> <i>bellüg bol-</i> <i>tusu bol-</i>	N+V	V	'to dawn' 'to become known' 'to become reward'	Endo	-
<i>čamat ät-</i> <i>sewinč ät-</i>	N+V	V	'to be angry' 'to be glad'	Endo	PAR
<i>dostluq qıl-</i> <i>jarlıǵ qıl-</i>	N+V	V	'to make friendship' 'to order'	Endo	PAR
<i>tarıtu tart-</i>	N+V	V	'to take tax'	Endo	PAR
<i>čamat čaq-</i> <i>čäriǵ čäk-</i> <i>jarlıǵ čarla-</i> <i>jarlıǵ jumša-</i>	N+V	V	'to order' 'to gather army' 'to announce order' 'to send order'	Endo	PAR, PHO
<i>sewinč tap-</i> <i>baş čalun-</i> <i>söz ber-</i> <i>dost tut-</i> <i>duşman tut-</i>	N+V	V	'to find joy' 'to obey' 'to promise' 'to consider as friend' 'to consider as enemy'	Endo	PHO MOR SEM MSY
<i>töl boǵus bol-</i> <i>tang ertä bol-</i> <i>čığay ämgäq čäk-</i> <i>kik aw awla-</i>	[N+N] + V	V	'to conceive' 'to dawn' 'to suffer' 'to hunt game'	Endo	MSY
<i>qol ač</i>	[N+V(infl.)]	N	fathom	Exo	SEM
<i>şük bol-</i>	A+V	V	'to become silent'	Endo	PAR
<i>qarşu kel-</i> <i>yaqşı kör-</i>	Adv+V	V	'to oppose' 'to like'		PAR PAR, MSY
<i>yoq bol-</i>	Particle+V	V	'to perish'	Endo	PAR

Table 14. Attributive compounds in the PON

Example	Components	Out -put	Meaning	Endo/ Exo	Criteria
<i>altun ya kümüš taġuq kümüš oq muz taġ altun qazuq</i>	N+N	N	'golden bow' 'silver fowl' 'silver arrow' 'Ice Mountain' 'Pole Star'	Endo Exo	MSY, PAR
<i>erkäk böri erkäk oġul ayġir at</i>	N+N	N	'male wolf' 'male child' 'stallion horse'	Endo	MSY, PAR
<i>aq qoyun qara qoyun qara taġ kök yaruq kök böri</i>	A+N	N	'white sheep' 'black sheep' 'black (big?) mountain' 'blue light' 'grey wolf'	Endo	MSY
<i>čäbär kiši yaqši beg qart kiši</i>	A+N	N	'clever man' 'good beg' 'old man'	Endo	MSY
<i>uluġ orman yazı yer</i>	A+N	N	'great forest' 'flat land'	Endo	MSY
<i>uluġ türük</i>	A+N	N	'Great Turk'	Endo'	-
<i>öliüġ barġu tırıg barġu</i>	A+N	N	'inanimate goods' 'animate goods'		-
<i>üč oġlar</i>	Num+N	N	'Proper name'	Exo	MOR, PAR
<i>yaqši čäbär er eres qaqız kiši</i>	[A+A coor.] +N	N	'good and clever man' 'quick-tempered person'		MSY
<i>čuqurdan ayġir at</i>	N(infl.)+[N+N attr.]	N	'spotted stallion'		PAR, MSY
<i>bedik qaqız er beg</i>	[A+A coor.] + [N+N attr.]		'a great and tempered <i>beg</i> man'		MSY
<i>ataš qızıl</i>	N+A	A	'fire-red'	Exo	PAR
<i>aq saqalluġ moz saçluġ uzun usluġ uluġ barġuluġ</i>	NP+IXg	A	'white bearded' 'grey haired' 'with long memory' 'with great (amount of) goods'	Exo	PAR, MSY
	[N+N sub.]+IXg	A	tied to order	Exo	MSY

Table 15. Coordinate compounds in the PON

Example	Components	Out-put	Meaning	Endo/Exo	Criteria
<i>elkün töl boğus önglük čiray</i>	N+N	N	'(common) people' 'embryo, fetus' 'complexion'	Endo	ORT,PAR PAR
<i>berkä ämgäq</i>	N+N	N	'suffering'	Endo	MSY, PAR
<i>yurt elkün</i>	N+N	N	'country'	Endo	MSY, PAR
<i>altun kümüs ya oq ud buzağ sač qaš yılqı yelkün</i>	N+N	N	'treasure' 'hunting equipment' 'livestock' 'hair on the head' 'living beings'	Exo	MOR, MSY MOR, MSY MOR - PHO
<i>tang ertä</i>	N+N	N	'morrow'	Endo	PAR
<i>uruš toquš tutulunč urušunč</i>	N+N	N	'battle' 'fighting and capturing'	Endo	PAR
<i>tük tülüklüg</i>	[N+N]+IXg	A	'hairy'	Exo	MSY
<i>kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ</i>	[A+N]+IXg +[A+N]+IXg	A	'grey haired grey maned'	Exo	MSY
<i>usluğ yaqši bedük yaman qatıq yaman uq^oğuluq tüziin ataşluğ yaruqluğ</i>	A+A	A	'intelligent and good' 'big and bad' 'chaotic and terrible' 'reasonable and disciplined' 'fiery and shiny'	Endo	- PAR
<i>köp tälim</i>	Num+Num	Num	'a great many'		-
<i>kengäš- kel- yumša- yibär- čarla- čaqır- aš- ič-</i>	V+V	V	'to assemble to consult' 'to send' 'to summon' 'to raven, carouse'	Endo Exo	PAR
<i>čaling buling</i>	V(infl.) + V(infl.)	N	'hide-and-peek'	Exo	PAR

The following list shows the elements which occur only in compounds in the PON. Again, It must be kept in mind that the limitedness words of occurring only in compounds may be also due to the limitedness of the corpus. Even so, at least there must be some words among them which are obsolete in the language of the PON, and used only in compounds. This gives us a hint about the diachronic development of the lexicon.

Nouns: *aw, buzağ, bellüg, čamat, čuqurdan, ertä, kiš, orman, qaš, qağatır, qoyun, tang, tağuuq, töl, tusu, түк, тiin, түriük, ud, qol*

Derived nouns: *azlıq, ataşluğ, yaruqluğ, batuš, bağ, bağliğ, önglük, qatıq, qazuq, tartıtqu, tuğıš, uruš, urušunč, toquš, tutulunč*

Nouns of foreign origin: *berkä, čiray, boğus*

Adjectives: *eres, moz, qart, šük, yazı*

Derived adjectives: *uq^oğuluq*

Numerals: *tälim*

Adverbs: *qaršu*

Verbs: *čal-, aš-, bul-, kengäš-, čarla-, čaq-, čäk-*

7. Grammar

7.1 Numerals

We find only a few numerals in the PON, and those we find are always simple cardinal ones. There are no examples for complex cardinal numerals such as '32, 47' or the like. Thus, there is no data how the language of the PON expressed them, whether it used the Old Turkic system for complex numerals as **toquz yigirmi* [nine+twenty] '19', or **on (artuqi) toquz* [ten+(and more+) nine] '19'. (cf. Erdal 2004, 220-221). We neither find the numerals **yüz/jüz* '100', **biñ/minñ* '1000, nor **tümän* '10000'. Furthermore, neither distributive numerals nor fractionals appear in the PON. The following table shows the data in hand.

Table 16. Cardinal numerals in the PON.

<i>bir</i> '*one'	
<i>*iki</i> 'two'	
<i>üç</i> 'three'	
<i>tört</i> 'four'	<i>qiriq</i> 'many' < 'forty'
[...]	
<i>toquz</i> 'nine'	
[...]	

The numeral *bir* always appears as indefinite pronoun 'a/an', and never as a cardinal numeral. (See *Chapter 6.2.2.1*)

Derivated forms do appear in the text, such as *bir+lä-* 'unite, merge something', and the postposition *birlä* 'together, with'.

The derivative element for ordinal numerals is $+(X)nčX$. The numerals *bir*, **iki* and *üç* appears as ordinal numerals *bir+inči*, *iki+nči*, *üç+ünčü*. These data are always spelled as <byryn-čy, 'yryn-čy> etc. **iki* appears only as an ordinal numeral. See also *Chapter 6.1.1.3*.

The numeral *üç* takes the collective derivative +AGU: 38/4, 38/5 *üçägüsü/?üçäwsü* 'three of them'. These are the only examples where data related to numerals shares common paradigm with nomina. See also chapter *6.1.1.4*.

The numeral *qiriq* is always spelled as disyllabic <q' r' q>. According to the contexts it appears in, it seems that the meaning of the word is generic 'many, a lot of' rather than specific 'forty', for example 2/2, 15/7 *qiriq kündön song* 'after many days' or 41/9 *qiriq kün qiriq kečä* 'for many days and many nights'. This seems true even in the case of the examples where *qiriq* does not refer to a length of time but a number of objects, like 11/1 *qiriq širä qiriq bandang* 'a lot of tables and benches' rather than 'forty tables and forty benches'. There is one

example when *qiriq* co-occurs with unit of measurement: *qiriq qolač iğačni tiktürdi* 'he had a forty fathom pole erected' I think even this last example allows the indefinite reading 'a pole of many fathoms'.

After numerals expressing an exact number (including possibly *qiriq*) the noun normally does not take plural marker (cf. Erdal 2004: 158-160; Johanson 1998: 51). *üč oqlar* [three arrow+PLUR] at 41/8 could be a counterexample, but from the context it is clear that *üčoq* is a compound meaning a proper name, referring to the protagonist's younger sons from his second wife as a collective entity (see also Chapter 6.2.2.3).

Generic numerals of different kinds also appear in the text. The most common one is *köp* 'a lot of, much' without distinction of countability:

(144) 21/1 *köp altun kümüš* 'a lot of gold and silver' : 28/4 *köp ärdäni* 'a lot of jewel gems'
uncountable : countable

The nouns marked by *köp* may or may not take plural marker. See (145) and cf. example (144).

(145) 3/2 *köp ögüzlär köp möränlär* 'many streams and rivers'

Before adjectives *köp* is converted to adverb 'very' 27/8 *köp soğuq* 'very cold'. 19/8 *köp uluğ ölüg bargu* 'a very great (amount of)/ a great many of goods'.

The compound *köp tälim* seems to be identical in meaning with *köp*, while *tälim* doesn't occur in the text independently. Thus *köp tälim* is to be considered as a lexicalised compound (see also Chapter 6.2.3.4):

(146) 14/2 *köp tälim altun kümüš* : 21/1 *köp altun kümüš* 'a lot of gold and silver'

Both *köp* and *köp tälim* may appear as nominal predicate:

(147) 3/3 *bunda kelgänlär kik köp köp bunda uçqanlar quš köp köp erdi*
'The game coming here were many, the birds flying here were many.'

(148) 30/2-30/3 <i>yilqıları köp</i>	'Theirs livestock were many,
<i>ud buzağları köp</i>	Their herds (lit. oxen and calves) were many,
<i>altun kümüšləri köp</i>	Their gold and silver was much,
<i>ärdäniləri köp</i>	Their jewel gems were many.'
<i>erdilər erdi</i>	

(149) 18/9 *čäriğlärning aralarıda köp tälim boldi uruşqu*
19/2 *elkünläarning köngülläridä köp tälim boldi qayğu*
'The fighting between the armies became much,
The sorrow in the people's hearts became much.'

There seem to be a contrast between them that *köp* co-occurs with *erdi* as a nominal predicate while *köp tälim* does with *boldi* but the insufficiency of the data does not allow draw further conclusions.

Other generic numerals like *bir näčä* 'some' **qamağ* 'all every' and **az* 'few' do appear in the text, but there isn't much to tell about them. 18/1 *bir näčä* appears only once. **az* appears only as derivation 31/4 *azliq* 'shortage, insufficiency'. *qamağ* occurs only as a noun in 2/5 *badaninung qamaği* 'the whole(ness) of his body' and a there is a similar example at 32/1.

7.2 The noun

7.2.1 The Plural

The morphological marker for the plural is *-lar*. It is known from Old Turkic that the unmarked noun "does not signify that the reference is to singular entity" (Erdal 2004: 158). In the PON, the usage of plural marker is not consistent within the sentence.

(150) 34/2 *altun₁ köp kümüši₂ köp erdiniläri₃ köp turur*
 gold+Px.Sg.3₁
 silver+Px.Sg.3₂
 jewel+Px.Pl.3₃
 'Its gold is much, its silver is much, its jewel gems are many'.

There is a set of words which appear both with or without the plural marker without any traceable difference between their meaning of number. It applies also for 'uncountable' entities like materials and hair. Here are some examples:

(151)			
34/2 <i>altun₁ köp kümüši₂ köp</i>	31/2 <i>altun kümüšläri köp</i>	'	'its gold and silver was much'
9/4 <i>anung sači</i>	1/6 <i>sačları</i>		'his/her hair'
28/4 <i>köp erdäni</i>	14/3 <i>köp erdänilär</i>		'a lot of jewel gems'
18/7 <i>oq birlä</i>	30/5 <i>oqlar birlä</i>		'with arrows'
18/8 <i>qilič birlä</i>	30/6 <i>qiličlar birlä</i>		'with swords'
31/1 <i>nökärläri_{gä} elkünigä</i>	40/6 <i>nökerlärin elkünlärin</i>		'bodyguards and people'

This latter example *elkün* has an interesting semantic split. In singular it can mean both 'nation, people' (as opposed to land or ruler) and 'common folk' while in the plural, it can mean only the latter.

7.2.1.1 Plural agreement between the noun and its complements

Strangely enough, if there is a plural marker in a noun phrase with complements, the plural marker appears on the complement instead of the head. There are only two examples in the text for this. Counterexamples are found only when the complement is a generic numeral.

- (152) 32/3 *munlar qanqa* yöriimäktä *qanqa qanqa söz berä turur erdilär erdi*
PRO.DEM+PLUR *qanqa*
'These *qanqas* (carts), while moving, were giving the voice '*qanqa qanqa*'.

In the phrase *munlar qanqa* the demonstrative pronoun carries the plural marker. The agreement between the pronoun and the noun in such phrases is not usual in Turkic. The expected form would be **bo qanqalar*, where noun takes the plural marker. According to Lars Johanson (personal communication), the translation of (152) should be 'These are *qanqas*. While moving, they were giving the voice '*qanqa qanqa*'. With this translation there would be no problem with the plural-marked form of the personal pronoun. However, this translation is also problematic. In this case there should be a copula verb *erdi* or *turur* in the final position of the sentence (**munlar qanqa turur/erdi*, cf. 7.6). The other similar example is the following:

- (153) 3/2 *bunda kelgänlär kik₁ köp köp bunda uçqanlar quş₂ köp köp erdi*.
PRO.DEM+LOC come+PART.PRF+PLUR game₁
PRO.DEM+LOC fly+PART.PRF+PLUR bird₂
'The game coming here were many, the birds flying here were many.'

7.2.1.2 Plural marking with reduplication:

There are two examples where the plurality is not expressed with *-lar*, but with the reduplication of the noun:

- (154) 32/6 *qanqa qanqa birlä ölügni tirig yürügürsün*
Let the living make the lifeless walk with the *qanqas*!

- (155) 15/3 *munü söz söznü tutmaz män turur män*
I will not heed (lit. hold) these (**empty**) words!

In the latter example, there is an implication towards the meaning [word+word] > '(a lot of) words' > 'empty words, gibberish'.

7.2.2 Declension

The case is usually distributed by the verb of the sentence, but postpositions can also govern case. The genitive case marker cannot be governed by verbs, but by the possessed of a genitive construction and by some postpositions. Tables **T.17a** and **T.17b** compares the nominal declensional paradigms of Old Turkic and the PON. The former is based on Erdal 2004: 167-186. The variants in T.17a after "/" show later development, while those in parentheses occur in a certain group of Old Turkic sources.

T.17a The declensional paradigm of Old Turkic

Nominative	∅
Accusative	+Xg / +nI; +(X)n/ +(I)n (after Px)
Genitive	+(n)Xη / +nXη (~ +nXg)
Dative	+kA
Locative	+dA
Ablative	+dAn (~ +dIn)
Instrumental	+Xn (+In)
Equative	+čA
Directive	+gArU
Partitive-locative (Directive-locative)	+rA
Similative	+lAyU
(Comitative)	+lXgU (~ +lUgUn)

T.17b The declension in the PON

?Vocative	ay; ∅
Nominative	∅
Accusative	∅ (indef.), +nI (def.); +n (after Px.Sg.3)
Genitive	∅ (indef.); +nVng (def.)
Dative	+GA
Locative	+DA
Ablative	+DAn / +DVn
Terminative	+GAčA
?Directive	+GArU(n)

Erdal (2004: 182) claims 11 case suffixes as fully productive in Old Turkic (those are not in parenthesis in T.17a). The PON shows a reduced set of the cases suffixes attested in Old Turkic. It lacks the instrumental, equative, partitive-locative and similative. The directive suffix is attested, however, its productivity is questionable (see *Chapter 7.2.2.9* below). The meaning instrumental/comitative is not expressed by suffix, but with the postposition *birlä* (7.7). The PON shows also innovation: The terminative case is present in the text (*Chapter 7.2.2.8*), and its case suffix +GAčA seems to be a fusion of the dative and the Old Turkic equative case marker. The forms of the case suffixes in the PON show minor phonetic

deviation from their Old Turkic counterparts. The possible voiced-voiceless assimilation or dissimilation of the suffix-initial *G-* and *D-* is hidden by the orthography in the PON, as it marks no difference between voiceless and voiced consonants. It is a question whether a vocative case is to be distinguished in the PON, see below.

7.2.2.1 The vocative case

Although there is no morphological marker for the vocative case, there is functional difference between the vocative and the nominative. Normally the vocative is lexically marked with *ay!* 'Oh' (156), but not exclusively (157).

(156) 42/3 *ay oğullar köp män kördüm*
oh son+PLUR+VOC much PRO.PRES.Sg.1 see+PAST+Sg.1
 'Oh, sons, I lived long [...]!'

(157) 12/2 *kün tuğ bolğil*
sun+VOC banner become+IMP.2
 '(Oh,) *Sun*, be (our) banner!'

7.2.2.2 The nominative case

The nouns in the nominative case are unmarked, or, in other words, the case marker of the nominative case is a zero morpheme. It is governed by intransitive verbs (158), or transitive and ditransitive verbs (159), when the direct object is indefinite. The indefinite possessor of the genitive construction is also in the nominative case (160).

(158) 39/1 *oğuz qağan sewindi küldi*
Oğuz Kagan+NOM rejoice+PAST laugh+PAST
 'Oguz Kagan was glad and laughed'

(159) 12/5 *andan song oğuz qağan tört sariğa jarlıgı jümşadi bildürgülük bitidi*
 that+Abl. after Oguz Kagan four direction+DAT. **decree+NOM₁** send+PAST
message+NOM₂ write+PAST
 'After that Oguz Kagan sent a decree to the four corners of the world, he wrote a message.'

(160) 2/5 *adaqı ud adaqı₁ tæg belläri böri belläri₂ tæg yağrı kiş yağrı₃ tæg kögüzü aduğ kögüzü₄ tæg erdi*

ox+NOM foot+Px.Sg.3 ₁	'the foot of an ox'
wolf+NOM waist+PLUR+Px.Sg.3 ₂	'the waists of a wolf'
sable+NOM shoulder+Px.Sg.3 like ₃	'the shoulder of a sable'
bear+NOM chest+Px.Sg.3 like be+PAST ₄	'the chest of a bear'

'His feet were like the feet of an ox, his waists were like the waists of wolf, his shoulders were like the shoulders of a sable, his chest was like the chest of a bear'.

7.2.2.3 The accusative case

The accusative case marker is *+nI*. The direct object of the sentence is *usually* marked when the object is definite:

(161) 4/2 *bir buǵu aldi*
ART.INDEF. **deer+NOM** take+PAST
'He took a deer'

(162) 4/2 *şol buǵunı talnung čubuqı birlä iǵaçqa baǵladı*
that **deer+ACC** willow+GEN shoot+Px.Sg.3 with tree+DAT tie+PAST go+PAST
'He tied that deer to a tree with a willow twig.'

The accusative case marker's allomorph is *+n* after a third person possessive suffix:

(163) 34/8 *oǵuz anı bastı yurtın aldi ketti*
Oguz that+ACC. oppress+PAST **country+Px.Sg.3+ACC** take+PAST go+PAST
'Oguz crushed him, took his country and went away'

There are a couple of cases when the definite *direct* object *does not take* the accusative case marker. In example (164), the sentence is a part of a verse, where all the verse lines end and rhyme in *-Vm* with labial vowel. Thus the accusative case marking would break the rhyme.

(164) 42/7 *sänlärgä berä män yurtum*
you+PLUR+DAT give+CONV.IMPRF+pm.Sg.1 **country+Px.Sg.1+NOM**
I (hereby) give my country to you (plur).

The other example can be nicely opposed to a marked direct object in similar context.

(165) 22/5 *tängri sängä yer berip buǵurmuş bolup turur*
Sky you+DAT **world+NOM** give+CONV.PRF command+PART.PRF
become+CONV.PRF stand+AOR.
'(From now on,) The Sky has given and ordered the world for you. '

(166) 37/3 *tola turur yerni uruǵungğa berdürsün*
become full+PRS stand+AOR. **world+ACC** progeny+Px.Sg.2+DAT give+CAUS+IMP.3
(The Sky) shall order to give the whole world to your heredity!

The lexical meaning of *yer* is basically 'ground, earth, soil, place' (ED 954) but in (166) it would be hardly a correct reading, it is clear from the context that here the correct meaning is '(the) world' which is definite on its own, since it cannot be 'a world'.

We can see also some examples, when the *indefinite* object *takes* the accusative case. Here there are also a couple of examples where they can be opposed to unmarked objects in

the nominative case in similar contexts. Example (167) occurs in the plot earlier than (168) and (169):

(167) 36/2 *künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya₁ kördi taqı üç kümüš oq₂ kördi*
day+PLUR+LOC ART.INDEF day dream+LOC ART.INDEF gold **bow+NOM₁**
see+PAST and three silver **arrow+NOM₂** see+PAST
'One of the days, while sleeping, he saw a golden bow and three silver arrows.'

According to the plot, Oguz's elder and younger sons go to hunt, the two journeys are described with resembling stories, which are almost the same word by word.

(168) 38/9 *şolda bir altun yanı taptılar*
road+LOC ART.INDEF gold **bow+ACC** find+PAST+PLUR
'They found a golden bow on the way.'

(169) 39/8 *şolda üç kümüš oqni taptılar*
road+LOC three silver **arrow+ACC** find+PAST+PLUR
'They found three silver arrows on the way.'

If we consider (167-169) together it would be possible that (168-169) has definite objects, which are known from the earlier plot, and the correct translation would be 'the one golden bow' and 'the three silver arrows', if we analyse *bir* as 'one' and not as an indefinite article. In this case, however, *bir* in (167) should also be analysed as numeral, and 'one golden bow' would be opposed to 'three golden arrows' in number. However, I think that in this case the case marking of *altun ya* in (167-168) should be the same. Based on the behaviour of the indefinite article *bir*, I find more probable that in (167-168) *bir* is not to be analysed as a numeral, and here the case marking is the one which is fluctuating. Consider also the following examples:

(170) 1/4 *erkäk oğul tuğurdı*
male **child+NOM** give birth+PAST
'She gave birth to a male child'

(171) 8/3, 10/4 *üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdı*
three male **child+ACC** give birth+PAST
'She gave birth to three male children'

Examples (170-171) is another argument that actually the case marking is fluctuating, and neither the objects of (168-169) nor that of (171) is definite object, since the children given birth to in (171) were not mentioned earlier. Again, one can imagine that the audience of the text already knew the plot, and the author refers to common knowledge, but in this case the object in (170) should be also marked. A final pair shall be cited:

(171) 16/1 *qoriğanni tüškürdi*
camp+ACC fall+CAUS+PAST
 'He set the camp'

(172) 29/8 *qoriğan tüškürä turğan turdi*
 [camp+NOM] fall+CAUS+CONV.IMPRF stand+PART.IMPRF stand+PAST
 'Setting his camp, he stopped'

In example (171), I also don't see a reason why 'camp' should be read as a definite object 'the camp', while it is not known from the earlier context. If it is, then why the object is indefinite in (172), while it is known from the earlier plot, namely from (171)?. Summa summarum, I consider accusative case marking inconsistent in the respect of definiteness.

7.2.2.4 The genitive case

The genitive case is assigned to nouns in genitive constructions by nouns which are the possessed in the construction (bearing possessive suffixes) to possessors which are definite. Postpositions like *birlä* 'with' and *üçün* 'because of' can also govern genitive case to pronouns. The genitive construction has the following pattern:

(173) (36) [NP]_{possessor} (+GEN) [NP]_{possessed} (+PLUR)+Px(+Cx)

The items in parenthesis are optional. Thus there are genitive constructions where the possessor is not marked with the genitive case. The case marker is almost always present, when the possessor is qualified with a demonstrative pronoun (*bo*, *ol*, *uşbo*, *uşol*,) (174). Example (175) is the only exception.

(174) 34/4 *uşol yerning qağanı misir tögän bir qağan erdi*
 PRO.DEM **place+GEN** kagan+Px.Sg.3 Misir say+PART.PRF ART.INDEF kagan
 be+PAST
 'The kagan of that place was a kagan named Egypt.'

(175) 3/4 *uşol orman içindä bedük bir [monster] bar erdi*
 PRO.DEM **forest+NOM** inner part+Px.Sg.3+LOC great ART.INDEF monster existent
 be+PAST
 'In that forest, there was a big monster.'

The genitive case marker is always present, when the possessor is referred to with a pronoun. It is also mostly present when the possessor is a named person or entity. There are two exceptions from this:

(176) 26/8 *oğuz qağannıng₁ atı muz tağ₂ içigä qačıp ketti*
Oguz Kagan+GEN₁ horse+Px.Sg.3 *ice mountain*+NOM₂ inner part+Px.Sg.3+DAT
 flee+CONV.PRF go away+PAST
 'Oguz Kagan's horse fled and went into the *Ice Mountain*.'

(177) 5/3 [*monster*] *kälip başı birlä oğuz qalqanin urdı*
 Monster come+CONV.PRF head+Px.Sg.3 with **Oguz**+NOM shield+Px.Sg.3+ACC
 strike+PAST
 'The monster came, and struck the shield of *Oguz* with its head'

The genitive case marker is always present, when the possessor is possessed itself, thus it has a possessive suffix. Otherwise, the genitive case is usually present when the possessor is known from the context. Of course, there are counterexamples. In (178) there is no case marker, despite the possessor is mentioned before, and in (179) there is case marker while the possessor is not mentioned before.

(178) 5/5 *kän kälip kördi kim bir šungqar [monster] içägüsin yämäktä turur*
 then come+CONV.PRF see+PAST that ART.INDEF hawk **monster**+NOM
 innards+Px.Sg.3 eat+INF+LOC stand+AOR.
 'Then he came and saw that a hawk is eating the innards of the monster.'

(179) 4/2 *šol buğuni talnung čubuqi birlä iğaçqa bağladı*
 that deer **willow**+GEN twig+Px.Sg.3 with tree+DAT tie+PAST
 'He tied that deer to a tree with a willow twig.'

Summing up what is written above, the possessor usually has the genitive case marker when it is definite, and the indefinite possessor usually has not. The rule is not clearcut, it is rather a tendency.

It is important to mention that there are some examples when the construction [N+N+Px.Sg.3] (cf. with the pattern of the genitive construction above) make up nominal compounds, but it is difficult to separate them from the genitive constructions with indefinite possessor.

The suffix-vowel of the genitive case marker is labial in general, but it may lose its labial quality (especially in front vocalic environment,) if the preceding vowel is illabial.

7.2.2.5 *The dative case*

The dative case marker is +GA. It assumably has four allomorphs according to back and front vocalic environment and to voiceless stem-final consonants opposed to voiced stem-final consonants and stem-final vowels respectively. Although the orthography of the text shows no opposition between voiced and voiceless consonants, I see no reason to assume that the

suffix-initial consonant does not change. If it hadn't, expectably there would be an anaptyctic sound (marked by the orthography) between the the voiced stem-final consonant and the unvoiced suffix-initial one, and vice versa.

In the possessive suffix, the pronominal *n* never occurs before the dative case, only at pronouns.

There is a list of verbs which seem to obligatorily govern the only dative case (and are not ditransitive verbs). However, these verbs occur only a few times in the text each. These are: *baq-* 'to look at' *baqin-* 'to look at (by himself/herself)' *kir-* 'to enter somewhere' *min-* 'to mount (a horse)' *ötä-* 'to carry out an obligation (to the Sky)'.

7.2.2.6 *The locative case*

The locative case marker is *+DA*, always spelled as <d'>. I assume that it has got four allomorphs, based on the same line of thoughts as in the case of the dative.

Before the locative case, the third person singular possessive suffix has fluctuating form between *+(s)I+* and *+(s)In+*. I see no clear rule to explain this phenomenon. Consider the following examples:

(180) 7/3 *anungbaš-in-da ataşluğ yaruqluğ bir mänği bar erdi*
 that+GEN **head+Px.Sg.3+LOC** fiery shining ART.INDEF mole existent be+PAST
 There was a fiery and shining mole on her (fore)head.

(181) 41/5 *anung baş-ı-da bir kiumüş tağuş qoydı*
 that+GEN **head+Px.Sg.3+LOC** silver fowl put+PAST
 'He put a silver fowl on its top.'

In any case, I must mention that the form *+(s)Xn+* before the dative occur in the beginning of the text, and the first *+(s)X+* form occurs in 14/7 - which is according to the plot- is before the battle between Oguz and Urum. Do the plot and a language usage of the author correlate? After this point *+(s)Xn* occurs only twice at 26/5 and 31/7 in *üst-ün-dä* 'on its top' .

7.2.2.7 *The ablative case*

The ablative case marker is *+DAn* <d'n> , but after labial vowels *+DOn* <dwn> forms may appear, almost every time after front labial vowels (182), and in a smaller proportion after back labial vowels (183). For the suffix-initial consonant, I hold the same as in the case of dative and locative.

(182) 6/6 *köktön bir kök yaruq tüšti*
sky+ABL ART.INDEF light descend+PAST
 'A blue light(beam) descended from the sky.'

(183) 33/4 *köp uruşqudan₁ köp toquşqodon₂ song anlarni aldi*
 many **fight+ABL₁** many **battle+ABL₂** after that+PLUR+ACC take+PAST
 'After a lot of fights and battles, he took them.'

Before the ablative case marker, the Px.Sg.3 shows similar alternation $+(s)Xn+ \sim +(s)X+$ as before the locative. However, the examples are less.

(184) 1/8 *anasining kögüz-ün-dön*
 mother+Px.Sg.3+GEN **breast+Px.Sg.3+ABL**
 'from the breast of his mother'

23/7 *etilning suğ-ï-dan*
 Etil+GEN **water+Px.Sg.3+ABL**
 'through the water of the Etil'

7.2.2.8 The terminative case

The terminative case is not known in Old Turkic, but it is known in Chagatay Turkic (Bodrogligeti 2001: 51) There are only two examples in the PON for the appearance of the terminative case. Fortunately, these examples show different allomorphs:

(185) 36/3 *bo altun ya kün tuğışida kün batuşıgača täggän erdi*
 PRO.DEM gold bow East+LOC **West+TERM** reach+PART.PRF be+PAST
 'This golden bow has reached from the East until the West.'

(186) 39/4 *ya täg oqlarni kökkäcä atung*
 bow like arrow+PLUR+ACC **sky+TERM** throw+IMP.2
 'Like the bow, you(plur.) shall shoot the arrows until the sky!'

7.2.2.9 The directive case

It is a question whether the idiom of the PON had directive case marker as part of the declensional paradigm. There are only two lexemes which has the old directive case suffix -GARU(n), *ilgäriü* (24/8, 25/9, 28/4, 29/4) 'ahead' and *taşqarun* (33/6, 35/4) 'outwards'. The possible allomorph in back vocalic environment has final *-n*. However, neither of their stems **ilk* 'first' nor **taş* 'exterior' occur independently throughout the text. Thus, we must assume that they are lexicalised adverbs from the synchronic point of view.

7.2.2.10 Functional overlap between the locative and other cases

There are a few examples, where the locative case marker appears in a place of some other expected cases. Such "functional overlap" may appear in the relation of locative and the ablative, see (187) and *kün tuğışıda* 'from the East' in (185). A similar phenomenon can be observed in the relation of the locative and the dative (188) and (189) and even in that of the locative and the genitive (190).

(187) 1/3 *künlärdän bir kün* ~ 3/8, 6/4, 35/9 *künlärdä bir kün*
day+PLUR+ABL ART.INDEF day **day+PLUR+LOC ART.INDEF day**
 'one of the days (as an adverbial phrase)'

(188) 3/2 *bunda kelgänlär₁ kik köp köp bunda uçqanlar₂ quş köp köp erdi*
PRO.DEM+LOC come+PART.PRF.PLUR₁
PRO.DEM+LOC fly+PART.PRF.PLUR₂
 'The game coming here were many, the birds flying here were many.'

(189) 41/5 *anung başıda₁ bir kümüš tağuq qoydı adaqıda₂ bir qara qoyunnı bağladı*
PRO.DEM+GEN head+Px.Sg.3+LOC₁ ART.INDEF silver fowl put+PAST
foot+Px.Sg.3+LOC₂ ART.INDEF black sheep+ACC tie+PAST.
 'To the top of that (pole), he put a silver hen. To its neath, he tied a black sheep. '

Otherwise *bagla-* governs the dative case, see 4/3, 4/7 *iğaçqa bağladı* 'He tied it to a tree'
 The behaviour of *qoy-* 'to put, to place' is somewhat different. It always governs the dative case in the verbal compound *at qoy-* 'to give a name', but in other instances (see also 31/8, 31/9) it seems to govern the locative case.

(190) 34/1 *munda₁ köp kıkläri₂ köp quşları₃ bar turur*
PRO.DEM+LOC many antelope+PLUR+Px.Sg.3₂ many bird+PLUR+Px.Sg.3₃ existent
stand+Aor.
 '?There are many game and many birds here'.

In (190) the broader context is the following. 'In the southern corner of the world, there is a place called Baraq. It is a land with (a great amount of) goods. It is a very hot place. There are many games and many birds (of whom?).' A definite possessor is missing from the context, the only possible choice is the place called Baraq. But if it is so, the last sentence should be translated as 'It has got many games and many birds here', and '*munda*' here would acquire a reading 'here (the location of the narration)' as opposed to 'there (the southern corner of the world)'. Thus, *munda* 'PRO.DEM+LOC' seems to erroneously replaced *munung* PRO.DEM+GEN.

7.3 Pronouns

7.3.1 Personal pronouns

The declensional paradigm of the personal pronouns is far from completely attestable. The expected form *ol* for the Sg.3. nominative personal pronoun occurs only as a demonstrative pronoun. For the accusative case, we find only Sg.3, while the locative case of personal pronouns is not attestable at all. The ablative case is attestable only for second person. The Pl.3 pronouns never refer to persons, only things, thus I recorded them among the demonstrative pronouns.

The reading of the dative form of the PRO.Sg.1 *bängä* needs some explanation. Possible candidate forms appear at 20/8 spelled as <b'n-k'>/<b'z-k'> and in 21/6 as <b'nk'>, where the second appearance is almost word by word repetition of the sentence in which the form <b'z-k'>/<b'n-k'> appears. The instance in 21/6 is surely a singular form, otherwise it would have been spelled as <b'sk'> or <b'z-k'>. Of course, since <-z> and <-n> without diacritics look exactly the same, we cannot exclude the possibility that instance 20/8 is also <b'n-k'> *bängä*. (Still, there is an instance in 11/8 where *bizgä* <byz-k'> is attested.)

We know that the dative form of the PRO.Sg.1 *bän* is usually *baŋa*, *maŋa* already in Old Turkic, through velarisation by the word internal /ŋ/. The reason why I transcribed *bängä* with *ä* instead of *a* is the following: *mängä* is spelled in 21/3 and 23/1 as <m'n-k'>, where the word-initial *m-* verifies that these are the singular forms, thus not to mix them up with *bizgä*. The case marker is spelled separately with <k>. <nk> is to be read as /ŋ/ even in back vocalic words, but when the dative case marker is spelled separately in back vocalic environment, it is always spelled as <q'>, even if the stem-final consonant is *n*. See for example 25/2 <q'q'n-q'> *qağan-ğa* 'kagan+DAT'. Thus I accept Bang's reading *bängä* throughout the PON. The same holds true for *sängä*, which is spelled as both <s'n-k> and <s'nk'>. Here one may ask the question whether there is a respectful form of *siz* (written as <s'z> and as <b'z> for *biz*). The PRO.Pl.2 form is *senlär*. In the "oath" described at 21/2 -22/8, Urus's son titles Oguz Kagan with *sän* as the form *sängä* verifies (*sizgä* would have been spelled separately, as <-z> has only final form).

Tables **T.18a** and **T.18b** compare the declension of pronouns in Old Turkic with that of the PON. **T. 18a** is based on Erdal 2004: 192.

T.18a The declension of personal pronouns in Old Turkic.

Case	Sg.1	Sg.2	Pl.1	Pl.2
Nom.	bän/män	sän	biz(lär)	siz(lär)
Acc.	bini/mini	sini	bizni	siz(lär)ni
Gen.	bäniñ/mäniñ	säniñ	biziñ/bizniñ	siziñ/siz(lär)niñ
Dat.	baña/maña	saña	biziñä/bizkä	siziñä/sizlärkä
Loc.	min(i)Dä	sinDä	bizintä/biznitä	sizintä/siznidä/sizlärDä
Abl.	min(i)Din	sinidin	biznidin	siznidin
Dir.	bañaru/mañaru	sañaru	biziñärü	siziñärü
Simil.	-	sinčiläyü	bizinçüläyü	-

T.18b The declension of personal pronouns in the PON

Case	Sg.1	Sg.2	Sg.3	Pl.1	Pl.2	Pl.3
Nom.	män	sän	-	biz	senlär	-
Acc.	-	-	anı	-	-	-
Gen.	mänüng/mäning/ männing	sänning	anung/anıng	bizning	senlärnüng	-
Dat.	mängä/bängä	sängä	anga	bizgä	senlärgä	-
Loc.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Abl.	-	sändän	-	-	senlärdän	-

Erdal (2004: 191) do not register third person personal pronouns in Old Turkic. Third person is referred with demonstrative pronouns (see below). It is also true for the PON. However I found reasonable to include third person demonstrative pronouns in **T.18b**, since the registered instances do refer to (singular third) person. There is no attested data in **Pl.3**, but of course this does not mean that reference to a group of people with (demonstrative/personal) pronouns is impossible.

We see again that a reduced number of cases of the pronominal declensional paradigm can be found in the PON compared to Old Turkic. We do not find any data for directive and similative cases. Compared to the nominal declensional paradigm, (**T.17b** above) there seem to be neither terminative case nor vocative and directive case. Strangely enough, the row for the Locative case remained empty in **T.18b**. The pronominal declensional paradigm of the PON otherwise shows strong analogy with its nominal declensional paradigm: The plural form of the Sg.2 pronoun *sän* is *sänlär* and not *siz*, thus the pronominal plural marker *-(X)z* (Erdal 2004: 195) is replaced by the nominal *+lAr*. The genitive case marker at almost all personal pronouns realized with suffix initial *n-* as *+nIng* / *+nUng*.

7.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Tables **T.19a** and **T.19b** compares the declension of the demonstrative pronouns in Old Turkic and the PON respectively. The former is based on (Erdal 2004: 199). The oblique case is not included in the summarizing table, but *montag* and *antag* are described as case forms with the assimilation of the postposition *täg* 'like' (Erdal 2004:201)

T.19a The declension of demonstrative pronouns in Old Turkic

Case	this	these	that	those
Nominative	bo	bolar	ol	olar
Accusative	bunī/munī	bolarnī	anī	olarnī
Genitive	munuŋ/monuŋ	bolarnıŋ	anıŋ	olarnıŋ
Dative	muŋa(r)	bolarka	aŋa(r)	olarka
Locative	bunta/munta	bolarta	anta	olarta
Ablative	muntin	bolardin	antin	olardin
Oblique	montag		antag	
Instrumental	munun	-	anın	olaran
Equative	bunča/munča	-	anča	-
Directive	(bärü)	-	aŋaru	olargaru
Similative	munılayu	-	anılayu	-

T.19b The declension of demonstrative pronouns in the PON

Case	this	these	that	those
Nominative	(uš)bo	munlar	(uš)ol	-
Accusative	munī	-	anı	anlarnī
Genitive	-	-	anung/anıng	-
Dative	munga	-	anga	anlarga
Locative	munda / bunda	-	anda	-
Ablative	mundan / mundon	-	andan	-
Oblique	-	-	andag	-

In the PON the nominative forms of the demonstrative pronouns always appear in adjectival position as definite marker (for *munlar* see *Chapter 7.2.1.1*). Similarly to the paradigm of declension of the noun and personal pronouns, we do not find instrumental, equative, directive and similative case of demonstrative pronouns in the PON. Otherwise, the attested data do not show much deviation from the Old Turkic paradigm in the singular column, except the suffix vowel of the ablative case. In the PON we also find an emphasizing prefix (u)š-. The plural case forms of 'those' show analogy with their singular counterpart concerning the declensional stem, while in Old Turkic this isn't the case.

7.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

Only a few interrogative pronouns occur in the text. There is *näčä* in the phrase 18/1 *bir näčä* 'some' and 23/8 *näciük* or *nüciük* 'how'. The spelling of the latter example is blurred by water damage on the folio. I did not include *nägü* 'what(ever)' reconstructed by BA at 37/1 since the folio is damaged there. The most common interrogative pronoun is *kim* 'who', but it functions as a subjunctive which introduces a finite clause. It practically never appears in its original function (See *Chapter 7.8.8*).

7.4 Possession

Tables **T.20a** and **T.20b** compare the possessive paradigm of Old Turkic and that of the PON. **T.20a** is based on Erdal 2004: 160.

T.20a Possessive suffixes in Old Turkic

	Singular	Plural
1. Person	+(X)m	+(X)mXz
2. Person	+(X)ŋ ~ +(X)g	+(X)ŋXz(lAr) ~ +(X)gXz
3. Person	+(s)X(n+)	+(s)X(n+); +(lAr)I

T.20b Possessive suffixes in the PON

	Singular	Plural
1. Person	+(U)m	+büz
2. Person	+(u)ng	+unglar
3. Person	+(s)X(n+)	+(s)X(n+), +(lAr)I

We do not see much difference between Old Turkic and the PON in the singular column. However, the first and second person plural shows a great difference.

In the PON, The Px.Sg.1 has always got labial vowel if the stem ends in consonant, both in back and front vocalic environment.

There are not many examples for Px.Sg.2, and they always follow back vocalic stems. There is only one to be found after non-labial stem vowel at 22/2, and there the suffix vowel is not spelled.

In the case of the Px.Sg.3, we can see a similar labializing tendency as we did at the ablative case marker. After front labial vowel, labialization is quite common, after back labial vowels, there are less examples. Before locative and ablative case, the Px.Sg.3 may take the so-called pronominal *n* (see *Chapters 7.2.2.6* and *7.2.2.7*).

There is only two examples for Px.Plur.1 at 22/1 *bizning qut-biz* 'our regal charisma' and 22/2 *bizning uruğ-biz* 'our heredity'. It appears only after back labial vowels, spelled as <b'z>. The Old Turkic suffix seems to have been replaced (or reinforced) by the first person plural pronoun.

There is only one example for Px.Plur.2 at 17/1 *tapuğunlarğa* 'in your vicinity'. It shows similar analogy we have seen at the second person personal pronouns: *sän* : *sänlär* instead of *sän* : *siz*. Here the Old Turkic pronominal plural marker -(X)z is also replaced by the more common +lAr.

After plural marker, the Px.3 always appears as illabial -I.

7.5 The adjective

The adjectives as modifiers always precede their head. The adjectives can be intensified or can be used for comparison. It seems that inflected nouns and postpositional phrases can appear in adjectival position or as nominal predicates. Unfortunately, there are no examples when they are intensified or compared. Consider the following examples:

- (191) 38/5 *bo üyniing tağamī altundan erdi*
 PRO.DEM house+GEN wall+Px.Sg.3 **gold**+ABL be+PAST
 'The wall of this house was made of gold (lit. was from gold).'

The enumeration follows with *kümüštün* 'silver+ABL' and *tämürdän* 'iron+ABL'.

I think example (192) below may also belong here. Basically I accept BA's translation 'alaca' for *čuqurdan* (p. 23, 46), however, it is problematic in several points. The inflected word is not a noun but an adjective itself, a copy from Mongolian: *čoqur*, *čouqur* 'variegated, dappled, spotted, mottled, pock-marked' (L 199). Since the indefinite pronoun precedes *čuqurdan ayğır at*, the latter should be analysed as a complex attributive compound where the head is a coordinated compound itself of the *kadın öğretmen* 'woman teacher' type [*čuqurdan [ayğır at]*]. The meaning of *čuqurdan* should be something like '(of the) spotted (kind), or in Turkish 'alaca (türden)'.

- (192) 25/9 *oğuz qağan bir čuqurdan ayğır atqa minä turur erdi*
 Oğuz Kagan ART.INDEF **spotted**+ABL stallion horse+DAT mount+CONV.IMPRF
 stand+AOR be+PAST
 'Oguz Kagan always mounted a spotted stallion.'

In (193) the inflected noun is in the dative case:

- (193) 27/4 *jörügüdä soğurguda öngä er erdi*

walk+INF+LOC be cold+INF+LOC **front+DAT** man be+PAST
 'He was a man (who is) first at marching and enduring cold'

In (194) we find postpositional phrases in adjectival position. I think that the phrases in question are arguments of the noun *baluq* 'town' and not of the verb *yumša-* 'to send', since *yumša-* otherwise (as in this sentence as well) governs the dative, and not the locative case.

(194) 20/3 *ol urus bæg oğulun tağ başıda taring mörän arasida yaqşı bärük baluqqa yumşadı*
 PRO.DEM urus bæg son+Px.Sg.3+ACC **mountain top+Px.Sg.3+LOC deep river middle+Px.Sg.3+LOC** good firm town+DAT send+PAST
 'That Urus Beg sent his son to a good, well fortified town (being/located) on the top of a mountain in the middle of deep river.'

7.5.1 Intensification

Colour names are intensified with reduplication of their first syllable, where the reduplicated element ends in *-p* (see example 195). Exactly the same pattern can be found in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004:151). There are three examples for intensification of colour names in the PON.

(195) (C ₁)V ₁ p	(C ₁)V ₁ *	
<i>ap</i>	<i>aq</i>	26/6, 26/9 'very white, snow-white'
<i>qıp</i>	<i>qizil</i>	19/4 'very red, blood-red'
<i>qap</i>	<i>qara</i>	34/3 'very black, jet-black'

In the case of other qualities, *köp* is used for intensification. There are two further examples for this see 27/8 '*köp soğuk* 'very cold' and 33/9 *köp işig* 'very hot'.

7.5.2 Comparison

The comparison is made with the following pattern (196). It can be found four times in the text, at 1/8, 2/2, 6/8 and 9/3. The comparison marker is *+rAK*. It governs ablative case (*+DAn*) in the PON, while in Old Turkic the case form *+dA* was used (Erdal 2004: 150).

(196) X+ABL Y+COMP 'more Y than X'

The suffix *+rAK* shows similar labialisation after front labial vowels as the ablative case marker and the third person singular possessive suffix.

(197) 1/8 *yaqşı näwsikilärdän körüklügrök erdi*
 good fairy+PLUR+ABL **beautiful+COMP** be+PAST
 'He was more beautiful than the wonderful fairies.'

Comparison can also be made with finite subordinated clauses with the subjunctor *kim*. See Chapter 7.8.8.

7.6 The nominal predicate

Nominal predicates are always finitized by a copula verb. These copulas are also used to derive viewpoint operators. The copulas are *erdi* in the past tense, and *turur* in the non-past tense. Such patterns are already found in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 412-418), however, the PON does not show the full range of possibilities.

(198) 9/2 *yakšï körüglük bir kïz erdi*
girl be+PAST
,She **was** a very beautiful **girl**'

(199) 33/9 *köp isig bir yer turur*
place stand+AOR
,That **is** a very warm **place**.'

There is only one example where the nominal predicate is not in third person. In this case the copula verb is replaced by the corresponding personal pronoun.

(200) 21/2 *ay männing qağanum sän*
PRO.Sg.1+GEN kagan+Px.Sg.1 PRO.Sg.2
'Oh, **you are my kagan!**'

Adjectives and numerals can also occur as nominal predicates:

(201) 1/6 *ağizi ataš qizil erdi*
fire-red be+PAST
'His mouth **was fire-red**.'

(202) 3/3 *bunda uçqanlar quš köp köp erdi*
many many be+PAST
'The birds flying here **were many**'

7.7 Postpositions and relational nouns

The table below shows the postpositions attested in the text. In the first column, N/PRO means that the given postposition governs the case before "/" when it co-occurs with nomina, and it governs the case after "/" when it co-occurs with pronouns.

T.21. Postpositions in the PON.

Governed case N/PRO	Postpositon	Meaning
Abl. / Abl.	song	'after'
Nom. / -	täg	'like'
Nom. / Gen.	birlä	'with'
? / Gen.	üçün	'because of'
Dat. /?	körä	'according to'
Dat. /?	qaršu	'against'
Nom. /?	tägän	'called as'

There is a group of nouns which also governs NP-s and were called "improper" postpositions, but called "relational nouns" by Erdal (2004: 331). These relational nouns express location relative to the governed noun. They appear as head of possessive constructions and as such, may be inflected. In late Old Turkic, the governed noun optionally take the genitive case and the governed pronouns always do so (Erdal 2004: 406). They behave similarly in the PON:

- (203) 20/5 *täring mörän arasida* 7/1 *ušbo yaruqnuḡ arasında*
 deep river+NOM middle+Px.Sg.3+LOC PRO.DEM light+GEN middle+Px.Sg.3+LOC
- 41/4 *anung başıda*
 PRO.DEM+GEN top+Px.Sg.3+LOC

The following table shows the list of the relational nouns appearing in the text with their attested inflections and meaning:

T.22 Relational nouns

Relational noun	Attested inflection	Meaning
<i>ič</i>	LOC, DAT	'inside, inner part'
<i>ara</i>	LOC, PLUR	'middle'
<i>tapuḡ/tapıḡ</i>	LOC, DAT, PLUR	'vicinity'
<i>baş</i>	LOC	'top, beginning'
<i>üst</i>	LOC, DAT	'upper part, top'
<i>art</i>	ACC, PLUR	'back'
<i>?quduḡ</i>	LOC	'bank, riverside'
<i>jan</i>	LOC	'side'

If the relational noun is in plural, the governed noun is always in the genitive case. It is not easy to define the function of plural in such cases, but it seems that it somehow broadens the area which is related to the head noun. Consider the following examples:

- (204) 18/5-6 *etil möränniḡ quduḡıda₁ bir qara taḡ tapıḡıda₂ uruḡqu tutuldi*
Etil river+GEN bank+Px.Sg.3+LOC₁
 ART.INDEF black mountain vicinity+Px.Sg.3+LOC₂
 'At the bank of the river *Etil*, in the vicinity of a black mountain, a battle was fought.'

In example (204), the meaning of the word *quduğ* needs some explanation. In Old Turkic the typical meaning of it is 'well', but literally it is 'something which pours out (water)' (ED 598). In the relation with a river, it could be 'spring' or 'source'. I find it more probable that the etymon of the word is OT *qıdığ* 'the edge of something, seashore' (ED 598). Since it is the only instance in the text, no more could be said about it. I would rather focus on the opposition between *tapığ* in (204) and *tapuğlar* in (205):

(205) 17/5-8 *kördi kim çarığning tapuğlarıda₁ kök tülükliğ kök jalluğ bedik bir erkäk böri yörüğüdä turur ol börining artlarin₂ qatıglap yörüğüdä turur erdilär erdi.*

army+GEN vicinity+Px.Pl.3₁

PRO.DEM wolf+GEN back+Px.Pl.3₂

'He saw that in the **(broader) vicinity of the army₁**, the grey furred, grey maned big male wolf is walking. They were walking following **(more or less) the back of that wolf.₂**

7.8 The Verb

The verbs usually occupy the final position of the sentence. There are a few exceptions which are limited to direct speech. These examples are verses, and in these cases the argument of the verb follows the verb for reasons of rhythm and rhyme:

(206) 11/6-8 *män senlärgä boldum₁ qağan|alalıng₂ ya taqı qalqan|*

I you+PLUR+DAT **become+PAST.Sg.1₁** kagan **take+IMP.1₂** bow and shield

'I became kagan for you, let us take bows and shields'

7.8.1 Negation

The negation of verbs happens with the negative stem *-mA-* (207) or with the negative aorist *-mAz* (208), just as in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 241, 422).

(207) 1/8 *uşol oğul anasınıñ kögüzündön oğuzni içip₁ mundon artıqraq içmädi₂*

drink+CONV.PRF₁

drink+NEG+PAST₂

'That child **drank₁** the colostrum from his mother's breasts, after this he **did not drink₂** anymore.'

(208) 22/4 *män sängä başumnü qutumni berä män bergü berip dostluqtan çıqmaz tur tep tedi*

friendship+ABL go out+NEG.AOR **stand+ø**

I (hereby) give you my head and regal charisma for you. Paying tribute, **(I) will (never) quit** from friendship.

7.8.2 Plural agreement between the subject and the predicate

The plural agreement between the subject and the predicate is not consistent. Most of the examples I found contain more than one subjects. There are several examples for each case, but there is no sufficient data to set an exact rule to tell, for example, that the predicate of a sentence expressing existence can be only in the singular. The subjects may be in the plural and the predicate is in the singular (209), or vice versa (210). There are also examples when the subjects as well as the predicate are in the plural (211), and even when some of the subjects in plural and singular, and predicate is in singular (212).

(209) 3/2 *köp möränlär₁ köp ögüzlär₂ bar erdi₃*.

many river+PLUR₁

many stream+PLUR₂

existent be+PAST₃

'There were many of streams and rivers.'

(210) 30/3 *munda jürčäd qağanı elküni₁ oğuz qağanğa qaršu keldilär₂*

jürčäd kagan+Px.Sg.3 people+Px.Sg.3₁

come+PAST+PLUR₂

'Here the *Jurched* kagan and people came against *Oguz Kagan*.'

(211) 1/6 *közləri₁ al saçları qaşları₂ qara erdilär erdi₃*

eye +Px.Pl.3₁

hair +Px.Pl.3 eyebrow+PLUR+Px.Sg.3₂

be+PAST+PLUR be+PAST₃

'His eyes were scarlet, his hair and eyebrows were black.'

(212) 34/2 *altunü₁ köp kümüşi₂ köp erdiniläri₃ köp turur₄*

gold+Px.Sg.3₁

silver+Px.Sg.3₂

jewel+Px.Pl.3₃

many stand+AOR₄

'Its gold is much, its silver is much, its jewels are many.'

If the subject (known from the context) is plural but is not present in a sentence, the the predicate is always in the plural:

(213) 24/8 *taqi ilgäri kertilär*.

go+PAST+PLUR

'Then (they) went ahead.'

7.8.3 Finite tense and aspect markers in the indicative mood⁸⁵³

7.8.3.1. Theoretical framework

Johanson 1971 and 2000 provides the theoretical framework in which I will execute the present examination. Based on this, viewpoint operators in Turkic languages can be classified along the following values:

- A. Postterminality (\pm POST)
- B. Intraterminality (\pm INTRA)
- C. Focality (HF : LF : NF)

Focality can take three values: H(igh) F(ocal), L(ow) F(ocal) and N(on-)F(ocal). According to the newer research, the mentioned set should be completed with the following:

- D. Prospectivity (\pm PRO)

Recently Nevskaya's paper (2005: 111-113) following Comrie (1976: 64), concisely sum up the research history of prospective, and evaluates it as the counterpart of the perfect: „The perfect is a retrospective, in that it establishes a relation between a state at one time and a situation at an earlier time. If languages were completely symmetrical, one might equally well expect to find prospective forms, where a state is related to some subsequent situation, for instance where someone is in a state of being about to do something.”

Thus, values A, B and D determine the relative location of the *localisation point* or *locus* (L) and *orientation point* (O) to each other on the time axis. In cases of events expressed by the intraterminal, O and L coincide or overlap, in case of postterminal events L precedes O, and finally, events described with prospective the *presupposed* L follows O.

Value C determines the narrowness of the speaker's viewpoint on the events. These values are relevant only if they can be opposed to each other, based on the context: (+INTRA^F : +INTRA^{NF}), (+POST : -POST), etc. Otherwise the negative (unmarked) values are neutral.

7.8.3.2 Discourse types

There are several discourse types within a language which narrate the events in different temporal strata (Johanson 1971: 76-87). The type of discourse determines the set of the

⁸⁵³ The examination of the aspect-system of the PON is based on my previous research on this field, which has been published in Danka 2012 and Danka 2015a.

viewpoint operators used by the narrator. There are two such set in the PON: (+PAST) and (-PAST).

In the PON, the passage between the two strata is allowed by the subjunctive *kim* 'that'. The *kim* can introduce direct quotation, or can be used for the description of the circumstances of a given event or state of affairs. Thus it is able to project O to the present of the events:

- (214) *4/5 tang ertä çağda keldi kördi kim₁ (...) buğuni alup turur₂*
 see+PAST that₁ (+PAST)
 take+CONV.PRF stand+AOR₂ (-PAST)
 'He came at dawnbreak, and [saw that]₁ the creature [has taken]₂ the deer.

In Turkic languages, viewpoint operators are historically analytic constructions based on a converb or participle, and an auxiliary verb. These constructions are located between the main verb and the suffixes indicating tense. See the following Turkish example:

- (215) *görüyor₁ < *kör-A yorü-r : görür₂ < *kör-ür*
 see+PRS₁ < see+CONV.IMPRF walk+PRS
 see+AOR₂ < walk+PRS
 -PAST(+INTRA^F) : -PAST(+INTRA^{NF})

The Old Turkic aspect system is described by Erdal (2004: 262-272). At this point, however, I chose to use modern Turkish as a comparative base for the following reason: although the aspect system of the PON shows overlaps with that of Old Turkic, it is much more comparable with modern Turkish, since most of the suffixes described by Erdal to express aspectual meanings are not attested in the PON.

Table 23. shows the set of viewpoint operators in modern Turkish, which provides the starting point of my examination, following Johanson (1971: 153). The sketch under **Table 23.** introduces the possible functional categories of which's devices are being searched in the PON. This will have to be complemented with a +PRO column, left from +INTRA^{HF}.

Table .23 Aspect system of modern Turkish

Turkish	+INTRA ^{HF}	+INTRA ^{LF}	+INTRA ^{NF}	-INTRA -POST	+POST
(+PAST)	-mekteydi <* -mekte erdi	iyordu <* -A yorür erdi	-irdi <* -ur erdi	-di	-mişti <* -miş erdi
(-PAST)	- mekte(dir) <* -mekte turur	-iyor <-A yorür	-ir		-miş(tir) <* -miş (turur)

7.8.3.3 Preliminary notes

Before starting the examination of the data, I saw suitable to point out some further methodological terms.

1. The PON is a written text, as such it is a limited corpus. Since it is a result of real linguistic production, every data found in is to be considered grammatical.
2. In the text competitive forms can be found with identical meaning:

(216) 3/7 *bo (...)ni awlamaq tilädi*
hunt+INF wish+PAST
,He **wanted to** hunt down this (monster).’

(217) 15/5 *oğuz qağan čamat etüp anga atlağū tilädi*
set out+INF wish+PAST
Oguz Kagan got angry, and **wanted to** ride against him.

7.8.3.4 . Postterminality

Postterminality is expressed in the PON by the perfective converb *-(V)p* and the corresponding finite copula verb, the –PAST *turur*, in +PAST *erdi*. In the past stratum, there are also forms based on participles.

7.8.3.4.1 Postterminality in the present –PAST(+POST)

Postterminals in the present are expressed by the forms shown in the examples.

(218) 4/9 *tang ertä čağda keldi kördi kim (...) aduğni alup turur*
take+CONV.PRF stand+AOR (x4)
,He came back at dawnbreak. He saw that the (monster) [has taken] the bear.’

If the subject of the sentence is not third person, a personal pronoun appears (219). In such cases the copula may be deleted (220). Unfortunately, these types does not occur more times in the text, we have only these examples.

(219) 12/9 *senlärädän baš čalunguluq tiläp män turur*
wish+CONV.PRF PRO.Sg.1 stand+AOR (x1)
,**From now on, I expect** obeisance from you (lit. bowing of head).’

(220) 23/1 *aytti kim manga köp altun yumšap sän₁ baluqni yaqši saqlap sän₂ tep tedi*
send+CONV.PRF. PRO.Sg.2₁ (x2)
defend+CONV.PRF. PRO.Sg.2₂
,He told: "**You have sent** me a lot of gold. **You have defended** the town well". – He said.

The following two examples also belong to this type, but an additional element appears: *-mVš bol-*. Such a construction signals the transition into a post-terminal state (Johanson 1998, 42), thus it focuses on the moment when an event exactly reaches the point of readiness.

(221) *22/1 bizning qutbiz senning qutung bolmuš₁ bizning urugbiz senning iğaçungnung uruği bolmuš₂ -up tur₃ -ur*
 become+PART.PRF₁ (x1)
 become+PART.PRF become₂+ CONV.PRF stand₃+AOR (x2)
From now on₁, our regal charisma **has become₁** your regal charisma. **From now on₂** Our heredity **have become₃** the heredity of your lineage.

(222) *22/4 tängri sängä yer berip bujürmuš₁ bol₁-up tur₂-ur*
 order+PART.PRF become₁+CONV.PRF stand₂+AOR
From now on₁, the Sky has given the world to you, he **has ordered₂** it to you.

7.8.3.4.2 Postterminality in the past +PAST(+POST)

The postterminal viewpoint operators in the past can be divided into two groups. The first group corresponds to the type introduced in 7.8.3.4.1, with the difference that the copula verb is in the past tense. The second group is based on participles, not converbs.

7.8.3.4.2.1 +PAST(+POST) operators based on converbs

(223) *3/4 uşol orman içindä bedük bir (...) bar erdi yülqilarni yelkünlerni yer erdi [...] berkä ämgäq birlä elkünni basup erdi*
 oppress+CONV.PRF be+PAST (x2)
 'In that forest there was a big (monster). It constantly ate the livestock and the people. [...]
 It **had oppressed** the people with suffering.'

The next example differs from the previous one in that the converbial form is not finitized by *erdi*, like in (223), but with the past form of *tur-* instead.

(224) *27/8 oğuz qağannung atı muz tağ içige qaçıp ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp çığay ämgäq çäküp turdı*
 torture pull+CONV.PRF stand+PAST (x4)
 ‚Oguz Kagan's horse fled and went to the *Ice Mountain*. By this, *Oguz Kagan* **had suffered** a lot.'

This type occurs four times in the text. The question may be asked, whether here *tur-* is really a copula, or it is simply past form of the lexeme *tur-* with its original meaning 'to stand, stand upright, stand still, to stop' (ED, 529). Since among the mentioned four cases there are two (18/3, 18/4) which occur in the construction *tur[up tur]dı*, where the main verb is also *tur-*, I assume that there is copular reading of the form *turdı*.

In (225), the copula is again *erdi* but the form *turur* occurs between the converb and the copula. I will discuss the reasons of this phenomenon in *Chapter 7.8.3.7*

(225) 16/4 *ol ĵaruqton [...] bir erkäk böri čiqti uşol böri oğuz qağanga söz berip [turur]₂ er₁.di*
 promise+CONV.PRF [stand+AOR]₂ be₁+PAST (x1)
 ‚From that lightbeam a [...] male wolf stepped forward. That wolf (had) made a promise_{1,2} for *Oguz Kagan*.‘

7.8.3.4.2.2 +PAST(+POST) operators based on participles

Among viewpoint operators based on participles, we can find competing derivatives. Example (226) is based on the suffix *-mVš*, which is already found on the runic inscriptions from the 8th century on, while (227) is based on *-GAn*. The form *-meyn* of example (228) is presumably the negative form of *-GAn* (<*-mA-GAn).

(226) 27/8 *muz tağlarda köp soğuq boluptan ol beg qardan sarunmiš erdi ap aq erdi (x2)*
 snow+ABL wrap+REFL+PART.PRF be+PAST (x2)
 ‚Because it was very cold in the *Ice Mountains*, that *beg* was covered by snow. He was pure white.‘

(227) 36/3 *bo altun ya kün tuğışida da kün batuşığača teggün erdi bü üç kümüš oq tün yingğaqa ketä turur erdi*
 reach+PART.PRF be+PAST (x3)
 ‚This golden bow had reached from the East to the West. Then these three silver arrows were going to the North.‘

As we have seen in (224), in example (228) the copula is not *erdi*, but *turdi* again.

(228) 29/6 *kene bir kün bo kök tülüküg kök ĵalluğ erkäk böri yörümäyn tur₁-di oğuz taqi turdi qoriğan tüškürä tur₂-ğan tur₃-di*
 walk+NEG+PART.PRF stand₁+PAST (x1)
 fall+CAUS+CONV.IMPRF stand₂+PART.PRF stand₃+PAST (x1)
 ‚Then one day this grey furred, grey maned male wolf did not go further, ?it stopped₁. *Oguz Kagan* also stopped. Setting₂ his camp, ?he stopped₃.‘

I will discuss the elements *-A tur-* and *turdi* in *Chapter 7.8.3.7*. **Table 24** sums up the operators we have seen used to express postterminal meaning. For the purpose of transparency, I put the numbers of examples behind the individual forms they occur in. In the lower row of the table, there are the forms waiting further examination, also together with the numbers of the corresponding examples.

Table 24. +POST operators in the PON.

	-PAST	+PAST
NF	-Vp turur (218) -Vp män (turur) (219) -Vp sän (220)	-Vp erdi (223) -Vp turdi (224) -Vp (turur) erdi (225) -mVš erdi (226) -gAn erdi (227) -mAyn turdi (228) -gAn turdi (228)
F	-mVš bol-Vp turur (221), (222)	
	turur (219), (225) -(y)A tur- (228)	

7.8.3.5 Intraterminality

In the case of intraterminal viewpoint operators, we also find converbial and participial forms. Beside these, as a third type, the locative form of the main verb's infinitive also occurs, which then is finitized by the copula.

7.8.3.5.1 Intraterminality in the present –PAST(+INTRA)

The intraterminal in the present is based on the imperfective -(y)A converb, which is finitized by the so-called aorist form of *tur-*. The readings of this type is not focal, actually in the PON this type took the original function of the aorist -Vr (cf. **Table 23.**)

- (229) 7/6 *uşol qız andağ körüglük erdi kim külsä kök tängri külä tur₁ur iğlasa kök tängri iğlaya tur₂-ur*
 laugh+CONV.IMPRF stand₁+AOR (x2)
 cry+CONV.IMPRF stand₂+AOR
 'That girl was so beautiful, that whenever she laughs, the Blue Sky also **laughs**₁, whenever she cries, the Blue Sky also **cries**₂.'

If the subject of the sentence is not third person, the personal pronoun occurs, deleting the copula, as we saw it in example (220).

- (230) 22/4 *män sängä başumnü qutumnü berä men bergü berip dostluqtan çıqmaz tur tep tedi*
 give+CONV.IMPRF. PRO.Sg.1 (x4)
 'I (**hereby**) **give** my head and regal charisma for you. Paying tribute, I will (never) quit from friendship'.

Among the –PAST(+INTRA) viewpoint operators based on the locative form of the main verb's infinitive, we find competing forms (cf. *Chapter 6.8.8.3*) which do not differ in meaning.

(231) 5/5 *kelip kördi kim bir ŧungqar (...) iĉägüsin yemäktä turur*
 eat+INF+LOC stand+AOR (x1)
 ‚He came and saw that a falcon **is eating** the innards of the creature.’

(232) 17/4 *andan song oĝuz qaĝan qoriĝanni türdürdi ketti kördi kim ĉärigning tapuĝlarida kök tülükliĝ kök ğalluĝ bedük bir erkäk böri yürüĝüdü turur*
 walk+INF+LOC stand+AOR (x1)
 After that Oguz Kagan broke up his camp, and went away. He saw that in the (broader) vicinity of the army, a great grey furred, grey maned, male wolf **is walking**.

7.8.3.5.2 Intraterminality in the past +PAST(+INTRA)

The aorist form of the Turkic verb can take the function of an imperfective participle. This is very common in the PON.

(233) 26/1 *oĝuz qaĝan bir ĉuqurdan ayĝir atqa minä tur₁-ur er₂-di uŧbo ayĝir atni bek ĉoĝ sewür er₃-di*
 mount+CONV.IMPRF stand₁+AOR be₂+PAST (x8)
 love+AOR be₃+PAST (x6)
 ‚Oguz Kagan **always₁ mounted₂** a spotted stallion. He **used to love₃** that stallion very much.’

Example (233) also contains the form -(y)A tur-, which we saw in (228). The intraterminal viewpoint operators based on the locative form of the main verb's infinitive also exist in the past tense:

(234) 6/5 *künlärdä bir kün oĝuz qaĝan bir yerdä tängrini ğalwargüda erdi qarangĝuluĝ keldi köktön bir kök yaruĝ tüŧti*
 pray+INF+LOC be+PAST (x1)
 ‚One of the days, Oguz Kagan **was praying** to the sky in a place, (when) it become dark (and) from the sky, a blue light of beam descended.

Example (234) is the past tense counterpart of the construction seen in (232). Example (235), which partly overlaps with (232), however, contains an additional turur element.

(235) 17/5 *kördi kim ĉärigning tapuĝlarida kök tülükliĝ kök ğalluĝ bedük bir erkäk böri yürüĝüdü tur₁-ur ol böriñing artlarin qatıqlap yürüĝüdü [turur]₃ er₂-dilär erdi₄*
 walk+INF+LOC stand₁+AOR (x1)
 walk+INF+LOC [stand+AOR]₃ be₂+PAST+PLUR be+PAST₄ (x1)
 ‚He saw that in the (broader) vicinity of the army, the grey furred, grey maned big male wolf **is walking₁**. **They were walking_{2,3,4}** following (more or less) the back of that wolf.’

The construction labelled with number four of example (235) requires some attention. After the copula *erdi*, there is plural suffix, then an additional finite copula. This form is exclusively the third person plural form of *erdi*. Only this redundant form can be seen in this position, the **erdilär* (without an additional *erdi*) does not occur in the text.

Table 25. sums up the intraterminal viewpoint operators. It is known that in modern Turkish (cf. **Table 23.**) the focal intraterminal is *-mekte(dir)<*-mekte turur*, thus we can expect that it is the same in the PON. The infinitive *-mAk* and *-GU* are competing forms. Since the readings of the corresponding example-sentences also do not differ in meaning, that of the *-gUdA turur/erdi* and *-mAktA turur* are identical, +INTRA^F. In the lower row of the table there are extracted forms waiting for further analysis.

Table.25 +INTRA operators in the PON

	-PAST	+PAST
NF	<i>-A turur (229)</i> <i>-A män (230)</i>	<i>-Vr erdi (233)</i>
F	<i>-mAktA turur (231)</i> <i>-gUdA turur (232), (235)</i>	<i>-gUdA erdi (234)</i> <i>-gUdA (turur) erdi (235)</i>
	<i>turur (235)</i> <i>-(y)A tur- (233)</i>	

7.8.3.6. Prospectivity

We find sentences with +PRO reading only in the -PAST stratum. It is expressed by the originally unmarked form of the system, the simple aorist *-Vr*. Its original function is taken by the construction type *-(y)A turur/ -(y)A män/ -(y)A sän*. All the sentences of the text, which contains the aorist form of the main verb without a copula has +PRO meaning.

In examples (236) and (238) there is a new element: *-Vr bol-*. This element is the symmetric counterpart of *-mVš bol-* found in (221) and (222) of *Chapter 7.8.3.4.1*, which puts the transition to the intraterminal state into focus (Johanson 1998: 42). Thus, the clauses with *-Vr bol-* gain +PRO^F reading. The reduced *tur* element in example (237) will be discussed in the next chapter.

(236) 13/1 uşol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar [turur]₂ bol₁-sa taritqu tartip dost tutar män₃
 uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz [turur]₅ bol₄.sa čamat čaqip čäriğ čäkip duşman tutar män₆
 tawraq basip asturip yoq bolsunğil tep qilur män₇
 look at+AOR [stand+AOR]₂ become₁+COND (x1)
 hold+AOR PRO.Sg.1₃ (x6)
 heed+AOR.NEG [stand+AOR]₅ become₄+COND (x1)
 hold+AOR PRO.Sg.1₆
 do+AOR.PRO.Sg.1₇
 'From those **who are going to heed**_{1,2} my words, I **will**₃ take tribute, and **consider**₃ them as friends. For those who **are not going to heed**_{4,5} to my words, **I will**₆ burst in anger, raise an army and **consider**₆ them as enemies. Crushing them and hanging them up quickly, "Let you perish!" – So **I will**₇ say and **do**₇.'

(237) 22/4 men sängä başumnü qutumnü berü män₁ bergü berip dostluqtan čiqmaz tur₂ tep
 tedi
 give+CONV.IMPRF PRO.Sg.1
 friendship+ABL go out+NEG.AOR stand+ø₂ (x1)
 'I (**hereby**) **give**₁ my head and regal charisma for you. Paying tribute, (**I will (never) quit**₂ from friendship.'

(238) 16/9 taqı tedi kim ay ay oğuz urum üstige sen atlar bol₁-a sän₂ ay ay oğuz
 tapuğunlarğa män yöriür bol₃-a män₄
 ride+AOR become₁+CONV.IMPRF+PRO.Sg.2₂ (x2)
 walk+AOR become₃+CONV.IMPRF+PRO.Sg.1₄
 'So it said:"Oh, oh, Oguz, **you are going to ride**_{1,2} against Urum! Oh, oh Oguz, **I am going to walk**_{3,4} in your vicinity!''

Table .26 +PRO operators in the PON

-PAST	
NF	-r män (236) -maz (dur) (237)
F	-r (turur) bol- sa (236) -maz (turur) bol- sa (236) -r bol- -a män (238) -r bol- a sän (238)
	turur (236) tur (237)

7.8.3.7 turdi, turur, -tur, and -A tur-

We saw that the use of the different forms of the verb *tur-* in the PON is very frequent. Its natural side effect is that the original meaning 'to stand' becomes obscure. Actually there is only one case in the whole text, when the finite form of *tur-* has the undoubted meaning 'to stop', in example (228): *Oğuz taqı turdi* 'Oguz also stopped'. It cannot be excluded that in the other sentences of (228) *turdi* has the meaning 'to stand, to stop', but, as I mentioned in Chapter 6.8.3.4.2.2 there are examples when *turdi* is simply identical in meaning with *erdi*:

(239) *17/9 bir näcä künlärdän song kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ bo bedik erkäk böri turup turdi*
oğuz taqı çäriğ birle turup turdi
 stand+CONV.PRF stand+PAST
 ‚After a few days, this grey furred, grey maned male wolf **stopped (?and did not move anymore)**. Oguz also **stopped** with the army (**?and did not move anymore**). ‚

The number of such examples is insignificant, and it is typical for the whole text, that the finit forms of *tur-* do not bear their lexical meaning. As we saw in example (199) the aorist form of *tur-* is a present tense copula, of which the +PAST functional counterpart in the past is *erdi* (198). This duality can be also observed in the establishment of viewpoint operators.

Parallely, it can also be seen that if the subject of a –PAST sentence is not a third person, *turur* is mostly deleted, being replaced by a personal pronoun. Thus *turur* participates in a new opposition, being the part of the paradigm of personal markers. This opposition must have not been fully established when the text was written, as we could see in example (219), where meaning of *turur* is simply 'present tense' vs. *erdi* 'past tense'. Let us see another example:

(240) *15/1 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağanning jarliğın saqlamaz erdi qatıqlagu barmaz erdi*
munı söz sözni tutmaz män turur män tep yarliğğa baqmadi
 hold+NEG.AOR PRO.Sg.1 stand+AOR PRO.Sg.1
 This Urum Kagan did not care the order of Oguz Kagan, and did not go to join him. **I will not heed (lit hold)** these empty words! – he said, and did not pay attention to the decree.

Compared to the construction seen in (219) the personal pronoun appears in the sentence again, verifying that the subject is not a third person, as it would happen in the case if *turur* were in the last position. Thus the second *män* appears in postfinal position, which can be explained with the fact that *turur* competes in two oppositions at the same time: *turur* vs. *men*, *sen* etc.; and *turur* vs. *erdi*.

However, we must see the 'third person' meaning of *turur* in the cases it is followed by *erdi*, in examples (225) and (235). The examples, in which *turur* is replaced by *erdi* in the cases of past tense viewpoint operators, establish –PAST:+PAST pairs. The examples, in which both *turur* and *erdi* exist, provide argument that *turdi* forms do not bear the lexical meaning of the verb, but are organic parts of the viewpoint operators, and come to exist through phonological reduction: *turur erdi* > **tur erdi* > *turdi*. The *-tur* form of example (237) provides a parallel form for the intermediate state **tur erdi*. These point out that at the time of writing down the text – although the orthography mostly show the more archaic *turur* and *erdi* forms, most probably neither of them was pronounced this way, and the same applies for the modern Turkic languages.

The verb *tur-* evolved in another way as well, for which we can see examples (228) and (233), and there are several other examples in the text. In this cases it establishes construction with the *-(y)A* imperfective converb marker, and is always positioned in front of a +PAST viewpoint operator. The previous examination of the PON in this topic (Danka 2012) did partly led to the wrong conclusion because it was analysed as the part of the viewpoint operator, and was not considered the other functions of the finite forms of *tur-*. Based on example (233), we must think that the *-(y)A tur-* does not mark aspect, but iterative actionality. This function also can be derived from the lexical meaning of *tur-* 'to stand' > 'durative actionality' > 'iterative actionality'.

7.8.3.8. Conclusion

According to the examination above, we can sum up the the PON's inventory of viewpoint operators according to **Table 27**. The system can be considered to be symmetric in the sense that every possible function is fulfilled by a construction (except +PAST(+PRO), which is not attested in the PON), and there is no construction which fulfills more then one function. It is, however, asymmetric in the sense that more than one constructions compete for one and the same functions. On the other hand, the functional pairs do not always correspond to their historical morphological counterparts: The *-Vr*, originally a *-PAST(+INTRA^{NF})* marker, is replaced by *-(y)A turur/men/sen*, and the former took the +PRO meaning.

T.27 Inventory of viewpoint operators in the PON

	+PRO	+INTRA ^F	+INTRA ^{NF}	-INTRA -POST	+POST
+PAST	-	-guda erdi -makta erdi	-Vr erdi	-di	-Vp erdi/turdi -gan erdi/turdi -mVš erdi
-PAST	-Vr (turur)/pm.	-guda turur -makta turur	-(y)A turur/pm.		-Vp turur/pm.
Focusing elements:		-mVš bol-: +POST > +POST ^F -Vr bol- : +PRO > +PRO ^F			

Tables 28a and **28b** compares the personal markers in +PAST temporal stratum in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 237) and those found in the PON. In the latter the full paradigm is not attestable. Those forms attested show no major deviation from Old Turkic.

T.28a personal markers in +PAST temporal stratum in Old Turkic.

	Singular	Plural
1.Person	-dXm	-dXmXz
2.Person	-dXŋ ~ -dXg	-dXŋXz(lAr) ~ dXgXz
3.Person	-dI	-dI(lAr)

T.28b Personal markers in +PAST temporal stratum in the PON.

	Singular	Plural
1.Person	-DUm	-
2.Person	-	-
3.Person	-DI	-DI(lAr (erdi))

The personal markers in the –PAST temporal stratum are the same as the nominative forms of the personal pronouns in first and second person. In the third person we find the copula verb *turur*, or, in one case, its reduced form *tur*. At this point the paradigm of personal markers of the nominative and verbal predicate coincide in the PON. This paradigm is comparable to that of the Old Turkic nominal predicates (T.29a-b, the former is based on Erdal 2004: 413-414)

T.29a Personal markers of nominal predicates in Old Turkic.

	Singular	Plural
1.Person	män	biz
2.Person	sän	siz
3.Person	ol	ol

T.29b Personal markers in the –PAST temporal stratum/nominal predicates in the PON.

	Singular	Plural
1.Person	män	biz
2.Person	sän	-
3.Person	turur/tur	tururlar

7.8.4 The imperative/voluntative mood

There are a variety of morphological markers which has the function to express the imperative or optative mood. With the one exception *-alŋ* in *alalŋ ya taqi qalqan* 'Let us take bow and shield', which is Plur.1, all of them refer to second or third person. According to Erdal (2004: 235), the Old Turkic "volitional" paradigm was the following:

T.30a Optative and imperative markers in Old Turkic

	Singular	Plural
1.Person	-(A)yIn	-(A)lIm
2.Person	Ø, -(X)ŋ	-(X)ŋ, -(X)ŋlAr
3.Person	-zUn	-zUN, -zUnlAr

If we compare this paradigm with the inventory of the PON, we find several differences. In the PON, there is no instance of Sg.1 form, only Plur.1, cited above. Otherwise, we have the following inventory:

T.30b Optative and imperative markers in the PON

	Singular	Plural
1. Person	-	-alıng
2. Person	Ø/ -GII / -(U)ng	Ø / -(U)ng
3. Person	-sUn / -sungil	-sUn

If we compare the two tables, it becomes visible that the inventory of the PON does not distinguish singular and plural forms in the way as Old Turkic does in second and third person. We never find imperative/optative forms with the plural marker *-laAr*. The number, however can be marked on the subject. Consider the following examples:

(241) *39/3 ay aqalar ya bolsun senlärnüing*
 oh elder brother+PLUR **bow+Sg become+IMP.3** PRO.Pl.2+GEN
 'Oh elder sons, the bow shall be yours!'

(242) *40/2 ay inilär oqlar bolsun senlärnüing*
 oh younger brother+PLUR **arrow+PLUR become+IMP.3** PRO.Pl.2+GEN
 'Oh younger sons, the arrows shall be yours!'

(243) *24/7 ay ay sen munda bæg bolung*
 oh oh **PRO.Sg.2** PRO.DEM+LOC *beg* **become+IMP.2**
 'Oh, Oh, you shall become beg here!'

(244) *40/4 oqlar tæg senlär bolung*
 arrow+PLUR like **PRO.Plur.2** **become+IMP.2**
 'You shall become like (the) arrows!'

This indifference of number even holds true for the second person imperative with zero morpheme:

(245) *29/2 sen munda qal aç qalqan*
PRO.Sg.2 PRO.DEM+LOC **stay+IMP.2** **open+IMP.2** shutter
 You, stay (here) and open the shutters!

(246) *12/1 tämür jüdalar bol orman*
iron spear+PLUR+VOC **become+IMP.2** forest
 'Iron spears, become (like/as many as) forest!'

In the singular paradigm, we find also *-GII* (second person) and *-sungil* (third person). The form *-sungil* is not attested in any other Old or Middle Turkic texts (BA: 32). These forms do not co-occur with plural subjects.

(247) 28/2 ay *sän munda beglärgä bolgïl başliq*
oh **PRO.Sg.2+VOC** PRO.DEM+LOC *beg*+PLUR+DAT **become+IMP.2** leader
'Oh you shall become the leader for the *begs* here!'

(248) 36/9 ay *qağanum sängä jaşağu bolsungïl uzun*
oh *kagan*+Px.Sg.1+VOC PRO.Sg.2+DAT **life become.IMP.3** long
'Oh my kagan, let the life be long for you!'

It is obvious that the forms containing *-Gïl* are the morphologically marked ones. The morphological marker *-Gïl* originally may have been the imperative form of the verb *qïl-* 'to do' + Ø (IMP.Sg.2) 'Do!'. Although the forms containing *-Gïl* only appear in the singular paradigm, it cannot be surely stated that the *-Gïl* and *-sungïl* has the function to mark singularity as opposed to *-Ø* and *-sUn*. However it seems plausible that the former two can be semantically opposed to the latter two. Marked elements usually have narrower meaning than unmarked ones. The marked imperative forms thus must express strong wish or command. See also the note on 1/1 in *Chapter 4*.

7.8.5 Interrogative mood

There are only two examples for interrogation in the whole text. One is a yes/no question, with the interrogative particle *mü*, the other is a wh-question with interrogative pronoun *näčük~nüčük* 'how?' (the spelling is not clear).

(249) 21/7 *atam čamat ätiip ersä mäning tapum erür mü*
father+Px.Sg.1 get angry+CONV.PRF be+COND PRO.Sg.1+GEN service+Px.Sg.1
be+AOR **PRT.INT**
'If my father got angry (with me), will be there any satisfaction for me?'

(250) 23/7 *etilning suğïdan näčük kečär biz*
etil+GEN water+Px.Sg.3+ABL **how** cross+AOR PRO.PRS.Pl.1
'Through the water of the Etil, how will we pass?'

7.8.6 Other modal meanings

Necessity can be expressed with *käräk*. There are only three examples in the text, from which two, are practically the same at 20/6 and 21/5, as one of them is the repetition of the other:

(251) 20/6 *baluqnï qatiğlağu käräk turur*
town+ACC fortify+INF **necessary stand+AOR.**
'The town must be fortified.'

The construction *-p ber-* 'CONV.PRF give' expresses that the main verb of the construction describes an act carried out for one's benefit (carrying the dative case):

- (252) 42/2 *andan song oğuz qağan oğullariğa yurtin üläštürüp berdi*
son+PLUR+Px.Sg.3. country+Px.Sg.3+ACC divide+CONV.PRF give+PAST
 'After that Oguz kagan divided his country in favor of his sons.'

There is another example which may belong here, but the sentence is ambiguous. The finite verb of the sentence is spelled as <b'rm'z>, which can be read as *barmaz* 'does not go' or *bärmaz* 'does not give'. If we accept the second reading, still the construction expressing beneficial act would be *-GU ber-* 'INF give', which differs from the construction described above. However, we saw that certain suffixes may compete in certain constructions. If we consider *-Vp berdi* as a (+POST) construction, then *-GU bärmaz* may be the (–POST) counterpart. Unfortunately there are not enough examples to ensure the opposition.

- (253) 15/2 *ušol urum qağan oğuz qağannung jarliğin saqlamaz erdi₁ qatiqlağu bAr₂-mAz erdi₃*
 AOR.NEG be+PAST₁
 [INF go/give]₂
 'That Urum kagan **did not heed₁** *Oguz Kagan's* order. He **did not go₃ to join him**/[**did not join (for Oguz's benefit)₂**].'

Another two verbs may belong to modal verbs, namely *oltur-* 'to sit' and *küdä-* 'to wait'. If so, the modal meaning would be durability. And the auxiliary verbs would be competing forms. For *küdä-* see the note on 1/4 in *Chapter 4.*, and cf. (265) below.

- (254a) 40/7 *kälip kengäšip olturdılar*
 CONV.PRF sit+PAST+PLUR
 'They came and consulted (**for a long time**).

- (254b) 1/3 *ay qağannung közü yariپ küdädi*
 Ay Kagan+GEN eye+Px.Sg.1 shine+CONV.PRF wait+PAST
 Ay *Kagan's* eyes laboured (**for a long time**).

7.8.7 Non-finite verbs and clauses

7.8.7.1 The Conditional

The morphological marker for the conditional is *-sA* (<Old Turkic *-sAr*). There is one example when it takes personal marker namely Sg.1. *-sAm*. The conditional has different usages: (255) expresses condition, while (256) expresses necessity together with *käräk* 'necessary'. Such usage is also known from Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 527). In (257), an interesting development of the conditional's original meaning can be observed: 'if' > 'when' > 'whenever' > 'always' > 'since/because it is'

(255) 13/2 *uşol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa taritqu tartip dost tutar män*
 mouth+Px.Sg.1+DAT look+AOR stand+AOR become+COND
 '(From) those who **are going to heed my words**, I will take tribute and will consider them as friends.

(256) 12/7 *män uygurning qağanı bola män kim yerning tört bulungünung qağanı bolsam*
käräk turur
 earth+GEN four corner+Px.Sg.3+GEN kagan+Px.Sg.3 become+COND+pm.
 'I am the kagan of the Uygur, who (thus) **should be the kagan of the four corners of the world.**'

(257) 5/9 *buğu yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdi tämür bolsa*
 deer eat+PAST bear eat+PAST spear+Px.Sg1 kill+PAST iron become+COND
 'It ate the deer and ate the bear. My spear killed it, **for it is iron.**'

7.8.7.2 Verbs and clauses with the perfective converb *-Vp*

The converb *-Vp* is the most frequent element for constructing subordinate or coordinate clauses. Erdal (2004: 458) calls it 'contextual' converb "because the hearer/reader is helped by the context to understand the semantic relationship between the clauses featuring these verb forms and the main clauses to be a causal, circumstantial or e.g. an adversative one or mere coupling." In the PON the converb *-Vp* is mostly a perfective one, and is used to construct postterminal aspect markers. Otherwise, the clause with the *-Vp* verb may express action preceding the action described by the main verb (258), but it also may express parallel actions, thus expressing manner (259), (260):

(258) 20/2 *sän taqı uruşqulardan song baluqnı bizgä saqlap kelgil*
 PRO.Sg.2 and fighting+PLUR+ABL after town+ACC PRO.PRES.Pl.1+DAT
protect+CONV.PRF come+IMP.2
 'Concerning you, after the battles, (with which) you **defended** the town for us, come!'

(259) 15/7 *čäriğ birlä atlap tuğlarnı tutup ketti*
 army with ride +CONV.PRF banner+PLUR+ACC hold+CONV.PRF go+PAST
 He went **riding** with the army and **holding** the banners.

(260) 25/4 *män sängä başlap yolni körgürür män*
 PRO.Sg.1. PRO.Sg.2 **lead+CONV.PRF** way+ACC show+AOR+pm.
 'I will, **lead** you **and** show you the way!'

The clause with *-Vp* is usually coreferential with the main verb in the sense that they share the same subject as in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 308) In the PON, furthermore, it is also possible that the *-Vp* verb shares the other arguments of the main verb:

(261) 37/8 *aqalarni inilärni čarlap keldürdi*
 elder brother+PLUR+ACC younger brother+PLUR+ACC **call+CONV.PRF** bring+PAST
 'He **called** for the elder and younger sons and brought them.'

(262) 14/1 *ušbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elçi yumšap yibärdi*
 PRO.DEF Altun Kagan Oguz Kagan+DAT envoy **send+CONV.PRF** send+PAST
 This *Golden Kagan* **sent** an envoy *Oguz Kagan*.

There are a few examples when the verb with *-Vp* is not coreferential with the main verb. Consider examples (263) and (264):

(263) 10/9 *elküngä jarliğ čarlap₁ kengäštilär keldilär₂*
 people+DAT **announce order+CONV.PRF** consult+PAST+PLUR come+PAST+PLUR
 He **announced an order₁** to the people, and **(they) assembled for council₂**.

(264) 28/3 *män mängläp₁ sängä at bolsun₂ qağarliğ*
 PRO.Sg.1 **rejoice+CONV.PRF** PRO.Sg.2+DAT name become+IMP.3 *Qarluq*
 'For I **am happy₁**, thy **name shall be₂** *Snowy*!'

The following example may also belong here. See the note on 1/4 in *Chapter 4.* and cf. *Chapter. 7.8.6.*

(265) 1/3 *ay qağannung közü yarip küdädi*
 Ay Kagan+GEN eye+Px.Sg.1 **shine+CONV.PRF** ?+PAST
 Ay *Kagan's* eyes **shone₁** and she **laboured₂** (lit.waited).

7.8.7.3 Clause with *-uptan* expressing cause

There is one example when the converb with *-Vp* takes the ablative case, describing a cause for the main clause. This verbal form is not attested in Old Turkic.

(266) 27/8 *muz tağlarda köp soğuş boluptan ol bæg qağardan sarunmiš erdi*
 ice mountain+PLUR much cold **become+CONV.PRF+ABL** PRO.DEF *beg* snow+ABL
 wrapped be+PAST
 '**Because it was** very cold in the Ice mountains, that *beg* was covered by snow.'

7.8.7.4 Temporal clauses with *-dUKtA* and *-upta*

Temporal clauses are expressed with the locative case of the perfective participle *-dUK*. The suffix *-dUktA* may be analysed as a complex suffix, possibly understood so by the speaker as well, since there is a competing form *-upta* [CONV.PRF+LOC] (not known from Old Turkic) with the same meaning (269). Although *-dUK* does not appear independently, both components of *-upta* do. Erdal (2004: 471) describes the Old Turkic counterpart *-dOk+dA* to construct unmarked temporal clauses. In the PON these clauses rather describe subsequent events or actions together with the main clause, without reference whether the first event/action in the sequence has finished or not. (Cf. 7.8.7.5)

(267) 9/9 *oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usi ketti*

Oguz Kagan PRO.DEM+ACC see+PART.PRF+LOC
'When *Oguz Kagan* saw *her*, he lost his mind.'

(268) 16/2 *tang ertü bolduqta* oğuz qağannung qoriğaniğa kün tæg bir yaruq kirdi
dawn become+PART.PRF+LOC

'When it became dawnbreak, a sun-like lightbeam entered *Oguz Kagan's* camp.'

(269) 37/7 *andan song ertü bolupta* aqalarnı inilärni çarlap keldürdi
dawn become+CONV.PRF+LOC

After that, when it became dawnbreak, he summoned the elder and younger brothers.

7.8.7.5 Clauses with *-gAn* and *tägän*

There is only one example in which *-gAn* appears as a clause subordinator, and not as the part of the +POST aspect marker. In this example the verb with *-gAn* refers to the object of the clause. Unlike example (270), in Old Turkic *-gAn* is rarely used as a perfective participle, and usually refers to the subject of the verb. The counterexamples quoted by Erdal (2004: 290-291) are late.

(270) 36/7 *uyqudon song tüştä körgänin* oğuz qağanğa bildürdi

'Sleep+INF+ABL after dream+LOC see+PART.PRF+Px.Sg.3+ACC *Oguz Kagan*+DAT
let know+PAST

'After sleeping, he let *Oguz Kagan* know what he saw in the dream'

Surely the most common type of the appearance of *-GAn* is in the postposition *tägän* [say+PART.PRF]. It is not easy to decide here whether they should be considered as subordinate clauses at all, or simple postposition phrases. In the case they are analysed as clauses they always consist of a simple subject and predicate. These *-gAn* clauses or phrases

can occur in the position of a complement (271), subject (272), or nominal predicate (273) as well.

(271) 34/4 *ušol yerning qağani misir tögän bir qağan erdi*
misir say+PART.PRF ART.INDEF qağan
The kagan of that place was **a kagan named Egypt.**'

(272) 23/5 *etil tögän bedük bir näng turur*
Etil say+PART.PRF
(The one) named Etil is a great thing.

(273) 20/2 *urum qağannung bir qarundaši bar erdi urus beg tögän erdi*
urus beg say+PART.PRF be+PAST
Urum Kagan had a brother. **He was named Urus Beg.**

7.8.7.5 Clauses with the verbal noun -GU

There are two types of subordinated clauses with -GU. In both types the verbal noun takes possessive suffix and the ablative case marker. In the first type, the case marker is governed by the postposition *song* 'after' and thus the subordinated clause and the main clause describe subsequent actions (274-275). These two examples also mark that the first action/event in the sequence has finished before the second one started (Cf. Chapter 7.8.7.4) In the second type, which has only one example, the case marker expresses cause (276). Constructions -GU+Px+DAn *song* 'after' and -GU+Px+DAn 'because of' are not attested in Old Turkic. The appearance of the Px after -GU and before Cx seems to be an innovation in the PON compared to Old Turkic (Cf. Erdal 2004: 472).

(274) 29/3 *ačqungdon song käl orduğa*
open+INF+Px.Sg.2+ABL after come+IMP.2 camp+DAT
'**After you opened (it),** come to the warcamp!'

(275) 38/7 *kün ay yulduz köp kıklär köp qušlar awlağularidan song jolda bir altun yanı*
taptılar
many antelope+PLUR many bird+PLUR hunt+INF+PLUR+Px.Sg.3+ACC after
'**After hunting down a lot of game and birds,** Sun, Moon and Star found a golden bow on the way.

(276) 37/9 *qari bolğumdan mäning qaqizluqum yoq turur*
old become+INF+Px.Sg.1+ABL PRO.Sg.1+GEN temper+Px.Sg. 1 non-existent
stand+AOR
'**Because I am old,** my quick-temperedness does not exist anymore.'

7.8.7.6 Clause expressing purpose with *-mäkkä*

There is one example when the dative case of the infinitive with *-mAk* expresses purpose. This form is also attested in Old Turkic, but already there it was difficult to decide whether it is a complex converb or dative case (Erdal 2004: 360). The content of this construction was similar to Old Turkic *+gU-kA*, which is described as 'final' by Erdal (2004: 319), but is not present in the PON.

- (277) 31/3 *urušqudon song oğuz qağannung čärigigä nökärlärigä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg bargu tüšti kim **yüklämäkkä kaldürmäkka** at qağatır ud azlıq boldi*
load+INF+DAT bring+INF+DAT
'After the fight, Oguz Kagan's army, bodyguards and people gained so much inanimate goods that an insufficiency of beasts of burden turned out **(in order) to load on and carry it away.**'

7.8.7.7 Intraterminal temporal clause with *-mäktä*

There is one example when the locative case of the infinitive forms a subordinate clause and not an aspect marker. This form is attested also in Old Turkic with similar meaning as in the following example (Erdal 2004: 457)

- (278) 32/2 *munlar qanqa **yörümäktä** qanqa qanqa at söz berä turur erdilär erdi*
walk+INF+LOC
While moving, these *qanqas*, were giving the sound '*qanqa qanqa*'.

7.8.7.8 Clause expressing manner with the converb *-u*.

Similarly to *-Vp* in 6.8.7.2 *-U* is described as a contextual converb by Erdal (2004: 311). In the only example found in the PON for this type, it may express manner of the main clause as well as subsequent actions with it.

- (279) 26/3 *şolda uşbo aygır at **közdän yitü** qačtı*
eye+ABL get lost+CONV.IMPRF
On the way, this stallion **got lost from sight** and fled (lit. **getting out of sight**, fled).

The following table summarizes the types of non-finite clause subordinators and their functional oppositions. I consider the forms appearing in the same cell as competing forms.

T.31 Possible functional oppositions between non-finite subordinators:

(+POST)	(-POST)(-INTRA)	(+INTRA)
-Vp ~ -U (subsequent actions, manner)		-
-GU+Px+dan song (subsequent actions)	-dukta ~ -upta (parrallel/subsequent actions)	-mäktä (parallel actions)
-GU+Px+dan (cause)	-uptan (cause)	-mäkkä (purpose)
tägän	-	-
-GAN+Px+n	-	-

7.8.8 Clause Subordination with *kim*

The most common type of clause subordination in the PON is that with the subjunctor *kim* 'that', which etymologically is an interrogative pronoun meaning 'who?' (ED 720), but we have only a few examples where it is used in that meaning. The clause subordinated with *kim* is always a finite one. In the PON *kim* introduces several types of subordinated clauses as well as direct quotations. In the following, an example will be quoted for each type.

7.8.8.1 *kim* introducing direct quotations

At this type, the main clause is *tädi kim* or *aytti kim* 'he said that.' I could find no criteria to make difference between the quotations introduced with *tä-* and *ayt-*, the two verbs appears to be synonymous. The quotation is always closed with *täp tädi* 'he said'. There are two examples when the quotation is not introduced with *tädi/aytti kim*, but with different verbs. One is *ušbo bildürgülüktä bitilmiš erdi kim* 'in that message, it was written that...' at 12/7, and *anga jarliğ qıldı kim* 'to him, he commanded that...' at 29/2. This type of direct quotation is not attested in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 504-507).

(280) 23/7 *taqi tädi kim etilning suğidan näčük kečär biz täp tädi*
say+PAST SUBJ. [*direct speech*] **say+CONV.PRF say+PAST**
 'Then **he said**: "How will we cross the water of the Etil?" – **he said**.'

7.8.8.2 *kim* introducing a description of a state of affairs

In this type, the main clause is *kördi kim* 'He saw that...' And in the subordinated clause there is a description of a situation what the protagonist sees, and which has relevance from the point of view of the narration. At such points the viewpoint of the narration is always

projected to the present of the events, which manifests in the usage of (–PAST) finite verbal forms. The only exception is (281). I did not find similar usage of *kim* in Erdal's (2004) grammar.

(281) 6/9 *oğuz qağan yörüdi kördi kim uşbo yaruqnuñ arasında bir qız bar erdi*
see+PAST SUBJ.

'Oguz Kagan walked (closer). **He saw that** in the middle of this lightbeam there was a girl.'

7.8.8.3 Clauses subordinated with *kim* used to describe quality

This type is used to describe the intensity of an adjective. The syntactic pattern is the following, including the comparative case form of the demonstrative pronoun. For similar usage of *kim* in Old Turkic, see. Erdal 2004: 445.

X andağ Y erdi/boldi kim 'X was/became so Y, that...'

(282) 19/3 *tutulunč urušunč andağ yaman boldi kim etil mörännüñ suğı qip qizil säp sänggir täg boldi*

PRO.DEM+SIM terrible become+PAST SUBJ

'The capturing and battle **became so terrible, that** the river *Etil*'s water became blood-red, like cinnabar.'

7.8.8.4 Clauses with *kim* used to insert episodes to the plot

This type appears twice in the text, with a slight difference: At 35/4, the subjunctor *kim* appears also after the clause *taşqarun qalmasun* 'Without having anything left out...'. Erdal (2004) does not mention such a narrative usage of *kim* together with the imperative mood in the main clause.

(283) 33/7 *taşqarun qalmasun bällüg bolsun kim kündünki bulungda baraq° tögän bir yer bar turur*

known become+IMP.3 SUBJ

Without having (anything) left out, let it be (perfectly) known that in the southern corner (of the world) there a place called *Baraq*.

7.8.8.5 Clauses introduced by *kim* referring to one or more persons

This is the only function of *kim* when it appears as a (relative) personal pronoun with the meaning 'who'. Beside the examples quoted here, there is only one more occurrence of *kim* with this function at 13/2, which is the continuation of the speech quoted in example (284). Similar usage is attested in Old Turkic, see Erdal 2004: 443.

(284) 13/1 *ušol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa tar°tğu tartip dost tutar män*
PRO.DEM SUBJ

Those who would heed my words, I will take tribute (from them) and consider (them) as friends.

(285) 12/8 *män uyğurnıng qağanı bola män kim yerning tört bulungınung qağanı bolsam kärke turur*

PRO.Sg.1 *Uygur*+GEN *kagan*+Px.Sg.1 become+CONV.IMPRF+pm. SUBJ

'In that message it was written that **I am the kagan of the Uygur, who (thus)** should be the kagan of the four corners of the world'

8. Interrelatedness of the different Oğuz-nāmā versions

The present chapter is interested in the interrelatedness of the different versions of Oğuz-nāmās, but focusing on the PON. The subjects of the examination are the elements of the whole story (which are called *motifs* here). However the motifs which are not present in the PON are not dealt with. The interpretations of the individual motifs are also excluded. Although compared to the Muslim versions, the beginning and the end of the story is missing from the PON, it tells the events from the birth of Oguz Kagan until the end of his rule. Thus I examined the elements in the Muslim versions which relevant for the PON, keeping forward that the motifs present in the end of the PON are discussed in the other versions after the rule of Oguz Kagan, in the beginning of the rule of Oguz 's eldest son, Kün Han.

The "Muslim versions" are understood in the narrow sense of Oğuz-nāmā , these are works which are mentioned by Tezcan (2006: 607-608) in group 4) and 5) in his classification. This practically means that the stories and proverbs connected to *Dede Korkut* are excluded. The Muslim versions will be referred with abbreviations throughout the chapter. The following sources include Muslim Oğuz-nāmās:

1. Rašīd ad-Dīn's Ğāmī at-Tawāriḥ, written in 1310-1311, published by Jahn: 1969. The language of the source is Persian. It is abbreviated as **RD**.

2. 'Alī Yazījzāde's Tevāriḥ-i Āl-i Selçuk written in 1423, published lately by Bakır: 2008. Its language is Ottoman Turkic. It is abbreviated as **YZ**.

3. The Oğuz-nāmā of Uzunköprü, the author and the date of writing down is unknown. The text is published by Eraslan: 1976. The language of the text is Ottoman Turkic, the source is referred as **UK**.

4. Abu'l Ğāzi Bahadur Khan's Şejere-i Terākime. The source is written 1661, and published by Zuhā Kargı Ölmez: 1996. The language of the text is Turkī (Chagatay Turkic). Abu'l Ğāzi's later work, the Şejere-i Türk also contains the relevant Oğuz-nāmā. The Şejere-i Türk was written in 1665 and was finished by the order of his son due to Abu'l Ğāzi's death. It is published by Desmaisons: 1970². The language of the source is also Turkī. Since there is no essential difference between the two works concerning the plot of the relevant part of the Oğuz-nāmā, I will use the abbreviation **AG**, meaning both texts, and I refer to Kargı Ölmez 1996.

I refer to the PON as it is given in this edition, and I refer to other versions with the folio and line number as they are given in the above mentioned publications. The transcription of the names and citations follows that of the cited works.

The plot of the PON can be easily divided into five sections. These are the ideological background (1/1-10/7), a unique part which is missing from the other versions, or not discussed in details (10/8-23/4), the story of the dependant or vassal Turkic tribes (23/4-32/9), other conquests (32/9-35/3) and dividing the empire (35/4-42/7). The individual motifs are discussed in details below:

8.1 Ideological background

1. *The parents.* **PON:** (1/3) only the mother is named, *ay qağan*. **RD:**(C 590v/5-7) The mother is not mentioned. Only the father is named, *qara χān*, son of *dīb jāwqū*. The source also names *oğuz*'s brothers. **YZ:** (A 5a/15-5b/2): *Oğuz*'s descendance is deduced also only on the paternal branch, his father is *Qara χān*, son of *Dibyāqūy /Dip Ya`qūb* **UK:** (1/1): the father is *qara χān*, his descendance is not discussed in details. **AG:** (69b/9-70a/10) *Oğuz*'s father is *Qara χān*, the eldest son of *Moğol*, who is the grand-grandson of *Baquy Dip*.

2. *Oğuz's birth / The name Oğuz.* **PON:** (1/8-2/6) The child is special. He drinks the colostrum, then he asks for normal food. The name *Oğuz* is based on implicit folk etymology (*oğuz* ~ OT *ağuz/ağuz* 'colostrum, first milk' ED 98). He starts to talk and grows up quickly. **RD:** (C 590v/7-11) The child does not suck milk for three days. His mother sees a dream in which the child asks her to convert to Islam. The mother does so, then the child starts to suck. The child names himself *Oğuz* at the age of one. The motif in **YZ:** (A 5b/2-14), **UK:** (1/2-1/16) and in **AG** (70a/10-70b/14) is identical with that of **RD**

3. *Struggle for rule/ The name Uyğur:* **PON:** Before *Oğuz* entitles himself as the ruler of the world, he fights a mythic monster He lures it into trap and kills it. A falcon or other kind of predatory bird eats the innards of the monster, and he kills it too (3/9-6/4) . Then he meets his wives, he breeds six children (6/9-10/7), then he makes a celebration, where he declares himself the ruler of the *Uyğur* and the world (12/4-13/7). There is no explicit connection between the events, only the order of the narration. **RD:** (C 590r/25-591r/15) Because *Oğuz* leaves his father's faith, they start war against each other. *Oğuz* triumphs over his father, and he names those who followed him *Uyğur*. The name *Uyğur* is based on folk etymology: The meaning of name is 'follower (Anhänger)', 'obedient (gehorsam)' derived from the Turkic verb *uy-* (< OT *ud-* 'to follow, to comfort to, to fit' ED 38). **YZ:** (A 6b/8-7b/12): Because leaving the old faith, *Oğuz* and his father wage war against each other. After *Oğuz*'s triumph, he makes a celebration, where he gives the name *ayğur* to those whol helped him (the transcription *ayğur* in Bakır's edition is probably based on the Arabic spelling of the word ایغور). According to the text, *ayğur* means 'to join (bir birine ulaşmak)' or 'to help out

(meded etmek)'. **UK:** (5/10-7/10, 8/1-8/6) Oğuz wages war against his father. The tribes *Halaç*, *Qanlı*, *Qarluq*, which are called *Qıpçaq* together, their leader are the *Uygur*, and the *Yığaç Er*. **AG:** (71b/12-72b/7) Here the story is basically the same as **RD**'s. The same etymology is given for the name *Uygur* to which the following is added: The word *Uygur* is synonymous with the word *yapuşgur* (~ OT *yapış-* 'to adhere to stick to sg'. ED 880). Maybe **AG** identifies *-gur* with the participle formative *-Ur* in a state when the suffix-initial *-G-* has not yet been dropped). His interpretation is the following: "The milk coagulated (*süt uydı*). When the milk mellows, it comes apart. When it solidifies, it sticks together (*yapışa turur*). I stuck to the imam (*imamğa uydum*). When the imam sits, everybody sits. When he stands, everybody stands. Aren't they then stuck to him?"

4. *Wives/Children:* **PON:** (6/9-10/7) Oğuz finds two wives. One is unearthly beautiful, and steps out from a lightbeam. She gives birth to three children, who are named after entities of the celestial sphere. He finds his second wife in a hollow tree in the middle of a lake. Her beauty is described by earthly entities. When the people see her they turn from milk into koumiss. She gives birth to another three sons, which are named entities of the earthly sphere. **RD:** (C 590v/14- 20) Oğuz marries the daughters of his father's younger brothers. He wants them to convert to Islam. The first two does not convert, but the third, whom he meets on a riverside, does. He loves her instead of the first two. **YZ** (A 5b/16-6b/3)=**RD**. **UK** (2/9-4/7)=**RD**, except that the riverside is missing. **AG** (71a/7-71b/9)=**RD** The Muslim versions does not mention the birth of their children here.

T.32. Sums up the variation of the mentioned motifs.⁸⁵⁴

T.32 Motifs in the different versions of Oğuz-nāmā: Ideological background

Motif	PON	RD	YZ	UK	AG
Parents	x	b	b	b	b1
Birth/The name <i>Oğuz</i>	a	b	b	b	b
Struggle for rule /The name <i>Uygur</i>	a	b	b	b	b
Wives	a	b	b	b1	ab
Children	a	b	b	b	b
		a	a	--	a

8.2 The unique features of the PON

⁸⁵⁴ I designated the different occurrences of the same motifs as 'a, b, c'. The designations 'a1, b1', etc. mark basically similar motifs, which lack some details. 'x' means that the given motif is only mentioned, but not detailed in a given version. '-' means that a given motif is not found in a given version. If there is 'x-' in a cell, it means that the motif is mentioned by a given version, but outside the relevant part of the text.

5. *Altun Qağan (Čīn/Qītay)*: **PON**: After his self-declaration as ruler, Oğuz sends a decree to the four corners of the world, in which gives ultimatum for the world's peoples (12/4-13/7). Another ruler called *Altun Qağan* lives on the right wing at this time (*ong ĵangaq*, without closer reference which direction it is), who submits to Oğuz, and gives tribute (13/8-14/7) . **RD**: (C 591r/25) *Māčīn* (South-China) and *Čīn* (North-China), which latter can be identified with the PON's *Altun Qağan*, are only mentioned in the context of conquering India. **YZ**: (A 2a/6, 2a/8): *Qītay (Čīn)* is only mentioned, and not in the relevant part. **UK**: (7/11) *Qītay* is only mentioned. **AG**: (72b/17-73a/1) *Qītay/ Čīn* is only mentioned as the southern neighbour of the *ĵürčäd*.

6. *Urum/Rūm*: **PON**: After his self-declaration as ruler, Oğuz sends a decree to the four corners of the world (12/4-13/7). On the left wing, there was a ruler called *Urum*, who had strong army and many cities. He did not submit to Oğuz (14/7-15/7). There was a river called Etil. A battle was fought at the bank of the Etil, near a great mountain. Oğuz won and Urum fled. Oğuz took his title and people. He gained a great booty (18/4-20/1). **RD**: (C 594r/13-594v/5) Oğuz sends his sons against *Rūm*. They intimidate the envoys who come to them, and *Rūm* pays tribute. **YZ**: (A 2a/8, 2b/4, 9a/13) : It is mentioned, twice outside the relevant part. **UK**: (8/12): Only mentioned. **AG** : (77a/4) *Rūm* is only mentioned.

7. *Grey wolf*: **PON**: (16/1-17/2) Oğuz marches against Urum. One evening he stops, and a lightbeam enters his tent at dawn. A grey wolf stepped out from the light and makes a promise for Oğuz, that it will lead him during his conquests. **RD**: (C 598r/15-18) Outside the relevant part there is a scene where a man, who understands the language of the animals, called *Tuman-χan*, speaks with a wolf. The wolf offers him help. **YZ**:-. **UK**:- **AG**:-

8. *Urus/Rūs*: **PON**: Urum's brother, *Urus Beg* sends his son to a city which is located between deep rivers on a mountain peak. He tells his son to protect the city, and after the battle to follow him (20/1-20/8). He uses the expression *saqla-p kelgil* (~ OT *saqla-* 'to watch over, guard, protect [ED 810] -p CONV.PRF *kel-* 'to come, come back' [ED 715] -*Gil* IMP.Sg2). Oğuz later names the youth *Saqlap* 'one who protected', which meaning is based on the above folk etymology (22/8-23/4). **RD**:- **YZ**: (A 1b/17): mentions it only outside the relevant part. **UK**:- **AG**: *Rus* is mentioned outside the relevant part (69a/6), and also *Oris* is only mentioned (73b/16).

9. *Saqlap*⁸⁵⁵: **PON**:(20/1-23/4) Urus's son flees to a city to his father's order. Urus orders his son to protect that city. When Oğuz arrives to the city, Urus's son repeats his father's order, and submits to Oğuz. Oğuz accepts his submission and tribute, and speaks highly on the youth, that he protected the city well (*saqla-p* see. 8. *Urus/Rūs* above). **RD**:- **YZ**:- **UK**:- **AG**:(69a/6) does mention *Saqlab*, but outside the relevant part.

Table 33. The unique features of the PON

Motif	PON	RD	YZ	UK	AG
Altun Qağan	a	x	x-	x	x
Urum/Rūm	a	b	x-	x	x
Grey wolf	a	b-	–	–	–
Urus/Rūs	a	–	x-	–	x
Saqlab	a	–	–	–	x-

8.3 The dependent Turkic tribes

10. *Qipčaq*:**PON**:(23/4- 24/8) When Oğuz arrives to the river Etil, he cannot cross it. In his army there is a clever man, *Uluğ Ordu* (Great Horde). The manuscript is damaged here, but it can be concluded from the context that *Uluğ Ordu* ties together the wood found on the bank, and they can cross the river with the rafts. Oğuz gives him the name *qipčaq* spelled as <[q']bč'q> or <[qy]bč'q>. Another folk etymology is to be seen here based on the verb *qap-* 'to grasp, seize with the hands' (ED 580), or **qav-* (ED 580) cf. *qav-ir-* 'to bring together, collect, to constrict' (ED 580) and *qav-iš-* 'to come together, assemble' (ED 588). **RD**:(C 592r/12-15) After the war with *İt Baraq* one of Oğuz's soldier dies. His wife gives birth to a child in a hollow tree. The text gives an interpretation, according to which the word *qipčaq* comes from *qabūq*, which means hollow tree in Turkic. **YZ**:(A 8a/3-15) gives a similar interpretation, with the difference that the word *qabūq* is not mentioned, but the word *qipčaq* means hollow tree. The **UK**:(8/1-8/6) only mentions the name *qipčaq*, which is a collective name for the *Qarluq*, *Qanlı* and *Qalač*. See also 3. *Uygur*. **AG**:(73b/1-74a/5) Next to the battlefield where the battle with *İt Baraq* was fought, flows two great rivers. The wife of a dead soldier gave birth to a child in a hollow tree. Oğuz gave the name *qipčaq* for the child.

⁸⁵⁵ In a narrow sense, the name *Saqlap* meant the Eastern European Slavs. In a wider sense, it was a name for the forest-dwelling people of Eastern Europe (Zimonyi 1990:73-75, Zimonyi 2005: 59) It thus might be connected with *yığaç er* of **UK** and *ağačeri* of **YZ** ('tree'+ 'man'[+PxSg.3]) , see Chapter 8.7.2., but the information given about them by **YZ** is completely different. Etymologically *Saqlap* is a copy of the Arabic word *Şakāliba* (sg. *Şaklabī/Şiklabī*). The Arabic word is also a copy of Middle-Greek Σλάβος. The Greek word is connected to the self-designation of the Slavs (*Slověne*, *Slovyane*). The ethnonym later took the meaning 'slave' due to the high number of Slavic slaves taken to Western Europe. This change of meaning can be observed in Arabic sources as well. (Golden 1995: 872).

According to the interpretation in the text, in the old Turkic language the word for hollow tree was *qipčaq*. Thus the child was named so. The present (AG's age) word for that is *čipčaq*, because the common folk reads the *kaf* as *ǰim*. Oğuz later sends the woman and his boy to the bank of the Etil.

11. *Qarluq*: **PON**: (25/9-28/4) Oğuz's favourite stallion fled away, and it escaped to the Ice Mountain (*Muz Tağ*). In the army of Oğuz there is a braveheart, who goes after the horse and brings it back. Because he is fully covered with snow, Oğuz gives him the name *Qārluğ* <q'q'r-luq> The name is based on folk etymology: OT *qār* 'snow' (ED 641) with the derivative *-IVG*. **RD**: (C 596r /29-31) While they travel across *Ĝūr* and *Ĝarjīstān* three families stays back because of a blizzard. Oğuz tells them that it's not proper to stay back because of a blizzard. He names the families *Qarluq* (*qār* + *IVK*, with a different derivative than in the PON) which means the 'the lord of the snow'. **YZ** (A 8a/16-8b/4) = **RD** except that the name is interpreted as 'one who stayed in the snowy mountains' (*qarlıqda qalan*). **UK**: (8/1-8/6) only mentions the motif, see 10. *Qipčaq* **AG** (75a/15-75b/8) = **RD**, but the meaning of the name is not interpreted.

12. *Qalač*: **PON**: (28/5-29/5) There is a house on the road built of different metals. It is closed and there is no key. Oğuz gives an order to one of his men to stay there and open it. It is a folk etymology: *qal ač!* 'Stay and open!' ~ *qal-* 'to remain (behind)' (ED 615) +IMP.Sg.2 *ač-* 'to open' (ED 18) +IMP.Sg.2 Oğuz gives the name *Qalač* for the man. **RD**: (C 596r/6-12) We find a slightly different folk etymology, but a different story: During the campaign against Iraq, a soldier remains behind. Oğuz asks him why he did so. He answers that his wife was pregnant, and the portion was too few, they could not come. The mother's milk was not enough. On the riverbank he saw that a jackal catches a pheasant. He drove the jackal away with a rod, which left the pheasant there. He cooked that pheasant, and gave it to the woman. Oğuz tells him: Don't join this camp! Stay (here), hungry (man)! *qal ač!* ~ *qal-* 'to remain (behind)' (ED 615) +IMP.Sg.2 *ač* 'hunger, hungry' (ED 17). The *Qalač* people descend from this man but now (RD's age) they are called *Halaj*. **YZ**: (A 8b/5-11) is basically the same as RD except that the phrase *qal ač!* is implicitly understood differently: Because it is forbidden to stay behind from the army, Oğuz sentence the soldier. 'Stay hungry!' **UK**: (8/1-8/6) The motif is only mentioned, see 10. *Qipčaq* **AG** (76a/1-13) = **RD**, except that the army is marching towards Iran.

13. *Qanlı/the conquest of the jürčäd*: **PON**: After the war with the *jürčäd* (29/6-30/9), the booty is so plentiful that Oğuz's army can't carry it away. In the army there is a clever man who builds a cart (*qanqa*, <q'nq'>). He loaded the inanimate goods (*öläg bargu*) on the

cart and harnessed the living goods (*tirig bargu*) in front of the carts. Thus he could carry it away. Everybody was amazed, and did the same. Because the cart made noise *qanqa* while moving, they named the cart *qanqa*, and the builder got the name *qanqaluğ* ('One having a cart')(30/9-32/9). **RD**: (C 591r/15-17) Oğuz defeated another people after the war with his father, but he didn't have enough beasts of burden to carry the booty away. They constructed two-wheeled carts called *qanlis*. Before these had got no wheels, and they were the first to invent the wheeled carts. They loaded their goods and booty on, and pulled on these carts. Oğuz named the builders *qanli* (like the name of the cart). **YZ** (A 7b/13-8a/2): After the war against his father, Oğuz and his army could not take the booty. They constructed *qanqli*-s and carried the booty away on these. They named the builders *qinqili* (sic) and the *qinqli* (again, like the name of the cart) people descend from them. **UK** (8/1-8/6): The motif is only mentioned. See 10. *Qipčaq*. **AG**: (72b/16-73a/9) After the war with the Tatars (who lives near the *čürčed* and *χatay* which is the same as *čin-mačin*) they could not carry the booty away. A clever man constructed a cart. The others saw it and did the same. They named the carts *qanq* because it made noise *qanq*. They named the builder *qanqli* ('one having a cart').

Table. 34 Motifs in the different version of the Oğuz-nāmā: the dependant Turkic tribes

Motif	PON	RD	YZ	UK	AG
Qipčaq	a	b	b(1)	x	b1
Qarluq	a	b	b1	x	b
Qalač	a	b	b1	x	b
The conquest of the jürčed /Qanli	a	b	–	–	a1b1
	a	a1	a1	x	a

8.4 Conquests of secondary importance in the PON

14. *Misir/Baraq*: **PON**: (33/6-34/8) There is a land in the south which is called *Baraq*^(°) <b'r'q̄'>. It is a very hot and rich land, rich in animals and birds. The appearance of its people is completely black. The ruler of the place is called *Misir* <m's'r> (*Egypt*). Oğuz waged war against him and won. **RD**: *Misr* and *Baraq* appears separately. *Baraq*: (C 591v/26-592r/16) The land of *Qil Baraq* was ruled by darkness. Its people was dark-skinned, similar to dogs, but their women were beautiful. The ruler was called *Īt Baraq*⁸⁵⁶. He and Oğuz agreed that two men of each party will fight. The men of *Īt Baraq* greased their body with glue three times. The glue became on their body like an armor, so the weapons do not affect them. Oğuz

⁸⁵⁶ coordinate N+N compound ~ OT *it* 'dog' (ED 34), *baraq* 'long-haired dog' (ED 360). The construction is different from *baraq it* 'long haired dog' in which *baraq* is an adjective. *baraq* 'long-haired dog' as a noun is well-known among Turkic languages, see the entry *barág* in Róna-Tas–Berta 2011: 98.

defeat them with a feint. Oğuz breeds four children from their women. Later (C 596v/15-18) the *Baraq* people refuse to pay taxes, so Oğuz sends the Qipčaq against them, to the banks of *Itil~Atil* (Volga) and *Jajiq* (Ural) rivers. *Misr*: (C 595r/11-20). Oğuz sends his children against *Misr* (Egypt), who force them to pay taxes. **YZ** also mentions *Itburaq* in connection with the *Qipčaq* (A 8a/11). *Misr* is only mentioned (A 2a/8, A 9a/13). **UK** (8/12) does not mention *Qil Baraq*, only *Misr*. **AG**: (73a/17-73b/2) *It Baraq* is mentioned as the ruler of many countries, which are located on the opposite side of China, on the seashore, between great mountains. Oğuz fought him, but he was defeated and fled away. There were two great rivers here (see: 10. *Qipčaq*: **AG**) Later Oğuz defeats and kills *It Baraq* and converts his people (75a/2-6). *Misr* is designated as the western border of the empire, but its conquest is not mentioned (75b/15, 77b/13, 78a/13).

15. *SindulHind/Hindūstān*. **PON**: (33/2) It is only mentioned as <syndu>, and that Oğuz conquered it. **RD**: (C 591r/20-26) Oğuz sends envoys to India, in order to force them to submit him and pay tribute. The Indians answer very rudely, so Oğuz marches against India through 'Alūdāq and Iqāriyya. There was a great mountain between two rivers, on which there were strong fortresses. Thus no ships could cross the rivers. They made rafts which were like manifolds, and they crossed the rivers. Thus they could capture Iqāriyya. In Eastern-India there was a place which was ruled by Oğul Jagmā-Hān. He heard about Oğuz's conquests and submitted to him. When Oğuz left the territory, they rebelled, and Oğuz conquered them. Then Oğuz conquered *čin-māčin* (identical with *čürčed*?) and *nangās*, and returned to his homeland. **YZ** (A 2a/8) and **UK** (8/13) only mentions *Hind*. **AG** (76b/1-10): There was a *Qalač* beg called Muhammad Bahtiyar, who went to the great, but divided India, and conquers three provinces. The *Šejere-i Türk* only mentions *Hindūstān*, but this story is not included.

16. *Tangqut/Tibet*: **PON**: (33/2) *Tangqut* is only mentioned, spelled as <t'ng qwt>. Although this name is not interpreted, the fact that the name is spelled as two words, may reveal another folk etymology: OT ~ *taŋ* 'dawn' (ED 510) + *qut* 'the favour of heaven, good fortune, happiness' (ED 596). **RD**:- **YZ**:- and **UK**:- **AG** (73a/12-13) mentions it, it is conquered together with *xitay* and *čürčed*. *Tanqut* is called *Tibet* by the Tājik.

17. *Šām*: **PON**: (33/3) It is only mentioned, spelled as <š'q'm>. Oğuz conquers it. **RD**: (C 593v/1-594r/11) Oğuz's children fight against *Tekfūr xan* in *Šām*, and plunder his land. The text mentions the sons' names here for the first time. **YZ** (A 2a/8, A 2b/4, A 9a/4), and **UK** (8/12) only mentions it. It is also mentioned by **AG** (77b/13-14), the children of Oğuz find the bow and arrows here (see. 19. *Üčoq/Buzuq*)

T. 35 Motifs in the different version of the Oğuz-nāmā: conquests of secondary importance

Motif	PON	RD	YZ	UK	AG.
Barağ	a	b	b1	–	x
Mīsr		b	x	x	x
Sindu/Hind/ Hindūstān	x	a	x	x	b/x
Tağqut	x	–	–	–	a
Šām	x	a	x	x	x

8.5 Dividing the empire

18. *Uluğ Türük/ Īrqił-χōja* **PON:** (35/5-37/6) *Uluğ Türük* (Great Turk) is a wise man (*aqsaqal* lit. white beard), and counselor of Oğuz Qağan. He sees a prophetic dream, in which a golden bow and three silver arrows appear. There is another, but implicit folk etymology here: His title, *tüšimäl* (<Written Mo. *tüsimel* 'official, functionary, dignitary' [L: 857]) seems to be connected with the Turkic word *tüš* 'dream' (ED: 558), and the title rather means 'seer' here. The bow reaches from the east to the west and shoots silver arrows to the north. He tells his dream to Oğuz Qağan, who sends his sons to hunt. They obey their father, and each three of them find a golden bow and three silver arrows. **RD:** (C 596r/21-31) *Īrqił-χōja*, Oğuz's governor and counsolor, tells Oğuz's eldest son, *Kün χan* to make a celebration. According to RD, *Īrqił* means 'help' and *χōja* means 'great'. **YZ:** (A 10a/2-10b/17) is similar to RD, but the interpretation of name *Īrqił-χōja* is not included. **UK:** does not mention this motif. **AG:** (79a/7-80a/6) *Īrqił-χōja* was the son of an Uyğur *aqsaqal*. He was the visier of Oğuz, and lived very long. *Kün χan* divides his empire according to *Īrqił-χōja*'s advice.

19. *Buzuq /Üčoq* **PON:** (37/6-40/4) Oğuz sends his sons to hunt. The three elder sons find a golden bow, they give it to their father. Oğuz breaks the bow into three pieces. And tells "The bow shall be yours! Like the bow, you shall shoot the arrows until the sky!". The three younger sons find three silver arrows. They give them their father. He tells them " The arrows shall be yours! The bow shot the arrows, you shall become (like) the arrows!". An act of giving the name *Buzuq* ('broken', the three elder sons) and *Üčoq* ('three arrows', the yonger sons) is only implicitly present. The names themselves appear only at the *Celebration*. **RD:** (C 596v/4-10) Oğuz sends his sons to hunt, and they find the bow and the arrows. The proclamations are missing, but the act of the namegiving and its interpretation is present. The hierarchy between the sons is set up. **YZ** (A 9b/6-10a/2): The story is similar to **RD**. **UK:** The motif is missing. **AG:** (77b/14-78a/11) The boys find the bow and arrows which were hidden

by Oğuz's order. He distributes the items between the boys, gives them names and sets up the hierarchy.

20. *Celebration* **PON**: (40/4-42/7) The manuscript is damaged here, but the text can be reconstructed. Oğuz makes a celebration and erects two poles of forty fathoms length. (Since the text is damaged at this point, it is possible that the length of the first pole is different.) On the right side, which is the place of the *Buzuq*'s, he puts a golden hen on the top of the pole, and ties a white sheep to it. To the top of the pole on the left, which is the place of the *Üčoq*, he puts a silver hen, and ties a black sheep to it. They celebrate for a long time, and Oğuz divides his empire to his sons. **RD**: (C 596/21-31) By *İrqil xōja*'s advice, Oğuz's eldest son, Kün xan makes a celebration, on which he distributes the *tamğas* and birds to himself, his brothers and their sons. The names of Oğuz's grandchildren and their *tamğas* and *onquns* are detailed on C 597r/1-21 (=A 385r-v). **YZ** (A 10a/2-13b/9)= **RD**, **UK** does not mention this motif. **AG**: We find two celebrations here. One is very similar what is described at the **PON**, and is organized by Oğuz himself. It verifies the hierarchy between the *Buzuq* and the *Üç Oq*, and describes the order of sitting as we seen in the **PON**. (78a/15-79a/6). The other reminds the one we find at **RD**, but there are certain elements what are common with the **PON**. The second celebration found at **AG** is as the following: By *İrqil xōja*'s advice, Oğuz's eldest son, Kün xan makes a celebration. He sets up six white tents on the left and the right side each. On the right side he erects a forty fathom pole. He puts a golden hen to its top. On the left side he erects another forty fathom pole, on which he puts a silver hen. The participants shoot arrows to these hens from horseback (79a/7-80a/6). The distribution of the *tamğas* and birds is missing from this scene, it is found in a later part (82b/3-83b/2).

T. 36 Motifs in the different version of the Oğuz-nāmā: dividing the empire

Motif	PON	RD	YZ	UK	AG
Uluğ Türuk/ İrqil Hoja	a	b(a)	b	–	b1(a1)
Buzoq/Üčoq	a	a1	a1	–	a1
Celebration		b	b	–	a1b1

8.6 Motifs that appear at different places in the different versions

There are some minor motifs in the different versions which appear in connection with some other motifs discussed above, but with different ones (or in different contexts) in almost each version. I call these hidden motifs. These are the following:

1. *Shore of water*. **PON**: (8/6- 10/7) Oğuz finds his second wife in a *middle of a lake* within a hollow tree. He takes her, and she gives birth to his second three sons. In all the other versions (**RD**: C 590v/7, **YZ**: A 6a/10 **AG**: 71b/2-3) Oğuz meets his third wife on a shore of water. (See *Wives/Children* among the main motifs.)

2. *Hollow tree*. This motifs appear at different places even in the Muslim versions. **PON**: (8/6-9/1) See *Shore of water*. In the versions of **RD** (C 592r/13) and **YZ** (A 8a/3-10), during the war with *It Baraq*, one of Oğuz's soldiers dies, and the soldier's wife gives birth to his child in a hollow tree. In these versions the motif is connected to the folk etymology of *Qipčaq*. At **AG**: There is an interesting mixture:*It Baraq* lives among great mountains (73a/17-19). At the place of the battle against him there flows two great waters, and the dead soldier's wife gives birth to his child within a hollow tree, which is located between these rivers. The child is named *Qipčaq* (73b/1-9) as in **RD**, but the motif of hollow tree appears again with context of riverbank. At **RD** and **YZ**, the motifs of hollow tree and the riverbank separate. The hollow tree is missing from **UK**.

3. *Mountain between two rivers*. **PON**: Urus Beg sends his son to a fortified city, located on the top of a mountain between deep rivers (20/3-20/5) . Oğuz occupies the city without fight, because Urus' son pledges loyalty to Oğuz. The youth gets the name *Saqlab* (see there) for his deed. **RD**: (C 591r/22) This motif appears within the context of conquering *Sindul/Hind/Hindūstān* and is in connection with *Crossing the river*. **AG**: (72a/17-73b/9)The motif appears in the context of *It Baraq* and is in connection with *Hollow tree*. **YZ** and **UK** does not contain this motif.

4. *Crossing the river*: **PON**: (23/5-24/8) The founder of the *Qipčaq* tribe gets his name for making rafts in order to cross the river Etil (see there). **RD**: (C 591r/23) This motif appears at the campaign against *Sindul/Hind/Hindūstān*, and is connected to *Mountain between rivers*. **YZ**, **UK**, and **AG** does not contain this motif.

5. *Prophetic dream*: **PON**:The motif is found in connection with *Uluğ Türiük* (35/9-36/7). In **RD** (C 590v/7-10), **YZ** (A 5b/4-5), **UK** (1/5-1/7), and **AG**:(70a/11-15) Oğuz's mother sees a dream after Oğuz's birth, where the child asks her to convert to Islam, otherwise he won't suck, and is going to die. Thus it is connection with 2. *Oğuz's birth / The name Oğuz*.

T.37 The co-occurrence of 'hidden' motifs with the main motifs in the PON, RD, and AG.

Motif	PON	RD	AG
<i>Shore of water</i>	4. <i>Wives</i>	4. <i>Wives /Children</i>	4. <i>Wives /Children</i>
<i>Hollow tree</i>	<i>/Children</i>	10. <i>Qïpčaq</i>	10. <i>Qïpčaq</i>
<i>Mountain between two rivers</i>	8. <i>Urus/Rūs</i> 9. <i>Saqlab</i>	15. <i>Sindul/Hind/ Hindūstān</i>	14. <i>Baraq</i>
<i>Crossing the river</i>	10. <i>Qïpčaq</i>		–
<i>Prophetic dream</i>	18. <i>Uluğ TÜRÜK/</i>	2. <i>Birth of Oğuz</i>	2. <i>Birth of Oğuz</i>

We can see from the table that in three main versions, all of the hidden motifs appear in different contexts, except *Shore of water*, which appears at *Wives*, but in the case of the **PON**, it also co-occurs with the hollow tree. The *Prophetic dream* consequently appears in the context of the *Birth of Oğuz* in the Muslim versions, but all the other hidden motifs show up in different contexts, even **RD** and **AG** don't match, although, concerning the main motifs, they usually do.

8.7 The relation between the individual versions.

8.7.1. *The Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nāmā and Rašīd ad-Dīn's work*

Although almost all of the **PON**'s motifs (except *Urus*, *Saqlab*, *Tanqut* and *Grey Wolf* in a certain sense) appear at **RD**, it is clear that these motifs are simply different, except in the sense that they appear. The motifs *Parents*, *Birth/The name Oğuz*, *Struggle for the rule/Uyğur*, *Wives/Children* make up the opposed ideological background of the two versions. Exactly these are the motifs, based on which one can talk about Pre-Islamic and 'Muslim' groups of Oğuz-nāmās. Although it appears later, the *Grey Wolf* could be connected to the Pre-Islamic ideological background. The group of the **PON**'s unique features, *Altun Qağan*, *Urum/Rūm*, *Grey Wolf*, *Urus/Rūs* and *Saqlab* (which also contains a motif of *Oath*) appears only in **PON** as a coherent group. I will return to this later. Three of the names of the four dependant tribes *Qïpčaq*, *Qarluq* and *Qalač* are interpreted differently in the two groups. The interpretation of the name of the fourth tribe *Qanli* is very similar in all versions. The group 'Dividing the empire' *Uluğ TÜRÜK/ İrqil-χōja*, *Üčoq/Buzuq* and *Celebration* do differ in details, in the groups, but basically are the same. The group 'Conquests of secondary importance' in the **PON** seem to be included only for the intension of exhaustiveness. There is clear allusion for this in the text: (33/6-7) 'Without having (anything) left out, let it be (perfectly) known, that...'. The construction of the **PON** can be easily divided into five parts according to the above points of view:

- a. Oğuz's birth and youth (Ideological background)
- b. Unique features, that do not appear in other versions (The exact goal of the text's creation)
- c. Interpretation of the names of the dependant Turkic tribes with folk etymologies. The act of the namegiving thus fulfill an important role: They reassure the status of power between the Qağan and his subjects.
- d. Other conquests, which are secondary, they only appear because of the intension of exhaustiveness.
- e. Dividing the empire, which sets up the hierarchy between the heirs so the status of power can be devised without interference.

Thus, the **PON** which is a text built up very consciously, concentrates on the heart of the matters. On the other hand, **RD**'s text is more elaborated. It creates the ideological background to the small details, and gives a detailed interpretation why Oğuz converts others to Islam. His conquests are described with the intension of historical adequateness, and the acts of namegiving to the dependant tribes are integrated in a way that verifies their geographical location at the time of the text's creation: The *Uygur* and the *Qanlı*: They appear after the defeat of *Qara xan*, in Middle-Asia. The *Qipčaq* appear after the defeat of *Īt Baraq*. Oğuz sends them to their homeland, to the bank of the Volga (Etil) later. The *Qalač* appear in Iran. The dividing of the empire also appears in a well-integrated connection of cause and effect, and not in an ad hoc way as in the **PON**.

Because of the differences between the **PON** and **RD**, they must be considered as two texts created completely independent from each other.

8.7.2 *Rašīd ad-Dīn's work, Yazījzāde's work, and the Uzunköprü version*

It is known that 'Alī Yazījzāde knew **RD**'s work when he compiled *Tevāriḫ-i Āl-i Selçuq* (Bakır 2008: 165). According to the table introducing the main motifs presented above, this is without doubt. The motifs appearing at **RD** also appear at **YZ** almost without exception, however, the latter differs in some details and in the construction of its text. On the other hand, I don't agree with Bakır's statement (2008: 165), that **YZ** used also the **PON**. Above I pointed out that the **PON** and **RD** are two independent versions, and **YZ** followed the latter, thus it is also independent from the **PON**. The same can be said about the **UK**. The text is very deficient, actually it contains only the beginning of the story which is labelled as *ideological background*, which clearly connects it to the Muslim group. Otherwise it contains

a few information above some conquests, and the dependant Turkic tribes, among which it sets up an inner hierarchy. It also mentions the *yığaç er* (about which one can read in details at **YZ** as *ağačeri* (A 8b/12-9a/12), and I didn't attended to them in the present work). Thus the **UK** could not contribute the present examination.

8.7.3 Abu'l Ġāzī's work compared to Rašīd ad-Dīn's and the Pre-Islamic Oġuz-nāmā.

We can see clearly see that there are three versions of the *Oġuz-nāmās*. Which are (in chronological order) **RD**, **PON** and **AG**. Now the task is to relate **AG** to the other two versions. We know that Abu'l-Ġāzī's used **RD**'s work to compile his work. This becomes apparent not only in the similarity of the description of events until the beginning Oġuz's rule, but the motifs examined here match to those we find at **RD**. Although the order of the conquests found at **AG** do not follow strictly **RD**, we can consider the following motions as matches:

- a) The events providing base to the name-giving of the *Qipčaq* happen after the first clash with *It Baraq*.
- b) The name-giving of the *Qalač* happens during the campaign against Iran.
- c) The snow fallen in the mountains of *Ġur* provides base for the name-giving of the *Qarluq*.
- d) The name-giving of the *Qangli* appear with similar plot, but in different points of the story at all three main versions.

AG basically followed **RD** (see **PON:RD**) with the interpretation of the names of the dependant Turkic tribes. However, there are some overlaps between **AG** and the **PON**, which do not appear in the other examined versions.

- a) **AG** basically relies to **RD** with the interpretation, but he gives further explanation, in which he relates the name *Uyġur* with milk (72a/15-16). Such a relation is not explicit in the **PON** (see the citations below). However, based on **AG**, we can assume that in the **PON** the name *Uyġur* and the description of Oġuz's second wife may be connected here. So on this point **AG** is more informative than the **PON**.

PON: (5/5-8) *andaġ körüġlük erdi kim yerning yelküni anı körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp sütdän qimiz bola tururlar* 'She was so beautiful, that whenever the world's people saw her, they said: "Oh, oh, we will die!" then, they were (like) koumiss (which becomes) from milk.'

12/7-12/9 *män uyğurnıng qağanı bolamän kim yerning tört bulungınung qağanı bolsam käräk turur.* 'I am the Kagan of the Uygur, thus I must be the Kagan of the four corners of the world'

- b) At the mentioning of the *jürčäd*, we read the following parallel sentences of similar meaning.

PON: (29/9) *munga jürčäd tätururlar erdi bedük bir yurt, elkün erdi yilqıları köp ud buzağları köp altun kümüsläri köp erdiniläri köp erdilär erdi*

AG: (72b/16-17) *jürjät tegän uluğ bir yurt turur šährläri ve kändläri köp*

- c) During the namegiving of the *Qanlı*, **RD** (C591r/16) and **YZ** (A 8a/1) calls the newly invented cart *qanlı*, and the tribe gets the same name. The **PON** (32/4-5) and **AG** (73a/6) call the cart *qanqa* <q'nq'> and *qanq* respectively. Both versions explain this with the voice made by the carts. The tribe gets the name *qanqaluğ* <q'nq'lwq> or *qanlı* 'having *qanq(a)*.'

- d) *Aqsaqal* 'wise man (lit. white beard)' **PON:** (35/4-35/9) *Uluğ Türük* has the feature *aq saqalluğ*. **AG:** (79a/7-9) *İrqil xōja* is a son of an Uygur *aqsaqal* **RD:** (596v/23) explains the meaning of the name *İrqil xōja* where *xōja* means 'great' which corresponds to *uluğ* at the **PON** (OT ~ *uluğ* 'big great' ED 136). The two names can be connected by the explanation of the name at **RD**, but the counsolor is described as *aqsaqal* only at **PON** and **AG**.

- e) At the *Celebration*, the scenery and the order of sitting is missing from **RD** (but it corresponds to their distribution of residence as it is described at *Buzuq/Üčoq*, (596v 9) , while it is present at the **PON** (40/4-42/7) and **AG** (79a/7-80a/6). The **PON** differs from the other two in that the celebration is made by Oğuz, while in the others Oğuz's eldest son *Kün xan* does. In the **PON** and **AG** a forty fathom poles are erected on both sides, and a golden hen is put on top of the right one, and silver hen is put on the top of the left one. The right side is the place of the *Buzuq* and left one is that of the *Üç Oq*. **AG** provides more information at this scene, he mentions six white tents on each side, and a competition, where the participants shoot arrows to the hens from horseback.

- f) There is another parallel in the **PON** and **AG**, however, they appear in different context:

PON: (33/7) *kündünki bulungda baraq° tögän bir yer bar turur) uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur [...] elkünlärining önglüki čirayı qap qara turur*

AG: (73a/13-14) *(andın song barıp qara xıtayni aldı) ol hām uluğ yurt turur kişisining čirayı hindū tög qara bolur*

g) The following phrase appear at the **PON** and two times at **AG**, but outside the relevant part:

PON: (42/2) *oğuz qağan [...] tedi kim) [...] duşmanlarni iğlagurdum dostlarumni män küldürdüm [...]*

AG: (69b/11-12) *(baquy dip çan)[...]dostlarniñ külgenin düşmänlärning yiglaganin körüp sevinüp*

(92b/9-11) *qozı tegin atası tahtında oturup düşmänlärini yiglatıp wä dostlarini küldürüp*

Now we can entitle to ask the question what exactly the connection between the versions of **PON** and **AG**. In the cases of a) and d) we don't really have a handhold, since these motifs of the **PON** can be identified of those of **AG** and **RD**. Points b) and f) can reveal connection, but since f) appears in different context in the **PON** and **AG**, they can be mere coincidence. This could be supported by g) which seems to be a generally established common phrase. In the case of c) and e) however, the match in details is striking, and these details cannot be taken by **AG** from **RD**. We know that Abu'l Gāzī used other historical works to compile his work, and he also drew on contemporary oral tradition. Could he know the **PON** as a written text? Probably not, because while he gives a concrete explanation in the case of a), the connection between the *Uygur* with the milk can be only vaguely understood. Thus it is more probable that the details which are found at **PON** and **AG**, but missing from **RD**, like c) and e) were the talk of the people as a part of an oral tradition, and **AG** lifted them into his work from this tradition. The name of the cart, which shows a *qañli* : *qañq(a)* opposition could be considered as an isogloss crossing the area of spread of the Oğuz-tradition.

8.7.4 *The core plot of the Oğuz tradition.*

We know that elements of oral tradition infiltrated in to **AG**'s work, and one of them, namely c) (the name of the carts is based on their voice they give), could be identified. The **PON** also contains this motif although the writing down of the text is surely independent either from **RD** and **AG**. Žirmunskij has already pointed out that the **PON** can refer indirectly to contemporary oral epic poetry, but he does not consider the **PON** as an oral epic (Chadwick-Žirmunskij 1969: 307). My opinion is that the **PON** is exactly a takedown of an oral text after dictation, since certain phonetic phenomena can be observed in it, and the

manuscript lacks any trace of chapters or other tracks of edition. On the other hand the whole text is an alternation of rhythmic prose and metrical poetry. Such a text form is expressly characteristic of Turkic epic. Thus I think that we must assume an oral tradition spread in a wide area (this is what I called Oğuz-tradition above), which had been written down in different places and times (**RD**, **PON**, and may be **UK**). The written versions later got into the literature, and could be bequeathed in a written form (**YZ** and **AG**).

As the example of Alpamış-epic shows (Zhirmunsky 1960) these epics could be spread on vast areas spanning through linguistic borders, and could be extended with new elements. Thus the fact that the **PON** contains Mongolic loanwords and phonetic features characteristic on Kipchak languages (cf. *Chapter 5.*), but is still part of the *Oğuz-tradition*, is surprising only at the first glance.

The plot core of the Oğuz-tradition (now limited only to Oğuz Kagan himself and not his descendants) can be reconstructed in the following way: We take the common cut of the elements appearing in the three main versions. Of course, this method may not give out the whole core of the tradition (since the manuscript of the **PON** seems to be incomplete), but at the moment so much is possible according the data in hand. We get the following result:

Oğuz is born and it is visible at the first glance that he is a unordinary child. He grows up fast and has abilities which surpass those of ordinary children's at the same age. After growing up, he meets (one of) his future wife(s) on a shore or riverbank. He marries her/them and he breeds six children: Kün, Ay, Yulduz, and Kök, Tağ, Tängiz. He executes some special deed and he becomes the ruler. The Uyğur join him to whom he gives this name. He starts conquests and the Qïpčaq, Qangli, Qarluq and the Qalač (not necessarily in this order) join him. He gives them their respective names. The Qangli get their name from the cart they invent. Oğuz wages war against the Baraq, whose complexion is dark, (and the jürčäd). He conquers (North-)India, Egypt and Syria (not necessarily in this order). He has got a counselor. His sons find a golden bow and three silver arrows during a hunt. The first three sons get (a piece of) the bow. This is the sigil of their rule, and they get the right wing of the empire. The second three sons get the silver arrows together with the left wing of the empire, and they will become the executors of the orders. The hierarchy is confirmed in the framework of a celebration, on which the counselor plays a key role.

This core should be somehow extended with the motifs *hollow tree, crossing the river, great mountain between two rivers* and *prophetic dream*. However, as we saw above, the

precise place of these motifs in the story is not sure. It is possible that they constitute an archaic layer of the tradition, and their exact role is vague in a part or the whole area of tradition. They may have been getting forgotten at the time of the texts' takedown. Similar phenomena can be observed in the **PON**, see *Chapter 8.8.2 Mixed and incomplete motifs*, below.

8.8 The characteristics of the **PON** opposed to the other versions:

8.8.1. Mythic motifs

1. *Complexion (blue : black) ~ OT kök 'the sky, sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey' (ED 708) : qara 'black, ordinary (pej.)' (ED 643): PON* : At his *Birth*, Oğuz's *complexion* is *blue* (1/5-1/6) . The complexion of the people of *Baraq/Misr* is *black* described with the same phrase (34/2-34/3) . The two can be opposed to each other. Throughout of the **PON**, co-occurs with *light* (see *Light*). **AG**:(73a/13-15) It is mentioned in connection with the people of *Qara-χıtay*, that their complexion is *black*. **RD**: (591v/26) The land of Qıl Baraq is *dark* and the complexion of the people living there is *black*. In the other versions, this description does not appear. The co-occurrence of *Baraq* and *black* helps to identify the main motif in the **PON**, although these mix up with *Misir* there. The spelling of *Baraq* is <b' r' q'> and that of *Misir* is <m' s' r>. In the case of the latter it is sure that it is identical with *Misir* as a great proportion of data in the text containing etymologic /i/ is spelled with <'>, and there are several parallels for the second-syllable <'> [°] as anaptyctic sound.

Although it is mentioned in all versions that Oğuz is a prodigy at his birth and childhood, only the **PON** opposes Oğuz's *blue* appearance with an inferior *black* one. It is however an interesting parallel that in **RD** (C 590v/23-591r 3), **YZ** (A 6b/8-7b/12) and **AG** (71b/12-72b/7), that the war between *Qara χan* and Oğuz breaks out because of their different religion, since *Qara χan* follows their ancestral faith, and Oğuz is Muslim. Thus in the Muslim versions the name *Qara* seems to be connoted with 'pagan' or 'heathen'. Moreover, in **AG**'s, the people of *Baraq* (who was described as *dark* at **RD**: 791v/26) are also not Muslim, will be converted by Oğuz (75a/4-6). Thus in the Muslim versions the opposition *Muslim : black* replaces the *blue : black* opposition. The motif *blue* should be understood as a non-islamic steppe-motif.

2. *Light*: The *light* co-occur in the **PON** always with *blue*, at the following main motifs:
Birth: At the *birth* of the child with *blue* complexion, his mother's eyes *shines* (1/3-1/4).

Wives: Oğuz's first wife descends in a *blue lightbeam* from the sky (6/6-7/2). The *grey/blue* furred, *grey/blue* maned *wolf* steps out from a sun-like *lightbeam* similar to the Sun (16/1-16/6). The motif of *light* does not appear in the Muslim versions, thus it should be considered as pre-islamic motif, which disappeared from the Muslim versions together with *blue*.

Before advancing to the other motifs, I should attach a note to the opposition *blue(light)* : *black*. The word *qara* has the meaning 'earth, soil' in some Turkic languages (cf. the meaning 'sky' of the word *kök*). At the main motif *Wives*, the origin of the first and second wife can actually be opposed the same way as *blue* : *black/ sky* : *earth*, however without pejorative connotation in the case of the latter. This opposition actually is the one which predestines the hierarchy between the first and second sons, which will be later connoted with *right* : *left*.

The following verse may also be connected here, and the spear (made of iron) could be connoted with earth, and the bow and arrow (fast as the wind) could be connected with sky.

(5/9-6/2)

buğu yedi aduğ yedi jüdam öldürdi tamiür bolsa
[monster]-ni sungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yel bolsa

'It ate the deer and ate bear. My spear killed it for it is iron. The falcon ate the [monster], my bow and arrow killed it for it is (like the) wind.'

The opposition between *blue/sky/right* : *black/earth/left* mirrors a strong dual view, which can be abstracted essentially as *superior* : *inferior*.

3. *Grey Wolf (Leading Wolf)*. This motif appears only in the **PON** (16/1-16/7), and at **RD** (C 598r/15-18), however outside the relevant part. Except the **UK** the name *Başgird* appears in every Muslim versions (**RD**: 591v/5:, **YZ**: A 1b/17, **AG**: 73b/17):, which is used to be connected with folk etymology to *Başqurt* 'head wolf, leading wolf'. The relevance of the folk etymology at time of the takedown of the texts is questionable, although it would fit the concept that the story explains the names of the Turkic tribes with folk etymology.

4. *Animal features of the protagonist*. In the description of the young Oğuz one can read that *the whole of his body was covered with fur* (2/5-2/6). It is possible that this is a reference to person or mythic figure who is known as the Muslim saint *Baba Tükläs*, who has the same feature. The resemblance of *Baba Tükläs* and *Oğuz Qağan* in this respect is already mentioned by DeWeese (1994: 331), however in a reverse relation. We know that the figure of *Baba Tükläs* is adopted to Turkic Islam from a pre-islamic tradition. Since there is only this implicit reference in the **PON**, we cannot tell more in this topic.

Ščerbak (1993) considers the motifs discussed above (*light, grey wolf, animal features of the protagonist*) together with some other (*unusual features of women* cf. *Wives* discussed here) as unambiguous Mongolian impact in the **PON**. We saw above that *blue* and *light* are strongly connected together in the **PON**, and can be opposed to *black*, so they are in a closed system. The *unusual features of women* are part of this system, similarly to the *grey wolf*. The figure of *Baba Tükläs* (see *animal features of the protagonist* or *unusual qualities of the heroes* at Ščerbak 1993) can hardly be of Mongolian origin among the Turks, and this holds true even if it happens that the mentioned motif of the **PON** is independent from *Baba Tükläs*. I think these motifs should not be understood as Mongolian impact on Turkic folklore, but as a part of a common steppe tradition (including Turkic, Mongolian, and others).

8.8.2 *Mixed and incomplete motifs.*

1. The motifs *Misir/Baraq* are mixed up in the **PON** (33/6-34/5), while in the other versions, these appear separately in different points on the story.

2. The same can be told about the *Celebration*, although a bit differently: In the Muslim versions, the eldest son of Oğuz, Kün ħan organizes the celebration in the beginning of his rule, during which the dividing of the empire takes place. At **AG** Oğuz also organizes a celebration, but still Kün ħan divides the empire on his feast. In the **PON** Oğuz himself divides his empire among his sons.

3. It is possible that the *hollow tree* (which appears consistently in the Muslim versions) "moved" to the *Wives* in the **PON** in the same way, but we don't have a proof.

The phenomenon of mixing up originally independent motifs (just as the unusual appearance of the hidden motifs) can be explained with the homeostatic feature of the oral tradition: The information which are irrelevant to the interpretation of the very present state of affairs slowly sink into oblivion. (Ong 1982, 31-55). I think it's probable that the details of the conquest of *Sindu*, *Šām* and *Tañqut* are excluded from the **PON** (33/2-33/3) for this reason. The description of the former two can be found at **RD** (C 591r/20-26, and C 593v/1-594r/11), while the latter is told at **AG** (73a/12-13).

8.8.3 *Political motifs.*

Urum Qağan/Urus Beg/Saqılab: The part of the **PON** (14/7-23/8), which tells the events of Eastern Europe found in none of the Muslim versions in this form. According to the text,

after *Altun Qağan* pays tribute to Oğuz on the right wing, *Urum Qağan* resists to do so on the left wing. Oğuz marches against him and on the eve of the battle, the *Grey Wolf* appears and offers divine help to Oğuz. The army lead by the wolf defeats the army of Urum in a bloody battle, and Oğuz kills Urum. Urum, the brother of Urum (may be because being informed about the events), sends his son to a well fortified city, located on a *mountain between deep rivers*. When Oğuz arrives there, the youth submits to him, offers tribute and pledges loyalty to Oğuz. Oğuz accept him as friend and lifts him among the allied tribe founders (which are discussed later) with the act of giving the name *Saqlab* to him. The description of the events takes 78 lines (1 page = 9 lines), which is circa 20% of the whole text (42 pages, 376 lines). If we consider the fact that *Urum* is located on the left wing of Oğuz's territory, and on the right wing there is *Altun Qağan* (which can be identified with China, so that right and the left wing are the eastern and the western borders of the empire with northern orientation cf. also *Prophetic dream*) who already submitted to Oğuz, then we can trace back the events to an earlier point in the narration. This point in question is when Oğuz made a feast and declared himself as the ruler of the four corners of the world, sending ultimatum to the four directions (10/8-14/7). If we consider these line of events as one unit, it will take 113 lines of the 376, which corresponds to 30% of the whole text. In any case, it is plausible that the very aim of the takedown of the **PON** is to tell these events. Thus, the **PON** is a declaration of supermacy over Eastern Europe, which is wrapped in disguise of an Oğuz-nāmā, and based on steppe-nomadic ideology.

9. Final Conclusions

Let us summarize the conclusions what can be drawn from the above edition, philological and linguistic analysis of the PON. For almost thirteen decades of being first published by Radloff (1890-1891), and six decades of its last edition by Ščerbak (1959), the PON gave plenty to think about for a series of scholars. Their approach was mainly of philological and/or historical interest, supported by mainly philological work. Since the PON has many obscure thus hardly understood passages, the details of the scientific discussion sometimes led to a dead-end. Another problem of the approach to the PON in the main previous editions was that they published the text with a translation, and discussed its problems in end-notes. Thus, the reader encountered a heterogenous mixture of paleographical, etymological, morphological and historical expositions, which are almost as difficult to comprehend as to understand the text itself. Pelliot (1930) even enhanced this situation by adding deepnotes to the endnotes on the text.

The present work with its mainly linguistic approach to the text is called to make a clean breast for the future research on the text. I attempted to summarize and highlight the problems of the previous readings of the PON, and offered new solutions in certain questions, to achieve the precise reading and interpretation of it – so far, I must add. Such a work has been accomplished by the following steps:

As a preliminary step, I tried to divide the problems with the text into groups, and discussed not only the local and individual problems with the certain obscure passages or sentences, but the problem-groups as a whole.

The next – actually the first – step must have definitely been the paleographical analysis of the text, in order to lay down the map of the grapheme-set of the PON's unique Uygur-(Mongolian) script-variety. This was an elementary need – not having done so far – in order to be able to prepare the transliteration of the PON – also absent until now. Previous works attempted different methods to come over this problem: Radloff (1890) partly published the facsimile and gave a printed, yet imprecise version of the text in Uygur script (1891), while the later editions referred to spelling problems of certain words with ponderous paraphrases. Besides to description of the grapheme set of the script-variety, the main achievement of *Chaper 2* is to allow to locate a small number of second-hand additions in the manuscript, and moving one step forward to resolve the problem of the "monster" depicted on page 6 (folio 19r according to the numbering of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*) of the manuscript.

Only after the paleographical analysis I could have proceeded to prepare a new edition of the PON (*Chapter 3*), which, first of all, includes the whole facsimile of the manuscript, in the order the text proceeds. None of the previous editions contain it as a whole. I prepared the transliteration of the text, and its interpretation in the form of the transcription and translation. The transliteration is compared to the printed version of Radloff (1890), and the transcription with those editions which include one (Nour 1928, Bang 1932 [1936] and Ščerbak 1959, but not Pelliot 1930). Finally, I also prepared an English translation of the text. At this point I was attached to word by word translation as much as possible, and not a literary one, although certain parts of the text clearly call for poetic translation.

Despite my above criticism on the approach of preparing endnotes on the text, yet at *Chapter 4* I followed this way of my predecessors, and discussed the problems one by one as they are encountered in the text. Here I summarized the interpretations of the previous editions (Pelliot 1930 [1995], Bang 1932 [1936] and Ščerbak 1959, excluding Nour 1928, as Pelliot 1930 has already criticised Nour's frequent misreadings). According to the nature of the individual problems, I forwarded the reader to the correspondent chapters of the present work, where I discussed the encountered problems in groups, to allow the reader to consider them in a broader context. These above-mentioned chapters were necessary to be compiled for the present work to fulfil the requirements of a critical text-edition.

After the microphilological analysis, the second part of the work turns to the linguistic analysis of the text. *Chapter 5*. gives a general survey about the orthographical techniques of the script variety of the PON (*Chapter 5.1*), then discusses the two most striking features of rendering vowels: 1. The rendering of etymological /i/ and /i/ with the grapheme <'> (*Chapters 5.2-5.5*), and 2. the possible quality of the vowels or sound sequences rendered by the grapheme-sequences <VqV>/<VkV> (*Chapter 5.6*).

For the first problem, I assumed as working hypothesis, that the rendering /i/-like sounds with <'> is not simply an orthographical feature, but a phonological one. Such a graphic technique is not unknown in Old Turkic texts written in Uygur Script in certain phonological and morphological environments, but in the PON it is almost the default way regardless to the environment. At the same time, there is also a strong tendency to mark the etymological front /i/ and even labial vowels with <'>, which is most unusual.

I argued that the causes of such unusual vowel marking are the following: a) the vowel /i/ { @ } is the neutral member of the vowel system of the PON, and b) the vowels in this script variety are intuitively rendered with their dominant phonological element, keeping forward that the dominant neutral element { @ } is still rendered mostly by <'> as there is no better

device for that in the inventory of the script variety. This also causes the fluctuation of rendering /i/ with <'> and <y>. The final conclusion of this argument is that the vowel-system of the idiom of the PON went or was going through a vowel shift resembling to that we know from present day Volga-Kipchak. However, direct historical linguistic connection with modern Volga-Kipchak and the PON cannot be established.

The orthography of the text show hypercorrect written forms of some words (*Chapter 5.6*), namely that they contain a grapheme sequence of <'q'>, <'qw> etc., with a medial <q> or <k> between two graphemes rendering vowel. A group of these words has never contained etymological /g/, and this technique shows an influence of the Written Mongolian orthographical tradition. The grapheme sequences <VqV> and <VkV> render a) primary and secondary long vowels or b) diphthongs developed from etymological /VgV/ phoneme-sequences through a hiatus, which occurred through the weakening of the intervocalic /g/. These secondary long vowels or diphthongs can be counted for either one or two syllables for the purpose of rhyme. The presence of the hypercorrectly written forms in the text allows the conclusion that the scribe of the text had competence in Written Mongolian, and a spoken Mongolian variety in which the /VgV/ > (/V'V/) > /VV/ development had already taken place. This may mean 1) that the PON may be later than the 14th century 2) The scribe reanalyzed long vowels and diphthongs heard by him as disyllables (according to *his* language competence). Thus, the scribe and the performer of the text were two different people, and the text has been written down after dictation. This idea has already been supposed by Sümer (1959) and Clauson (1964). They both suppose that the performer(s) was or were Turkmen epic singer(s), and the text was written down by an (Uyгур) *baχšī*. I would rather suppose that the performer was a speaker of a Kipchak variety, as the realization of the sound sequences /aġ/ and /aw/ seem to be coincided and perceived by the scribe as the same, who wrote down both of them as <'qw>. The fluctuation of word-initial y <y> and ĵ <č> in certain words also points to the direction of Kipchak.

Chapter 6. examines derivation and compounding in the PON. Derivation has been dealt with with the following method: Word stems and their corresponding derived forms have been put into pairs. 37 derivative elements have been attested, which are known from Old Turkic (10 NN, 13 VN, 6 NV, and 8 VV). Most of these derived forms could not be put into pairs with their stem, or there were only a few stem-derivation pairs, thus 20 derivatives (5 NN, 8 VN, 3 NV and 4 VV) could really be only *attested*. However, if there were enough amount of data, one could examine if there are any difference in their usage or productivity compared to Old Turkic. According to this comparison, 6 of them (3 NN, 1 VN, 1 NV, 1VV)

derivatives proved to be *productive* with the more or less the same function as in Old Turkic. 4 of them (1 NN, 2 VN, 1 VV) is productive, but the distribution of them changed compared to Old Turkic. 1 VV derivative is productive, but its original (Old Turkic) function seems to be changed. And finally, 6 of them (1 NN, 2 VN, 2 NV, 1 VV), where the derived form was not transparent due to phonological or semantical deviation from that of the union of the stem and derivative, proved to be *improductive*. I would like to call attention for the fact that even if the PON is a small and limited corpus, the proportion of the demonstratively productive derivative elements compared to all attested derivatives is relatively small, and the system as a whole shows quite a great change compared to Old Turkic. On the other hand, this same corpus offers an incredibly rich repository of compounding methods and compound types.

At the examination of compounding as a strategy to create new lexical elements, several problems have been encountered. There is no unified terminology, typology and criteria system to describe compounding processes neither in the general linguistic nor in the Turkological literature. The theoretical framework used in the present work is still an experimental one. I attempted to use orthographical (ORT), phonological (PHO), morphological (MOR), morphosyntactical (MSY) and semantical (SEM) criteria to identify compounds in the PON. I added parallelism (PAR) to the above list, and searched for compounds in the Turkological literature with similar structures to those compound-suspicious constructions found in the PON. I also attempted to classify the compounds found in the corpus. It turned out that the criteria used have different degree of usefulness to identify different types of compounds. As a result of this examination, a rich list and typology of compounds has been compiled based on the PON as a corpus, which considers the inner structure, the output, and the denotation of the output compared to that of the components (endocentricity, exocentricity). Additionally, the main stations of lexicalisation of coordinate compounds could be observed. A part of the lexicon can be observed only as a component in compounds, which grants a limited insight into the historical development of the lexicon attested in the PON. Compared to derivation in the variety of the PON, compounding is a highly productive and recursive strategy (with some extremely complex attested outputs) to create new lexical elements in order to describe new concepts. I suppose that further research is desirable on this field concerning a larger corpus of historical Turkic texts.

In *Chapter 7*, the remaining domains of the PON's grammar are discussed. It contains the declensional and conjugational paradigms observable in the PON, their historical change compared to Old Turkic, and the functional description of the inflectional suffixes. It also contains the description of the verbal aspect system observable in the PON – which proved to

be perfectly symmetrical, although there are competing forms for several functions – as well as the description of other grammatical elements (postpositions, subjunctors, etc.) and that of their possible functional change compared to Old Turkic.

Chapter 8 is a macrophilological analysis where the plot of the PON has been compared to the Muslim Oğuz-nāmā versions (RD, YZ, AG and UK). The basic unit used here were motifs, the comparison was carried out in regard of the question: Which motif found in the PON is present in the Muslim versions, and how? The comparison revealed that the Muslim versions are mostly based on RD, while the PON is an independent version. AG and the PON has a match in details which is not present in RD, YZ and UK, but AG probably did not know the PON as a written text, rather he knew the same oral tradition on which the PON is based. With this comparison the core plot of the Oğuz-tradition has also been reconstructed.

The plot of the PON shows no influence of Islam, and has a considerable part in its focus which cannot be attested in the correspondent part of the Muslim versions at all. This part narrates events taken place in the region of the Volga (*Etil*), which supports the idea that the language of the PON is a Kipchak variety. If one assumes that the place of writing down of the text is identical with the location which occurs in the focus of the plot, the seeming contradiction of "Why an Oğuz-nāmā is performed in a Kipchak variety?" resolves: The region between the lower-Volga and the Aral Sea is a borderland between Oguz- and Kipchak Turkic languages until today.

There are certain Turkic and non-Turkic clan names occurring (rather anachronistically) in the PON which are interpreted with folk etymologies. This is a common method in the Oğuz-nāmās for legitimizing the given clans' political position. The folk etymologies and stories connected to them are different from those found in the Muslim versions. Among them the name *Uluğ Ordu* 'Great Horde' occurs, which person later acquires the name *Qipčaq* 'Kipchak'. The name *Uluğ Ordu* has avoided the attention of the authors of the previous editions as a name of a political formation so far. *Uluğ Ordu* was the Turkic name of the central territories of the dissolving Golden Horde, at the steppe region surrounding the lower Volga Region until the beginning of the 16th century. If this assumption is correct, we have a historical data which helps to determine the age of the text (15th century), and supposes that the text is a century younger than it was thought before. The research on the history of the Turkic name *Uluğ Ordu* may bring us new information in this respect.

The *Appendix* at the end of the present work contains all the lexical elements occurring in the PON, with etymological information, with regard of their spelling varieties. All the

occurrences of a lexical element are cited with its immediate context, to help the reader to render their meaning.

Now let us synthesize our findings. As a final conclusion based on the present work, it can be said that the Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nāmā (1) is a Middle-Turkic text (2) written down in the Golden Horde (3) possibly in the 15th century (4), and is based on oral tradition (5).

(1) It is referred to as Pre-Islamic, as it differs in its 'ideological background' from the Muslim versions. The Muslim version show later influence of Islam, while the core plot of the PON - but not the text itself - is more archaic. (*See Chapter 8.*)

(2) The language of the PON is Middle-Turkic. We find loanwords of various origins in the text of which the most common are Mongolic (*nökär* 'bodyguard', *buğu* 'male deer', *bandaŋ* 'bench' < Chin. *pan-teng*). The presence of these loanwords points to the fact that the text had been written down after the Mongolian conquest. More interestingly, we find also some loanwords from Persian (*dost* 'friend', *dušman* 'enemy', *ataš* 'fire', *badan* 'body' <Ar., see below). There are also a few words of ultimately Sanskrit origin (*buyan* 'virtue' < (Mo.) < Skr. *punya*; *nävsiki* 'fairy' < (Tokh. A) < Skr. *naivasiki*), but these words have been copied into Turkic earlier than the writing down of the PON.

We find a phonetic alternation of word-initial /y-/ ~ [j] (*yalğuz* ~ *jalğuz* 'alone', *yarıuq* ~ *jarıuq* 'light beam', *yarliğ* ~ *jarliğ* 'order, decree'). The latter is spelled with <č> (*See. Chapter 3.*) There are some archaic features as well: the Old Turkic intervocalic /d/ is preserved (or at least marked by the orthography: *ud* <'wd> 'bovine, ox', *aduğ* <'dwq> 'bear' *adaq* <'d'q> 'foot' etc.), while it changed to /y/ in preconsonantal position (*uyqu* < OT *udiq* 'sleeping', *ayğır* < OT *adğır* 'stallion', *qayğu* < OT *qadğu* 'sorrow')

(3) The longest and central episode of the PON is the campaign against *Urus Beg*. The name *Urus* can be identified with *Rus* 'Russian'. The son of *Urus Beg* submits to *Oğuz Qağan* and is given the name *Saqlap* with a folk etymology originated the perfective converbial from the verb *saqla-* 'to protect'. The name *Saqlap* is actually an Arabic loanword in Turkic and designates the Slavs and the forest dwelling peoples of Eastern Europe. Consequently, the PON is actually a legitimisation-narrative over the Eastern European steppe, which is incorporated into an *Oğuz-nāmā* to make it acceptable for the audience.

(4) About the age of the manuscript, Pelliot (1930 [1995]: 96-103) states that it is written in the 15th century and is a copy of an earlier original, which is lost. This assumption is probably based on the archaic features of the plot. He also assumes that the manuscript in hand is written in 'Kirgiz' territory, which meant 'Kazakh' by the contemporary scientific

terminology. Ščerbak (1959: 101-107) basically agrees with Pelliot, but he adds that the lost original was probably written in Arabic script.

The occurrence of the name *Uluğ Ordu* 'Great Horde' – a quite young political formation which is so deeply integrated in the plot – allows the assumption that the text is contemporary, and is not a copy of an older manuscript.

(5) We saw that the text interprets contemporary events with a story organized around an archaic core plot, which is a well-known feature of oral epics. There are also versed and prosaic parts following each other in the text (see *Chapter 5.6*). The versed parts fit into the pattern of the traditional Turkic 7-8 or 11 syllabled verse lines. This is a tool to memorize and recount the text more easily.

The motifs found in the PON - compared to the Muslim versions - are sometimes more emphasized or more obscure (see *Chapters 8.2, 8.4 and 8.8.2*). This can be understood as a flexibility suited for the expectation of the audience. The obscure motifs may refer to common knowledge, therefore they are not necessary to be performed in details. Thus the performer can emphasize other motifs of the plot, to suit his performance as he wishes. Another explanation for the obscurity of these motifs can be that events narrated are based on real historical facts, but the layers and line of events did somehow mixed up, as they were not anymore relevant for the present of the narrated events. Thus the story should be considered as synchronic unit instead of diachronic one. Of course, one should try to explore its diachronic aspects as well.

And finally, after the comparison of all the mentioned Oğuz-nāmā versions (*Chapter 8.7*), an important match of details between the PON and AG is revealed: At the story of the *Qangli*, there is a person who makes carts. The carts are named *qanqa* in the PON and *qang* at AG. The person who made them is named *qanqaluğ'* and *Qangli* respectively. The meaning of the word is 'one having *qanqs* that is, 'carts'. At RD, YZ, and the UK version, the situation is different: both the carts and the person who makes them are called '*Qangli*'.

Figure 40. shows how I imagine the distribution of the Oğuz-nāmās and their interrelatedness, including the impacts of the versions of each other. This figure is meant to be adapted to a real map of Middle-Asia.

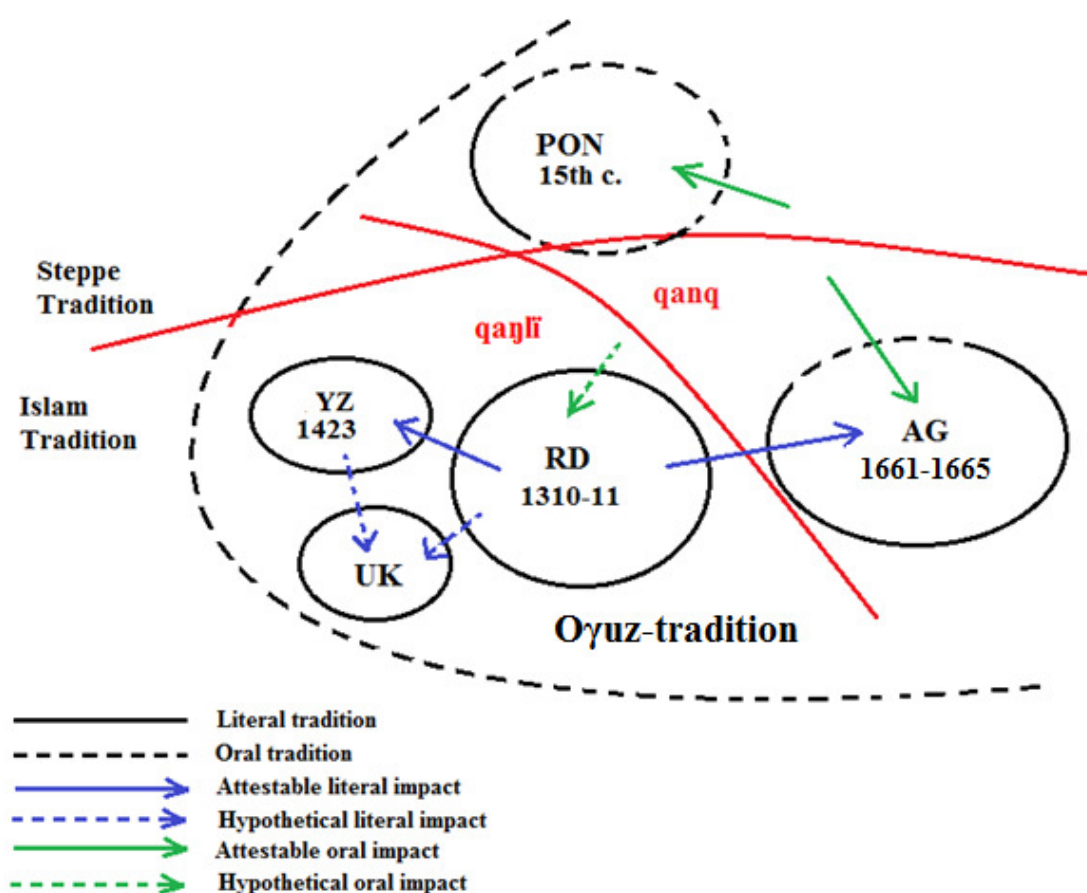


Figure. 40 The interrelatedness of the Oğuz-nāmā versions

We must deal with two more questions. The first is that of the religion in the PON. The Islamization of the Golden Horde started already in the 13th century with the conversion of Berke Khan (1257-1266). He was the first Chinggisid ruler who adopted Islam. The wide range conversion of the Golden Horde started in the first half of the fourteenth century under the rule of Özbek Khan (1312-1341). Ötämiš Hāǰǰi's conversion narrative describes this conversion as a kind of religious propaganda, but the scenery of the events is well harmonised with the symbolism of local belief system (DeWeese 1994). This harmonization is similar to the way of the PON's claim of supremacy over the Eastern European steppe, performed as an Oğuz-nāmā. If we assume that the PON was written down in the Golden Horde in the 15th century, the question immediately rises: Why don't we find Muslim motifs in the PON?

Although the PON is not a religious text in the strict sense, we can find an echo of a religious worldview in it. The most important keywords of the old worldview (commonly known as Tengriism) are present in the text: *kök tängri* 'Blue Sky'; *kök tängrigä ötä-* 'to carry out an obligation to the Blue Sky'; *tängriñi ĵalwar-* 'to beg, pray to the Sky'; *qut* 'regal charisma' (for more details on the religious worldview, see *Chapter 8.8.1*). Loanwords of

Persian and Arabic origin (see above) flowed to Turkic languages with the spread of Islam. Their presence in a non-Islamic text show that the author of the text and his environment at least knew about Islam even if himself was not Muslim. It can be claimed that Islam and some kind of 'late tengriism' had long coexisted in the Golden Horde, despite the wide-range Islamization starting from the 14th century. Here an interesting question arises: The word *uyğur* may mean not only the tribal name, but has the connotation of 'Buddhist' thus 'non-Muslim' (cf. DeWeese 1994: 89). Although the word appears only once in the PON, it is at a critical point at 12/7, namely, Oğuz's self-declaration as the ruler of the world. The usage of the name *uyğur* here is a key-element in the ruler's identity and legitimization. It is possible that the author of the text used this word to consciously emphasize the non-Muslim character of the protagonist as opposed to the Muslim Oğuz-nāmās, which presumably had been started to circulate among the Turks this time. Dobrovits's (2010:217) surmise about the PON whether it is a 'symbol of resistance of a hidden anti-Islamic party' seems legitimate at this point, with the correction that it is to be understood to the Golden Horde, not 'the Western part of the former Chagatai empire'.

Secondly, we have to deal with the question of the script. The Uygur script was used in the Golden Horde in the 13th and 14th centuries, but it slowly was replaced by the Arabic script in the 15th century. We have only two texts in Uygur script from the Golden Horde. These are Toqtamış's and Tämür Qutluğ's *yarliğ* from 1393 and 1397 respectively. Ščerbak (1959: 16) notes in his edition of the PON that the orthography of the PON resembles to that of the former. There is also proof that the Uygur script was still in use - although sporadically - in the 15th century (Usmanov 1979: 111-115; Vásáry 1987).

At first glance, it seems contradictory that the such a late text as the PON is written in Uygur script in the Golden Horde, since the script was already replaced by Arabic script in the chancellery. However, let us recall that the Arabic script spread with Islam, and the PON is a non-Islamic text. The PON is an important source as it seems to be a proof that the Uygur script was still used in the Golden Horde in the 15th century for writing down Turkic texts.

If so, then we have to still address some words to the question of the author. In the conclusion of *Chapter 5.6* I argued that the author (performer) of the text and the scribe were probably have been two different persons, the former being the speaker of the Kipchak variety. The scribe knew Written-Mongolian and used a simplified version (may be a shorthand) of Uygur(-Mongolian) script (see *Chapters 1. and 5.1*) to write down the text, and he may have known contemporary spoken Mongolic variety, as well as a Turkic variety

possibly different from the speaker's. Otherwise, the person(s) who compiled this text remain obscure.

The detailed historical interpretation of the PON is outside the domain of linguistics, and thus is outside of the scope of the present work. The above conclusions rather provide a framework and a new perspective for future research on this field.

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Appendix: Lexicon

The following part contains all the lexical elements occurring the PON. They are listed in the following alphabetical order, where the sounds in parenthesis do not occur in word-initial position: *a, ä, b, č, d, e, i, i, j, q, (χ), k, (l) m, n, o, ö, s, š, t, u, ü, (w) y*.

If a word occurs with several spellings concerning the word initial, it is listed with all of them with cross-references. The proper entry is at the word-initial with which the given lexical element occurs more times. Derivated forms of a given stem are listed in separate entries. If there is only derivated form of a certain word stem, I did not prepare a separate entry for the respective word stems.

The entries are prepared according to the following principles: In the head of an entry, there is the transcribed form of the given word, which is followed by the written form(s) of it. If a word occurs with several written forms in the text, then first comes the most common one, then the variant (var.) written form(s) with reference to the page and line of the text in which the special form occurs. If a word occurs with two or more written forms in an approximately equal proportion, then all the instances are referred, starting with the first occurrence. After the (most general) form, the meaning of the word is given according to the context in the PON. After the meaning I cite the corresponding Old Turkic, Written Mongolian, etc. etymon. The given meaning of a word in the PON may differ from the that of its etymon in some cases.

After the head of a given entry, the instances of the word are listed in order of their occurrence. I felt necessary to cite every instance in the sentence in occurs, preferably with a more or less narrow context, in which the given instance is marked by '~'. Parts unreadable in the facsimile, but reconstructed by the previous editions are also cited as context in '[]'. In a few but reasonable cases, however, I did not cite all the context. Consider for example *qağan*. As the protagonist *Oğuz* is referred mostly together with this title, as a matter of fact, almost all the text could have been cited as context in one entry.

If a word has several possible or otherwise uncertain reading, it is marked with '?' in front of the entry. All aforementioned information is given for the reading in question, and the reader is redirected to the entry in which the other possible reading is listed. See for example **?alın**.

A

ač- <'č> 'to open'

OT *ač-* 'to open (trans.)' (ED 18)

29/2-29/3 anga jarlīg qildī kim sän munda qal
~ qalqan ačqungdon song käl orduğa täp tädi

ačqu <'čqw> 'the action of opening'

see **ač-**

ač°gic <'č'q'č> 'key'

~ CC *ačxuč* 'key' (Erdal 1991: 358)

28/8 bo üynüing tağamī altundan erdi
tünglüqlarī taqī kümüštün qalqanlarī tämürdän
erdilär erdi qapuluğ erdi ~ yoq erdi

adaq <'d'q> 'foot, leg, lower part'

OT *adaq* 'leg, foot' (ED 45)

var. 15/9 <'d'-q>

2/3 ~i ud ~i tağ lbelläri böri belläri tağ lyağri
kiš yağri tağ lkögüzü aduğ kögüzü tağ erdi
l[...]

15/9 qirīq kündön song muz tay tağän tağnung
~iğa kälidi

41/6 anung [ba]šida bir kümüš tağuq qoydi
~ida bir qara qoyunni bağladi

aduğ <'dwq> 'bear'

OT *adiğ* 'bear' (ED 45)

2/5 adaqī ud adaqī tağ lbelläri böri belläri tağ
lyağri kiš yağri tağ lkögüzü ~ kögüzü tağ erdi
l[...]

4/6-4/9 kenä bir ~ aldī altunluğ belbağī birlä
yığaçqa bağladi ketti mundon song ertä boldi
tang ertä çağda keldi kördi kim <monster> ~ ni
alup turur

5/9 andan song tädi kim [...] buğu yedi ~ yedi
jīdam öldürdi tämür bolsa <monster>nī
šungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp
tädi ketti

ağiz (**āz**) 1. 'mouth' 2. 'speech'

OT *ağiz* 'mouth' (ED 98)

var. <'q'yz> 1/6, <'q'yz> 13/1, <'q'z> 13/4,
14/5, 30/8

1/6 ušol oğulnung önglüki čirağī kök erdi ~+i
ateš qizil erdi közläri al saçlarī qašlarī qara
ärdilär ärdi yaqšī näwsikilärdän körüglükrök
erdi

13/1-13/4 [...] senlärän baş čalunğuluq tiläp
män turur ušol kim mäning ~umğa baqar turur
bolsa tar°tğu tartip dost tutar män tep tädi ušbo
kim ~ umğa baqmaz turur bolsa čamat čaqip
čäriğ čäkip dušman tutar män [...]

14/5 ušbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elči
yumšap yibärdi [...] ~iğa baqindī yaqšī begü
birlä dostluq qildi

30/8 oğuz qağan baštī jürčäd qağanni basti
öldürdi bašin kästi jürčäd elkünin öz ~iğa
baqinturdi

aq <'q> 'white'

OT *aq* 'white' (ED 75)

26/6 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä
tong taqī muz bar turur anung baši soğuqtan ap
~ turur

27/9 ušol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz
kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğir atni kældürdi
muz tağlarda köp soğuq boluptan ol bāg
qağardan sarunmiš erdi ap ~ erdi

35/6 känä tašqarun qalmasun kim bellüç
bolsun kim oğuz qağannung janida ~ saqalluğ
moz saçluğ uzun usuğ bir qart kiši turur bar
erdi

41/3 [ong jangaqta bir qiriq qolač iğaç tiktürdi
anung] bašida bir altun [tağuq qoydi] [adaqi]da
bir ~ qoyun bağladi

aqqa 'elder brother' <'q'>

Mo. *aq-a* 'elder brother, senior, elder' (L 59)

37/7 oğuz qağan uluğ türüknüing sözün yaqšī
kördi ögütün tilädi ögütüğe körä qildi andan
song ertä bolupta ~larni inilärni čarlap kældürdi
39/2 [oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqī yanī üç
buzğuluq qildi taqī aytī kim ay ~lar] ya bolsun
senlärnüng ya tağ oqlarni kökkäčä atung täp
tädi

?al I <'l> 'front part' cf. **alin**

OT *al* 'front, facing, prior position' (ED 121)

8/8 kän bir kün oğuz qağan awğa ketti bir köl
arasında ~ından bir iğaç kördi

al II <'l> 'a colour of eye'

OT *al* 'scarlet' (ED 120)

1/6 ağızi ataš qizil erdi közläri ~ saçlarī qašlarī
qara ärdilär ärdi yaqšī näwsikilärdän
körüglükrök erdi

al- <'l> 'to take'

OT *al-* 'to take' (ED 124)

4/2 künlärdä bir kün awğa čiqti [...] bir buğu
~di talnung čubuqi birlä iğaçqa bağladi ketti

4/5 tang ertä çağda kälidi kördi kim <monster>
buğuni ~up turur

4/6 kenä bir aduğ ~di altunluğ belbağī birlä
yığaçqa bağladi ketti

4/9 tang ertä çağda keldi kördi kim [monster]
aduğni ~ip turur

5/4 oğuz jida birlä <monster>ning başın urdı anı öldürdi qılıç birlä başın kästi ~di ketti
7/9-8/1 uşbo yaruqning arasında bir qız bar erdi [...] oğuz anı kördüktä usı qalmadı lketti sewdi ~di lanung birlä yattı tilägüsin ~di ltöl boğus boldı

10/1-10/2 bo iğaçnung qawučaqında bir qız bar erdi [...] oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ketti jüräkigä ataş tüşti anı sewdi ~di anıng birlä yattı tilägüsin ~di töl boğus boldı

11/7 taqı tädi kim män senlärgä boldum qağan l-alıng ya taqı qalqan ltamğa bizgä bolsun buyan kök böri bolsungıl uranl [...]

14/3 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elçi yumşap yibardı köp tälim altun kümüş tartıp köp tälim qız yaqut taş ~up köp tälim ärdäniläri yibärüp yumşap oğuz qağanğa soyurqap berdi

19/7-19/8 oğuz qağan baştı urum qağan qaçtı oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqın ~di elkünin ~di

33/5 andan song [...] sındu taqı tangqut taqı şağam yingğaqlarığa atlap ketti [...] anlarnı ~di öz yurtığa birlädi

34/8 oğuz qağan baştı lmisir qağan qaçtı loğuz anı bastı lyurtın ~di ketti

35/3 anung dostları köp sewinç [...] erdi anung duşmanları köp qayğular [...] oğuz qağan baştı sanağuluqsız nāmälär yilqılar ~di yurtığa tüşti ketti

38/9 kün ay yulduz [...] jolda bir altun yanı taptılar ~dılar atasığa bärdilär

39/8 kök tağ tängiz jolda üç kümüş oqnı taptılar ~dılar atasığa berdilär

?alın <'l'n> 'front part' (cf. **al I**)

OT *alın* 'forehead' (ED 147)

8/8 kän bir kün oğuz qağan awğa ketti bir köl arasında ~dan bir iğaç kördi

altun 'gold, golden' <'ldwn>

OT *altun* 'gold' (ED 131), Mo. *alta(n)* 'gold' (L 33)

var. <'ld'n> 7/5

7/5 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi anung başında ataşlug yaruqlug bir mängi bar erdi ~ qazuq tağ erdi

13/8-14/1-14/2 känä bo çağda ong jangaqta ~ qağan tägän bir qağan bar erdi uşbo ~ qağan oğuz qağanğa [...] köp tälim ~ kümüş [...] soyurqap berdi

21/1 oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa atladı urus begning oğuli anga köp ~ kümüş yibardı taqı tädi kim [...]

23/1 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqşı kördi sewindi küldi taqı aytı kim mängä köp ~ yumşap sän baluqnı yaqşı saqlap sän täp tädi anung üçün anga saqlap at qoydı

28/6 kän yolda bedük bir üy kördi bo üynung tağamı ~ dan erdi tünglüqları taqı kümüştün qalqanları tämürdän erdilär erdi

30/2 munga jürçäd tatururlar erdi bädük bir yurt elkün erdi yilqıları köp ud buzağları köp ~ kümüsläri köp ärdäniläri köp erdilär erdi

34/2 kündünki bulungda baraq° tägän bir yer bar turur [...] munda köp kıkları köp quşları bar turur ~i köp kümüşi köp erdiniläri köp turur [...]

36/1-36/2 künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir ~ ya kördi taqı üç kümüş oq kördi bo ~ ya kün tuğışıda da kün batuşığaça tägän erdi bo üç kümüş oq tün yingğaqqä ketä turur erdi

38/8 kün ay yulduz [...] jolda bir ~ yanı taptılar aldılar atasığa bärdilär

41/2 [ong jangaqta bir qiriq qolaç iğaç tiktürdi anung] başıda bir ~ [tağuq qoydı] [adaqı]da bir aq qoyun bağladı

altunluğ <'ldwn-luq> 'decorated with gold'

OT *altunluğ* 'ornamented with gold' (ED134)

4/6 bir aduğ aldı şol aduğnı ~ belbağı birlä yığaçqa bağladı ketti

amdı <'mdy> 'now'

OT *amti* 'now' (ED 156)

25/2 uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanğa aytı kim ~ çärig birlä [mundon atlang qağan] atlap elkünlärni beğläri käldürgil [...]

amıraq <'myr'q> 'friendly, benign'

OT *amraq* 'friendly, benign' (ED 162) Mo. *amarağ* 'love, affection, beloved, dear' (L 36)

14/6 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa [...] soyurqap berdi ağıziğa baqındı yaqşı begü birlä dostluq qıldı anung birlä ~ boldı

an+ see **ol**

ana <'n'> 'mother'

OT *ana* 'mother' (ED 169)

1/8 uşol oğul ~siniñ kögüzündön oğuznı içip mundon artıqraq içmädi

anggu 'reminder, memory'

OT *ang-* 'to remember, to call to mind' (ED 168)

var. <'nk'qw> 1/1, <'nkqw> 5/8, <'nkwqw> 6/3,

1/1 [...] bolsungil täp tädilär anung ~su uşbo turur

5/8 ya birlä oq birlä şungqarni öldürdi başin kästi andan song tädi kim şungqarnung ~si uşbo turur

6/3 buğu yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdi tāmür bolsa <monster>nı şungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi ketti taqı <monster>nıng ~su uşbo turur

aç <'q> 'Oh!' see **ay** II, 9/7
Mo. *aq-a* 'Oh! Alas!' (L 59)

ara <'r'> 'amid'

OT *ara* 'between, among' (ED 196)

7/1 qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kök yaruq tüşi [...] uşbo yaruqning ~sında bir qız bar erdi yalguz olturur erdi

8/8 känä bir kün oğuz qağan awğa ketti bir köl ~sında alından bir iğaç kördi bo iğaçnung qawučaqında bir qız bar erdi jalğuz olturur erdi
18/9 etil mörännüing quduğida bir qara tağ tapıgıda uruşqu tutuldi oq birlä jıda birlä uruştilar læariglärnıng ~larıda köp tälım boldı uruşqu lekünlärnıng köngülläridä köp tälım boldı qayğul

20/4 ol urus bäg oğulun tağ başıda täring mörän ~ sıda yaqşı bär°k baluqqa yumşadı

art <'rd> 'back part of something'

OT 'back, hinder part' (ED 200)

17/8 kördi kim çarıgnıng tapuğlarıda [...] bir erkäk böri yörügüdü turur ol börining ~ların qatığlap yörügüdü turur erdilär erdi

artıqraq <'rd' q-r' q>' anymore'

OT *artoq* 'additional, extra amount' (ED 204)

artuqraq 'extremely, excessively' (ED 211)

2/1 uşol oğul anasınıng kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon ~ içmädi yeg et aş sorma tilädi

astur- <'sdwr> 'to tuck up, execute'

OT *astur-* 'to order to suspend or to execute' (ED 244)

13/6 [...] uşol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa tarıtqu tartıp dost tutar män tep tädi uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa çamat çaqıp çarig çäkip duşman tutar män tağuraq basıp ~ip yoq bolsungil täp qılur män täp tädi

aş <'ş> 'food'

OT *aş* 'food' (ED 253)

2/1 uşol oğul anasınıng kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon artıqraq içmädi yeg ät ~ sorma tilädi

11/2 [...] kengäştilär kälдилär qır°q şıra qır°q bandang japturdi türlüg ~lar türlüg sormalar çubuyanlar qımızlar aştilar içtilär

aş- <'ş> 'to eat, gorge'

OT *aşa-* 'to eat, to eat up'

11/4 türlüg aşlar türlüg sormalar çubuyanlar qımızlar ~tilar içtilär

41/9 [ong] yaqta buzuqlar olturdi çong yaqta üç oqlar olturdi qır°q kün qır°q keça ~tilar içtilär sewinç taptılar

aşa- var. 42/3 <'ş'> 42/3 <čš'> 'to live'

OT *yaşa-* 'to live long, for many years' (ED 976)

36/9 taqı tädi kim ay qağanum sängä ~ğu bolsungil uzun ay qağanum sängä türlük bolsungil tüzün

42/3 oğuz qağan [...] taqı tädi kim [[ay] oğullar köp män ~dum | uruşqular köp män kördüml jıda basa köp oq attuml ayğır birlä köp yörüdüml [...]]

at I <'d> 'name'

OT *at* 'name' (ED 32)

8/4-8/5-8/6 künlärdän song kaçälärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğul tuğurdi birinçisigä kün ~ qoydılar ikinçisigä ay ~ qoydılar üçünçüsügä yulduz ~ qoydılar

10/5-10/6-10/7 künlärdän song keçalärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdi birinçisigä kök ~ qoydılar ekinçisigä tağ ~ qoydılar üçünçüsügä tängiz ~ qoydılar

23/3 oğuz qağan [...] aytı kim lmängä köp altun yumşap sän! baluqnı yaqşı saqlap sän! anung üçün anga saqlap ~ qoydı dostluq qıldı

23/9 læarigdä bir yaqşı bäg bar erdil anung ~i uluğ ordu bäg erdil

26/7 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı muz bar turur anung başi soğuqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung ~i muz tağ turur

28/3 oğuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü aytı kim ay sän munda beglärgä bolğil başlıq män mängiläp sängä ~ bolsun qağarlıg

29/1-29/4 çarigdä bir yaqşı çäbär er bar erdi anung ~i tömürtü [qa]ğul tägän erdi anga jarlıg qıldı kim sän munda qal aç qalqan açqungdon song käl orduğa täp tädi mundan anga qalaç ~ qoydı ilgäri ketti

31/6 oğuz qağannung çarigidä usluğ [? yaqşı] bir çäbär kişi bar erdi anung ~i barmaqlıg josun bellig erdi

32/5-32/8 munlar qanqa yörümäktä qanqa qanqa söz berä turur erdilär erdi anung üçün anlarğa qanqa ~ qoydılar oğuz qağan

qanqalarni kördi küldü taqı aytı kim qanqa qanqa birlä ölügni tirig yörügürsün qanqaluğ sängä ~ bolguluq qanqa bälgürsün täp tädi ketti 35/9 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqalluğ muz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi bar erdi uq°guluğ tüzün bir yer erdi tüşimäl erdi anung ~i uluğ türük erdi

at <'d> II 'horse'

OT *at* 'horse' (ED 33)

2/7 uşol oğul [...] yilqılar küdäyä turur erdi ~larğa minä turur erdi kik aw awlaya turur erdi 26/1-26/2-26/3 oğuz qağan bir çuqurdan ayğır ~qa minä turur erdi uşbo ayğır ~ni bäk çoq sewür erdi jolda uşbo ~ közdän yitü qaçtı ketti 26/8 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi [...] anung atı muz tağ turur oğuz qağannıng ~i muz tağ içigä qaçıp ketti

27/7 çärigdä bir bedik qağız er bæg bar erdi [...] uşol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğır ~ni kældürdi 31/3 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannung çärigigä nökarlarigä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg barğu tüşti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä ~ qağatır ud azlıq boldı

at- <'d-> 'to throw, shoot'

OT *at-* 'to throw, shoot' (ED 36)

(cf. *ät-* <'d->)

39/4 [oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı yanı üç] buzguluq qıldı [taqı aytı kim lay aqa]lar ya bolsun senlärnüng lya tağ oqlarnı kökkäçä ~ungl täp tädi

40/3 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı oqlarnı üçügä üläştürdi taqı aytı kim lay inilär oqlar bolsun sänlärnüng lya ~ti oqnı oqlar tağ sänlär bolung täp tädi

42/4 andan song oğuz qağan oğullarigä yurtin ülästrürüp berdi taqı tädi kim [ay] oğullar köp män aşaduml uruşquqlar köp män kördüml jıda basa köp oq ~tuml ayğır birlä köp yörüdüml [...]

ata <'d'> 'father'

OT *ata* 'father' (ED 40)

21/3-21/7 urus bəgning oğulı anga köp altun kümüş yibardı taqı tädi kim ay männing qağanum sän mǎngä ~m bo baluqnı bärıp turur taqı tädi kim baluqnı qatıglağü kǎrǎk turur [...] ~m çamat ätüp ersä manüng tapum erür mü [...] täp tädi

38/9 kün ay yulduz [...] jolda bir altun yanı taptılar aldılar ~siğa bǎrdilǎr

39/8 kök tağ tǎngiz[...] jolda üç kümüş oqnı taptılar aldılar ~siğa bǎrdilǎr

ataş <'d'š> 'fire'

Per. *atish* 'fire' (ST 13)

1/6 uşol oğulnung önglüki çırağı kök ağızi ~ qızıl erdi közlari al saçları qaşları qara ärdilär ärdi

9/9 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ketti jüräkigä ~ tüşti anı sewdi aldı anıng birlä yattı tilägüsün aldı

ataşluğ <'d'š-lwq> 'shining'

Per. *atish* 'fire' (ST 13)

7/3 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi anung başında ~ yaruqluğ bir mǎngi bar erdi altun qazuq tağ erdi

atla- <'dl'> 'to ride (out or against someone)'

OT *atlan-* 'to set out, march against' (ED 58)

4/2 oğuz qağan [...] bir kün awğa çıqtı jıda birlä ya oq birlä taqı qılıç birlä qalqan birlä ~dı 15/6 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannıng jarlıgın saqlamaz erdi [...] täp yarlıgğa barmadı oğuz qağan çamat ätüp anga atlağü tilädi çärig birlä ~p tuğlarnı tutup kätti

16/9 uşol böri oğuz qağanğa söz bärıp turur erdi taqı tädi kim lay ay oğuz urum üstigä sän ~r bola sän lay ay oğuz tapuğunlarğa män yörür bola mänl täp tädi

20/9 ol urus bæg oğulun tağ başıda tǎring mörǎn arasıda yaqşı bǎrik baluqqa yumşadı [...] oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa ~dı

25/3-25/4 uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanğa aytı kim amdı çärig birlä mundon ~ng qağan ~p elkünlarnı beglarnı kældürgil män sängä başlap yolni körgürür män täp tädi

33/3 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şağam yinggaqlarigä ~p ketti [...] anlarnı aldı öz yurtıga birlädi baştı bastı

34/6 uşol yerning qağanı misir tǎgǎn bir qağan erdi oğuz qağan anung üstigä ~dı qatıq yaman uruşqu boldı

atlağü <'dl'qw> 'the act of riding out'

OT *atlan-* 'to set out, march against' (ED 58)

15/6 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannıng jarlıgın saqlamaz erdi [...] täp yarlıgğa barmadı oğuz qağan çamat ätüp anga ~ tilädi çärig birlä atlap tuğlarnı tutup kätti

aw 1. 'hunt' 2. 'wild game'

OT *av* 'wild game, hunting wild game' (ED 3)

var. <'w> 2/8, 3/9, 8/7, 37/9 <'b> 12/1

2/8 yilqılar küdäyä turur erdi atlarğa minä turur
erdi kik ~ awlaya turur erdi
3/9 künlärdä bir kün ~ğa çiqti
8/7 kân bir kün oğuz qağan ~ğa ketti
12/1 [...]~ yerdä yörüsün qulan[...]
37/9 taqı ayttı kim ay mänüing küngülüm ~ni
tiläp turur

awla- <'wl'> 'to hunt'

OT *avla-* 'to hunt wild game' (ED 10)

2/8 yilqılar küdäyä turur erdi atlarğa minä turur
erdi kik aw ~ya turur erdi

awlağ <'wl'-qw> 'the act of hunting'

OT *avla-* 'to hunt wild game' (ED 10)

38/7 kün ay yulduz köp kıklär köp quşlar
~larıdan song jolda bir altun yanı taptilar
aldılar atasığa bärtilär

39/6 kân andan song kök tağ tängiz köp kıklär
köp quşlar ~larıdan song jolda üç kümüş oqnı
taptilar aldılar atasığa berdilär

awlamaq <'wl'-mq> 'the act of hunting'

OT *avla-* 'to hunt wild game' (ED 10)

3/8 oğuz qağan bir eres qaqız kişi erdi bo
<monster>ni ~maq tilädi

ay I <'y> 'moon/Prop. Moon'

OT *ay* 'the moon' (ED 265)

1/3 kânä künlärdän bir kün ~ qağannung közü
yarıp küdädi erkäk oğul tuğurdı

6/8 kânä künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan bir yerdä
tängirini jalwarğuda ärdi qarangğuluq keldi
köktön bir kök yaruq tüsti kündwn (ay)⁸⁵⁷ ~dan
qoğulğuluqraq erdi

8/5 künlärdän song kâçälärdän song yarudı üç
erkäk oğul tuğurdı birinçisigä kün at qoydılar
ekinçisigä ~ at qoydılar üçünçüsügä yulduz at
qoydılar

38/2 taqı ayttı kim ay mänüing köngülüm awnı
tiläp turur qarı bolğumdan mäning qaqızluqum
yoq turur kün ~ yulduz tang sarığa sänlär
barung kök tağ tängiz tün sarığa sänlär barung
täp tädi

38/6 kün ~ yulduz köp kıklär köp quşlar
awlağularıdan song jolda bir altun yanı taptilar

ay II <'y> 'Oh!'

OT *ay* 'exclamation' (ED 265)

6/8 kânä künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan bir yerdä
tängirini jalwarğuda ärdi qarangğuluq keldi
köktön bir kök yaruq tüsti kündön ~ aydan
qoğulğuluqraq erdi

9/7 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi [...] andaq
körüglük erdi kim yer ning yelküni anı körsä ~

~ aχ aχ ölärbiz täp sütdän qumuz bola tururlar
16/8 uşol böri oğuz qağanğa söz bärıp turur
erdi taqı tädi kim l~ ~ oğuz urum üstigä sän
atlar bola sän l~ ~ oğuz tapuğunglarğa män
yörür bola mänl

21/2 urus bängning oğulı anga köp altun kümüş
yibärdi taqı tädi kim ~ mäning qağanum sän
mängä atam bo baluqnı bärıp turur [...]

24/6 oğuz qağan säwinç ätti küldi taqı ayttı
kim l~ ~ sän munda bæg bolungl qipçaq tägän
sän bæg bolungl

28/2 oğuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü ayttı kim
l~ sän munda beglärgä bolğil başlıql män
mängilap sängä at bolsun qağarlıgl

36/8 (uluğ türük) uyqudon song tüştä körgänin
oğuz qağanğa bildürdi taqı tädi kim l~
qağanum sän gä jaşağ

37/8 andan song ertä bolupta aqaların inilärni
çarlap kældürdi taqı ayttı kim l~ mänüing
köngülüm awnı tiläp turur lqarı bolğumdan
mäning qaqızluqum yoq turur lkün ay yulduz
tang sarığa sänlär barung lkök tağ tängiz tün
sarığa sänlär barungl täp tädi

39/2 [oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı yanı üç]
buzğuluq qıldı [taqı ayttı kim l~ aqa]llar ya
bolsun senlärnüingl ya tag oqlarnı kökkäça
atungl täp tädi

40/2 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı oqlarnı
üçügä üläştürdi taqı ayttı kim l~ inilär oqlar
bolsun sänlärnüingl ya attı oqnı oqlar tag sänlär
bolungl täp tädi

42/3 oğuz qağan oğullarığa yurtin üläştürüp
berdi taqı tädi kim l[~] oğullar köp män
aşaduml uruşqular köp män kördüml jida basa
köp oq attuml ayğir birlä köp yörüdüml [...]

ayğir <'yqyr> 'stallion'

OT *adğir* 'stallion' (ED 47)

26/1-26/2 oğuz qağan bir çuqurdan ~ atqa
minä turur erdi uşbo ~ atnı bäk çoq sewür erdi
27/7 çärigdä bir bedik qaqız er bæg bar erdi
[...] uşol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz
kündön song oğuz qağanğa ~ atnı kældürdi

42/4 oğuz qağan oğullarığa yurtin üläştürüp
berdi taqı tädi kim l[ay] oğullar köp män

⁸⁵⁷ In this line two instances of *ay* follows each other. It is not sure whether the marked instance of the word is an instance of **ay II** (see also there), or due to a scribal mistake two instances of **ay I** follow each other.

ašaduml uruŝqular köp män kördüml jida basa köp oq attuml ~ birlä köp yörüdüml [...]

ayt- <'yd> 'to tell'

OT *ayit-* 'to make sy to speak, to ask' (ED 268)

23/1 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqŝi kördi sewindi küldi taqī ~tī kim lmängä köp altun yumŝap sänl baluqnī yaqŝi saqlap sänl täp tädi

24/6 oğuz qağan säwinč ätti küldi taqī ~tī kim lay ay sän munda bäg bolungl qipčač tagän sän bäg bolungl täp tädi

25/2 uŝbo kök böri ~tī kim amdī čärič birlä [mundon atlang qağan] atlap elkünni begläрни keldürgil män sängä başlap yolnī körgürür män täp tädi

28/1 oğuz qağan sewinč birlä küldü ~tī kim lay sän munda beglärgä bolgīl başlıql män mängiläp sängä at bolsun qačarlīgl täp tädi

32/6 oğuz qağan qanqalarnī kördi küldi ~tī kim lqanqa qanqa birlä ölügni tirig yörügürsün lqanqaluğ sängä at bolguluq qanqa bälgürsün ltäp tädi

37/8 andan song ertä bolup aqalarnī inilärni čarlap kældürdi taqī ~tī kim lay mänüng köngülüm awnī tiläp turur lqari bolgumdan mäning qačizluqum yoq turur lkün ay yulduz tang sarīga sänlär barung lkök tağ tängiz tün sarīga sänlär barungl täp tädi

?39/1 [oğuz qağan sewindi küldi] [...] [taqī ~tī kim lay aqa]lar ya bolsun senlärnüng lya tağ oqlarnī kökkäča atungl täp tädi

40/1 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi [...] taqī ~tī kim lay inilär oqlar bolsun sänlärnüng lya attī oqnī oqlar tağ sänlär bolungl täp tädi

azliq <'sl'q> 'insufficiency'

OT *azliq* 'scantiness, insufficiency' (ED 268)

31/4 oğuz qağannung čäričigä nökärläričä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg bargu tüŝti kim yüklämäkkä kældürmäkkä at qačatır ud ~ boldi

Ä

?äw see üy

ämğäq <'mkq> 'pain, suffering'

OT *ämğäk* 'pain, agony' (ED 159)

3/6 bedük yaman bir kik erdi berkä ~ birlä elkünni basup erdi

27/1 oğuz qağannıng atı muz tağ içigä qačıp ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp čigay ~ čäküp turdi

ärdäni <'rd'ny> 'jewel gem'

OT *ärtini* 'jewel, precious object' (ED 212)

var. <'yrdyny> 34/2

14/3 uŝbo altun qağan oğuz qağanga köp tälim altun kümüs tartipl köp tälim qiz yaqut taŝ alupl köp tälim ~läri yibärüp yumŝapl oğuz qağanga soyurqap berdi

28/4 oğuz qağan sewinč birlä küldü aytı kim [...]

[...] täp tädi köp ~ soyurqadı ilgärü ketti

30/3 munga jürčäd tätururlar erdi bedük bir yurt elkün erdi yilqilari köp ud buzağlari köp altun kümüŝlari köp ~ läri köp erdilär erdi

34/2 lkündünki bulungda baraq° tagän bir yer bar tururl [...] laltunī köp kümüŝi köp ~ läri köp tururl

är- see **er-**

ät <'d> 'meat'

OT *ät* 'flesh, meat' (ED 33)

2/1 uŝol oğul anasiniing kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon artıqraq içmädi yeg ~ aŝ sorma tilädi

?ät- (Auxilliary verb) 'to do' <'d->

OT *et-* 'to organize, to make, to do' (ED 36)

cf. **at-** <'d->

15/6 oğuz qağan čamat ~üp anga atlağul tilädi

21/7 atam čamat ~üp ärsä mänüng tapum erür mü

24/5 oğuz qağan säwinč ~ti küldi

B

badan <b'd'n> 'body'

Ar. > Pe. *badan* (ST 165)

2/5 qirıq kündön song bädüklädi yörüdi oynadı adaqı ud adaqı tağ bellari böri bellari tağ yağrı kiŝ yağrı tağ kögüzü aduğ kögüzü tağ erdi ~inung qamağı tüg tülüklüç ärdi

bağla- <b'ql'> 'to tie'

OT *bağla-* 'to tie, to fasten' (ED 314)

var. <bYql'> 4/3

4/3 bir buğul aldı ŝol buğunı talnung čubuqı birlä iğaçqa ~dī ketti

4/7 kenä bir aduğ aldı altunluğ belbağı birlä yığaçqa ~dī ketti

41/3-41/6 oğuz qağan [bädük ordu] [...] [ong yaqıda qirıq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung] başıda bir altun [tağuq qoydı adaqıda] bir aq qoyun ~dī [čong] yaqıda qirıq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung başıda bir kümüŝ tağuq qoydı adaqıda bir qara qoyun ~dī

bağlıg <b'qlYq> 'bound'
OT *bağlıg* 'bound, fastened' (ED 314)
21/9 sändän jarluğ bağlıg bellüg bola män

baq- <b'q̄> (see also **baqin-**) 'pay attention, to obey'

OT *baq-* 'to look at, to obey' (ED 311)
13/2-13/4 uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş erdi kim män uyğurnıng qağanı bola män kim yerning tört bulungınuğ qağanı bolsam kărak turur senlărdän baş çalunguluğ tilăp män turur uşol kim mäning ağızumğa ~ar turur bolsa tarıtuq tartıp dost tutar män tep tädi uşbo kim ağızumğa ~maz turur bolasa çamat çaqıp çarig çäkip duşman tutar män [...] täp tädi
15/5 çong jangaqıda urum tăgän bir qağan bar ärdi [...] uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannıg jarlıgın saqlamaz erdi qatıqlağu barmaz erdi munı söz sözni tutmaz män turur män täp yarlıgğa ~madı

baqin- <b'q̄'n> 'to pay attention, to obey (for own benefit)'

OT *baqin-* 'to look at (oneself)' (ED 316)
14/5 kănä bo çagda ong jangaqta altun qağan tăgän bir qağan bar erdi uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elçi yumşap yibärdi [...] ağıziğa ~dı

baqintur- <b'q̄'ndwr> 'to have someone to pay attention, to make someone to obey'

OT *baqin-* 'to look at (oneself)' (ED 316)
30/9 tarlağusız bir yazı yer erdi munga jürçäd tatururlar erdi [...] jürçäd qağannı bastı [...] munda jürçäd qağanı elküni oğuz qağanğa qarşu kăldilăr [...] oğuz qağan baştı jürçäd qağannı bastı öldürdi başın kăsti jürçäd elkünin öz ağıziğa ~dı

baluq <b'lwq> 'town'

OT *balıq* 'town' (ED 335)
var. <b'l'q̄> 14/9, <b'lWq> 20/7
14/9 çong jangaqıda urum tăgän bir qağan bar ärdi uşbo qağannung çarigi köp köp ~ları köp köp erdilăr erdi
20/5-20/6-20/7-20/9-21/4-21/6 urus bąg oğulun tağ başıda tăring mörän arasıda yaqşı bärık ~qa yumşadı taqı tädi kim ~nı qatıglağu kărak turur sän taqı uruşqulardan song ~nı bizgä saqlap kălgil täp tädi oğuz qağan uşol ~qa atladı urus bəgning oğulı anga köp altun kümüş yibärdi taqı tädi kim ay mäning qağanum sän mängä atam bo ~nı bärıp turur taqı tädi kim ~nı qatıglağu kărak turur sän taqı uruşqulardan song ~nı bəngä saqlap kălgil täp tädi

23/2 oğuz qağan yigitning sözüni yaqşı kördi sewindi küldi taqı ayttı kim lməngä köp altun yumşap sänl ~nı yaqşı saqlap sänl täp tädi anung üçün anga saqlap at qoydı dostluğ qıldı

bandang <b'nd'nk> 'bench'

Chin. > Mo. *bandang* 'bench, plank-bed' (L 81)
11/2 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi elküngä jarlıg çarlap kengäştılăr kăldilăr qırıq şıra qır°q ~ japturdi türlüg aşlar türlüg sormalar çubuyanlar qımızlar aştılar içtilăr

bar <b'r> 'to exist, there is' see **er-**; **tur-**
OT *bar* 'to exist, there is' (ED 353)

bar- <b'r> 'to go'

OT *bar-* 'to go (away)' (ED 354)
15/3 çong jangaqıda urum tăgän bir qağan bar ärdi [...] uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannıg jarlıgın saqlamaz erdi qatıqlağu ~maz erdi munı söz sözni tutmaz män turur män yarlıgğa baqmadi
38/2-38/4-38/5-38/6 oğuz qağan [...] taqı ayttı kim lay mänuğ köngülüm awnı tilăp turur lqarı bolğumdan mäning qaqızluqum yoq turur kün ay yulduz tang sarığa sän lăr ~ungl kün ay yulduz tün sarığa sänlăr barungl täp tädi andan song üçägüsü tang sarığa ~dılar taqı üçägüsü tün sarığa ~dılar

barğu <b'rqw> 'goods'

OT *bark* 'movable property' (ED 359)
var. <b'rqw> 20/1
19/9-20/1 oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqın aldı elkünin aldı ordusıgä köp uluğ ölüg ~ köp tălim tirig ~ tusu boldı
31/2 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannung çarigigä nöklärarigä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg ~ tüşti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud azlıq boldı
31/8 bo çäbär bir qanqa japtı qanqa üstündä ölüg ~nı qoydı qanqa başıda tirig ~nı qoydı tarıttılar kettilər

barğuluğ <b'rqw-lwq> 'rich in goods'

OT *bark* 'movable property' (ED 359)
33/9 kăn taşqarun qalmasun bällüg bolsun kim kündünki bulungda baraq° tăgän bir yer bar turur uluğ ~ bir yurt turur köp işig bir yer turur [...]

barmaqlıg josun bellig <b'rm'q-l'q çwswn byll'k> 'Proper name'

MT *barmaq* 'Finger, Zehe' (Z 192a); Mo. *yosu(n)* 'rule, custom, habit, principle, manner, method' (L 435)

31/6 oğuz qağannung čärigidä usluğ yaşqı bir čäbär kişi bar erdi anung atı ~ erdi bo čäbär bir qanqa japtı [...]

baraq° <b'r'q'> 'Geographical name' (it may be inclusively connected to OT *baraq* 'long-haired dog' (ED 360)

33/8 kän taşqarun qalmasun bällüg bolsun kim kündünki bulungda baraq° tögän bir yer bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig bir yer turur [...]

bas- <b's> 'to oppress, to strike, to defeat'

OT *bas-* 'to press, crush, oppress, make a surprise attack on sy' (ED 370)

3/7 uşol orman içindä bädük bir <monster> bar erdi [...] berkä ämgäq birlä elkünni ~up erdi

13/6 uşbo kim ağizumğa baqmaz turur bolsa čamat čaqip čärig čäkip duşman tutar män tawraq ~ip asturip yoq bolsungil täp qilur män täp tädi

30/7 uruş toquş başladı [...] oğuz qağan baştı ljürčäd qağanni ~ti löldürdi başın kästi |

33/6 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şagam yinggaqlariğa atlap ketti köp uruşqudan köp toquşqudon song anlarnı aldı öz yurtiğa birlädi baştı ~ti

34/8 qatıq yaman uruşqu boldı oğuz qağan baştı İmisir qağan qaçtı loğuz anı ~ti lyurtin aldı ketti

?basa <b's'> 'and, together with' (see also **birlä**) OT *basa* 'also' (ED 371)

42/2 taqı tädi kim lay oğullar köp män aşaduml uruşqular köp män kördüml jida ~ köp oq attuml aygır birlä köp yörüdüml [...] täp tädi

baş- <b's'> 'to attack'

OT *başa-* 'to wound, make incisions' (ED 377)

19/5 oğuz qağan ~ti lurum qağan qaçtı oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqin aldı | elkünin aldı

30/6 uruş toquş başladı oqlar birlä qilič birlä uruştilar oğuz qağan ~ti jürčäd qağanni bastı öldürdi başın kästi

33/6 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şagam yinggaqlariğa atlap ketti köp uruşqudan köp toquşqudon song anlarnı aldı öz yurtiğa birlädi ~ti bastı

34/7 qatıq yaman uruşqu boldı oğuz qağan ~til misir qağan qaçtil oğuz anı bastil yurtin aldı ketti

35/1 anung dostlari köp sewinč [...] erdi anung duşmanlari köp qayğular [...] oğuz [qağan] ~ti sanaguluqsiz nāmälär yilqilar aldı yurtiğa tüşti ketti

baş <b's'> 1. 'head' 2. top part of sg 3. front part of sg

OT *baş* 'head, the beginning of sg' (ED 375)

var. <bYš> 7/3, 12/9

5/2-5/3-5/4 känä özü iğaçning tübindä turdı [monster] kälip ~i birlä oğuz qalqanin urdi oğuz jida birlä [monster]ning ~in urdi anı öldürdi qilič birlä ~in kästi aldı ketti

5/7 känä kälip kördi kim bir şungqar [monster]-?ning içägüsin yämaktä turur ya birlä oq birlä şungqarnı öldürdi ~in kästi

7/3 uşbo yaruqnung arasında bir qiz bar erdi yalğuz olturur erdi yaqşı körüglük bir qiz erdi anung ~ında ataşluğ yaruqluğ bir mängi bar erdi altun qazuq tag erdi

12/9 andan song oğuz qağan tört sariga jarlig jumşadi bildürgülük bititdi [...] uşbo bildürgülükte bitilmiş erdi kim män uygurning qağani bola män kim yerning tört bulunginung qağani bolsam käräk turur senlärden ~ čalunguluq tilap män turur [...]

20/3 urum qağannung bir qarundaşı bar erdi urus bağ tögän erdi ol urus bağ oğulun tag ~ida taring mörän arasida yaqşı bārik baluqqa yumşadi

22/6 urus bağning oğuli [...] taqı tädi kim [...] bizning qutbiz sānning qutung bolmuş bizning urugbiz sānning iğaçungnung urugı bolmuş bolup turur tāngri sāngä yer berip bujurmaş bolup turur män sāngä ~umni qutumni berä män bārgü bārip dostluqtan čiqmaztur täp tädi

26/6 munda uluğ bir tag bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı muz bar turur anung ~i soğuqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung atı muz tag turur

30/7 uruş toquş başladı oqlar birlä qiličlar birlä uruştilar oğuz qağan baştıl jürčäd qağanni bastil öldürdi ~in kästil

31/8 bo čäbär bir qanqa japtı qanqa üstündä ölüğ barguni qoydı qanqa ~ida tirig barguni qoydı tarittilar kettilar

41/2-41/5 [ong yaqida qiriq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung] ~ida bir altun [taguq qoydı adaqı]da bir aq qoyun bağladı [čong] yaqida qiriq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung ~ida bir kümüş taguq qoydı adaqida bir qara qoyunni bağladı

başla- <b's'l'> 1. 'to begin' 2. 'to go in the front, to lead'

OT *başla-* 'to begin, to lead' (ED 381)

2/2 uşol oğul anasining kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon artıqraq içmädi yeg et aş sorma tilädi tili kelä ~di qırıq kündön song bädüklädi yörüdi oynadı

25/5 uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanga aytti kim amdı çärig birla mundon atlang qağan elkünlärni beglerni keldürgil män sängä ~p yolni körgürür män täp tädi

30/5 munda jürçäd qağanı elküni oğuz qağanga qarşu kældilär uruş toquş ~di oqlar birlä qılıçlar birlä uruştilar

başlıq <b'şlyq> 'superior, leader'

OT *başlıq* 'beginning, leadership, headgear' (ED 381)

28/2 oğuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü aytti kim lay sän munda beglärgä bolgıl ~l män mängiläp sängä at bolsun qağarlıg l täp tädi köp ärdäni soyurqadı ilgäri ketti

batuš <b'dwš> 'West'

OT *bat*- 'to sink' (ED 298)

36/3 oğuz qağannung janıda [...] bir qart kişi turur bar erdi [...] anung atı uluğ türük erdi künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya kördi taqı üç kümüş oq kördi bo altun ya kün tuğışıda (da) kün ~ığaça täggän erdi taqı bo üç kümüş oq tün yinggaqqa ketä turur erdi uyqudon song tüştä körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdi

bäg <b'k> 'beg (title)'

OT *beg* 'the head of a clan or tribe, subordinate chief' (ED 322)

var. <byk> 11/5, 27/5 28/2<b'yk> 25/4

11/5 toydan song oğuz qağan ~lärgä elkünlärgä jarlıg berdi

20/2-20/3 urum qağannung bir qarundaşı bar erdi urus ~ tägän erdi ol urus ~ oğulun [...] yaqşı bär^ok baluqqa yumşadı

21/1 oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa atladi urus ~ning oğulı anga köp altun kümüş yibardı

23/9-24/1 çärigdä bir yaqşı ~ bar erdi anung atı uluğ ordu ~ erdi usluğ [...] bir er erdi

24/6-24/7 oğuz qağan säwinç ätti küldi taqı aytti kim lay ay sän munda ~ bolung lqipçaq tägän sän ~ bolungl täp tädi taqı ilgäri kettilər

25/4 uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanga aytti kim amdı çärig birlä mundon atlang qağan atlap elkünlärni ~läri keldürgil män sängä başlap yolni körgürür män täp tädi

27/2-27/5-27/8-28/2 çärigdä bir bedük qaqız er ~ bar erdi çalıng bulıngdan qoruqmaz turur erdi jörügüdä soğurguda onga er erdi uşol ~ tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz kündön song oğuz qağanga aygır atni kældürdi muz tağlarda köp

soğuz boluptan ol ~ qağardan sarunmiş erdi ap aq erdi oğuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü aytti kim l ay sän munda ~ lärgä bolgıl başlıq män mängiläp sängä at bolsun qağarlıg täp tädi

bäk <b'k> Adv. 'much'

OT *bäk* 'firm, solid, stable' (ED 323)

26/2 oğuz qağan bir çuqurdan aygır atğa minä turur erdi uşbo aygır atni ~ çoq sewür erdi jolda uşbo aygır at közdän yitü qaçtı ketti

bälgür- <b'lkwr> 'to appear, manifest'

OT *bälgür-* 'to appear, become manifest (intrans.)' (ED 341)

32/9 oğuz qağan qanqalarni kördi küldi taqı aytti kim qanqa qanqa birlä ölügni tirig yörügürsün qanqaluğ sängä at bolguluq qanqa ~sün täp tädi

bän 'I see män

bärik <b'r'k> 'solid, firm, fortified'

OT *bärik* 'firm, stable, solid' (ED 361)

20/5 ol urus bäg oğulun tağ başıda täring mörän arasıda yaqşı ~ baluqqa yumşadı [...] oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa atladi

bedük 'big, great'

OT *bädük* 'big, great' (ED 302)

var. <b'dwk> 3/4, 3/5, 23/6, 30/1 <bydwk> 10/8, 28/5, 40/8, <byd'k> 16/5, <b'd'k> 17/7, 18/2

3/4-3/5 uşol orman içindä ~ bir [monster] bar erdi yilqılarni yelkünlärni yer erdi ~ yaman bir kik erdi

10/8 andan song oğuz qağan ~ toy berdi elküngä jarlıg çarlap kengäştilər kældilär

16/5 çang ertä bolduqta oğuzqağannung qoriğaniğa kün tağ bir jaruq kirdi ol jaruqton kök tülüglüg kök jalluğ ~ bir erkäk böri çitü

17/7-18/2 andan song oğuz qağan qoriğanni türdürdi ketti kördi kim çarigning tapuğlarıda kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ ~ bir erkäk böri yörügüdä turur ol börining artlarin qatıglap yörügüdä turur erdilär erdi bir näçä künlärdän song kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ bo ~ erkäk böri turup tudı oğuz taqı çärig birlä turup turdı

23/6 kän çärig birlä [...] [etil] tägän mörängä kächti [etil] tägän ~ bir näng turur

27/2 lçärigdä bir ~ qaqız er bäg bar erdil çalıng bulıngdan qoruqmaz turur erdil jörügüdä soğurguda onga er erdil

28/5 kän yolda ~ bir üy kördi bo üynüning tağamı altundan erdi tünglüqları taqı kümüştün qalqanları tämürdän erdilär erdi

30/1 tarlagusiz bir yazi yer erdi munga jurcad tatururlar erdi ~ bir yurt elkun erdi yilqilari kop ud buzaglari kop altun kumushlari kop ardanilari kop erdilär erdi
40/8 oguz qagan ~ ordu [...] koruk [...]

bädüklä- <b'dwkl'> 'to grow up, become mature'

OT *bädüklä-* 'to be or become great' (ED 304)
2/3 uşol oğul anasining körüzündön oğuzni içip mundon artıraqa içädi yeg at aş sorma tilädi tilä kelä başladı qırıq kündön song ~di yörüdi oynadı

bärgü 'tax, tribute'

OT *bergü* 'sg ought to be or is given' (ED 362)
var. <b'Ykw> 14/5, <b'[r]kw>, 22/6
14/5 känä bo çağda ong jangaqta altun qagan tagän bir qagan bar erdi uşbo altun qagan oguz qaganğa elci yumşap yibardi kop talim altun kumüş tartip kop talim qiz yaqut taş alup kop talim ardanilər yibarup yumşap oguz qaganğa soyurqap berdi ağıziğa baqindi yaqşi ~ birlä dostluq qildi
22/6 bizning qutbiz sänning qutung bolmuş bizning urugbiz sänning iğaçungnung urugi bolmuş bolup turur tangri sangä yer berip bujurmüş bolup turur män sangä başumnı qutumni berä män ~ bärıp dostluqtan çiqmaztur täp tädi

beg see **bäg**

bel <byl> 'waist'

OT *bel* 'waist' (ED 330)
2/3-2/4 adaqi ud adaqi tag l-lari bori ~lari tag lyağri kiş yağri tag lkögüzü adug kögüzü tag erdi

belbaği <byl'qy> 'waistbelt'

OT *bel* 'waist' (ED 330), OT *bağ* 'bond, tie, belt' (ED 310)
4/7 kenä bir adug aldi altunlug ~ birlä yiğaçqa bağladı ketti

bellüg <byllwk> 'known, sure'

OT *bälgülüg* 'manifest, significant' (ED 341)
sicher, offenbar', *belli ol-* 'bekannt werden' (Z 208b)
var. <b'Yllwk> 21/9, <b'llwk> 33/7
21/9 sändän jarlug bağlig ~ bola män bizning qutbiz sänning qutung bolmuş bizning urugbiz sänning iğaçungnung urugi bolmuş bolup turur tangri sangä yer berip bujurmüş bolup turur män sangä başumnı qutumni berä män bärgü berip dostluqtan çiqmaztur täp tädi

33/7 känä taşqarun qalmasun ~ bolsun kim [...]
35/5 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim ~ bolsun kim [...]

ber- <byr> 'to give'

OT *ber-* 'to give' (ED 354)
var. <b'r> 12/6, 16/7, 21/4, 22/7, 37/2
10/9 andan song oguz qagan bedük toy ~di elkungä jarlig çarlap kengästilär kaldilər
11/6 toydan song oguz qagan beğlärgä elkünlärgä jarlig ~di taqi tädi lkim män senlärgä boldum qaganl alaling ya taqi qalqanl tamğa bizgä bolsun buyanl kök bori bolsungil uranl [...] täp tädi

12/6 känä andan song oguz qagan tört sariga jarlig jumşadi bildürgülük bitidi elçilärgä ~ip yibardi uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş erdi kim [...]

14/5 uşbo altun qagan oguz qaganğa elci yumşap yibardi kop talim altun kumüş tartip kop talim qiz yaqut taş alup, kop talim ardanilər yibarup yumşap oguz qaganğa soyurqap ~di ağıziğa baqindi

16/7 ol jaruqton kök tülüküg kök jallug bedik bir erkäk bori çiqti uşol bori oguz qaganğa söz ~ip turur erdi taqi tädi kim [...]

21/4-22/5-22/6-22/7 oguz qagan uşol baluqqa atladı urus bəgning ogulı anga kop altun kumüş yibardi taqi tädi kim ay männing qaganum sän mängä atam bo baluqni ~ip turur taqi tädi kim baluqni qatiglağu karak turur sän taqi uruşqulardan song baluqni bəngä saqlap kalgil täp tädi [...] bizning qutbiz sänning qutung bolmuş bizning urugbiz sänning iğaçungnung urugi bolmuş bolup turur tangri sangä yer ~ip <byr'b> bujurmüş turur män sangä başumnı qutumni ~ä män bärgü ~ip dostluqtan çiqmaztur täp tädi

32/3 munlar qanqa yörümäktä qanqa qanqa söz ~ä turur erdilär erdi anung üçün anlarğa qanqa at qoydılar

37/2 anung ati ulug türük erdi [...] uyqudon song tüştä körganin oguz qaganğa bildürdi taqi tädi kim lay qaganum sangä jaşagu bolsungil uzun l[ay qagan]um sangä türlük bolsungil tüzünl [...] tangri ~di tüşümdä kaldürsünl tola turur yerni urugungğa berdürsünl täp tädi

38/9 kün ay yulduz kop kıklar kop quşlar awlağularidan song jolda bir altun yani çaptılar aldılar atasiga [-dilär]

39/8 kök tag tangiz kop kıklar kop quşlar awlağularidan song jolda üç kumüş oqni taptılar aldılar atasiga ~di lär

42/2-42/7 andan song oğuz qağan oğullariga yurtin ulasturup ~di taqi tadi kim [...]
ldusmanlarni iglagurdum ldostlarumnı man külgurdum lkök tängrigä män ötädüm lsänlärge ~ä män yurtum [täp tadi]

berdür- <bYrdwr> 'to make someone to give'
OT *bertür-* 'to cause sy to give sg' (ED 359)
37/3 anung atı ulug türük erdi [...] uyqudon song tüstä körganin oğuzqağanğa bildürdi taqi tadi kim lay qağanum sānga jaşağu bolsungil uzun [ay qağan]um sāngä türük bolsungil tüzünl [...] tängri berdi tüşümdä kaldürsünl tola turur yerni urugungga ~sünl täp tadi

berkä <byrk> 'difficulty, hardship, trouble'
Mo. *berke* 'hardship, trouble' (L 99)
3/6 bedük yaman bir kik erdi ~ ämgäq birlä elkünni basup erdi

bildür- <b'ldwr> 'to make someone to know, to explain'
OT *biltür-* 'to make sg known to sy' (ED 335)
36/7 anung atı ulug türük erdi künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya kördi taqi üç kümüş oq kördi bo altun ya kün tuğışida (da) kün batuşığaça täggän erdi taqi bo üç kümüş oq tün yinggaqqa ketä turur erdi uyqudon song tüstä körganin oğuz qağanğa ~di taqi tadi kim [...]

bildürgülük 'message'
OT *biltür-* 'to make sg known to sy' (ED 335)
var. <byldwr-kw-lwk> 12/5, <byldwr-kw-l'k> 12/6
12/5-12/6 andan song oğuz qağan tört sarıga jarlıg jumşadi ~ bitidi elčilärigä bärıp yibardı uşbo ~tä bitilmiş erdi kim [...]

bir <byr> 'a/an (indefinite article)'
OT *bir* 'one' (ED 353)
var. <bYr> 1/3, 13/9, 17/7, 24/1, 28/9, 29/9, 41/5 <b'r> 14/8, 16/6, 18/5, 20/2, 27/2, 31/5, 31/7, 35/7, 38/8, 41/3, 41/6,
1/3 känä künlärdän ~ kün
3/1 bo çağda bo yerdä ~ ulug orman bar erdi
3/4-3/6 uşol orman içindä bädük ~ [monster] bar erdi yilqılarnı yelkünlärni yer erdi bädük yaman ~ kik erdi
3/7 oğuz qağan ~ eres qaqız kişi erdi bo [monster]ni awlamaq tilädi
3/9 künlärdä ~ kün
4/2 ~ buğu aldı şol buğunı talnung çubuqi birlä igäcqa bağladı ketti
4/6 kenä ~ adug aldı altunlug belbaqi birlä yigäcqa bağladı ketti

5/5 känä kälip kördi kim ~ şungqar [monster]ning içägüsin yemäktä turur
6/4-6/5-6/7-7/1-7/3-7/4 känä künlärdä ~ kün oğuz qağan ~ yerdä tängrini jalwarğuda ärdi qarangguluq keldi köktön ~ kök yaruq tüsti kündön (ay) aydan qoğulguluqraq erdi oğuz qağan yörüdi kördi kim uşbo yaruqnung arasında ~ qız bar erdi yalguz olturur erdi yaqşi körüglük ~ qız erdi anung başında ataşlug yaruqlug ~ mängi bar erdi [...]
8/6-8/7-8/8-9/1-9/2 kän ~ kün oğuz qağan awğa ketti ~ köl arasında alından ~ igäc kördi bo igäcning qawucaqında ~ qız bar erdi jalguz olturur erdi yaqşi körüglük ~ qız erdi [...]
13/9 känä bo çağda ong jangaqta altun tögän ~ qağan bar erdi
14/8 çong jangaqida urum tögän ~ qağan bar erdi
16/3-16/6 çağ ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung qoriğaniga kün tag ~ jaruq kirdi ol jaruqton kök tülüklüg kök jallug bedik ~ erkäk böri çiqti
17/7 kördi kim çäriğning tapuqlarda kök tülüklüg kök jallug bädik ~ erkäk böri yörügüde turur
17/9 ~ näcä künlärdän song
18/5-18/6 munda ätil mörän tögän ~ taluy bar erdi etil mörännung quduğida ~ qara tag tapigida uruşqu tutuldi
20/2 urum qağannung ~ qarundaşi bar erdi urus bag tögän erdi
23/6-23/8-24/1 känä çäriğ birlä [...] [etil] tögän mörängä kaçti etil tögän [bädük] ~ [nang turur oğuz] qağan anı [...] taqi tadi kim etilning °suğidan neçük keçärbiz täp tadi çäriğdä ~ yaqşi bag bar erdi anung atı ulug ordu bag erdi uslug [...] ~ er erdi
26/1-26/4 oğuz qağan ~ çuqurdan aygır atqa minä turur erdi uşbo aygır atni bäk çok sewür erdi uşbo aygır at közdän yitü qaçti ketti munda ulug ~ tag bar erdi [...] anung atı muz tag turur
27/2 çäriğdä ~ bedik qaqız er bag bar erdi çaling bulingdan qoruqmaz turur erdi
28/5-28/9 kän yolda bädük ~ üy kördi [...] qapuluğ erdi açögic yor erdi çäriğdä ~ yaqşi çäbär er bar erdi anung atı tömürtü [qağul] erdi anga jarlıg qildi kim san munda qal aç qalqan açqungdon song käl orduğa täp tadi mundan anga qalaç at qoydi ilgäri ketti
29/5-29/9-30/1 kän ~ kün [...] erkäk böri yörümäyn turdi oğuz qağan taqi turdi [...] tarlagusiz ~ yazı yer erdi munga jürçäd tätururlar erdi bädük ~ yurt elkun erdi
31/5-31/7 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannung çäriğigä nökarlärigä elkünigä andağ ulug ölüg

barğu tüšti kim yülkämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud azlıq boldi anda oğuz qağannung çärigidä usluğ isay ~ çäbär kişi bar erdi anung atı barmaqlıg jusun bellig erdi bo çäbär ~ qanqa japtı [...] tarittilar kettilər

33/8-33/9-34/4 kündünki bulungda baraq° tågän ~ yer bar turur uluğ barguluğ ~ yer turur [...] uşol yerning qağani misir tågän ~ qağan erdi

35/7-35/8-36/1 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqallug moz saçlug uzun usluğ ~ qart kişi turur bar erdi uq°guluğ tüzün ~ yer erdi tüşimäl erdi anung atı uluğ türük erdi künlärdä ~ kün uyquda ~ altun ya kördi taqı üç kümüş oq kördi

38/8 kün ay yulduz köp kıklär köp quşlar awlağularıdan song jolda ~ altun yanı taptılar aldılar atasıgä berdilär

41/2-41/3-41/5-41/6 [ong yaqıda qirıq qolaç iğaç tiktürdi anung] başıda ~ altun [tağuc qoydı adaqı]da ~ aq qoyun bağladı [çong] yaqıdä qirıq qolaç iğaç tiktürdi anung başıda ~ kümüş tağuc qoydı adaqıda ~ qara qoyunni bağladı

birinçi <byryn-çy> 'first'

OT *birinç* 'first' (ED 367)

8/3 künlärdän song kaçälärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğul tuğurdı ~sigä kün at qoydılar ekinçisigä ay at qoydılar üçünçüsügä yulduz at qoydılar

10/4 künlärdän song keçälärdän song yaurdı üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdı ~ sigä kök at qoydılar ikinçisigä tağ at qoydılar üçünçüsügä tängiz at qoydılar

birlä <byrl'> 'together, with'

OT *birlä* 'with' (ED 364)

var. <b'rl'> 30/5, 30/6 <byr-l'> 18/7 ?<b'l'> 42/4

3/6 uşol orman içindä bädük bir [monster] bar erdi yilqılarnı yelkünni yer erdi bädük yaman bir kik erdi berkä ämgäq ~ elkünni basup erdi 3/9-4/2-4/3 künlärdä bir kün awğa çıqtı jıda ~ ya oq ~ qılıç ~ qalqan ~ atladi bir buğu aldi şol buğunı talnung çubuqı ~ iğaçqa bağladı ketti 4/7 kenä bir aduğ aldi altunluğ belbağı ~ iğaçqa bağladı ketti

5/2-5/3-5/3-5/6 känä özü iğaçnıng tübindä turdı [monster] kälip başı ~ oğuz qalqanin urdı oğuz jıda ~ [monster]nıng başın urdı anı öldürdi qılıç ~ başın kästi aldi ketti känä kälip kördi kim bir şungqar [monster] içägüsin

yemäktä turur ya ~ oq ~ şungqarnı öldürdi başın kästi

8/1 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı qalmanı ketti sewdi aldi anung ~ yattı tilägüsin aldi töl bogus boldi künlärdän song kaçälärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdı

10/1 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ketti jüräkigä ataş tüšti anı säwdi aldi anung ~ yattı tilägüsin aldi töl bogus boldi künlärdän song keçälärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdı

14/5-14/6 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanga elçi yumşap yibardı köp tälüm altun kümüş tartıp [...] oğuz qağanga soyurqap berdi ağıziğä baqındı yaqşı begü ~ dostluq qıldı anung ~ amıraq boldi

18/4 bir näçä künlärdän song kök tülüklüg kök jallug bo bädik erkäk böri turup turdı oğuz taqı çärig ~ turup turdı

18/7-18/8 etil mörännung quduğıda bir qara tağ tapıgıda uruşqu tutuldi oq ~ jıda ~ qılıç ~ uruştilar

23/4 känä çärig ~ [...] etil tågän mörän[gä] kaçtı [etil] tågän bädük bir näng turur

25/3 känä kök tülüklüg kök jallug erkäk böri kördi uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanga aytti kim amdı çärig ~ [mundon atlang qağan] atlap elkünni beğlärnı keldürgil män sängä başlap yolni körgürür män täp tädi

28/1 oğuz qağan sewinç ~ küldü aytti kim lay sän munda beğlärgä bolğil başlıq män mängiläp sängä at bolsun qağarlıgı täp tädi

30/5-30/6 oqlar ~ qılıç ~ urustilar

32/7 oğuz qağan qanqalarnı kördi küldi taqı aytti kim aytti kim lqanqa qanqa ~ ölügni tirig yörügürsünl qanqaluğ sängä at bolğullug qanqa bälğürsünl täp tädi

33/2 andan song bo kök tülüklüg kök jallug erkäk böri ~ sindu taqı tangqut taqı şagam yinggaqlariğa atlap ketti

?42/4 jıda ~ köp oq attum (see also **basa**)

birlä- <byr-l'> 'to unify, to incorporate sg.'

OT *bir* 'one' (ED 353)

33/5 känä bo [kök] tülüklüg kök jallug erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şagam yinggaqlariğa atlap ketti köp uruşqudan köp toquşqudon song anlarnı aldi öz yurtıgä ~di

biti- <b'd'> 'to write'

OT *biti-* 'to write (sg)' (ED 299)

12/5 andan song oğuz qağan tört sarıgä jarlıg jumşadi bildürgülük ~di uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş erdi kim [...]

bitil- <b'd'l> 'to be written'

OT *biti*- 'to write (sg)' (ED 299)

12/6 andan song oğuz qağan tört sarığa jarlıg jumşadi bildürgülük bitidi uşbo bildürgülükta ~ miş erdi kim [...]

biz⁸⁵⁸ <b'z> 'we'

OT *biz* 'we' (ED 388)

var. <byz> 9/7, 11/8

9/7 andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni anı körsä ay ay aḡ aḡ ölibiz täp süttän qumuz bola tururlar

11/8 taqı tädi kim İmān senlärgä boldum qağan alalıng ya taqı qalqan İtamğa ~gä bolsun buyanl kök böri bolsunğil uranl [...] täp tädi

20/8 ol urus bāg [...] taqı tädi kim baluqnı qatıglaḡu kārāk turur sän taqı uruşqulardan song baluqnı ~gä saqlap kalgil täp tädi

22/1-22/2 urus bāgning oḡulı anga köp altun kümüş yibardı taqı tädi kim [...] ~ning qutbiz sänn^ong qutung bolmuş ~ning uruḡbiz sänning İgaçungung uruḡi bolmuş bolup turur

23/8 [etil] tēgān mōrāngā kāçti etil tēgān bādük bir nāng turur oḡuz qağan anı [körđi] taqı tädi kim etilning ^osuḡıdan nüçük keçārbiz täp tädi

bo <bw> 'this (demonstrative pronoun)'

OT *bu* 'this' (ED 291)

2/9-3/1-3/2-3/3 ~ çagda ~ yerdä bir uluḡ orman bar erdi köp mōrānlār köp öḡüzlār bar erdi ~nda kelgānlār kik köp köp l~nda uçqanlar quş köp köp lerdı

3/8 uşol orman İçindä bādük bir [monster] bar erdi [...] oḡuz qağan bir eres qaḡız kişi erdil ~ [monster]nı awlamaq tilādi |

8/9 kānā bir kün oḡuz qağan awḡa ketti bir köl arasında alından bir İgaç körđi ~ İgaçnung qawuçaqında bir qız bar erdi

13/7 kān ~ çagda ong jāngaçta altun qağan tēgān bir qağan bar erdi

⁸⁵⁸ We find three types of 'biz' in the text. The first one is the personal pronoun, the second one is part of the non-past verbal paradigm as a Pl.1 personal marker and the third type is the Px.Pl.1. In the cases of other personal pronouns as well, the second and third type are usually written separately from the stems, except in example 9/7, where it is written together with the finite verbal form. This example allows the conclusion the despite the usual separate spelling of the second and third types of the personal pronouns should be considered as suffixes, and not lexemes on their own right anymore. Nevertheless all occurrences of *biz* are recorded here. I marked 'suffixes' with *italic*, for easier differentiation from the personal pronoun.

18/2 bir nāçā künlärdān song kök tülüklüg kök jalluḡ ~ bādük erkāk böri turup turđi oḡuz taqı çārig birlä turup turđi

21/3 urus bāgning oḡulı anga köp altun kümüş yibardı taqı tädi kim māngā atam ~ baluqnı bārip turur [...]

28/5 kānā yolda bedük bir üy körđi ~ üynüing taḡamı altundan erdi [...]

31/6 anda oḡuz qaḡannung çārigidä usluḡ yaşqı bir çābār kişi bar erdi anung atı barmaqlıḡ jōsun bellig erdi ~ çābār bir qanqa japtı

33/1 andan song kānā ~ kök tülüklüg kök jalluḡ erkāk böri birlä sīndu taqı tangqut taqı şāḡam yīngḡaqlarığa atlap ketti

36/2-36/4 künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya körđi taqı üç kümüş oq körđi ~ altun ya kün tuḡışıda da kün batuşığaça tēggān erdi taqı ~ üç kümüş oq tün yīngḡaçqa ketä turur erdi

~ **mun+** <mwn>

1/2 [...] bolsunğil täp tādilār anung ang^oḡusu uşbo turur ~dan song säwinç taptılar

1/9 uşol oḡul anasīning köḡüzündōn oḡuznı İçip ~don artıqraq İçmädi

4/8kānā bir aduḡ aldı altunluḡ belbaḡı birlä yīgaçqa baḡladı ketti ~don song ertä boldı

15/3 uşol urum qağan oḡuz qaḡannıng jarlıḡın saqlamaz erdi qatıqlaḡu barmaz erdi ~İ söz söznı tutmaz mān turur mān täp yarlıḡḡa baqmadı

18/4 oḡuz taqı çārig birlä turup turđi ~da ātil mōrān tēgān bir taluy bar erdi

26/4-26/9 jolda uşbo ayḡır at közdān yitü qaçti ~da uluḡ bir taḡ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı muz bar turur anung başı soḡuqtan ap aq turur

anung üçün anung atı muz taḡ turur oḡuz qaḡannıng atı muz taḡ İçigä qaçıp ketti loḡuz qağan ~dan köp çıḡay āmgāq çāküp turđil

28/2 oḡuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü ayttı kim lay sän ~da beḡlärgä bolḡil başlıql mān māngilāp sāngā at bolsun qaḡarlıḡl täp tädi

29/2-29/4 anga jarlıḡ qıldı kim İsān ~da qal aç qalqanl açqungdon song kāl orduḡal täp tädi ~dan anga qalaç at qoydı

29/9 tarlaḡusız bir yazı yer erdi l~ga jürçäd tātururlar erdil

30/3 ~da jürçäd qaḡanı elküni oḡuz qaḡanḡa qarşu kaldılar

32/1-32/2 bo çābār bir qanqa japtı İqanqa üstündä ölüḡ bargunı qoydı İqanqa başıda tirig bargunı qoydı tarıttılar kettılar nōkārİārnüing elkünnüing qamaḡı l~İ kördılar şaştılarİ qanqalar taqı japtılarİ ~lar qanqa yōrümāktä qanqa qanqa söz berä turur erdilār erdi

34/1 kündünki bulungda baraq^o tēgān bir yer bar turur luluḡ barguluḡ bir yurt tururl köp İşıḡ

bir yer tururl ~da köp kıkları köp quşları bar tururl [...]

~ušbo <wšbw>

1/2 [...] bolsunğil täp tädilär anung ang^oğusu ~ turur [picture]

5/9-6/3 ya birlä oq birlä ŗungqarnı öldürdi bařın kästi andan song tädi kim ŗungqarnung angğusi ~ turur [picture] buğı yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdi tämür bolsa [monster]nı ŗungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi ketti taqı [monster]ning ang^oğusu ~ turur [picture]

7/1 köktön bir kök yaruq tüști [...] ~ yaruqnung arasında bir qız bar erdi

12/6 oğuz qağan tört sarığa jarlığ jumşadı bildürgülük bitidi [...] ~ bildürgülükte bitilmiř erdi kim [...]

13/3 senlärđän bař čalunguluq tiläp män turur [...] ~ kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa čamat čaqıp čarig čäkip duřman tutar män

13/9 känä bo čağda ong jangaqta altun tägän bir qağan bar erdi ~ altun qağan oğuz qağanga elči yumřap yibardı

14/8 čong jangaqıda urum tägän bir qağan bar erdi ~ qağannung čarigi köp köp baluqları köp köp erdilär erdi

25/1 oğuz qağan känä kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ erkäk böri körđi ~ kök böri oğuz qağanga aytı kim [...]

26/2-26/3 oğuz qağan bir čuqurđan ayğır atqa minä turur erdi ~ ayğır atnı bek čoq sewür erdi jolda ~ ayğır at közdän yitü qaçtı ketti

?boda- <bwd'> 'to parturitate'

(see **küd(ä)**-)

1/4 känä künlärđän bir kün ay qağannung közü yarıp ~dı erkäk oğul tuğurđı

boğus (? boğaz) <bwq'z> 'embryo'

OT *boğuz* 1. 'throat' 2. 'pregnant' (ED 322) ~ Mo. 'embryo, fetus, pregnant (of an animal)' (L 113)

8/1 anung birlä yattı tilägüsin aldı töl ~ boldı künlärđän song kečälärđän song yarudı üč erkäk oğul tuğurđı

10/2 anung birlä yattı tilägüsün aldı töl ~ boldı künlärđän song kečälärđän song yarudı üč erkäk oğulnı tuğurđı

bol- <bwl> 'to be, become'

OT *bol-* 'to become' (ED 331)

var. <bwl'> 13/4 <b'l> 21/9, 24/7

1/1 [...] ~sunğil täp tädilär

2/9 uřol oğul [...] yılqılar küdäyä turur erdi atlarğa minä turur erdi kik aw awlaya turur erdi künlärđän song kečälärđän song yigit ~dı

4/4 andan song ertä ~dı

4/8 mundon song ertä ~dı

6/1-6/2 andan song tädi kim ŗungqarnung angğusi uřbo turur buğı yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdi tämür ~sa [monster]nı ŗungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yäz ~sa täp tädi

8/2 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı qalmadıl ketti sewdı aldıl anung birlä yattıl tilägüsin aldıl töl boğus ~dı

9/8 yaqřı körüglük bir qız erdi [...] andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni anı körsä ay ay ağ ağ ölibiz täp süttän qumuz ~a tururlar

10/2 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı kettıl jüräkigä atař tüştıl anı sewdı aldıl anıing birlä yattıl tilägüsün aldıl töl boğus ~dı

11/7-11/8-11/9-12/1-12/2 İmän senlärğä ~dum qağan lalalıng ya taqı qalqan İtamğa bizğä ~sun buyan İkök böri ~sunğil uran İtämür jıda bol orman law yerdä yörüsün qulan İtaqı taluy taqı mörän İkün tuğ ~ğil İkök qorığanl täp tädi

12/7-12/9-13/2-13/4-13/6 uřbo bildürgülükte bitilmiř erdi kim män uyğurnıing qağanı ~a män kim yerning tört buluğı nung qağanı ~sam käräk turur senlärđän bař čalunguluq tiläp män turur uřol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur ~sa tarıtqu tartıp dost tutar män tep tädi uřbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur ~asa čamat čaqıp čarig čäkip duřman tutar män tağuraq bařıp asturıp yoq ~sunğil täp qılur män täp tädi

14/7 känä bo čağda ong jangaqta altun qağan tägän bir qağan bar erdi uřbo altun qağan oğuz qağanga elči yumřap yibardı [...] ağızığa baqındı yaqřı begü birlä dostluq qıldı anung birlä amıraq ~dı

16/1-16/2 oğuz qağan [...] čarig birlä atlap tuğlarını tutup kätti qırıq kündön song muz tağ tägän tağnung adaqığa keldi qorığanı tüřgürđi řük ~up uyup turdı čang ertä ~duqta oğuz qağannung qorığanığa kün tağ bir jaruq kirdi

16/9-17/2 uřol böri [...] taqı tädi kim lay ay oğuz urum üstigä sän atlar ~a sän lay ay oğuz tapuğunglarğa män yörür ~a mänl täp tädi

18/9-19/2-19/3-19/5 etil mörännüing quduğıda bir qara tağ tapığıda uruřqu tutuldı oq birlä jıda birlä qılıč birlä uruřtılar lčariglarńing aralarıda köp tälim ~dı uruřqu İl künlärńing aralarıda köp tälim ~dı qayğul tutulunč uruřunč andağ yaman ~dı kim etil mörännüing suğı qıp qızıl säpsänggir tağ ~dı

20/1 oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqın aldı elkünin aldı orduřığa köp uluğ ölüğ barğı köp tälim tirig barğı tusu ~dı

21/9-22/5 urus bägning oğulı [...] taqı tädi kim [...] sändän jarluğ bağlığ bellüğ ~a män

lbizning qutbiz sanning qutung ~mušlbizning urugbiz sanning iğaçungnung uruği ~muš ~up turur ltängri sängä yer berip bujurmaš ~up turur

24/7 čärigdä bir yaqši bäg bar erdi anung atı uluğ ordu erdi [...] ağaçlarda yattı keçti [oğuz qağan] säwinč ätti küldi taqı ayttı kim lay ay sän munda bäg ~ung l qıpçaq tägän sän bäg ~ung l

25/6 tang ertä ~duqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk börü čäriğning tapuğlarıda yörügüdä turur säwindi ilgäri ketti

27/8-28/2-28/3 ušol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü [...] muz tağlarda köp soğuc ~uptan ol bäg qağardan sarunmiš erdi ap aq erdi oğuz qağan sewinč birlä küldü ayttı kim lay sän munda bəglärgä ~gil başlıq İmān māngilāp sanğa at ~sun qağarlıg tıp tādı

31/4 urušqudon song oğuz qağannung čäriğigä nökläräriğä andağ uluğ ölüg bargu tüšti kim yüklämäkkä kälürmäkkä at qağatır ud azlıq ~di

33/7 tašqarun qalmasun bällüç ~sun kim kündünki bulungda barqa tägän bir yer bar turur

34/6 ušol yerning qağanı misir tägän bir qağan erdi oğuz qağan anung üstigä atladı qatıq yaman urušqu ~di

35/5 känä čašqarun qalmasun kim bellüç ~sun kim oğuz qağannng janıda aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kiši turur bar erdi

36/9-37/1 uyqudon song tüštä körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdi taqı tādı kim lay qağanum sängä jašağu ~sunğil uzun l[ay qağan]um sängä türlük ~sunğil tüzün l[...] tängri bardi tüšümdä kälürsün tola turur yerni uruğungğa berdürsün tıp tādı

37/7 andan song ertä ~upta aqalarnı inilärni čarlap keldürdi taqı ayttı kim lay mänüç köngülüm awnı tilāp turur lqarı bolğumdan mäning qaqızluqum yoq turur l [...]

39/3 oğuz qağan [qağan sewindi küldi taqı yanı üč] buzguluq qıldı [taqı ayttı] kim l[ay aqa]lar ya [-]sun senlärnüç lya tæg oqlarnı kökkäčä atungl tıp tādı

40/2-40/4 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı oqlarnı üçüçä uläštürdi taqı ayttı kim lay inilar oqlar ~sun sänlärnüç lya attı oqnı oqlar tæg sänlär ~ungl tıp tādı

bolğu <bwlq̄w> 'state, condition'

OT *boluğ* 'a state of coming into existence' (ED 336)

37/9 andan song ertä bolupta aqalarnı inilärni čarlap keldürdi taqı ayttı kim lay mänüç

köngülüm awnı tilāp turur lqarı ~mdan mäning qaqızluqum yoq turur l [...]

bolğuluq <bwlq̄w-lwq̄> 'necessary'

OT *boluğluğ* 'likely to develop' (ED 338)

32/8 oğuz qağan qanqalarnı kördi küldi taqı ayttı kim lqanqa qanqa birlä ölügni tirig yörügürsün lqanqaluğ sängä at ~ qanqa bälğürsünl tıp tādı ketti

böri <bwry> 'wolf'

OT *böri* 'wolf' (ED 357)

var. <bwrw>25/7

2/4 qiriç kündön song bädükladi yörüdi oynadı ladaqı ud adaqı tæg belläri lbelläri ~ belläri tæg l yagiri kiš yagiri tæg kögüzü aduğ kögüzü tæg l erdi badaninung qamaği tüg tülüklüç erdi

11/9 oğuz qağan beglärgä elkünlärgä jarlıç berdi taqı tādı kim İmān senlärgä boldum qağanl alalıç ya taqı qalqanl tamğa bizgä bolsun buyanl kök ~ bolsunğil uran l [...] tıp tādı

16/6 tang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung qoriğaniğa kün tæg bir jaruq kirdi ol jaruqton kök tülüklüç kök jalluğ bedik bir erkäk ~ čiqti ušol ~ oğuz qağanga söz bārip turur erdi

17/7-17/8-18/3 andan song oğuz qağan qoriğanni türdürdi ketti kördi kim čäriğning tapuğlarıda kök tülüklüç kök jalluğ bädik bir erkäk ~ yörügüdä turur ol ~ ning artlarin qatıqlap yörügüdä turur erdilär erdi bir näčä künlärdän song kök tülüklüç kök jalluğ bo bädik erkäk ~ turup turdi

25/1-25/2-25/7 andan song oğuz qağan känä kök tülüklüç kök jalluğ erkäk ~ kördi ušbo kök ~ oğuz qağanga ayttı kim amdı čäriç birlä mundon atlang qağan atlap elkünlärni beglärni keldürgil män sängä başlap yolni körgürür män tıp tādı tang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk ~ čäriğning tapuğlarıda yörügüdä turur säwindi ilgäri ketti

29/6 känä bir kün kök tülüklüç kök jalluğ erkäk ~ yörümäyn turdi oğuz qağan taqı turdi qoriğan tüškürä turğan turdi

33/2 andan song känä bo kök tülüklüç kök jalluğ bedik erkäk ~ birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı šağam yinggaqlariğa atlap ketti

buğu <bwq̄w> 'male deer'

Mo. *buğu* 'a male deer, a game' (L 131)

4/2-4/5 bir ~ aldı šol ~ni talnung čubuqi birlä iğaçqa bağladı ketti tang ertä čağda kaldi kördi kim [monster] ~ni alup turur

5/9 andan song tādı kim šungqarung angğusu ušbo turur [picture] ~ yedi aduğ yedi jidam

öldürdi tāmür bolsa [monster]nī šungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi ketti

bulung <bwlwng> ‘cardinal point, quarter of the world’

OT *bulung* ‘corner, angle, cardinal point, a quarter of the world’ (ED 343)

var. <bwl’ng> 27/3, see also **čaling buling**

12/8 ušbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim män uygurnıng qağanı bola män kim yerning tört ~inung qağanı bolsam kārāk turur [...]33

?27/3 čärigda bir bedik qaqız er bāg bar erdi | čalang ~dan qoruqmaz turur erdi

33/7 kündünki ~da baraq° tągän bir yer bar turur

bujur- <bwčwr> ‘to command, to order’

OT *buyur-* ‘to order, command’ (ED 387)

22/5 urus bāgning oğulı [...] taqı tädi kim [...]

bizning qutbiz senning qutung bolmuş bizning uruğbiz sānning iğaçingnung uruği bolmuş bolup turur tängri sāngä yer berip ~muš bolup turur män sāngä başumnı qutumni berämän bergü berip dostluqtan čiqmazzur täp tädi

buyan <bwy’n> ‘mark of luck’

Sans. *punya* > OT *buyan* ‘merit, meritorious deeds’ Mo. 1. ‘moral, merit, virtue’ 2. good luck, fortune, prosperity’ (L 132)

11/9 oğuz qağan beglärgä elkünlärgä jarlıg qıldı kim lman senlärgä boldum qağanı alalıng ya taqı qalqan ltamga bizgä bolsun ~ | kök böri bolsunğıl uran [...]

buzag (?buzaw) <bws’q> ‘calf’

OT *buzag/buzaw* ‘a calf’ (ED 391)

30/2 tarlağusız bir yazı yer erdi munga jürčäd tatururlar erdi bādük bir yurt el kün erdi yılqıları köp ud ~ları köp altun kümüšläri köp ärdäniläri köp erdilär erdi

buzguluq <bwsqwlwq> ‘part, fragment’

OT *buz-* ‘to destroy, damage’ (ED 389)

39/2 kün ay yulduz köp kıklär köp qušlar awlağularıdan song jolda bir altun yanı taptılar aldılar atasıga berdi [lär oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı yanı] üç ~ qıldı

buzuq <bwsqw> ‘broken/Ethnonym: Broken’

OT *buzuq* ‘spoilt, ruined, destroyed’ (ED 390)

41/7 andan song oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay čaqirdi nökilärin elkünlärin čarlap čaqirdi kälip kengäšip olturdılar [...] [ong] yaqta ~lar olturdi | čong yaqta üç oqlar olturdi

Č

čağ <č’q> ‘era, time’

Mo. *čağ* ‘time, period, season, age’ (L 156)

var. <č’q> 13/7

3/1 bo ~da bo yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdi

4/4 andan song ertä boldi tang ertä ~da kälidi

kördi kim [...]

13/7 känä bo ~da ong jangaqta altun tągän bir qağan bar erdi

čaling buling <č’l’ng bwl’ng> ‘hide and seek’

OT *čal-* ‘to knock sg down’ (ED 417) MT *čal-* ‘čalmak, hırsızlık etmek’ (WOT 215) OT *bul-* ‘to find, to obtain’ (ED 332)

27/3 jolda ušbo ayğir at közdän yitü qačtı munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı muz bar turur anung baši soğuqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung atı muz tağ turur oğuz qağannıng atı muz tağ içigä qačıp ketti [...] čärigdä bir bedik qaqız er bāg bar erdil ~dan qoruqmaz turur erdi [...] ušol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğir atni käldürdi

čalunguluq <č’lwnqwlwq> ‘bowing, courtesy’

OT *čalin-* ‘to throw (oneself) to the ground’ (ED 421)

12/9-13/1 ušbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim män uygurnıng qağanı bola män kim yerning tört bulungınung qağan bolsam kārāk turur sānlärdän baş ~ tiläp män turur [...]

čamat <č’m’d> ‘blame, anger’

? Mo. *jim-e* ‘conduct, manner of behavior, blame, reprimand’; *jimed-* ‘to accuse, to blame, to reprimand’ (L 1056)

13/4 ušbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim [...] ušbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa ~ čaqıp čärig čäkip dušman tutar män tağuraq basıp asturıp yoq bolsunğıl täp qılır män täp tädi

15/5 ušol urum qağan [...] munı söz sözni tutmaz män turur män täp yarlıgğa baqmadı oğuz qağan ~ ätüp anga atlağı tilädi

21/7 taqı tädi kim ay qağanum sān māngä atam bo baluqnı bārip turur taqı tädi kim [...] täp tädi atam ~ ätüp ersä mänung tapum erür mü

čaq- <č’q> ‘to burst (into anger)’

OT *čaq-* ‘to strike fire’ (ED 405)

13/5 ušbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim [...] ušbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa čamat ~ip čärig čäkip dušman tutar män

čaqir- <č’q’r> ‘to call, to call for’

OT *čaqir-* 'to call out, shout' (ED 410)
40/5-40/7 landan song oğuz qağan uluğ
quriltay ~ di İnökerlärin elkünlärin čarlap ~ di |

čap- <č' b-> see **tap-** cf. **jap-**

čarla- <č' r'l' > 'to give an order'

OT *čarla-* 'to call out, shout' (ED 429); Mo.
jarla- 'to order, announce, proclaim' (L 1038)
11/1 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi
elküngä jarlıg ~p kengäštilär kıldilär
37/8 andan song ertä bolupta aqalarnı inilärni
~p keldürdi
40/7 andan song oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay
čaqirdi nökiälärin elkünlärin ~p čaqirdi kälip
kengäšip olturdılar

čäbär <č' b' r' > 'clean pure (mentally), wise'

Mo. *čeber* 'clean, pure' (L 167)
28/9 čärigda bir yaqši ~ er bar erdi anung atı
tömürtü [qağul] erdi
31/5-31/6 oğuz qağannung čärigidä usluğ yaşqı
bir ~ kiši bar erdi anung atı barmaqlıg josun
bellig erdi bo ~ bir qanqa japtı

čäk- <č' k' > 'to gather (army), to suffer (pain)'

OT *čäk-* 'to pull, to suffer (pain)' (ED 413)
13/5 ušbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim [...]
ušbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa čamat
čaqip čärig ~ip dušman tutar män
27/1 oğuz qağannıng atı muz tağ içigä qačip
ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp čigay ämgäq ~üp
turdi

čärig 'army'

OT *čärig* 'army' (ED 429)
var. <č' r' k' > 13/5, 15/6, 17/5, 18/, 25/3
<č' r' Yk' > 14/9, 23/4 <č' ryk' > 18/8, 23/8, 25/8,
27/1, 28/9, 31/1, 31/5
13/5 ušbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim [...]
ušbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa čamat
čaqip ~ čäkip dušman tutar män
14/9 čong jangaqida urum tägän bir qağan bar
ärdi ušbo qağannung ~ i köp köp baluqları köp
köp erdilär erdi
15/6 ušol urum qağan [...] yarlıgğa baqmadı
oğuz qağan čamat ätup anga atlağı tilädi ~
birlä atlap tuğlarnı tutup ketti
17/5 andan song oğuz qağan qoriğanni türdürdi
ketti kördi kim ~ning tapuğlarida kök tülüklüg
kök jalluğ bädik bir erkäk böri yörügüda turur
18/3 bir näčä künlärdän song [...] bo erkäk
böri turup turdi oğuz taqi ~ birla turup turdi
18/8 etil mörännung quduğida bir qara tağ
tapıgida urušču tutuldi [...] ~lärning aralarida

köp tälim boldi urušču lelkünlärning
köngülläridä köp tälim boldi qaygu |

23/4-23/8 känä ~ birlä [...] [etil] tägän
mörängä kächti etil tägän bädük bir näng turur
oğuz qağan anı [kördi] taqi tädi kim etilning
°suğidan näčük kečär biz tap tädi ~ dä bir yaqši
bäg bar erdi anung atı uluğ ordu bäg erdi [...]
25/3-25/8 andan song oğuz qağan känä [...]
erkäk böri kördi ušbo kök böri oğuz qağanga
ayttı kim amdı ~ birlä [mundon atlang qağan]
atlap elkünlärni beglärni keldürgil män sängä
başlap yolni körgürür män tap tädi tang ertä
bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk böri ~
ning tapuğlarida yörügüda turur sewindi ilgäri
ketti

27/1 oğuz qağannıng atı muz tağ içigä qačip
ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp čigay ämgäq
čäküp turdi ~ dä bir bedik qağiz er bäg bar erdi
čalıng bulıngdan qoruqmaz erdi

28/9 känä yolda bedik bir üy kördi bo üynüng
[...] qalqanları tamürdän erdilär erdi qapuluğ
erdi aç'ğič yoq erdi ~ dä bir yaqši čäbär er bar
erdi anung atı tömürtü [qağul] erdi anga jarlıg
qıldı kim lsän munda qal aç qalqan lačqungdon
song käl orduğal tap tädi

31/1-31/5 uruščudon song oğuz qağannung ~
igä nökarlärigä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg bargu
tüšti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır
ud azlıq boldi

anda oğuz qağannung ~ida usluğ yaşqı bir
čäbär kiši bar erdi anung atı barmaqlıg josun
bellig erdi

čigay <č' q' y' > 'poor'

OT *čigay* 'poor, destitute' (ED 409)
27/1 oğuz qağannıng atı muz tağ içigä qačip
ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp ~ ämgäq čäküp
turdi

čiq- 'to go out, step forward; to leave'

OT *čiq-* 'to go out' (ED 405)
var. <č' q' > 3/9, <č' q' > 16/6, 22/7
3/9 künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan awğa ~ti jida
birlä ya oq birlä taqi qilič birlä qalqan birlä
atladi
16/6 čang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung
qoriğaniğa kün tağ bir jaruq kirdi ol jaruqton
kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ bedik bir erkäk böri ~ti
22/7 urus bängning oğulı [...] taqi tädi kim [...]
män sängä başumni qutumni berämän bärğü
berip dostluqtan ~maztur tap tädi

čiray <č' r' q' > 'face, appearance'

Mo. *čirai* 'face, appearance' (L 191)

1/5 känä künlärdän bir kün ay qağannung közü yarip küdädi erkäk oğul tuğurdi uşol oğulnang önglüki ~i kök erdi

34/3 kündünki bulungda baraq° tögän bir yer bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig bir yer turur [...] elkünlärining önglüki ~i qap qara turur

čong <čwnk> 'left (side) as opposed to **ong** (right side)'

? Mo. *jegün* 'east, eastern, left' (L 1044)

14/7 känä bo čağda ong jangaqta altun qağan tögän bir qağan bar erdi [...] ~ jangaqida urum tögän bir qağan bar erdi

41/8 känä andan song oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay čaqirdi nökiirlärin elkünlärin čarlap čaqirdi kälip kengäšip olturdilar [...] [ong] yaq ta buzuqlar olturdi | ~ yaqta üčoqlar olturdi

čoq <čwq> 'many, much'

MT *čoq* 'many, much' (Z 373b)

26/2 oğuz qağan bir čuqurdan ayğir atqa minä turur erdi uşbo ayğir atni bäk ~ sewür erdi

?čöl <čwl> 'desert' see **yol** 26/3, 38/8, 39/7

Mo. *čöl* 'desert, desolate place' (L 201)

čubuy <čwbwq> 'branch, twig'

OT *čibiq* 'a (flexible) rod or stick' (ED 395)

4/3 bir kün awğa čiqti jida birlä ya oq birlä taqi qilič birlä qalqan birlä atladı bir buğu aldı šol buğunı talnung ~i birlä iğaçqa bağladı ketti

čuqur(-dan) <čwqwr-d'n> 'spotted'

Mo. *čouqur*, *čuqur* 'variegated, spotted, dappled' (L 199)

26/1 oğuz qağan bir ~ ayğir atğa minä turur erdi uşbo ayğir atni bäk čoq sewür erdi

čubuyan <čwbw-y'n> 'jujube fruit'

Sans. > OT *čibiqan* 'jujube fruit' (ED 396)

Mo. *čibağ-a(n)*, *čibuğa* 'jujube, prunes, dried plums, kind of date' (L 174)

11/3 türlüg ašlarl türlüg sormalarl~ lar qimizlar laštılar içtilärl

D

?**dalay** <d'l'y> '(great) stream' (see **taluy** 18/5)

Mo. *dalai* 'ocean, sea, great lake' (L 224)

dost 'friend'

Per. *dost* 'a friend' (ST 544)

<dwsd> 34/8, 42/5 var. <dWsd> 13/3

13/3 uşbo bilürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim [...] uşol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa taritqu tartip ~ tutar män

34/8 anung ~ları köp sewinč [...] erdi lduşmanları köp qayğular [...] loğuz qağan baštı sanaguluqsuz nämälär yilqılar aldı yurtiğa üygä tüšti ketti

42/5 taqi tädi kim | [...] duşmanları iğlağurdum | ~larumnı män külgürdüml kök tängriğä män ötädüml sänlärğä berämän yurtum | [täp tädi]

dostluq <dwsd-lwq> 'friendship, alliance'

Per. *dost* 'a friend' (ST 544)

14/6 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağangä elči yumšap yibärdi [...] ağıziğa baqindi yaqši bergü birlä ~ qildi

22/7 urus bängning oğulı [...] taqi tädi kim [...] sängä bašumnı qutumni berä män bärğü berip ~ tan čiqmaztur täp tädi

23/3 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqši kördi sewindi taqi aytti kim mängä köp altun yumšap sän lbaluqnı yaqši saqlap sän ltäp tädi anung üçün anga saqlap at qoydi ~ qildi

duşman <dwšm'n> 'foe'

Per. *dushman* 'enemy, foe' (ST 526)

13/5 uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim [...] uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa čamat čaqip čariğ čäkip ~ tutar män

34/9 anung dostları köp sewinč [...] erdi lanung ~ ları köp qayğular [...] |

42/5 taqi tädi kim | [...] ~larnı iğlağurdum dostlarumnı män külgürdüml kök tängriğä män ötädüml sänlärğä berä män yurtum | [täp tädi]

E

elči 'envoy'

OT *elči* 'ambassador' (ED 129)

var. <ylčy> 12/5, <'yl-čy> 14/1

12/5 känä andan song oğuz qağan tört sarığa jarliğ jumšadı bildürgülük bitidi ~ läriğä bärıp yibärdi

14/1 känä bo čağda ong jangaqta altun qağan tögän bir qağan bar erdi uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağangä ~ yumšap yibärdi

elkün 'nation, common folk'

OT *el* 'realm' (ED 121) Mo. *kiimün* 'man, person, people' (L 501)

var. <yyl-kwn> 3/5, 9/6, <yl-kwn> 3/7, 10/9, 11/5, 19/7, 30/1, 30/8, 31/1, 32/1, 40/6 <'yl-kwn> 19/1, 25/4, 30/4, 34/2

3/5-3/7 uşol orman içində bädük bir [monster] bar erdi yilqılarnı ~ ärni yer erdi lbädük yaman bir kik erdi lberkä ämgäq birlä ~ ni basup erdi | 9/6 andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning ~i anı körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz tep süttän qumuz bola tururlar

10/9 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi ~gä jarlıg çarlap kengäştılar kældilər

11/5 toydan song oğuz qağan beğlärgä ~lärgä jarlıg berdi

19/1-19/7 oq birlä jıda birlä qılıç birlä uruštılar çäriğläarning aralarıda köp tälim boldı uruşqu l~läarning küngülläridä köp tälim boldı qayğu luruşunç tutulunç andağ yaman boldı kim etil mörännüing suğı qıp qızıl säpsänggir täg boldı oğuz qağan baštı urum qağan qaçtı oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqın aldı ~in aldı

25/4 uşbo kök böri oğuzqağanğa ayttı kim amdı çäriğ birlä mundon atlang qağan atlap ~läрни beğläрни keldürgil män sängä başlap yolni körgürür män täp tädi

30/1-30/4-30/8-31/1 oğuz qağan taqı turdı qorığan tüşküri turgan turdı tarlağusız bir yazı yer erdi munga jürçäd tatururlar erdi bädük bir yurt ~ erdi yilqılari köp ud buzağları köp altun kümüsläri köp ärdäniläri köp erdilär erdi munda jürçäd qağanı ~i oğuz qağanğa qarşu kældilər uruş toquş başladı oqlar birlä qılıç birlä uruštılar oğuz qağan baštı jürçäd qağanı bastı öldürdi başın kästi jürçäd ~in öz ağızıgä baqınturdı uruşqudon song oğuz qağannung çäriğigä nökärläriğä ~igä andağ ulug ölüg bargu tüşti kim [...]

32/1 anda oğuz qağannung çäriğidä usluğ yaşqı bir çäbär kişi bar erdi [...] bo çäbär bir qanqa japtı qanqa üstündä ölüg bargunı qoydı qanqa başıda tirig bargunı qoydı tarıttılar kettilər nökärlärnüing ~ nüing qamağı munı kördilər şaštılar qanqalar taqı japtılar

34/2 kündünki bulungda baraq° tägän bir yer bar turur ulug barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig bir yer turur [...] ~läriuning önglüki çirayı qap qara turur

40/6 andan song oğuz qağan ulug quriltay çagırdı lnökerlärin ~ lärin çarlap çagırdıl kalıp kengäşip olturdılar

er 'man'

OT *är* 'man, human male' (ED 192)

var. <yr> 27/2, 27/5, <'yr> 28/9, <ypr> 35/8

27/2-27/5 çäriğdä bir bedik qağiz ~ bäg bar erdi çalıng bulıngdan qorucmaz turur erdi jörügüdä sogurguda öngä ~ erdi

28/9 çäriğdä bir yaqşı çäbär ~ bar erdi anung atı tömürtü qağul erdi

35/8 oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqallug moz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi uq°guluğ tüzün bir ~ erdi tüşimäl erdi anung atı ulug türük erdi

er- <'yr> 'to be' ⁸⁵⁹

OT *är*- 'to be' (ED 193)

var. <'r> 2/6, <yr> 3/1 <'Yr> 6/6, 18/5 <'r> 14/8

1/6-1/7-1/8 uşol oğulnung önglüki çirayı kök ~di ağızi ataş qızıl ~di közläri *al* saçları qaşları *qara* ~dilär ~di yaqşı näwsikilärdän *körüglük* ~di

2/6-2/7-2/8 adaqı ud adaqı *tägl* belläri bör belläri *täg* lyagiri kiş yağiri *täg* lkögüzü adug ögüzü *tägl* ~di lbadaninung qamağı *tüg tüllüklüg* ~di lyilqılar küdäyä *turur* ~di latlarga *minä turur* ~di lkik aw awlaya *turur* ~di |

3/1-3/2-3/3-3/5-3/6-3/7-3/8 bo çagda bo yerdä bir ulug orman *bar* ~di lbunda kelgänlar kik *köp köp* lbunda uçqanlar quş *köp köp* l~di uşol orman içində bädük bir [monster] *bar* ~di yilqılarnı yelkünläri yer ~ di bädük yaman bir *kik* ~di berkä ämgäq birlä elkünni *basup* ~di oğuz qağan bir eres qağiz *kişi* ~di bo [monster]ni awlamaq tilädi

6/6-6/9-7/2-7/3-7/4-7/5-7/6 känä künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan tängrini jalwarguda ~di qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kök yaruq tüşti kündön (ay) aydan qoğulğuluqraq ~di oğuz qağan yörüdi kördi kim uşbo yaruqnung arasında bir qız *bar* ~di yalguz olturur ~di yaqşı körüglük bir qız ~di anung başında ataşluğ yaruqlug bir mängi *bar* ~di altun qazuq *täg* ~di uşol qız andağ *körüglük* ~di kim külsä kök tängri külä turur iğlasa kök tängri iğlaya turur

9/1-9/2-9/3-9/5-9/6 känä bir kün oğuz qağan awğa ketti bir köl arasında alından bir iğaç kördi bo iğaçnung qawuçainda bir qız *bar* ~di jalguz olturur ~di yaqşı körüglük bir qız ~di anung közü köktön kökräk ~di anung saçı mörän °suğı *täg* anung tişi ünçü *täg* ~di andağ *körüglük* ~di kim yer ning yelküni anı körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp süttän qumuz bola tururlar 12/7 uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş ~di kim män uygurnıng qağanı bolaman kim yerning tört bulungınung qağanı bolsam kärke turur [...]

13/9 känä bo çagda ong jangaqta altun tägän bir qağan *bar* ~di

14/8-14/9-15/1-15/2-15/3 çong jangaqıda ururm tägän bir qağan *bar* ~di uşbo qağannung çäriği *köp köp* baluqlari *köp köp* ~dilär ~di uşol

⁸⁵⁹ the immediate argument of *er-* is in italic.

urum qağan oğuz qağannung jarlġġn saqlamaz
~di qatıqlağ**u** bar**maz** erdi

16/7 ol ġaruq**to**n [...] bir erkäk böri çiq**t**i uşol
böri oğuz qağan**ga** söz b**ar**ip *turur* ~di taq**i** t**ad**i
kim [...]

17/9 oğuz qağan [...] kördi kim [...] ç**ä**r**ig**ning
tapuğlar**ı**da [...] b**ä**d**ik** bir erkäk böri yör**ü**g**ü**d**ä**
turur ol böri**ni**ng artlar**ı**n qat**ı**ğ**l**ap yör**ü**g**ü**d**ä**
turur ~dil**ä**r ~di

18/5 munda ä**ti**l mör**ä**n t**ä**g**ä**n bir taluy *bar* ~di
20/2-20/3 urum qağannung bir qarundaş**i** *bar*
~di urus b**ä**g t**ä**g**ä**n ~di

21/7-21/8 atam ç**ä**mat ä**t**ü**p** ~s**ä** m**ä**n**ü**ng *tapum*
~ür mü

23/9-24/1 ç**ä**r**ig**d**ä** bir yaq**ş**i b**ä**g *bar* ~di anung
at**i** uluğ ordu *b**ä**g* ~di usluğ [...] bir *er* ~di

26/2-26/3 oğuz qağan bir ç**u**qur**d**an ayğ**ir** at**q**a
min**ä** *turur* ~di uş**bo** ayğ**ir** at**n**i b**ä**k ç**o**q sew**ir**
~di

26/5 munda uluğ bir tağ *bar* ~di

27/2-27/4-27/5 ç**ä**r**ig**d**ä** bir bed**ü**k qağ**iz** b**ä**g *bar*
~di ç**ä**l**ing** bul**ing**dan qoruq**maz** *turur* ~di
jör**ü**g**ü**d**ä** soğur**g**uda öng**ä** *er* ~di

27/9 muz tağ**l**arda köp soğ**u**q bolu**p**tan ol b**ä**g
qağ**ar**dan sarun**miş** ~di

28/6-28/7-28/8-28/9-29/1 k**ä**n yolda bed**ü**k bir
üy kördi bo ü**yn**ü**ng** tağ**am**i altundan ~di
tü**ng**lüqlar**i** taq**i** k**ü**m**ü**şt**ün** qalqanlar**i** t**ä**m**ü**r**d**än
~dil**ä**r ~di qapuluğ ~di a**ç**ö**g**ü**ç** yoq ~ di ç**ä**r**ig**d**ä**
bir yaq**ş**i ç**ä**b**ä**r er bar ~di anung at**i** t**ö**m**ü**rt**ü**
qağ**ul** t**ä**g**ä**n ~di

29/9-30/1-30/3 tarlağ**u**s**iz** bir yaz**i** yer ~di
mung**ä** jür**ç**äd t**ä**turur**lar** ~di b**ä**d**ü**k bir *yurt*
*elk**ün*** ~di yilq**il**ar**i** kö**p** ud buzağ**l**ar**i** kö**p** altun
k**ü**m**ü**ş**l**ar**i** kö**p** ärd**ä**n**il**ar**i** kö**p** ~dil**ä**r ~di

31/5-31/6 anda oğuz qağannung ç**ä**r**ig**id**ä** usluğ
yaş**q**i bir ç**ä**b**ä**r kiş**i** bar ~di anung at**i**
*barmaql**ig** j**o**sun bell**ig*** ~di

32/4 munlar qan**q**a yör**ü**m**ä**kt**ä** qan**q**a qan**q**a söz
ber**ä** *turur* ~dil**ä**r ~di

34/5 uşol yer**ni**ng qağ**an**i mis**ir** t**ä**g**ä**n bir *qağan*
~di

34/9 anung dostlar**i** kö**p** sewin**ç** [...] ~dil lanung
duş**m**anlar**i** kö**p** qayğ**u**lar [...]

35/7-35/8-35/9 taşqarun qal**m**asun kim bell**ü**g
bolsun kim oğuz qağannung jan**ı**da aq saqallug
moz saç**lu**ğ uzun usluğ bir qart kiş**i** *turur bar*
~di anung at**i** uluğ *tür**ü**k* ~di *tü**ş**m**ä**l* ~di

36/4-36/6 bo altun ya k**ün** tuğ**ış**ida (da) k**ün**
batuş**ı**ğ**ä**ç**ä** t**ä**gg**ä**n ~di taq**i** bo ü**ç** k**ü**m**ü**ş oq t**ün**
y**ing**ğ**ä**q**q**a ket**ä** *turur* ~di

?eres/eren <yryz/yryn> '?manful'

Mo. *eres, eris* 'straight, bold, outright' (L 323)/

OT *är**ä**n* 'real man, fighting man' (ED 232)

3/8 oğuz qağan bir ~ qağ**iz** kiş**i** erdi bo
[monster]n**i** awl**am**aq til**ä**di

erkäk <'yrk'k> 'male'

OT *erkäk* 'male, masculine' (ED 223)

var. <'yrK'k> 1/4, <'YrkYk> 25/1

1/4 k**ä**n**ä** k**ün**l**ä**r**d**än bir k**ün** ay qağannung közü
yar**ip** k**ü**d**ä**di ~ oğul tuğur**d**i

8/3 k**ün**l**ä**r**d**än song k**ä**ç**ä**l**ä**r**d**än song yarud**i** ü**ç**
~ oğul tuğur**d**i

10/4 k**ün**l**ä**r**d**än song ke**ç**äl**ä**r**d**än song ü**ç** ~
oğuln**i** tuğur**d**i

16/6 ol ġaruq**to**n kök t**ü**l**ü**kl**ü**g kök ġalluğ bed**ik**
bir ~ böri ç**iq**t**i**

17/7 kördi kim ç**ä**r**ig**ning tapuğlar**ı**da kök
t**ü**l**ü**kl**ü**g kök ġalluğ b**ä**d**ik** bir ~ böri yör**ü**g**ü**d**ä**
turur

18/3 bir n**ä**ç**ä** k**ün**l**ä**r**d**än song kök t**ü**l**ü**kl**ü**g kök
ġalluğ bo b**ä**d**ik** ~ böri turup tur**d**i oğuz taq**i**
ç**ä**r**ig** birl**ä** turup tur**d**i

25/1 andan song oğuz qağan k**ä**n**ä** kök t**ü**l**ü**kl**ü**g
kök ġalluğ ~ böri kördi

25/7 tang ert**ä** bolduq**t**a oğuz qağan kördi kim
~ b**ö**r**ü** ç**ä**r**ig**ning tapuğlar**ı**da yör**ü**g**ü**d**ä** turur
sewindi ilg**ä**r**ü** ketti

33/2 k**ä**n**ä** bo kök t**ü**l**ü**kl**ü**g kök ġalluğ ~ böri
birl**ä** s**in**du taq**i** tangqut taq**i** ş**ä**gam
y**ing**ğ**ä**qlar**ı**ga at**l**ap ketti

ertä <'yrd'> 'early'

OT ert**ä** 'the early morning' (ED 202)

var. <'yrdY> 25/6

4/4 andan song ~ bold**i** tang ~ ç**ä**ğ**d**a k**ä**ldi
kördi kim [monster] buğun**i** alup turur

4/8 mundon song ~ bold**i** tang ~ ç**ä**ğ**d**a keldi
kördi kim [monster] aduğn**i** alup turur

16/1 ç**ä**ng ~ bolduq**t**a oğuz qağannung
qor**ı**ğ**an**ı**ga** k**ün** t**ä**g bir ġaruq kirdi

25/6 tang ~ bolduq**t**a oğuz qağan kördi kim
erkäk b**ö**r**ü** ç**ä**r**ig**ning tapuğlar**ı**da yör**ü**g**ü**d**ä**
turur sewindi ilg**ä**r**ü** ketti

37/7 andan song ~ boluq**t**a aqalarn**i** inil**ä**r**n**i
ç**ä**rlap keldürdi

etil 'Proper name: river *Etil* (Volga)'

var. <'d'l> 18/4, <'yd'l> 18/5, 23/5,
23/7<'Yd'l> 19/3,

18/4-18/5 munda ~ mör**ä**n t**ä**g**ä**n bir taluy bar
erdi ~ mör**ä**n**ü**ng quduğ**ı**da bir qara tağ
tap**ı**ğ**ı**da uruş**u** tutul**d**i

19/3 tutulun**ç** uruşun**ç** andağ yaman bold**i** kim
~ mör**ä**n**ü**ng suğ**i** q**ip** q**iz**il s**ä**ps**ä**nggir t**ä**g
bold**i**

23/5-23/7 k**ä**n ç**ä**r**ig** birl**ä** [...] [~] t**ä**g**ä**n
mör**ä**n[**g**ä] k**ä**ç**t**i [~] t**ä**g**ä**n [b**ä**d**ü**k] bir n**ä**ng

[turur oğuz] qağan anı [körđi] taqı tãdi kim ~ nüng °suğıdan [neçük kečär biz] tãp tãdi

İ

ığaç 'tree, lineage'

OT ığaç 'tree' (ED 79)

var. <'yq'č> 4/3, 8/9, 5/1, 22/3, <yyq'č> 4/7, <yq'č> 8/8, <č'q'č> 24/3, <'q'č> 24/4, <'Yq'č> 41/4

4/3 bir buğu aldı šol buğunı talnung čubuqı birlä ~qa bağladı ketti

4/7 bir aduğ aldı altunluğ belbağı birlä ~qa bağladı ketti

5/1 kãn özü ~nıng tübindä turdı

8/8-8/9 kãnä bir kün oğuz qağan awğa ketti bir köl arasında alından bir ~ körđi bo ~nung qawučaqında bir qız bar erdi jalğuz olturur erdi 22/3 urus bəgning ogulı [...] taqı tãdi kim [...] bizning qutbiz sanning ~ungnung uruđı bolmuš bolup turur tãngri sãngä yer berüp bujurmaš bolup turur mãn sãngä bašumnı qutumı berãmãn bãrgü berip dostluqtan čıqmaztur tãp tãdi

24/3 körđi kim [...]da [köp tãlim tallar] köp tãlim [...]lar [...] [~ lar] [...]

24/4 [~]lar da yattı kečti

41/4 [čong] yaqıda qırıq qolač ~ni tiktürdi

ığla- <yql'> 'to weep, cry'

OT ığla- 'to weep' (ED 85)

7/7-7/8 ušol qız andağ körüglük erdi kim lkülsä kök tãngri külä turur l~sa kök tãngri ~ya turur!

ığlağur- <'yql'-qwr> 'to make cry'

OT ığlat- 'to make sy weep' (ED 86)

42/5 oğuz qağan [...] taqı tãdi kim lay oğullar köp mãn ašadum lurušqular köp mãn kördüm ljjıda basa köp oq attum layğır birlä köp yörüdümldušmanlarnı ~dum ldostlarumni mãn külgürdüm lkök tãngriğä mãn ötädüm lsãnlãrgä berä mãn yurtum [tãp tãdi]

ısıg <'ySyq> 'hot, warm'

OT ısıg 'hot, heat' (ED 246)

33/9 kündünki bulungda baraq° tãgãn bir yer bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp ~ bir yer turur

I

ič <'yč> 'interior part'

OT ič 'the interior or inside of sg' (ED 17)

3/4 ušol orman ~indä bädük bir [monster] bar erdi

26/9 oğuz qağannıng atı muz tağ ~igä qačıp ketti

ič- <'yč> 'to drink, swill'

OT ič- 'to drink' (ED 19)

var. <'č> 2/1

1/9- 2/1 ušol oğul anasınıng kögüzündön oğuznı ~ip mundon artıqraq ~mädi

11/4 türlüg ašlar türlüg sormalar čubuyanlar qımızlar aštilar ~tilär

42/1 qırıq kün qırıq kečä laštilar ~tilär lsewinč taptılar!

ičägü <'yč'kw> 'innards'

OT ičägü 'intestines, entrails' (ED 25)

5/5 kãn kãlip körđi kim bir šungqar [monster]ning ~sin yemäktä turur

ikinči (?ekinči) <'ykyñ-čy> 'second'

OT ekkinč 'second' (ED 110) ekkinti (ED 111)

8/5-8/6 künlãrdãn song kãčãlãrdãn song yarudı üç erkäk oğul tuğurdı birinčisigä kün at qoydılar ~sigä ay at qoydılar üçünčüsügä yulduz at qoydılar

10/5 künlãrdãn song kečãlãrdãn song yarudı üç erkäk oğulnı tuğurdı birinčisigä kök at qoydılar ~sigä tağ at qoydılar üçünčüsügä tãngiz at qoydılar

ilgãrũ 'along, ahead'

OT ilgãrũ 'forward, eastwards' (ED 144)

var. <'ylyk'rw> 24/8, <ylyk'-rw> 25/9, <'ylyk'-rw> 28/4, 29/4

24/8 oğuz qağan säwinč ätti küldi taqı aytı kim ay ay sãn munda bæg bolung qipčaq tãgãn sãn bæg bolung tãp tãdi taqı ~ ketti

25/9 oğuz qağan körđi kim erkäk bõrũ čãrigning tapuğlarıda yörügüde turur sewindi ~ ketti

28/4 oğuz qağan sewinč birlä küldü aytı kim ay sãn munda bægãrgä bolgil bašlıq mãn mãngilap sãngä at bolsun qağarlıg tãp tãdi köp ärdãni soyurqadı ~ ketti

29/4 anga jarlıg qıldı kim sãn munda qal aç qalqan açqungdon song kãl orduğa tãp tãdi mundan anga qalač at qoydı ~ ketti

ini <'yny> 'younger brother'

OT ini 'younger brother' (ED 170)

37/7 andan song ertä bolupta aqalarnı ~lãrni čarlap kãldürdi

40/2 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı oqlarnı ücügä üläştürdi taqı ayttı kim ay ~lär oqlar bolsun sänlärnüng ya attı oqnı oqlar täg sänlär bolung täp tädi

ĵ

ĵalluĵ <č' llwq> 'maned'
OT *yal* 'a horse's mane' (ED 916)
var. <č' llwq> 17/6 <č' l-lwq> 18/2
16/5, 17/6, 18/2, 25/1, 29/6, 33/1 kök tülüklüg kök ~ (bedik) (bir) erkäk böri

ĵalwar- <č' lb'r> 'to be in someone's devotion, to pray'
OT *yalvar-* 'to beg, beseech, pray' (ED 920)
6/5 känä künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan bir yerdä tängrini ~ğuda erdi qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kök yaruq tüšti kündön (ay) aydan qoĵulĵuluqraq erdi

ĵalĵuz see **yalĵuz**

ĵan <č' n> 'side'
OT *yan* 'the hip, side, flank' (ED 940)
35/6 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağanung ~ıda aq saqalluĵ muz saçluĵ uzun usluĵ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi uq'ĵuluĵ tüzün bir yer erdi tüşimäl erdi anung atı uluĵ türük erdi

ĵangaq 'side'
OT *yangaq* 'cheek-bone, cheek, side' (ED 948)
var. <č' ng'-q̄> 13/8, <č' ng'q> 14/7
13/8 känä bo çagda ong ~ta altun qağan tägän bir qağan bar erdi
14/7 çong ~ıda urum tägän bir qağan bar erdi

ĵap- <č' b> 'to build'
OT *yap-* 'to build, to put together' (ED 871)
31/7-32/2 oğuz qağanung çärigidä usluĵ yaşqı bir çäbär kişi bar erdi anung atı barmaqlıĵ ĵosun bellig erdi bo çäbär bir qanqa ~tı qanqa üstündä ölüĵ bargunı qoydı qanqa başıda tirig bargunı qoydı tarıttılar kettilər nökärlärnüng elkünnüng qamaĵı lmunı kördilər şaşttılar/qanqalar taqı ~ttılar
(? 38/9, 39/8 see **tap-**)

ĵaptur- <č' bdwr> 'to have someone to build something'
OT *yaptur-* 'to have sy to build sg' (ED 872)
11/2 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi elküngä ĵarlıĵ çarlap kengäştılar kældilər qırıq

şirä qırıq bandang ~dı türlüg aşlar türlüg sormalar çubuyanlar qımızlar aştılar içttilər

ĵaruq see **yaruq**

(?)ĵarla- <č' rl'> 'to proclaim a command'
Mo. 'to order, publish, proclaim a command' (Lessing 1038) see **čarla-**
11/1 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi elküngä ĵarlıĵ ~p kengäştılar kældilər

ĵarlıĵ 'order'
OT *yarlıĵ* 'a command from a superior to an inferior' (ED 966) Mo. *ĵarlıĵ* 'decree, command, order' (L 1038)
var. <č' r-l'q̄> 10/9, <č' rl'q̄> 11/6, 12/4, 29/2 <č' rlYq> 15/2, <y' rl'q> 15/4, <č' rlwq> 21/9, 10/9 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi elküngä ~ çarlap kengäştılar kældilər
11/6 toydan song oğuz qağan beĵlärgä elkünlärgä ~ berdi taqı tädi kim [...] 12/4 känä andan song oğuz qağan tört sarıĵa ~ ĵumşadı bildürgülük bitidi elçiläriĵä berip yibärdi
15/2-15/4 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağanıng ~in saqlamaz erdi [...] munı söz sözni tutmaz män turur män täp ~ĵa baqmadı
21/9 urus bäĵning oĵulı anga köp altun kümüş yibärdi taqı tädi kim [...] atam çamat ätup ersä mänüng tapum erür mü sändan ~ baĵlıĵ bellüg bola män
29/2 anga ~ qıldı kim sän munda qal aç qalqan açqungdon song käl orduĵa täp tädi

ĵaşa- see **aşa-**

ĵaşaĵu <čš' q̄w> 'life'
OT *yaşa-* 'to live (long)' (ED 976)
36/9 uyqudon song tüştä körgänin oğuz qağanğa bildürdi taqı tädi kim ay qağanum sängä ~ bolsunĵil uzunlay qağanum sängä türlük bolsunĵil tüzün[...]

ĵida 'spear, javelin'
Mo. *ĵida* 'spear, javelin' (L 1049)
var. <čyd'> 3/9, 5/3, 5/9 <č'd'> 11/9, 42/4 <č'd'> 18/7
3/9 oğuz qağan bir eres qaqız kişi erdi bo [monster]nı awlamaq tilädi bir kün awĵa çıqtı ~ birlä ya oq birlä taqı qılıç birlä qalqan birlä atladı
5/3 känä özü iĵačnıng tübindä turdı [monster] kälip başı birlä oğuz qalqanin urdı oğuz ~ birlä [monster]nıng başın urdı anı öldürdi

5/9 ya birlä oq birlä ŝungqarni öldürdi bašin kăsti andan song tădi kim ŝungqarnung anggusı uŝbo turur lbuĝu yedi aduĝ yedi ~m öldürdi tămür bolsal [monster]ni ŝungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yăz bolsa tăp tădi

11/9 toydan song oĝuz qaĝan beĝlărgă elkünlărgă jarlıĝ berdi taqı tădi kim lmăn senlărgă boldum qaĝanl alalıng ya taqı qalqanl tamĝa bizĝa bolsun buyan lkök bôri bolsunĝil uranl tămür ~lar bol ormanl aw yerdă yörüsün qulanl taqı taluy taqı mörănl kün tuĝ bolĝil kök qorıĝanl tăp tădi

18/7 etil mörănnung quduĝıda bir qara taĝ tapıĝıda uruŝqu tutuldı oq birlä ~ birlä qılıç birlä uruŝtilar

42/4 taqı tădi kim [ay] oĝullar köp măn aŝadum luruŝqular köp măn kördüm l~ basa köp oq attum layĝir birlä köp yörüdüm |[...]| [tăp tădi]

ĵol see **yol**

ĵörü- see **yörü-**

ĵumŝa- see **yumŝa-**

ĵürăk <čwr'k> 'heart'

OT *yüräk* 'heart' (ED 965)

9/9 oĝuz qaĝan anı kördüktă usı ketti ~igă ataŝ tüŝti anı sewdi aldı anıng birlä yattı tilăĝüsün aldı töl boĝus boldı künlărdăn song kečălărdăn song yarudı

ĵürčäd <čwrč'd> 'Prop. Djürchi'

29/9 oĝuz qaĝan taqı turdı qorıĝan tüŝküră turĝan turdı tarlaĝusız bir yazı yer erdi munga ~ tătururlar erdi

30/3 munda ~ qaĝanı elküni oĝuz qaĝanĝa qarŝu kăldilăr uruŝ toquŝ baŝladı

30/7-30/8 oĝuz qaĝan baŝti ~ qaĝanni bastı öldürdi bašin kăsti ~ elkünin öz aĝizĝa baqındurdi

Q

qawuçaq <q'bw-č'q> 'hollow (of a tree)'

OT *qoburçaq*, *qaburçaq* 'a wooden case' MT *qaburçuq* 'aĝaç içi oyularak yapılan, yahut aĝaç kabuĝundan yapılan hokka, kutu' (WOT 562-563)

8/9 oĝuz qaĝan [...] bir iĝaç kördi bo iĝaçnung ~ında bir qız bar erdi ĵalĝuz olturur erdi

qač- 'to flee, run away'

OT *qač-* 'to flee run away' (ED 589)

var. <q'č> 19/6, 34/7, <qč> 26/4, <q'č> 26/9

19/6 oĝuz qaĝan baŝti urum qaĝan ~ti oĝuz qaĝan urum qaĝannung qaĝanluqın aldı elkünin aldı

26/4 čolda uŝbo ayĝir at közdăn yitü ~ti ketti

26/9 oĝuz qaĝannung atı muz taĝ içigă ~ip ketti

34/7 qatıq yaman uruŝqu boldı loĝuz qaĝan baŝtil misir qaĝan ~til oĝuz anı bastil yurtin aldı kettil

qaĝan <q'q'n> 'kagan (title)' (cf. **qaqiz**)

OT *xaĝan* 'an independent ruler of a tribe or people' (ED 611)

var. ?<q'q'n> 3/7, 27/2 <q'q'n> 12/4, 15/5, 19/6, 24/5, 24/9, 25/2, 26/9, (39/1), 40/5, 42/1, <q'q'n> 20/9

1/3 kăn künlărdăn bir kün ay ~nung közü yarip küdădi

?3/7-3/8 oĝuz ~ bir eren ~ kiŝi erdi bo [monster]ni awlamaq tilădi

6/5 oĝuz ~

6/9 oĝuz ~

7/8 oĝuz ~

8/7 oĝuz ~

9/8 oĝuz ~

10/8 oĝuz ~

11/5 oĝuz ~

11/7 măn senlărgă boldum ~l alalıng ya taqı qalqan l

12/4 oĝuz ~

12/7-12/8 uŝbo bildürgülüktă bitilmiŝ erdi kim măn uyĝurnıng ~i bola măn kim yernıng tört bulunĝinıng ~i bolsam kărak turur

13/8-13/9-14/1 kăn bo čaĝda ong ĵangaqta altun ~ tăĝan bir ~ bar erdi uŝbo altun ~ oĝuz ~ĝa elçi yumŝap yibărdi [...] aĝizĝa baqındı yaqŝi be(r)ĝü birlä dost luq qıldı anung birlä amıraq boldı

14/8 čong ĵangaqıda urum tăĝan bir ~ bar erdi

15/1 uŝol urum ~ oĝuz ~ nıng jarlıĝin saqlamaz erdi

15/5 oĝuz ~

16/7 oĝuz ~

17/3 oĝuz ~

19/5-19/6 oĝuz ~ baŝti urum ~ qačti oĝuz ~ urum ~nung qaĝanluqın aldı elkünin aldı

20/1 urum ~nung bir qarundaŝi bar erdi urus băĝ tăĝan erdi

20/9 oĝuz ~

21/3urus băĝning oĝulı [...] taqı tădi kim ay mănning ~um săn mănĝa atam bo baluqni berip turur taqı tădi kim [...]

22/8 oĝuz ~

23/6 oğuz ~
 24/5 oğuz ~
 24/9 oğuz ~
 25/2 oğuz ~
 25/7 oğuz ~
 26/1 oğuz ~
 26/8 oğuz ~
 26/9 oğuz ~
 27/2 ? čärigdä bir bedik ~ bæg bar erdi čaling bulingdan qoruqmaz turur erdi jörügüdä soğurğuda onga er erdi
 27/7 oğuz ~
 29/7 oğuz ~
 30/3 munda jürčäd ~i elküni oğuz ~ğa qarşu kældilär uruš toquş başladı
 30/6-30/7 uruš toquş başladı oqlar birlä qılıçlar birlä urüştilar oğuz ~ baštı jürčäd ~ni bastı öldürdi başın kästi
 30/9 oğuz ~
 31/4 oğuz ~
 32/5 oğuz ~
 34/4 taşqarun qalmasun bällüg bolsun kim kündünki bulungda baraq^o tægän bir yer bar turur [...] uşol yerning ~i misir tægän bir ~ erdi
 34/5 oğuz ~
 34/7 qatıq yaman urušqu boldı loğuz ~ baštıl misir ~ <q'q'n> qačtı l oğuz anı bastı lyurtın aldı kettıl
 (35/1) oğuz ~
 35/5 oğuz ~
 36/7 oğuz ~
 36/8 anung atı uluğ türük erdi [...] uyqudon song tüştä körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdi täqı tädi kim ay ~um sängä jaşağu bolsunğıl uzun [ay ~um] sängä türük bolsunğıl tüzünl [...]
 37/4 oğuz ~
 (39/1) oğuz ~
 40/5 oğuz ~
 39/9 oğuz ~
 40/8 oğuz ~
 42/1 oğuz ~

qağanluq <q'q'n-lwq> 'the state of being kagan' (cf. **qaqız-luq**)

OT *qağan* 'an independent ruler of a tribe or people' (ED 611)

var. ?<q'q'n-lwq> 38/1

19/7 oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqın aldı elkünin aldı

?38/1 ay manüing köngülüm awnı tiläp turur qarı bolğumdan mäning ~um yoq turur

qağar/qār <q'q'r> 'snow'

OT *qar* 'snow' (ED 641)

27/9 muz tağlarda köp soğuq boluptan ol bæg ~dan sarunmiş erdi

qağarlıg/qārliğ <q'q'r-l'q> 'Prop./ ethnonym Karluk'

28/3 oğuz qağan sewinč birlä küldü aytı kim ay sän munda beglärgä bolğıl başlıq lman mängiläp sängä at bolsun ~ l

qağatır/qātūr <<q'q'd'r> 'mule'

OT *qatır* 'mule' (ED 604)

31/3 urušqudon song oğuz qağannung čärigigä nöklärärgä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg bargu tüšti lkim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at ~ ud azlıq boldı

?qaqız <q'q'z> 'impulsive, hot-headed'

?OT *qaqı-* 'to be angry (with sy) to abuse' (ED 609), ~ *qaq-* 'to strike, tap' (ED 609) ~ *qıqır-* 'to shout' (ED 612) > **qıqırı-z* > **qıqız* (cf. Erdal 1991 321-327)

3/8 oğuz qağan bir eres ~ kişi erdi bo [monster]ni awlamaq tilädi

27/2 čärigdä bir bedik ~ bæg bar erdi čaling bulingdan qoruqmaz turur erdi jörügüdä soğurğuda onga er erdi

?qaqız-luq <q'q'z-lwq> 'impulsiveness'

OT *qaqı-* 'to be angry (with sy) to abuse' (ED 609)

38/1 ay manüing köngülüm awnı tiläp turur qarı bolğumdan mäning ~um yoq turur

qal- <q'l> 'to stay, remain'

OT *qal-* 'to remain' (ED 615)

29/2 čärigda bir yaqşı čäbär er bar erdi anung atı tömürtü qağul tægän erdi anga jarlıg qıldı kim lsän munda ~ ač qalqan lačqundon song käl ordugä ltäp tädi mundan anga qalač at qoydı

33/6 kän taşqarun ~masun bällüg bolsun kim [...]

35/4 kän taşqarun ~masun kim bellüg bolsun kim

qalač <q'l'č> 'Prop./Ethnonym'

29/4 (see **qal-**)

qalqan '1. shield 2. (window) shutters'

OT *qalqan* 'shield' (ED 621); Mo. *qalq-a* 'shield, screen, bulwark' (L 922)

var. <q'lq'n> 4/1, 5/2, 11/8 <q'lq'[n]> 28/7, <q'lq'n> 29/2

4/1 bir kün awğa čıqtı jıda birlä ya oq birlä taqı qılıč birlä ~ birlä atladi

5/2 kân özü iğaçning tübindä turdï [monster]
kälip başı birlä oğuz ~in urdï
11/8 män sänlärgä boldum qağan lalaling ya
taqï ~ ltaḡa bizgä bolsun buyanl[...]
28/7 yolda bedük bir üy kördi bo üynüḡ
tağamï altundan erdi tünḡlüqlarï taqï kümüštün
~ larï tämürdän erdilär erdi
29/2 anga jarlıḡ qıldi kim sän munda qal aç ~
açqungdon song käl orduḡa

qamaḡ <q'm'q> 'all, the whole of'

Per. > OT *qamaḡ* 'all' (ED 627)

2/5 badaninung ~i tük tülükliḡ erdi

32/1 nökläränünḡ elkününḡ ~i munï kördilär
šaštılar qanqalar taqï japtılar

qanqa <q'nq'> '1. a kind of cart 2.
onomatopoeic word'

OT *qanq* onomatopoeic, gaggle, honk' (ED
630), *qanqa* 'wagon, cart' (ED 638)

var. <q'nq'> 31/8

31/7-31/8 bo çäbär bir ~ japtï ~ üstündä ölüḡ
barḡunï qoydi ~ başıda tirig barḡunï qoydi
tarittılar kättilär

32/2-32/3-32/5-32/6-32/8 nökläränünḡ
elkününḡ qamaḡi munï kördilär šaštılar ~lar
taqï japtılar munlar ~ yürümäktä ~ ~ söz berä
turur erdilär erdi anung üçün anlarḡa ~ at
qoydılar oğuz qağan ~larnï kördi küldi taqï
ayttï kim ~ ~ birlä ölüḡni tirig yürügürsün
qanḡaluḡ säḡä at bolḡuluḡ ~ bälḡürsün täp
tädi

qanqaluḡ <q'nq'-lwq> 'Prop. ethnonym
Qanḡli/one having a cart'

OT *qanḡli* 'wagon, cart, carriage' (ED 638)

32/7-32/8 see **qanqa**

qapuluḡ <q'bwlw[q]> 'closed, ?(a house)
having a door'

OT *qapil-* 'to be seized grasped' (ED 584);
qapiglig '(a house having a door)'.
28/8 bo üynüḡ tağamï altundan erdi
tünḡlüqlarï taqï kümüštün qalqanlarï tämürdän
erdilär erdi ~ erdi açḡiç yoq erdi

qara 'black'

OT *qara* 'black' (ED 643)

var. <q'r'> 1/7, 41/6, <q'r'> 18/6, 34/3

1/7 ušol oḡulnung [...] saçlarï qašlarï ~ ärdilär
ärdi

18/6 etil mörännünḡ quduḡida bir ~ taḡ
tapigida uruḡqu tutuldi

34/3 [...] kündünki bulungda baraq° täḡän bir
yer bar turur [...] elkünläriḡing öḡlüki çiraḡi
qap ~ turur

41/6 anung başıda bir kümüš taḡuḡ qoydi
adaḡida bir ~ qoyunni baḡladi

qarangḡuluḡ <q'r'nkqw lwq> 'darkness'

OT *qarangḡu* 'darkness' (ED 662)

6/6 oḡuz qağan bir yerdä täḡrini jalwarḡuda
ärdi ~ keldi köktön bir kök yaruḡ tüšti

qari <q'ry> 'old (man or woman)'

OT *qari* 'old' (ED 644)

37/9 [...] taqï ayttï kim ay mänünḡ köḡülüḡ
awnï tiläp turur ~ bolḡumdan mäning
qaqizluḡum yoq turur

qart <q'rd> 'old'

OT *qart* '1. ulcer 2. old' (ED 647)

35/7 oḡuz qaḡannung janida aq saqalluḡ moz
saçluḡ uzun usuḡ bir ~ kiši turur bar erdi

qaršu <q'ršw> 'against'

OT *qarši* 'opposed, opposite, against' (ED 663)

30/4 munda jürçäd qaḡanı elküni oḡuz qaḡanḡa
~ kældilär

qarundaš <q'rwñ-d'š> 'brother'

OT *qarındaš* 'sibling (with common mother)'
(ED 662)

20/2 urum qaḡannung bir ~i bar erdi urus bāḡ
täḡän erdi

qaš <q'š> 'eyebrow'

OT *qaš* 'eyebrow' (ED 669)

1/6 ušol oḡulnung [...] saçlarï ~ larï qara
ärdilärärdi

qatiḡ /?qatiḡ <q'd'q> 'chaotic /?massive '

OT *qatiḡ* 'hard, firm, tough' (ED 597) < 2. *qat-*
'to be hard'; ~ *qatiq* 'something mixed into
something else' (ED 598) < 1. *qat-* 'to mix, to
add'

34/6 ušol yerning qaḡanı misir täḡän bir qağan
erdi oḡuz qağan anung üstigä atladı ~ yaman
uruḡqu boldi

qatiḡlaḡu 'the act of making massive, fortified'

OT *qatiḡ* 'hard, firm, tough' (ED 597),
qatiḡlan- 'to harden oneself' (ED 600) < 2. *qat-*
'to be hard'

var. <q'd'ql'-q̄w> 20/6, <q'd'ql'q̄w> 21/5

20/6 ol urus bāḡ oḡulung taḡ başıda täring
mörän arasida yaqši bär°k baluḡqa yumšadi
taqï tädi kim baluḡni ~ käräk turur sän taqï

uruşqulardan song baluqni bizgä saqlap kalgil täp tädi

21/5 [...] taqi tädi kim ay männing qağanum sän mängä atam bo baluqni bärip turur taqi tädi kim baluqni ~ käräk turur sän taqi uruşqulardan song baluqni bängä saqlap kalgil täp tädi

?qatiqla- <q'd'q-l'> 'to join, to follow'

OT *qatiq* 'something mixed into something else' (ED 598) < 1. *qat-* 'to mix, to add' ~ *qatiğ* 'hard, firm, tough' (ED 597); *qatiğdi* 'tightly, firmly' (ED 599) < 2. *qat* 'to be hard'

17/8 kördi kim čäriğning tapuğlarıda [...] bädik bir erkäk böri yörügüdə turur ol böriğning artların ~p yörügüdə turur erdilär erdi

?qatiqlağ <q'd'ql'q> 'the act of following, joining (forces)'

OT *qatiq* 'something mixed into something else' (ED 598) < 1. *qat-* 'to mix, to add' cf.

qatiğlağ

15/2 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannıng jarliğin saqlamaz erdi ~ barmaz erdi munı söz sözni tutmaz män turur män täp yarliğğa baqmadi

qayğ <q'yğw> 'fear, grief, sorrow'

OT *qadğ* 'sorrow, grief' (ED 598)

19/2 oq birlä jida birlä qilič birlä uruštılar čäriğläriğning aralarıda köp tälüm boldi uruşğulärläriğning köngülläriğda köp tälüm boldi ~ 35/1 anung dostları köp sewinč [...] erdi lanung duşmanları köp ~ lar [...]

qazuq <q'swq> 'pole'

OT *qazğ* 'a peg driven into the ground' *altun qazuq* 'the Pole Star' (ED 682)

7/5 anung başında ataşluğ yaruqluğ bir mängi bar erdi altun ~ täğ erdi

qil- 'to do something'

OT *qil-* 'to do sg, to make sg' (ED 616)

var. <q'l> 13/7, <qYl> 14/6 <q'l> 29/2, 37/6, 39/2

13/7 uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa [...] duşman tutar män tağuraq basip asturip yoq bolsungil täp ~ur män

14/6 altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elci yumşap yibardi [...] ağıziğa baqindi yaqşi begü birlä dostluq ~di

23/4 aytı kim mängä köp altun yumşap sän baluqni yaqşi saqlap sän täp tädi [...] dostluq [-]di

29/2 yolda bedük bir üy kördi [...] qapuluğ erdi ač'ğič yoq erdi čäriğda bir yaqşi čäbär er

bar erdi [...] anga jarliğ ~di kim sän munda qal ač qalqan ačqungdon song käl orduğal

37/6 oğuz qağan uluğ türükning sözüni yaqşi kördi ögütün tilädi ögütügä körä ~di

39/2 jolda bir altun yanı taptılar aldi[lar] atasığa bardi[lar] [oğuz qağan] [?bo altun yanı] [üç] buzğuluq ~di

qilič 'sword'

var. <qyl'č> 4/1, <q'l'č> 5/4, 30/5 <qYl'č> 18/8

4/1 oğuz qağan bir kün awğa čıqtı jida birlä ya oq birlä tağı ~ birlä qalqan birlä atladi

5/4 oğuz jida birlä başin urdi ani öldürdi ~ birlä başin kästi aldi ketti

18/8 etil mörännüing quduğida bir qara tağ tapığida uruşqu tutuldi oq birlä jida birlä ~ birlä uruštılar

30/5 uruş toquş başladi oqlar birlä ~lar birlä uruštılar

qimiz see. **qumuz**

qipčaq <[qy]bč'q> 'Prop/Ethnonym Kipchak'

24/7 oğuz qağan säwinč ätti küldi taqi aytı kim ay ay sän munda bäğ bolung ~ täğän sän bäğ bolung

qiriq 'forty, many'

OT *qirq* 'forty' (ED 651)

var. <q'r'q> 2/2, 11/1, 11/2 <q'r'q> 15/7, <q'r'q> 41/4, 41/9

2/2 tili kelä başladi ~ kündön song bädükladi yörüdi oynadi

11/1-11/2 oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi elküngä jarliğ čarlap kengäštılar kaldilər ~ širä ~ bandang japturdi

15/7 čäriğ birlä atlap tuğlarıni tutup ketti ~ kündön song muz tağ täğän tağnung adağığa keldi

41/4 [čong] yaqida ~ qol ač iğaçni tiktürdi

41/9 [ong] yaqta buzuqlar oldturdi čong yaqta üç oqlar olturdi ~ kün ~ keča aštılar içtilär sewinč taptılar

qiz I <qyz> 'girl'

OT *qiz* 'girl, unmarried woman' (ED 679)

var. <qYz> 7/3

7/1 uşbo yaruqnung arasında bir ~ bar erdi yalğuz olturur erdi

7/3 yaqşi körüglük bir ~ erdi

7/5 uşol ~ andağ körüglük erdi kim külsä kök tängri külä turur iğlasa kök tängri iğlaya turur

9/1 bo iğaçnung qawuçaqında bir ~ bar erdi jalğuz olturur erdi

9/2 yaqši körüglük bir ~ erdi

qiz II <q'z> 'rare, valuable'

OT *qiz* 'costly, expensive, rare' (ED 680)

14/3 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanga elçi yumşap yibardı köp tälim altun kümüş tartip köp tälim ~ yaqut taş alup köp tälim ärdänilar yibärüp yumşap oğuz qağanga soyurqap berdi.

qizil 'red'

OT *qizil* 'red' (ED 683)

var. <qYsyl> 1/6, <qySyl> 19/4

1/6 uşol oğulnung önglüki çirağı kök erdi ağızi ataş ~ erdi

19/4 uruşnč tutulunč andağ yaman boldi kim etil mörännung sugi qip ~ säpsänggir tag boldi

qoğulğuluqraq (?qowul-) <qwqwlqw-luq-r'q> 'more glowing, sparking (than)'

OT *qog* 'dust' (Hakass *χοχ* 'burning ashes') (ED 609), Mo. *qog* dust particles, dirt, garbage (L 951); ~ ?OT *qoq* 'to give out a smell of burning' (ED 609)

6/8 köktön bir kök yaruq tüşti kündon (ay) aydan ~raq erdi

qolač <qwl-'č> 'a measure of length, fathom'

OT *qulač* 'fathom, the distance between the finger-tips of two outstretched arms'

41/4 čong yaqida qiriq ~ iğaçni tiktürdi

qoriğan 'camp, dome'

OT *qoriğ* 'an enclosure, enclosed area (for the ruler)' (ED 652) Mo. *qoriy-a(n)*, *qoruğ-a* 'courtyard, enclosure, camp' (L 967)

var. <qwryq'ñ> 12/3, <qwryq'ñ> 15/9, 16/3 <qwr'q'n> 17/4, <qwrYq'ñ> 29/7

12/3 [...]law yerdä yörüsün qulan ltaqi taluy taqi mörän kün tuğ bolğil kök ~ ltäp tädi

15/9 qiriq kündon song muz tay tagän tagnung adaqığa keldi ~ni tüškürdi şük bolup uyup turdi

16/3 čang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung ~iğa kün tag bir jaruq kirdi

17/4 andan song oğuz qağan ~ni türdürdi ketti kördi kim [...]

29/7 känä bir kün [...] erkäk böri yörümäyn turdi oğuz taqi turdi ~ tüškürä turğan turdi tarlağusiz bir yazı yer erdi

qoruq- <qwrwq> 'to fear'

OT *qorq* 'to fear, be afraid' (ED 651)

27/3 čariğda bedik qaqiz er bāğ erdi čaling buliğdan ~maz turur erdi

qoy- <qwy> 'to put, place sg sw'

OT *qod* 'to put down, abandon' (ED 595)

var. <qwy> 8/6, 23/3

8/4-8/5-8/6 birinčisigä kün at ~dilar ekinčisigä ay at ~dilar üçünčüsügä yulduz at ~dilar

10/5-10/6-10/7 birinčisigä kök at ~dilar ekinčisigä tag at ~dilar üçünčüsügä tangiz at ~dilar

23/3 aytı kim mängä köp altun yumşap sän baluqnı yaqši saqlap sän täp tädi anung üçün anga saqlap at ~di

29/4 anga jarliğ qildi kim sän munda qal aç qalqan lačqungdon song käl orduğa ltäp tädi mundan anga qalač at ~di

31/8-31/9 bo čäbär bir qanqa japtı qanqa üstündä ölüğ barguni ~di qanqa başıda tirig barguni ~di tarittilar kettilar

32/5 munlar qanqa yörümäktä qanqa qanqa söz berä turur erdilär erdi anung üçün anlarğa qanqa at ~dilar

41/5 čong yaqida qiriq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung başıda bir kümüş taguq ~di

qoyun 'sheep'

OT *qon* 'sheep' (ED 631)

var. <qw'wn> 41/3, <qwywn> 41/6

41/3 [adaqi]da bir aq ~ bağladı

41/6 čong yaqida qiriq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung başıda bir kümüş taguq qoydı adaqida bir qara ~ bağladı

quduğ <qwdwq> 'edge, river-bank'

OT *qidiğ* 'the edge of sg, sea-shore' (ED 598) ≠ *quduğ* 'well'

18/5 etil mörännung ~ida bir qara tag tapigida uruşqu tutuldi

qulan <qwl'ñ> 'wild ass'

OT *qulan* 'wild ass' (ED 622)

12/1 [...]ltamğa bizgä bolsun buyan lkök böri bolsunğil uran ltämür jida bol orman law yerdä yörüsün ~ l[...]

qumuz 'koumiss'

OT *qimiz* 'fermented mare's milk, koumiss' (ED 629)

var. <qwmwz> 9/8, <q'mYz> 11/3

9/8 andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni anı körsä ay ay aq aq ölürbiz täp süttän ~ bola tururlar

11/3 qiriq širä qiriq bandang japturdi türlüg aşlar türlüg sormalar čubuyanlar ~lar aşılar içtilär

quriltay <qwry'ld'y> 'Kuriltay, great council'

Mo. *quralta* 'assembly, meeting' (L 988)
40/5 andan song oğuz qağan uluğ ~ çağirdi
nöklärin elkünların çarlap çağirdi

quš <qwš> 'bird'

OT *quš* (ED 670)

var. <qwš> 38/7

3/3 bo çağda bo yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdi
|[...] lbunda kelgänlär kik köp köp bunda
uçqanlar ~ köp köp erdi

34/1 kündünki bulungda baraq° tågän bir yär
bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig
bir yer turur munda köp kıkläri köp qušları bar
turur

38/7 kün ay yulduz köp kıklär köp ~lar
awlağularidan song jolda bir altun ya taptılar

39/6 andan song kök tağ tängiz köp kıklär köp
~lar awlağularidan song jolda üç kümüş oq
taptılar

qut <qwd> 'regal charisma'

OT *qut* 'the favour of heaven, good fortune'
(ED 594)

22/1-22/2 bizning qutbiz senning qutung
bolmuş bizning uruğbiz sanning iğaçungnung
uruği bolmuş bolup turur

K

käl- 'to come'

käl- 'to come' (ED 715)

var. <k'l> 4/5, 5/2, 5/5, 20/8, 29/, 30/5, 40/7,
<kyl> 2/2, <kYl> 4/9, 6/6, 15/9, 21/6

2/2 anasining kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon
artıqraq içmädi yeg ät aş sorma tilädi tili ~ä
başladı

4/5 andan song ertä boldi tang ertä çağda ~di
kördi kim [...]

4/9 mundon song ertä boldi tang ertä çağda ~di
kördi kim [...]

5/2 kän özü iğaçning tübindä turdi [monster]
~ip baši birlä oğuz qalqanin urdi

5/5 kän ~ip kördi kim bir šungqar [monster]
içägüsin yemäktä turur

6/6 oğuz qağan bir yerdä tängirini jalwarguda
erdi qarangguluq ~di

15/9 çärig birlä atlap tuğlarni tutup ketti qiriq
kündön song muz tağ tågän tağnung adaqiga
~di

20/8 uruşqulardan song baluqnı bizgä saqlap ~
gil

21/6 uruşqular dan song baluqnı bängä saqlap
~ gil

29/3 anga jarliğ qildi kim sän munda qal aç
qalqan açqungdon song ~ orduğa täp tädi

30/5 jürçäd qağanı elküni oğuz qağanga qaršu
~dilär

40/7 oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay çağirdi
nöklärin elkünların çarlap çağirdi ~ip
kengäšip olturdılar

käldür- 'to bring'

OT *kältür-* 'to bring sg' (ED 716)

var. <kYldwr> 25/4 <k'ldwr> 27/7, 37/2, 37/8
25/4 ušbo kök böri oğuz qağanga aytti kim
amdı çärig birlä mundon atlang qağan atlap
elkünläri begläri ~gil

27/7 ušol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz
kündön song oğuz qağanga aygır atni ~di

37/2 tädi kim ay qağanum sängä jašağuş
bolsungil uzun lay qağanum sängä türlük
bolsungil tüzün |[...] tängri berdi tüşümdä ~
sünl tola turur yerni uruğungğa berdürsün

37/8 andan song ertä bolupta aqalarni inilärni
çarlap ~di

käs- <k's> 'to cut sg (off)'

OT *käs-* 'to cut, cut off' (ED 748)

var. <k's> 5/4, 5/7 <kYs> 30/8

5/4 jida birlä [monster]ning bašin urdi ani
öldürdi qiliç birlä bašin ~ti aldı ketti

5/7 kördi kim bir šungqar [monster]ning
içägüsin yemäktä turur ya birlä oq birlä
šungqarni öldürdi bašin ~ti

(24/4) kördi kim [...] köp tälüm tallar köp tälüm
[...]lar [...] jığaçlar [...] ~[...] ağaçlarda yatti
keçti

30/8 uruş toquş başladı oqlar birlä qiliçlar birlä
uruštılar oğuz qağan baštı jürçäd qağanni bastı
öldürdi bašin ~ti

käräk <k'r'k> 'necessary'

OT *kärgäk* 'necessity, necessary' (ED 742)

12/9 ušbo bildürgülüktä bitilmiš erdi kim män
uyğurning qağanı bola män kim yerning tört
bulunginung qağanı bolsam ~ turur

20/6 urus bäg oğulun tağ başıda täring mörän
arasidä yaqši bärük baluqqa yumšadı taqi tädi
kim baluqnı qatığlağuş ~ turur

21/5 mängä atam bo baluqnı berip turur taqi
tädi kim baluqnı qatığlağuş ~ turur

keç- 'to pass (through), cross'

OT *käç-* 'to pass through' (ED 693)

var. <k'č> 23/5 <kyč> 23/8, 24/5

23/5 kän çärig birlä [...] etil tågän mörängä ~ti
23/8 oğuz qağan ani [...] taqi tädi kim etilning
°suğidan näçük ~är biz täp tädi

24/5 kördi kim [...] köp tälim tallar köp tälim [...]lar [...] jığaçlar [...] käs[...] ağaçlarda yattı ~ti

kečä 'night'

OT *kečä* 'late in the evening, night' (ED 694)
var. <kyč'> 2/9, 41/9 <k'č'> 8/2, <kYč'> 10/3
2/9 künlärdän song ~lärdän song yigit boldı
8/2 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı qalmadı ketti säwdi aldı anung birlä yattı tilägüsin aldı töl boğus boldı künlärdän song ~lärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulnı tuğurdı
10/3 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ketti jüräkigä ataş tüšti anı säwdi aldı anıing birlä yattı tilägüsün aldı töl boğus boldı künlärdän song ~lärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğul tuğurdı
41/9 [ong] yaqta buzuqlar olturdı čong yaqta üç oqlar olturdı qırıq kün qırıq ~ aştılar içtilär sewinč taptılar

keldürmək <kyldwrm'k> 'the act of bringing'

OT *kältür-* 'to bring sg' (ED 716)
31/3 oğuz qağannung čäriğigä nökärläriğä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg bargu tüšti kim yüklämäkkä ~kä at qağatır ud azlıq boldı

kelgän <kylk'n> 'coming, having come'

käl- 'to come' (ED 715)
3/2 bo čağda bir yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdi [...] bunda ~lär kik köp köp | bunda uçqanlar quş köp köp lerdi

känä 'then, thereafter'

? OT *ken* 'behind, after' (ED 724)
var. <kn'> 1/3, 6/4, 12/3, 13/7, 24/9, 40/4
<kyñ'> 4/6, <kn'> 5/1, 5/4, 23/4, 29/5 33/1, 35/4, <k'n> 8/6, 28/5, 33/6, 39/5 <k'n'> 17/2
1/3 ~ künlärdän bir kün [...]
4/6 ~ bir aduğ aldı
5/1 ~ özü iğaçning tübindä turdı
5/4 ~ kälip kördi kim [...]
6/4 ~ künlärdän bir kün [...]
8/6 ~ bir kün [...]
12/3 ~ andan song [...]
13/7 ~ bo čağda [...]
17/2 ~ andan song [...]
23/4 ~ čäriğ birlä [...] etil tagän mörängä kečti
24/9 ~ kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ erkäk böri kördi
28/5 ~ yolda bedük bir üy kördi
29/5 ~ bir kün [...]
33/1 ~ bo kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı šağam yingğaqlarığa atlap ketti
33/6 ~ taşqarun qalmasun bellüg bolsun kim [...]

35/4 ~ taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim [...]

39/5 ~ andan song [...]

40/4 ~ andan song [...]

kengäš- 'to assemble'

OT *kengäš-* 'to consult, to discuss' (ED 734)
var. <kyñk'-š> 11/1, <kyñk'š> 40/7
11/1 oğuz qağan bedük bir toy berdi elküngä jarlığ čarlap ~tilär kældilär
40/7 oğuz qağan uluğ qurıtay čağirdi nökerlärin elkünlärin čarlap čağirdi kälip ~ip olturdılar

ket- <kyd> 'to go (away)'

OT *ket-* 'to go (away)' (ED 701)
var. <k'd> 15/7
4/3 bir buğu aldı šol buğunı talnung čubuqı birlä iğaçqa bağladı ~ti
4/7 kenä bir aduğ aldı altunluğ belbaği birlä yığaçqa bağladı ~ti
5/4 jıda birlä [monster]ning bašin urdı anı öldürdi qilič birlä bašin kästi aldı ketti
6/3 andan song tädi kim šungqarnung angğusu uşbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdi tämür bolsal [monster]ni šungqar yedi yaoqum öldürdi yel bolsa ltäp tädi ~ti
7/9 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı qalmadı ~ti säwdi aldı anung birlä yattı
8/7 kän bir kün oğuz qağan awğa ~ti
9/9 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ~i jüräkigä ataş tüsti anı säwdi aldı anıing birlä yattı
15/7 čäriğ birlä atlap tuğlarnı tutup ~ti
17/4 andan song oğuz qağan qoriğanni türdürdi ~ti kördi kim [...]
24/8 [naming ritual] täp tädi taqı ilgäri ~ti
25/9 oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk böri čäriğning tapuğlarıda yörügüdä turur säwindi ilgäri ~ti.
26/4 uşbo ayğir at közdän yitü qaçtı ~ti
26/9 oğuz qağannung atı muz tağ içigä qaçıp ~ti
28/4 [naming ritual] täp tädi köp erdäni soyurqadı ilgäri ~ti
29/5 [naming ritual] täp tädi mundan anga qalač at qoydı ilgäri ~ti
31/9 qanqa üstündä ölüg bargunı qoydı qanqa başıda tirig bargunı qoydı tarıttılar ~tilär
32/9 [naming ritual] täp tädi ~ti
33/3 kän [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı šağam yingğaqlarığa atlap ~ti
34/8 oğuz qağan baštı lmişir qağan qaçtil oğuz anı bastı lyurtin aldı ~til
35/3 loğuz qağan baštı lsanağuluğsiz nämälär yilqılar aldı lyurtığa üygä tüšti ~ti

36/5 bo altun ya kün tuğışıda da kün batuşığaça tәggән erdi taqı bo üç kümüş oq tün yinggaqqa ~ä turur erdi

kik <kyk> ‘game, beast’

OT *keyik* ‘wild four-legged game animal’ (ED 755)

2/7 yilqılar küdayä turur erdi atlarğa minä turur erdi ~ aw awlaya turur erdi

3/3 bo çağda bo yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdi köp möränlär köp ögüzlär bar erdi bunda kelgänlär ~ köp köp bunda uçqanlar quş köp köp erdi

3/6 uşol orman içindä bädük bir [monster] bar erdi yilqılarnı yelkünlärni yer erdi bedük yaman bir ~ erdi

34/1 kündünki bulungda baraq° tәgән bir yer bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig bir yer turur munda köp ~ läri köp quşları bar turur

38/7 kün ay yulduz köp ~lär köp quşlar awlağularıdan song jolda bir altun yanı çaptılar 39/6 kök tağ tәngiz köp ~ lär köp quşlar awlağularıdan song jolda üç kümüş oqnı taptılar

kim I⁸⁶⁰ <kym> ‘(the one) who [subjunctive]’

OT *kim* ‘1. who? 2. relative pronoun’ (ED 721)

12/8 uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş erdi kim män uygurnıng qağanı bola män ~ yerning tört bulungınung qağanı bolsam kārāk turur

13/1-13/3 uşol ~ mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa tarıtuq tartıp dost tutar män uşbo ~ ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa çamat çaqıp çarig çäkip duşman tutar män

kim II <kym> ‘that [subjunctive]’

OT *kim* ‘1. who? 2. relative pronoun’ (ED 721)

4/5, 4/9, 5/5, 6/9, 17/5 [V_{move}] kördi ~ [S_{ind}]

24/2, 25/7 kördi kim [S_{ind}]

5/8 andan song tädi ~ [Direct Speech] täp tädi

11/6, 16/8, 20/6, 21/2, 21/4, 23/7, 36/8, 42/2 taqı tädi ~ [Direct Speech] täp tädi

⁸⁶⁰ The **kim I** and **kim II** introduce finite subordinate clauses or text units. These text units are the only ones in which non-past indicative and non-indicative sentences or clauses may occur in the text. This rule includes also the incomplete utterance [...] *bolsun-ğil* in 1/1, since it is direct speech as *täp tädilär* occurs immediately after it. The only exceptions are the utterances found in 33/7 and 35/4, which are, however, the utterances of the narrator himself, not of the protagonist(s) of the story.

23/1, 24/6, 25/2, 28/1, 32/6, 37/8, 39/2, 40/1 (taqı) aytı ~ [Direct Speech] (täp tädi)

7/6 uşol qız andağ körüglük erdi ~ külsä kök tәngri külä turur iğlasa kök tәngri iğlaya turur

9/6 andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni anı körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp sütdän qumuz bola tururlar

12/7 uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş erdi ~ [Direct Speech] täp tädi

19/3 tutulunç uruşunç andağ yaman boldı ~ [S_{ind}]

29/2 anga jarlıg qıldı ~ [Direct Speech] täp tädi

31/2 oğuz qağannung çarigigä nökarlarigä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg bargu tüşti ~ [S_{ind}]

33/7 taşqarun qalmasun bällüg bolsun ~ [S_{ind}]

35/4 taşqarun qalmasun ~ bällüg bolsun ~ [S_{ind}]

kir- <kyr> ‘to enter’

OT *kir-* ‘to enter’ (ED 735)

16/4 tang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung qoriğanığa kün tağ bir jaruq ~di

27/5 uşol beg tağlarğa ~di yörüdü toquz kündön song oğuz qağangä ayğir atnı kaldürdi

kiş <kyş> ‘sable’

OT *kiş* ‘sable’ (ED 752)

2/4 adaqı ud adaqı tağbelläri böri belläri tağ yağırı ~ yağırı tağ kögüzü aduğ kögüzü tağ lerdi

kişi <kyşy> ‘person’

OT *kişi* ‘man person, human being’ (ED 752)

3/8 oğuz qağan bir eres qaqız ~ erdi bo [monster]nı awlamaq tilädi

31/5 oğuz qağannung çarigidä usluğ yaşqı bir çäbär ~ bar erdi

35/7 oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ bir qart ~ turur bar erdi

kögüz <kwkwz> ‘chest, breast’

OT *kögüz* ‘chest, breast’ (ED 714)

1/9 uşol oğul anasınig ~ündön oğuznı içip mundon artıqraq içmädi

2/4-2/5 adaqı ud adaqı tağbelläri böri belläri tağ yağırı kiş yağırı tağ ~ aduğ ~ tağ lerdi

köl ‘lake’ <kwl>

OT *köl* ‘pool, lake’ (ED 715)

8/8 oğuz qağan bir kün awğa ketti bir ~ arasında alından bir iğaç kördi

kök I <kwk> ‘blue, grey’

OT *kök* ‘the sky, sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey’ (ED 708)

1/5 ušol oğulning öngluki čiraği ~ erdi
6/7 qarangguluq keldi köktön bir ~ yaruq tüšti
kündön ay aydan qoğulguluqraq erdi
9/3 yaqši körüglük bir qız erdi anung közü
köktön ~rək erdi
11/9 [...]tamğa bizgä bolsun buyanl~ böri
bolsunğil uranl[...]
16/4-16/5, 17/6, 18/1-18/2, 24/9-25/1, 29/5-
29/6, 33/1
~ tülüklüg ~ jalluğ (bedik) erkäk böri

kök II <kwk> '1. sky 2. Prop. [The fourth son
of Oğuz]

OT *kök* 'the sky, sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey'
(ED 708)

6/6 qarangguluq keldi ~tün bir kök yaruq tüšti
kündön (ay) aydan qoğulguluqraq erdi

7/6-7/7 ušol qız andağ körüglük erdi kim külsä
~ tängri külä turur liğlasa ~ tängri iğlaya turur!

9/3 yaqši körüglük bir qız erdi anung közü
~tün kökräk erdi

10/5 üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdı birinčisigä ~ at
qoydılar

12/2 [...]lkün tuğ bolğil l~ qorığanl

38/3 kün ay yulduz tang sarığa sänlär barungl ~
tağ tängiz tün sarığa sänlär barung täp tädi

39/4 ay [aqa]lar ya bolsun senlärningl ya täğ
oqlarnı ~käčä atungl

39/5 andan song ~ tağ tängiz köp kıklär kök
qušlar awlağularıdan song jolda üç kümüş oqnı
taptılar

42/6 [...] ldušmanlarnı iğlağurdum
ldostlarumnı män külgürdüm l~ tängriğä män
ötädüm lsänlärğä berämän yurdum!

köngül <kwñkw> 'heart'

OT *köngül* 'the mind, thought, heart' (ED 731)

19/1 čariğlärning aralarıda köp tälim boldı
uruşqu ləkünlärning ~ läridä köp tälim boldı
qayğu

37/9 taqı ayttı kim ay mänüing ~üm awnı tiläp
turur lqarı bolğumdan mäning qaqızluqum yoq
turur

köp <kwb> 'many, much'

OT *köp* 'abundant, luxuriant, much, many' (ED
686)

3/2 bo çağda bo yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdi
~ möränlär ~ ögüzlär bar erdi

3/3 bunda kelğänlär kik ~ ~ lbunda uçqanlar
quš ~ ~ lerdi

14/2-14/3 ušbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elči
yumšap yibardı ~ tälim altun kümüş tartıp ~
tälim qız yaqut taš alup ~ tälim ärdäniläri
yibärüp yumšap oğuz qağanğa soyurqap berdi

14/9 ušol qağannung čarigi ~ ~ baluqları ~ ~
erdilär erdi

18/9-19/2 čariğlärning aralarıda ~ tälim boldı
uruşqu ləkünlärning köngülläridä ~ tälim boldı
qayğu

19/8-19/9 oğuz qağan urum qağannung
qağanluqın aldı elkünin aldı ordusığa ~ uluğ
ölüg barğu ~ tälim tirig barğu tusu boldı

21/1 oğuz qağan ušol baluqqa atladi urus
bägnung oğulı anga ~ altun kümüş yibardı taqı
tädi kim [...]

23/1 oğuz qağan [...] taqı ayttı kim mängä ~
altun yumšap sänl baluqnı yaqši saqlap sänl täp
tädi

24/2 čariğdä bir yaqši bäg bar erdi [...] kördi
kim [...]da [~] [tälim tallar] ~ tälim [...]lar
[...]

27/8 muz tağlarda ~ soğuş boluptan ol bäg
qağardan sarunmiş erdi ap aq erdi

28/4 oğuz qağan sewinč birlä küldü ayttı kim
[...] täp tädi ~ ärdäni soyurqadı ilgäri ketti

30/2-30/3 munga jürčäd tätururlar erdi bedük
bir yurt elkün erdi yilqıları ~ ud buzağları ~
altun kümüsläri ~ ärdäniläri ~ erdilär erdi

33/4 kän bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı
tangqut taqı šağam yingğaqlariğa atlap ketti ~
uruşqudan ~ toquşqudon song anlarnı aldı öz
yurtığa birlädi

33/9-34/1-34/2 kündünki bulungda baraq°
täğän bir yer bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt
turur ~ işig bir yer turur munda ~ kıkläri ~
qušları bar turur altunı ~ kümüşü ~ erdiniläri ~
turur [...]

34/9 anung dostları ~ sewinč [...] erdi anung
dušmanları ~ qayğular [...]

38/7 kün ay yulduz ~ kıklär ~ qušlar
awlağularıdan song jolda bir altun yanı taptılar
39/6 kök tağ tängiz ~ kıklär ~ qušlar
awlağularıdan song jolda bir üç kümüş oqnı
taptılar

42/3-42/4 taqı tädi kim [ay] oğullar ~ män
aşadum luruşqular ~ män kördüm lğida basa ~
oq attumlayğir birlä ~ yörüdüm! [...]

kör- <kwr> 'to see sg'

OT *kör-* 'to see sg' (ED 736)

4/5 tang ertä çağda kaldi ~di kim [monster]
buğunı alup turur

4/9 tang ertä çağdä keldi ~di kim [monster]
aduğni alup turur

5/5 känä kälip ~di kim šungqar [monster]
ičägüsin yemäktä turur

6/9 oğuz qağan yörüdi ~di kim ušbo
yaruqnung arasında bir qız bar erdi

7/9 oğuz qağan anī ~düktä usī qalmadı ketti
sewdi aldī anung birlä yattī

8/9 oğuz qağan awğa ketti bir köl arasında
alından bir iğaç ~di

9/6 andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni
anī ~sä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp sütdän qumuz
bola tururlar

9/9 oğuz qağan anī ~düktä usī ketti jüräkigä
ataş tüsti

17/5 andan song oğuz qağan qoriğannī türdürdi
ketti ~di kim čäriğning tapuğlarıda [...] bädik
bir erkäk böri yörügüdä turur

22/9 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqşı ~di
sewindi küldi taqī aytī kim mängä köp altun
yumşap sän baluqnī yaqşı saqlap sän täp tädi

24/2 čäriğdä bir yaqşı bäg bar erdi [...] ~di
kim [...]da [köp tälīm tallar] köp tälīm [...]lar
[...]

25/1 andan song oğuz qağan känä kök tülüklük
kök jalluğ erkäk böri ~di

25/7 tang ertä bolduqtä oğuz qağan ~di kim
erkäk böri čäriğning tapuğlarıda yörügüdä
turur

28/5 taqī ilgärü ketti yolda bedük bir üy ~di

32/1 nökärlärnüng elkünnüng qamaği lmunī
~dilär šaštılar lqanqalar taqī japtılar

32/6 oğuz qağan qanqalarnī ~di küldi taqī aytī
kim [...]

36/2 künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya ~di
taqī üç kümüş oq ~di

36/6 uyqudon song tüštä ~gänin oğuz qağanğa
bildürdi

37/5 oğuz qağan uluğ türükknüng sözün yaqşı
~di ögütün tilädi ögütügä körä qıldı

42/3 taqī tädi kim ay oğullar köp män ašaduml
uruşqular köp män ~düm l[...]

körä <kwr> 'according to'

OT *kör-* 'to see sg' (ED 736)

37/6 oğuz qağan uluğ türükknüng sözün yaqşı
kördi ögütün tilädi ögütügä ~ qıldı

körgür- <kwrkwr> 'to show'

OT *körtgür-* /*körgür-* 'to show' (ED 740)

25/5 oğuz qağanğa aytī kim amdī čäriğ birlä
mundon atlang qağan atlap elkünlärni beğläri
keldürgil män sängä başlap yolnī ~ür män täp
tädi

körüglük <kwrwk-lwk> 'beautiful'

OT *körklüg* 'having the shape of, beautiful' (ED
743)

1/8 uşol oğulnüng önglüki čiraği kök erdi lağizi
ataş qızıl erdi lközläri al sačları qaşları qara
ärdilər ärdi lyaqşı näwsikilärdän ~rök erdil

7/2 uşbo yaruqnung arasında bir qız bar erdi
yalğuz olturur erdi yaqşı ~ bir qız erdi

7/6 uşol qız andağ ~ erdi kim külsä kök tängri
külä turur iğlasa kök tängri iğlaya turur

9/3 yaqşı ~ bir qız erdi anung közü köktön
kökräk erdi anung sači mörän usugī täg anung
tişi ünčü täg erdi

9/5 andağ ~ erdi kim yer ning yelküni anī
körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp süttän qumuz bola
tururlar

köz <kwz> 'eye'

OT *köz* 'eye' (ED 756)

1/4 känä künlärdän bir kün ay qağannung ~ü
yarip küdädi erkäk oğul tuğurdi

1/6 uşol oğulnüng önglüki čiraği kök erdi lağizi
ataş qızıl erdi l-läri al sačları qaşları qara
ärdilər ärdi lyaqşı näwsikilärdän körüglük
erdil

9/3 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi anung ~ü
köktön kökräk erdi anung sači mörän usugī täg
anung tişi ünčütäg erdi

26/3 uşbo ayğir atnī bäk čok sewür erdi jolda
uşbo ayğir at ~dän yitü qačtı ketti

küdä- <kwd> 'to wait, to pasture'

OT *küd-* 'to wait, wait for, attend to' (ED 701)

(?)1/4 känä künlärdän bir kün ay qağannung
közü yarip ~di erkäk oğul tuğurdi

2/6 yilqılar ~yä turur erdi latlarğa minä turur
erdi lkik aw awlaya turur erdi l

kül- <kwl> 'to laugh'

OT *kül-* 'to laugh' (ED 715)

7/6-7/7 uşol qız andağ körüglük erdi kim ~sä
kök tängri ~ä turur iğlasa kök tängri iğlaya
turur

22/9 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqşı kördi
sewindi ~di

24/5 usluğ bir er erdi kördi kim [...] ağaçlarda
yattī kečtı oğuz qağan säwinč ätti ~di taqī aytī
kim [...]

28/1 toquz kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğir
atnī kældürdi [...] oğuz qağan sewinč birlä ~dü
ayttī kim [...]

32/6 bo čäbär bir qanqa japtī [...] oğuz qağan
qanqalarnī kördi ~di

39/9 jolda üç kümüş oqnī taptılar aldılar aldılar
atasığa berdilər oğuz qağan sewindi ~di taqī
oqlarnī üçügä ülästürdi

külgür- <kwlkwr> 'to make laugh'

OT *kültür-* 'to make sy laugh' (ED 717)

42/6 [...] lduşmanlarnı iğlağurdum
ldostlarumnı män ~düm lkök tängri-gä män
ötädüm lsänlärğä berämän yurduml

kümüš <kwmwš> 'silver'

OT *kümüš* 'silver' (ED 723)

14/2 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elçi
yumşap yibardı köp tälüm altun ~ tartıp köp
tälüm qız yaqut taş alup köp tälüm ärdänilär
yibärüp yumşap oğuz qağanğa soyurqap berdi

21/2 oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa atladı urus
bägning oğulı anga köp altun ~ yibardı taqı
tädi kim [...]

28/7 bo üynüng tağamı altundan erdi
tünglüqları taqı ~tön qalqanları tämürdän
erdilär erdi

30/2 kündünki bulungda tağan bir yer bar turur
uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig bir yer
turur munda köp kıkları köp quşları bar turur
altunı köp ~i köp erdiniläri köp turur

34/2 tarlağusüz bir yazı yer erdi munga jürçäd
tätururlar erdi bädük bir yurt elkün erdi
yılqıları köp ud buzağları köp altun ~ läri köp
ärdäniläri köp erdilär erdi

36/2 künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya kördi
taqı üç ~ oq kördi

36/5 bo altun ya kün tuğışıda (da) kün
batuşığaça täggän erdi taqı bo üç ~ oq tün
yिंगgaqqa ketä turur erdi

39/7 känä andan song kök tağ tängiz köp kıklär
köp quşlar awlağularıdan song jolda üç ~ oqnı
çaptılar aldılar atasığa berdilär

41/5 [çong] yaqıda qır°q qolaç iğaçnı tiktürdi
anung başıda bir ~ taquq qoydı adaqığa bir
qara qoyun bağladı

kün <kwñ> '1. day 2. sun 3. Prop. the first son
of Oğuz'

OT *kün* 'the sun, day' (ED 725)

1/3 känä ~ lärdän bir ~ ay qağannung közü
yarıp küdädi erkäk oğul tuğurdı

2/2 [...] oğuznı içip mundon artıqraq içmädi
lyeg ät aş sorma tilädi ltılı kelä başladı lqırıq
~dön song bädüklädil yörüdi oynadı

2/8 yılqılar küdäyä turur erdi atlargä minä turur
erdi kik aw awlaya turur erdi ~lärdän song
keçälärdän song yigit boldı

3/8-3/9 oğuz qağan bir eres qaqız erdi bo
[monster]nı awlamaq tilädi ~lärdä bir ~ awğa
çiqti

6/4 känä ~ lärdä bir ~ oğuz qağan bir yerdä
tängri ni jalwarğudä erdi

6/7 qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kök yaruq
tüşti ~dön ay (ay)dan qoğulğuluqraq erdi

8/2 töl boğus boldı ~ lärdän song kaçälärdän
song yarudı üç erkäk oğul tuğurdı

8/4 birinçisigä ~ at qoydılar

8/6 kän bir ~ oğuz qağan awğa ketti

10/2 töl boğus boldı ~lärdän song keçälärdän
song yarudı üç erkäk oğul tuğurdı

12/2 [...]~ tuğ bolğil lkök qoriğanl tap tädi

15/8 çäriğ birlä atlap tuğlarıni tutup ketti qır°q
~ dön song muz tağ tağan tağnung adaqığa
keldi

16/3 tang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung
qoriğanığa ~ tağ bir jaruq kirdi

18/1 bir näçä ~lärdän song [...] bo bädik erkäk
böri turup turdı oğuz taqı çäriğ birlä turup turdı

27/6 uşol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz ~
dön song oğuz qağanğa ayğır atni kaldürdi

29/5 känä bir ~ [...] erkäk böri yörümäyn turdı
oğuz qağan taqı turdı

35/9-36/1 anung atı uluğ türük erdi ~lärdä bir ~
uyquda bir altun ya kördi taqı üç kümüş oq
kördi

36/3 bo altun ya ~ tuğışıda (da) ~ batusığaça
täggän erdi

38/1 ~ ay yulduz tün sarığa sänlär barung lkök
tağ tängiz tün sarığa sän lär barung

38/6 ~ ay yulduz köp kıklär köp quşlar
awlağularıdan song jolda bir altun yanı taptılar

41/9 [ong] yaqta buzuqlar olturdi lçong yaqta
üç oqlar olturdi lqırıq ~ qırıq keçä aştılar içtilär
lsewinç taptılar

kündünki <kwn-dwn-ky> 'southern'

OT *kündön* 'in the direction of the sun, south'
(ED 729)

33/7 känä taşqarun qalmasun bällüg bolsun
kim ~dönki bulungda baraq° tağan bir yer bar
turur

M

?ma/mä <m> 'here you are! Lo and behold!'
(cf. **män**)

OT *ma/mä* 'here you are!' (ED 765)

28/3 oğuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü aytı kim
munda beğlärğä bolğil başlıql ~ mängilap
sängä at bolsun qağarlıgl

män 'I (1sg personal pronoun)',⁸⁶¹

OT *bän* 'I' (ED 346)

⁸⁶¹ I followed the same method as in the case of **biz**
See the footnote there. Just like +*biz* The suffix
+*män* usually co-occurs with the personal pronoun,
with one exception, see. instance 15/4.

var. <m'n> 11/6, 12/7, 13/3, 13/5, 13/7, 17/2, 21/2, 21/8, 22/5, 22/6, 37/8, 38/1, 42/3, 42/6, 42/7 <m'n> 13/1 x2, 15/4 x2, 17/1, 21/3, 21/9, ?<b'n> 20/8, <b'n> 21/6, ?<mn> 28/3 <mñ> 42/5

11/6 taqi tädi kim ~ senlärgä boldum qağan laläling ya taqi qalqan[...]

12/7-13/1 uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş erdi kim ~ uyğurning qağanı bola *män* kim yerning tört bulunginung qağanı bolsam kăräk turur sänlärdän baş çalunguluğ tiläp *män* turur

13/1-13/3-13/5-13/7 uşol kim ~ing ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa taritqu tartip dost tutar *män* uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa [...] duşman tutar *män* tağuraq basip asturip yoq bolsungil täp qilur *män*

15/4 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannung jarligin saqlamaz erdi [...] munı söz sözni tutmaz *män* turur *män*

17/1 ay ay oğuz urum üstigä sän atlar bola sän lay ay oğuz tapugunglarğa ~ yörür bola *män*

20/8 sän taqi uruşqulardan song baluqni ~gä saqlap kalgil täp tädi

21/2-21/3-21/6-21/8-21/9 taqi tädi kim ay ~ning qağanum sän ~ gä atam bo baluqni bärıp turur taqi tädi kim baluqni qatiglağı kăräk turur sän taqi uruşqulardan song baluqni ~ga saqlap kalgil täp tädi atam çamat ätip ersä ~üng tapum erür mü sändän jarluğ bağlig bällüg bola *män*

22/5 tängri sängä yer berip bujurmaş bolup turur ~ sängä başumnı qutum nı berä *män*

23/1 taqi aytı kim ~gä köp altun yumşap sän baluqni yaqşı saqlap sän täp tädi

25/5-22/6 elkünlärni beglerni keldürgil ~ sängä başlap yolni körgürür *män*

?28/3 oğuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü aytı kim munda beglärgä bolgil başliql ~ mängilap sängä at bolsun qağarligl

37/8-38/1 taqi aytı kim ay ~üng köngülüm awnı tiläp turur qarı bolğumdan ~ing qaqizluqum yoq turur

42/3-42/5-42/6-42/7 taqi tädi kim ay oğullar köp ~ aşadum luruşqular köp ~ kördüm ljida basa köp oq attum ayğir birlä köp yörüdüm lduşmanlarnı iğlağurdum ldostlarumnı ~ külgürdüm lkök tängriğä ~ ötädüm lsänlärgä berä *män* yurdumltäp tädi

mäng <m'nk> 'mole'

OT *bäng* 'a mole on the face' (ED 346)

7/4 yaqşı körüglük bir qiz erdi anung başında ataşluğ yaruqluğ bir ~i bar erdi

mängilä- <m'rl'b/mnkl'b> 'to rejoice, to be happy'

OT *mängilä-* 'to rejoice, to be happy' (ED 770)
28/3 oğuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü aytı kim munda beglärgä bolgil başliql imän ~p sängä at bolsun qağarligl

mısir <m'S'r> 'Proper name, Egypt'

MT *mısir*, *mısir* Egypten, Kairo (Z 854a)
34/4-34-7 uşol yerning qağanı ~ tägän bir qağan erdi oğuz qağan anung üstigä atladı qatıq yaman uruşqu boldı oğuz qağan başı ~ qağan qaçtı

min- <myñ> 'to mount a horse'

OT *bin-* 'to mount, ride sg' (ED 348)
2/7 qırıq kündön song bedüklädi yörüdi oynadı [...] yilqılar küdäyä turur erdi atlarğa ~ä turur erdi kik aw awlaya turur erdi
26/1 oğuz qağan bir çuqurdan ayğir atqa ~ä turur erdi uşbo ayğir atni bek çok sewür erdi

[**monster**]⁸⁶² var. <q'ç' > 3/4, <q'y'ç' > 3/8, <kyynç' > 4/5, <d''w> 4/9, <d'nñk>, 5/1 <d'[]ñw> 5/3, <[q]dyñk> 5/5, <[n]dyñk> 6/1, <kyynç' > 6/3

3/4 uşol orman içindä bädük bir ~ bar erdi yilqılarnı yelkünlärni yer erdi

3/8 oğuz qağan bir eres qaqiz kişi erdi bo ~ni awlamaq tilädi

4/5 bir buğu aldı [...] tang ertä çagda keld kördi kim ~ buğuni alup turur

4/9 kenä bir aduğ aldı [...] tang ertä çagda keldi kördi kim ~ aduğni alıp turur

5/1-5/3 känä özü iğaçning tübindä turdı ~ kälip başı birlä oğuz qalqanin urdı oğuz jida birlä ~ning başin urdı anı öldürdi

5/5 känä kälip kördi kim bir şungqar ~ning içägüsin yemäktä turur

6/1-6/3 buğu yedi aduğ yedi jidam öldürdi tamür bolsa ~ni şungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi taqi ~ning ang'gusu uşbo turur [picture]

moz <mwz> 'grey (hair)'

OT *boz* 'grey' (ED 388)
35/6 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsung kim oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqalluğ ~ saçluğ uzun usuğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi

⁸⁶² These words occurs nine times in the text and refer to the creature depicted on page 6. The transliteration and transcription of the word is not clear. See chapter 2.18.

mörän <mwr'n> 'river'

Mo. *mören/mörün* 'large river or lake' (L 548, 550)

var. <mwr'n> 18/4, 18/5, 23/5

3/2 bo çağda bo yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdil köp ~lär köp ögüzlär bar erdil bunda kelgänlär kik köp köp lbunda uçqanlar quş köp köp lerdü 9/4 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi anung közü köktön kökräk erdi anung saçı ~ °suğı tæg anung tışı ünçü tæg erdi

12/2 [...]ltämür jida bol orman law yerdä yörüsün qulan ltaqı taluy taqı ~ lkün tuğ bolğil kök qorığan ltäp tädi

18/4-18/5 bir näcä künlärdän song [...] bo bedik erkäk böri turup turdı oğuz taqı čärig birlä turup turdı mundan etil ~ tægän bir taluy bar erdi etil ~nüng quduğida bir qara tağ tapıgıda uruşqu tutuldi

19/3 tutulunç uruşunç andağ yaman boldi kim etil ~nüng suğı qıp qızıl säpsänggir tæg erdi

20/4 urus bæg oğulun tağ başida täring ~ arasida yaqşı bärük baluqqa yumşadı

23/5 känä čärig birlä [...] etil tægän ~ gä kächti etil tægän badük bir näng turur

mun+ see **bu**

muz <mwz> 'ice'

OT *buz* 'ice' (ED 389)

15/8 čärig birlä atlap tuğlarnı tutup ketti qır°q kündön song ~ tağ tægän tağnung adaqığa keldi 26/5-26/7-26/8 mundan uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı ~ bar turur anung başi soquqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung atı muz ~ tağ turur oğuz qağan oğuz qağanning atı ~ tağ içigä qačıp ketti

27/7 uşol bæg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğır atnı kældürdi ~ tağlarda köp soquq boluptan ol bæg qağardan sarunmiş erdi ap aq erdi

(?)**mös-tei** <mwz t'y> (Prop.) 'Icy'

see **tağ**

Mo. *mösütü* 'icy, iced, glacial' (L 551)

15/8 čärig birlä atlap tuğlarnı tutup ketti qır°q kündön song ~ tægän tağnung adaqığa keldi

N

näwsiki <n'bsyky> 'fairy'

Mid. Per. > Tokh. > OT *nevaşigi* 'a good spirit' (ED 775)

1/7 uşol oğulnung önglüki čirağı kök erdi ağızi ataş qızıl erdi közlari al saçları qaşları qara erdilär erdi yaqşı ~lärden körüglükrok erdi

näcä <n'č> 'some'

OT *näcä* 'how many?' (ED 775)

18/1 ol böriuning artlarin qatıqlap yörügüda turur erdilär erdi bir ~ künlärdän song [...] bo bädik erkäk böri turup turdı oğuz taqı čärig birlä turup turdı

näcük <n'čwk> 'how'

23/8 oğuz qağan anı [...]di taqı tädi kim etilning °suğıdan ~ kečär biz täp tädi

nämä <n'm> 'thing'

OT *nämä* 'something, anything' (ED 777)

35/2 oğuz qağan başti sanağuluqsız ~lär yilqılar aldı yurtığa üygä tüşti

näng <n'nk> 'thing'

OT *näng* 'thing, property' (ED 778)

23/6 känä čärig birlä [...] etil tægän mörängä kächti [etil] tægän [bädük] bir ~ [turur]

nöker 'bodyguard'

Mo. *nökür* 'friend, companion' (L 593)

var. <nwk'r> 31/1 <nwK'r> 31/9 <nwYr> 40/7

31/1 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannung čärigigä ~lärigä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüg bargu tüşti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud azlıq boldi

31/9 ~lärnüng elkünnüng qamağı muni kördilär şaştılar qanqalar taqı japtılar

40/7 oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay čağirdi ~lärin elkünlärin čarlap čağirdi

O

oğul (?öl) '(male) child'

OT *oğul* 'offspring, (male) child' (ED 83)

var. <wqwl> 1/4, <wqwl> 1/5, 1/8, <'wqwl> 8/3, 21/1 <'wqwl> 10/4, 20/3,

1/4-1/5 künlärdän bir kün ay qağannung közü yarip küdädi erkäk ~ tuğurdi uşol ~ nung önglüki čirağı kök erdi

1/8 uşol ~ anasining kögüzöndön oğuzni içip mundon artıqraq ičmädi

8/3 töl bogus boldi künlärdän song kächälärdän song yarudi üç erkäk ~ni tuğurdi

10/4 töl bogus boldi künlärdän song kächälärdän song yarudi üç erkäk ~ni tuğurdi

20/3 ol urus bāg ~un tağ bašida tāring mōrān
 arasida yaqšī bārik baluqqa yumšadi
 21/1 urus bāgning ~ī anga kōp altun kümüš
 yibārdi taqī tādi kim [...]
 42/2-42/3 andan song oğuz qağan [-] larīga
 yurtin ūlāstūrūp berdi taqī tādi kim [ay ~] lar
 kōp mān ašaduml urušqular kōp mān kōrdüm
 |[...] |sānlārgā berā mān yurduml

oğuz (?ūz) I <wq̄wz> 'colostrum, first milk'
 OT *ağuz/ağuz* 'colostrum, the first milk after
 parturition' (ED 98)
 1/9 ušol oğul anasīning kōgüzōndōn ~nī içip
 mundon artīqraq içmādi

oğuz (?ūz) II 'Prop/Ethnonym Oghuz'
 var. <wq̄wz> 3/7, 6/5, 7/8, 10/8, 25/9, 27/6
 <'wq̄wz> 5/2, 6/9, 11/4, 17/1, 19/6, 26/8, 26/9,
 27/9, 29/7, 30/6, 30/9, 34/5, 35/1, 35/5, 36/7,
 37/4, 39/9, 40/5, <wq̄wz> 8/7, 12/4, [23/6],
 24/9, 25/2, 25/7, 30/4, 31/4, <'wq̄wz> 9/8,
 14/4, 15/1, 15/5, 16/2, 16/8, 18/3, 20/8, 22/8,
 [24/5], 32/5, 34/6, 34/7, 40/7, 42/1, <'wq̄wz>
 14/1, 16/6, ?<bq̄wz> 19/5

see also **qağan**

3/7 ~ qağan
 5/2 [monster] kälip ~ qalqanīn urdi ~ jīda birla
 [monster]ning bašin urdi anī öldürdi qīlīč birlā
 bašin kāsti
 6/5 ~ qağan
 6/9 ~ qağan
 7/8 ~ qağan
 8/7 ~ qağan
 9/8 ~ qağan
 10/8 ~ qağan
 11/4 ~ qağan
 12/4 ~ qağan
 14/1 ~ qağan
 14/4 ~ qağan
 15/1 ~ qağan
 15/5 ~ qağan
 16/2 ~ qağan
 16/6 ~ qağan
 16/8-17/1 ušol bōri oğuz qağanğa sōz berip
 turur erdi ay ay ~ urum ūstigā sān atlar bola
 sān ay ay ~ tapuğunglarğa mān yōrūr bola mān
 tāp tādi
 18/3 bir nāčā künlārdān song [...] bo bedik
 erkāk bōri turup turdī ~ taqī čārig birlā turup
 turdī
 19/5 ~ qağan
 19/6 ~ qağan
 20/8 ~ qağan
 22/8 ~ qağan
 23/6 ~ qağan

24/5 ~ qağan
 24/9 ~ qağan
 25/2 ~ qağan
 25/7 ~ qağan
 25/9 ~ qağan
 26/8 ~ qağan
 26/9 ~ qağan
 27/6 ~ qağan
 27/9 ~ qağan
 29/7 ~ qağan
 30/4 ~ qağan
 30/6 ~ qağan
 30/9 ~ qağan
 31/4 ~ qağan
 32/5 ~ qağan
 34/5 ~ qağan
 34/6 ~ qağan
 34/7 oğuz qağan baštīl mīsīr qağan qačtī l~ anī
 bastī lyurtin aldī kettīl
 35/1 ~ [qağan]
 35/5 ~ qağan
 36/7 ~ qağan
 37/4 ~ qağan
 39/9 ~ qağan
 40/5 ~ qağan
 40/7 ~ qağan
 42/1 ~ qağan

oq <'wq̄> 'arrow'
 OT *oq* 'arrow' (ED 76)
 var. <wq̄> 6/2 <'wq̄> 36/2, 41/8
 4/1 künlārda bik kün awğa čīqtī jīda birla ya ~
 birlā taqī qīlīč birlā qalqan birlā atladī
 5/6 kānā kälip kōrdi kim bir šungqar [monster]
 içāgūsīn yemāktā turur ya birlā ~ birlā
 šungqarnī öldürdi bašin kāsti
 6/2 buğu yedi aduğ yedil jīdam öldürdi tāmūr
 bolsal [monster]nī šungqar yedi lya ~um
 öldürdi yel bolsa ltāp tādi
 18/7 etil mōrānnūng quduğīda bir qara tağ
 tapīğīda urušqu tutuldī ~ birlā jīda birlā qīlīč
 birlā uruštīlar
 30/5 uruš toquš bašladī ~lar birlā qīlīčlar birlā
 uruštīlar
 36/2-36/5 künlārdā bir kün uyquda bir altun ya
 kōrdi taqī üç kümüš ~ kōrdi bo altun ya kün
 tuğīšīda (da) kün batušīgača tāggān erdi taqī bo
 üç kümüš ~ tün yīnggaqqa ketā turur erdi
 39/4 taqī aytī kim [ay aqa]lar ya bolsun
 senlārnūng ya tāg ~larnī kōkkāčā atung tāp tādi
 39/7 kōk tağ tāngiz kōp kīklār kōp qušlar
 awlağularīdan song jōlda üç kümüš ~nī taptīlar
 aldīlar atasīga berdīlār
 39/9 oğuz qağan sewīndi küldi taqī ~larnī
 üçūgā ūlāštūrdi

40/2-40/3 taqī aytī kim ay inilār ~lar bolsun
sänlärnüng ya attī ~nī ~lar tæg sänlär bolung
41/8 [ong] yaqta buzuqlar olturdī čong yaqta
üč oqlar olturdī
42/4 taqī tädi kim [ay] oğullar köp män
aşadum luruşqular köp män kördüm lǰida basa
köp ~ attum layğir birlä köp yörüdüml [...]

ol <'wl> '(exactly) that (demonstrative
pronoun)'

OT *ol* 'that' (ED 123)

16/4 tang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung
qorığanıǵa kün tæg bir ĵaruq kirdi ~ ĵaruqton
[...] bedik bir erkäk böri čıqtı

17/8 kördi kim čarıǵning tapuğlarıda [...]]
bädik bir erkäk böri yörügüdü turur ~ böri
artların qatıǵlap yörügüdü turur erdilär erdi

20/3 urum qağannung bir qarundaşı bar erdi
urus bæg tægän erdi ~ urus bæg oğulun tağ
başıda täring mörän arasıda yaqşı bärık
baluqqa yumşadı

27/8 čarigdü bir bedik qağız er bæg bar erdi
[...] ~ beg qağardan sarunmiş erdi ap aq erdi

ušol

var. <wşwl> 1/5, 1/8, 7/5 <'wşwl> 3/4, 15/1,
16/6, 20/9, 27/5, 34/4 <'wşwl> 13/1

1/5-1/8 künlärdän bir kün ay qağannung közü
yarıp küdädi erkäk oğul tuğurdı ~ oğulnı
önglüki čıraǵı kök erdi [...] ~ oğul anasın
kögüzündön oğuznı içip mundon artıqraq
ičmädi

3/4 bo čağda bo yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdi
[...] ~ orman içindä bädük bir [monster] bar
erdi

7/5 uşbo yaruqnung arasında bir qız bar erdi
yalğuz olturur erdi yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi
[...] ~ qız andağ körüglük erdi kim [...]

13/1 [...] senlärden baş čalunguluq tiläp män
turur ~ kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa
tartıtıǵu tartıp dost tutar män [...]

15/1 čong ĵangaqıda urum tægän bir qağan bar
erdi [...] ~ urum qağan oğuz qağannung
ĵarlıǵın saqlamaz erdi qatıqlaǵu barmaz erdi

16/6 ol ĵaruqton kök tülüklüg kök ĵalluğ bedik
bir erkäk böri čıqtı ~ böri oğuz qağanğa söz
berip turur erdi

20/9 ol urus bæg oğulun tağ başıda täring
mörän arasıda yaqşı bärık baluqqa yumşadı
[...] oğuz qağan ~ baluqqa atladı

27/5 čarigdü bir bedik qağız er beg bar erdi
[...] ~ beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü

34/4 kündünki bulungda bar^oqa tægän bir yer
bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig
bir yer turur [...] ~ yerning qağanı mis^or tægän
bir qağan erdi

şol <şwl>

4/2 bir buǵu aldı ~ buǵunı talnung čubuqı birlä
ığaçqa baǵladı ketti

~ **an+** <'n>

var. <'n> 9/2, 9/4, 15/6, 17/3, 19/3, 23/2, 23/6,
23/9, 24/8, 26/7, 37/6, 38/4, 40/4, 42/1

1/1 bolsunğıl täp tädilär ~ung ang^oğusu uşbo
turur

4/4 bir buǵu aldı şol buǵunı talnung čubuqı
birlä ığaçqa baǵladı ketti ~dan song ertä boldı

5/3 oğuz ĵida birlä [monster]ning başın urdı ~i
öldürdi qılıč birlä başın kästi

5/7 ya birlä oq birlä şungqarnı öldürdi başın
kästi ~dan song tädi kim şungqarnung angğusı
uşbo turur

7/3-7/5 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi ~ung
başında ataşluğ yaruqluğ bir mängi bar erdi
ušol qız ~dağ körüglük erdi kim külsä kök
tängri külä turur ıǵlasa kök tängri ıǵlaya turur

7/9 oğuz qağan ~i kördüktä usı qalması ketti
aldı ~ung birlä yattı tilägüsin aldı

9/2-9/4 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi ~ung közü
köktön kökräk erdi ~ung saçı mörän ^osuğı tæg
~ung tişi ünçü tæg erdi

9/5-9/6 ~dağ körüglük erdi kim yerning
yelküni ~i körsä ay ay ağ ağ ölibiz täp sütdän
qumuz bola tururlar

9/9-10/1 oğuz qağan ~i kördüktä usı ketti
ĵüräkigä atas tüşti ~i sewdi aldı ~ing birlä yattı
tilägüsin aldı

10/8 künlärdän song kečälärdän song yarudı üč
erkäk oğulnı tuğurdı [...] ~dan song oğuz
qağan bedük toy berdi

12/3 oğuz qağan beǵlärğa elkünlärgä ĵarlıǵ
berdi taqı tädi kim [...] täp tädi ~dan song oğuz
qağan tört sarıǵa ĵarlıǵ ĵumşadı bildürgülük
bitidi

14/6 uşbo altun qağan [...] yaqşı begü birlä
dostluq qıldı ~ung birlä amıraq boldı

15/6 oğuz qağan čamat ätüp ~ga atlaǵu tilädi
čarıǵ birlä atlap tuǵlarnı tutup ketti

17/3 uşol böri oğuz qağanğa söz bärıp turur
erdi taqı tädi kim [...] täp tädi känä ~dan song
oğuz qağan qorıǵannı türdürdi ketti

19/3 tutulunč uruşunč ~dağ yaman boldı kim
etil mörännüning suğı qıp qızıl säp sänggir tæg
boldı

21/1 oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa atladı urus
bägning oğulı ~ga köp altun kümüş yibardı

23/2-23/3 taqı aytı kim mängä köp altun
yumşap sän baluqnı yaqşı saqlap sän täp tädi
~ung üčün ~ga saqlap at qoydı

23/6 [etil] tægän [bädük] bir näng [turur oğuz]
qağan ~i [kör]di taqı tädi kim etilning ^osuğıdan
nečük kečärbiz täp tädi

23/9 čärigdä bir yaqši bäg bar erdi ~ung atı uluğ ordu bäg erdi
 24/8 taqı ilğärü kettilər ~dan song oğuz qağan känä kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ erkäk böri kördi
 26/6-26/7 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi [...] ~ung baši soğuqtan ap aq turur ~ung üçün ~ung atı muz tağ turur
 28/9-29/1-29/4 čärigdä bir yaqši čäbär er bar erdi ~ung atı tömürtü qağul tögän erdi ~ga jarlıg qıldı kim sän munda qal aç qalqan açqungdon song käl orduğa täp tädi mundan ~ga qalaç at qoydı
 31/2 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannuğ čärigigä nökarlarıgä elkünigä ~dağ uluğ ölüg bargu tüsti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud azlıq boldı
 31/4-31/5 ~da oğuz qağannuğ čärigidä usluğ yaşqı bir čäbär kişi bar erdi ~ung atı barmaqlıg josun bellig erdi
 32/4 munlar qanqa yörümäktä qanqa qanqa söz berä turur erdilär erdi ~ung üçün ~largä qanqa at qoydılar
 32/9 oğuz qağan qanqalarnı kördi küldi taqı aytı kim [...] täp tädi ~dan song känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şağam yingğaqlarıgä atlap ketti
 33/5 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şağam yingğaqlarıgä atlap ketti köp uruşqudon köp toquşqudon song ~larnı aldı öz yurtıgä birlädi baštı bastı
 34/5 uşol yerning qağanı misir tögän bir qağan erdi oğuz qağan ~ung üstigä atladı
 34/8-34/9 ~ung dostları köp sewinç [...] ~ung duşmanları köp qaygu [...]
 35/9 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannuğ janıda aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi [...] ~ung atı uluğ türük erdi
 37/6 oğuz qağan uluğ türüknuğ söziün yaqşı kördi ögütün tilädi ögütügä körä qıldı ~dan song ertä bolupta aqalarnı inilärni čarlap kaldürdi
 38/4 taqı aytı kim [...] kün ay yulduz tang sarıgä sänlär barung kök tağ tängiz tün sarıgä sänlär barung täp tädi ~dan song üçägüsü tang sarıgä bardılar üçägüsü tün sarıgä bardılar
 39/5 [oğuz qağan sewindi küld taqı yanı üç] buzguluq qıldı [taqı aytı kim] [...] täp tädi känä ~dan song kök tağ tängiz köp kıklär köp quşlar awlağularıdan song jolda üç kümüş oqnı taptılar aldılar atasıgä berdilər
 40/4 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı oqlarnı üçügä üläştürdi taqı aytı kim [...] täp tädi känä ~dan song oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay čaqirdı

41/5 [čong] yaqıda qırıq qol aç iğacni tiktürdi ~ung başıda bir kümüş tağuq qoydı adaqıda bir qara qoyunnı bağladı
 42/1 qırıq kün qırıq keçä aştılar içtilär sewinç taptılar ~dan song oğuz qağan oğullarıgä yurtin üläştürüp berdi

ong <'wnk> 'right (side)'

OT *ong* 'right' (ED 166)

13/8 känä bo čağda ~ jangaqta altun tögän bir qağan bar erdi

41/7 [~] yaqta buzuqlar olturdi lõong yaqta üçoqlar olturdi

?ong- <'wnk> 'to thrive, prosper' (cf. **öng**)

OT *on-/ong-* 'to thrive, prosper' (ED 168)

27/4 čärigdä bir bedik qağız er bäg bar erdi čaling bulıngdan qorqumaz turur erdi jörügüda soğurguda ~a er erdi

oltur- <'wldwr> 'to sit'

OT *olor-/oltur-* 'to sit' (ED 150)

var. <'wldwr> 7/2

7/2 uşbo yaruqnuğ arasında bir qız bar erdi yalğuz ~ur erdi

9/1 bo iğacnuğ qawučağında bir qız bar erdi jalğuz ~ur erdi

40/7 oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay čağirdi nökerların elkünların čarlap čağirdi kälip kengäşip ~dılar

41/7-41/8 [ong] yaqta buzuqlar olturdi lõong yaqta üç oqlar ~di

ordu <'wrwd> 'warcamp'

OT *ordu* 'royal residence, palace, royal camp' (ED 203)

19/8 oğuz qağan urum qağannuğ qağanluqın aldı elkünin aldı ~siğa köp uluğ ölüg bargu köp tälim tirig bargu tusu boldı

23/9 čärigdä bir yaqši bäg bar erdi anung atı uluğ ~ bäg erdi

29/3 čärigdä bir yaqši čäbär er bar erdi [...] anga jarlıg qıldı kim lsän munda qal aç qalqan laçqungdon song käl ~ga ltäp tädi

40/8 känä andan song oğuz qağan uluğ quriltay čağirdi nökerların elkünların čarlap čağirdi kälip kengäşip olturdılar oğuz qağan bädük [~] [...]

orman <'wrm'n> 'forest, wood'

MT *orman* 'Wald, Gehölz' (Z 118a)

3/1-3/4 bo čağda bo yerdä bir uluğ ~ bar erdi [...] uşol ~ içində bädük bir [monster] bar erdi

12/1 taqı tädi kim män senlärgä boldum qağanl alaling ya taqı qalqan ltamga bizgä bolsun

buyanl kök böri bolsungil uranl tämür jida bol
~ law yerdä yörüsün qulanl [...]

?osug <wswq> 'river-bed' (cf. **suw**)

OT *osug* 'a way of using sg' (ED 245)

9/4 yaqši körüglük bir qız erdi anung közü
köktön kökräk erdi anung saçı mörän ~täg
anung tışı ünçü täg erdi

23/7 čärig birlä [...] etil tägän mörängä kächti
etil tägän bädük bir neng turur oğuz qağan anı
[körđi] taqı tädi kim etilning ~ıdan nečük kečär
biz täp tädi

oyna- <'wyn'> 'to play'

OT *oyna-* 'to play' (ED 275)

2/3 yeg ät aš sorma tilädi tili kelä başladı qırıq
kündön song bädüklädi yörüdi ~dı

Ö

ögüt <'wkwd> 'advice'

OT *ögüt* 'advice, counsel, admonition' (ED 102)

37/5-37/6 oğuz qağan uluğ türükning söziün
yaqši körđi ~ün tilädi ~ügä körä qıldı

ögüz <'wkwz> 'stream'

OT *ögüz* 'river' (ED 119)

3/2 bo čağda bo yerdä uluğ orman bar erdi köp
möränlär köp ~ lär bar erdi

öl- <'wl> 'to die'

OT *öl-* 'to die' (ED 125)

9/7 andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni
anı körsä ay ay aχ aχ ~ırbiz täp süttän qumuz
bola tururlar

öldür- 'to kill'

OT *ölür-/öldür-* 'to kill' (ED 151, 133)

var. <wldwr> 5/4, 5/7, <'wldwr> 6/1, 6/2, 30/7
5/4-5/7 [monster] kälip baši birlä oğuz
qalqanın urdı oğuz jida birlä [monster]ning
bašin urdı anı ~dı qılıč birlä bašin kästi aldı
ketti känä kälip körđi kim bir šungqar
[monster] içägüsin yemektä turur ya birlä oq
birlä šungqarnı ~dı bašin kästi

6/1-6/2 taqı tädi kim šungqarnung angğusı
ušbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jidam ~dı
tämür bolsa [monster]ni šungqar yedi ya oqum
~dı yel bolsa täp tädi

30/7 uruš toquš başladı oqlar birlä qılıčlar birlä
uruštılar oğuz qağan baštı jürčäd qağanni bastı
~dı bašin kästi

ölüg <'wlwk> 'lifeless, inanimate'

OT *ölüg* 'dead, corpse' (ED 142)

19/9 oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqın
aldı elkünin aldı ordusıgä köp uluğ ~ bargu
köp tälim tirig bargu tusu boldı

31/2 urušqudon song oğuz qağannung čärigigä
nökärlärigä elkünigä andağ uluğ ~ bargu tüšti
kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud
azlıq boldı

31/7 bo čäbär bir qanqa japtı qanqa üstündä ~
bargunı qoydı qanqa başıda tirig bargunı qoydı
tarıttılar kettilər

32/7 oğuz qağan qanqalarnı körđi küldi taqı
ayttı kim qanqa qanqa birlä ~ni tirig
yörügürsün lqanqaluğ sängä at bolğuluq qanqa
bälğürsün ltäp tädi

öng 'front part' <'wng'>

OT *öng* 'the front' (ED 167)

27/4 čärigdä bir bedik qağız er bäg bar erdi
čaling bulıngdan qoruqmaz turur erdi jörügüdä
soğurguda ~gä er erdi

önglük <'wng-lwk> 'face, complexion'

OT *öng* 'colour' (ED 167)

1/5 känä künlärdän bir kün ay qağannung közü
yarıp küdädi erkäk oğul tuğurđı ušol oğulnıng
~i čirayı kök erdi

34/3 kündünki bulungda baraq° tägän bir yer
bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig
bir yer turur [...] elkünläriñing ~i čirayı qap
qara turur

ötä- <'wd'> 'to carry out an obligation'

OT *ötä-* 'to carry out an obligation (to God), to
pay a debt' (ED 43)

42/6 taqı tädi kim [...] dušmanlarnı
iğlağurdum ldostlarumnı män külgürdüm lkök
tängrigä män ~düm lsänlärgä berämän yurtuml

öz 'self, own'

OT *öz* 'spirit, self' (ED 278)

var. <ws> 5/1, <'wz> 30/8, 33/5

5/1 känä ~ü iğaçning tübindä turdı [monster]
kälip baši birlä oğuz qalqanın urdı oğuz jida
birlä [monster]ning bašin urdı anı öldürdi

30/8 oğuz qağan baštı jürčäd qağanni bastı
öldürdi bašin kästi jürčäd elkünin ~ ağızıgä
baqınturđı

33/5 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı
tangqut taqı šağam yingğaqlariğä ketti köp
urušqudan köp toqušqudon song anlarnı aldı ~
yurtıgä birlädi baštı bastı

S

sač <s'č> 'a piece of) hair'

OT *sač* 'hair' (ED 794)

1/6 ušol oğulnung önglüki čiraği kök erdi ağızi ataš qızıl erdi közlari al ~lari qašlari qara ärdilär ärdi

9/4 yaqši körüglük bir qız erdi anung közü köktön kökräk erdi anung ~i mörän °suğı tæg erdi anung tiši ünčü tæg erdi

sačluğ <s'č-lwq> 'one having hair'

OT *sačliğ* 'hairy' (ED 797)

35/6 oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqalluğ moz ~ uzun usluğ bir qart kiši turur bar erdi

sanağuluqsız <s'n'-q̄w-lwq-syz> 'uncountable'

OT *sana-* 'to count' (ED 835)

35/2 anung dostlari köp sewinč [...] erdi anung dušmanlari köp qayğular [...] oğuz [qağan] baštı ~ nämälär yılqılar aldı yurtığa tüšti ketti

saqalluğ <s'q̄'l-lwq> 'bearded'

OT *saqal* 'beard' (ED 808)

35/6 oğuz qağannung janıda aq ~ moz sačluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kiši turur bar erdi

saqla- 'to watch over, protect'

OT *saqla-* 'to watch over, protect' (ED 810)

var. <s'ql'> 15/2, <s'q̄l'> 20/8, 21/7, 23/2

15/2 čong janggaqıda urum tægän bir qağan bar ärdi [...] ušol urum qağan oğuz qağannung jarliğın ~maz erdi

20/8 taqi tädi kim baluqnı qatıglağı käräk turur sän taqi uruŝqulardan song baluqnı bizgä ~p käl gil täp tädi

21/7 mängä atam bo baluqnı berip turur taqi tädi kim baluqnı qatıglağı käräk turur sän taqi uruŝqulardan song baluqnı bängä ~p kälgil

23/2 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqši kördi sewindi küldi taqi aytı kim mängä köp altun yumšap sän baluqnı yaqši ~p sän täp tädi anung üçün anga saqlap at qoydı

saqlap <s'ql'b> 'proper name: Slav'

23/3 see **saqla-**

sari <s'ry> 'direction'

OT *sari* 'towards, in the direction of' (ED 844)

12/4 känä andan song oğuz qağan tört ~ğa jarliğ jumšadi bildürgülük bitidi elčilariğä bärıp yibardı

38/2-38/3 taqi tädi kim ay mänüning köngülüm awnı tiläp turur lqari bolğumdan mäning

qaqızluqum yoq turur lkün ay yulduz tang ~ğa sänlär barung lkök tağ tängiz tün ~ğa sänlär barung ltäp tädi

38/5-38/6 andan song üçägüsü tang ~ğa bardilar taqi üçägüsü tün ~ğa bardilar

sarun- <s'r'bü> 'to be covered, wrapped in'

OT *saru-/sar-* 'to wind, wrap sg' (ED 844)

sarin- 'to wind, wrap oneself' (ED 854)

27/9 ušol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğir atni kældürdi muz tağlarda köp soquq boluptan ol bæg qağardan ~miš erdi ap aq erdi

sän 'you (personal pronoun)'⁸⁶³

OT *sän* 'thou' (ED 831)

var. <syñ> 11/6, <sYñ> 12/9, 39/3, <s'n> 16/9, 22/3, 22/5, 23/1, 23/2, 24/6, 28/2, 28/3, 29/2, 32/8, 36/8, 36/9, 38/3 <s'n> 20/7, 21/3, 21/5, 21/8, 22/4, 24/7, 25/5, 38/2, 40/2, 40/4, 42/7 <sYñ> 22/1,

11/6 oğuz qağan beglärgä elkünlärgä jarliğ berdi taqi tädi kim män ~lärgä boldum qağan alalıng ya taqi qalqanl [...]

12/9 ušbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim män uygurning qağanı bola män kim yerning tört bulunğınung qağanı bolsam käräk turur ~lärdän bas čalunguluq tiläp män turur

16/9 ušol böri oğuz qağanğa söz berip turur erdi taqi tädi kim lay ay oğuz urum üstigä ~atlar bola sän lay ay oğuz tapuğunlarğa män yörür bola män

20/7 taqi tädi kim baluqnı qatıglağı käräk turur ~ taqi uruŝqulardan song baluqnı bizgä saqlap kälgil täp tädi

21/3 taqi tädi kim ay mäning qağanumsän

21/5 taqi tädi kim baluqnı qatıglağı käräk turur ~ taqi uruŝqulardan song baluqnı bängä saqlap kälgil täp tädi

21/8 atam čamat ätup ersä mänüning tapum erür mü ~dän jarluğ bağliğ bellüğ bola män

22/1-22/3-22/4-22/5 bizning qutbiz ~ning qutung bolmuš bizning uruğbiz ~ning iğaçungnung uruği bolmuš bolup turur tängri ~gä yer berip bujrumuš bolup turur män ~gä bašumnı qutumni berä män

23/1-23/2 oğuzqağan [...] sewindi küldi taqi aytı kim mängä köp altun yumšap sän lbaluqnı yaqši saqlap sänltäp tädi

24/6-24/7 oğuz qağan sewinč ätti küldi taqi tädi kim ay ay ~ munda bæg bolung qipčaq tægän ~ bæg bolung

⁸⁶³ I followed the same method as in the case of *biz* and *män*, see there.

25/5 uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanğa ayttı kim
 amdı čäriğ birlä [mundon atlang qağan] [...] män ~gä başlap yolni körgürür män täp tädi
 28/2-28/3 oğuz qağan sewinč birlä küldü ayttı kim ay ~ munda beğlärgä bolğil başlıq mä/män mängiläp ~ga at bolsun qağarlıg
 29/2 čäriğdä bir yaqşı čäbär er bar erdi [...] anga jarlıg qıldı kim ~ munda qal aç qalqan lačqungdon song käl orduğal
 32/8 oğuz qağan qanqalarnı kördi küldi taqı ayttı kim qanqa qanqa birlä ölügni tirig yörügürsün lqanqaluğ ~ gä at bolğuluq qanqa bälğürsünl
 36/8-36/9 uyqudon song tüştä körgänin oğuz qağanğa bildürdi taqı tädi kim ay qağanum ~gä jaşağu bolsunğil uzun ay qağanum sängä türlük bolsunğil tüzün
 38/2-38/3 taqı ayttı kim ay mänüing köngülüm awnı tiläp turur qarı bolğumdan mäning qağızluqum yoq turur kün ay yulduz tang sarığa ~ lar barung lkök tağ tängiz tün sarığa ~ lar barung läp tädi
 39/3 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi [...] taqı ayttı kim ay aqalar ya bolsun ~ lärnüingl ya tağ oqlarnı kökkäčä atungl
 40/2-40/4 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi [...] taqı ayttı kim ay inilär oqlar bolsun ~lärnüing lya attı oqnı oqlar tağ ~lar bolungl
 42/7 [...] duşmanlarnı iğlağurdum ldostlarumnı män külgürdüml kök tängriğä män ötädüml ~ lärgä berä män yurtuml

säpsänggir <s'b-s'nggyr> 'cinnabar'
 Per. *sīm-shagarf* 'cinnabar' (ST 718)
 19/4 tutulunč uruşunč andağ yaman boldı kim etil mörännüing suwı qıp qızıl ~ tağ boldı

sew- (?sü-) 'to (fell in) love, to like'
 OT *säv-* 'to love, to like' (ED 784)
 var. <sw> 7/9, 10/1 <sywy> 26/2
 7/9 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi [...] oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı qalmadı ketti ~di aldı anung birlä yattı tilägüsin aldı
 10/1 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi [...] oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ketti jüräkigä ataş tüşti anı ~di aldı anıing birlä yattı tilägüsün aldı
 26/2 oğuz qağan bir čuqurdan ayğir atqa minä turur erdi uşbo ayğir atnı bäk čoq ~ür erdi

sewin- 'to be glad'
 OT *sävin-* 'to rejoice, be joyful, glad' (ED 790)
 var. <sywyn> 22/9, 39/9 <swñ> 25/9
 22/9 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqşı kördi ~di küldi

25/9 tang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk böri čäriğning tapuğlarıda yörügüdä turur ~di
 39/1 kün ay yulduz [...] jolda bir altun yanı taptılar aldi[lar] atası[ğa bärdilär oğuz qağan ~di küldi taqı yanı üç buzğuluq qıldı]
 39/9 kök tağ tängiz [...] jolda üç kümüş oqnı taptılar aldılar atasığa berdilär oğuz qağan ~di küldi taqı oqlarnı üçügä ülästürdi

sewinč 'joy, happiness'
 OT *sävinč* 'joy, pleasure, delight' (ED 790)
 var. <s'wynč> 1/2, <s'wynč> 24/5, <sywnč> 28/5, <sywywnč> 34/9, <sywynč> 42/1
 1/2 [...] bolsunğil täp tädilär anung ang'ğusu uşbo turur [picture] taqı mundan song ~ taptılar
 24/5 čäriğdä bir yaqşı bäg bar erdi [...] kördi kim [...]ta köp tälim [...]lar [...] [jığaçlar] [...] ağaçlarda yattı keçti [oğuz qağan] ~ etti küldi
 28/1 uşol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü toquz kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğir atnı kældürdi [...] oğuz qağan ~ birlä küldü
 34/9 anung dostlari köp ~ [...] erdi anung duşmanlari köp qayğular [...] oğuz [qağan] bašti
 42/1 [ong] yaqta buzuqlar olturdi čong yaqta üç oqlar olturdi qırıq kün qırıq kečä aştılar içtilär ~ taptılar

?sira <syr> 'row' cf. **širä**
 OT *sira* 'Reihe, Ordnung, Lage' (Z 568c)
 11/1 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi [...] qırıq ~ qırıq bandang japturdi

sindu <syndw> 'Geographical name India'
 Per. > MT *hind, hindi* 'Indien' (Z 943b)
 33/2 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä ~ taqı tangqut taqı şağam yinggaqlarığa atlap ketti

soğuq (?sowuq) <swq̄wq̄> 'cold'
 OT *soğiq* 'cold' (ED 808)
 26/6 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı muz bar turur anung başı ~ tan ap aq turur
 27/8 muz tağlarda köp ~ boluptan ol bäg qağardan sarunmiş erdi

soğurğu (?sowurğu) <swq̄wr-q̄w> 'the state of being cold'
 OT *soği-* 'to be cold'
 27/4 čäriğdä bir bedik qağız er bäg bar erdi [...] jörügüdä ~da onga er erdi

song <swñk> 'after'

OT *song* 'the end or back, afterwards' (ED 832)
var. <swnk> 1/2, 2/9, 10/3, 12/3, 20/7, 21/6,
24/8, 29/3 <swnk> 42/1

1/2 mundan ~
2/2 qirıq künden ~
2/9 künlärdän ~ keçalärdän ~
4/8 mundon ~
5/8 andan ~
8/2 künlärdän ~ keçalärdän ~
10/3 künlärdän ~ keçalärdän ~
10/8 andan ~
11/4 toydan ~
12/3 kenä andan ~
15/8 qirıq künden ~
17/3 kenä andan ~
18/1 bir näčä künlärdän ~
20/7 uruşqulardan ~
21/6 uruşqulardan ~
24/8 andan ~
27/6 toquz künden ~
29/3ačqungdon ~
30/9 uruşqudon ~
32/9 andan ~
33/4 köp uruşqudan köp toquşqudon ~
36/6 uyqudon ~
37/7 andan ~
38/4 andan ~
38/8 kün ay yulduz köp kıklär köp quşlar
awlağularıdan ~
39/5 kenä andan ~
39/7 kök tağ tängiz köp kıklär köp quşlar
awlağularıdan ~
40/5 kenä andan ~
42/1 andan ~

sorma <swyrm> 'wine, beer, or other
alcoholic drink'

OT *sorma* 'sg sucked in, wine, beer' (ED 852)
2/1 usol oğul anasınġ kögüzündön oğuznı
içip mundon artıqraq içmädi yeg ät aş ~ tilädi
11/3 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi
[...] qirıq şirä qirıq bandang ĵapturdı türlüg
aşlar türlüg ~ lar čubuyanlar qimızlar aştilar
içtilär

soyurqa- 'to award, donate'

Chin. > OT *tsoyurqa-* 'to have pity on sy, to be
compassionate' (ED 556) > Mo. *soyurqa-* 'to
deign, condescend; to grant' (L 724)

var. <sywrq> 14/4, <swywrq> 28/4

14/4 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elçi
yumşap yibärdi köp tälüm altun kümüş tartıp
köp tälüm qiz yaqut taş alup köp tälüm
ärdäniläri yibärüp yumşap oğuz qağanğa ~p
berdi

28/4 oğuz qağan sewinč birlä küldü aytı kim
[...] täp tädi köp ärdäni soyurqadı ilgäri ketti

söz <swz> 1. 'word' 2. 'sound'

OT *söz* 'word, speech, statement' (ED 860)

15/3 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannug ĵarlıgġn
saqlamaz erdi qatıqlağu barmaz erdi munı ~ ~
ni tutmaz män turur män täp tädi

16/7 ol ĵaruqton kök tülüklüg kök ĵallug bedik
bir erkäk böri čıqtı uşol böri oğuz qağanğa ~
bärip turur erdi taqı tädi kim [...]

22/9 oğuz qağan yigitning ~ün yaqşı kördi
sewindi küldi taqı tädi kim [...]

32/3 munlar qanqa yörümäktä qanqa qanqa ~
berä turur erdilär erdi anung üçün anlarğa
qanqa at qoydılar

37/5 oğuz qağan ulug türükning sözün yaqşı
kördi ögütün tilädi ögütügä körä qıldı

suw <swq> 'water'

OT *suw* 'water' (ED 783)

?var. <wswq> 9/4, 23/7

9/4 yaqşı körüglük bir qiz erdi anung közü
köktön kökräk erdi anung saçı mörän ~i täg
anung tişi ünçü täg erdi

19/4 tutulunč uruşunč andağ yaman boldı kim
etil mörännung ~i qip qizil säpsänggir täg
boldı

23/7 čärig birlä [...] etil tägän mörängä kächti
etil tägän bädük bir neng turur oğuz qağan anı
[kördi] taqı tädi kim etilning ~idan nečük kečär
biz täp tädi

süt <swd> 'milk'

OT *süt* 'milk' (ED 798)

9/7 andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni
anı körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp ~tän qumuz
bola tururlar

Ş

şām <š'q'm> 'Geographic name Syria,
Damascus'

Ar. > (Per.) > MT *şām* 'Syrien, Damaskus' (Z
536a)

33/3 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı
tangqut taqı ~ yingğaqlarığa atlap ketti

şaš- <š'š> 'to wonder'

OT *sa-* 'to count' (ED 781), see also *saš-* 'to be
astonished' (ED 857, 856)

32/1 bo čäbär bir qanqa ĵaptı [...] nökärlärning
elkünning qamağı munı kördilär ~tilar
qanqalar taqı ĵaptılar

širä <syr> 'table' (cf. **sīra**)

Mo. *sirege(n)* [š-] 'table, desk, throne, seat, feast' (L 716)

11/1 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi [...] qırıq ~ qırıq bandang japturdi

šol<šwl> see **ol**

šung-qar falcon'

Mo. *singqur* [š-], *šongqur* 'falcon, gerfalcon' (L 712)

var. <šwnk-q'r> 5/5, 5/8, 6/1 <šwnk-q'r> 5/7 5/5-5/7-5/8-6/1 känä kälip kördi kim bir ~ [monster](ning) içägüsin yemäktä turur ya birlä oq birlä ~nī öldürdi başın kästi andan song tädi kim ~ nung angğusi ušbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdi tāmür bolsa [monster]ni ~ yedi yaoqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi ketti

šük <šwk> 'silent'

Sogd. > OT *šük* 'quiet, silent, still' (ED 867)

16/1 čäriğ birlä atlap tuğlarni tutup ketti qir°q kündön song muz tağ tągän tağnung adaqığa keldi qoriğanni tüškürdi ~ bolup uyup turdi

T

tağ 'mountain/Prop The fifth son of Oğuz'

OT *tağ* 'mountain' (ED 463)

var. <d'q> 10/6, 15/9, 27/5, 27/8, 38/3, 39/4 <d'y> 15/8, <'d'q> 18/6, <d'q> 20/3, 26/4, 26/7, 26/8,

10/6 künlärdän song kečälärdän song yarudı üč erkäk oğulni tuğurdi birinčisigä kök at qoydılar ikinčisigä ~ at qoydılar üçünčüsügä tängiz at qoydılar

15/8-15/9 qırıq kündön song muz ~ tągän ~ nung adaqığa keldi

18/6 munda etil mörän tągän bir taluy bar erdi etil mörännüñ quduğida bir qara ~ tapığida uruşqu tutuldi

20/3 urum qağannung bir qarundaşı bar erdi urus bąg tągän erdi ol urus bąg oğulun ~ başida täring mörän arasida yaqşı bärık baluqqa yumşadi

26/4-26/7-26/8 jolda ušbo ayğır at közdän yitü qaçtı munda uluğ bir ~ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqi muz bar turur anung başi soğuqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung atı muz ~ turur oğuz qağannung atı muz ~ içigä qaçıp ketti

27/5-27/8 čäriğdä bir bedik qaqız er bąg bar erdi [...] ušol beg ~largä kirdi yörüdü toquz

kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğır atni kældürdi muz ~larda köp soğuq boluptan ol bąg qağardan sarunmiş erdi ap aq erdi

38/3 taqi tädi kim lay mänüñ köngülüm awnı tiläp turur lqari bolğumdan mäning qaçizluqum yoq turur kün ay yulduz tang sarığa sän lăr barung lkök ~ tängiz tün sarığa sänlär barung ltäp tädi

39/5 känä andan song kök ~ tängiz köp kıklär köp quşlar awlağularidan song jolda üç kümüş oqni taptılar aldılar atasığa berdilär

tağam (tām) <d'q'm> 'wall'

OT *tam* 'wall' (ED 502)

28/6 känä yolda bedük bir üy kördi bo üynüñ ~i altundan erdi tünlüqlari taqi kümüštün qalqanlari tāmürdän erdilär erdi qapuluğ erdi aç°ğič yoq erdi

tağuq (?tawuq) <d'q'wq> 'fowl'

OT *taqiğu/tağuq* 'domestic fowl' (ED 468)

41/5 [čong] yaqıda qırıq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung başida bir kümüş ~ qoydi adaqıda bir qara qoyunni bağladı

tağuraq (tawraq) <d'qwr'q> 'quickly'

OT *tavraq* 'speed, hurry, quick' (ED 443)

13/6 ušbo bildügülükta bitilmiş erdi kim [...] ušbo kim mäning ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa čamad čaqip čäriğ čäkip duşman tutar män ~ basip asturip yoq bolsunğil täp qilur män

taqi <d'qy> 'then, more'

OT *taqi* 'and, furthermore' (ED 466)

var., <dqy> 11/6, 28/6, <d'qy> 21/2, 21/4, 21/5, 24/6, <dqy> 40/1

1/2 ~ mundan song sewinč taptılar

4/1 jıda birlä ya oq birlä ~ qılıč birlä qalqan birlä atladı

6/3 ~ [monster]ning angğusu ušbo turur

11/6-11/7 ~ tädi kim lman senlärgä boldum qağan lalaling ya ~ qalqanl [...] täp tädi

12/2 [...] | ~ taluy ~ möränl kün tuğ bolğil kök qoriğanl täp tädi

16/8 ~ tädi kim [...]

18/3 oğuz ~ čäriğ birlä turup turdi

20/5-20/7 ~ tädi kim baluqni qatığlağu käräk turur sen ~ uruşqulardan song baluqni bizgä saqlap kalgil täp tädi

21/2 ~ tädi kim [...]

21/4-21/5 ~ tädi kim baluqni qatığlağu käräk turur sen ~ uruşqulardan song baluqni bängä saqlap kalgil täp tädi

22/9 ~ aytı kim [...]

23/7 ~ tädi kim [...]

24/6 ~ aytı kim [...]
 24/8 ~ ilgäri kettilär
 26/5 üzä üstündä tong ~ muz bar turur
 28/6 bo üynüng tağamı altundan erdi
 tünqlüqlari ~ kümüštün qalqanlari tämürdän
 erdilär erdi
 29/7 kenä bir kün bo [...] erkäk böri yörümäyn
 turdi oğuz qağan ~ turdi
 32/2 nökärlärnüng elkünnüng qamağı munı
 kördilär şaşıtlar qanqalar ~ japtılar
 32/6 ~ aytı kim
 33/2 kena bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu ~
 tangqut ~ şağam yingğaqlariğa atlas ketti
 36/2-36/4 bir kün uyquda bir altun ya kördi ~
 üç kümüş oq kördi bo altun ya kün tuğışida
 (da) kün batuşığaça täggä erdi ~ bo üç kümüş
 oq tün yingğaqqä ketä turur erdi
 36/8 ~ tädi kim [...]
 37/8 ~ aytı kim [...]
 38/5 andan song üçägüsü tang sarığa bardılar ~
 üçägüsü tün sarığa barılar
 39/2 [~ aytı] kim [...]
 39/9 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi ~ oqlarnı üçügä
 üläştürdi ~ aytı kim [...]
 42/2 ~ tädi kim [...]

tal <d'l> 'willow'

OT *tal* 'branch, twig, willow tree' (ED 489)
 4/2 bir buğu aldı şol buğunı ~nung çubuqı birlä
 iğaçqa bağladı ketti
 24/2 çärigdä bir yaqşı bæg bar erdi anung atı
 uluğ ordu bæg erdi usluğ [...] bir er erdi kördi
 kim [...] köp tälim ~lar köp tälim [...]lar [...] jığaçlar
 [...] käs[...] ağaçlarda yattı keçti

?tala <d'l> 'flat land, plain' cf. **tol-**

Mo. *tal-a* 'plain, level space, steppe' (L771)
 37/2 uyqudon song tüştä körgänin oğuz
 qağanğa bildürdi taqı tädi kim lay qağanum
 sängä jaşağu bolsunğıl uzunl ay qağanum
 sängä türlük bolsunğıl tüzünl [...] tängri berdi
 tüşümdä kældürsünl ~ turur yerni uruğungğa
 berdürsünl täp tädi

taluy 'a large body of water, river'

OT *taluy* 'a large body of water, sea' (ED 502)
 var. <d'lwy> 12/2, <d'l'y> 18/5
 12/2 taqı tädi kim lmän senlärgä boldum qağan
 lalaling ya taqı qalqanl tamğa bizgä bolsun
 buyan lkök böri bolsunğıl uran ltämür jida bol
 orman law yerdä yörüsün qulanl taqı ~ taqı
 mörän lkün tuğ bolğıl kök qoriğan ltäp tädi
 18/5 oğuz taqı çärig birlä turup turdi munda
 etil mörän täğan bir ~ bar erdi

tamğa <d'mq> 'distinguishing mark'

OT *tamğa* 'brand, mark of ownership' (ED 504)

11/8 taqı tädi kim lmän senlärgä boldum qağan
 lalaling ya taqı qalqanl ~ bizgä bolsun buyan
 lkök böri bolsunğıl uran ltämür jida bol orman
 law yerdä yörüsün qulanl taqı taluy taqı mörän
 lkün tuğ bolğıl kök qoriğan ltäp tädi

tang <d'nk> 'early, dawn'

OT *tang* 'dawn' (ED 510)

var. <ç'nk> 16/1

4/4-4/8 bir buğu aldı şol buğunı talnung çubuqı
 birlä iğaçqa bağladı ketti andan song ertä boldi
 ~ ertä çagda kaldi kördi kim [monster] buğunı
 alup turur kenä bir aduq aldı altunluğ belbağı
 birlä yığaçqa bağladı ketti mundon song ertä
 boldi ~ ertä çagda keldi kördi kim [monster]
 aduğni alup turur

16/1 qoriğanni tüşkürdi şük bolup uyup turdi ~
 ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung qoriğanığa kün
 tæg bir jaruq kirdi

25/6 ~ ertä bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim
 erkäk böri çäriğning tapuğlarida yörüğüdä
 turur sewindi ilgäri ketti

38/2-38/5 andan song ertä bolupta aqalarnı
 inilärni çarlap kældürdi taqı aytı kim [...] kün
 ay yulduz ~ sarığa sänlär barung kök tağ tängiz
 tün sarığa sänlär barung täp tädi andan song
 üçägüsü ~ sarığa bardılar taqı üçägüsü tün
 sarığa bardılar

tangqut <d'nk-qwd> 'Geographic
 name/ethnonym Tangut'

33/2 känä bo kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ erkäk
 böri birlä sindu taqı ~ taqı şağam yingğaqlariğa
 atlas ketti

tap- <d'b> 'to find'

OT *tap-* 'to find' (ED 435)

var. <ç'b> 38/9, 39/8

1/3 [...] bolsunğıl tä tädilär anung ang^oğusu
 uşbo turur <picture> taqı mundon song säwinç
 ~tilär

38/9 kün ay yulduz köp kıklär köp quşlar
 awlağularidan song jolda bir altun yanı ~tilär
 aldılar atasığa bärtilär

39/8 andan song kök tağ tängiz köp kıklär köp
 quşlar awlağularidan song jolda üç kümüş oqnı
 ~tilär aldılar atasığa berdilär

42/1 [ong] yaqta buzuqlar olturdi çong yaqta
 üç oqlar olturdi qiriq kün qiriq keça aşıtlar
 içtilär sewinç ~tilär

tap(u) <d'b(w)> 'satisfaction'

OT *tap/tapī* 'satisfaction, sufficiency' (ED 434, 436)

21/8 urus bəgning oğulī [...] taqī tādi kim ay mənning qağanum sən məngə atam bo baluqnī bərip turur taqī tādi kim baluqnī qatıglağū kārək turur sən taqī uruşqulardan song baluqnī bəngə saqlap kəlğil təp tādi atam čamat ātūp ersə mənning ~(u)m erūr mü sändən jərluğ bəğliğ bellūg bola mən [...] təp tādi

tapuğ 'vicinity'

OT *tap-* 'to find' (ED 435); ≠ *tapīg* 'service' (ED 437)

var. <d'bwq> 17/1, 17/5, 25/8 <d'bYqq> 18/6 17/1-17/5 uşol bəri oğuz qağanə söz bərip turur erdi taqī tādi kim ay ay oğuz urum üstigə atlar bola sən ay ay oğuz ~unglarə mən yörür bola mən təp tādi kənə andan song oğuz qağan qorīgannī türdürdi ketti kördi kim čärigning ~larıda kök tülüklüğ kök jəlluğ bedik bir erkək bəri yörügüdə turur

18/6 munda ātil mörən təgən bir taluy bar erdi etil mörännüing quduğida bir qara tağ ~ ida uruşqu tutuldi

25/8 tang ertə bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkək bəri čärigning ~larıda [...] yörügüdə turur sewindi ilgəru ketti

tarlağusüz (**tarlawsüz**) <d'rl'q̄w-syz> 'uncultivated'

OT *tarīglağ* (CC *tarlov*) 'cultivated field' (ED 541)

29/8 kənə bir kün [...] erkək bəri yörüməyn turdi oğuz qağan taqī turdi qorīgən tüşkürə turğan turdi ~ bir yazı yer erdi munga jürčəd tatururlar erdi

tart- 'to pull, to drag'

OT *tart-* 'to pull, to drag' (ED 534)

var. <d'rd> 13/3, 14/2 <d'r'd> 31/9

13/3 uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş erdi kim [...] uşbo kim ağızuməba qar turur bolsa taritqu ~ip dost tutar mən təp tādi

14/2 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanə elči yumşap yibardi köp təlim altun kümüş ~ip köp təlim qiz yaqut taş alup köp təlim ärdäniləri yibärüp yumşap oğuz qağanə soyurqap berdi ağıziğə baqindi

31/9 bo čäbär bir qanqa jəpti qanqa üstündə ölüğ barguni qoydi qanqa başida tirig barguni qoydi ~ tilar kettilər

taritqu <d'r'dqw> 'tribute, present'

OT *tart-* 'to pull, to drag' (ED 534)

13/2 uşbo bildürgülükta bitilmiş erdi kim [...] uşbo kim ağızuməba qar turur bolsa t~ tartip dost tutar mən təp tādi

taş <d's> 'stone'

OT *taş* 'stone' (ED 557)

14/3 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanə elči yumşap yibardi köp təlim altun kümüş tartip köp təlim qiz yaqut ~ alup köp təlim ärdäniləri yibärüp yumşap oğuz qağanə soyurqap berdi ağıziğə baqindi

taşqarun 'outwards, excluded'

OT *taşgaru* 'outwards' (ED 563)

var. <d'sq'rwñ> 33/6 <č'sq'-rwñ>

33/6 kənə ~ qalmasun bəllūg bolsun kim [...]

35/4 kənə ~ qalmasun kim bellūg bolsun kim [...]

tä- <d'> 'to say'

OT *te-* 'to say' (ED 433)

1/1 [...] bolsunğil ~p ~dilär

6/2[...] ~p ~di

9/7 yerning yelküni anı körsə ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz ~p süttän qumuz bola tururlar

11/6-12/3 taqī ~di kim [...] ~p ~di

13/3 [...] ~p ~di

13/7 [...] ~p qilur mən ~p ~di

15/4 munı söz sözni tutmaz mən turur mən ~p yarliğəbaqmadı

16/8-17/2 taqī ~di kim [...] ~p ~di

20/6-20/8 taqī ~di kim [...] ~p ~di

21/2-21/4-21/7-22/8 taqī ~di kim [...] taqī ~di kim [...] ~p ~di [...] ~p ~di

23/2 aytı kim [...] ~p ~di

23/7-23/8 taqī ~di kim [...] ~p ~di

24/8 aytı kim [...] ~p ~di

25/6 aytı kim [...] ~p ~di

28/4 aytı kim [...] ~p ~di

29/9 tarlağusüz bir yazı yer erdi munga jürčəd ~tururlar erdi

32/9 aytı kim [...] ~p ~di

36/8-37/4 taqī ~di kim ~p ~di

38/4 taqī aytı kim [...] ~p ~di

39/4[taqī aytı kim] [...] ~p ~di

40/4 taqī aytı kim [...] ~p ~di

42/2-42/7 taqī ~di kim [...] [-p] [...]

?tädür- <d'dwr> 'to have sy to say sg' cf. **tä-**

OT *tetür-* 'to have sy say sg' (ED 459)

29/9 tarlağusüz bir yazı yer erdi munga jürčəd ~ürlär erdi

täg <d'k> 'like, similar to'

OT *täg* 'like' (ED 475)

?var. <d'k> 19/4

2/3-2/4-2/5 qırıq kündön song bädüklädi yörüdi oynadı adaqı ud adaqı ~ belläri böri belläri ~ yağıri kiş yağıri ~ kögüzü aduğ kögüzü ~ erdi

7/6 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi anung başında ataşluğ yaruqluğ bir mängi bar erdi altun qazuq ~ erdi

9/5-9/6 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi anung közü köktön kökräk erdi anung saçı mörän °suğı ~ anung tişi ünçü ~ erdi

16/3 çang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung qoriğanığa kün ~ bir jaruq kirdi

19/4 tutulunç uruşunç andağ yaman boldı kim etil mörännüning suwı qıp qızıl säpsänggir ~ boldı oğuz qağan baştı urum qağan qaçtı

39/3 oğuz qağan [...] taqı ayttı kim ay aqalar ya bolsun senlärnüning ya ~ oqlarnı kökkäçä atung täp tädi

40/3 oğuz qağan [...] taqı ayttı kim ay inilär oqlar bolsun sänlärnüning ya attı oqnı oqlar ~ sänlär bolung täp tädi

tägän <d'k'n> 'called, named as'

OT *te-* 'to say' (ED 433)

13/9 ong jangaqta altun qağan ~ bir qağan bar erdi

14/7 çong jangaqıda urum ~ bir qağan bar erdi

15/8 qırıq kündön song muz tay ~ bir tağnung adaqığa keldi

18/4 munda etil mörän ~ bir taluy bar erdi

20/2 urum qağannung bir qarundaşı bar erdi urus beg ~ erdi

23/5 kenä çäriğ birlä [...] etil ~ mörängä keçti etil ~ bedük bir näng turur

24/7 taqı ayttı kim ay ay sen munda beg bolung qipçaq ~ sen beg bolung täp tädi

29/1 çäriğdä bir yaqşı çäbär er bar erdi anung atı tömürtü qağul ~ erdi

33/8 kündünki bulungda baraq° ~ bir yer bar turur

34/4 uşol yerning qağan misir ~ bir qağan erdi

täggän <d'k'n> 'reaching'

OT *täg-* 'to reach' (ED 476)

36/4 anung atı uluğ türük erdi künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya kördi taqı üç kümüş oq kördi bo altun ya kün tuğışıda (da) kün batuşığaça ~gän erdi taqı bo üç kümüş oq tün yinggaqqa ketä turur erdi

tälim 'many, much'

OT *tälim* 'many' (ED 499)

var. <d'l'm> 14/2, 24/2, <d'lym> 14/2, 14/3 <d'lym> 18/9, 19/2, 19/9, 24/2

14/2-14/3 uşbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elçi yumşap yibardı köp ~ altun kümüş köp ~ qız yaqut taş alup köp ~ ärdänilär yibärüp yumşap oğuz qağanğa soyurqap berdi

18/9-19/2 etil mörännüning quduğıda bir qara tağ tapığıda uruşqu tutuldi oq birlä jida birlä qiliç birlä uruştilar læariğlärnüning aralarıda köp ~ boldı uruşqu elkünlärnüning köngülläridä köp ~ boldı qaygul

19/9 oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqın aldi elkünin aldi ordusığa köp uluğ ölüğ bargu köp ~ tirig bargu tusu boldı

24/2 çäriğdä bir yaqşı bæg bar erdi anung atı uluğ ordu bär erdi usluğ [...] bir er erdi kördi kim [...]da köp ~ tallar köp ~ [...]lar [...] jığaçlar [...] käs[...] ağaçlarda yattı keçti

tämür <d'mwr> 'iron'

OT *tämür* 'iron' (ED 508)

6/1 andan song tädi kim şungqarnung angğusı uşbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jidam öldürdi ~ bolsä [monster]nı şungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi

11/9 toydan song oğuz qağan beğlärgä elkünlärgä jarliğ berdi taqı tädi kim lmän senlärgä boldum qağan lalaling ya taqı qalqanl tamğa bizgä bolsun buyan lkök böri bolsunğıl uranl ~ jida bol orman law yerdä yörüsün qulanl taqı taluy taqı mörän lkün tuğ bolğıl kök qoriğanl täp tädi

28/7 känä yolda bedük bir üy kördi bo üynüning tağamı altundan erdi tunluqları taqı kümüştün qalqanları ~dän erdilär erdi

tängiz <d'nkzy> 'Sea, the sixth son of Oğuz'

OT *tängiz* 'sea, ocean' (ED 527)

10/7 künlärdän song keçalärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulnı tuğurdı birinçisigä kök at qoydılar ikinçisigä tağ at qoydılar üçünçüsügä ~ at qoydılar

38/3 taqı ayttı kim ay mänüning köngülüm awnı tiläp turur qarı bolğumdan mäning qaqızluqum yoq turur kün ay yulduz tang sarığa sänlär barung kök tağ ~ tün sarığa sänlär barung täp tädi

39/6 andan song kök tağ ~ köp kıklär köp quşlar awlağularıdan song joldä üç kümüş oqnı taptilar aldılar atasığa berdilər

tängri <d'nkry> 'Sky, Heaven'

OT *tängri* 'sky, Heaven' (ED 523)

6/5 känä künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan bir yerdä ~nı jalwarguda erdi qarangguluq keldi kök tün bir kök yaruq tüşti

7/7 uşol qız andağ körüglük erdi kim külsä kök
 ~ külä turur iğlasa kök ~ iğlaya turur
 22/4 urus bəgning oğulı [...] taqı tādı kim [...] bizning qutbız sänning qutung bolmuş bizning urugbız sänning iğaçingnung uruği bolmuş bolup turur ~ sängä yer berip bujurmüş bolup turur män sängä başumnı qutumni berä män bergü berip dostluqtan çiqmaztur täp tādı
 37/2 uyqudon song tüştä körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdi taqı tādı kim ay qağanum sängä jaşağu bolsunğil uzun ay qağanum sängä türlük bolsunğil tüzün [...] ~ berdi tüşümdä kældürsün tola turur yerni urugungğa berdürsün täp tādı
 42/6 taqı tādı kim ay oğullar köp män aşadum uruşqular köp män kördüm jida basa köp oq attum ayğir birlä köp yörüdüm duşmanlarnı iğlagurdum dostlarum män külgürdüm kök ~gä män ötädüm sänlärğä berämän yurtum [täp tādı]

täring <d' r' nk> 'deep'

OT *täring* 'deep' (ED 551)

20/4 ol urus bəg oğulun tağ başıda ~ mörän arasıda yaqşı bərik baluqqa yumşadı

tıl/til <d' l> 'tongue, speech'

OT *tıl* 'tongue, language' (ED 489)

2/2 uşol oğul anasınning kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon artıqraq içmädi yeg ät aş sorma tilädi ~i kelä başladı qırıq kündön song bädüklädi yörüdi oynadı

tüş <d' š> 'tooth'

OT *tüş* 'tooth' (ED 557)

9/5 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi anung közü köktön kökräk erdi anung saçı mörän °suği tağ anung ~i ünçü tağ erdi

tiktür- <d' kdwr> 'to order to erect'

OT *tiktür-* 'to order to sew or erect sg' (ED 479)

41/4 kälip kengäşip olturdılar [...] çong yaqıda qırıq qolaç iğaçni ~ di anung başıda bir kümüş tağuc qoydı adaqıda bir qara qoyun bağladı

tilä- <d' l'> 'to wish for, to desire sg'

OT *tilä-* 'to seek, to desire sg' (ED 492)

2/2 uşol oğul anasınning kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon artıqraq içmädi yeg ät aş sorma ~di tili kelä başladı

13/1 uşbo bildürgülükte bitilmiş erdi kim män uyğurnıng qağanı bola män kim yerning tört bulungıning qağanı bolsam käräk turur senlärän baş çalunguluq ~p män turur

15/6 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannıng jarlıgın saqlamaz erdi qatıqlağu barmaz erdi munı söz sözni tutmaz män turur män täp yarlıgğa baqmadı oğuz qağan çamat ätüp anga atlağu ~di

37/6-37/9 oğuz qağan uluğ türükning sözün yaqşı kördi ögütün ~di ögütügä körä qıldı andan song ertä bolupta aqalarnı inilärni çarlap kældürdi taqı aytı kim ay mänüning köngülüm awnı ~p turur

tilägu <d' l' kw> '(object of) wish, desire'

OT *tilä-* 'to seek, to desire sg' (ED 492)

8/1 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı qalmadı ketti sewdı aldı anung birlä yattı ~sin aldı

10/1 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ketti jüräkigä ataş tüşti anı sewdı aldı anung birlä yattı ~ sün aldı

tirig 'living, animate'

OT *tirig* 'living, alive, life' (ED 543)

var. <d' ryk> 19/9 <d' r' k> 31/8, 32/7

19/9 oğuz qağan urum qağannıng qağanluğın aldı elkünin aldı ordusıga köp uluğ ölüg bargu köp tälüm ~ bargu tusu boldı

31/8 anung atı barmaqlıg jösun bellig erdi bo çäbär bir qanqa japtı qanqa üstündä ölüg bargunı qoydı qanqa başıda ~ bargunı qoydı tarıttılar kettilər

32/7 oğuz qağan qanqalarnı kördi küldi taqı aytı kim lqanqa qanqa birlä ölügni ~ yörügürsün lqanqaluğ sängä at bolğuluq qanqa bälğürsünl täp tādı ketti

toquş <dwqwš> 'fight, battle'

OT *toquş* 'battle' (ED 474)

30/5 munda jürçäd qağanı elküni oğuz qağanga qarşu kældilär uruş ~ başladı oqlar birlä qılıçlar birlä uruştilar

toquşqu <dwqwšq> 'fight, battle'

OT *toquş-* 'to collide' (ED 474)

33/4 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şağam yinggaqlariğa atlap ketti köp uruşqudan köp ~ don song anlarnı aldı öz yurtıga birlädi

toquz <dwqwz> 'nine'

OT *toquz* 'nine' (ED 474)

27/6 oğuz qağannıng atı muz tağ içigä qaçip ketti [...] çärigdä bir bedik qağiz er bəg bar erdi çalıng bulıngdan qoruqmaz turur erdi [...] uşol beg tağlarğa kirdi yörüdü ~ kündön song oğuz qağanga ayğir atni kældürddi

tol- <d'l> 'to be filled, full' see **tala**

OT *tol-* 'to be filled, full' (ED 491)

37/2 uyqudon song tüštä körgänin oğuz qağanğa bildürdi taqı tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jaşağı bolsungil uzun ay qağanum sängä türlük bolsungil tüzünl [...] tängri berdi tüşümdä kældürsünl ~a turur yerni uruğungğa berdürsünl täp tädi

tong <dwnk> 'frost'

OT *tong* 'frozen hard' (ED 513)

26/5 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä ~ taqı muz bar turur anung başı soğuqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung atı muz tağ turur

toy <dwy> 'feast'

OT *toy* 'camp, community, gathering, (wedding) feast' (ED 566)

10/9-11/4 andan song oğuz qağan bedük ~ berdi elküngä jarliğ çarlap kengästilär kældilär qırıq širä qırıq bandang japturdi türlüg ašlar türlüg sormalar çubuyanlar qimızlar aštilar içtilär ~dan song oğuz qağan beglärgä elkünlärgä jarliğ berdi

töl boğus 'descendant'

OT *töl* progeny, descendants, foetus' (ED 490)
Mo. *boğus* 'embryo, fetus; pregnant (of animlas) (L113)

var. <dwl bwq'z> 8/1, <dwl bw'qz> (sic!) 10/2 8/1 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı qalmaq ketti sewdi aldı anung birlä yattı tilägüsin aldı ~ boldı künlärdän song kăçalärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdi

10/2 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ketti jüräkigä ataš tüšti anı sewdi aldı anung birlä yattı tilägüsün aldı ~ boldı künlärdän song keçalärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdi

tömürtü qağul <dwmwrw [q'qwl> 'Prop'

Mo. *temür* 'iron, metal'; *temürlig* 'ferrous, iron, metallic, metal' (L 800); ?OT *qağil* 'willow shoot' (ED 610)

29/1 çärigdä bir yaqši çäbär er bar erdi anung atı ~ tägän erdi

tört <dwr> 'four'

OT *tört* 'four' (ED 534)

12/4-12/8 känä andan song oğuz qağan ~ sarığa jarliğ jumšadi bildürgülük bitidi elçiläriğä bärıp yibardi ušbo bildürgülükta bitilmiš erdi kim män uygurnıng qağanı bola män kim yerning ~ bulunginung qağanı bolsam kăräk turur senlärdän baş çalunguluq tilap män turur

tuğ 'banner'

OT *tuğ* 'royal emblem, standard, banner' (ED 464)

var. <dwq> 12/2, <dwq> 15/9

12/2 taqı tädi kim lman senlärgä boldum qağan lalaling ya taqı qalqan ltamğa bizgä bolsun buyan lkök böri bolsungil uran ltämür jida bol orman law yerdä yörüsün qulan ltaqı taluy taqı mörän lkün ~ bolgil kök qoriğanl täp tädi 15/9 ušol urum qağan oğuz qağannung jarliğın saqlamaz erdi [...] oğuz qağan çamat ätup anga atlağı tilädi çärig birlä atlap ~ larni tutup ketti

tuğış ' <dwq'š> birth' (kün tuğışı 'East')

OT *tuğum* 'birth' (ED 470)

36/3 bo altun ya kün ~ida (da) kün batušigača täggän erdi taqı bo üç kümüş oq tün yinggaqqa ketä turur erdi

tuğur- <dwqwr> 'to give birth'

OT *tuğur-* 'to give birth' (ED 472)

1/4 kän künlärdän bir kün ay qağannung közü yarıp küdädi erkäk oğul ~di ušol oğulnung önglüki çirağı kök erdi

8/3 töl boğus boldı künlärdän song kăçalärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulni ~di

10/4 töl boğus boldı künlärdän song kăçalärdän song yarudı üç erkäk oğulni ~di

tur- <dwr>1. 'to be [as a copula]' ⁸⁶⁴ 2. 'to be continuous [as a modal verb]' 3. to stop

OT *tur-* 'to stand (upright, still, etc.)' (ED 529)

1/2 anung ang'ğusu ušbo ~ur

2/7-2/8-2/9 yilqilar küdäyä ~ur erdi atlarğa minä ~ur erdi kik aw awlaya ~ ur erdi

4/6 kördi kim [monster] buğuni alup ~ur

4/9 kördi kim [monster] aduğni alup ~ur

5/1 kenä özü iğačnung tübindä ~di

5/6 kördi kim bir šungqar [monster] içägüsin yemäktä ~ur

5/9 taqı tädi kim šungqarnung angğusi ušbo ~ur

6/4 taqı [monster]ning anguğu su ušbo ~ur

7/7-7/8 ušol qiz andağ körüglük erdi kim külsä kök tängri külä ~ur iğlasa kök tängri iğlaya ~ur

9/8 andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni anı körsä ay ay ağ ağ ölibiz täp süttän qumuz bola ~urlar

12/9-13/1 män uygurnıng qağanı bola män kim yerning tört bulunginung qağanı bolsam kăräk ~ur sänlärdän baş çalunguluq tilap män ~ur

⁸⁶⁴ the immediate argument of *tur-* is in italic

13/2-13/4 uşol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar
 ~ur bolsa taritqu tartip dost tutar män täp tädi
 uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz ~ur bolasa çamat
 çaqip çäriğ çäkip duşman tutar män
 15/4 muni söz sözni tutmaz män ~ur män täp
 yarlıgğa baqmadı
 16/1 qorıganni tüşkürdi şük bolup uyup ~dı
 16/7 uşol böri oğuz qağanğa söz berip ~ur erdi
 17/8-17/9 kördi kim çäriğning tapuğlarıda [...] bedik bir erkäk böri yürüğüdä ~ur ol böri
 ning artların qatıqlap yürüğüdä ~ur erdilär erdi
 18/3-18/4 bir näçä künlärdän song [...] bo bedik erkäk böri ~up ~dı oğuz taqı çäriğ birlä
 ~up ~dı
 20/6 taqı tädi kim baluqnı qatıqlağu käräk ~ur
 21/5 taqı tädi kim baluqnı qatıqlağu käräk ~ur
 22/4-22/5-22/7 bizning qutbiz säanning qutung bolmuş bizning uruğbiz säanning iğaçingnung uruği bolmuş bolup ~ur tängri sängä yer berip bujurmaş bolup ~ur män sängä başumnı qutumni berämän bergü berip dostluqtan çiqmaz ~ täp tädi
 23/6 etil tägän bedük bir näng [-ur]
 25/9 tang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk böri çäriğning tapuğlarıda yürüğüdä ~ur sewindi ilgäri ketti
 26/2 loğuz qağan bir çuqurdan aygır atğa minä ~ur erdi luşbo aygır atni bek çok sewür erdil
 26/6-26/7-26/8 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı muz bar ~ur anung başı soğuqtan ap aq ~ur anung üçün anung atı muz tağ ~ur
 27/1 oğuz qağanıning atı muz tağ içigä qaçip ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp çigay ämgäk çäküp ~dı
 27/3 çäriğda bir bedik qağiz er bağ bar erdi çaling bulıngdan qorupmaz ~ur erdi
 29/7-29/8-29/9 kenä bir kün [...] erkäk böri yürümäyn ~dı oğuz taqı ~dı qorığan tüşkürä ~ğan ~dı
 32/3 munlar qanqa yürümäktä qanqa qanqa söz berä ~ur erdilär erdi
 33/8-33/9-34/1-34/2-34/3 kenä taşqarun qalmasun bellüg bolsun kim kündünki bulungda baraq° tägän bir yer bar ~ur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt ~ur köp işig bir yer ~ur munda köp kıkläri köp quşları bar ~ur altunı köp kümüşü köp erdiniläri köp ~ur elkünläriining önglüki çirağı qap qara ~ur
 35/7 oğuz qağanıning janıda aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi ~ur bar erdi
 36/6 bo altun ya kün tuğışıda (da) kün batuşığaça täggän erdi taqı bo üç kümüş oq tün yinggaqqa ketä ~ur erdi

37/3 taqı tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jaşağu bolsunğıl uzunl ay qağanum sängä türlük bolsunğıl tüzünl [...] tängri berdi tüşümdä keldürsünl tola ~ur yerni uruğungğa berdürsünl täp tädi
 37/9-38/1 taqı aytti kim mäning köngülüm awnı tiläp ~ur qarı bolğumdan mäning qağızluqum yoq ~ur

tusu <dws> 'benefit, advantage'

OT *tusu* 'benefit advantage' (ED 554)

20/2 oğuz qağan urum qağanıning qağanluğın aldı elkünin aldı ordusığa köp uluğ ölüğ bargu köp tälim tirig bargu ~ boldı

tut- <dwd> 'to hold, consider'

OT *tut-* 'to hold, grasp, seize' (ED 451)

var. <dWd> 13/3

13/3-13/5 uşbo bildürgülükä bitilmiş erdi kim män uyğurnıng qağanı bola män kim yerning tört bulungıning qağanı bolsam käräk turur senlärdän baş çalunguluğ tiläp män turur uşol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa taritqu tartip dost ~ar män uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa çamat çaqip çäriğ çäkip duşman ~ar män taguraq basip asturip yoq bolsunğıl täp qılur män täp tädi
 15/4-15/7 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağanıning jarlığın saqlamaz erdi qatıqlağu barmaz erdi muni söz sözni ~maz män turur män täp yarlıgğa baqmadı oğuz qağan çamat ätup anga atlağu tilädi çäriğ birlä atlap tuğlarnı ~up ketti

tutul- <dwdwl> 'to be held'

OT *tutul-* 'to be held, grasped, caught' (ED 456)

18/7 munda etil mörän tägän bir taluy bar erdi etil mörännüning quduğıda bir qara tağ tapığıda uruşqu ~dı

tutulunč <dwdwlwnč> 'capturing'

OT *tutul-* 'to be held, grasped, caught' (ED 456)

19/2 oq birlä jida birlä qilič birlä uruštılar çäriğläriining aralarıda köp tälim boldı uruşqu elkünläriining köngülläridä köp tälim boldı qayğu ~ uruşunč andağ yaman boldı kim etil mörännüning suğı qip qizil säpsänggir tağ boldı

tüb <dwb> 'root'

OT *tüb* 'root of a tree' (ED 434)

5/1 kän özü iğaçning ~indä turdi [monster] kälip başı birlä oğuz qalqanın urdi oğuz jida birlä [monster]ning başın urdi anı öldürdi

tüg <dwk> 'hair of the body'

OT *tü* 'hair of the body' (ED 433) cf. *tüg* 'several, many' (ED 476)

see **tülüklüg** 2/6

tülüklüg <dwlwk-lwk> 'hairy, furry'

OT *tü* 'hair of the body' (ED 433), *tülüg* 'hairy, feathered' (ED 498)

2/6 adaqı ud adaqı tæg belläri böri belläri tæg yağiri kiş yağiri tæg kögüzü aduğ kögüzü tæg erdi badanınunq qamağı tük ~ erdi

16/5 çang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannunq qoriğanığa kün tæg bir jaruq kirdi ol jaruqton kök ~ kök jalluğ bedik bir erkäk böri çıqtı

17/6 andan song oğuz qağan qoriğanni türdürdi ketti kördi kim çarigning tapuğlarıda kök ~ kök jalluğ bädik bir erkäk böri yörügüda turur 18/2 bir näçä künlärdän song kök ~ kök jalluğ bo bädik erkäk böri turup turdı oğuz taqı çarig birlä turup turdı

24/9 andan song oğuz qağan känä kök ~ kök jalluğ erkäk böri kördi uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanga aytı kim [...]

29/5 känä bir kün kök ~ kök jalluğ erkäk böri yörümäyn turdı oğuz qağan taqı turdı qoriğan tüşküra turğan turdı

33/1 känä bo kök ~ kök jalluğ erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şağam yingğaqlarığa atlap ketti

tün <dwñ> 'night'

OT *tün* 'night' (ED 513)

36/5 künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir atlun ya kördi taqı üç kümüş oq kördi bo altun ya kün tuğışıda (da) kün batuşığaça tagğan erdi taqı bo üç kümüş oq ~ yingğaqaqa ketä turur erdi

38/3-38/6 taqı aytı kim ay mänünq köngülüm awnı tiläp turur qarı bolğumdan mänünq qaqızluqum yoq turur kün ay yulduz tang sarığa sänlär barung kök tağ tängiz ~ sarığa sänlär barung täp tädi

andan song üçägüsü tang sarığa bardılar taqı üçägüsü ~ sarığa bardılar

tünglüq <dwng-lwq> 'window'

OT *tünglük* 'the smoke-hole of a tent' (ED 520)

28/6 känä yolda bedük bir üy kördi bo üynünq tağamı altundan erdi ~ ları taqı kümüştün qalqanları tämürdän erdilär erdi

türdür- <dwr-dwr> 'to break up (a camp)'

OT *tür-* 'to roll up' (ED 530)

17/4 andan song oğuz qağan qoriğanni ~di ketti

?türlüq 'various, all kinds of'

OT *törlüg* 'sort, kind' (ED 546) Mo. *düri* 'shape, form, complexion, expression of the face' (L 282)

var. <dwr-lwk> 11/2-11/3 <dwrlwk> 11/2

11/2-11/3 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi elkünga jarlıg çarlap kengäştılar kældilär qırıq şira qırıq bandang japturdı ~ aşlar ~ sormalar çubuyanlar qımızlar aştılar içtilär

37/1 uyqudon song tüştä körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdi taqı tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jaşağuş bolsunğıl uzun lay qağanum sängä ~ bolsunğıl tüzün [...] tängri bardı tüşümdä kældürsün ltola turur yerni uruğungğa berdürsünl täp tädi

?türlük <dwrlwk> 'expression of the face'

Mo. *düri* 'shape, form, complexion, expression of the face' (L 282) (cf. **türlüq**)

37/1 uyqudon song tüştä körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdi taqı tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jaşağuş bolsunğıl uzun lay qağanum sängä ~ bolsunğıl tüzün [...] tängri bardı tüşümdä kældürsün ltola turur yerni uruğungğa berdürsünl täp tädi

tür^wk <dwrwk>

OT *türk* 'Turk' (ED 542)

uluğ ~ 'Prop. Great Turk'

see **uluğ** 35/9, 37/5

tüş <dwš> 'dream, vision'

OT *tüş* 'dream' (ED 559)

36/6-37/2 uyqudon song ~tä körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdi taqı tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jaşağuş bolsunğıl uzun lay qağanum sängä türlük bolsunğıl tüzün [...] tängri bardı ~ümdä kældürsün ltola turur yerni uruğungğa berdürsünl täp tädi

tüş- <dwš> 'to descend, to fall, to settle'

OT *tüş-* 'to move downwards, to settle, to fall, etc.' (ED 560)

6/7 känä künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan bir yerdä tängri ni jalwarguda ärdi qarangguluq keldi kök tün bir kök yaruq ~ti kündon (ay) aydan qoğulğuluqraq erdi

10/1 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdi [...] oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usı ketti jüräkigä ataş ~ti anı sewdi aldı anung birlä yattı tilägüsün aldı

31/2 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannunq çarigigä nökarlarıgä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüq bargu ~ti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud azliq boldı

35/3 anung dostları köp sewinč [...] anung duşmanları köp qaygular [...] oğuz qağan baştı sanağuluqsız nāmālār yilqılar aldı yurtğa üygä ~ti ketti

tüšimäl <dwšym' l> 'seer, visionary'

Mo. *tüšimäl* 'official, functionary' (L 857)

35/8 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi uq°guluğ tüzün bir er erdi ~ erdi anung atı uluğ türük erdi

tüşkür- <dwškw> 'to set, establish (camp)'

OT *tüşür*- 'let fall, order to dismount' (ED 566)

16/1 qırıq kündön song muz tağ tągän tağnung adaqığa keldi qorığanı ~di šük bolup uyup turdı

29/8 känä bir kün kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ erkäk böri yörmäyn turdı oğuz qağan taqı turdı qorığan ~ä turğan turdı

tüzün <dwswn> 'well-behaved, gentle'

OT *tüzün* 'self-controlled, well-behaved, gentle' (ED 576)

35/8 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi uq°guluğ ~ bir er erdi tüšimäl erdi anung atı uluğ türük erdi

37/1uyqudon song tüštä körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdi taqı tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jaşağu bolsunğıl uzun lay qağanum sängä türük bolsunğıl ~ l[...] tängri bärdi tüšümdä kældürsün ltola turur yerni uruğungğa berdürsünl tap tädi

U

uçqan <'wčq' n > 'flying, having flown'

OT *uč*- 'to fly' (ED 19)

3/3 bo çağda bo yerdä bir uluğ orman bar erdi köp möränlär köp ögüzlär bar erdi lbunda kelgänlär kik köp köp lbunda ~lar quş köp köp lerdı

ud 'bovine, ox'

OT *ud* 'bovine, ox' (ED 34)

var. <wd> 2/3, <'wd> 30/2, 31/3

2/3 adaqı ~ adaqı tağ belläri böri belläri tağ yağırı kiş yağırı tağ kögüzü aduğ kögüzü tağ erdi badanınung qamağı tüg tülüklüg erdi

30/2 tarlağusız bir yazı yer erdi munga jürčäd tatururlar erdi bädük bir yurt elkün erdi

yilqıları köp ~ buzağları köp altun kümüsläri köp ärdäniläri köp erdilär erdi

31/3 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannung çärigigä nöklärärigä elkünigä andağ uluğ ölüğ bargu tüšti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ~ azlıq boldı

uq°guluq <'wq' -qw-luq> 'reasonable, ?resourceful'

OT *uq*- 'to understand, to find out' (ED 78)

35/8 känä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqalluğ muz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi ~ tüzün bir er erdi

uluğ 'big, great'

OT *uluğ* 'big, great' (ED 136)

var. <[']wlwq> 3/1, 26/4, 33/8 <'wlwq> 19/9, 23/9, 35/9, 37/5, 40/5 <'wlwq> 31/2,

3/1 bo çağda bo yerdä bir ~ orman bar erdi köp möränlär köp ögüzlär bar erdi

19/9 oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqın aldı elkünin aldı ordusığa köp ~ ölüğ bargu köp tälüm tirig bargu tusu boldı

23/9 çärigdä bir yaqşı bäg bar erdi anung atı ~ ordu bäg erdi usluğ [...] bir er erdi

26/4 jolda uşbo ayğır at közdän yitü qaçtı ketti munda ~ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı muz bar turur [...]

31/2 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannung çärigigä nöklärärigä elkünigä andağ ~ ölüğ bargu tüšti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud azlıq boldı

33/8 kän taşqarun qalmasun bällüg bolsun kim kündünki bulungda baraq° tağä bir yer bar turur ~ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig bir yer turur [...]

35/9 känä çaşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung janıda aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi uq°guluğ tüzün bir er erdi tüšimäl erdi anung atı ~ türük erdi

37/5 oğuz qağan ~ türüknüñ sözün yaqşı kördi ögütün tilädi ögütügä körä qıldı

40/5 känä andan song oğuz qağan ~ quriltay çaqırdı nökerlärin elkünlärin çarlap çaqırdı kälip kengäşip olturdılar

ur- 'to strike'

OT *ur*- 'to strike' (ED 194)

var. <'wr> 5/2, <wr> 5/3

5/2-5/3 känä özü iğaçning tübindä turdı [monster] kälip başı birlä oğuz qalqanın ~di oğuz jıda birlä [monster]ning başın ~di anı öldürdi qılıç birlä başın kästi aldı ketti

uran <'wr'n> 'warcry, password'
(The word is not present in the ED, L, or Z, the DTS 614 cites the PON only. Šč 73 cites the Bābur-nāmā (I: 127). The citation explains the meaning of the word.

11/9 toydan song oğuz qağan beqlärgä elkünlärgä jarlıg berdi taqı tädi kim lman senlärgä boldum qağan lalaling ya taqı qalqan ltaḡa bizgä bolsun buyan lkök böri bolsungil ~ ltämür jıda bol orman law yerdä yörüsün lqulan taqı taluy taqı mörän lkün tuğ bolgil kök qoriganl täp tädi

uruğ 'seed, heredity'
OT *uruğ* 'seed, progeny, descendants, clan' (ED 214)

var. <'wrwq> 22/2, 37/3 <wrwq> 22/4, 22/2-22/4 urus bāgning oğulı anga köp altun kümüş yibardı taqı tädi kim [...] bizning qutbiz senning qutung bolmuş bizning ~biz sanning iğaçingnung ~i bolmuş bolup turur tängri sängä yer berüp bujürmuş bolup turur [...] 37/3 uyqudon song tüštä körgänin oğuz qağanğa bildürdi taqı tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jaşaḡu bolsungil uzunl ay qağanum sängä türlük bolsungil tüzün l[...] tängri berdi tüšümdä kälürsün ltola turur yerni ~ungğa berürsün ltäp tädi

urum <'wrwm> 'Geographic Prop. Name Rum, Byzantine Empire'
MT *rūm*, *urum* 'das öströmische Reich, Greichenland' (Z 472b)

14/7-15/1 čong jangaqıda ~ tągän bir qağan bar erdi ušbo qağanung čarigi köp köp baluqları köp köp erdilär erdi ušol ~ qağan oğuz qağanıng jarlıgın saqlamaz erdi qatıqlaḡu barmaz erdi [...]

16/8 ušol böri oğuz qağanğa söz bārip turur erdi taqı tädi kim lay ay oğuz ~ üstigä sän atlar bola sän lay ay oğuz tapuḡunlarğa män yörür bola män ltäp tädi

19/5-19/6 oğuz qağan baštı ~ qağan qačtı oğuz qağan ~ qağanung qağanluqın aldi elkünin aldi

20/1 ~ qağanung bir qarundaşı bar erdi urus bāg tągän erdi

urus <'wrwz> 'Prop/ Ethnonym Rus, Russian'
MT *urus* 'Russe, russisch' (Z 119a)

20/2-20/3 urum qağanung bir qarundaşı bar erdi ~ bāg tągän erdi ol ~ bāg oğulun taḡ baštıda täring mörän arasıda yaqşı bārik baluqqa yumšadı

20/9 oğuz qağan ušol baluqqa atladı ~ bāgning oğulı anga köp altun kümüş yibardı taqı tädi kim ay männing qağanum sän [...] täp tädi

uruš <'wrwš> 'battle, fight'
OT *uruš* 'fight, quarrel' (ED 239)
30/5 munda jürčäd qağanı elküni oğuz qağanğa qaršu kälдилär ~ toquš bašladı oqlar birlä qiličlar birlä uruštılar

uruš- <'wrwš> 'to fight each other'
OT *uruš-* 'to strike one another, fight' (ED 239)
18/8 munda etil mörän tągän bir taluy bar erdi etilmörännung quduḡıda bir qara taḡ tapıḡıda urušču tutuldi oq birlä qilič birlä ~tilar
30/6 munda jürčäd elküni elküni oğuz qağanğa qaršu kälдилär uruš toquš bašladı oqlar birlä qiličlar birlä ~tilar

urušču 'battle, fighting'
OT *uruš-* 'to strike one another, fight' (ED 239)
var. <'wrwšqw> 18/7, 18/9, 33/4 <'wrwšqw> 20/7, 21/6 <'w[rw]šqw> 30/9, <'wrwšqw> 42/3

18/7-18/9 munda etil mörän tągän bir taluy bar erdi etil mörännung quduḡıda bir qara taḡ tapıḡıda ~ tutuldi oq birlä qilič birlä uruštılar lčariglärning aralarıda köp tälüm boldı ~ lelkünlärning köngülläridä köp tälüm boldı qayḡu l

20/7 ol urus bāg oğulun taḡ baštıda täring mörän arasıda yaqşı bārik baluqqa yumšadı taqı tädi kim baluqni qatıqlaḡu kārāk turur sän taqı ~ lardan song baluqni bizgä saqlap kälgil täp tädi

21/6 urus bāgning oğulı anga köp altun kümüş yibardı taqı tädi kim ay männing qağanum sän mängä atam bo baluqni bārip turur taqı tädi kim baluqni qatıqlaḡu kārāk turur sän taqı ~ lardan song baluqni bāngä saqlap kälgil täp tädi atam čamat ätüp ersä mänüning tapum erür mü sändan jarluḡ baḡliḡ bellüḡ bola män [...] täp tädi

30/9 uruš toquš bašladı oqlar birlä qiličlar birlä uruštılar oğuz qağan baštı jürčäd qağanı bastı öldürdi bašin kästi jürčäd elkünin öz aḡizigä baqınturdi ~don song oğuz qağanung čarigigä nökarlarigä elkünigä andaḡ uluḡ ölüḡ bargu tüšti kim yüklämäkkä keldürmäkkä at qaḡatır ud azliq boldı

33/4 känä bo kök tülüklüḡ kök jalluḡ erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı šaḡam yinggaqlarigä atlap ketti köp ~don köp toquščuqdon song anlarnı aldi öz yurtigä birlädi baštı bastı

42/3 andan song oğuz qağan oğullarğa yurtin üläštürüp berdi taqı tädi kim [ay] oğullar köp män ašaduml ~lar köp män kördüm lǰida basa köp oq attum laygır birlä köp yörüdüm [...]

urušunč <'wrwšwnč> 'battle, fighting'
OT *uruš-* 'to strike one another, fight' (ED 239)
19/2 etil mörännüing quduǵida bir qara taǵ tapıǵıda urušuq tutuldı oq birlä jıda birlä qılıč birlä uruštılar [...] ~ tutulunč andaǵ yaman boldı kim etil mörännüing suǵı qıp qızıl sipsinggir taǵ boldı oğuz qağan baštı urum qağan qačtı

us 'intelligence'
OT *us* 'intelligence' (ED 240)
var. <ws> 7/9, <[']ws> 9/9
7/9 ušbo yaruqnuing arasında bir qız bar erdi yalǵuz olturur erdi yaqšı körüglük bir qız erdi [...] oğuz qağan anı kördüktä ~i qalmadı ketti sewdı aldı anung birlä yattı tilägüsin aldı
9/9 bo iǵačnuing qawučaǵında bir qız bar erdi jalǵuz olturur erdi yaqšı körüglük bir qız erdi [...] oğuz qağan anı kördüktä ~i ketti jüräkigä ataš tüštı sewdı aldı anung birlä yattı tilägüsün aldı

usluǵ <'wslwq> 'intelligent, witty'
OT *usluǵ* 'of sound judgement' (ED 247)
24/1 čarıǵda bir yaqšı bāg bar erdi anung atı uluǵ ordu bāg erdi ~ [...] bir er erdi
31/5 oğuz qağannuing čarıǵıda usluǵ yašqı bir čäbār kiši bar erdi anung atı barmaqlıǵ josun bellig erdi
35/7 känä tašqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannuing janıda aq saqalluǵ moz sačluǵ uzun ~ bir qart kiši turur bar erdi uqǵuluǵ tüzün bir yer erdi tüšimäl erdi anung atı uluǵ türük erdi

ušbo see **bo**

ušol see **ol**

uyǵur <wyqwr> 'Ethnonym Uyghur, ?Buddhist, non-Muslim'
OT *uyǵur* (DTS 607)
12/7 ušbo bildürgülüktä bitilmiš erdi kim män ~ning qağanı bolamän kim yerning tört bulunginung qağanı bolsam kārāk turur senlärden baš čalunguluq tilap män turur [...] täp tädi

uyqu <'wyqw> 'the act of sleeping'
OT *udıq* 'sleepy, asleep' (ED 46)

36/1-36/6 [uluǵ türük] künlärdä bir kün ~ da bir altun ya kördi taqı üç kümüş oq kördi bo altun ya kün tuǵıšıda (da) kün batušıǵača täggän erdi taqı bo üç kümüş oq tün yingǵaqqa ketä turur erdi ~don song tüštä körgänin oğuz qağanğa bildürdi

uyu- <'wyw> 'to sleep'
OT *udı-* 'to sleep' (ED 42)
16/1 qırıq kündön song muz tay taǵan taǵnuing adaqıǵa keldi qorıǵannı tüškürdi šük bolup ~p turdı

uzun <'wswn> 'long'
OT *uzun* 'long' (ED 288)
35/7 känä tašqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannuing janıda aq saqalluǵ moz sačluǵ ~ usluǵ bir qart kiši turur bar erdi uqǵuluǵ tüzün bir yer erdi tüšimäl erdi anung atı uluǵ türük erdi
36/9 uyqudon song tüštä körgänin oğuz qağanğa bildürdi taqı tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jašaǵu bolsunǵıl ~ lay qağanum sängä türük bolsunǵıl tüzün [...] tängri bärdi tüšümdä kaldürsünl tola turur yerni uruǵungğa berdürsünl täp tädi

Ü

üč <'wč> 'three'
OT *üč* 'three' (ED 18)
8/3 töl boǵus boldı künlärdän song káčälärdän song yarudı ~ erkäk oǵul tuǵurdı
10/4 töl boǵus boldı künlärdän song kečälärdän song yarudı ~ erkäk oǵulnı tuǵurdı
36/2-36/4 künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya kördi taqı ~ kümüş oq kördi bo altun ya kün tuǵıšıda (da) kün batušıǵača täggän erdi taqı bo ~ kümüş oq tün yingǵaqqa ketä turur erdi
39/2 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı yanı ~ buzǵuluq qıldı
39/7-40/1 kän andan song kök taǵ tängiz köp kıklär köp qušlar awlaǵularıdan song jolda ~ kümüş oqnı taptılar aldılar atasıǵa berdilər oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı oqlarnı ~üǵä üläštürdi

üčäǵü <'wč'kw> 'three each'
OT *üčäǵü* 'all three, three together' (ED 25)
38/4-38/5 andan song ~ sü tang sarıǵa bardılar taqı ~ sü tün sarıǵa bardılar

üçoq <'wč 'wq> 'Prop. 'Three Arrows', the tribal federation made by the three younger son of Oğuz' (see **üç** and **oq**)

41/8 [ong yaqta bir qırıq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung] başıda bir altun [tağuc qoydı adaqı]da bir aq qoyun bağladı [čong] yaqıda bir qırıq qolač iğaçni tiktürdi anung başıda bir kümüš tağuc qoydı adaqıda bir qara qoyunni bağladı [ong] yaqta buzuqlar olturdi čong yaqta ~lar olturdi qırıq kün qırıq keča aštılar içtilär sewinč taptilär

üčün <'wčwn> 'because of'

OT *üčün* 'because of, for' (ED 28)

23/3 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqši kördi sewindi küldi taqı ayttikim mängä köp altun yumšap sän baluqnı yaqši saqlap sän täp tädi anung ~ anga saqlap at qoydı dostluq qıldı

26/7 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqı muz bar turur anung başı soğuqtan ap aq turur anung ~ anung atı muz tağ turur

32/4 munlar qanqa yörümäktä qanqa qanqa söz berä turur erdilär erdi anung ~ anlarga qanqa at qoydılar

üčünčü 'third'

OT *üčünč* 'third' (ED 29)

var. <wčwn-čw> 8/5, <'wčwn-čw> 10/6

8/5 künlärdän song káčälärdän song yarudı üč erkäk oğul tuğurdi birinčisigä kün at qoydılar ekinčisigä ay at qoydılar ~ sügä yulduz at qoydılar

10/6 künlärdän song kečälärdän song yarudı üč erkäk oğulni tuğurdi birinčisigä kök at qoydılar ekinčisigä tağ at qoydılar ~ sügä tängiz at qoydılar

üläštür- 'to make someone(s) to divide something up (among themselves)'

OT *üläš-* 'to divide sg equally among themselves, to divide sg up' (ED 154)

var. <'w1'šdwr> 40/1, <'lšdwr> 42/2

40/1 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı oqlarnı üçügä ~di taqı aytti kim ay inilär oqlar bolsun sänlärnüng ya attı oqnı oqlar tağ sänlär bolung täp tädi

42/2 andan song oğuz qağan oğullarığa yurtin ~üp berdi taqı tädi kim lay oğullar köp män ašadum lurušqular köp män kördüm lǰida basa köp oq attum laygır birlä köp yörüdüm ldušmanlarnı iğlağurdum ldostlarumnı män külgürdüm lkök tängrigä män ötädüm lsänlärğä berä män yurtum l[täp tädi]

ünčü <wnčw> 'pearl'

Chin. > OT *ünčü* 'pearl' (ED 944)

9/5 yaqši körüglük bir qız erdi anung közü köktön kökräk erdi anung saçı mörän °suğı tağ anung tiši ~ tağ erdi andağ körüklög erdi kim yerning yelküni anı körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp süttän qumuz bola tururlar

üst <'wsd> 'the top of something'

var. <'Wsd> 16/9

OT *üst* 'upper surface, top' (ED 242)

16/9 ušol böri oğuz qağanğa söz bärıp turur erdi taqı tädi kim ay ay oğuz urum üstigä sän atlar bola sän ay ay oğuz tapuğunlarga män yörür bola män täp tädi

26/5 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi üzä ~ündä tong taqı muz bar turur anung başı soğuqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung atı muz tağ turur

31/7 oğuz qağannung čärigidä usluğ yaqši bir čäbär kiši bar erdi anung atı barmaqlıg jösun bellig erdi bo čäbär bir qanqa japtı qanqa ~ündä ölüg bargunı qoydı qanqa başıda tirig bargunı qoydı tarıttılar kettilər

34/5 ušol yerning qağanı misir tägän bir qağan erdi oğuz qağan anung ~igä atladı qatıq yaman urušču boldı

üy <'wy> 'house, home'

OT *äv* 'dwelling place, tent, house' (ED 3)

28/5 känä yolda bädük bir ~ kördi bo ~nüng tağamı altundan erdi tünglüqları taqı kümüštün qalqanları tämürdän erdilär erdi qapuluğ erdi ač°ğič yoq erd

35/3 oğuz [qağan] baştı sanağuluqsız nämälär yilqılar aldı yurtığa ~gä tüšti ketti

üzä <'wys'> 'above, on high'

OT *üzä* 'above, on high' (ED 280)

26/5 munda uluğ bir tağ bar erdi ~ üstündä tong taqı muz bar turur anung başı soğuqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung atı muz tağ turur

Y

ya <'y'> 'bow'

OT *ya* 'bow' (ED 869)

4/1 künlärdä bir kün awğa čıqtı jıda birlä ~ oq birlä taqı qılıč birlä qalqan birlä atladı

5/6 kälip kördi kim bir šungqar [monster] ičägüsin yemäktä turur ~ birlä oq birlä šungqarnı öldürdi başın kästi

6/2 andan song tädi kim šungqarung angğusu ušbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdi tämür bolsa [monster]nı šungqar yedi ~ oqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi

11/7 taqī tādi kim mən senlārgā boldum qağanl alalīng ~ taqī qalqan l[...]
 36/2-36/3 künlārdā bir kün uyquda bir altun ~ kördi taqī üç kümüş oq kördi bo altun ~ kün tuğišīda (da) kün batušīga ča tāggān erdi
 38/8 kün ay yulduz köp kīklār köp qušlar awlağularīdan song jolda bir altun ~ nī taptīlar aldīlar [...] atasīga bārdīlār
 (39/1)-39/3 [oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqī yanī] üç buzğuluq qīldī taqī [ayttī kim ay aqa]lar ~ bolsun sānlārnūng l~ tāg oqlarnī kökkāčā atungl tātī tādi
 40/3 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqī oqlarnī üçügā ūlāštūrđi taqī ayttī kim ay inīlār oqlar bolsun sānlārnūng l~ attī oqnī oqlar tāg sānlār bolungl

yağir <y' r> 'shoulder'

OT *yağir* 'saddle-gall > MT shoulder' (ED 905)
 2/4 qīrīq kündōn song bādūklādi yōrūdi oynadī adaqī ud adaqī tāg lbellārī bōrī bellārī tāg l~ī kiš ~ī tāg lkōgüzū aduğ kōgüzū tāg lerdi badanīnung qamağī tūg tūlūklūg erdi

yaq (?yaq) 'side'

?OT *yaqa* 'edge, border' (ED 898), *yaquq* 'near, neighbour(hood)' (ED 901)
 var. <y' q> 41/4, <y' q> 41/7, 41/8
 41/4 [čong] ~īda bir qīrīq qolač īgačnī tiktūrđi anung bašīda bir kümüş tağūq qoyđī adaqīda bir qara qoyunnī bağladī
 41/7-41/8 [ong] ~ta buzuqlar olturđī čong ~ ta üç oqlar olturđī

yaqšī 'wonderful (for appearance), good,'

OT *yaqšī* 'suitable, pleasing, good-looking' (ED 908)
 var. <y' qšy> 1/7, 7/2, 9/2, 14/5 <yqšy> 20/5, 22/9, 23/9 <y' qšy> 23/2, <yqšy> 28/9, 37/5, <yš' y/yšqy> 31/5
 1/7 ušol oğulnung önglūki čirağī kōk erdi ağızī ataš qīzil erdi kōzlārī al sačlarī qašlarī qara erdilār erdi ~ nāwsikilārdān kōrūglūkrōk erdi
 7/2 ušbo yaruqnung arasīnda bir qīz bar erdi yalğuz olturur erdi ~ kōrūglūk bir qīz erdi
 9/2 bo īgačnung qawučağīda bir qīz bar erdi jalğuz olturur erdi ~ kōrūglūk bir qīz erdi
 14/5 ušbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elči yumšap yibārđi köp tālim altun kümüş tartīp [...] oğuz qağanğa soyurqap berđi ~ be(r)gū birlā dostluq qīldī anung birlā amīraq boldī
 20/5 ol urus bāg oğulun tağ bašīda tāring mōrān arasīda ~ bārik baluqqa yumšadi

22/9-23/2 oğuz qağan yigitning sōzūn ~ körđi sewindi küldi taqī ayttī kim māngā köp altun yumšap sān baluqnī ~ saqlap sān tātī tādi
 23/9 taqī tādi kim etilning °sugīdan nečūk kečār biz tātī tādi čārigdā bir ~ bāg bar erdi [...] ağačlarda yattī kečti
 28/9 kānā yolda bedūk bir ūy körđi [...] qapuluğ erdi ač°gīč yoq erdi čārigdā bir ~ čābār er bar erdi [...] anga jarlīg qīldī kim sān munda qal ač qalqan ačqungdon song kāl orduğa tātī tādi
 ?31/5 oğuz qağannung čārigidā usluğ ~ bir čābār kišī bar erdi [...] bo čābār bir qanqa japtī
 37/5 oğuz qağan uluğ türūknūng sōzūn ~ körđi ögütūn tilādi ögütūgā kōrā qīldī

yaqut <y' qwd> 'ruby'

Gr. >Ar. > OT *yaqut* 'jahont' (DTS 238)

14/3 ušbo altun qağan oğuz qağanğa elči yumšap yibārđi köp tālim altun kümüş tartīp köp tālim qīz ~ taš alup köp tālim ārdānilārī yibārūp yumšap oğuz qağanğa soyurqap berđi

yalğuz 'alone'

OT *yalngus* 'alone, only, solitary' (ED 930)

var. <y' lq wz> 7/2, <č' lq wz> 9/1
 7/2 ušbo yaruqnung arasīnda bir qīz bar erdi ~ olturur erdi yaqšī kōrūglūk bir qīz bar erdi
 9/1 bo īgačnung qawučağīda bir qīz bar erdi ~ olturur erdi

yaman 'bad, evil'

OT *yaman* 'bad, evil' (ED 937)

var. <'y' m' n> 3/6, <y' m' n> 19/3, 34/6
 3/6 ušol orman ičindā bādūk bir [monster] bar erdi yīlqīlārī yelkūnlārī yer erdi bedūk ~ bir kik erdi
 19/3 tutulunč urušunč andağ ~ boldī kim etil mōrānnūng sugī qīp qīzil sāp sānggir tāg boldī
 34/6 ušol yerning qağanī mīsīr tāgān bir qağan erdi oğuz qağan anung ūstīgā atladī qatīq ~ urušqu boldī

?yarliğ <y' rl' q> '(written) command, decree'

OT *yarliğ* 'a command from a superior to an inferior' (ED 966)

see **jarliğ** 15/4

yaru- 'to labour (with child), to be in parturieny'

OT *yaru-* 'to be or become bright, to shine' (ED 956)

var. <y' r'> 1/4, <y' rw> 8/3, 10/4

1/4 künlārdān bir kün ay qağannung kōzū ~p küdādi erkāk oğul tuğurđi

8/3 töl boğus boldi künlärdän song káčälärdän song ~di üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdi
10/4 töl boğus boldi künlärdän song káčälärdän song ~di üç erkäk oğulni tuğurdi

yaruq 'lightbeam'

OT *yaruq* 'light, gleam' (ED 962)

var. <y'rwq> 6/7, 7/1 <č'rwq> 16/4, <č'rwq> 16/4

6/7-7/1 känä künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan tängrini jalwarguda erdi qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kök ~ tüšti [...] oğuz qağan yörüdi kördi kim uşbo ~ nung arasında bir qız bar erdi yalğuz olturur erdi

16/4 čang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung qoriğaniğa kün täg bir ~ kirdi ol ~ tun kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ bedik bir erkäk böri čiqti

yaruqluğ <y'rwq-lwq> 'shiny'

OT *yaruqluğ* 'shining' (ED 964), svetlyj (DTS 244)

7/4 yaqši körüglük bir qız erdi anung başında ataşluğ ~ bir mängi bar erdi

yaşa- see **aşa-** and **jaşa-**

yat- <y'd> 'to lie, lie down'

OT *yat-* 'to lie down' (ED 884)

8/1 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usi qalmaidı ketti sewdi aldı anung birlä ~ti tilägüsin aldı töl boğus boldı

10/1 oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usi ketti jüräkigä ataş tüšti anı sewdi aldı anung birlä ~ti tilägüsün aldı töl boğus boldı

24/5 čarigdä bir yaqši bäg bar erdi [...] usluğ bir erdi kördi kim [...]ta [köp tälim tallar] köp tälim [...]lar [...] jığaçlar [...] ağaçlarda ~ti keçti

yazi <y'sy> 'plain, flat'

OT *yazi* 'a broad, open plain' (ED 984)

29/9 oğuz qağan taqı turdi qoriğan tüškürä turğan turdi tarlağusiz bir ~ yer erdi munga jürčäd tätururlar erdi

?yaz <yl> 'brass' cf. **yel**

OT *yaz* 'a copper alloy, brass' (ED 982)

6/2 andan song tädi kim šungqarnung angğusi uşbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdi tämür bolsa [monster]ni šungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi ~ <yl>/<ys> bolsa täp tädi

ye- '(for an animal) to eat'

OT *ye-* 'to eat' (ED 869)

var. <yy> 3/5 <y> 5/6, 5/9, 6/2

3/5 uşol orman içindä bädük bir [monster] bar erdi yilqılarni yelkünlärni ~r erdi bädük yaman bir kik erdi

5/6 kälip kördi kim bir šungqar [monster] içägüsin yemäktä turur

5/9-6/2 andan song tädi kim šungqarnung angğusi uşbo turur buğu ~di aduğ ~di jıdam öldürdi tämür bolsa [monster]ni šungqar ~di ya oqum öldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi

yer <yyr> 'place, ground, the World'

OT *yer* 'ground, earth, soil, place' (ED 954)

3/1 bo čağda bo ~dä bir uluğ orman bar erdi köp möränlär köp ögüzlär bar erdi

6/5 känä künlärdä bir kün oğuz qağan bir ~ dä tängrini jalwarguda erdi

9/6 andağ körüglük erdi kim ~ ning yelküni ani körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp süttän qumuz bola tururlar

12/1 [...] ltamğa bizgä bolsun buyanl kök böri bolsunğıl uran ltämür jıda bol orman aw ~dä yörüsün qulan[...]

12/8 uşbo bildürgülüktä bitilmiş erdi kim män uygurnıng qağanı bola män kim ~ning tört bulunginung qağanı bolsam käräk turur senlärdän baş čalunguluq tiläp män turur

22/5 bizning qutbiz sännıng qutung bolmuş bizning uruğbiz sännıng iğaçungnung uruğı bolmuş bolup turur tängri sängä ~ berip bujurmaş bolup turur män sängä başumnı qutumni berä män

29/9 oğuz qağan taqı turdi qoriğan tüškürä turğan turdi tarlağusiz bir yazı ~ erdi munga jürčäd tätururlar erdi

33/8-33/9-34/4 känä taşqarun qalmasun bällüğ bolsun kim kündünki bulungda baraq° tägän bir ~ bar turur uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur köp işig bir ~ turur [...] uşol ~ ning qağanı mişir tägän bir qağan erdi

37/3 taqı tädi kim ay qağanum sängä jaşağu bolsunğıl uzunl ay qağanum sängä türlük bolsunğıl tüzün |[...] tängri berdi tüşümdä kaldürsünl tola turur ~ni uruğungğa berdürsünl

yilqi <y'lqy> 'livestock'

OT *yilqi* 'livestock, quadrupeds' (ED 925)

2/6 badanınung qamağı tüg tülüklüg erdi l~ lar küdäyä turur erdi latlarga minä turur erdi kik aw awlaya turur erdil

3/5 uşol orman içindä bädük bir [monster] bar erdi l~ larni yelkünlärni yer erdi lbedük yaman bir kik erdil

30/1 tarlağusiz bir yazı yer erdi munga jürčäd tätururlar erdi bädük bir yurt elkün erdi ~lari köp ud buzağlari köp [...] erdilär erdi

35/2 anung dostlarī köp sewinč [...] erdi anung duşmanlarī köp qayğular [...] oğuz qağan baştı sanağuluqsız nāmälär ~ lar aldı yurtığa üygä tüşti

yīnggāq <y'ngq'q> 'direction'

OT *yīnggāq* 'direction, point of the compass' (ED 949)

33/3 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı tangqut taqı şağam ~larığa atlap ketti

36/5 künlärdä bir kün uyquda bir altun ya kördi taqı üç kümüş oq kördi bo altun ya kün tuğışıda da kün batuşığača täggän erdi taqı bo üç kümüş oq tün ~ qa ketä turur erdi

yibär- <y'b'r> 'to send'

MT *(y)ibar-/ (y)iber-* 'schicken, senden, versenden, loslassen, entlassen' (Z 978b)

12/5 andan song oğuz qağan tört sariğa jarlıg jumşadı bildürgülük bitidi elçiläriğä berip ~di

14/1 urum qağanğa elçi yumşap ~di

14/4 köp tälim altun kümüş tartıp köp tälim qız yaqut taş alup köp tälim ärdänilär ~üp yumşap oğuz qağanğa soyurqap berdi

21/2 urus bāgning oğulı anga köp altun kümüş ~di

yeg <yyk> 'rather' cf. **yig**

OT *yeg* 'better' (ED 909)

2/1 uşol oğul anasiniñ kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon artıqraq içmädi ~ ät aş sorma tilädi

?yig <yyk> 'raw'

OT *yig* 'raw' (ED 910)

2/1 uşol oğul anasiniñ kögüzündön oğuzni içip mundon artıqraq içmädi ~ ät aş sorma tilädi

yigit <ykyd> 'young man'

OT *yigit* 'young man' (ED 911)

2/9 badaninung qamağı tüg tülüklüg erdi lyilqilar küdayä turur erdi latlarğa minä turur erdi kik aw awlaya turur erdil künlärdän song keçalärdän song ~ boldil

22/8 oğuz qağan ~niñ sözün yaqşı kördi sewindi küldi taqı tädi kim [...]

yit- <y'd> 'to get lost (of sight)'

OT *yit-* 'to stray, get lost' (ED 885)

26/3 oğuz qağan bir çuqurdan ayğır atqa minä turur erdi uşbo ayğır atni bāk çoq sewür erdi jolda uşbo ayğır at közdän ~ü qaçtı

yoq 'opposite of **bar**, not to exist' see **er-** and **tur-**

OT *yoq* 'opposite of *bar*' (ED 895)

var. <ywq> 13/6, <ywq> 28/8, 38/1

13/6 uşbo kim mäning ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa çamat çaqıp çäriğ çäkip duşman tutar män tağuraq basıp asturıp ~ bolsunğıl tap qılır män täp tädi

28/8 bo üynüñ tağamı altundan erdi tünğlüqları taqı kümüştün qalqanları tämürdän erdilär erdi qapuluğ erdi aç'ğič ~ erdi

38/1 taqı aytı kim ay inilär mänüñ köngülüm awni tiläp turur qarı bolğumdan mäning qaçızluqum ~ turur

yol 'way, road'

OT *yol* 'road, way' (ED 917)

<ywl> 25/5, 28/5 <çwl> 26/3, 39/7 <ç'l> 38/8,

25/5 uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanğa aytı kim amdı çäriğ birlä mundon atlang qağan atlap elkünlärni beglerni keldürgil män sängä başlap ~ni körgürümän

26/3 oğuz qağan bir çuqurdan ayğır atqa minä turur erdi uşbo ayğır atni bāk çoq sewür erdi jolda uşbo ayğır at közdän yitü qaçtı

28/5 ilgäru ketti känä ~da bedük bir üy kördi

38/8 kün ay yulduz köp kıklär köp quşlar awlağularıdan song ~da bir altun yanı taptılar aldılar atasığa berdilär

39/7 kök tağ tängiz köp kıklär köp quşlar awlağularıdan song ~da üç kümüş oqni taptılar aldılar atasığa berdilär

yörü- <ywrw> 'to walk, march'

OT *yori-* 'to walk, march' (ED 957)

var. <çwrw> 27/4

2/3 tilı kelä başladı qırıq kündön song bädüklädi ~di oynadı

6/9 qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kök yaruq tüşti kündön (ay) aydan qoğulguluqraq erdi oğuz qağan ~di kördi kim uşbo yaruqnuñ arasında bir qız bar erdi

12/1 [...] ltamğa bizğa bolsun buyan lkök böri bolsunğıl uranl tämür jida bol orman law yerdä ~sün qulan |...|

17/2 uşol böri oğuz qağanğa söz bārip turur erdi taqı tädi kim ay ay oğuz urum üstigä atlar bola sän lay ay oğuz tapuğunglarğa män ~r bola mänl

17/7-17/9 oğuz qağan [...] kördi kim çäriğning tapuğularıda [...] bir erkäk böri ~güdä turur ol böriñing artlarin qatıglap ~güdä turur erdilär erdi

25/8 oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk böri
čäriḡning tapuḡlarıda ~güdä turur sewindi
ilgäri ketti

27/4-27/7 čäriḡdä bir bedik qaqiz er bāg bar
erdi čaling bulingdan qoruqmaz erdi ~güdä
soḡurguda öngä er erdi ušol beg taḡlarḡa kirdi
~dü

29/6 känä bir kün [...] erkäk böri ~mäyn turdi
oğuz qağan taqı turdi

32/2 bo čäbär bir qanqa japtı [...] munlar
qanqa ~mäktä qanqa qanqa söz berä turur
erdilärerdi

42/4 taqı tädi kim ay oḡullar köp män ašadum
lurušqular köp män kördüm ljiḡda basa köp oq
attum layḡir birlä köp ~düm l[...]

yörügür- <ywrwkw> 'to carry'

OT *yorit-* 'to make walk, move, etc.' (ED 960)

32/7 oğuz qağan qanqalarnı kördi küldi taqı
ayttı kim lqanqa qanqa birlä ölüḡni tirig ~sün
lqanqaluḡ säḡä at bolḡuluq qanqa bälḡürsün
ltäp tädi

yulduz <ywldwz> 'star/Prop. the third son of
Oğuz'

OT *yultuz* 'star' (ED 922)

8/6 künlärdän song kečälärdän song yarudı üč
erkäk oḡul tuḡurdı birinčisigä kün at qoydılar
ikinčisigä ay at qoydılar üçünčüsügä ~ at
qoydılar

38/2 taqı ayttı kim ay mänüḡ köḡgülüm awnı
tiläp turur qarı bolḡumdan mäning qaqizluqum
yoq turur kün ay ~ tang sarıḡa sänlär barung
kök taḡ täḡiz tün sarıḡa sänlär barung

38/7 kün ay ~ köp kıklär köp qušlar
awlaḡularıdan song jolda bir altun yanı taptılar
aldılar atasıḡa bärdilər

yumša- <ywmš> 'to send'

OT *yumuš* 'an errand' (ED 938) *yumuščı*
'messenger' (ED 939)

var. <čwmš> 12/5

12/5 andan song oğuz qağan tört sarıḡa jarlıḡ
~dı bildürgülük bitidi elčiläriḡä bärip yibardı

14/1-14/4 ušbo altun qağan oğuz qağanḡa elči
~p yibardı köp tälim altun kümüs tartıp köp
tälim qiz yaqut taš alup köp tälim ärdäniläri
yibärüp ~p oğuz qağanḡa soyurqap berdi

20/5 ol urus bāg oḡulun taḡ bašida täriḡ
mörän arasida yaqšı bärık baluqqa ~dı taqı tädi
kim [...]

23/1 oğuz qağan yigıtning sözün yaqšı kördi
sewindi küldi taqı ayttı kim mäḡä köp altun
~p sän baluqnı yaqšı saqlapsän

yurt <ywrđ> 'country'

OT *yurt* 'dwelling place, residence, (one's own)
country' (ED 958)

30/1 oğuz qağan taqı turdi qoriḡan tüškürä
turgan turdi tarlaḡusız bir yazı yer erdi munga
jürčäd tatururlar erdi bädük bir ~ elkün erdi

33/5 känä bo [...] erkäk böri birlä sindu taqı
tangqut taqı šaḡam yingḡaqlarıḡa atlap ketti
[...] anlarnı aldı öz ~iḡa birlädi

33/9 kündünki bulungda baraq° täḡän bir yer
bar turur uluḡ barguluḡ bir ~ turur köp işiḡ bir
yer turur

34/8 qatıq yaman urušqu boldı oğuz qağan
baštı misir qağan qačtı oḡuz anı bastı ~in aldı
ketti

35/3 oğuz qağan sanaḡuluqsız nāmälär yılqılar
aldı ~iḡa üyḡä tüštı ketti

42/2 qiriq kün qiriq keča aštılar içtilär sewinč
taptılar andan song oğuz qağan oḡullarıḡa ~in
üläštürüp berdi

42/7 taqı tädi kim [...] dušmanlarnı
iḡlaḡurdum ldostlarumnı män külgürdüm lkök
täḡriḡä män ötädüm lsänlärgä berämän ~uml

yüklämäk <ywkl'm'k> 'the act of loading on'

OT *yüklä-* 'to load sg on sg' (ED 912)

31/3 oğuz qaqannung čäriḡigä nökärläriḡä
andaḡ uluḡ ölüḡ bargu tüštı kim ~kä
keldürmäkkä at qaḡatir ud azliq boldı

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