The Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nāmā
A philological and linguistic analysis

SUPervisor:
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The structure of the present work

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### Abbreviations

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

The only known manuscript of the Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nâmä (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 Schéfer (1820-1898) in 1899. Edgard Blochet (1900) and Hartvig Deremburg (1901) published catalogues about Schéfer's collection.

The high-resolution photographies of the MS are available at the hompage 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 Schéerbak 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-nâmä 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-nâmä versions. The text narrates a part of the Oğuz legend well-known among Turkic peoples, namely the birth and deeds of the protagonist Oğuz 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 Schéerbak 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-nâmâs. He cites two references to Oğuz-nâmâ versions in Turkic historical sources that may be identified with the PON. The first one is from the Ottoman historian Ali Yazijişâda, who served Sultan Murad II. (1404-1454). Yazijişâda mentions an Oğuz-nâmâ written in Uygur script, which he did not include into his translation of Rašid ad-Dîn's Ğâmî at-Tawarih. The other report is of Şükullullah, 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 baχši (scribe skilled in the use of Uygur script), who listened to Turkmen epic singers (because the plot of the text is connected to Oğuz-Turks).

I would like to mention here that there is a third, earlier report about an Oğuz-nâma, which may also be identified with the PON. Chronologically the first report is made by Ibn ad-Dawâdarî 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-nâmâ, which has been performed with musical accompaniment. This text mentions Oğuz 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-Dawādarī'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 *baṭšï* form 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 böri 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-Dawādarī'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 Oguz-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 thesesises, 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 Uygur 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 *Uygur harfli*, *Uygur yazılı* ('in Uygur script') and *Uygurca* ('in Uygur 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 sequence\(^2\) 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-namä 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 (colophon, 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 ⟨ʾ⟩, ⟨-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 ⟨ʾ⟩

![Figure 1. ⟨ʾ⟩ in initial, medial and final positions.](image-url)
2.2 The grapheme \(<y>\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>(&lt;y&gt;)</th>
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<td>1/4, 3</td>
<td>2/1, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/2, 3</td>
<td>8/1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/1, 6</td>
<td>13/6, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/7, 6</td>
<td>27/2, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/5, 4</td>
<td>33/8, 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>(&lt;y&gt;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2, 6</td>
<td>1/4, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/7, 1</td>
<td>9/2, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/9, 2</td>
<td>17/4, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/2, 4</td>
<td>29/1, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35/2, 4</td>
<td>40/6, 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>(&lt;y&gt;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2, 3</td>
<td>5/1, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/2, 1</td>
<td>13/7, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/8, 5</td>
<td>17/7, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20/2, 3</td>
<td>28/2, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/7, 3</td>
<td>33/7, 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Separate</th>
<th>(&lt;y&gt;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/5, 6</td>
<td>7/4, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/4, 3</td>
<td>14/9, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21/1, 4</td>
<td>28/6, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/2, 5</td>
<td>34/1, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34/2, 5</td>
<td>42/2, 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.3 Distinguishing \(<ʾ>\) and \(<y>\)

In the case of \(<ʾ>\) and \(<y>\) the above examples show quite unambiguous forms. However, in medial positions there are cases where \(<ʾ>\) 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/, /ĩ/ or /e/ where one would expect \(<y>\)-spelling, are clearly spelled with \(<ʾ>\) (see Chapter 5.1-5.5). For now, I transliterated these graphs as \(<Y>\), to distinguish them either from \(<ʾ>\) 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(&lt;dY&gt;)</th>
<th>1/1, 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;kY&gt;)</td>
<td>2/9, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;mY&gt;)</td>
<td>5/5, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;nY&gt;)</td>
<td>11/3, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;pY&gt;)</td>
<td>15/6, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;qY&gt;)</td>
<td>18/8, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;rY&gt;)</td>
<td>21/9, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;sY&gt;)</td>
<td>22/3, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;tY&gt;)</td>
<td>25/1, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt;fY&gt;)</td>
<td>27/2, 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. \(<Y>\).

Another set of counter-examples are those when we find these ambiguous spellings in cases where there is etymological /a/ or /ã/, thus \(<ʾ>\) would be expected. Such cases are more rare, a total of 11. All examples are after \(<b>\) and \(<k>\), with one exception 13/3 5, which is after
Graphemes <b>荷花> and <k> are 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 <b>荷花> and <k>, <ʾ> should be transliterated (cf. Figure 1, 2, 3, and the ligatures below).

![Figure 4. Ambiguous cases of <Y> where <ʾ> is expected.]

2.4 The grapheme <n>
As it is known, the grapheme <ṅ³> differs only in a diacritical dot from <ʾ>. They may be both totally the same if the diacritical dot is missing. Here are set of examples for <ṅ³>:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>1/4, 1</th>
<th>1/5, 3</th>
<th>1/7, 6</th>
<th>1/9, 5</th>
<th>3/8, 6</th>
<th>4/2, 8</th>
<th>4/3, 1</th>
<th>5/1, 4</th>
<th>6/5, 7</th>
<th>14/8, 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>1/1, 5</td>
<td>1/2, 4</td>
<td>1/3, 3</td>
<td>1/8, 7</td>
<td>2/3, 3</td>
<td>3/3, 3</td>
<td>4/4, 5</td>
<td>5/1, 5</td>
<td>14/3, 7</td>
<td>14/4, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>1/1, 1</td>
<td>1/9, 7</td>
<td>2/2, 6</td>
<td>2/8, 7</td>
<td>3/1, 6</td>
<td>3/7, 7</td>
<td>4/1, 7</td>
<td>4/4, 1</td>
<td>6/4, 3</td>
<td>13/3, 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Figure 5. <ṅ³> in initial, medial and final positions]

For the undotted <ṅ>, 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 <ṅ³> for the grapheme denoting /n/ with a diacritic dot. This symbol, of course, does not equate for the symbol ń 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 <ʾ>, and often used as a line-filler. Thus, it is indistinguishable from final <-ʾ> 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 tāmūr '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: alîndan bir köl/köz arasînda bir igaç körđi 'in the front, in the middle of a lake/just vis-à-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>.

![Image](225x521 to 343x626)

**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 <b> 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>1/2, 1</th>
<th>1/4, 6</th>
<th>2/3, 5</th>
<th>3/1, 5</th>
<th>5/1, 2</th>
<th>5/3, 6</th>
<th>5/7, 4</th>
<th>12/6, 3</th>
<th>12/7, 5</th>
<th>27/6, 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>1/2, 4</td>
<td>2/3, 1</td>
<td>4/6, 1</td>
<td>7/6, 1</td>
<td>10/2, 1</td>
<td>12/2, 1</td>
<td>15/6, 1</td>
<td>16/5, 1</td>
<td>19/1, 2</td>
<td>22/6, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>2/5, 1</td>
<td>4/2, 4</td>
<td>5/1, 2</td>
<td>15/3, 1</td>
<td>18/7, 1</td>
<td>19/2, 3</td>
<td>20/1, 1</td>
<td>21/8, 5</td>
<td>25/9, 5</td>
<td>27/6 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 9. <w> in initial, medial and final positions.**
As we have seen in the case of `<ʾ>` and `<ɣ>`, there are some examples where `<w>` is not easily distinguishable from `<ʾ>`. **Figure 10** presents the examples when it can be doubted whether `<w>` or `<ʾ>` is to be transliterated. In the upper row there are examples which seem `<ʾ>` quite clearly, although the other instances of the respective words contain `<w>`. These are transliterated as `<ʾ>`. The lower row shows examples which rather seem too small, blurred or carelessly written `<w>`. These are transliterated as `<W>`.

2.7 The grapheme `<q>`
The grapheme `<q>` also has dotted `<q̈>` 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> : <q̈>` (≡<q̈>) opposition. There is only one instance of separate `<q̈>`. 

![Figure 10. Distinguishing `<w>` from `<ʾ>`.

```
7/5, 1  14/9, 5  18/5, 2  21/9, 4  37/2, 7  38/8, 5  42/2, 6  17/7, 1  18/2, 7  27/2, 2

vs.

13/3, 2  13/3, 3  16/9, 1  19/4, 1  20/7, 7  42/1, 7
```
Figure 11. ʾiq in initial, medial, final and separate positions

Figure 12. Undotted ʾiq in initial, medial and final positions.
2.8 The grapheme <b>
The following graphemes (<b>, <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 (<ʾ>, <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 <bʾ> in medial position, there are only seven examples.

![Figure 13. Combinations <bʾ> in initial and medial positions.](image)

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>.](image)

The grapheme <w> in combination with <b> 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).
The final <-b> has never got a long tail like <w>, see Figure 9 above.

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 <š> 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> erikük ‘male’ (~ OT erkük). 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 <ʾmyrʾq> *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 "<kʾ>"-type.

What we can see on Figure 18, is a very illustrative example for the difficulties to distinguish <ʾ> and <y> from each other. Instance [40/6, 3] is in the Mongolian loanword *nökär* ‘companion, bodyguard’, which is spelled with <ʾ> 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 <kʾ> in initial and medial positions.](image-url)
Figure 18. Combinations $<\text{ky}>$ in initial, medial, final, and separate positions.

This is also the case with the non-initial combinations of $<\text{kw}>$. 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 $<\text{bw}>$, the grapheme $<\text{w}>$ is very often 'holed' as the scribe's brush started and drifted in a wider camber.

Figure 19. The combinations $<\text{kw}>$ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final</th>
<th>1/8, 1</th>
<th>2/3, 5</th>
<th>3/4, 4</th>
<th>8/3, 3</th>
<th>11/2, 4</th>
<th>12/9, 2</th>
<th>16/1, 3</th>
<th>19/9, 2</th>
<th>21/9, 3</th>
<th>26/2, 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>&lt;k&gt;</code></td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 `<ʾ>` and one not. All the instances of non-initial combination of `<ʾs>` (of both versions) are presented here. In the transliteration I distinguished them as `<s>` : `<S>` (= `<ʾs>`).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>1/6, 10</th>
<th>9/4, 2</th>
<th>12/4, 4</th>
<th>15/2, 4</th>
<th>16/9, 3</th>
<th>19/4, 6</th>
<th>21/7, 1</th>
<th>22/1, 5</th>
<th>27/9, 3</th>
<th>35/6, 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>&lt;ʾs&gt;</code></td>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image13.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image14.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image15.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image16.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image17.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image18.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image19.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image20.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>12/9, 1</th>
<th>13/6, 2</th>
<th>30/2, 3</th>
<th>19/4, 4</th>
<th>33/9, 7</th>
<th>34/4, 6</th>
<th>34/7, 3</th>
<th><img src="image21.png" alt="Image" /></th>
<th><img src="image22.png" alt="Image" /></th>
<th><img src="image23.png" alt="Image" /></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>&lt;ʾs&gt;</code></td>
<td><img src="image24.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image25.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image26.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image27.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image28.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image29.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image30.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image31.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image32.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image33.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 21. The combination `<ʾs>` 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>`. 

27
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.

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 11/18, at Figure 22. All the combinations of $<šʾ>$ are presented. In the case of grapheme $<š>$ we see the same mistake. ($<Š> = <šʾ>$) just as in the case of $<k>$, and $<s>$. The combination $<šʾ>$ does not occur in final or separate positions.

![Figure 24. The combination $<šʾ>$ in initial and final positions.](image)

The combination $<šy>$ does not occur in initial position. There could be one example occurring once, the Mongolian word širä 'table' which is spelled $<syrʾ>$ (also could be read as sïra '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.](image)

Figure 26 contains all instances of the combinations $<šw>$ in initial and final positions. In medial position, there are more instances.
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 <wʾ> in a cursive style), both /d/ and /t/ are spelled with <d>.
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.](image)

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.](image)
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’q> /järliq/ 'decree'. I transliterated it as <R>.

2.16 The grapheme <č>
There is no isolated form of <č>.

2.17 Archetypes of the graphemes
After giving an examplar 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):

![Grapheme Set Diagram]

**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:

![Instance Images]

**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: \(<q ʾy?>/q ʾyn?>\). 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 \(<q ʾY?>\), or \(<q ʾ?>\). 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 \(<kyyṅ?>\) or more precisely \(<kyYṅ?>\). 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 \(<kyṅ?>\).

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

Ia: 3/4 \(<q ʾY?>\), 3/8 \(<q ʾyn?>\)
Ib: 4/5 \(<kyYṅ?>\), 6/3 \(<kyṅ?>\)

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, \(<dʾʾʾw>\), however, combination like \(<ʾʾʾ>\) 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 \(<dʾʾṅw>\).

Group IIb differs from IIa that their last grapheme is \(<k>\), not \(<w>\). Instance 5/1 could be spelled as \(<dʾṅṅk>\). The position of diacritic dots to each other supposes that one has to read two \(<ṅ>-s, not a simple \(<ṅ>\) (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 \(<q ʾdṅk>\), but the keen eye may see that this initial \(<q ʾ>\) 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 \(<q ʾ>\) 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 \(<d’yṅk>\). Instance 6/1 is very similar to that of 5/5 with two differences. An initial \(<ṅ>\) is written before the grapheme \(<d>\), which is similar in type to that of the possibly subsequently added \(<q>\) in 5/5, I suggest to handle it separately for now. After the grapheme
<d> an additional <y> is written. Its spelling is thus <dyỳŋk>. Summing up, group two has the following spellings:

IIa 4/9 <d’nnw>, 5/3 <d’nìw>
IIb 5/1 <d’ńnk>, 5/5 <[q]dyỳnk>/ <[q]dỳnk>, 6/1 <[n]dyỳnk>/ <[n]dyỳnk>

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 <čʾ>, 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 <kyYì[č]/ <kyYì[č’]>, 6/3 <kyỳṅ[č]/<kyỳṅ[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 paleogrpahical 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 diachritics) 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 â 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 âr- 'to be' ED 193) is read and transcribed as erdi with written forms <ʾyrdy> (9/1) and <yrdy> (3/1), and as ârdi when it is written as <ʾrdy> (2/6).

2. If a word contains etymological ō or i, and such vowel is written with <ʾ>, I transcribed such instances with ō or i respectively. For example, <ʾlqy> (30/1) is read and transcribed as yōlqi (~ OT yōlqī 'livestock' ED 925) and <dʾlʾdy> (13/1) as tilādi 'he wished' (~ OT tilā- '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 munuy/monuy, 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 chrono-logical distance between OT and the PON.

4. In certain word stems there are additional vowels written, which are not present in their OT etyms. Such vowels are transcribed according to their marking, for example <qwrwq mʾz> (27/3) is read and transcribed as qorugmaz 'does not fear' (~ OT qorg- 'to fear, be afraid' ED 651), <ʾmyrʾq> (17/6) as amiraq 'friendly' (~ OT amraq 'benign, friendly' ED 162) and <qʾrʾq> (2/2) as qirʾiq 'many' (~ OT qirʾiq '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 º. For example <ʾčʾqʾč> (28/8) is read and transcribed as ačʾgčʾ key' (~ OT ačqčʾ key' Erdal 1991: 358), <ʾwqʾqw lwq> (35/8) as uqºguluq 'clever' (~ OT uq- 'to understand' ED 77) and <ʾyʾmʾn> (3/6) as ºyaman '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 <dʾ> is transcribed as a in back-vocalic words and as ā 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 ō 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 +lVK has varying forms, such as <lwq> (+luq), <ʾlʾk> (+lik) and <ʾlʾq> (+liq), etc.

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

1. Fluctuating <y> ~ <ʾč> at different instances of one and the same word are transcribed as y and ʾč respectively, according to the written form of the instance. For example, <ʾyʾlqzw> (7/2) is read and transcribed as yalʾguz 'alone', while <ʾčʾlqzw> (9/1) as jálʾguz (~ OT yalʾhus 'alone, only, solitary' ED 930).

2. Fluctuating word-initial <y> ~ ø at different instances of one and the same word are transcribed as y and ø respectively, according to the written form of the instance. In the cases where the orthography does not mark initial vowel with word initial <ʾ>, it is still assumed
that the word is meant to be with initial vowel. For example, <ʾyl kwn> (19/1) is read and transcribed as elkün 'people' while <yyl kwn> (3/5) as yelkün. The instances written as <yl kwn> (10/9) are still transcribed as elkün (OT el 'realm' ED 121 + Mo. kümiin 'man, person, people' L 501).

3. Fluctuating <w> ~ <b> spellings at different instances of one and the same word are always transcribed as w. For examples <ʾw> (8/7) and <ʾb> (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, <ʾwnk 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 + lXK).

I also confered 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 Uygur letters, I transliterated his readings. The printed Uygur 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 ušbo at 1/2, is transliterated as <ʾwšbw> by Radloff, while we find the written form <wšbw> in the facsimile. Similarly word initial a- is spelled by him as <ʾʾ> while in the facsimile we find only <ʾ> 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 \( \mathring{t} \) 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 \( \ddot{i} \) is spelled with \(<'>\), and the cases when first-syllable \( \ddot{o} \) and \( \ddot{u} \) is spelled with \(<w>\) instead of \(<wy>\). They mark closed \( e \) as \( i \). They consistently transcribe all ablative case markers with \( i \) or \( \ddot{i} \), 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 \( \eta \). 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 \( \ddot{a} \) 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) [...] 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,
(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 played. 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
1) č’qd’ bw yyrd’ byr wlwq ’wrm’ñ b’r yrdy
2) kwb mwr’ñ l’r kwb ’wkwx l’r b’r ’yrdy bwnd’ kylk’ñ
3) l’r kyk kwb kwb bwnd’ ’wçq’ñ l’r qws kwb kwb49 ’yrdy
4) ’wswl ’[wrm’ñ ’yçnd’50 b’dwk byr q’[ç’]51 b’r
5) ’yrdy y’lçq52 l’r ñy yyl kwn53 l’r ñy yyr ’yrdy b’dwk
6) ’y’m’n54 byr kyd ’yrdy byrk’ ’mk55 byrl’
7) yl kwnñ ñy b’swb yrdy wçwz q’q’ñ byr yryz56
8) q’q’z57 kyşy ’yrdy bw q’yçñ d58 ñy ’wl’mq59 dyl’dy kwn
9) l’r d60 byr kwn ’wçq’ čyçdy çyd’ byrl’

(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,
(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.

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(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.
5/

1) knʾ82 wswʾ83 yʾć ſynkʾ84 dwbyʾ85 dwrdyʾ86 dʾṅṅk
2) k lyb bʾṣy byrlʾ wʾwzw qʾlʾc ſyn wʾwrk wʾwzw
3) ʾydy byrlʾ dʾ[ṅ]nwʾ87 ſyn bʾṣyn wrdʾ ʾny
4) wldwrdy qʾ lʾ88 byrlʾ bʾṣyn kʾsy ykydʾ90 kʾ ʾ90
5) kʾlyb kwrkʾ91 kym byrʾ92 šwnk qʾr [qʾ]dṅʾ93 yʾcw sy ʾy
6) yʾm kʾ94 dʾ dwrwr yʾ byrlʾ wʾ byrlʾ
7) šwnk qʾr ny wldwrdy bʾṣyn kʾsy ṭʾṅʾnʾ95
8) šwnk dʾdy kym šwnk qʾr ſyn ʾṅṅkʾw
9) sy wʾsw dwrwrʾ96 bʾwʾw dʾyʾ97, dwʾyʾ98 cyʾdʾmʾ99

1) kānā ʾozū100 ʾiğačnīng tūbindā101 tūrdī [monster]102
2) kālīp bašī birlā ogūz qalqanīn urdī ogūz
3) jīda birlā [monster]nīng bašīn urdī anī
4) ʾoldūrdī ʾqiḥ ḵ birlā bašīn kāstī alī ketti kānā
5) kālīp kōrdī kim ʾšungqar [monster]103 tčāgūsīn
6) yemāktī turur ya birlā ʾq ʾbirlā
7) šungqarnī ʾoldūrdī bašīn kāstī andān
8) song ʾādi kim ʾšungqarnūng angūgū
9) ʾsī104 ušbo turur buʾgū ʾdudī aduḡ yedi jīdām

(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. <kʾnʾ>
83 Rad. <wʾsw>
84 Rad. <ʾyʾć ſynkʾ>
85 Rad. <dwbyʾdʾ>
86 Rad. <dwrdyʾ>
87 Rad. <ʾdʾnʾdʾ>
88 Rad. <ʾjqlyʾcʾ>
89 Rad. <ʾkʾdʾy>
90 Rad. <ʾkʾʾnʾ>
91 Rad. <kʾwyrdyʾ>
92 Rad. The word is missing from Radloff's edition.
93 Rad. <ʾqyʾdṅʾkʾ>
94 Rad. <ʾyymʾkʾ>
95 Rad. <ʾʾidynʾ>
96 Rad. The word <ʾqyʾʾdʾ> is added after this word.
97 Rad. <ʾʾdyʾ>
98 Rad. <ʾʾdyʾ>
99 Rad. The word <ʾʾqyʾʾdʾyʾ> is added after this word.
100 RN ʾošo, BA ʾošu, Šč ʾošu
101 RN yigaj-nīn tubinde, Šč (y)īğačnīn tūb(i)ndā
102 RN kīat, BA kīyand(kat), Šč kīat
103 RN kīat-nīn, BA kīyand(kat), Šč kīat-nīn
104 RN ānku-sī BA āng(ā)gu-sī, Šč āŋ(a)gu-sī
6/

1) ‘wldwrdy dʾmwr bwlsʾ [n]dyṅk 105 ʾny šwṅk
2) ʾqr ydy106 yʾ wqwm 107 ‘wldwrdy yl108 bwlsʾ dʾb ʾdy
3) kyddy dʾqy kyynʾṣ ṓnyṅ ṓṅkwouw sw109 ṓwšbw
4) dwrwr [picture] kn110 kwṅ lʾr dʾ byr kwṅ
5) wq wz qʾṅʾn byr yyr dʾ nkry ṓyʾ ʾlʾrʾqW
6) dʾ ‘Yrddy qʾʾrʾṅkw ṓwq Yldy kkw dwṅ
7) byr kkw yʾrwq dwšdy kwṅ dwṅʾ y
8) ʾy dʾn111 Ṓṅwqlwq ṓwq rʾq
9) ʾyrdyʾwqwz qʾʾqʾṅ ywrwdy kwrdy kym

1) ʾoldtṛdi tämür bolsa [monster]n¹¹² šung-
2) ʾqar yedi ya ṓqum ʾoldtṛdi ye1¹³ bolsa täp tädi
3) ʾketti taqry [monster]n⁹⁴ ṓngʾęgušu¹¹⁵ ušbo
4) ʾturur [picture] kānā künładār bīr kūn
5) ʾoguz qağan bir yerdā tángri1¹⁶ jalwargu¹¹⁷
6) ʾda erdi qarangguluq keldi köktₕn
7) ʾbir kök yaruq tüştı kündön ay¹¹⁸
8) ʾaydan qoğuluqularaq
9) ʾerdi ʾoguz qagan yörüdi kördi 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 sk, (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

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105 Rad. <ṅkyqḍ>
106 Rad. <ʾyʾdy>
107 Rad. the word <šwṅkʾqrʾn> is added to this one.
108 Rad. <ʾyʾdy>
109 Rad. <ʾʾṅʾqrʾnwqw>
110 Rad. <ʾʾṅʾqʾṅʾdwṅ>
111 Rad. <ʾʾyʾdʾng>
112 RN kiat-ni, BA kynyand(kat)-nį, Šč kjetnį
113 BA y(e)ʾs
114 RN kiat-nį, BA kynyand(kat)-nung, Šč qiat-nįn
115 RN anku-su
116 RN tąqri-nį
117 RN calbarka
118 Šč aya(n)
(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 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.
(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) Oğuz 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,
(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) koumi ss (which becomes) from milk. When Oğuz Kagan (9) saw her, he got out of his mind, fire fell into his heart,
1) dwšdy ʾny swdy ʾldy ’ńwûk\(^{159}\) byrl’ y’ddy d’l’kw
2) swñ ʾldy dwl bwʾqz\(^{160}\) bwldy kwn lʾr
3) dʾn\(^{161}\) swnk KYcʾ lʾr dʾn\(^{162}\) swñk\(^{163}\)
4) yʾrwdy ʾwć ʾyrkʾk ʾwqwl ṅy dwqwrds byryñ
5) čy sy kʾ kwkʾd ʾquídy lʾr ʾykyñ
6) čy sy kʾdʾqʾd ʾquídy lʾrʾwćwñ ēw
7) swʾkʾdʾńkz ʾd ʾquídy lʾr
8) ’ńdʾń\(^{164}\) swñk wćwz ʾqʾń bYdwk
9) dwy byrdy yl kwn kʾ čʾR lʾq\(^{165}\)

1) tüšti anī sewdi\(^{166}\) aldī anung birlā yattī tilāgū-
2) sun aldī tōl bōgus\(^{167}\) boldī kūnlār-
3) dān song keçālārdān song
4) yarudī üč erkāk oğulnī tuğurdī birin-
5) čisigā kōk at qoydīlar ıkīn-
6) čisigā tağ at qoydīlar\(^{168}\) üçünčū-
7) sügā tānçīt at qoydīlar
8) andan song oğuz qağan bedūk
9) toy berdi elkūngā jarlığ

(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 \((tāngız)\). (8-9) After that  Oguz Kagan gave a great feast. He announced an order to the people,
(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,
1) l’r bwl\(^{187}\) ’wrm’ń ’b yyr’d\(^{188}\) ywrws\(\text{w}^n\) ḷwl’ń
2) d’qy d ’lwy d’qy mwr’ń kw\(\text{n}^{189}\) dwq bwl\(\text{w}^{190}\) ḷyl kwk
3) qwryq’ń d’b ’d’dy kn\(\text{w}^{191}\) ’nd’ń\(\text{w}^{192}\) swnk
4) wqwz q’q’ n dwrd s’ry ḷ’ c’rl’q\(\text{w}^{193}\)
5) čwms’dy byldwr kw lwk b’d’dy ylčy l’r y k\(\text{w}^{194}\)
6) bYrYb y’b’rdy\(\text{w}^{195}\) wśbw byldwr kw l’k\(\text{w}^{196}\) ’bYdYl
7) m’ş ’yrdy kym m’n\(\text{w}^{197}\) wyqwr nynk q’q’ny bwl’ m’n
8) kym yyr’nynk dwrd bwlwnk y ſwńq q’q’ ſį
9) bws’m k’r’k dwrwr sYn l’r d’ń\(\text{w}^{198}\) bYś\(\text{w}^{199}\) ḷlwnqw

1) lar bol orman aw yerdā yörūsün qulan\(\text{w}^{200}\)
2) taqī taluy taqī mörän\(\text{w}^{201}\) kün tuq\(\text{w}^{202}\) bolqil kök
3) qorīgan\(\text{w}^{203}\) täp tädi känä andan song
4) oğuz qagan tört sarığı jarlıq
5) jumșädi bildürgülük\(\text{w}^{204}\) bitidi elçilärışgā
6) berip yibärdi ušbo bildürgülükü\(\text{t}^{205}\) bitil-
7) miš erdi kim män\(\text{w}^{206}\) uyğurnięg qaganı bola män
8) kim yerning tört bulungınıng\(\text{w}^{207}\) qaganı
9) bolsam käräk turur senlärdän baś\(\text{w}^{208}\) čalunğu-

(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) Oğuz 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\(\text{w}^{209}\), (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.

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\(^{187}\) Rad. The elements <swā ḷyl> are added after this word.
\(^{188}\) Rad. <yyrd’ ‘w> The two words are in reverse order.
\(^{189}\) Rad. <’w)kwz>
\(^{190}\) Rad. The element <swń> is added after this word.
\(^{191}\) Rad. <k’ń>
\(^{192}\) Rad. <’ndyn>
\(^{193}\) Rad. <č rlyq>
\(^{194}\) Rad. This line is missing.
\(^{195}\) Rad. <yy’h
dy>
\(^{196}\) Rad. <byldwr-kw-l’r>
\(^{197}\) Rad. <myi’t>
\(^{198}\) Rad. <syi’l’r-dyi’t>
\(^{199}\) Rad. <b’ş>

200 RN kolan
201 RN muran
202 RN dek
203 RN kurīgan, BA kurikan, Şē qurīqan
204 RN biltur-gü-ler
205 RN biltur-ge-ler
206 RN min
207 RN bölün-i-niŋ
208 RN biš
1) lwq d”l b²⁰⁹ m”n dwrwr ’wšwl²¹⁰ kym m”n’nk²¹¹ q”yz²¹² 
2) wm q” b”r dwrwr bwls” d”rdq²¹³ 
3) d”rdYb dWsd dWd” r m”n dYb d”dy wšbw²¹⁴ kym 
4) “q”z²¹⁵ wm q” b”qm” z dwrwr bwls²¹⁶ č”m’d 
5) č”q” b²¹⁷ č”r” k²¹⁸ č”k” b²¹⁹ dwšm” n dwd” r m”n 
6) d”qwr” q” b” s” b²²⁰ sdwr b²²¹ ywq bwlswn q” l²²² 
7) d”b” q” wwr²²³ m”n d”b” d”dy kn²²⁴ bw č”q 
8) d” wnk č” nk” q” č” twenty-first d” ’ldwñ q” q”n 
9) d”k” n” bYr č” q” h” r” yrdy ”wšbw ’ldwn 

1) luq tiläp män turur °ušol kim mäning ağız-
2) umğa baqar turur bolsa tarïtqu²²⁶ 
3) tartïp dost tutar män tąp tädį ušbo kim 
4) ağızumga baqmaz turur bolsa²²⁷ čamät²²⁸ 
5) čaqип²²⁹ čarig čäkip dușman tutar män 
6) taquraq basıp asturïp yoq bolsunğıł 
7) tąp qılur män tąp tädį känä bo çağ-
8) da ong jangaqta²³⁰ altun qagän 
9) tągän bir qagän bar erdi ușbo 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 qagän). This Golden

²⁰⁹ Rad. <tyl’b> 
²¹⁰ Rad. <’wšwl> 
²¹¹ Rad. <m nyîk> 
²¹² Rad. <’ıqyz> 
²¹³ Rad. <’rdqw> 
²¹⁴ Rad. The word is missing. 
²¹⁵ Rad. <’ıqyz> 
²¹⁶ Rad. <bwls’> 
²¹⁷ Rad. <č”ıby> 
²¹⁸ Rad <č”ryk> 
²¹⁹ Rad. <č”kyb> 
²²⁰ Rad. <b”syb> 
²²¹ Rad. <’sdwryb> 
²²² Rad. <bwlswn-dyl> 
²²³ Rad. <’ıylwr> 
²²⁴ Rad. <k” n> 
²²⁵ Rad. <č” nk” q> 
²²⁶ BA darədğ, Şê tarağu 
²²⁷ RN bolsa, BA bolsa 
²²⁸ BA čmäd 
²²⁹ RN cakar 
²³⁰ RN caŋ-ka-da
14/

1) q’q’n ‘wqwz q’q’n q’yl čy ywmŠ’b
2) y’b’r dy kwbd ’l’m’ldwn kwmwš ’rdYb kwbd ’lYm
3) q’z y’qwd ’lwb kwbd ’lYm ’rd’ny 1’r y’b’r
4) wb236 ywmŠ’b ‘wqwz q’q’n q’ sywrq ’b237
5) bYrdy ’q’z238 y q’b’b’ndy239 y’qšy bYkw240 byrl’
6) dwsd lwq qYldy ’ňwk bYrl’ ’myr’q
7) bwl’dy čnk’qy ’wrwm d’k’ń
8) b’r241 q’n b’r242 ’r’dy242 ’wnšb q’q ’ń wkń
9) č’r’Yk y kwbd kwbd ’lq243 1’r y kwbd kwbd ’yr’dy l’r

1) qağan ʾoguz qağanğa elći yumšap
2) yibārđi244 köp tālim altun kümüş tartıp köp tālim
3) qīz yaqut taš alup245 köp tālim ārdānilār yibār-
4) ʾūp246 yumšap ʾoguz qağanğa soyurqap
5) berdi ağızīga baqîndi yaqṣī be(r)gǔ birlā
6) dostluq qîldi anung birlā amîraq
7) boldi čông jangaqida247 urum tāgān
8) bir qağan bar erdi ušbo qağannung
9) čärīgī köp köp balîqlarī köp köp ārdilār

(1) Kagan ʾoguz qağanģa elći yumšap
(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 Oğuz 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.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي على الصورة.
This Urum Kagan did not heed Oğuz 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) Oğuz 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).
(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!"
(1) Oh, oh, Oğuz, I am going to walk in your vicinity! – it said. Then, (2) after that Oğuz 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

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272 Rad. <ˈndyiŋ>
273 Rad. <ˈqwryŋʾn>
274 Rad. <kwyrdy>
275 Rad. <cˈryk-ɹiyŋk>
276 Rad. <bˈdyk>
277 Rad. <nynk>
278 RN gne
279 RN kürığan, BA kurikan, Šê kürığan
280 RN çerik-niŋ, BA çerig-ning, Šê çerig-niŋ
281 RN cellük
282 RN badık Šê bedük
283 RN buri
284 RN buri-niŋ
285 RN kada-ğ-Šê kada-ğ-Šê qata-ğ-Šê qata-ğ-šê
After a few days, this grey (2) furred grey man ed 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,
(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 goods.
goods became reward. *Urum Kagan* had (2) a brother. He was called *Urus Beg* (*urus bäg*). (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. *Öğuz* (9) *Kagan* rode against that town. *Urus*
1) b‘k ʾnk 334 wəwl ʾnk kwb ʾldwŋ
2) kwəwš ʾb[ ]rdy 335 d ʾqy dʾdy kym ʾy mʾň ęnyŋ
3) qʾqʾn wm sʾn mʾn kʾdʾ m bw
4) bʾlwq ny bʾrYb 336 dwrwr dʾqy dʾdy kym bʾlwq
5) ʾny qʾʾqlʾqw kʾrʾk dwrwr sʾn dʾqy
6) ʾwrwŠqw ʾr dʾn 337 swnk bʾlwq ny bʾnk
7) sʾql bʾkYl kʾ 338 dʾbʾdʾdyʾmʾdʾdb ʾ[y]rsʾ
dw ʾma 339
8) mʾnwŋk dʾb wm ʾyrwr mw sʾn dʾn
9) [čʾ] ʾlw[q] bqYq 340 bʾYlw wk bʾ 1 341 mʾn

(1-2) Begʾs 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-ʾynk>
335 Rad. <yybʾrdy>
336 Rad. <byrw bd>
337 Rad. <dyš>
338 Rad. <kl kl>
339 Rad. <dyš>
340 Rad. <bylwq>
341 Rad. <byš>
342 RN big-nŋ, Šč begniŋ
343 RN yib-ardi
344 RN olan
345 RN birüb, Šč bertüb
346 RN katalaglu, BA kadağlağlu, Šč qatağlağlu
347 RN ursku-laɾ-den
348 RN baŋa, Šč bengã
349 BA čmød
350 RN atub BA adup Šč atub
351 RN bilik BA b(a)ğluŋ, Šč bailuq
352 RN bile men, Šč bilamãn
1) bizning qutbīz senning
2) qutung bolmuš bizning uruḡ-
3) bīz sānning īğačilingung
4) uruḡ bolmuš bolup turur tāŋrī sān-
5) ā ţer berip būjrmuš bolup turur mān sāŋā
6) bāsunmī qutummī bērā mān bērgū
7) berip dostluqtan ā qīmaztur
8) tāp tādī oğuz qağan yiq̇itning
9) sözūn yaqšī körđi sewindi küldī taqī

(1-2-3-4) From now on, our regal charisma (qut) has become your regal charisma. From now on, our heredity (uruḡ) is the heredity of your lineage (īğač). (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
(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. Oğuz 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)
1) bʾkkʾ yrddʾ wsl[wq]ʾ bYrʾ yrddʾ 2) [kwr]dy [kym] dyʾ dʾ [kw]d [lʾm] dʾ lʾr kwb dʾlym 3) [ ] [ʾrʾ ] [ ] b[ ] [ ] [ʾcʾğʾ]ʾ bʾlʾr 4) [ ] [ʾrʾ ] [ ] kʾs*[ ]ʾ [ʾqʾć]ʾ lʾr dʾ 5) yʾddy kyʾdyʾ wqwzʾ qʾʾ nʾ [w]ynerʾ dʾddy k[w]ldy 6) dʾqʾʾ yʾdʾ kymʾ yʾ yʾ sʾnʾ mwnʾ dʾʾbʾʾk 7) bwlwnkʾ qybʾʾqʾ dʾʾkʾʾnʾ bʾʾkʾ dʾʾbʾʾkʾ wnlk 8) dʾʾbʾʾdʾʾdyʾ [ʾqyʾ]ʾ kʾʾrʾ kwddʾ lʾʾrʾ dʾʾnʾ dʾʾbʾʾkʾ swnk 9) wqwzʾ qʾʾʾ nʾ knʾ dwlwk lwk

1) bägʾ erdi uslū[  ]ʾ erʾ 2) kʾrdʾ kim[ ]daʾʾ kʾʾrʾ tʾlimʾ kʾʾrʾ tʾlim 3) [ ] [ʾrʾ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ʾrʾ ] [ʾrʾ ] [ʾlʾmʾ ] [ʾlʾrʾ ] kʾʾbʾʾkʾ 4) [ ] [ʾrʾ ] [ ] kʾʾs*[ ]ʾ [ʾqʾć]ʾ lʾʾrʾ 5) yʾddy kyʾdyʾ [ʾqyʾ]ʾ kʾʾrʾ kwddʾ lʾʾrʾ dʾʾnʾ dʾʾbʾʾkʾ swnk 6) dʾʾqʾʾ yʾdʾ kymʾ yʾ yʾ sʾnʾ mwnʾ dʾʾbʾʾkʾ 7) bwlwnkʾ qybʾʾʾqʾ dʾʾkʾʾnʾ bʾʾkʾ dʾʾbʾʾkʾ wnlk 8) tʾʾpʾʾtʾʾdʾʾqʾʾ ʾlʾʾgʾʾrʾʾ kʾʾtʾʾlʾʾrʾʾ ʾdʾʾnʾ swnk 9) oʾqʾʾ qʾʾʾʾ nʾ knʾ dwlwk lwk

(1) Beg. He was a clever and[  ] man. (2) He saw that [  ] a lot of branches and a lot of (3) [  ] 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 (qʾʾpʾʾqʾ)! (8) – he said. Then they went ahead. After that (9) Oguz Kagan [saw] the grey furred,
1) kwk č’llwq ’Y[r]kYk⁴⁴² bwry kwrhy⁴⁴³ ’wšbw kwk⁴⁴⁴
2) bwry ’wqwx q’ q’n [q’] yddy kym ’mdy
3) č’r[‘k]⁴⁴⁵ byrl’ [m]w[n] d[w]n] [‘d]l[‘n]k⁴⁴⁶ [q’ q’n]
4) ’dl’ b’yl kwn⁴⁴⁷ l’r ny byyk l’r ŋy kYldwr
5) kyl m’n s’n k’ b’sl’ b ywl ŋy kwrkw d wr
6) mn’⁴⁴⁸ d’ b d’ dy d’ n[k ]’yr’dY bwl[d[wq] d’
7) wqwx q’ q’n kwrhy kym ’yrk’ k bw’r’w⁴⁴⁹
8) č’ryk n’nk⁴⁵⁰ d’[bwq] l’ r y d’ yw[rw] Kw
9) d’ dwrrw swndy⁴⁵¹ ylk’ rw kyddy wqwx

1) kök jallug⁴⁵² erkäk böri⁴⁵³ körđi ušbo kök
2) böri⁴⁵⁴ oğuz qagán ga ayttï kim amdï⁴⁵⁵
3) čärig blrla mundon atlang⁴⁵⁶ qağan⁴⁵⁷
4) atlap elkünlnärni beglärni⁴⁵⁸ keldür-
5) gîl män sängä baślap yolîn körğürür⁴⁵⁹
6) män tâp tädî tang ertâ⁴⁶⁰ bolduqta
7) oğuz qağan körđi kim erkäk⁴⁶¹ böri⁴⁶²
8) čärigning tapuğlärîda yörügü-
9) dä turur sewindi⁴⁶³ ilgärü kettî 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
1) q’q’ ŋ byr čwqwr d’n 464 , yël y’d ŋ’ myŋ‘
2) dwqr ’yrdr ’wšlw 465 , yël y’d ny b’k 466 čw[q] sywywr
3) ’yrdr čwld’ ’wšbw yël y’d kwsd[’n] 467 y’dw 468
4) qćdy 469 kyddy mwñd’ ’wlwq byr d[’q] b’r
5) ’yrdr ’wyS’ ’wsd[wn d’] 470 dwnk tl[’q]ly [m]wz
6) b’r dwqrw ’níwnK b’šy s[wqw]q d’n 471 b - q
7) dwqr ’níwn ’w[éwn] ’n[wnk] ’dy m[wz] d[’q]
8) dwqr ’wqwsq q’q[’n] n’nk 472 ’dy mwz d[’q]
9) ’yćyk’ q’ć[’b] 473 kyddy ’wqwsq q’q’n mwñq 474

(1-2) Kagan always mounted a spotted stallion. He used to love that satllion 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) Becasue 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
(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

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483 Rad. «čʾy»
484 Rad. «ʾmkʾ»
485 Rad. «čʾkw»
486 Rad. «ʾqʾz»
487 Rad. «ʾyr bʾk»
488 Rad. «ʾyrdy»
489 Rad. «swq»
490 Rad. «ćʾrykw-dʾ»
491 Rad. «ywrwdy»
492 Rad. «kwngdyn»
493 Rad. «kyldwr-dy»
494 Rad. «ʾdr»
495 Rad. «byk»
496 Rad. «ʾdrng»
497 Rad. «sʾrʾbʾmʾ»
498 RN caknï, Š ĉaġ ĭ
g499 RN emke, BA ēmgek, Š ēmgek
500 RN kagan, Š ēqagā
501 RN cañañ bulañ-dñ, BA čañang bulañ-din, Š ēañañ bulañdān
502 RN görük-mez, Š ērqumus
503 RN onā, BA onā, Š ēnā
504 BA sarʾunmiš
Kagan laughed with joy. He told: (2) Oh, you shall become the leader for the beggars here, (3) (For) I am happy, thy name shall be Snowy (qağarlıq)! (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
(1) was named as Tömürtü Kağul (tömürtü qağul). To him, (2) he ordered: 'You, stay (here) and open (qal ač) 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 (furth er), (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 (jürçäd).
1) bedük bir yurt el küni erdi yïlqïlarï
2) köp ud buzağlarï köp altun kümüšläri köp
3) ärđäniläri köp erdilär erdi munda jürčäd²⁵⁷³ qâgan-
4) i elküni öğüz qâagna qarşı
5) kâldilär uruš toquš bašlädi²⁵⁷⁴ oqlar birlä qïlï-
6) lar birlä uruštïlar öğüz qâgan baştï²⁵⁷⁵
7) jürčäd²⁵⁷⁶ qâgannï bastï öldürdi bašïn
8) kesti jürčäd²⁵⁷⁷ elkünin öz æğzïğa
9) baqïnturdï urušqudon song öğüz qâgan

(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 Öguz Kagan. A fight started. With arrows and swords, (6) they fought. Öguz 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, Öguz Kagan's
1) [nw]ŋk č’ryk [y] k’ [n]wk’r578 l’r y k’ yl kwn579
2) yk’ čnd’q’ wĔwq580 wlrk b’rōj dwśdy kym
3) ywk’l’m’ k’ kyldwr m’k’ k581 d’q’ q’dl’l582 · wd
4) ’sl’q’ bwldy ’ńd’ wqwz q’ q’n’ Ṯnk
5) č’ryky d’ wslwq yś’ y b’r583 č’b’r584 kyśy b’r’ yrđy ’nwńk585
6) ’dy b’ rm’ q’ l’ q’ ēwswń byll[’]{k}k586 ’yrđy bw č’ b’r587
7) b’ r588 q’ ną589 č’ bdy q’ ną590 ’wsdwń d’ ’wlrk591
8) [b’]ṱrōj nń ŋwįdy q’ ną592 b’šy d’ d’rYk593
9) b’ rōj nń ŋwįdy d’r’dďy594 l’r kyddy l’r ńwK’r595 l’r

(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 ᪐วก Kagan’s (5) army, there was an intelligent, good, clever man, his (6) name was Barmaklig Josun Bellig (barmaqlį ĭgę josun 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,
1) ñwṅk yl kwn ñwṅk q' m' qy mwñy kwrdy609 l'r š'şdy l'r
2) q' ñq'610 l'r d' qy ě bdy l' r mwñ l' r q' ñq' 611 ywrwm k
3) d' q' ñq' q' ñq'612 swz bYr' dwrwr
4) 'yrdy l' r 'yrdy 'ñwṅk 'wçwn 'nl' r q'
5) q' ñq'613 ' d qwydy l' r 'wq wsz q' n q' ñq' 614
6) l' r ny kwrdy kwdly615 d' qy 'ydd ykm q' ñq'
7) byr' 'wlkw ny617 dYr yr [y]wrkwfr swñ q' ñq'
8) lwq'618 s' n k619 ' d bwqw lwq' q' ñq'620
9) b'lkwr swñ621 ' d ' d y kyddy 'nd' n622 swñk

(1) and people saw this and astonished, (2) and the y 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 qanqa! You with the qanqa (qanqaluq), (8) a name is to be for you, let the qanqa (9) manifest it!' – he said, then went away. After that

609 Rad. <kwyrdy>
610 Rad. <q' ñq'>
611 Rad. <q' ñq' q' ñq'>
612 Rad. <q' ñq'>
613 Rad. <q' ñq'>
614 Rad. This word is missing.
615 Rad. This word is missing.
616 Rad. This element is missing.
617 Rad. <q' ñq' q' ñq'>
618 Rad. <q' ñq'>
619 Rad. <s' n k>
620 Rad. <q' ñq'>
621 Rad. <bylkwr-swñ>
622 Rad. <s' n k>
623 RN kang-lar
624 BA çaptı-lar, Şč çaptılar
625 RN kang
626 RN kang gangn
627 RN ucun
628 RN anlr-ka
629 RN kang
630 RN kaydi-lar
631 RN kang
632 RN eitdi
633 RN kang-luk
634 RN kang
635 Şč bilgürsün
1) with this grey furred, grey maned (2-3) male wolf, he rode out and went until the borders of India (sïndu), Tangut (tangqut), and Syria (şaġam). (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 (baraqº). (9) It is a land with great (amount of) goods. It is a very hot place.
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 (mïsïr). (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
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).
(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,
(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. Oguz 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,
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
1) [...q’n] [...] [...] [...] [...] [...] 754
2) [’wē] bwsɬwɬq ɬ’ldy 755 [...] [...] [kym] [...] [...] 756
3) ɬ’r y’ [bw]sYn [l’]r ɬwNg y’ ɗ’k
4) ’wq l’r ɬw kwk ɬ’ ɬ’ ’dWn’k ɗ’ɓ
5) d’dy k’n 757 › nd n’758 swn’k kwk d’q
6) d’ńkzy kwk k’y kw kwɬɬ’ɬ’ ’wɬ’qw
7) [l’]r ɬ’y d’n 759 swn’k ɬwɬl d’ ’wC kwmn’š wq
8) [ņy] ɭ’dy l’r 760 ’l’dy l’r ’d’ sy q’ 761 byrdy l’r
9) ’wɬwɬq ɬ’q’ ɬ’n sywyn’dy kwldy d’qy ’wq

1) [qαqαn sewindi küldi taqī yani] 762
2) uć buzguuluq 763 qildi [taqī ayytri] 764 kim [ay aqa-]
3) lar ya bolsun senlərniŋ 765 ya tāq
4) oqlarnı kókqágā atung tāp
5) tàdī kānā andan song kôk tāq
6) tāngiz kôp kiklar kôp qušlar awlaq-766
7) larīdan song jolda 766 uć kümüş oq-
8) nī taqtiłar 767 alılar atasığa bertiłər
9) oğuz qaqaq sewindi 768 küldi taqi 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) Oğuz Kagan was glad, laughed, and

754 Rad. <’wɔwz ɬ’ɔsywyn’dy kwldy d’qy y’-ny>
755 Rad. <ųylydy>
756 Rad. <d’qy ”yddy kym ”y ”q’>
757 Rad. <k ɬ’ n >
758 Rad. <ńdyń>
759 Rad. <dyń>
760 Rad. <ć’bdy l’r>
761 Rad. <q’
762 RN uğuz kagan siündi güldi dakî ya-ni, BA oğuz kağan sivindi küldi dakî ya-nı, Ść oğuz qaγan sevindi küldi taqī anı
763 RN bozbölük
764 RN eytți
765 RN siz-ler-nüŋ
766 RN côt-de
767 BA çaptı-lar, Ść çaptılar
768 RN sivindi, BA sivindi, Ść sevindi
40/

1) l’r ṅy ‘wēw k’ ‘wl’šdwr dy dqy ‘Yddy
2) [ky]m ṅy ‘yṅy l’r ‘wāw l’r bwlswn s’ n’ 769 l’r
3) nwŋk y’ ṅdy ‘wēw ṅy ‘wāw l’r d’k
4) s’ n’ 770 l’r bwlnk d’ b’ d’ dy kn 771 ‘nd’ n’ 772
5) swŋk ‘wōwq q’ q’n ‘wlwq qwry’ ld’ y
6) č q’ r’ d’y 773 nwkYr l’r yn yl kwn l’r yn
7) č’ rl’ b’ 774 č q’ rdy 775 k’ l’ b’ 776 kyṅk[ ’š] b’ 777 ‘wlwrdy[l’ ]r ‘wqwz
8) [q’ ] l’ q’[by]dwk [’ wrd[w] […] ’ [š] qw 778 kwrwk
9) […]

1) larnī üčügä üläştürdi 779 taqī ayttī 780
2) kim ay inilär oqlar bolsun sänlär-
3) nūng 781 ya attī oqnī oqlar täg
4) sänlär 782 bolung täp tädī känā andan 783
5) song oğuz qağan ulūq quriltay 784
6) čaqrıldi nökerlärin 785 elkünlärin
7) čarlap čaqrıldi kālip kengäšip 786 olturdilär oğuz
8) qağan bedük [ordu] […] 787 körtig- 788
9) […] [ong yaqī 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. <syz>
770 Rad. <syz>
771 Rad. <k’ n’>
772 Rad. < ŭndyn>
773 Rad. <č ’ıyrdy>
774 Rad. <č’ r’ I b’>
775 Rad. <č’ ’ıyrdy>
776 Rad. <č’ lyb>
777 Rad. <kyṅk šyb>
778 Rad. <d’ …>
779 RN ulašdur-dī
780 RN eytdī
781 RN siz-ler-niṅ
782 RN sizler
783 RN undīn
784 RN kurultay
785 RN nokir-ler-in
786 RN kinkšib
787 RN da … senūn Şč ordu-da
788 BA and Şč does not reconstruct anything here.
789 RN öŋ yaki-da

119
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 (üč oqlar) sat on the left side. (9) For many days and many nights, they gorged
(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 st allion. (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."[...]

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809 Rad. < yrđy>
810 Rad. < ydn>
811 Rad. < wšdwrwb>
812 Rad. < y>
813 Rad. < m i n>
814 Rad. < yš dwm>
815 Rad. < kwyrdwn>
816 Rad. < čyōd>
817 Rad. < byrl'>
818 Rad. < byrl'>
819 Rad. < m i n>
820 Rad. < kwyk>
821 Rad. < syz>
822 Rad. < d’b d’ dy>
823 RN ...di-ler
824 RN sevînc, BA sivinç, Šč sevinč
825 RN ulšdurub, BA el(i)dürüp, Šč ülı(d)ištürüb
826 RN aşadum, BA aṣadum, Šč aṣṭum
827 RN jide
828 RN bıle, BA bile, Šč bılă
829 RN bıle, BA b(i)rle, Šč b(i)rlă
830 RN yılgı kordum, Šč y(ı)gliğurdu[m]
831 RN 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 bolsunğil: Among the previous editions BA (p. 32) and Šč (p. 64) mention that the suffix -sungil 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 -gil. This latter is probably can be associated with the Sg.2 imperative form of OT qil-ø 'Do!' In the PON, the morphological opposition can be set in second person as ø : -GIl and in third person as -sUn :-sUnGIl. The semantic surplus carried by the forms containing -GIl might be a 'strong wish' or 'command'. See Chapter 7.8.4.

1/1 angğu/angºğu: 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 <nkqw> 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 < âng 'ščeka, 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 künlärđä(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).'</p1/4 ay qağannung közü yarîp <bwd’dy/kwd’dy>: BA (p.11): 'Ay kağanın gözü parlandı, doğum ağrıları başlandı'; Šč (p.22): ozarlis' 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, Š č proceeds from the first case, while BA does so from the second one.

The word yarup is spelled as <yʾrʾb>, the possible readings are discussed in details at (PP
p. 9), and both BA (p. 32-34) and Š č ( 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- <yʾrw-
>, 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, parturitiate’. The
verb yaru- occurs in the PON only in such contexts.

Concerning the main verb, all the previous editions proceeded from the spelling of<brwdʾy>: RN (p. 31) buta-'to give birth' PP (p. 9) considers also bütä- (without meaning). BA (p.34) and Š č (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 Š č may be
ultimatley correct.

It could be another solution if the word were spelled as <kwdʾy> (cf. Figure 19 in
Chapter 2.9 and the other <kw> grapheme sequences in the same page). In this case the
reading would be kūdāći. The OT correspondent for the verb is kūd- ’to wait' (ED 701)
without stem-final vowel, but note that in 2/6 the word occurs as kūdā-yā <kwdʾ-yʾ> (where
- yā is cautiously considered to be a line filler by BA: 35, and more strictlty by Clauson ED
701). Thus közü yaru- and kūdā- would be non-coreferntial 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 çiraği: PP: (p.11) and Š č (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 -LVK, see Chapter 6.1.1.2). The second element is a bit
problematic because of its spelling <čʾrʾqy> (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 oğuznī ičip artuqraq 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/ağuẓ '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 <ʿwqwz>. 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, Qıpçaq, Qarluğ, Qanğaluğ, Qalaç, Buzuq and Üçoq occurring later in the text. Actually the whole story 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/ağuẓ 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 'çığ, 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' vodka) 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 üçä 'high, above' <ʿwys'> 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 *yılqılar küdä-(yä) turur erdi*: The verb seems to correspond to OT küd- 'to wait, tend to sheeps, 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]ɛ[’]>; Ib: 4/5, 6/3 ~ <kynɛ[’]>. In the second group the instances are the following: IIA: 4/9, 5/3 ~ <dnw> and IIb 5/1, 5/5, 5/6 ~ <dYnk>, 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 <ɛ> 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 qıyand (qat) by BA (p. 35-36) and as qīat 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 ʻyaman: The spelling of the word is <y’m’n>. Cf. the note on 9/4 *mörän ʻsuğri* <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 -āz 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 ämgäχ and tünglüχ respectively, but this is only my speculation. I kept the front vocalized readings of both words based on the spelling <ʾmkq> instead of <ʾmqq>.

3/7 ères qağiz: The expression may be read as <yroj/yrjn> and <qʿz/qʿzn> 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 ères '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 qaqr- '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 derivates 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 qaqr- '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(ā)l '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(ā)l / y(e)s is incorrect from the paleographic point of view, as I pointed out in Chapter 2.5.

6/8 qoğułquluqraq: The etymology of the word is difficult. PP (32-33) supposes that the ultimate stem of the word is qīv 'divine favour' which usually co-occurs and synonymous with qut (ED 579). This would even be possible if we read <qwqw> as quwul- (cf. OT qidiğ ~ PON quduğ 'rim, river-bank' and PON suwî <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 külak < *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. xoχ
‘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 $qog+U-\{X\}l-GUlUk+rAK$. The meaning is ‘more glowing than…’

8/1 $töl\ boğus$: 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 $boğuz$ ‘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 $boğus$ ‘embryo, fetus’ (L 113). The second-syllable spelling with <$\text{ʾ}>$ for labial vowel in <$bwq’z$> is not uncommon for Mo. words in the PON.

8/8 $alîndan$: The written form of the word is <$’l’n-d’n’$’. PP (p. 35) supposes the first spelling, with the reading $alîn$ ’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 $qapîq$ ‘door, gate’ (ED 583). The OT -$\text{ʾ}l$-$\text{g}$ 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 $qapu$-$luq$ ‘*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 $Qîpčaq$ and which I discuss in Chapter 8.3 and 8.6. Note that there is no connection between this word and that of the $Qîpčaq$ according the PON. BA (38) considers the word as a diminutive form of $kabuk/kavuk$ ’oyuk’ ~ OT $kovuk$ ’hollow’ (ED 583). This may be ultimatley 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 $qabu\text{j}aq$. This reading however does not fit the context. I suppose that the etymon of the word is OT $qoburčaq$, $qaburčaq$ ‘a wooden case’ MT $qaburčaq$ ’ağac ici oyularak yapılan,yahut ağac kabuğun dan yapılan hokka, kutu' (WOT 562-563).
9/4 mörän "suğî: PP (p. 38-39) draws attention to that the word written as <wswq> should be either a variant of the OT word suv 'water' (ED 783), or an unusual usuftî ~ usu"î form of the Mo. word usu(n). BA (p. 38) reads <wswqy> as osuğî and identifies the word as the OT osuğ 'a way of using something' (ED 245). BA also points out that osuğ here may be an erroneous spelling of suğî 'water + Px.Sg.3' (cf. 19/3-4 etil möränning suğî 'the water of the river Etil'). They translate the sentence anung saçî mörän osuğî täg 'saçî ırmak gibi dalgalı idi' Şč (p. 72) suggests that the meaning of usuğ <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 suğ < suv, 'water', cf. (ED 783). The form <wswq> occurs once more in the PON at 23/7 etilning "suğî, but the spelling is blurred. This instance is read as suğî by BA and as usuğî by Şč. There is also an instance of suğ '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 suğ 'water'. The reason of their unusual spelling with initial <w> is unclear, however there are a few parallel spellings with initial <w> in illabial environment in the following cases: 3/6 "yaman 'evil' <'y'm'în>, 18/6 "tağ <'d'q> 'mountain' and possibly 19/4 "täg <'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 Şč does not make comment on the expression. BA's translation is '(tatlı) süt (acı) kımız olurdu' (p.15). Şč translates it as 'moloko prevrašalos' 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 čübüdîl ~ čubudal 'meat meal' (cf. Mo. čöbüdël 'remnants of meat, waste meat' L 200) is incorrect. He supposes the reading čubuyan 'candied fruit'. BA (p. 39) and Şč (p. 72) agrees on this reading. The word has both Old Turkic and Written Mongolian correspondent: OT čibügan 'jujube fruit' (ED 396); Mo. čibäg-a(n) ~ čibuğ-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 - iç - 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 casku/šaš(a)gu 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> j(a)ša-gu. On the derivative +A-, see Chapter
6.1.3.1.

11/8 tamğa bizgä 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 tamga' (ED
386) and with that of 'let virtue be our distinguishing mark' under tamga (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 (tamga) be good luck
(buyan) for us! i.e. We shall be distinguished by good luck [from the others]!

12/1 [...] law yerdä yörüsün qulan | taqi taluy taoi mörän | kün tug bolgil kök qořiğan – tep
tedi: It is not entirely clear in the verse that to which sentence does the line taqi taluy taqi
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 taqi does not mean 'more' in the PON, it is always used as
a conjunctur '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 taqi taluy taqi 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 yerdâ yörüüsün qulan taqi taluy taqi mörän sould be considered as one finite sentence, where the argument of the verb is qulan taqi taluy taqi mörän and taqi coordinates the nouns. If so, the verb yörüü- '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 tägân bir taluy bar erdi 'There was a (great) stream here, named Etil river.'

The problem of the last line kün tuğ bolgil kök qorıgan 'Sun, be (our) banner, Sky (be our) dome' is different: Normally it should be something like kün tuğ bolgil, kök qorıgan [bolgil], or kün tuğ, kök qorıgan bolgil with a finite verb after qorıgan. 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 āt-: The word čamat is spelled as <č’m’d> and has many possible readings with <č> ~ č, ğ, either of the <’> ~ a, ä, i, 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 jim-e 'conduct, manner of behavior, blame, reprimand' (in plural -d); or jimed- '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 āt- '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 yaqši begü as 'slavnyj rycar' in context (p. 36).

14/6 amïraq: <ʾmyrʾq> 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 amaraq '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. amaraq 'love, affection, beloved, dear, darling' (L 36) ~ amuraq (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. amaraq, 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 -i-. It is not unusual that the orthography of the PON marks anaptyctic sounds in certain positions, such as qirïq <qʾrʾq> ~ OT qirq 'forty' (ED 651); bärk <bʾrʾk> ~ OT bärk 'firm' (ED 361) with <ʾ>. In environment of labial vowels such sounds may be marked with <w>: qoruq- <qwrwq> ~ OT qorg- 'to fear, be afraid' (ED 651). The marking of such sounds may fluctuate between <ʾ> and <w>, see the note on 1/1 anggu/angʾgu. There is another instance where an anaptyctic sound is marked by <y>: 1/4 erikāk 'male', however, the case of amïraq would be the only one, where an anaptyctic occurs between /m/ and /t/.

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 kärük with the translation 'şehri korumak gerek'. The translations are correct each, but the reading qataqla- is incorrect. BA (p. 41) reads the word as qadaga- 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 'prisoednjatʾsja' ('to join') which is correct for this instance.

There are four instances with the spelling <qʾdʾqlʾ> in the text at 15/2, 17/8, 20/6 and 21/5. There is also an adjective spelled as <qʾdʾq> 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 *baluq'ni qatiqla'gu käräk 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. *qadaga*la- can be connected here, it is this *qat'lä*- 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 uruş'ku boldi* 'It became a chaotic (lit. mixed up) and terrible fight.', but the reading of *qatiq* '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 *qatiqla'gu 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 börining artlar'ın qatiqlap yörügüdä 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 *qatiqdi* 'tightly, firmly' ED 599 < *qatiq* '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 taï*: PP (61) draws attention to the fact the name is spelled as <mwz t'y>, but he supposes the reading as *muz taq* 'Ice Mountain'. BA (p. 18) gives the reading as *muz day* but in the translation 'Muz Taq' is given. In the comments (p.42) it is mentioned that this form may be a misspelling. Šć (p.36) reads the name as *muz taq* '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 taq*, and in 27/7 as *muz taqlar*, 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 taq*, or finally, there are two separate mountains,
one with the name *muz taɣ*, 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 *mösu(n)* 'ice' (L 550). The comitative of the word is *mösuť* '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' ('nepodviţno') 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 ‘yrđ’>: 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 sarî* '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->) 'outside'; *čap-* (<č->) '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 perceived 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 rʰ-.
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 tapuğunlarğa 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 <dʾbYqq> ), and 25/8. BA and Šč compares it to the OT word tapiq '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 mörännüng 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 suʾi < suvä. 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 sâp-sânggir: In his long note PP (p. 65-67) connects the word to the Persian coordinate compund sim 'silver' + šingärf 'cinnabar' and gives the meaning 'cinnabar, vermilion' (cf. Per. sîm-shagarf 'cinnabar' ST 718). BA (p. 44) and refers Šč (p. 78) to PP.

19/5 oğuz qağan baštü BA (p. 44) mentions that the verb baš- is shortened form of baša-. It is transcribed as baš(a)-, and translated as 'yemmek' ('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 qatığla- see the note on 15/8 qatıqla- above.

21/7-8 atam čamat ätüp ersä mânüng tapum erür 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 müdür? ('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 'istik arzu' as Pelliot's. Şče (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-lût- 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, Şče 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 Uru'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 jarluq bağılıq (<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 bağılıq as baaluq ~ OT balîq '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 bağılıq bellüg 'lit. bound-waisted' from the modern Turkish phrase bel bağıla- '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 jarluqinga in the text. (p. 44-45) Şče (p.80) cites PP and BA, but criticize only PP's proposal. His reading is sendän jarluq bailuq bellük bilâmän '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 jarluq bağılıq 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 jarluq bağılıq.
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 parenthesis 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 ėuqurdan. PP (p. 75) reads ėuqur as 'spotted' (~ Mo. ěoqur, ěouqr 'variegated, spotted, dappled' L 199), but he does not explain -dan. BA (p. 45) identifies ėuqur as a foreign word, however, they do not specify 'foreign'. They deduce from the 'strange use of' -dan that ėuqur should be a clan or city name. Šč (p. 81) reads ěoqur tan aiği at and gives the translation 'stallion of bay colour' ('žerebec gnedoj masti'). He analyses ěoqur tan as a compound of Mo. ěoqur '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 ěuqur+ABL is in adjectival position, see Chapter 7.5. Thus, I analyse ěuqurdan aiği at as a complex compound, see Chapter 6.2.4.2.2.

27/1 köp čįgay (čʾqʾ yʾ) ěmġāq (<ʾmkqʾ) čāk-. PP (p. 76-77) corrects the earlier readings of RN čāġū/čāgnī as čįgai 'poor, destitute' (< OT čįgan’, ED 408). He supposes the reading ěmġāk instead of RN's ěmġā for < mkq>. BA (p. 46) also notes that the final -k in ěmġāk is misspelled (see the note on 3/6 berkā ěmġāq above). Šč (p. 82) notes that final <k> of ěmġāk can be read with difficulties. He cites a Middle(?)-Uzbek parallel azob čekmok 'to suffer' (ispytyvat’ mučenija') for ěmġāk čākūb 'has suffered (inner pain)' ('preterpevaja vnütrennie mučenija'). Clauson cites the part as ěmġāk čākip turdī 'endured many sufferings' under ěmġāk 'pain, agony' (ED 159).

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

27/3 čalīng bulīng <čʾlʾnk bwlʾnk> 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' (göğüs göğüse savaş'). BA (p. 46) consdiers this expression as a
reduplicated compound of the Turkish telefon melefon type. They cautiously identify the first element either with OT yaltîy 'naked' (ED 929) or alaŋ 'level open ground' (ED 147) with a prothetic initial y-. Şē (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 Kāşgarî's dictionary (ED 420).

I propose that čalîng bulîng is a coordinate compound, where each element is an inflected verb: čal- 'to knock down' (ED 417), MT 'çalmak, hırsızlık etm ek' (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 ĩ with <ʾ (see Chapter 5.3.). I translated čalîng bulîng as 'hide-and-seek' (lit. steal-and-find). Note that the structure of the English correspondent is very similar to that of čalîng bulîng. I think that such a translation fits well to the context, as Oğuz's stallion disappears (közdän yit-) and the task of the hero is to find it, in which he excels.

27/4 jörügüdä soğurğuda öngä er erdi PP (p. 78-80) argues long that the verb jörü- is the correspondent of yörü- 'to walk' (<OT yörü- '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 <ʾwnk>. 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. Şē (p. 82) interprets soğurğu as 'cold' ('xolod') from a (causative) verbal stem soğur- 'to freeze' ('morozit'), and he identifies ongä 'tough' ('vynoslivyj) 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 <ʾwnk> from the verbal stem ong- problematic. I propose this word is and inflected (dative) form of öng 'front' (ED 167). For inflected nouns as adjectives see Chapter 7.5.

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

27/9 qağardan sarummiş <sʾrʾbnmʾš>: 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 <sʾrʾbn->, the word should be read as sarîn- or sarun- (~ OT sarîn- '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 <sʾrʾwn-> form. Šč (p. 82) cites some additional parallel examples for sarun- 'to be wrapped' (pokrybat'sja, okutyvat'sja). Note that <w> is well distinguishable from <b> (cf. Figure 9. in Chapter 2.6 and Figure 13. in Chapter 2.8). The reason why sarun- is spelled as <sʾrʾbn-, however, still remains unclear. 

28/3 mängläp <mʾklʾb>: PP reads mirläp <mʾrlʾb> from Per. mir < Ar. emir 'prince, chief, leader'. BA (p. 47) segments the word as mängü-läp (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)ngläb and comments on PP's reading that it does not fit well to the context.

28/5 bo üynüng tağamï altundan erdi tünglüqlarï taqï kümüştün qalqanlari <qʾlq[n]-lʾry> tämürdän erdilär erdï: 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 tünglük as 'window' - the original meaning is 'smoke-hole of a tent' (ED 520). BA attempt to etymologize the tünglük from tütün 'smoke'(ED 457), which cannot be proved as already PP has pointed out. PP reads <qʾlq[n]> as <qʾlʾq> qalağ 'cage framework of a building' ('yapı kafesi') or qalïq 'floor (of a building)' ('kat'). BA leave their reading of <qʾlʾq> as qalïq 'çatı' ('roof') unexplained. For tungluq/tünglüq, Šč (p. 83) simpy notes that it is back-vocalised variant of tünglük 'window'. He, however, reads qalïq(a) for the third mentioned element of the house, and translates it as 'dver'. He identifies it with the Mo. word ɑqalga (<* ɑlɡa) 'gate, door' ('vorota, dver'). (Mo. qaɡalɡ-a(n) 'gate, door' L 906).

My reading for <qʾlq[n]> is qalqan which may be here the re borrowing 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).
PP does not make comment on the form tätururlar. BA (p. 48) and Šč (p. 83) analyse tätururlar 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 tätururlar 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.

qanqa PP -. BA (p. 49) also spells the word as <qʾnqʾ> 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.

čašqarun: see the note on čang ertä above.

tüšimäl: PP (p. 90), BA (p. 51) and Šč (p. 85-86) all agree that the word is a copy of Mo. tüsimel [tüsimel] '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 etymolgy) 'seer, visionary' < 'one who sees the dream' << OT tüš 'dream'.

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).

türük 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. dür (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 tüšümädä 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 çıkarsın.' (p. 29). Šć also does not comment on the sentence. He reconstructs [bengä kök]. His translation is 'Nisposlalo svjaščennoe nebo [mne] (znamenie) vo vremja sna. Pust' sveršitsja [eto]. (p. 58). Both translations implies the analysis of the subordinate clause of keldürsün with SVO syntax. I find Šć'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 <dwl’>. They give the translation 'the whole world' ('bütün dünya'). Šć (p. 58) reads talai turur yerni with the translation 'the grabbed world' ('zaxvaxennye zemli'). He derives talai form 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 Šć'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 orthography

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).

Table 1. Comparison of the Old Turkic Uygur script and the grapheme-set of the PON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Letter(s)</th>
<th>Old Turkic Uygur script</th>
<th>PON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aleph</td>
<td>&lt;ʾ&gt;</td>
<td>initial V, or /ä/</td>
<td>(Initial V) /a/, /ä/, /i/, /i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;ʾʾ&gt;</td>
<td>/a-/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>&lt;v&gt;</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gimel</td>
<td>&lt;ġ&gt;(=&lt;ḡ&gt;)</td>
<td>/g/ [ḡ]</td>
<td>/k/ [q], /g/ [ḡ]</td>
</tr>
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<td>/o/, /u/, /ö/, /ü/</td>
<td>/o/, /u/, /ö/, /ü/, /w/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waw + yod</td>
<td>&lt;wy&gt;</td>
<td>first syllable /ö/, /ü/</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>&lt;z&gt;</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>/-s/, /-z/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zain, two dots</td>
<td>&lt;ẓ&gt;</td>
<td>ź (only in loanwords)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Heth</td>
<td>&lt;h&gt;</td>
<td>[χ]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heth, two dots</td>
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<td>/k/ [q]</td>
<td>/k/ [q], /g/ [ḡ]</td>
</tr>
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<td>/y/, /i/, /i/</td>
<td>/y/, /i/, /i/</td>
</tr>
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<td>hooked Resh</td>
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<td>/l/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
</tr>
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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 Uygur 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 Uygur script: :=, <=, <= (<b> 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. <= (=<q>) [¿], [q]; <= [¿], [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 <q`q`n>, <q`q`n> qagan.

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

   3. The <= is completely absent in the PON. <= marks both /l/ and /d/.

   4. <= marks both /ç/ and /y/ [j]. This latter sound did not exist in Old Uygur.

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

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

   The most striking feature of the ortography of the PON is that in many cases a vowel which could have been expected to be mared with <= in Uygur 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 script 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 /ˈ, /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](image)

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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/, /ö/, /ü/ 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 /ü/. /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 from /ä/ in that the head relations had changed in /e/ : /ä/ {AI} and /e/ {AI}.

The phoneme /ü/ 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 /ü/ 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 /ü/. The Old Turic vowel system is illustrated by Figure 36:

![Figure 36. The Old Turkic vowel system](image)

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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 Uyghur 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 a 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 /ï/ as the neutral phoneme of the Old Turkic vowel-system

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

The presence of the opposition /ï/:/i/ in Old Turkic is debated. In first syllable there are minimal pairs, the velar /ï/ mostly appear in the vicinity of /k/ [q] and /g/ [ğ]. There are minimal pairs in which there is no /k,g/: tïn 'breath, spirit' : tin 'halter'; sïz- 'to ooze' : siz 'you (pl.)'; tï:t- 'to tear to shreds' (and tït 'larch tree') : tit- 'to renounce'. These examples verify that /ï/ 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 containg {I} element (/ä, i, ö, ü/), while [q] in the vicinity of vowels not containg {I} (/a, i, 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 [ḡ] 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 /ï/>/i/ is known in the vicinity of /č, š, nˊ, 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 /ï/:/i/ disappears, which – considering the sensitivity to environment of { @ } – supports the { @ } interpretation of the Old Turkic /i/.

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

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

(1) In pre-classical texts written in scripts of Semitic origin (Sogdian, Uygur, Manichean) the <ʾ>-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 /ї/ phoneme" (Erdal 2004: 91).

(3) The <ʾ>-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 <ʾ>. 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/, /el/, /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 /el/, 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 ʾu and ʾü.'(') refers to word-initial position, thus according the orthographic convention the word-initial vowels are always introduced by a radical ʾ. This radical ʾ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/al/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{I}</td>
<td>{UI}</td>
<td>{I}</td>
<td>{A}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʾy&gt;, ʾy&gt;</td>
<td>ʾw&gt;, ʾw&gt;</td>
<td>ʾ@&gt;</td>
<td>ʾw&gt;, ʾw&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ʾy> marks only primarily the element {I} (see /i/, /el/, /i/), but not /ä/). However, its secondary interpretation is the absence of {A} and {U}. We can see similar fluctuation in the case of ʾ> as well. The primary interpretation of ʾ> is {A} (see /a/, /ä/), the secondary one is the absence of {I} and {U}. Thus, in the case of the graphemes ʾ> and ʾy>, 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 /ï/ is that the script simply contains no functional grapheme to render /ï/.

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 /ï/. 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 <ʾ> and <y>-marking next to the listed data, with the following format: (x_{n_1} vs. x_{n_2})

5.3.1 <ʾ>-marking of back /ï/ 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 <ʾ> marking of /ï/. Actually this is the case in most of the data in hand. Here I give only one example for each consonant.

(3) /qɨrɨq/ ~ <qʾɾq> `forty, many' x7 vs. 0
/yɨlɨq~ <yʾlqy> `livestock' x4 vs. 0
/čɨɣay~ <čʾqʾy> `poor' x1 vs. 0

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

(4) /qɨlɨפ/ ~ <qylʾč>, <qʾlʾč> `sword' x4 vs. 0
/qɨצ/ ~ <qʾצ> 1. `girl' 2. `valuable' x1+x1 vs. 0
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) /tälim/ ~ <d’l’m> ‘many, much’ x3 vs. x4
/tärin/ ~ <d’r’nk> ‘deep’ x1 vs. 0
/tiktür/- ~ <d’kdwr>- ‘to erect’ +CAUS. x1 vs. 0
/büti/- ~ <b’d’>- ‘to write (with calamus)’ x1 vs. 0
/yt/- ~ <y’d’>- ‘to get lost (of sight)’ x1 vs. 0
/tëc/- ~ ‘<’c’> ‘to drink’ x1 vs. 3

5.3.5 Unusual spellings of etymological round vowels

In this script version, we find unusual spelling not only in the position of /î/ or /î/. 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) /taluy/ <d’l’y> ‘a large body of water’ x1 vs. x1
/bol/- <b’l’> ‘to become’ x1 vs. x46
/tol/- <d’l’>- ‘to be filled’ x1 vs. x0
/yol/ <c’l’> ‘road’ x1 vs. x4
/varu/- <y’r’>- ‘to labour (with child)’ x1 vs. x2
/altun/ <y’d’n> ‘gold’ x1 vs. x12
/bedük/<b’d’k> ‘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.
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 [ɪ, i, u, ü], depending on the quality of the vowel in previous syllable: /a, i/ > [ɪ], /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 <klyyb> 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/ and /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 (qağan ‘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: čärig+nij '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 occurences in the text, independently from the frontness or backness of the phonetic environment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>perfective gerund -(X)p</th>
<th>genitive case marker +nXŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;’&gt; 40%</td>
<td>&lt;’&gt; 27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Y&gt; 15%</td>
<td>&lt;Y&gt; 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;W&gt; 45%</td>
<td>&lt;W&gt; 61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’lč>
/iĩš/ <d's> /ts/ 'tooth' ~ /aš/ 'stone'

/iĩl/ <d'l> /til/ 'tongue, speech' ~ /tal/ 'willow'

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) /qĩz/ 1. 'girl' 2. 'rare' ~ */qaz/ 'goose' <q'z>
/qıɾq/ '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->
/bır/ '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 /ĩ/ 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 /ĩ/ and the realization [ĩ] of /X/ are spelled with <'> in most cases, and this spelling can be observed in cases of /ĩ/ 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 <ʾ>, 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 happended 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 <ʾ>, 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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. centralization</th>
<th>/i/ &gt; /ē/</th>
<th>/u/ &gt; /ũ/</th>
<th>/i/ &gt; /ū/</th>
<th>/u/ &gt; /ō/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{@[I]} &lt;y&gt;/ʾ&gt;</td>
<td>{@[IU]} &lt;w&gt;</td>
<td>{@} &lt;y&gt;/ʾ &gt;</td>
<td>{@[U]} &lt;w&gt;/ʾ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. closing</th>
<th>/e/ &gt; /i/</th>
<th>/ö/ &gt; /ũ/</th>
<th>/o/ &gt; /u/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{@[I]} &lt;y&gt;/ʾ</td>
<td>{@[IU]} &lt;w&gt;</td>
<td>{@[U]} &lt;w&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a conclusion, we can say that despite its imperfection, 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 <ʾq>.

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 <ʾqw>, <ʾqy>, 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 <ʾq>, <ʾqw>, <ʾqy> 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 century\textsuperscript{[837]} 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 *[_g], and this [ɦ] is marked by <k> or <ğ> 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]\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{align*}
(11a) & <q’q’r> 27/9 \quad \sim \text{OT qār 'snow'} \quad \text{ED 461} \\
(11b) & <q’q’r’-l’q> 28/3 \quad \text{‘proper name, Karluk’ < OT qār +lXg}^{839} \\
(12) & <q’q’d’r> 31/3 \quad \sim \text{OT qatîr 'mule'} \quad \text{ED 604, Z 682a} \\
(13) & <\check{s}’q’m> 33/3 \quad \sim \text{ar. ʂām ‘Syrien, Damaskus’ Z 536a} \\
(14) & <d’q’m> 28/6 \quad \sim \text{OT tām ‘wall’ ED 502}
\end{align*}

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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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. VθV > 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>/<V̄gV> by Uygur-Mongolian script, however the Chinese transcription shows stage 4.

\textsuperscript{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 +lXg, although it is homographous with +lXK.
to an Arabic word which also contains a long /ā/. Example (12) etymologically contains no long vowel. The spelling of qatîr as <qʾtʾr> 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 <ʾqʾ> 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) <ʾqwrʾq> 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 <ʾqw>. 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) <ʾrlʾqw-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.\textsuperscript{840} The phoneme sequence /ag/ is spelled also with <ʾqw>, 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. ُبعنيγ←ُبعنيFBFEُبعنيFEAEُبعنيFEEEُبعنيFED̯ kurja (=qoriya)’Mauer, Hütte (Z 716c) ~ Mo. qoriy-a(n) ’enclosure, camp’ (L 967), qoruğ-a (L 968)
(17a) <qwryqʾn> 12/3
(17b) <qwryqʾn> 14/9

\textsuperscript{840} It would be possible to subtract a word formative –GUSIz element (with the opposite meaning of –GUlUK, however, a verb stem *tarla-< *tariğla- could not be dated, only the derivated form tarlağ<tariğlağ (ED 541)
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 /uŋa/ (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 qoruŋ-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) aŋiz+Px3(+Cx) ’his/her mouth’ > *aŋzi
(18a) <’qysy>/<’q sy>1/6
(18b) <’q’yz-wm-ŋ > 13/1(sic)
(18c) <’q’ z-wm-ŋ >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 aŋzi, aŋzumŋa, 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, āzumŋa, etc.) or with a similar hiatus as in Middle-Mongolian: (a’izi, a’izumŋa, 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 yaŋır ’a saddle-gall’ > ’shoulders’ (ED 905)
(19a) <ʾyqʾry> 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 /yağ/ı. Now I don’t consider the problem of marking /ya-/ with a single <y>, but emphasize the fact that the second syllable <ʾ> in (19a) instead of <y> suggests that the reading of the grapheme sequence <ʾyq> in (19a) and <ʾq>/ʾqy> in (19b) 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) <kwkwzw wndwn> 1/9
(20b) <kwkwzw> 2/4
(20c) <kwkwzw> 2/5

(21) oğul ‘(male) child’ (ED 83) +Px3 >*oğlî 'his/her son’
(21a) <ʾwqwλ-wwn> 20/3
(21b) <ʾwqwλ-y> 21/1

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

(22) (chag. čira, čiray ‘Gesicht, Wange’ (Z 378a) <Mo. čiray (L 191)+Px3
(22a) <ʾčʾrʾqy> 1/5
(22b) <ʾčʾrʾqy> 34/3

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

Again, in (22) and (23) there is no etymological /g/, <ʾqy> 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 *ay* `to remember, call to mind’ (ED 168) –GU +Px3
(24a) <ʾnkʾqw-sw> 1/1
(24b) <ʾnkqw-sy> 5/8
(24c) <ʾnkqw-sw> 6/3

(25) <ʾwq-qwlwq> 35/8 ~ uq- `to understand something’ (ED) 77 –GUlXk

The “second syllable” vowel graphs in (24a), (24c) and in (25) could be also analyzed as anaptyctic sounds, but according to the proposal I made above, these data also belong here. The sequences <ʾqw> 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.

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841 Sertkaya (1993) proposes that this word is identical with OT yanqu `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 *ay* 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 <kwrskw-lwq> ~ körk+lXg, <qwrwq-mʾz> ~ qorq-mAz, <dʾrʾdy> ~ 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 <ʾqw> 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 ʾhy/ 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> yinggaq ‘director’.
### T.4 Phonemes marked by <VqV> in illabial environment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme-sequence</th>
<th>Phoneme-sequence</th>
<th>Lexemes</th>
<th>Instances</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;yq&gt;</td>
<td>/yaği/</td>
<td>yağır +i</td>
<td>2/4, 2/4</td>
<td>triggered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/inya/</td>
<td>qoriyan</td>
<td>12/3, 14/9, 15/3</td>
<td>word stem (29/7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qʾ&gt;</td>
<td>/ā/</td>
<td>qār</td>
<td>27/9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>qārlug</td>
<td>28/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>28/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>šām</td>
<td>33/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ā/ (?&lt;qš/)</td>
<td>qāṭr</td>
<td>31/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qʾy&gt;</td>
<td>/ayī/</td>
<td>čiray +i</td>
<td>(1/6), 13/4, 14/5, 30/8</td>
<td>triggered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1/6), 13/1</td>
<td>morpheme-boundary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme-sequence</th>
<th>Phoneme-sequence</th>
<th>Lexemes</th>
<th>Instances</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;qw&gt;</td>
<td>/aw/</td>
<td>tawraq</td>
<td>13/6</td>
<td>word stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/aḡ/)</td>
<td>tarlaḡ+āsīz</td>
<td>29/8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ḡu/</td>
<td>uḡuḡuḡu</td>
<td>35/8</td>
<td>anaptyctic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anḡu</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;wqw&gt;/&lt;kwq&gt;</td>
<td>/oḡu/, /oḡu/</td>
<td>oḡu (+i/un)</td>
<td>20/3, 21/1</td>
<td>triggered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>koğuḡu+ü(Cx)</td>
<td>1/9, 2/4, 2/5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;wqy&gt;</td>
<td>/uwū/</td>
<td>suw+i</td>
<td>19/4</td>
<td>morpheme-boundary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| | | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;yqʾ&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;qʾ&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;qʾy&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;qʾw&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;wqʾw&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;wqʾy&gt;</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ġ (i)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ġ (i)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ġ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ġ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ġ (i)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ġ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ö</td>
<td>ġ</td>
<td>(ü)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the most important features seen in T.4 and T.5 that several words have fluctuating spelling. These are aḡiẓ+Px3, qoriyan among the illabials, and the formative –GU among labials.
The most easy way to analyze them seems to be the \texttt{<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 \texttt{<ʾq>}. In these cases the scribe understood the long vowels as a Mongolian secondary one, the 'hiatus' left by the disappearance of an etymolgical /g/ is filled by the preceding vowel through secondary lengthening. The cases of \texttt{<ʾqz>} \textit{ağız} '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 [āız/āʾızı]. When the two vowel-marking graphemes mark vowels of different quality, however, we get a different picture. In the cases of \texttt{<yq>}, we can see a hiatus or diphthong (or vowels with palatal coarticulation) of different origin. In the case of \textit{qoriyan}, as the Arabic spelling of the word also suggests, we can see an [ˈa] diphthong, in which the [a] element is dominant, and this is the cause why it could also be spelled as \texttt{<ʾq>}. In the case of /yağ(ı)/ the spelling of the word is actually a misspelling, but a systematic one, based on the similar phonetic quality of the sequence \texttt{<yq>} = [yā] \texttt{< /yağ(ı)/} and \texttt{<cyq>} = [ˈa] /iya/.

The \texttt{<ʾqy>} spelling of \textit{ağız} shows that the omitted second-syllable vowel leaves some trace, thus ending in [aʾı]. This ends up in a similar result in the case \textit{čiray+ı} where the end of the word already had been a diphthong [aʾı], otherwise it should have been spelled as \*\texttt{<čyrʾyy>} or, in the case of a stem-final vowel, \*\texttt{<čyrʾsy>}

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 [ı] element are either unstable or their pronunciation are not very far from [ā].

The fact that \textit{čiray+ı} 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 of disyllabic?

In the cases containing \texttt{<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 \textit{oğul}+Px, \textit{köğüz}+Px and \textit{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 \texttt{<ʾqw>} and \texttt{<wqw>} again must have been very slightly different, if at all. This assumption is supported by the following example:
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, ʿOġuz <ʾwqwz>, appears only after the following sentence:

(26a) 1/8 ušol ʾogul anasıñı̈ng köğüzündön ʾoguz-nï içip mundon artıq-raq ičmädi yeğ āt 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 sentence the reflex of the Old Turkic word ʾaḏuz/ ʾaḏuž ‘colostrum’ is spelled <ʾwqwz>. The spelling of ʾaḏuz and that of the protagonist’s name ʾoḏuž (which is implicitly connected to ʾaḏuž) coincides in the text, so the false etymology of the name is based on the coinciding pronunciation of Old Turkic /aḏu/ and /lo/ğu/, 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 ʾaḏı̈z-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.

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 ʾaḏuž at Kāšgārī and in Ottoman Turkic and Azeri, but the QB and some modern languages show secondary /aḏu/ > lo/ğu/. 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 bolğil bašlıq (11) män mänjiläp sängä at bolsun qagaräği (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?) urušqular köp män kördüm (8) jida basa köp og attum (8) āyğır birlä köp yörüdüm (8) duşmanlarni ĭğlağurdum (8?) dostlarummi män külğurdüm (8) kök täṅrīgū män ötädıüm (8?) sänlärgä berü 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 tängr +gū. 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 ĭğla-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) qanqalug sängä at bolğuluq qanqa bälgürsün (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 Ogul in (30):

(30) 1/8 ušol Ogul anasining (7)
kögüzündön oguzni içip (7)
mundon artıraq içmədi (8)
yeg ät aš sorma tilədi (8)
tili kelə başladı (7)
qirəq kündön song bədəklədi yörüdi oynadi (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 (-ning and -ip respectively) do not match with those of -dii/-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 bugu aldı šol bugunī talnung čubuqi birlə (14=7+7)
üşaça bağladı ketti (7)
andan song ertə boldi (7)
tang ertə čaqda kəldi (7)
kördi kim<kyund>bugunī alup turur (9+?)
kenä bir adug aldı altunluğ belbağı birlə (14=7+7)
vüşaça bağladı ketti (7)
mundon song ertə boldi (7)
tang ertə čaqda kəldi (7)
kördi kim<d'w>adugni aliıp 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.'

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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 oğuz qağan baştī (6) | 
     mişir qağan qaştī (6) |
     oğuz anı bastī (6) | 
     yurtın aldī ketti (6) |

'Oğuz Kagan attacked,  
Egypt Kagan fled.  
Oğuz 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 mişir, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monosyllabic</th>
<th>disyllabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(27) qağarlīğ</td>
<td>~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29) yöri-gür-</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(31) bel+bağ+i</td>
<td>~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(30) oğuz</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 [āg] 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 pronounciation 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 /aāg/ (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 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 improductive 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 +lVG \~ OT +lXg
The far most common NN derivative in the PON is +lVg. It derives exclusively adjectives from nouns. The noun phrase containing the derivative in +lVg has the construction X+lVg 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 mângi 'a fiery and shining mole'
6/7 yaruq 'light(beam)' 7/9 us 'intelligence'
7/9 us 'intelligence' 24/1 us-luğ [... ] bir er 'a clever and [...] man'

+lVG may also added to noun phrases, in such cases the output is an attributive compound.
(see Chapter 6.2.2.6)

(34)
31/8 barğu 'goods' 33/9 [uluğ barğu]-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 tülüklü kök jalluğ 'a grey-furred and grey-maned'

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

(35)
qar <q qʼr> 'snow' qar-luğ <q qʼ 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 barmaqlï josun 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 ~ Finger, Stab, Speiche einer Rades' (Z 192a) with +lVG. josun is possibly from Mo. yosu(n) 'usage, principle, method' (L 435). The final element is bellig/bellü 'known' ~ bekannt, sicher, offenbar' (Z 208b), may be a contraction of belgüülü '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 belmek '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 barmaqlï josun bellig is not entirely clear, the meaning (based on which meaning of barmaq is understood) may 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' ~ barmaqlï 'having (crafty) fingers')

There are three more data which belong or may belong here, the first is bağ-lïğ 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 belbağï [waist+tie+Px.Sg.3] 'waistbelt'. bağlïğ appears only in the following sentence844:

(36) 21/9 sändän [jarluğ bağ]-lïğ 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 bağlïğ 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 bağlïğ, or only of jarluğ, in which case the bracketing would be the following: [[sändän jarluğ] bağlïğ], 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 (qapiğ 'gate', qapaq, qapqaq '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 qapiğ-lïğ 'having a door' (ED 584) with the stem qapu(w) < qapiğ '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-iğ 'service' (ED 437). The form tapuğ 'vicinity' is also present in the text, but it is a derivation from tap- 'to find',

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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 (*gap-ul-uğ) fits more in the context (see also the note on 28/8 in Chapter 4):

(37) 28/8 kän yolda bedük bir iý körđi [...] *qapuluğ erdi açiqč 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+lVG. *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. dür (halha dür) 'shape, kind, complexion, appearance, expression of the face' (L: 282) with *-lVG, 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 čubuyanlar qımızlar aštïlar ičtilïr

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

6.1.1.2 +lVK ~ OT +lXk

The other quite well-attested NN derivative is +lVK. As we can see from the data in hand, +lVK 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 +lVG, we have example that +lVK is added to a foreign element.

(39) N>N

| 42/5 dost 'friend' | 22/7 doxtluq 'friendship' |
| 11/7 qağan 'kagan' | 19/7 qağanluq 'kaganate, empire' |
| 27/4 öng '1. front part, 2. colour' | 1/5 önglüük čïray '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 tüttün 'smoke' (ED 457) +lük with phonetic reduction or tüñ '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 +lVk, 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.

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As 6/6 qarangğuluq '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 +lVK or +lVG. The problem of distinguishing +lVk and +lVG 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 +lVK. 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 bolğil [baš-liq]
'You shall be the [(assigned as) leader] for the begs here!' 

In example (42) the stem is an adjective. As +lVG 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 qağatı 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 qağatı 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.
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.

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 nāgū (nā 'what' +AGU) at 37/1, however, the manuscript is damaged there. It is restored, and the spelling <bʿn-kʿ kwk> is added there secondarily, possibly by Šč (p. 58), since his edition contains this reading.

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- > ţ- (spelled with <č>), cf. OT yan 'hip, side, flank' (ED 940) ~ *yan-ğaq 'the cheek bone, side' (ED 948).

(43) 36/8 ay qağanum sángā jašqu bolsungil uzun
ay qağanum sángā tür-lük bolsungil tüzün
'Oh, my kagan, let life be long for you!
Oh, may kagan, let mood (as a ruler) be gentle for you (during your life)!'
The meaning of *jangaq* 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, *jangaq* is 'side' or rather more concretely 'wing of an empire'. However, Clauson is wrong about the confusion of *jangaq* with *yïnggaq* direction', in the PON. The latter occurs at 33/5, 35/6 and spelled as <y'ngg'q> with <y> and <ngq> while *jangaq* 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 Uygur (Erdal 2004: 186-187). It is not entirely sure whether the concrete meaning of *künd-ün-ki* is 'eastern' (as it would correspond to *küntugsukdunki 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'

*yïlqï* '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 *yïlqï* (*yïl* 'year' + kI) nor the stem *yïl* '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 *el-či* 'envoy'

+sXz  
29/8 *tarlağu-siz* 'uncultivated' (lit. without a cultivated field)

+dAš  
20/2 *qarun-daš* '(male) sibling, brother'

+čAK  
8/9 *qawu-čaq* 'mew, cavity'

+dXn  
33/7 *kündünki* 'southern'
6.1.2 The formation of deverbal nomina: (VN)

6.1.2.1 -(X)G ~ 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 sewinče tap- 'to find joy), it is spelled with initial <č->, and may not connected with tapuğ anymore.

(49) V\textsubscript{intrans} > A  
9/7 öl- 'to die'  
32/7 öl-üg 'lifeless'  
32/7 tiri-g 'alive, living'  
33/9 işi-g 'hot'  
28/8 ?qapul-ug 'closed'  
20/6 qat-iğ-lağū 'the act of making masssive, fortified'

(50) V\textsubscript{intrans} > N  
18/5 qud-uğ 'riverbank'

(51) V\textsubscript{trans} > N  
38/9 tap-<č>b> 'to find'  
18/6 tap-uğ 'vicinity'  
4/7 bel[ba-g]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 ämgäk 'pain' among the exceptions (Erdal 1991: 261). I recorded the formative in question as -(X)K with fourfold suffix-vowel because of artîqraq <ʾrdʾq-ʾq> (~OT artq ~ 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 buz-ġuluq 'fragment' 41/7 buz-uq 'broken''
27/4 soğu-r-ğu 'being cold' 26/6 soğu-q 'cold'
2/1 [art-iq]raq'more' 12/9 kärä-k 'necessary'
3/4 bedii-k 'great' 14/6 amïra-q 'friendly'
?34/6 qat-iq 'chaotic'

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

The form buzguluq 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 artîqraq, käräk (~ OT kärgäk 'necessary' ED 742) and ämgäq <ʾmkq> (OT ~ ämgäk 'pain' ED 159) can be mentioned here. The trisyllabic form amïraq 'friendly' (with clear spelling of <ʾmyrʾq> ~ OT amra-q 'benign, friendly' ED 162) may also belong here, and it is probably not a reborrowing of the Mo. amaraq 'love, beloved, dear' (L 36). See the note on 14/6 in Chapter 4. For 34/6 qat-'aq '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 qatiq ~ *qatiğ, bağ in belbaği and bedük has verbal correspondent with +lA- 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 -lXK and -lXg respectively, ending in the combinations -(X)g+lXk and -(O)k+lXg. The combination of -(X)g+lXg 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+lXg as a derivative on its own, but two separate derivatives which are not fused. He claims the -(O)k+lXg combinations to have pure denominal character, just as +lXg. (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+lXk (Erdal 1991: 221-222). He quotes Kāşgarî’s description of a combination -(X)glXk, which could be paraphrased as the following: 'The participle formed by -(X)glXk 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.
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 körüklig 'having the shape of, beautiful' (ED 743) is also well-attested in Old Turkic. Clauson also cites yaqšï körüklüg 'very beautiful' of the PON here. However, I think the latter needs some attention: The verbal compound yaqšï 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 yaqšï körüklügK 'very beautiful' is incorrect at some point. The intensification of adjectives happens with köp (Chapter 7.5.1). If we analyse yaqšï körüklüg as 'beautiful', then we reach this meaning if we translate körüklüg itself 'having the shape of' to which we can add yaqšï 'having a good shape (=beautiful)'. As we have seen with the instance 1/8, körüklüg has this meaning already. I assume that yaqšï körüklügK is a direct derivation from yaqšï kör- with -(X)GlVK. In this case the qualified noun is the object of the verb as in Old Uygur. The meaning of yaqšï 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 and independent *körük form between kör- and körüklügK, 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 connected to uruš- and toquš- than to ur- and the unattested *toqï-/toqu- 'to pierce'. On the other hand, one cannot find a clear stem-derivation pair for tugöš 'birth' and batuš 'descend', but here we see the opposite: It is not likely that they would be connected to *tuğöš- 'to give birth together' or *batuš- 'to descend together (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-iš]i 'East' (lit. the birth of Sun) 36/3 kün [bat-uš]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 urušqu tutulå 'a battle was fought (i.e. held as an occasion)', and not much later, tutulunč occurs as urušunč tutulunč andağ yaman boldå kim ... 'the fighting and holding (of captives?) was so terrible, that...'. The identical derivation suggests that urušunč tutulunč is a juxtaposition, but tutul- and tutulunč can be semantically connected together only if we consider urušunč 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 uruš- and uruš in (55).

(56)
22/9 sewin- 'to be glad' 28/1 sew-inč 'joy'
7/9 sew- 'to like, to love'
30/5 uruš- 'to fight each other' 19/2 uruš-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)iš or a crasis of (non-reflexive) verbs ending in “n- derived with -(X)iš. On the other hand, uruš- 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)iš 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)iš 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 uruš- and toquš- as the verbal stem as uruš <*ur-Xš-Xš and toquš <*toqï-š-Xš. These two derivatives seem rather competing forms as uruš ~ urušunč 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 qaygu 'sorrow', and 22/6 bærgü 'tax'. Some of such lexicalised items had already undergone of phonetic changes as well, like 14/5 begü ~ bærgü. 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 ölüg bar-gü 'inanimate goods'
20/1 tirig bar-gü '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-gü 'life'
5/8 ang-gü, ang-(º)-gü, ang-(u)-gü 'memory'

(59) V \_trans > N \_object
14/2 tart- 'to pull'
2/2 tilä- 'to wish'
13/3 tarït-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 udïq 'sleepy, asleep'. udï-’ to sleep'- (O)k is replaced by uyqu <*udïgu in Middle-Turkic (ED 46). The form uyqu is still problematic, since one would expect the form *uyuqu or *uyqu based on the form *udïgu. It is probable that bargü '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 bargu in Zenker's dictionary (p. 161a) with the meaning 'das Gehen, der Gang'. The corresponding entry of the DTS (p. 83) gives the translation 'dobyça', 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 anggü 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 tärłąqusiz '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 *tärla- 'to cultivate' is unattestable. The other possibility is that tärłąqusiz is analysable as <drl’qw> tärlaw < tärłąq < tariğiğ (ED 541) +sXz, see the explanation on (16) in Chapter 5.6.

6.1.2.7 -GUILUK and -GUILUKsiz in the PON.
In Old Turkic -GUILXk 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). bildürqülüük '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 *qoq 'dust, hot ash, spark' (ED 609) with the passive -(X)l-.

(60) V > N
36/7 bildür-
12/5 bildürqülüük 'message'
39/2 buzğuluq 'fragment'
12/9 baş čalunğuluq 'obedience' 'lit. bowing head'

(61) V > A
6/8 [qoğul-quluq]raq 'gleaming'
35/8 uq-(º)-ğuluq 'intelligent'

There is a lonely instance of -GUILUKsiz at 35/2, sanağuluqsiz 'uncountable'. According to Erdal (2004: 152), -GUILUXz 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 -GUILUKsiz 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 -mAgULXk (which is not attested in the PON) in not reflecting the wish of the speaker/writer but rather his opinion concerning prohibitions.
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 qaqîz and bedik qaqîz describe some kind of manly attributes as adjectives. (see the note on 3/7, Chapter 4.). eres qaqîz < '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 qaqîz 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 *qiqi-r- '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 qaqî-z 'quick-tempered'
27/2 bedik qaqî-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 (eymologyically) 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 attstable stem-derivation pair for the verbs derived with +A- . Another possibility would be 2/2 til/tit <d'l> 'tongue' ~ 2/2 tilâ- '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 improductive in the variety of the PON.

(64)
11/2 aš 'food'
11/4 aš- 'to eat'
19/5 baš- 'to attack' 'to succeed?'
42/3 aša- 'to live' ~ 36/9 jaša-ğer 'life'

(65)
2/2 til-ā- 'to wish'
42/3 aša- 'to live' ~ 36/9 jaš- qu 'life'
11/1 keng-ā- š- 'to assemble'
1/4 bod-a- 'to labour, to parturitate'
20/5 yum(u)š-a- 'to send'
2/3 oy(u)n-a- 'to play'
35/2 san-a- ġuluqsiz '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 aw 'hunt'
2/8 aw aw-la- 'to hunt wild game'
2/7 at 'horse'
4/2 at-la- 'to set out'
5/7 baš 'head'
30/5 baš-la- 'to be the leader'
36/1 bir 'one' >PRO.INDEF

The instances in (67) are further derivations from deverbal nomina with -(O)k and -(X)g (see above).
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) \( \text{OT} \quad V : [V-(O)K] \sim [V-(X)g] > N \quad \text{PON} \quad N : [N+lA-] > V \)

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 čïq- 'to go out' is a crasis of <tašïq- (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’ū '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)  
+(A)r- 32/9 bälgü-r- 'to manifest'  
+(X)k- 16/6 čïq- 'to go out' < OT taš-iq- (ED 562)  
+(X)rKA- 28/4 soyurqa- 'to give present' < OT tsuy-urqa-  
+I- 12/5 bit-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). tüür-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 čap-tur- <čʾbdwr- > is the causative of tap- čap- <čʾp- > '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>. 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 ber- 'to give' 37/3 ber-dux- 'to let sy give sg'
4/9 kel- 'to come' 25/4 kel-dux- 'to bring sg'
1/3 sewinč tap- /42/1 čap- 'to find joy/to find'
11/2 čap-tur- 'to have sy make sg'
25/7 as-ter- 'to hang sy'
36/7 bil-dux- 'to have sy well know sg'
40/4 tik-ter- 'to have sy erect sg'
17/4 tüür-dux- 'to have sg rolled up'

(71)
14/5 baqīn- 'to care for sg' 30/9 baqīn-ter- 'to have sy care for sg (for his own behalf)'
40/1 ʿilāsh-ter- '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 tüür-dux- in (70) is a counterexample.

(72)
7/7 įglâ- 'to weep' 42/5 įglâ-gur- 'to have sy weep'
4/5 kör- 'to see' 25/5 kör-gur- 'to show'
2/4 yöri- 'to walk' 32/7 yöri-gur- 'to have sg walk, to drag'
22/9 kül- 'to laugh' 42/6 kül-gur- 'to make sy laugh'
6/7 tüš- 'to descend' 16/1 (qoriğan) tüš-kür- 'to make sg descend'

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

(73)

- 
  -(U)r-  
  1/3 tuğ-ur- 'to give birth'  
  27/4 ?soğu-r-  

- 
  -(X)t-  
  16/6 ä-t- 'to make, to do'  
  23/1 ay-t- '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 the 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 ağız+Px+DAT baq- 'to look at sy's words'  
14/5 ağız+Px+DAT baq-in- 'to care sy's words, to subdue' (for own benefit)'  
10/1 sew- 'to like, to love'  
22/9 sew-in- 'to be glad'  
12/9 baš čal-un- ğuluq 'to bow head'  
27/9 sar-un- 'to be wrapped'

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

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 gapuluq and Chapter 6.1.2.7 for qoqulçuq).

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
stem-derivation pair in the PON, and all the instances we have are derivations where -(U)š- is added to underived stems. -(U)š- forms may be further derived as 40/1 üläštür- shows. Not all the verbs which are etymologically cooperative are transparent, consider 32/1 šaš- (ED 856, 857) 'to be astonished (collectively)’ < *sa- (ED 781) 'to count' -(X)š-, which already went through phonetic change. The closest data which could be established as a stem-derivation pair is 35/2 sana- 'to count' (see Chapter 6.1.3.1), but they are far from each other even semantically.

(78)
5/2 ur- 'to strike' 18/8 ur-uš- , ur-uš- qu 'to fight each other'
34/4 toqu-š-qu 'battle (against each other)'
40/1 ülä-š-tür- 'to (make) divide something (among each other)'
32/1 ša-š- 'to be astonished (collectively)'

6.1.4.5 The Old Turkic -(X)k-
There is an only instance of a medial verb with -(U)K- ~ OT -(X)k- without attested stem.

(79)
-(U)K- 27/3 qoru-q- 'to fear from sg'

The following tables gives a summary about the word formative elements attested in the PON and discussed here.

T.7. 1 Denominal noun derivatives in the PON

| +lVG | productive |
| +lVK | productive |
| +(X)meX | productive, distribution changed |
| +AGU | productive |
| +GAK | attested |
| +ki | attested |
| +čI | attested |
| +šXz | attested |
| +dAš | attested |
| +čAK | improductive |

T.7.2 Deverbal noun derivatives in the PON

| -(X)G | improductive |
| -(X)K | improductive |
| -(X)GlxX | attested |
| -(X)KlxG | attested |
| -(V)š | productive, distribution changed |
| -(X)meč | productive, distribution changed |
| -GU | productive |
| -GUlxUK | attested |
| -GUXlxXz | attested |
| -GXč | attested |
| -mA | attested |
| -Un | attested |
### T.7.3 Denominal verb derivatives in the PON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+A-</td>
<td>improductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+lA-</td>
<td>productive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+(A)r-</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+&amp;(X)k-</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+(X)rkA-</td>
<td>improductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+I-</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### T.7.4 Deverbal verb derivatives in the PON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-DUr-</td>
<td>productive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GUr-</td>
<td>productive, distribution changed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(U)r-</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(X)n-</td>
<td>improductive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(X)m-</td>
<td>productive, function changed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(U)k-</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(X)l-</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(U)š-</td>
<td>attested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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: 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-lingustically:

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 Kharmdhāraya, 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 Bahuvrihi, 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

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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 \textit{truck-driver} or \textit{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. Subordinate\textsuperscript{848} compounds: a) endocentric\textsuperscript{849}, b) exocentric\textsuperscript{850}
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.


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 \textit{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 \textit{Nominal-verb compounds}.

\textsuperscript{848} Including the 'Synthetic' type, at least the example \textit{taxi driver} is recorded as a subordinate compound.

\textsuperscript{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)

\textsuperscript{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 Bahuvr̥i) compound describes a type of compound in which an entity is characterized without either of the constituents directly naming it. Examples include \textit{loudmouth} (a person 'whose mouth speaks loudly') and \textit{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 täŋri] yaroki] 'the light of the fivefold god', [[burızan-lar] tamgasi] 'the seal of the Buddhas' and [[oglu-m] savi] '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 täŋri yerı 'divine land', čan süsi 'royal army' with 'unmarked satellites'.


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Output</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Endo/Exo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alma terek (J)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>apple tree</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel türgi (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Wind God</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orkun ögüz (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Orkhon River</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okul kitabı (K)</td>
<td>[N+N+Px.Sg.3]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>textbook</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel täŋri (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Wind God</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alma terek (J)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>apple tree</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel täŋri (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Wind God</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orkun ögüz (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Orkhon River</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okul kitabı (K)</td>
<td>[N+N+Px.Sg.3]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>textbook</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel täŋri (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Wind God</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orkun ögüz (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Orkhon River</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okul kitabı (K)</td>
<td>[N+N+Px.Sg.3]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>textbook</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel täŋri (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Wind God</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orkun ögüz (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Orkhon River</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okul kitabı (K)</td>
<td>[N+N+Px.Sg.3]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>textbook</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel täŋri (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Wind God</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orkun ögüz (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Orkhon River</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okul kitabı (K)</td>
<td>[N+N+Px.Sg.3]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>textbook</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yel täŋri (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Wind God</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orkun ögüz (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Orkhon River</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### T.9 An exemplar of attributive compounds in Turkic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Output</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Endo/Exo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ätöz (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>(flesh) body</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demir kapı (K)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>iron gate</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taş kişri (J)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>stone bridge</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kavşak (G)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erkek kardeş (G)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Türk çocuk (G)</td>
<td>[N+N+(infl.)]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Turkish children</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akçığer (G)</td>
<td>[A+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>lungs</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karahibe (G)</td>
<td>[A+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>pepper</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karafatma (G)</td>
<td>[A+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>cockroach</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirkayak (K)</td>
<td>[Num+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>centipede</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isig öz (E)</td>
<td>[A+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>life</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>düz taban (K)</td>
<td>[A+N]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>flat-footed</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garaquaş (J)</td>
<td>[A+N]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>with black eyebrows</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kardan adam (K)</td>
<td>[N+(infl.)+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>snowman</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dostum Ali (J)</td>
<td>[N+(infl.)+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>my friend Ali</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>süt beyaz (K)</td>
<td>[N+A]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>milk-white</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cin fıkırlı (K)</td>
<td>[N+A]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>clever, crafty</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dini bütün (K)</td>
<td>[N+(infl.)+A]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>sincerely religious</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kozı yarow (E)</td>
<td>[N+(infl.)+A]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>bright-eyed</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aç gözli (K)</td>
<td>[A+A]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>greedy</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delikanlı (K)</td>
<td>[A+A]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>young man</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anadan doğma (K)</td>
<td>[N+(infl.)+V+(infl.)]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>stark naked</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
T.10 An exemplar of coordinate compounds in Turkic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Output</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Endo./Exo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anne baba (K)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>parents</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağı ş veriş (J)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>trade</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iş gücü (J)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>effort</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yer suv (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>country</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>film milim (G,K)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>film and the like</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telefon melefon (J)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>telefon and the like</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çoluk çocuk (K,J,G)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>family</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağış azuk (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tüz yilitz (E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>root</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsuy erinçin(E)</td>
<td>[N+N]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>sin</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sâv- amra- (E)</td>
<td>[V+V]</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>to like</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanlı canlı (K)</td>
<td>[A+A]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>vigourous</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bay barîmlig (E)</td>
<td>[A+A]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>rich</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gündüz gece (K)</td>
<td>[Adv+Adv]</td>
<td>Adv</td>
<td>night and day</td>
<td>Endo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedikodu(J)</td>
<td>[V+(infl.) + V+(infl.)]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>gossip</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaptı kaçtı (K)</td>
<td>[V+(infl.) + V+(infl.)]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>private bus</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vurdum diyaz (K)</td>
<td>[V+(infl.) + V+(infl.)]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>thick skinned</td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \([\text{Proper name} + \text{'at' 'name'}] > N \ 'the name (of) ...'\)
- kün at 'the name Sun' 8/4
- ay at 'the name Moon' 8/5
- yulduz at 'the name Star' 8/6
- kök at 'the name Sky' 10/5
- tağ at 'the name Mountain' 10/6
- tängiz at 'the name Sea' 10/7
- qanqa at 'the name qanqa' 32/5

(81) \([N + \text{title}] > N \ 'proper names of persons'\)
- oğuz qağan 'Oguz Kagan' common in the whole text
- ay qağan 'Moon Kagan' 1/3
- altun qağan 'Altun Kagan' 13/9
- urum qağan 'Urum Kagan' 15/1, 19/5, 19/6, 20/1
- jürčäd qağan 'Jurched Kagan' 30/7
- mıšir qağan 'Egypt Kagan' 34/7
- urus beg 'Urus Beg' 20/2, 21/3
- ulug ordu beg 'Great Horde Beg' 23/9

These constructions usually co-occur with tä-gän [say+ PART.PRF] 'called'.

13/8 kün bo çagda ong jangaqa [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 çan (?~ 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 yingêaq [night + direction] 'North' 36/5
tün sarî [night + direction] 'West' 38/3, 38/6

tang sarî [dawn + direction] 'East' 38/2, 38/5

It seems strange that tün yingêaq and tün sarî has almost synonymous heads, but their denotation is different. Based on the context, tün yingêaq is opposed to kün tuğêşi 'East' and kün batuşi '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 sarî and tang sarî are opposed to each other. tün sarî could also mean North, but tang sarî [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 decied 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: \([{\text{NP}(+\text{Gen.})} + {\text{NP}(+\text{Plur.}) + \text{Px.Sg.3}(+\text{Cx})}]\)
Subordinate compound: \([{\text{NP+ N+ Px.Sg.3}(+\text{Cx})}]\)

For the illustration of the problem, consider the following example:

\[(85)\ 4/7\ \text{belbağı 'waistbelt'} \sim \text{Oğuz qalqanı} 5/3\ 'The shield of Oğuz'}\]

\(\text{belbağı}\) is a clear example of a compound, which is written in one word, thus having the (ORT) criterion. \(\text{Oğuz qalqanı}\), 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:

\[(86)\ 36/3\ \text{kün tuşişi [Sun + birth +Px.Sg.3]} \sim '(the place of) the birth of the Sun' \sim 'East'
36/3\ \text{kün batuşi [Sun + sinking +Px.Sg.3]} \sim '(the place of) the sinking of the Sun' \sim 'West'\]

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:
There is one case in which the modifier of the compound is a phrase in which the components are conjuncted with taqï ‘and’

(88) 3/3 [sïndu taqï tangqu taqï šagam] yïngïqaqlarï
    ‘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’

   ertä bol- ‘to dawn’  4/4, 4/8, 37/7
   bellüg bol- ‘to appear, to become known’  21/9, 33/7, 35/5
   tusu bol- ‘to be to one’s advantage’  20/1

(90) [N+V] > V compounds with the verbal head at- ‘to do’;
   (PAR) alay et- ‘to mock’ yardum et- ‘to help’ or with at- ‘to throw’ (PAR) laf at- ‘to chatter’ göz
   at- ‘to run an eye over’ çiftik at- ‘to utter a loud scream’ yalan at- ‘to tell lies’ imza at- ‘to sign’

   čamat at-/at- ‘to become angry’  15/5, 27/7
   sewinci čat-/at- ‘to be glad’  24/9

The verb at- is spelled as <ʾʾd>, which would indicate in Uygur 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 qïl- 'to do'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dostluq qïl-} & \quad \text{'to make friendship'} \\
\text{jarlığ qïl-} & \quad \text{'to order'}
\end{align*}
\]

14/6, 23/3, 29/2

The examples in (91) are the only possible candidates. (PAR) examples could be Turkish namaz kil- 'to pray' and mümkün kil- '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'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tarïtqu tart-} & \quad \text{'to take tax' (lit. ‘to pull what is to be pulled’)}
\end{align*}
\]

13/2

(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 kiyım-kešek 'clothing'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čamat čaq-} & \quad \text{'to become angry'} \\
\text{čärig čak-} & \quad \text{'to gather army'} \\
\text{jarlığ jumša-} & \quad \text{'to send order'} \\
\text{jarlığ čarla-} & \quad \text{'to announce order'}
\end{align*}
\]

13/5, 13/5, 12/5, 11/1

Note that čamat čaq- and jarlığ jumša- occur with different verbal heads as well, čamat ät- (90) and jarlığ qïl- (91) and jarlığ čarla- (93) respectively. The verbal head of the jarlığ jumša- occurs with y- three other times, but here it is written (and probably pronounced) with j- because of alliteration with jarlığ. This may be used as a (PHO) criterion.

(94) [N+V] > compounds with non-light verbal head

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sewinëc tap-} & \quad \text{'to be glad'} \\
\text{baš čalun-} & \quad \text{'to obey'} \\
\text{söz ber-} & \quad \text{'to make promise'} \\
\text{dost tut-} & \quad \text{'to consider as friend'} \\
\text{duşman tut-} & \quad \text{'to consider as enemy'}
\end{align*}
\]

1/3, 42/1, 12/9, 16/7, 13/3, 13/5

The verb tap- 'to find' occurs in this form only in connection with sewinëc '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- > jap- 'to build'. This suggests that sewinëc tap- 'to find joy' is a compound with (PHO) criterion. sewinëc 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 dušman tut- has (MSY) criterion. The verb tut- 'to hold' (ED 451) governs (marked or unmarked) accusative. Thus dost tut- and dušman tut- would mean 'to hold a(n) friend/enemy. The context verifies that dost and dušman are not the objects of tut-, since the objects of the constructions are explicit (underlined in the citation): 13/1 ušol kim ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa [...] dort tutar män [...] ušbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz turur bolsa [...] dušman 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) šük 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) karş gel- 'to oppose'
6.2.1.7 Subordinate compound of the structure [Particle+V] > V

(PAR) OT yoq bol- (ED 895) 'to cease to exist'.

(98) yoq bol- 'to perish' 13/6

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) bädük bir [monster] 'a big monster' 3/4
    uğul bir tag 'a great mountain' 26/4
    [yaqši körüglük] bir qız 'a [beautiful] woman' 7/3, 9/2
    bädük bir [yurt elkün] 'a great [country and nation] 30/1
    [uğul barğuluğ] bir yurt 'a [rich]land' 33/9
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(100)</th>
<th>'a intelligent, well-behaved man'</th>
<th>35/8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uq&quot;uluq tüzün bir yer (sic!)</td>
<td>'a glowing, shining mole'</td>
<td>7/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atašluq yaraqluq bir mängi</td>
<td>'a clever, good man'</td>
<td>24/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usluq yaqši bir er</td>
<td>'a big bad beast'</td>
<td>3/6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the modifier of the noun is a subordinated clause or a postpositional phrase, the position of bir does not change:

| (101) | 'a kagan called Altun Kagan' | 13/9 |
| altun qağan tâğân bir qağan | 'a stream called Etil river' | 18/5 |
| ütil mörân tâğân bir taluy | 'a kagan called Urum' | 14/8 |
| urum tâğân bir qağan | 'a place called Baraq' | 33/8 |
| baraq° tâğân bir yer | 'a kagan called 'Egypt' | 34/4 |
| mišir tâğân bir qağan | 'a sun-like light(beam)' | 16/3 |
| kün tâğ bir jaruq | 'a kagan called' | |

In the second set however, the indefinite marker bir precedes the modifier:

| (102) | 'great forest' | 3/1 |
| bir uluq orman | 'a blue light(beam)' | 6/7 |
| bir kök yaruq | 'a black mountain' | 18/6 |
| bir yaqši beg | 'a good man' | 23/9 |
| bir altun ya | 'a golden bow' | 36/1, 38/8 |
| bir altun tâquq | 'a golden fowl' | 41/2 |
| bir kümiš tâquq | 'a silver fowl' | 41/5 |
| bir aq qoyun | 'a white sheep' | 41/3 |
| bir qara qoyun | 'a black sheep' | 41/6 |
| ~üç kümiš oq) | '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 uluq bir taq in (99) denotes a great member of the class of mountains, whereas bir uluq orman (102) denotes a member of the class of great forests.

We find examples in which bir precedes more than one modifier:
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: çärigdä bir yaqšï çäbär 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:oguz qağan bir eres qaqïz 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 Yükseker (2003: 165). In the translations of the next example, the location of bir is marked with l.

(104) tarlağuşiz bir yazï yer ' 'an uncultivated flat land' 29/9
    uslug yaqšï bir cäbär kiši 'a clever, good (clear-minded) man' 31/5
    kök tülüklüg kök jalluç bedik bir erkäk börï 'a grey furred, grey maned, great male wolf'
    aq saqalluç moz saçuğ uzun uslug bir qart kiši 'a white bearded, grey haired, sharp minded old man' 35/7
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 criteria\(^{851}\), 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.

\(^{851}\)Braun, 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 +I1 (OT +IXg) and +sIx (typical for nouns, but not adjectives) 5. Triggering compound marker (+sI) when juxtaposed with a noun. This latter critiera also does not seem functional as the PON has the following example 30/3 *fürčäd qagan* : 30/7 *fürčäd qagan-i* 'The qagan of the Jurched' and possibly 26/7 *muz tag* ~ 15/8 *muz tahi* (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):

\begin{itemize}
\item altun ya ‘golden bow’ 36/2, 36/3, 38/8
\item kümüs tağųq ‘silver fowl’ 41/5
\item kümüs oq ‘silver arrow’ 36/2, 36/5
\item muz tağ ‘Ice Mountain’ (proper name) 26/7, 26/8, 27/5, 27/8
\item altun qazuq ‘Pole Star’ (proper name) 7/5
\end{itemize}

(106) The modifier noun refers to sex (PAR: kadın öğretmen, erkek kardeşi):

\begin{itemize}
\item erkäk börü ‘male wolf’ 16/6, 17/7, 18/3, 25/1, 25/7
\item erkäk oğul ‘male child’ 1/4, 8/3, 10/4
\item ayğır at ‘stallion horse’ 26/2, 27/7
\end{itemize}

6.2.2.3 Attributive compound of the structure \([A+N] > N\)

(107) The modifier refers to colour:

\begin{itemize}
\item aq qoyun ‘white sheep’ 41/3
\item qara qoyun ‘black sheep’ 41/6
\item qara tağ ‘black mountain’ 18/6
\item kök yaruq ‘blue light’ 6/7
\item kök börü ‘grey wolf’ 11/9, 25/2
\end{itemize}

(108) The modifier noun refers to age:

\begin{itemize}
\item qart kişi ‘old man’ 35/7
\end{itemize}

(109) The modifier refers to internal attributes of human beings:

\begin{itemize}
\item čäbär kişi ‘clear-minded, clever man’ 31/5
\item yaqšï beg ‘good beg’ 23/9
\end{itemize}

(110) The modifier refers to external dimensions of geographical entities:

\begin{itemize}
\item ulug orman ‘great forest’ 3/1
\item yazï yer ‘flat land, plain’ 29/9
\end{itemize}

The following data may belong here, but there is no criteria:

(111) The modifier refers to external dimension of a human being

\begin{itemize}
\item ulug türük ‘Great Turk (proper name) 35/9, 37/5
\end{itemize}

(112) The modifier refers to animateness of the head:

\begin{itemize}
\item ölüg barğu ‘inanimate goods’ 19/9, 31/2, 31/8
\item tirig barğu ‘living goods, livestock’ 20/1, 31/8
\end{itemize}
6.2.2.4. Attributive compound of the structure \([\text{Num}+\text{N}] > \text{N}\)

\((113)\)

\(\text{üç oqlar 'three arrows'} > \text{Proper Name 41/8}\)

Turkish \(qırqayaq \text{[forty+foot]} \text{'centipede'}\) 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 \([\text{N}+\text{A}] > \text{A}\)

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) \(süt beyaz \text{'milk white'}\):

\((114)\) \(\text{ataş qïzïl 'fire-red'} 1/6\)

6.2.2.6 Attributive compounds derived from adjectival phrases with \(+l\text{VG}\)

Erdal (1991: 148) showed that the NN derivative \(+lXg\) can be added to adjectival phrases. The following examples belong to this type. The phrases to which \(+lXg\) is added are not compounds themselves, but the whole unit becomes a compound after adding \(+lXg\). The output is an adjective. This type more or less corresponds to the structure of English \([\text{green}+\text{eye}]\text{-d}\.\)

These examples cannot be paralleled with \(\text{cin fikirli} \text{[N+A]} \text{'clever crafty'}\) since it has different structure and bracketing: the readily derived \(\text{fikirli 'having idea'}\) is attributed by \(\text{cin '(like a) genie'}\)

\((115)\) \([\text{aq saqal}]\text{+luğ 'with white beard'} 35/6\]
\([\text{moz saç}]\text{+luğ 'with grey hair'} 35/7\]
\([\text{uzun us}]\text{+luğ 'with long memory'} 35/7\]
\([\text{uluğ bargu}]\text{+luğ 'with great (amount of) goods'} 33/8\]

6.2.3 Coordinate compounds

6.2.3.1 Coordinate compounds of the structure \([\text{N}+\text{N}] > \text{N}\)
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) elkün '(common) people' 10/9, (common in the text)
       OT el 'realm' (ED 121) + Mo. kün < kümün 'man, person, people' (L 501)
   b) tööl boğus 'embryo' 8/1, 10/2
       OT tööl 'progeny, foetus' (ED 491) + Mo. boğus 'embryo, fetus' (L 113)
   c) önglük čiray 'complexion' 1/5, 34/3
       OT öng 'front part' (ED 167) + Mo. čiray '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) [berkä āmgäq] birlä (spelled with <q>) 'with suffering' 3/6'
    Mo. berke 'hardship, trouble' (L: 99) + OT āmgäk 'pain, agony (ED 159)

However, the order of the Turkic and Mongolian components is inverse, and āmgäq 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) bedük bir [yurt elkün] 'a big country' 30/1
    OT yurt 'dwelling place' (ED 958) + elkün '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) altun kümüš 'gold and silver' > 'treasure'
   a) [altun kümüš]-läri ['gold and silver]+Px.Pl.3' 30/2
   b) köp [altun kümüš] '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).
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 \(yılqî\), cf. \(jarlığ jumša\)- in example (93).

(124) \(tang ertā\) '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 \(ertā\) 'early morning' is usually associated with \(tang\) and cites other Middle Turkic (Chagatay) parallelisms.
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) [tüük tüük]+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 actually extracted from (100), these are the adjectives preceding the indefinite article bir. Except atašluğ 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 yaqšï 'intelligent and good'  24/1
    bediğ yaman 'big and bad'  3/6
    qağq yaman 'chaotic and terrible'  34/6
    uq'ğülğ tüzüm '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 qağïz 'quick-tempered'  3/8
    bedik qağïz 'mighty'  27/2

6.2.3.4 Coordinate compound of the structure [Num+Num] > Num

(128) köp tälîm 'a great many'  18/9, 19/2, 19/9, 24/2

This compound occurs many times, but tälîm '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 \([V+V] \rightarrow V\)

(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) occur 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-tińăr kel-dilär [consult+PAST+Pl.3]+[come+PAST.Pl.3] 11/1
   b) kelip kengäšip (olturdilär) [come+CONV.PRF]+[consult+CONV.PRF] 40/7

\[(130)\] yumša- yibär- 'to send'
   a) yumša-p yibär-dī [send+CONV.PRF]+[send+PAST.Sg.3] 14/1
   b) yibär-üp yumša-p ([... berdī) [send+CONV.PRF]+[send+CONV.PRF] 14/4

\[(131)\] čarla- čaqır- 'to summon'
   čarla-p čaqır-dī [cry out+CONV.PRF] [call out+PAST.Pl.3] 40/7

\[(132)\] aš- ič- 'to raven, to carouse'
   aš-tińăr ič-tińăr [eat+PAST.Pl.3]+[drink+PAST.Pl.3] 11/4, 41/9

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 *îdu 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 çubuyanlar qınızlar aštîlar ičtilär '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) čalïng bulïng [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 <čʾlk bwlʾnk>. 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 \([N+N \text{ coor.}]+N > N\)

(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 \([N+N+N \text{ coor.}]+N > N\)

(135) at qağatır ud azlıq '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 \([N+N \text{ coor.}]+V > V\)

(136) \([töl \ boğus]\) bol- 'to conceive (for a fetus)' 8/2, 10/2
      \([tang \ ertă]\) bol- 'to dawn' 16/1, 25/6
      \([çğay \ ümgăq]\) 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 \([A+A \text{ coor.}]+N > N\)

(137) \([yaqšİ \ çäbär]\) er 'good and clear-minded man' 28/9
      \([eres \ qağzial]\) kişi 'quick-tempered person' 3/7

In yaqšİ çäbär, yaqšİ 'good' could be also analysed as an Adv, (if we recognise them as compounds and not enumeration), but cf. uslug yaqşİ in (127a). Theoretically the order of the components in coordinate compounds is interchangeable (see exs. (129) and (130), thus either *yaqşİ uslug and *çäbär yaqşİ are possible patterns, and there is nothing suggesting the Adv. reading of yaqşİ in (137).

6.2.4.2.2 Attributive compound of the structure \(N(\text{infl.})+[N+N \text{ attr.}] > N\)

(PAR) qardan adam 'snowman'

(138) čuqurdan \([ayğır \ at]\) 'a spotted stallion' 26/1, 26/2, 27/7
6.2.4.2.3 Attributive compounds of the structure \([A+\text{A coor.}] + [N+N \text{ attr.}] > N\)

(139) \([\text{bedik qaqiz}] \text{ [er bäg]} \) 'a great and tempered \text{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 \([N+N \text{ sub.}]\) compound with \(+lXg > A\)

(140) \([\text{ǰarlĩq baḡ}] +lĩq \) '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) \([(\text{kök túlụk}) +lụg [\text{kök ḛal}] +luģ] \) '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) \(\text{ǰürčd qagani ělkïni} \) 30/3

a) \([N +[N+Px.Sg.3 \text{ N+Px.Sg.3 coor.}]] \) 'the Jurched Kagan and (the Jurched) people

This way the meaning of coordinate compound would be 'nation' Cf. \(el \chi an\) in the civil documents (ED 121-122 \(el\)).

b) \([N+Px.Sg.3 \text{ sub.}] + N+Px.Sg.3\) '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) \(\text{yeg/yig āt aš sorma tìlådî} \) 'he rather wanted meat-food and wine' 2/1

The ambiguity of this sentence is due to the ambiguous reading of the word \(\text{yeg/yig} <\text{yyk}>\), which does not occur elsewhere in the text. \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 + V + PAST.Sg.3
b) A + 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 iĉkū 'food and drink' (ED 24) and aš- iĉ- 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.
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<th>Out</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Endo/Exo</th>
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<td>X at</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'the name of X'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X qağan X beg</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'proper name'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ettl mörän</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'the river Volga'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY, PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tün yinggaq tün sari tang sari</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>North / West / East</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>MSY, SEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw yer</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'hunting place'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaŋa qaŋa söz</td>
<td>[N+N coor.] + N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'the voice qaŋa qaŋa'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at qağatîr ud ažliq</td>
<td>[N+N+N coor.] +N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'insufficiency of beasts of burden'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belbağı</td>
<td>N+N+Px.Sg.3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'waistbelt'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>ORT, PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kün tuğti kün batułu</td>
<td>N+N+Px.Sg.3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>East / West</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>SEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>böri bellâri ud adaqi aduq köğîsiñi kiş yaprî jûrcât elkini</td>
<td>N+N+PLUR.Px.Sg.3 N+N+Px.Sg.3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'the waists of a wolf' 'the feet of an ox' 'the chest of a bear' 'the shoulder of a sable' 'the Jurched people'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sindu taqî tangtu taqî şaçam yinggaqlarî</td>
<td>NP+N+PLUR+Px.Sg.3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'the directions of India, Tangut, and Syria'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jûrcût qağanî elkini</td>
<td>N+[N+Px.Sg.3 + N+Px.Sg.3]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'the Jurched nation'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>(PAR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ertâ bol- bellüg bol-tusu bol-</td>
<td>N+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to dawn' 'to become known' 'to become reward'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čamat ât- sewinç ât-</td>
<td>N+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to be angry' 'to be glad'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dostluq şil- jartîş şil-</td>
<td>N+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to make friendship' 'to order'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarińça tari-</td>
<td>N+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to take tax'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čamat çaq- cărîq căk- jartîş carla- jartîş jumça- sewinç tap- baş çalun- söz ber- dost tut- duşman tut-</td>
<td>N+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to order' 'to gather army' 'to announce order' 'to send order'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR, PHO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>töl boğus bol- tang ertâ bol- çığay ümqäq căk- kik aw awla- qol aç</td>
<td>[N+N] + V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to conceive' 'to dawn' 'to suffer' 'to hunt game'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şük bol-</td>
<td>A+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to become silent'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarşu kel- yaqşi kör-</td>
<td>Adv+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to oppose' 'to like'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR, MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoq bol-</td>
<td>Particle+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to perish'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Components</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>altun ya kümüš tağq kümüš oq muz tağ altun qażaq</strong></td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'golden bow' 'silver fowl' 'silver arrow' 'Ice Mountainin' 'Pole Star'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY, PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>erkäk börì erkäk oğul ayğir at</strong></td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'male wolf' 'male child' 'stallion horse'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY, PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aq qoyun qara qoyun qara tağ kık yarq kık börì</strong></td>
<td>A+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'white sheep' 'black sheep' 'black (big?) mountain' 'blue light' 'grey wolf'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>çäbär kişi yaqşì beg qart kişi</strong></td>
<td>A+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'clever man' 'good beg' 'old man'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ulug orman yazì yer</strong></td>
<td>A+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'great forest' 'flat land'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ulug türik</strong></td>
<td>A+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'Great Turk'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ölüz bargu tiriğ bargu</strong></td>
<td>A+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'inanimate goods' 'animate goods'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>üç oqlar</strong></td>
<td>Num+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'Proper name'</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>MOR, PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yaqşì çäbär er eres qaätz kişi</strong></td>
<td>[A+A coor.] +N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'good and clever man' 'quick-tempered person'</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>çuqordan ayğir at</strong></td>
<td>N(infl.)+[N+N attr.]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'spotted stallion'</td>
<td>PAR, MSY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bedik qaätz er beg</strong></td>
<td>[A+A coor.] + [N+N attr.]</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'a great and tempered beg man'</td>
<td>MSY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ataş qëzïl</strong></td>
<td>N+A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'fire-red'</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>aq saqalluq moz sačluq uzun usluq ulug bargulug</strong></td>
<td>NP+IXg</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'white bearded' 'grey haired' 'with long memory' 'with great (amount of) goods'</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>PAR, MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[N+N sub.]+IXg</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>tied to order</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15. Coordinate compounds in the PON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Output</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Endo/Exo</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elkün töl boğus önglük čiray</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'(common) people' 'embryo, fetus' 'complexion'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>ORT, PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berkä ámbığağ</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'suffering'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY, PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurt elkün</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'country'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>MSY, PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altun kümüs ya q</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'treasure' 'hunting equipment' 'livestock' 'hair on the head' 'living beings'</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>MOR, MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MOR, MSY, MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PHO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tang ertä</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'morrow'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tük tülüklig</td>
<td>[N+N]+tXg</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'hairy'</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kök tülüklig kök jallğı</td>
<td>[A+N]+tXg</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'grey haired grey maned'</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MSY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uslug yaqşı bedük yaman qațiq yaman uq'ğuluq tüzün ataslug yaruqlug</td>
<td>A+A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>'intelligent and good' 'big and bad' 'chaotic and terrible' 'reasonable and disciplined' 'fiery and shiny'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köp tälim</td>
<td>Num+Num</td>
<td>Num</td>
<td>'a great many'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kengäs- kel- yumsa- yibär- čarla- čaqir- aš- ič-</td>
<td>V+V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>'to assemble to consult' 'to send' 'to summon' 'to raven, carouse'</td>
<td>Endo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čaling buling</td>
<td>V(infl.) + V(infl.)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>'hide-and-seek'</td>
<td>Exo</td>
<td>PAR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, taḵuç, töl, tusu, tük, tün, türi;k, ud, qol
Derived nouns: azlıq, atašlug, yaruqulug, batuš, bağ, baglıg, önglük, qațiq, qazuq, tartıtuq, tuğiš, uruš, uruṣunç, toquš, tutulunç
Nouns of foreign origin: berkä, čiray, boğus
Adjectives: eres,. moz, qart, šük, yazı
Derived adjectives: uq'ğuluq
Numerals: tălim
Adverbs: qaršu
Verbs:čal-, aš-, bul-, kengäš-, čarla-, čaq-, čāk-
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/füz '100', *biyn/miyn '1000', nor *tümän '10000'. Furtermore, neither distributive numerals nor fractionals appear in the PON. The following table shows the data in hand.

Table 16. Cardinal numerals in the PON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bir 'one'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*iki 'two'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>üč 'three'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tört 'four'</td>
<td>qiriq 'many'&lt; 'forty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toquz 'nine'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numeral bir always appears as indefinite pronoun 'a/an', and never as a cardinal numeral. (See Chapter 6.2.2.1)

Derived 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)nêX. The numerals bir, *iki and üč appears as ordinal numerals bir+inêi , iki+nêi, üč+ünêii. These data are always spelled as <byryn-čy, 'ykyn-čy> etc. *iki appears only as an ordinal numeral. See also Chapter 6.1.1.3.

The numeral üč takes the collective derivative +AGU: 38/4, 38/5 üচyğusü/?üčäwsü '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 <qʾrʾq>. 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 qirïq co-occurs with unit of measurement: qirïq qolač içgačnï tiktürä "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 qirïq) 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 üçoq 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'

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 ölçü barğu '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 uçganlar quš köp köp erdi
'The game coming here were many, the birds flying here were many.'

(148) 30/2-30/3 yılgïlär köp ud buzûglar köp altun kümüslär köp ärdînlär köp erdïlär erdi
'Theirs livestock were many, their herds (lit. oxen and calves) were many, their gold and silver was much, their jewel gems were many.'

(149) 18/9 çarïglärning aralarïdä köp tälim boldï uruşqul 19/2 elïgnïlärning köngülïrdä köp tälim boldï qayqul
'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 boldī but the insufficiency of the data does not allow draw further conclusions.

Other generic numerals like bir nāčā 'some' *qamaq 'all every' and *az 'few' do appear in the text, but there isn't much to tell about them. 18/1 bir nāčā appears only once. *az appears only as derivation 31/4 azliq 'shortage, insufficiency'. qamaq occurs only as a noun in 2/5 badanīnung qamaqī '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 altunī1 köp kümüşi2 köp erdinläri3 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 altunī köp kümüşi köp 31/2 altun kümüşläri köp 'its gold and silver was much'
9/4 anung sačī 1/6 sačläri 'his/her hair'
28/4 köp erdäni 14/3 köp erdänläär 'a lot of jewel gems'
18/7 og birlä 30/5 oglar birlä 'with arrows'
18/8 qüič birlä 30/6 qüičlär birlä 'with swords'
31/1 nökärlärgi elkünigā 40/6 nökerlärin elkünlärin '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 yörumäktä 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 in 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 kik köp köp bunda uçganlar quş 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 tiriğ yörügürsün
      Let the living make the lifeless walk with the qanqas!

(155) 15/3 muni 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'.

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Form(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>+Xg / +nI; +(X)n/ +(I)n (after Px)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>+(n)Xŋ / +nXŋ (~ +nXg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>+kA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>+dA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>+dAn (~ +dIn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>+Xn (+In)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>+čA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directive</td>
<td>+gArU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partitive-locative (Directive-locative)</td>
<td>+rA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similative</td>
<td>+lAyU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Comitative)</td>
<td>+lXgU (~ +lUgUn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### T.17b The declension in the PON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Form(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?Vocative</td>
<td>ay; Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>Ø (indef.), +nI (def.); +n (after Px.Sg.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>Ø (indef.); +nVng (def.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>+GA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>+DA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>+DA / +DVn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminative</td>
<td>+GAčA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?Directive</td>
<td>+GAřU(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 similitative. 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) $42/3 \text{oğullar köp män kördüm}$
  oh son+PLUR+VOC much PRO.PRES.Sg.1 see+PAST+Sg.1
'Oh, sons, I lived long [...]!'

(157) $12/2 \text{kün tug bolgıl}$
  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) $39/1 \text{oğuz qağan sewindi kûldi}$
  Oguz Kagan+NOM rejoice+PAST laugh+PAST
'Oguz Kagan was glad and laughed'

(159) $12/5 \text{andan song oğuz qağan tört sariğa järliği jümşadı bildürğülük bitidi}$
  that+Abl. after Oguz Kagan four direction+DAT. decree+NOM$_1$ send+PAST
'message+NOM$_2$ write+PAST
'After that Oguz Kagan sent a decree to the four corners of the world, he wrote a message.

(160) $2/5 \text{adaqı ud adaqı, tâg bellaři börı bellařı, tâg yağri kiš yağrı, tâg kögüzü aduğ kögüzü, tâg erdi}$
  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 \( +n \). The direct object of the sentence is usually marked when the object is definite:

(161) 4/2 bir buğu aldı
   ART.INDEF. deer+NOM take+PAST
   'He took a deer'

(162) 4/2 şol buğunĩ talnüng čubuqĩ birlä įغاça bağladĩ
   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 oğuz anĩ bastĩ yurtĩn aldĩ 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 bujurmũš 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 yernĩ uruģung̃ga berdiũsũn
   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 känlärđä bir kün uyqada bir altun ya kördi taq üč kümüş oq kördi
day+PLUR+LOC ART.INDEF day dream+LOC ART.INDEF gold bow+NOM
see+PAST and three silver arrow+NOM 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 jolda bir altun yanı taptılär
road+LOC ART.INDEF gold bow+ACC find+PAST+PLUR
‘They found a golden bow on the way.’

(169) 39/8 jolda üč kümüş oqni taptılär
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 tuğurdī
male child+NOM give birth+PAST
‘She gave birth to a male child’

(171) 8/3, 10/4 üč erkäk oğulnī tuğurdī
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:
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 üčün '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, ušbo, ušol,) (174). Example (175) is the only exception.

(174) 34/4 ušol yerning qağanı mǐşir täğän bir qağan erdi
    PRO.DEM place+GEN kagan+Px.Sg.3 Mǐşir say+PART.PRF ART.INDEF kagan be+PAST
    'The kagan of that place was a kagan named Egypt.'

(175) 3/4 ušol orman ičindä 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 oguz qaganníngi atith mus taği içigü qaçip ketti
Oguz Kagan+GEN, horse+Px.Sg.3 ice mountain+NOM, 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 baši birlä oguz qalqanin urdī
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 birla içäcqa bağldi
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' baqîn- 'to look at (by himself/herself) kir- 'to enter somewhere' min- 'to mount (a horse)' ötâ- 'to carry out an obligation (to the Sky)'.

### 7.2.2.6 The locative case

The locative case marker is +DA, always spelled as ʾd. 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 anung baš-în-da atašlu yaruqlu bir mängi 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 baš-î-da bir kümüš tağuq qoydï
    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-în-dä 'on its top'.

### 7.2.2.7 The ablative case

The ablative case marker is +Dan ʾdn, but after labial vowels +DOn ʾdw 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 köktün bir kök yaruq tüšti
sky+ABL ART.INDEF light descend+PAST
'A blue light(descend) descended from the sky.'

(183) 33/4 köp urušqudan köp toqušqudon song anlarnï aldï
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 +sXn+ ~ +(s)X as before the locative. However, the examples are less.

(184) 1/8 anasïning kögüz-ün-dön
mother+Px.Sg.3+GEN breast+Px.Sg.3+ABL
'from the breast of his mother'

(185) 36/3 bo altun ya kün tuğïšïda kün batušïğıça 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 tâg oqlarnï kökkäçä 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 -GAรู(n), ilgârï (24/8, 25/9, 28/4, 29/4) 'ahead' and tašqarun (33/6, 35/4) 'outwards'. The possible allomorph in back vocalic environment has final -n. However, neither of their stems *ilk 'first' nor *taš '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 tuğşida '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 kelğänlär kik köp köp bunda uçqlanlar2 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 başida1 bir kümüš taqul quydı adaqida2 bir qara qoyunq başladi
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 başla- governs the dative case, see 4/3, 4/7 iğaça başladi 'He tied it to a tree'
The behaviour of goy- 'to put, to place' is somewhat different. It always governs the dative case in the verbal compound at goy- '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 kikları2 köp quşları3 bar turur
PRO.DEM+LOC many antelope+PLUR+Px.Sg.3 kö many bird+PLUR+Px.Sg.3 existent
stand+Aor.
'Vere 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 *bʾn-kʾ*/*bʾz-kʾ* and in 21/6 as *bʾnkʾ*, where the second appearance is almost word by word repetition of the sentence in which the form *bʾz-kʾ*/*bʾn-kʾ* appears. The instance in 21/6 is surely a singular form, otherwise it would have been spelled as *bʾskʾ* or *bʾz-kʾ*. Of course, since *-z* and *-n* without diacritics look exactly the same, we cannot exclude the possibility that instance 20/8 is also *bʾnkʾ* *bängä*. (Still, there is an instance in 11/8 where *bizgä* <byz-kʾ> is attested.)

We know that the dative form of the PRO.Sg.1 *bān* 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 *mʾn-kʾ*, 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 <qʾn-qʾ* qağan-ğä 'kagan+DAT'. Thus I accept Bang's reading *bängä* throughout the PON. The same holds true for *sängä*, which is spelled as both *sʾn-k* and *sʾnk*. Here one may ask the question whether there is a respectful form of *siz* (written as *sʾz* and as *bʾz* for *biz*). The PRO.Pl.2 form is *sənlär*. In the "oath" described at 21/2 -22/8, Urus's son titles Oguz Kagan with *sän* as the from *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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.1</th>
<th>Sg.2</th>
<th>Pl.1</th>
<th>Pl.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>bän/män</td>
<td>sän</td>
<td>biz(lär)</td>
<td>sız(lär)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>bini/mini</td>
<td>sini</td>
<td>bizni</td>
<td>sız(lär)ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>bänıñ/mäniñ</td>
<td>säniñ</td>
<td>bizniñ/bizin</td>
<td>sızıñ/sız(lär)niñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>baña/mança</td>
<td>saña</td>
<td>bizıña/bizkā</td>
<td>sızıña/sızlärkā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>min(i)Dä</td>
<td>sinDä</td>
<td>bizintä/biznitä</td>
<td>sızıntä/sıznıdä/sızlärďä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>min(i)Din</td>
<td>sinidın</td>
<td>biznidın</td>
<td>sıznidın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir.</td>
<td>bañaɾu/manaɾu</td>
<td>sañaɾu</td>
<td>bizıñaɾü</td>
<td>sızıñaɾü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simil.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>sinçılăyũ</td>
<td>bizınçılăyũ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### T.18b The declension of personal pronouns in the PON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Sg.1</th>
<th>Sg.2</th>
<th>Sg.3</th>
<th>Pl.1</th>
<th>Pl.2</th>
<th>Pl.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>män</td>
<td>sän</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>biz</td>
<td>senlär</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anı</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>mänün</td>
<td>mänıng/mänıng</td>
<td>sänning</td>
<td>anung/anıng</td>
<td>bizning</td>
<td>senlärnün</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mängä/bängä</td>
<td>sängä</td>
<td>anga</td>
<td>bizgä</td>
<td>senlärgä</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>sändän</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 simulative 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.18.b. 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 sënłär and not sız, 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 *täğ* 'like' (Erdal 2004:201)

### T.19a The declension of demonstrative pronouns in Old Turkic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>these</th>
<th>that</th>
<th>those</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>bo</td>
<td>bolar</td>
<td>ol</td>
<td>olar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>bünü/münü</td>
<td>bolarnı</td>
<td>anı</td>
<td>olarnı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>munun/monun</td>
<td>bolarnın</td>
<td>aniña</td>
<td>olarnın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>muṇa(r)</td>
<td>bolarka</td>
<td>anja(r)</td>
<td>olarka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>bunta/munta</td>
<td>bolarta</td>
<td>anta</td>
<td>olarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>muntın</td>
<td>bolardın</td>
<td>antın</td>
<td>olardın</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>montag</td>
<td>bolardın</td>
<td>antag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>munun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>aniña</td>
<td>olaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>bunča/munča</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anča</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directive</td>
<td>(bärü)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anjaru</td>
<td>olargaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similative</td>
<td>munīlayu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anīlayu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### T.19b The declension of demonstrative pronouns in the PON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>these</th>
<th>that</th>
<th>those</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>(uš)bo</td>
<td>munlar</td>
<td>(uš)ol</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>muní</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anı</td>
<td>anların</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anung/anıng</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>munga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anga</td>
<td>anlarğa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>munda / bunda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>anda</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>mundan / mundon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>andan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>andağ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 columnn, 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 n◄cük or n◄cük ‘how’. The spelling of the latter example is blurred by water damage on the folio. I did not include n◄gü ‘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 subjunctor 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.20a Possessive suffixes in Old Turkic</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>+(X)m</td>
<td>+(X)mXz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>+(X)ŋ</td>
<td>+(X)g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>+(s)X(n+)</td>
<td>+(s)X(n+); +(lAr)I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.20b Possessive suffixes in the PON</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>+(U)m</td>
<td>+büz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>+(u)ng</td>
<td>+unglar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>+(s)X(n+)</td>
<td>+(s)X(n+), +(lAr)I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-bïz 'our regal charisma' and 22/2 bizning urug-bïz '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 tapuŋaŋlar-ga 'in your vicinity'. It shows similar analogy we have seen at the second person personal pronouns: sën : sën-lär instead of sën : sîz. 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 üynüng tağamïlALTUNDAr gold+ABL be+PAST 'The wall of this house was made of gold (lit. was from gold).'

The enumeration follows with kümüştün 'silver+ABL' and tâmürdan 'iron+ABL'.

I think example (192) below may also belong here. Basically I accept BA’s translation 'alaca' for čoqurdan (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: ēoqur, ēouqur 'variegated, dappled, spotted, mottled, pock-marked' (L 199). Since the indefinite pronoun precedes čuqurdan ayğïr at, the latter should be analysed as a complex attributive compound where the head is a coordinated compound itself of the kadın őğretmen 'woman teacher' type [čuqurdan [ayğïr 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 ayğïr 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 jörgûdâ Goosegu da őngä 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 bäg oğulun tağ başi da tārīng mörān arasīda yaqṣi bārik baluqqa yumsādī
PRO.DEM urus beg 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) (C₁)V₁P (C₁)V₁*
ap aq
26/6, 26/9 ‘very white, snow-white’
qi̇p qizil
19/4 ‘very red, blood-red’
qi̇p qara
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 işiğ ‘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 (+DA̱n) 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 third person singular possessive suffix.

(197) 1/8 yaqṣi näwsikilär demás körülüürök 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 yakşı körüglük bir kız erdi
   girl be+PAST
   'She was a very beautiful girl'

(199) 33/9 köp işığ 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 mäning 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 ağizī ataş qızl erdi
   fire-red be+PAST
   'His mouth was fire-red.'

(202) 3/3 bunda uçqanlar quş 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governed case N/PRO</th>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abl. / Abl.</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>'after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. / -</td>
<td>tāg</td>
<td>'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. / Gen.</td>
<td>birlā</td>
<td>'with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? / Gen.</td>
<td>üčün</td>
<td>'because of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. /?</td>
<td>körä</td>
<td>'according to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat. /?</td>
<td>qaršu</td>
<td>'against'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom. /?</td>
<td>tāgān</td>
<td>'called as'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tāring mörān arasïda
   deep river+NOM middle+Px.Sg.3+LOC
   7/1 ušbo yaruqnung arasïnda
   PRO.DEM light+GEN middle+Px.Sg.3+LOC

   41/4 anung bašïda
   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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relational noun</th>
<th>Attested inflection</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ič</td>
<td>LOC, DAT</td>
<td>'inside, inner part'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ara</td>
<td>LOC, PLUR</td>
<td>'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapūg/tapiğ</td>
<td>LOC, DAT, PLUR</td>
<td>'vicinity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baš</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>'top, beginning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ûst</td>
<td>LOC, DAT</td>
<td>'upper part, top'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>art</td>
<td>ACC, PLUR</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?quduğ</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>'bank, riverside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jan</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>'side'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mörānning quduğïda₁ bir qara taq tapiğïda₂ urušqu tutuldï
   letil 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 *quduṅ* 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 *qïdï* '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 *tapïṅ* in (204) and *tapuḷlar* in (205):

(205) 17/5-8 kördi kim čäringing tapuḷlarida₁ kök tülüklig kök jalluṅ bedik bir erkäk bori yörügüdä turur ol börining artlarin₂ qaṭıglap yörügüdä 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 wolf₂.'

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|alaṅg₂ ya taqi qalqan|

I you+PLUR+DAT become+PAST.Sg.1₁ kagan take+IMP.1₂ bow and shield

'T 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 -mAț (208), just as in Old Turkic (Erdal 2004: 241, 422).

(207) I/8 ušol ogul anasining kögüzündön oğuzni içip₁ mundon artıraqa içmudi₂

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 başumni qutunni berä män bergü berip dostluqтан čümqaz 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 qağanı̄ elkünü₁ oğuz qağanğı qarşu 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 közlär₁ al sačları̄ qašları̄₂ 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 altunı́₁ köp kümüşı̄₂ köp erdinilärı̄₃ 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 taqı ilgärǖ kettilär.
    go+PAST+PLUR
    'Then (they) went ahead.'
7.8.3 Finite tense and aspect markers in the indicative mood

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 (±POST)
B. Intraterminality (±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. Prospectiveity (±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

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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 sets in the PON: (+PAST) and (–PAST).

In the PON, the passage between the two strata is allowed by the subjunctor *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:

\[
\text{(214) 4/5 tang ertä čağda keldi körü *kim*₁ (...) buğunü alup turur₂}
\]
\[
\text{see+PAST that₁ ( +PAST) take+CONV.PRF stand+AOR₂ ( –PAST) 'He came at dawnbreak, and [saw that]₁ the creature [has taken]₂ the deer.}
\]

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:

\[
\text{(215) görüyör₁ < *kör-A yorir-r : görür₂ < *kör-ür}
\]
\[
\text{see+PRS₁ < see+CONV.IMPRF walk+PRS see+AOR₂ < walk+PRS –PAST(+INTRA^F) : –PAST(+INTRA^NF)}
\]

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 yorir erdi | -irdi <-*ur erdi | -di | -mişti <-*miş erdi |
| –PAST | mekte(dir) <-*mekte turur | -iyor <-*A yorir | -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 tilādi
   hunt+INF wish+PAST
   'He wanted to hunt down this (monster).'

(217) 15/5 oğuz qağan čamat etüp anga atlağu tilādi
   set out+INF wish+PAST
   Oğuz 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 senlärdän baš čalunguluq tilāp mān 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 ayytī kim manga köp altun yumşap sân1 baluqni yaqṣī saqlap sân2 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 qutbïz senning qutung bolmuš bol₂-up tur₃-ur
become+PART.PRF₁ (x1)
become+PART.PRF become₂+ CONV.PRF stand₃+AOR (x2)

From now on₁, our regal charisma has became₁ your regal charisma. From now on₂ Our heredity have became₃ the heredity of your lineage.

(222) 22/4 tängri sängä yer berip bujurmaš 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 ušol orman içindä bedük bir (...) bar erdi yılqïlarnï yelkïlernï yer erdi [...] berkä ämgäq birlä elkïnni bas up 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 qağamnunq atî muz tağ içige qaçïp ketti oğuz qağan mundan kïp çïgay ämgäq çäküp turdï
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}dï, where the main verb is also tur-, I assume that there is copular reading of the form turdï.
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 jarugton [...] bir erkäk börï čiätï ušol börï oğuz qağanga sÖZ berip [turu]r₂ er₁-di promise+CONV.PRF [stand+AOR]₂ be₁+PAST (x1)

,From that lightbeam a [...] male wolf stepped forward. That wolf (had) made a promise₁,₂ 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 sarumüš 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 tuğišida da kün batušigaça teggün erdi bii üç kümüş oq tün yinggaqqa 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 turdï again.

(228) 29/6 kene bir kün bo kök tüllüklüg kök jalluğ erkäk börï yörumüy tur₁-di oğuz taqï turdi qoriğan tüskürü 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 turdï 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>–PAST</th>
<th>+PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NF</td>
<td>-Vp turur (218)</td>
<td>-Vp erdi (223)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Vp män (turur) (219)</td>
<td>-Vp turdï (224)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Vp sän (220)</td>
<td>-Vp (turur) erdi (225)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-MVš erdi (226)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-gAn erdi (227)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-mAyn turdï (228)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-gAn turdï (228)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>-MVš bol-Vp turur (221), (222)</td>
<td>turur (219), (225)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-(y)A tur- (228)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ušol qïz andağ köülüglük erdi kim küläs kök tängri külä turjur įgłasa kök tängri įgłaya 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 laughs1, whenever she cries, the Blue Sky also cries2.'

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 bašumni qutumnï berä men bergü berip dostluqtan čįmqaz 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 kelîp kördi kim bir şunggar (...) içâgusin yemâktâ turur  
ed+INF+LOC stand+AOR (x1)  
‘He came and saw that a falcon is eating the innards of the creature.’

(232) 17/4 andan song oğuz qağan qorîgannî türürdü ketti kördi kim çârîgîŋ tapuqlarîda  
kök tûlülûg kök jallûg bedûk bir erkûk bûrî yörügûdû 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 oğuz qağan bir çuqurdan ayîgîr atça minä tur1-ur er2-di uşbo ayîgîr atnî bek çoq  
sewîr 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 kûnlûrdä bir kûn oğuz qağan bir yerdä tângrînî jalwargûda erdi qaranggûluaq keldi  
köktûn bir kök yaruq tûšti  
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 çârîgîŋ tapuqlarîda kök tûlülûg kök jallûg bedûk bir erkûk bûrî  
yörügûdû tur1-ur ol börînîn qatûlap yörügûdû [turur]3 er2-dilâr 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 walking2,3,4 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 *erdlär* (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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 25 +INTRA operators in the PON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-A turur (229)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-A män (230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mAktA turur (231)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gUdA turur (232)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turur (235)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(y)A tur- (233)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ušol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar [turur]₂ bol₁-sa tarīq₄u tarīp₄u dost tutar män₃ ušbo kim ağızumğa baqmaz [turur]₃ bol₄-sa čamₑat čaqüp čärig čäkip duş₃man tutar män₆ tawraq basıp asturıp yoq bolsungil 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 heed₁₂ my words, I will₁ take tribute, and consider₃ them as friends. For those who are not going to heed₁₄ to my words, I will₆ burst in anger, raise an army and consider₆ them as enemies.Crushing them and hanging them up quickly, "Let you perish!" – So I will₇ say and do₇.'

(237) 22/4 men sángä bašumnï qutumnï berä män₁ bergü berip dostluqtan čqmaz tur₂ tep tedi
give+CONV.IMPRF PRO.Sg.₁ friendship+ABL go out+NEG.AOR stand+ø (x₁)
'I (hereby) give₁ my head and regal charisma for you. Paying tribute, (I) will (never) quit₂ from friendship.'

(238) 16/9 taqï tedi kim ay ay oğuz urum üstige sen atlar bol₁-a sân₂ ay ay oğuz
tapuğunalgarga män yörür bol₃-a män₄ ride+AOR become₁+CONV.IMPRF+PRO.Sg.₂ (x₂)
walk+AOR become₃+CONV.IMPRF+PRO.Sg.₁₄
'So it said:"Oh, oh, Oğuz, you are going to ride₁₂ against Urum! Oh, oh Oğuz, I am going to walk₃₄ in your vicinity!'.'

Table .26 +PRO operators in the PON

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NF</td>
<td>-r män (236)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-maz (dur) (237)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>-r (turur) bol₄-sa (236)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-maz (turur) bol₄-sa (236)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-r bol₄-a män₃ (238)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-r bol₄-a sân₂ (238)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turur (236)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tur (237)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.8.3.7 turdï, 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 taqï turdï 'Oğuz also stopped'. It cannot be excluded that in the other sentences of (228) turdï has the meaning 'to stand, to stop', but, as I mentioned in Chapter 6.8.3.4.2.2 there are examples when turdï is simply identical in meaning with erdi:
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 finite 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 also be observed in the establishment of viewpoint operators.

Parallelly, 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:

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 construcción 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$^\text{NF}$) marker, is replaced by -(y)A turur/men/sen, and the former took the +PRO meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.27 Inventory of viewpoint operators in the PON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+PRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Vr (turur)/pm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focusing elements:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-dXm</td>
<td></td>
<td>-dXmXz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>-dXŋ ~ -dXg</td>
<td>-dXŋXz(lAr) ~ dXgXz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-dI</td>
<td>-DI(lAr)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T.28b Personal markers in +PAST temporal stratum in the PON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-DUm</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-DI</td>
<td>-DI(lAr) (erdı)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>män</td>
<td></td>
<td>biz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>sän</td>
<td>siz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>ol</td>
<td>ol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T.29b Personal markers in the –PAST temporal stratum/nominal predicates in the PON.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>män</td>
<td></td>
<td>biz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>sän</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>turur/tur</td>
<td>tururlar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ałıng in alałıng ya taqı 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(A)yIn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-(A)yIm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>Ø, -(X)ŋ</td>
<td>-(X)ŋ, -(X)ŋlAr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-zUN</td>
<td>-zUN, -zUNlAr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Person</td>
<td>Ø/ -GII / -(U)ng</td>
<td>-aling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Person</td>
<td>-sUn / -sunűl</td>
<td>Ø / -(U)ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Person</td>
<td>-sUn / -sunųl</td>
<td>-sUn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -lAr. The number, however can be marked on the subject. Consider the following examples:

(241) 39/3 ay aqalar ya bolsun senlärńüŋg
   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 iniľär oqlar bolsun senlärńüŋg
   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 bąg bolung
   oh oh PRO.Sg.2 PRO.DEM+LOC beg become+IMP.2
   'Oh, Oh, you shall become beg here!'

(244) 40/4 oqlar tąg 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 ač 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 jıdalar 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 -sunųl (third person). The form -sunųl is not attested in any other Old or Middle Turkic texts (BA: 32). These forms do not co-occur with plural subjects.
It is obvious that the forms containing -GIl are the morphologically marked ones. The morphological marker -GIl originally may have been the imperative form of the verb qil- 'to do' + Ø (IMP.Sg.2) 'Do!'. Although the forms containing -GIl only appear in the singular paradigm, it cannot be surely stated that the -GIl and -sUnGIl 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 nacıük-nıcıük 'how?' (the spelling is not clear).

(249) 21/7 atam čamat ätüp 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 suğıdan nacıük keçär 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 baluqni qatıqlaği käräk turur
town+ACC fortify+INF necessary stand+AOR.
'The town must be fortified.'
The construction -\textit{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):

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(252)] 42/2 andan song oğuz qağan oğullarığa yurtın ülüstüüp berdi
\hspace{1em}son+PLUR+Px.Sg.3. country+Px.Sg.3+ACC divide+CONV.PRF give+PAST
\hspace{1em}'After that Öguz kagan divided his country in favor of his sons.'
\end{enumerate}

There is another example which may belong here, but the sentence is ambiguous. The finite verb of the sentence is spelled as <bʾrmʾz>, which can be read as \textit{barmaz} 'does not go' or \textit{bärmäz} 'does not give'. If we accept the second reading, still the construction expressing beneficicial act would be -\textit{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 -\textit{Vp berdi} as a (+POST) construction, then -\textit{GU bärmäz} may be the (–POST) counterpart. Unfortunately there are not enough examples to ensure the opposition.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(253)] 15/2 ušol urum qağan oğuz qağannung järliğin saqlamaz erdi_1 qatiqlağu bAr2-mAz erdi_3
\hspace{1em}AOR.NEG be+PAST_1
\hspace{1em}[INF go/give]_2
\hspace{1em}'That Urum kagan \textbf{did not heed} Öguz Kagan's order. He \textbf{did not go} to join him/[\textbf{did not join (for Öguz's benefit)}].'
\end{enumerate}

Another two verbs may belong to modal verbs, namely \textit{oltur-} 'to sit' and \textit{küdä-} 'to wait'. If so, the modal meaning would be durability. And the auxilliary verbs would be competing forms. For \textit{küdä-} see the note on 1/4 in Chapter 4., and cf. (265) below.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(254a)] 40/7 kälip kengäšip olturdılar
\hspace{1em}CONV.PRF sit+PAST+PLUR
\hspace{1em}'They came and consulted (\textbf{for a long time}).'
\item[(254b)] 1/3 ay qağannung közü yarıp küdädı
\hspace{1em}Ay Kagan+GEN eye+Px.Sg.1 shine+CONV.PRF wait+PAST
\hspace{1em}'Ay Kagan's eyes laboured (\textbf{for a long time}).'
\end{enumerate}

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 ušol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa tarïtqu tartïp 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 uyğurnüŋ qağanî bola män kim yerning tört bulungänung qağanî 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 aðuŋ yedi jïdan öldürüŋ tänïr 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 herarer/reader is helped by the context to understand the semantic relationship between the clauses feauring these verb forms and the main clauses to be a causal, circumstancial 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 taqï uruʂqulardan song balaqñï 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 çärig birlä atlap tuğlarnï 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 sânğä başlap yolñi köqürür 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
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 aqalarnï inilärni čarlïp 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 qağanqa elçi yumşap yibärđi
PRO.DEF Altun Kagan Oğuz Kagan+DAT envoy send+CONV.PRF send+PAST
This Golden Kagan sent an envoy Oğuz 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 ğarlıq čarlïp, kengäštilär keldilär
people+DAT announce order+CONV.PRF consult+PAST+PLUR come+PAST+PLUR
He announced an order, and (they) assembled for council.

(264) 28/3 män mängläp, sängä at bolsun qağarlïg
PRO.Sg.1 rejoice+CONV.PRF PRO.Sg.2+DAT name become+IMP.3 Qarluq
'For I am happy, thy name shall be 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 köüzü yarip küdädı
Ay Kagan+GEN eye+Px.Sg.1 shine+CONV.PRF ?+PAST
Ay Kagan's eyes shone and she laboured (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 soğuç boluptan ol bâq qağardan sarummiş 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.'
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 ani kördükțä usi ketti
  Oguz Kagan PRO.DEM+ACC see+PART.PRF+LOC
  'When Oguz Kagan saw her, he lost his mind.'

(268) 16/2 tang ertä bolduqta oğuz qağannung qorğan-täg 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 ertä bolupta aqalarni inilärni čarláp kaldürdi
  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 uyqodon song tüštä körgänin oğuz qağan-täg 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 qağanı miśir tägän bir qağan erdi
miśir say+PART.PRF ART.INDEF qağan
The kagan of that place was a kagan named Egypt.

(272) 23/5 etil tägän bedük bir näng turur
etil say+PART.PRF (The one) named Etil is a great thing.

(273) 20/2 urum qağannung bir qarundašï bar erdi urus beg tägän 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 kliklär köp qušlar awlağularidan song jolda bir altun yanï taptïlar
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 qarï bolğundan mäning qağïzluqum 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
uruşqudon song oğuz qağannung čärigigä nökärärlärigä elkänigä Andağ uluğ öülüg barğu tüşti kim yu̇klämäkkä kaldürmäkka at qağatir ud azliq 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
jolda ušbo ayğır at közdän yitü qaçtı
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(+POST)</th>
<th>(–POST)–(–INTRA)</th>
<th>(+INTRA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vp ~ U</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(subsequent actions, manner)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GU+Px+dan song</td>
<td>-dukta ~ -upta</td>
<td>-mäktä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(subsequent actions)</td>
<td>(parallel/subsequent actions)</td>
<td>(parallel actions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GU+Px+dan (cause)</td>
<td>-uptan (cause)</td>
<td>-mäkkä (purpose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tägän</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GAn+Px+n</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 appear 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 bildürğılıkta bitilmüş erdi kim* 'in that message, it was written that...' at 12/7, and *angaJarlıg 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 taqī *tädi kim* etilning suğidan nüčük keçär 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 exceptions is (281). I did not find similar usage of kim in Erdal's (2004) grammar.

(281) 6/9 oğuz qağan yörüdi kördi kim uşbo yaruqung arasında bir qız bar erdi see+PAST SUBJ.
'Öguz 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 mörannüng suği qıp qızıl sáp sänggir tąd 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 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 bellular bolsun kim kündünki bulungda baraq° tąd̩n bır yér 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.
Those who would heed my words, I will take tribute (form them) and consider (them) as friends.

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-nāmā, 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 Oğuz 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 Oğuz Kagan, in the beginning of the rule of Oğuz’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-Dîn's Ǧāmī at-Tawāriḥ, written in 1310-1311, published by Jahn: 1969. The language of the source is Persian. It is abbreviated as RD.

2. ‘Alī Yazījīzāde'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 Gāzi Bahadur Khan's Şejere-i Terākime. The source is written 1661, and published by Zuhal Kargı Ölmez: 1996. The language of the text is Turkî (Chagatay Turkic). Abu'l Gāzi’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 Gāzi's death. It is published by Desmaisons: 1970. The language of the source is also Turkî. 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 čān, son of dīb jāwqū. The source also names oğuz's brothers. YZ: (A 5a/15-5b/2): Oğuz's descendence is deduced also only on the paternal branch, his father is Qara čān, son of Dibyāqūqy /Dip Ya'qūb UK: (1/1): the father is qara čān, his descendence is not discussed in details. AG: (69b/9-70a/10) Oğuz's father is Qara čān, the eldest son of Moğol, who is the grand-grandson of Baqy 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 ałuq/ağuž '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/10-70/b/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 who helped him (the transcription ayğur in Bakır's edition is probably based on the Arabic spelling of the word آیغور). 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) Öğuz wages war against his father. The tribes Halağ, Qanlı, Qarluq, which are called Qıpçaq together, their leader are the Uyğur, and the Yiğac Er. AG: (71b/12-72b/7) Here the story is basically the same as RD’s. The same etymology is given for the name Uyğur to which the following is added: The word Uygur is synonymous with the word yapušğur (~ OT yappili ‘to adhere to stick to sg’. ED 880). Maybe AG identifies -ğur 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 uydur). When the milk mellows, it comes apart. When it solidifies, it sticks together (yapişa turur). I stucked to the imam (imamça uydum). When the imam sits, everybody sits. When he stands, everybody stands. Aren’t they then stucked to him?"

4. Wives/Children: PON: (6/9-10/7) Öğuz finds two wives. One is unearthly beautiful, and steps out from a lightbeam. She gives birth to three children, who are named after enitites 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 enitiites of the earthly sphere. RD: (C 590v/14- 20) Öğuz 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 Öğuz-nämä: Ideological background |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Motif                      | PON | RD  | YZ  | UK  | AG  |
| Parents                    | x   | b   | b   | b   | b1  |
| Birth/The name Öğuz        | a   | b   | b   | b   | b   |
| Struggle for rule/The name Uyğur | a   | b   | b   | b   | b   |
| Wives                      | a   | b   | b   | b   | b   |
| Children                   | 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 Qağer (Čīn/Qitay): **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 Qağer lives on the right wing at this time (ong ḟaŋaŋq, 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 Qağer, are only mentioned in the context of conquering India. **YZ:** (A 2a/6, 2a/8): Qitay (Čīn) is only mentioned, and not in the relevant part. **UK:** (7/11) Qitay is only mentioned. **AG:** (72b/17-73a/1) Qitay/Čīn is only mentioned as the southern neighbour of the jürčad.

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:** Urus'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] -GII 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 Orīs is only mentioned (73b/16).
9. Saqlap[^55]: 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 \((\text{saqla-p} \text{ see. 8. } \text{Urus/Rūs above})\). RD:-

YZ:- UK:- AG: (69a/6) does mention Saqlab, but outside the relevant part.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>PON</th>
<th>RD</th>
<th>YZ</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>AG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Altun Qagan</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urum/Rūm</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey wolf</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urus/Rūs</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saqlab</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 33. The unique features of the PON

8.3 The dependent Turkic tribes

10. Qıpčaq: PON: (23/4- 24/8) When Oğuz arrives to the river Etil, he cannot cross it. In his army there is a clever man, Ulugh Ordu (Great Horde). The manuscript is damaged here, but it can be concluded from the context that Ulugh Ordu ties together the wood found on the bank, and they can cross the river with the rafts. Oğuz gives him the name qıpčaq 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-îş- '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 qıpčaq 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 qıpčaq means hollow tree. The UK: (8/1-8/6) only mentions the name qıpčaq, which is a collective name for the Qarluq, Qaylı and Qalač. See also 3. Uyğur. 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 qıpčaq for the child.

[^55]: 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 *yığačer* of UK and *ağaçeri* 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 Şakliba (sg. ŞaklabiŞliklabî). The Arabic word is also a copy of Middle-Greek Σλάβος. The Greek word is connected to the self-designation of the Slavs (Slovène, 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 qıpçaq. Thus the child was named so. The present (AG's age) word for that is čıpçaq, because the common folk reads the kaf as ğîm. 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 Qârluq <q’r-luq> The name is based on folk etymology: OT qâr 'snow' (ED 641) with the derivative -IVG. RD: (C 596r /29-31) While they travel across Ğür and Ğarjistân 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 (qâr + 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' (qarliqda qalan). UK: (8/1-8/6) only mentions the motif, see 10. Qıpçaq 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 solider 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 aj! ~ 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 form the army, Oğuz sentence the soldier. 'Stay hungry!' UK: (8/1-8/6) The motif is only mentioned, see 10. Qıpçaq AG (76a/1-13) = RD, except that the army is marching towards Iran.

13. Qagli/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 (ganqa, <q’nq’>). He loaded the inanimate goods (ölüg bargu) on the
cart and harnessed the living goods (tirig barğu) 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 qanqalug ('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 qanlıs. 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 qanlı (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 qanqlı-s and carried the booty away on these. They named the builders qinqli (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. Qıpçaq. AG: (72b/16-73a/9) After the war with the Tatars (who lives near the čüred 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 qanqlı ('one having a cart').

Table. 34 Motifs in the different version of the Oğuz-nāmā: the dependant Turkic tribes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>PON</th>
<th>RD</th>
<th>YZ</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>AG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qıpçaq</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b(1)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>b1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarluq</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b1</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qalač</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b1</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The conquest of the jürced /Qanlı</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a1b1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(º) <b’r’q’>. 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’sʳ> (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 İt Baraq. He and Oğuz agreed that two men of each party will fight. The men of İt Baraq grease 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.

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defeat them with a feint. Özgûz breeds four children from their women. Later (C 596v/15-18) the Baraq people refuse to pay taxes, so Özgûz sends the Qîpçaq against them, to the banks of Itil–Atîl (Volga) and Jâjiq (Ural) rivers. Missr: (C 595r/11-20). Özgûz sends his children against Missr (Egypt), who force them to pay taxes. YZ also mentions Ihburaq in connection with the Qîpçaq (A 8a/11). Missr is only mentioned (A 2a/8, A 9a/13). UK (8/12) does not mention Qîl Baraq, only Missr. 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. Özgûz fought him, but he was defeated and fled away. There were two great rivers here (see: 10. Qîpçaq: AG) Later Özgûz defeats and kills It Baraq and converts his people (75a/2-6). Missr is designated as the western border of the empire, but its conquest is not mentioned (75b/15, 77b/13, 78a/13).

15. Sindul/Hind/Hindûstân. PON: (33/2) It is only mentioned as <syndu>, and that Özgûz conquered it. RD: (C 591r/20-26) Özgûz sends envoys to India, in order to force them to submit him and pay tribute. The Indians answer very rudely, so Özgûz marches against India through 'Alûdâq and Iqâriyya. 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 Iqâriyya. In Eastern-India there was a place which was ruled by Oğul Jagmâ-Hân. He heard about Özgûz's conquests and submitted to him. When Özgûz left the territory, they rebelled, and Özgûz conquered them. Then Özgûz conquered čin-mâčin (identical with čûrčed?) and nangâs, and returned to his homeland. YZ (A 2a/8) and UK (8/13) only mentions Hind. AG (76b/1-10): There was a Qalaç beg called Muhammad Bahtiyar, who went to the great, but divided India, and conquers three provinces. The Şejere-i Türk only mentions Hindûstân, but this story in 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 ~ tâj '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 ǧîtay and čûrčed. Tangqut is called Tibet by the Tâjîk.

17. Šâm: PON: (33/3) It is only mentioned, spelled as <š’q’m>. Özgûz conquers it. RD: (C 593v/1-594r/11) Özgûz's children fight against Tekfür ǧan in Šâm, 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 Özgûz find the bow and arrows here (see. 19. Üčoq/Buzuq)
8.5 Dividing the empire

18. Uluğ Türük/ İrqil-χöja **PON:** (35/5-37/6) **Uluğ Türük** (Great Turk) is a wise man (aqsaaqal 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, tüşimäl (<Written Mo. tüsimel 'official, functionary, dignitary' [L: 857]) seems to be connected with the Turkic word tüş '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 fat her, and each three of them find a golden bow and three silver arrows. **RD:** (C 596r/21-31) İrqil-χöja, Oğuz's governor and counselor, tells Oğuz's eldest son, Kün čan to make a celebration. According to RD, İrqil means 'help' and χöja means 'great'. **YZ:** (A 10a/2-10b/17) is similar to RD, but the interpretation of name İrqil-χöja is not included. **UK:** does not mention this motif. **AG:** (79a/7-80a/6) İrqil-χöja was the son of an Uyğur aqsaaqal. He was the visier of Oğuz, and lived very long. Kün čan divides his empire according to İrqil-χöja’s advice.

19. Buzuq /Üçaq: **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 Üçaq (‘three arrows’, the younger 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 Üçöq, 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 İrqıl şöja's advice, Oğuz's eldest son, Kün şan 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 Oguz 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 İrqıl şöja's advice, Oğuz's eldest son, Kün şan 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>PON</th>
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<th>YZ</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>AG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uluğ Türük/ İrqıl Hoja</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b(a)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>b1(a1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buzuq/Üçöq</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a1</td>
<td>a1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebration</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>a1b1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Öğuz 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) Öğuz 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 Öğuz'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 *Qıpçaq.* 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 *Qıpçaq* (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). Öğuz occupies the city without fight, because Urus' son pledges loyalty to Öğuz. 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 *Qıpçaq* 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 Türük* (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) Öğuz's mother sees a dream after Öğuz'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. *Öğuz's birth / The name Öğuz.*
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 Öğuz* 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 Öğuz-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 Öğuz, 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 Öğuz-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 *Qipçaq, Qarluq* and *Qalač* are interpreted differently in the two groups. The interpretation of the name of the fourth tribe *Qanlı* is very similar in all versions. The group 'Dividing the empire' *Uluğ Türük/İrqül-ţöja, Üçog/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 Uyğur and the Qaylı: They appear after the defeat of Qara țan, in Middle-Asia. The Qipçaq appear after the defeat of İt Baraq. Oğuz sends them to their homeland, to the bank of the Volga (Etil) later. The Qalaç 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 Rašid ad-Dīn's work, Yazïǰïzāde's work, and the Uzunköprü version

It is known that ʻAlī Yazïǰïzāde knew RD's work when he compiled Tevâriḫ-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 yiğac 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 Ġâzi's work compared to Raşîd ad-Dîn's and the Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nâmâ.

We can see clearly see that there are three versions of the Oğuz-nâmâs. 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-Gâzi'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 Oğuz'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 Qïpçaq happen after the first clash with It Baraq.

b) The name-giving of the Qalaç happens during the campaign against Iran.

c) The snow fallen in the mountains of Ğur provides base for the name-giving of the Qarluq.

d) The name-giving of the Qanglï 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 Uyğur 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 Uyğur and the description of Oğuz's second wife may be connected here. So on this point AG is more informative than the PON.

PON: (5/5-8) andağ körüglük erdi kim yerning yelküni anı körsä ay ay a şu ölibiz tâp süütân 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 uyğurning qağanı bolamän kim yerning tört bulungünung 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 fürcäd, we read the following parallel sentences of similar meaning.

**PON:** (29/9) munga fürcäd tätururlar erdi bedük bir yurt, elkün erdi yılqıları köp ud buzağlari köp altun kümüsları köp erdiniləri köp erdilär erdi

**AG:** (72b/16-17) füjrät tegän uluğ bir yurt turur şährları ve kändləri köp

c) During the namegiving of the Qanglı, **RD** (C591r/16) and **YZ** (A 8a/1) calls the newly invented cart qaŋlı, and the tribe gets the same name. The **PON** (32/4-5) and **AG** (73a/6) call the cart qanqa <qʾnqʾ> and qanq respectively. Both versions explain this with the voice made by the carts. The tribe gets the name qanqaluḡ <qʾnqʾlwq> or qanqlï 'having qanq(a).

d) **Aqsaqal** 'wise man (lit. white beard)' **PON:** (35/4-35/9) Uluğ Türüäk has the feature aq saqalluḡ. **AG:** (79a/7-9) Ɨrqïl ɂōjä is a son of an Uygur aqsaqal **RD:** (596v/23) explains the meaning of the name Ɨrqïl ɂōjä where ɂōjä 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 counsulor 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/Üçöl, (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 Oguz, while in the others Oguz's eldest son Kün ดำเนินการan 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° tägän bir yer bar turur) uluğ barguluğ bir yurt turur [...] elkinilərining öngliki čiyayi qap qara turur

**AG:** (73a/13-14) (andïn song barip qara Ӧltayni aldï) ol häm uluğ yurt turur kišisining čiyayi hindï täg 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] [...] duşmanlarnı işlağurdu m doṣtlarumnı män küldürdüm [...] AG: (69b/11-12) (baqqu dip ɔan)[...] doṣtlarïnï düṣmänlärïn yığlağanîn körüp sevinüp

(92b/9-11) qozî tegin atasî taxtînda olturup düṣmänlärïn yığlatüp wä doṣtlarïnî 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 coincidience. 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 Uyğur 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 qaŋli : qaŋ(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, Tāngiz. 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 Qıpçaq, Qanglı, Qarluq and the Qalaç (not necessarily in this order) join him. He gives them their respective names. The Qanglı 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/Mïsr 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-ğîtay, that their complexion is black. RD: (591v/26) The land of Qîl 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 Mïsîr there. The spelling of Baraq is <b ’r’q ’> and that of Mïsîr is <m ’s ’r>. In the case of the latter it is sure that it is identical with Mïsr as a great proportion of data in the text containing etymologic /ï/ 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 ğan and Oğuz breaks out because of their different religion, since Qara ğan 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)

```
bugu yedi adug yedi fidam oldurdi tamin bolsa
[monster]-ni sunggar yedi ya ogum oldurdi 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 Mīsīr/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, Kūn ɣan 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 Kūn ɣan 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 Taṅqut 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/Saqlab: 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. Urus, 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 supremacy over Eastern Europe, which is wrapped in disguise of an Oğuz-nâmâ, 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 Uyghur-(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 Uyghur 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 Chapter 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 /ï/ and /i/ with the grapheme ʾ (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 /ï/-like sounds with ʾ 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 ʾ, 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 ʾ 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 form 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 \(<ʾq>\), \(<ʾqw>\) 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 /gl/. 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 Sümüer (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 (Uygur) ḫagši. I would rather suppose that the performer was a speaker of a Kipchak variety, as the realization of the sound sequences /aḡ/ and /aw/ seem to be coincided and perceived by the scribe as the same, who wrote down both of them as \(<ʾqw>\). The fluctuation of word-initial \(<y>\) and \(<č>\) 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 Turcological 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-nâmâ 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-nâmâ is performed in a Kipchak variety?" resolves: The region between the lower-Volga and the Aral Sea is a borderland between Oğuz- 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-nâmâs 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 Qipçaq '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 the 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 synthetize our findings. As a final conclusion based on the present work, it can be said that the Pre-Islamic Oğuz-nâmä (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', bandan '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', duşman 'enemy', ataş 'fire', badan 'body' <Ar., see below). There are also a few words of ultimately Sanskrit origin (buyan 'virtue' < (Mo.) < Skr. *puniya*; nävšiki '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 ~ jalguz 'alone', yaruq ~ jaruq 'light beam', yarlıq ~ jarlıq 'order, decree*'). The latter is spelled with <ç> (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 *udığ* 'sleeping', aygir < OT *adğer* '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-nâmä* 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 obscurence 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-namâ versions (Chapter 8.7), an important match of details between the PON and AG is revealed: At the story of the Qanglî, 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 Qanglî respectively. The meaning of the word is 'one having qanq 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 'Qanglî'.

Figure 40. shows how I imagine the distribution of the Oğuz-namâs 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.
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 Özbeg Khan (1312-1341). Ötämiş Ḥāǰǰi'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 immediatly 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 őtä- 'to carry out an obligation to the Blue Sky' tängrini jalwar- 'to beg, pray to the Sky'; qut 'regal charisma' (for more details on the religious worldview, see Chapter 8.8.1). Loanwords of

Figure. 40 The interrelatedness of the Oğuz-nāmā versions
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, Öğuz'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-nâmâs, 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 yarlığ 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

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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, 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 ?alîn.
ač- `<č` 'to open'
OT ač- 'to open (trans.)' (ED 18)
29/2-29/3 anca jarfığı qıldğı kim sən munda qal ~ qalqan açqungdon song kəl orduqa täp tädi

ačqu `<čqw` 'the action of opening'
see ač-

aččiğe `<čč` 'key'
~ CC acčue`key' (Erdal 1991: 358)
28/8 bo üününg tağamı altundan erdi tänglüqları taçi kimишtən qalqanları tämürdən erdlər erdi qapuluq erdi ~ yoq erdi

adaq `<d` 'foot, leg, lower part'
OT adaq 'leg, foot' (ED 45)
var. 15/9 `<d`-
2/3 ~i ü Đầu bəllərə böri bəllərə təq läyqər kiš yaqər təq kəğəzü aduq kəğəzü təq erdi [..]
15/9 qırıq kündən song muz tay təqän tağnun ~ıqə kəldi
41/6 anqul [ba]şida bir kimış tağıq yoydı ~ıda bir qara qoyunun bağlaði

aduq `<dwüp` 'bear'
OT aduq 'bear' (ED 45)
2/5 aduqi uq adaqi təq bəllərə böri bəllərə təq läyqər kiš yaqər təq kəğəzü ~ kəğəzü təq erdi [..]
4/6-4/9 kenə bir ~ aldi altunluq belbağı bərlə yığaça bağlaði kettə munion song ərtə boldı təng ərtə çəğda kəldi kordi kim <monster> ~ nı alup turur
5/9 andan song tädi kim [..] buğu yedi ~ yedi jidəm qərəmər tämür bolsa <monster>nı şungqar yedi ya oqum qərəmər yel bolsa täp tädi kettə

ağız (aż) 1. 'mouth' 2. 'speech'
OT ağız 'mouth' (ED 98)
var. `<qYz` 1/6, `<qyz` 13/1, `<qz` 13/4, 14/5, 30/8
1/6 uşol oğulunun öngülüki çirağı kək erdi ~ıqı atası qızıl erdi közləri al sacları qəsləri qara ardılər ardı yaqqə niwsikərdən köngirləkqr erdi
13/1-13/4 [..] senlərdən baș çalanguluq tılaq mən turur uşol kim məning ~umğa baqar turur bolsa tar-tuqta tartüp dost tutar mən tep tädi uşbo kim ~ umğa baqmaz turur bolsa çamət çaqıp çəriç cəkıp duşman tutar mən [..]

14/5 uşbo altun qəşən oğuz qəşənə elçi yumşap yibərdi [..] ~ıgə bağındı yaqqə birliq dostluq qildı
30/8 oğuz qəşən bașlı jürçəd qəşənən bagət öldürdi başın kəstə jürçəd elkinin öz ~ıgə bağınturdı

aq `<q` 'white'
OT aq 'white' (ED 75)
26/6 munda uluğ bir taq bar erdi üzə üstündə tong təq muz bar turur anung bașlı soğqantan ap ~ turur
27/9 uşol beg tağlarğa kərdi yörədə toquz kündən song oğuz qəşənə ayğır atnï kəldərdi muz təqarda kəp soğq bolulpta ol bəg qəşərdən sarunmiş erdi ap ~ erdi
35/6 kənə taşqarun qalməsən kim belləq bolsun kim oğuz qəşənnən jənida ~ saqalluq mox saçələq uzun uluğ bir qart kiši turur bar erdi
41/3 [ong jangəqta bir qırığ qolaça ıgəç tıkırdı ~ anung] başdə bir altun [təqığ yoydı] [adaq]da bir ~ qoyun bağlaði

aqa 'elder brother' `<q`>
Mo. aq-a 'elder brother, senior, elder' (L 59)
37/7 oğuz qəşən uluğ tərəkfön sözün yaqqə kərdi ögünün təldi ögünügə kərə qildı andan song ertə bolupta ~lərnɨ inilərni çərləp kəldərdi 39/2 [oğuz qəşən sewindi kəldi təqı yanı üç buzquluq qildı taqı ayttı kim ay ~lər] ya bolsun senlərəqna yıq təq oqlərni kökəqə atung təp tädi

?al I `<l` 'front part' cf. ałm
OT al 'front, facing, prior position' (ED 121)
8/8 kan bir kiń oğuz qəşən ağıq kəti bir qəl arəsində ~indən bir ıgəç kərdi

al II `<l` 'a colour of eye'
OT al 'scarlet' (ED 120)
1/6 ağız atası qızıl erdi közləri ~ sacları qəsləri qara ardılər ardı yaqqə niwsikərdən köngirləkqr erdi

al- `<l` 'to take'
OT al- 'to take' (ED 124)
4/2 kənlərdə bir kən ağıq çıqə [..] bir buğu ~də tələnu çubağı bərlə ıgəqə bağlaði ketti
4/5 təqə çəğda kəldi kordi kim <monster> buğunu ~up turur
4/6 kanə bir aduq ~də altunluq belbağı bərlə ıgəqə bağlaði ketti
4/9 təqə çəğda kəldi kordi kim [monster] adaqın ~ıp turur
5/4 oğuz jida birla <monster>nüng başın urdi anı öldürüdi qılıq birlə başın kästi ~dî ketti
7/9-8/1 uşbo yaraqışn qarışında bir qız bar erdi [...] oğuz anı kördükta us qalmadi lketi sewdi ~dî lanug birlə yattı tilägüsin ~dî ltol boğus boldi
10/1-10/2 bo igaçnən qawucaqında bir qız bar erdi [...] oğuz qagan anı kördükta us qetti jürükçigə atas tüşti anı sewdi ~dî aning birlə yattı tilägüsin ~dî ltol boğus boldi
11/7 taqi tādi kim män senlärqə boldum qagan l~aling ya taqi qalgan ltamğa bizgə bolsun buyan kök börî bolsunqılı uranl [...]]
14/3 uşbo altun oğuz qagan qaqangə elci yumşap yibərdi köp tālim altan kımmüş tərtip köp tālim qız yaqut taş ~up köp tālim ärändiliə yibərəp yumşap oğuz qaqangə soyurqap berdi
19/7-19/8 oğuz qagan başər urum qagan qacți oğuz qagan urum qagannung qaglanluqin ~dî elkinin ~dî
33/5 andan song [...] sündu taqi tangqut taqi şagam yıngıqalərığa atlap ketti [...] anlarını ~dî öz yurtığa birlədi
34/8 oğuz qagan başı lmsür qagan qacți loğuz anı başı lyrunt ~dî ketti
35/3 anung dostları köp sewinç [...] erdi anung düşmanları köp qayğular [...] oğuz qagan başı sanağuluqsız namələr yilqılar ~dî yurtığa tüşti ketti
38/9 kün ay yulduz [...] jolda bir altun yanı taptılarp ~dílar atasqə bərdilərd
39/8 kök tag tängiz jolda üc kımmüş oqní taptılarp ~dílar atasqə bərdilərdi

?aši n <l’n> ‘front part’ (cf. al I)
OT ašin ‘forehead’ (ED 147)
8/8 kän bir kün oğuz qagan awqa ketti bir kəl arəsində ~dan bir iğać kördi

altun ‘gold, golden’ <’ldwi> OT altun ‘gold’ (ED 131), Mo. altan(a) ‘gold’ (L 33)
var. <’ldw> 7/5
7/5 yaqşı körüqlük bir qız erdi anung başındə atasl Wisdom yarəqlug bir məngi bar erdi ~ qazuq tāg erdi
13/8-14/1-14/2 känə bo çağda ong jangaqta ~ qagan tāgən bir qagan bar erdi uşbo ~ qagan oğuz qaqangə [...] köp tālim ~ kımmüş [...] soyurqap berdi
21/1 oğuz qagan uşol baluqqa atladı urus beqning oğuli angə köp ~ kımmüş yibərdi taqı tādi kim [...]
1/1 […] bolsunğül täp tädilär anung –su uşbo turur
5/8 ya birlä oq birlä şungqarni öldürdi başin kasti andan song tädi kim şungqarnung –sī uşbo turur
6/3 bugu yedi aduş yedi jidam öldürdi tãmür bolsa <monster>nī şungqar yedi ya oqum öldürüdi yel bolsa täp tädi ketti taqī <monster>nīng –su uşbo turur

až <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 qarangulqu keldi köktön bir kök yaruq tüşi […] uşbo yaruqunung –sīnda bir qız bar erdi yalguz olturur erdi
8/8 kānā bir kūn oğuz qaga awga ketti bir köl –sīnda alindan bir iğā kōrdi bo iğācnung qawuqçindin bir qız bar erdi jalguz olturur erdi 18/9 etil möräänng quduğida bir qara taq tiŋpiğinda urusuq tutuldu oq birlā jida birlā urusuqta lēriŋqarınımg kökllärdä köp tälim hördi urusuqta lēriŋqarınımg kökllärdä köp tälim hördi qaygul
20/4 ol urus bāq oğulun taq bāsida tārīng mörān – sīda yaqšī birşk baluqqa yumşadī

art <r’d> ‘back part of something’
OT ’back, hinder part’ (ED 200)
17/8 kōrdi kim čāriŋning tapuqlarida […] bir ērkāk bōri yöriŋgūdā turur ol börininq –lārin qāfiŋlap yöriŋgūdā turur erdilär erdi

artiqraq <r’d ąr’q ąr’q> ‘anymore’
OT artiq ‘additional, extra amount’ (ED 204)
artiqraq ‘extremely, excessively’ (ED 211)
2/1 uşol oğul anasining kögüzündün oğuzni içip munden – içmādi yeg et aš sorma tilādi

astur- <sdwr> ‘to suck up, execute’
OT astur- ‘to order to suspend or to execute’ (ED 244)
13/6 […] uşol kim māning ağızqumga bāq turur bolsa tārīťuq tartīp dost tutar mān tęp täđi uşbo kim ağızqumga baqmaq turur bolsa çamnat cāqıp čāqıp čāqıp duşman tutar mān taguraq bāşıp –ıp yoq bolsunğul täp qīlur mān tęp täđi

aš <ş> ‘food’
OT aš ‘food’ (ED 253)
2/1 uşol oğul anasining kögüzündün oğuzni içip munden artiqraq içmādi yeg et – sorma tilađi

11/2 […] kengästilär kāldilär qīr’q šīrā qīr’q bandang ğupturdi türlıg –lär türlıg sormalar čubuyanlar qimizlar aštılär ičtilär

aš- <šš> ‘to eat, gorge’
OT aš- ‘to eat, to eat up’
11/4 türlıg aštıl türlıg sormalar čubuyanlar qimizlar –lär ičtilär
41/9 [ong] yaqta buzulqu olturdi čong yaqta üč oqlar olturdi qīr’q kiin qīr’q kečā –lār ičtilär sewinč taptılär

aša- var. 42/3 <šš > 42/3 <čš ‘to live’
OT yaša- ‘to live long, for many years' (ED 976)
36/9 taqī tädī kim ay qaɣanum sàngga –gu bolsunğul uzun ay qaɣanum sàngga tūrlük bolsunğul tüzün
42/3 oğuz qaga […] taqī tädī kim [ay] oğullar köp mān –dum l urusuqlar köp mān körđümül jīda basa köp oq attum aygühr birlā köp yöriŋdüm […]

at I <d> ‘name’
OT at ‘name’ (ED 32)
8/4-8/5-8/6 künlärdän song kāčālārdän song yaruđi üč ērkāk oğul tuɣurdī birinčisigī kīn ~ qoydilar ikiņčisigā ay ~ qoydilar ücünčisügā yulduz ~ qoydilar
10/5-10/6-10/7 künlärdän song kečālārdän song yaruđi üč ērkāk oğul tuɣurdī birinčisigī kök ~ qoydilar ekiņčisigā taq ~ qoydilar ücünčisügā tāngīz ~ qoydilar
23/3 oğuz qaga […] aytī kim iṁăng köp attun yumşap sān baluqqa yaqšī saqlap sān anung üçün anga saqlap ~ qoyḍī dostluq qīldī
23/9 lērīgdā bir yaqšī bāq bar erdi anung –i uluq ordu bāq erdi
26/7 munda uluq bar taq bar erdi üzā üstündā tong taqī muz bar turur anung başī soqutuŋ ap aq turur anung üçün anung –i muz taq turur
28/3 oğuz qaga sewinč birlā kūldū aytī kim ay sān munda beglärgā bolğīl başīl mān māngılāp sànga ~ bolsun qaɣarinlīg
29/1-29/4 lērīgdā bir yaqšī čābār er bar erdi anung –i tömrürtī [qa]ɣul tägān erdi anga jaɾlīg qīldī kim sān munda qal ač qaļqan aćqungdun song kāl orduqa täp täđi munday anga qaļač ~ qoydī ilgarī ketti
31/6 oğuz qaɣanunnaŋ čārīgdīa usluq [% yaqšī] bir čābār kiši bar erdi anung –i barmaqlīğ josun bellig erdi
32/5-32/8 munlar qaŋqa yörüümktä qaŋqa qaŋqa söz berä turur erdilär erdi anung ücün anlarça qaŋqa ~ qoydilar oğuz qaɣan
qanqalarını kördi küldü taqı ayttı kim qańqa qańqa birlä ölıgni tirig yöürügsün qańqalüg sängä ~ bolguluq qańqa bälşürsün täp tädi ketti 35/9 kânä taşqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung jandıda aq saqalüg muz sa-cliug uzun uslug bir qart kişi bar erdi uq’g-guluq tüzün bir yer erdi tüšimäld erdi anung ~i ulug türük erdi

at <’d> II ‘horse’
OT at’ horse’ (ED 33)
2/7 uşol oğul […] yilqilar kündäyä turur erdi ~larğä mínä turur erdi kik aw awlaya turur erdi 26/1-26/2-26/3 oğuz qağan bir çuqurdan ayığär ~qa mínä turur erdi uşbo ayığär ~nä bük çöq sewür erdi jolda uşbo ~ közdän yitü qatçı ketti 26/8 munda ulug bir tag bar erdi [...] anung ati muz taq turur oğuz qağannung ~i muz taq içiqä qacli ketti 27/7 čärigädä bir bedik qaçeq er bâg bar erdi [...] uşol beg tağlarğa kirdi yördü toquz kündön song oğuz qağanqa ayığär ~nä kälbdüri 31/3 urusqodon song oğuz qağannung čärigigä nökärläqigä elküngä andaq ulug olug bargu tüsti kim yülälmäkkä keldümäkkä ~ qaçätir ud azlıq boldi

at- <’d’> ‘to throw, shoot’
OT at’ to throw, shoot’ (ED 36)
(cf. at- <’d’>)

ata <’d’> ‘father’
OT ata’ father’ (ED 40)
21/3-21/7 urus bägning oğulü anga köp altun küümüs yibärdi taqı tädi kim ay mäning qağanum sän mgäqä ~m bo baluqni bârip turur taqı tädi kim baluqni qatlıqlagu kärik turur [...] ~m çamät åttüp ersä manüng tapum erü mür [...] täp tädi 38/9 kün ay yulduz [...] jolda bir altun yanı taptılar aldılar ~siğa bârdilär 39/8 kök taq tängiz[...] jolda üc küümüs oqni taptılar aldılar ~siğa bârdilär

ataš <’d’š’> ‘fire’
Per. ätish’ fire’ (ST 13)
1/6 uşol oğulung öngülä ciraği kök agüzü ~ qızıl erdi közläri al saqlarqi qašlarqi qara ärdürä ärdi 9/9 oğuz qağan anı kördükätä us ki ketti jürükigä ~ tüstü anı sewdi aldı anüng birlä yattı tilägüsün aldı

atašlug <’d’s-1wq’> ‘shining’
Per. ätish’ fire’ (ST 13)
7/3 yaqqi körücklug bire qez irdi anung başında ~ yarulqlug bir mängi bar erdi altun qaçuq tâq 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 çüqit jiđa birlā ya oq birlâ taqı qiltič birlā qağan birlā ~di 15/6 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannung järliğin saqlamaz erdi [...] täp yarlığiğa barmadi oğuz qağan çamat åttüp anga atlağu tilädi čärig birlā ~p tuglärni tutup kätti 16/9 uşol böri oğuz qağanqa söz bârip turur erdi taqı tädi kim lay ay oğuz urum üstigä sän ~r bolsa sän lay ay oğuz tapuunglarğa män yörür bolsa män täp tädi 20/9 ol urus bâg oğulun tag başida târing mörän arâsida yaqşır bârik baluqqa yumşadı [...] oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa ~di 25/3-25/4 uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanqa aytti kim amdi čärig birîla munda ~ng qağan ~p elkölnürlän beglänri kâldürül män sängä başlap yolnî körgürür män täp tädi 33/3 känä bo [...] erkâk böri birlâ sîndu taqı tangqut taqı şagam yîngqaqlari ~p ketti [...] anlärni aldı öz yurtça birlâlî baştı basti 34/6 uşol yerming qağanı misîr tägän bir qağan erdi oğuz qağan anung üstigä ~di qațiq yaman uruşuq boldi

atałąğu <’dl’qw’> ‘the act of riding out’
OT atlan- ‘to set out, march against’ (ED 58)
15/6 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağannung järliğin saqlamaz erdi [...] täp yarlığiğa barmadi oğuz qağan çamat åttüp anga ~ tilädi čärig birlâ atlap tuglärni 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
awla- <’wl’> ‘to hunt’
OT awla- ‘to hunt wild game’ (ED 10)
2/8 yıldızlar küdkiyä turur erdi atlarğa minä turur erdi kik aw ~ya turur erdi

awlağu <’wl’-qw> ‘the act of hunting’
OT awla- ‘to hunt wild game’ (ED 10)
3/8 kün ay yulduz köp klikär köp quşlar ~läränd song jolda bir altun yani taptiłar afdlar atasığa bärüldilär
39/6 kän andan song kök taq tängiz köp klikär köp quşlar ~läränd song jolda üc kümüş öqni taptimar afdlar atasığa bärüldilär

awlamaq <’wl’-mç> ‘the act of hunting’
OT awla- ‘to hunt wild game’ (ED 10)
3/8 oğuz qağan bir eres qaqız kişi erdi bo <monster>nį ~maq tilädi

ay I <’y> ‘moon/Prop. Moon’
OT ay ‘the moon’ (ED 265)
1/3 känä künlärdän bir kün ~ qagannung kozü yarip küdädi erkäq qulgone tuğurdi
6/8 känä künlärdän bir kün oğuz qağan bir yerdä tängrini jalwarğuda ärdi qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kök yarq tüüşti kündän ~ aydan qoqulgüluqraq erdi
9/7 yaqşı körülük bir qiz erdi […] andaq körugluk erdi kim yer ng yekkini anı körsä ~ ~ ay ay olärbiz täp sütdän qumuz bola tururlar
16/8 üsol böri oğuz qağanqa söz bärir turur erdi taqı tädi kim l~ ~ oğuz urum üstügü sän atlar bola sän l~ ~ oğuz tapuğunlarğä män yöür bola män!
21/2 urus bänning oğulü angä köp altun kümüş yıbärdi taqı tädi kim ~ männing qanandum sän mängä atam bo baluqni bärir turur […]
24/6 oğuz qağan sàwinç ätti küldi taqı ayttį kim l~ ~ sän munda bâg bolungl qıpçaq tägän sän bâg bolung!
28/2 oğuz qağan sewinç birlâ küldüm ayttį kim l~ ~ sän munda benglärä bõglî bâşîq män mängilap sângä at bolsun qagarîlğî
36/8 (ulug türük) uyqudon song tüstä körgänin oğuz qağanqa bildürdi taqı tädi kim l~ qanandum sän gä jâşağu bolsungul uzun l~ qanandum sângä türülk bolsungul tüzün […] tängiri bârdi tüsündüm kâldürün lûlora turur yerni uruğüngä berdûrsün itäp tädi
37/8 andan song ertä bolupta aqalarını inlärni çârlâ kâldürdi taqı ayttį kim l~ männing kungülmum awnî tiläp turur qarî bõlguðandum männing qaqızluqum yoq turur ikün ay yulduz tang sarîga sänler barung ikök taq tängiz tün sarîga sänler barungl täp tädi
39/2 [oğuz qağan sewindi küldü taqı yani üç] buzuguluq qildî [taqı ayttį kim l~ aqaljar ya bolsun senlärnîngl ya täg oqlarını kökkaça atungl täp tädi
40/2 oğuz qağan sewindi küldü taqı oqlarını üçüçga ülaštürüd àqta ayttį kim l~ inlîr oqlar bolsun senlärnîngl ya ätti qnp oqlar täg sänler bolungl täp tädi
42/3 oğuz qağan oğullarıга yurtun ülaštürüp berdi taqı tädi kim l[~] oğullar köp män așaduml urușqular köp män körüglük jıda basa köp qq attunl ayğır birlâ köp yördüml […] l

ayğır <’yýr’> ‘stallion’
OT adğır ‘stallion’ (ED 47)
26/1-26/2 oğuz qağan bir çuqdanda ~ atqa minä turur erdi uşbo ~ atni bâk çeq sewür erdi
27/7 çârigädi bir bedik qaqız er bâg bar erdi […] ușol beg taglässä kirdi yördüi toqüz kündön song oğuz qağanga ~ atni kâldürüdü
42/4 oğuz qağan oğullarıga yurtun ülaštürüp berdi taqı tädi kim [øy] 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.
aşaduml uruşğular köp män kördümül jüda basa köp oq attum~ birlä köp yördümül […]

ayt- ’<yd’ ‘to tell’
OT ayt~ ‘to make sy to speak, to ask’ (ED 268) 23/1 oğuz qagan yigtingin sözün yaqşi kördi sewindi küldi taqi~ -tį kim lmängä köp altun yumşap sään balaqni yaqşi saqlap sänn tāp tädi 24/6 oğuz qagan dəwinči atti küldi taqi~ -tį kim lay ay sän munda bāg bolungl qipurq tāgān sān bāg bolungl tāp tädi 25/2 ušbo kōk bōri ~tį kim amdī čərīg birlä [munden atlang qagan] atlap elkməni bəlgəni keldürgül män sänga başlap yolnī körqitur män tāp tädi 28/1 oğuz qagan sewinč birlä küldi ~tį kim lay sān munda bəlgərga bəştič män mängiläp sāngi at bolsun qağarlıgįl tāp tädi 32/6 oğuz qagan qanqalarını kördi küldi ~tį kim lənqan qaŋq birlä öluŋnī təyir yürgūrsün ləŋqaləug sāngi at bolgulqan qaŋq bəlgūrsün lət tāp tädi 37/8 andan song ərtə bolup aqlərini inliňi čərlap küldürdi taqi~ -tį kim lay mänĩng köngülüm avnĩ tiləp turur qarçi bolgunđən mənĩng qaçılıqüm yeq turur ıkũn ay yulduz təng səɾği səłnär barung ləkŋ təq təngiz tūn səɾği səlnər barungl tāp tädi ?39/1 [oğuz qagan sewindi küldi] […] [taqı~ tį kim lay aqlalar] ya bolsun senlərniŋ lya tāg oqlərni kökəlča atuni gül tāp tädi 40/1 oğuz qagan sewindi küldi […] taqı~ -tį kim lay inliñi oqlar bolsun səlnərniŋ lya atti oqlər təq səlnər bolungl tāp tādī 41/5 oğuz qagan qanq qalancı ~tį kim lay amdī čərīg birlä [munden atlang qagan] atlap elkməni bəlgəni keldürgül män säng ašədum| urušqular köp män kördüm|

azliq <‘sl~ju’ ‘insufficiency’
OT azliq ‘scantiness, insufficiency’ (ED 268) 31/4 oğuz qagannung čərīgigä nəkərlərliŋgä elkməni andaq uluğ əlıg bərju tüsti kim yuləməkkə kəldürməkkə at qağafir ud ~ bəldi

ärdəni <‘rd~ny’ ‘jewel gem’

OT ärtini ‘jewel, precious object’ (ED 212) var. <‘yrdynỳ’ 34/2
14/3 uşbo altun qagan oğuz qaganna köp tālim altun kümüsü tartılı köp tālim qiz yaqut tash aluŋ köp tālim ~lāri yibarüp yumşaplı oğuz qaganna soyuqrqap berdi 28/4 oğuz qagan sewinč birlä küldi aytì kim […] tāp köp ~ soyuqrqad ilgərü kettì 30/3 munga jürcəd tətəururlar erdi bedidik bir yurt elkmən erdi yülüqlər köp ud bəzəqlər köp altun kümüşləri köp ~ lāri köp erdilər erdi 34/2 ləkəndüŋkə bulungə baracə təgān bir yer bar tururl […] lətəni köp kümüşi köp ~ lāri köp tururl

är- see er-

ät <‘d’ ‘meat’
OT āt ‘flesh, meat’ (ED 33) 2/1 uşol oğul anasınıng kögüzdən oğuznǐ içip munden artıqraq iəmədi yeq ~ aš sorma tilədi 15/6 oğuz qaganna čamət ~üp ana atlaqq tilədi 21/7 atam čamət ~üp ərəs mənĩng tapum erir mü 24/5 oğuz qagan sewinč ~tį küldi

badan <‘b~d’ n> ‘body’
Ar. > Pe. badan (ST 165) 2/5 qırıq kündün song bədəkələdi yördü oynədï adaqvi ud adaqvi təq bərli̇ri bərli̇ri təq yagərə kiş yagərə təq köğüzü aduq köğüzü təq erdi ~inuq qamagï təq tüləkəl irdi

bagla- <‘b~ql’> ‘to tie’
OT bagla- ‘to tie, to fasten’ (ED 314) var. <‘bYql'> 4/3 4/3 bir buğu aldlığı əl buğunüş talnunq čəbuqi̇ birlə iğaçqa ~dį ketti 4/7 kənə bir aduğ aldğı altunuğ bəlbaği birlə iğaçqa ~dį ketti 41/3-41/6 oğuz qagan [bədük ordu] […] [ong yaqda qırıq qolaq iğaçnən tiktürdi anuŋ] başiðə bir altun [tağqoqq yeqdi adaqvida] bir aq qoyun ~dį [ong] yaqda qırıq qolaq iğaçnən tiktürdi anuŋ başiðə bir kümüş tağqoqq yeqdi adaqvida bir qara qoyun ~dį

309
bağlıq 〈b’qYq〉 ‘bound’
OT bağlıq ‘bound, fastened’ (ED 314)
21/9 sändan jarluq bağlıq bellüg bola män

baq- 〈b’q〉 (see also baqin-) ‘pay attention, to make someone to obey’
OT baq- ‘to look at, to obey’ (ED 311)
13/2-13/4 uşbo bildirgülükta bitilmiş erdi kim män uygurning qaqanlı män män kim yerning tört bulungin of qaqanlı bolsam kârîk turur senlärändan baş čalungluq tiläp män turur uşol kim männing ağızumga ~ar turur bolsa târtiq târtip dost tutar män tep tädi uşbo kim ağızumga ~maz turur bolsa çamat çaqip çâриg çâkip duşman tutar män […] täp tädi
15/5 čong jangqaðida urum tâgän bir qaqan bar ärdi […] uşol urum qaqan oğuz qaqanönü järliqin saqlamz erdi qatîqlaugu barmaz erdi muni söz sözü maz tutmaz män män tâp yarlıqga ~madž

baqin- 〈b’q n〉 ‘to pay attention, to obey (for own benefit)’
OT baqin- ‘to look at (oneself)’ (ED 316)
14/5 känä bo čagda ong jangqaça altun qaqan tâgän bir qaqan bar erdi uşbo altun qaqan oğuz qaqança elçi yumsüp yibärdi […] ağıziğa ~dä

baqıntıur- 〈b’q ndwr〉 ‘to have someone to pay attention, to make someone to obey’
OT baqıntıur- ‘to look at (oneself)’ (ED 316)
30/9 šarlâqusiz bir yazi yer erdi munga jürçäd tâturlurler erdi [...] jürçäd qaqanlı basti [...] munda jürçäd qaqanlı elkünını oğuz qaqanqga qarșu kâldilär [...] oğuz qaqan baştı jürçäd qaqanlı basti öldürdi bașın kâsti jürçäd elkünini öz ağıziğa ~dä

baluq 〈b’lwq〉 ‘town’
OT balɨq ‘town’ (ED 335)
var. 〈b’l’q〉 14/9, 〈b’lwq〉 20/7
14/9 čong jangqaðida urum tâgän bir qaqan bar ärdi uşbo qaqançanq ağırlı köp ~lärli köp köp erdilär erdi
20/5-20/6-20/7-20/9-21/4-21/6 urus bâg oğulun taq başida târing mörân arasıda yaqşı bârik ~qa yumsadı taqı tädi kim ~nê qatiqlaugu kârâk turur sän taqı urusluqulardan song ~nê bizgä saqlap kâlgil tâp tädi oğuz qaqan uşol ~qa atladı urus bâging oğulı anqa köp altun kümüš yibärdi taqı tädi kim ay männing qaqanım sän mängä atam bo ~nê bârîp turur taqı tädi kim ~nê qatiqlaugu kârâk turur sän taqı urusluqulardan song ~nê bângä saqlap kâlgil tâp tädi
23/2 oğuz qaqan yigítning sözün yaqşı kördi sendîndi külbi taqı aytı kim lmengä köp altun yumsap sânl ~nê yaqşı saqlap sânl täp tädi anung üçün anqa saqlap at qoydi dostluq qîldı

bandang 〈b’n’d n›k〉 ‘bench’
Chin. > Mo. bandang ‘bench, plank-bed’ (L 81)
11/2 andan song oğuz qaqan bedîk toy berdi elküngä järliq çarlap kengiştîlär kâldilär qîrîq širâ qîr’q ~ japturîl türlüq aštalar türlüq sormalr çubuyanlar çimizlar aštîlär ićiılär

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 čong jangqaðida urum tâgän bir qaqan bar ärdi […] uşol urum qaqan oğuz qaqanönü järliqin saqlamz erdi qatîqlaugu ~maz erdi muni söz sözü maz tutmaz män män yarlıqga baqmađı
38/2-38/4-38/5-38/6 oğuz qaqan […] taqı aytı kim lay mänung köngülüm avnî tiläp turur lqârî bolğumdan mänîng qaqîzluqum yoq tuurlur kîn ay yulduz tang sarîqa sän lär ~ungl kîn ay yulduz tûn sarîqa sînlär barungl tâp tädi andan song üçâgüsü tang sarîqa ~dîlar taqı üçâgüsü tûn sarîqa ~dîlar

barşu 〈b’rjw〉 ‘goods’
OT bark ‘movable property’ (ED 359)
var. 〈b’rjw〉 20/1
19/9-20/1 oğuz qaqan urum qaqanönü qaqanluqun aldi elkünin aldi orduşiğa köp ulug öülü ~ köp tâlim tîrg ~ tusu bolďi
31/2 urusqo don song oğuz qaqanönü çarîgîçä nökârlîrîçä elkünînci andâq ulug öülü ~ tüstî kim yüklîmäkkä kaldürmäkkä at qagatîr uḏ azîq bolďi
31/8 bo ēbär bir qanqa japtî qanqa üstündä öülü ~nê quydi qanqa bașîda tîrg ~nê quydi târtîlîlär kettîlîlär

bargulug 〈b’rjw-lwq〉 ‘rich in goods’
OT bark ‘movable property’ (ED 359)
33/9 kân tašqaran qalsanbol bâlgül bolsan kim köndińkül bulungda bâraq’ tâgän bir yer bar turur ulug ~ bir yurt turur köp isîq bir yer turur […]

barmaqlîq josun bellüg 〈b’rm’q-l’q āwswn 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 çärikidä uluşq yaşıq bir çäbär kış bar erdi anunq ati ~ erdi bo çäbär bir qağan japti […]

**baraq** <b'r?q'> 'Geographical name' (it may be inclusively connected to OT **baraq** 'long-haired dog') (ED 360)

33/8 kän täsqunrun qalmasun bällüq bolsun kim kündünkä bulungda baraq' tágän bir yer bar turur uluşqargaq bir yurt turur köp işığ bir yer turur […]

**bas** <b's> 'to oppress, to strike, to defeat' OT **bas** 'to press, crush, oppress, make a surprise attack on' (ED 370)

3/7 ušol orman ičändä bädük bir <monster> bar erdi […] berka ämgäq birlä elkmänni ~up erdi 13/6 ušbo kim ağızumça bəmqaz turur bolsa çamät caqip äçigä çäkip duşman tutar män tawraq ~ip asturip yoq bolsunqılıq tıp qılur män tıp tädi

30/7 uruş toüşq bašladçi […] oğuz qağan baştí ljürėqä qağannır ~tö öldürdün baştin kast <l> 33/6 känä bo […] erkä böri birlä sëndu taqçi tangqut taqçi şagam yingğaqlarığa atlap ketti köp uruşqadan köp touşqqudon song anlärmi aldí öz yurtığa birladi baştí ~tö

34/8 qatiq yaman uruşqu boldi oğuz qağan baští imişir qağan qaçći loguz anı ~tö lyurtin aldí ketti

?qbasu <b's>' and, together with' (see also birlä) OT **basu** 'also' (ED 371)

42/2 taqçi tädi kim lay oğullar köp män aşaduml uruşqlar köp män körđümjl jida ~ köp oq attuml ayğır birlä köp yördümjl […] tıp tädi

**baş** <b's> 'to attack'

OT **başa** 'to wound, make incisions' (ED 377)

19/5 oğuz qağan ~tö lurum qağan qaçtéri oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqını aldí <l> elkmänni aldí

30/6 uruş touşq bašladçi oğlar birlä qılıqc birlä uruştilar oğuz qağan ~tö jürçäd qağannı bastı öldürdün baştin kast <l> 33/6 känä bo […] erkä böri birlä sëndu taqçi tangqut taqçi şagam yingğaqlarığa atlap ketti köp uruşqadan köp touşqqudon song anlärmi aldí öz yurtığa birladi ~tö bastı

34/7 qatiq yaman uruşqu boldi oğuz qağan ~töl müșr qağan qaçći oğuz anı bastıl yurtin aldí ketti

35/1 anunq dostlar köp sawınç […] erdi anunq duşmanlar köp qağğular […] oğuz [qağan] ~tö sanağuluqsiz nâmalar yığilars aldí yurtığa tüştü 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. <b'Y's> 7/3, 12/9

5/2-5/3-5/4 känä özü iğäçnęng tübündä turdi <monster> kälip ~i birlä oğuz qağannı urdi oğuz jida birlä <monster>jingga ~in urdi anı öldürdü qılıqc birlä ~in kastı aldı ketti

5/7 känä kälip kordi kim bir şungqar <monster>-ning iğäçünis yämrätkä turur ya birlä oq birlä şungqarnı öldürdü ~in kastı

7/3 ušbo yarunqunin arasında bir qız bar erdi yalgız olturur erdi qaşqı körülgük bir qız erdi anunq ~inda atasłuq yarunqul bir mäng ile erdi altun qazuq täg erdi

12/9 andan song oğuz qağan tört sarğığa jarlıq jumsadı bildürğülük bittdi <usbo> bildürğülüktdä bitilmiş erdi kim män uyğurning qağanı bula män kim yerning tört bulungünqa qağanı bolsam käräk turur senlärän ~ čalunguluq tilıp män turur […]

20/3 urum qağannung bir qarundaši bar erdi urus bęg tğađen erdi ol urus bęg oğulan taq ~età täring mörän arasıda yaqși birik baluqa yunşadı

22/6 urus bęgning oğulu [...] taqçi tädi kim [...] bizning qutbız sänning qutung bolmuş bizning urubğız sänning iğäçnçungur uruğ bölmuş bolup turur tängı sängä yer berip bujurmuş bolup turur män sänga ~umını qutmünl berä män bärgü bärıp dostluqtan çiqmaztur tıp tädi

26/6 munda uluşq bir taq bar erdi içä üstündiqa tong taqçi muz bar turur anunq ~i şuqutan ap aq turur anunq uçın anunq atı muz taq turur

30/7 uruş touşq bašladçi oğlar birlä qılıqc birlä uruştilar oğuz qağan baştí jürçäd qağannı bastıl öldürdü ~in kastı

31/8 bo çäbär bir qaçqa japti qaçqa üstündiqa ölüq barçuni qoydî qaçqa ~ida tirig barçuni qoydî tarîttlär kettîlar

41/2-41/5 <ong yaqidée qiriqc qolaç iğäçni tiktürdü anun> ~ida bir altun [təguq qoydî adaq]ida bir aq qoyun bağlađı [long] yaqidée qiriqc qolaç iğäçni tiktürdü anun ~ida bir kümüüs taqguq qoydî adaqida bir qara qoyunnı bağlađı

**başla-** <b's'> 1. 'to begin' 2. 'to go in the front, to lead'

OT **bašla** 'to begin, to lead' (ED 381)
bašliq <b>'superior, leader'</b> 
OT bašliq 'beginning, leadership, headgear' (ED 381)
28/2 oğuz qanğan sewinç birlä küldü ayttî kim lay sän munda beglärgä bolgîl ~l mãn mängiläp sângä at bolsun qâgarlîg l tâp tädi köp ârdâni soyrurqadı ilgûrî yetti

baçu <b>'West'</b> 
OT bat- 'to sink' (ED 298)
36/3 oğuz qâqanunnun çañîda […] bir qart kişi turur bar erdi […] anung atî ulûq tûrûk erdí künllârdä bir kün uyyda bir altun ya kördi taqî üç kümüs oq kördi bo altun ya kün tûşîlida (da) kün ~iğça tûşgân erdí taqî bo üç kümüs oq tûn yînggaqqa kêtä turur erdi uyydon song tûstä körğânîn oğuz qâqanña bildûrdi

bög <b>'beg (title)'</b> 
OT beg 'the head of a clan or tribe, subordinate chief' (ED 322)
var. <b>byk</b> 11/5, 27/5 28/2 <b>yk</b> 25/4
11/5 toydan song oğuz qâqan ~lärîgä elkünlârgä järliğ berdi
20/2-20/3 urum qâqannun bir qarûndañi bar erdi urus ~ tâgân erdi ol urus ~ oğuluñ […] yaqşî bîr'k baluqqa yumşâdi
21/1 oğuz qâqan uşol baluqqa atlàdi urus ~ñîng oğulî anga köp altun kümüs yîbärdı
23/9-24/1 çärîgä bir yaqşî ~ bar erdi anung atî ulûq ordu ~ erdi usluq […] bir er erdi
24/6-24/7 oğuz qâqan säwînç ätti küldü taqî ayttî kim lay ay sän munda ~ bolung lüpçeq tûşgân sän ~ bolung l tâp tädi taqî ilgàrî yettilar
25/4 uşo kök börî oğuz qâqanña ayttî kim amdı çärîg birlä munda atlang qâqan atlap elkünlänî ~lärîñi keldañgä mâl sângä bâslap yollî körgûrû mâl tâp tädi
27/2-27/5-27/8-28/2 çärîgä bir bûdük qaqqiz er ~ bar erdi çäling bulingdan qorqumaz turur erdi jörügûdä søgûrdûda onga er erdi uşol ~ tâglarqä kirdi yördüd toqç kündön song oğuz qâqanña ayşîr atîn köldürdi muz tâglarda köp

bûn 'I see mân

bûrik <b>'solid, firm, fortified'</b> 
OT bûrik 'firm, stable, solid' (ED 361)
20/5 ol urus bög oğuluñ taq bâsîda täring mörän arasîda yaqşî ~ baluqqa yumşâdi […] oğuz qâqan uşol baluqqa atladî

bëdûk 'big, great' 
OT bëdûk 'big, great' (ED 302)
var. <b>byd</b> 3/4, 3/5, 23/6, 30/1 <b>bëd</b> 10/8, 28/5, 40/8, <b>bëd</b>' 16/5, <b>bëd'k</b> 17/7, 18/2
3/4-3/5 uşol orman içindä ~ bir [monster] bar erdi yîlqîlänî yelkünlänî yer erdi ~ yaman bir kîk erdi
10/8 andan song oğuz qâqan ~ toy berdi elküngä järliğ çarlap kengästilên köldûldî
16/5 çang ertä bolduqta oğuzqâqannun qorîgämuña kün tâq bir jaruq kirdi ol jaruqton kök tüllülgä kök jalluq ~ bir erkäk börî çiçîn 17/7-18/2 andan song oğuz qâqan qorîgänni türôrdüdi kettä kördi kim çärîngîn taqçulûlärä kök tüllüklû kök jalluq ~ bir erkäk börî yorügûdä turur ol börîng artîlên qatçîlp yorügûdä turur erdîr erdi bir nacä künllîndän song kök tüllüklû kök jalluq bo ~ erkäk börî turur tûdi oğuz taqî çärîg birlä turur tûrdî 23/6 kân çärîg birlä […] [etîl] tûşgân mörängä käçti [etîl] tûşgân ~ bir nçîng turur
27/2 çärîgä bir ~ qaçq er bög bar erdi çäling bulingdan qorqumaz turur erdi jörügûdä søgûrdûda onga er erdî
28/5 kân yolda ~ bir uÿ kördi bo ünyünç taqamî altûndan erdi tüngülçilên taqî kümüştîn qalqanlarî tämûrdûnd erdîlär erdi

soğuq boluqta ol ~ qaçqardan sarummüş erdi ap aq erdi oğuz qâqan sewinç birlä küldü ayttî kim l ay sän munda ~ làrgä bolgîl bâslîq mâl mängiläp sângä at bolsun qâgarlîg tâp tädi

bûk <b>'much'</b> 
OT bûk 'firm, solid, stable' (ED 323)
26/2 oğuz qâqan bir çûqûrdan ayûrî atgî minä turur erdi uşbî ayûrî âtnî ~ çôq sewir erdî jolda uşbô ayûrî að közkðän yîtü qâçrî yetti

bûlgûr- <b>'to appear, manifest'</b> 
OT bûlgûr- 'to appear, become manifest (intrans.)' (ED 341)
32/9 oğuz qâqan qanqalârî kördi küldü taqî ayttî kim qanqa qança birlä ölgînî tirîg yûrûgûsûn qanqalûq sângä at bolgulqûq qança ~sûn tûp tûdi

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30/1 tarlağınız bir yazı yer erdi munga jürçəd tâtururlar erdi – bir yurt elkən erdi yilqilər köp udu buzağılər köp altun kümüştər köp ardənəllər köp erdirər erdi 40/8 oğuz qagan – oda [...] körük [...] 33/7 kənə taşqarın qalmasın ~ bolsun kim [...] 35/5 kənə taşqarın qalmasın kim ~ bolsun kim [...] 10/9 andan song oğuz qagan bedik toy ~di elkıngə jarlığ çarlap kəngəxtəllər kərdəlir 11/6 toynan song oğuz qagan begərlər elkiñərjarlığ ~di taq ədədi kim mən senlişərəi boldum qaganlı alalın ya taq qalanlı tamğa bizəq bolsun buyanlı kök börə bolsunğır uranl [...] təp ədədi 12/6 kənə andan song oğuz qagan tört sarıqa jarlığ juməsadı bildərülük bitidə eləlişər — ip yibərdi uşbo bildərülükə bitilmüş erdi kim [...] 14/5 uşbo altun qagan oğuz qagəncə elci yumşap yibərdi köp tələm altun kümüştər tərp köp tələm qız qaşat saş alup köp tələm ardənəller yibərəp yumşap oğuz qagəncə soyurqap berdi ağizəğa bağındı yaşi ~ birə dostluq qədərdi 22/6 bizning qutbız sənim qutung bolmuşun bizning urugəzi sənindən əlişərini uruğunurqo bolmuş buşarqal turur təngər sənmə yer berip bujumlah buşarqal turur mən səngə başunmə qutunmə berdi mən ~ bərip dostluqtaş çiçəxənə təp ədədi beg see bäğ bel <byl> 'waist' OT bel 'waist' (ED 330) 2/3-2/4 adaşq udu adaqı təq ə-lərəi börə ~lərəi təq layəqrə kiş əyəqrə təq ləkəgüzə aduq kö güzə təp erdi belbağ <bylb 'qyə' 'waistbelt' OT bel 'waist' (ED 330), OT bağ 'bond, tie, belt' (ED 310) 4/7 kənə bir aduq aldı altənluş ~ bərilə yığaça bagləndı ketti bellüg <byllw> 'known, sure' OT bellügü 'manifest, significant' (ED 341) xeyir, offenbar, bellə ol-'bekannt werden' (Z 208b) var. <byllw> 21/9, <bylwh> 33/7 21/9 səndən jarlığ bağlıq ~ bola mən bizning qutbız sənindən qutung bolmuşun bizning urugəzi sənindən əlişərini uruğunurqo bolmuş buşarqal turur təngər sənmə yer berip bujumlah buşarqal turur mən səngə başunmə qutunmə berə mən bärgü berip dostluqtaş çiçəxənə təp ədədi
42/2-42/7 andan song oğuz qaqan oğullarğı yurtın üləštürüp –di taqı tädi kim […] iduşmanlarnı əglişurdum idostlarumun mən külğürdüm lök tängiğə mən ötdüm əşnəlgə –mən yurtum [tàp tàdi]

berdür: <byrdwr> ’to make someone to give’
OT bərdür- ’to cause sy to give sg’ (ED 359) 37/3 anun atı uluğ türük erdi […] uyqudon song tüstə körğinin oğuzqaqangə bildürdə taqı tädi kim lay qaqanum sănga jəşəq bolsunğıl uzun [ay qaqan]um sängä türülk bolsunğıl tüzün! […] tängri berdi tüşümmiş kəldürsünən tola turur yermi uruşungğa –sününap tädi

berkä cęyрк > ’difficulty, hardship, trouble’
Mo. berke ’hardship, trouble’ (L 99) 3/6 bedük yaman bir kik erdi – ämgəq birlə elkimən basup erdi

bildür- <byldwr> ’to make someone to know, to explain’
OT biltür- ’to make sg known to sy’ (ED 335) 36/7 anun atı uluğ türük erdi kün uyquda bir kün altun ya kördi iç ücümüş oq körđi bo altun ya kün tuğışıda (da) kün batuşiğəça tăggān erdi taqı bo iç ücümüş oq tiın yingəqqə kətə turur erdi uyqudon song tüstə körğinin oğuz qaqangə –di taqı tädi 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 qaqan tört sarığa jarlıq jumşadı – bitidi elciləräßä bərip yibrədi uşbo –tə bitilmiş erdi kim […]

bir <byr> ’a/an (indefinite article)’

bırichi <byryn-čy> ‘first’
OT birin ‘first’ (ED 367)

8/3 künlärdän song kächäläränd song yarudü üič erkäk oğul tügurdü – siga kün at qoydılar ekinçisigä ay at qoydılar učünüşüşgä yuludz at qoydılar 10/4 künlärdän song keçäläränd song yarudü üič erkäk oğulnu tügurdü – siga kık at qoydılar ekinçisigä taq at qoydılar učünüşüşgä tängiz at qoydılar

bırlä <byr-l’> ‘together, with’
OT bırl ‘with’ (ED 364)

var. <b’r’> 30/5, 30/6 <byr-l’> 18/7 ?<b’l’> 42/4

bırlä- <byr-l’> ‘to unify, to incorporate sg.’
OT bir ‘one’ (ED 353)
33/5 känä bo [kık] túluklüğ kık jallug erkäk bōrī bırlä sında taqči tangqut taqči şagam yinggaglarığı atlap ketti kıp uruşqudan köp toquşqudon song anlarını adlı öz yurtığa ~di

bitti- <b’d’> ‘to write’
OT bitti- ‘to write (sg)’ (ED 299)
12/5 andan song oğuz qağan tört sarığa jariğ jumšadı bildürğülük ~di uşbo bildürğülükta bitilmişi erdi kim […]

bitil- <b’d’> ‘to be written’
OT biți- 'to write (sg)' (ED 299)
12/6 andan song oğuz qağan tört sarıga jarlıg jumşadı bildürülük bitiđi ușbo bildürülükta ~ müş erdi kim [...] 

bız558 <b’z> ‘we’
OT biž ‘we’ (ED 388)
var. <byz> 9/7, 11/8
9/7 andaq körücklük erdi kim yerning yelkünü ani körsä ay ay ay ağ olırbız tıp sütünn qumuz bula tururlar
11/8 tıp tådi kim lmän senlärğa boldum qağan alaling ya taqı qağan tamen ~gä bolsun buyan kö böri bolsungül uranl [...] tıp tådi 20/8 ol urus båğ [...] taqı tådi kim baluqni qaṭiğiğä käräk turur săn taqı uɾuʃqulardan song baluqni ~gä saqlap kägil tıp tådi 22/1-22/2 urus båğning ogüli anqa köp altun kümüs yibärdi taqı tådi kim [...] ~nig qaṭîb/qânn“nq qutung bolmuš ~nig uruqbiʒ/sänn“nq iğaçəngün uruqı bolmuš bolup turur 23/8/ [etil] tågn mörängä käçi ti etil tågn båduq bir näng turur oğuz qağan anı [kördi] taqı tådi kim etiλıng *suğidan nüčük keçärbiʒ tıp tådi

bo <bw> ‘this (demonstrative pronoun)’
OT bu’this’ (ED 291)
2/9-3/1-3/2-3/3 ~ çagda ~ yerdi bir uluq orman bar erdi köp möränλär köp ögüzλär bar erdi ~nda keğänλär kik köp köp l-nda uçqanlar quş köp köp lerdi
3/8 ušol orman içindä båduq bir [monster] bar erdi [...] oğuz qağan bir eres qaqtı kişi erdi ~ [monster]ni awlamaq tilädi l
8/9 känä bir kün oğuz qağan awga ketti bir köl arasinida alindan bir iğaç kördi ~ iğaçəng qawuçuqında bir qız bar erdi
13/7 kän ~ çagda ong jangagaqta altun qağan täğän bir qağan bar erdi

18/2 bir nāça künlärđän song kök tülüklüg kök jalluğ ~ bädïk erkâk böri turup turdı oğuz taqı čaɾiq birlä turup turdı
21/3 urus båğning ogüli anqa köp altun kümüs yibärdi taqı täđi kim mängä atam ~ baluqni bärüp turur [...] 28/5 känä yolda bedük bir үy kördi ~ üynüng taqami altundan erdi [...] 31/6 anda oğuz qağannting čaɾiqidigδ usluq yaşşı bir čâbär kişi bar erdi anung ati barmaqlığ Josun bellig erdi ~ čâbär bir qaŋqa japtı 33/1 andan song känä ~ kök tülükłüğ kök jalluğ erkâk böri birlä sündu taqı tanqut taqı şagam yingqatlarığa atlap ketti 36/2-36/4 künlärđän bir kän uyuqıda bir altun ya kördi taqı üč kümüš oq kördi ~ altun ya kän tuğşiđa da kän batuşiğä ațğän erdi taqı ~ üč kümüš oq tüń yingqatqa ketä turur erdi ~ mun+<mwn>
1/2 [...] bolısunğil tıp tådlär anung angügusu ušbo turur ~dan song sävünq tåpfılar 1/9 ušol oğul atasınıng koguzündön oğunuñ içip ~ don artıqraq içmädi 4/8känä bir aduç adlı altunlug belbäqı birlä yığaqça bağlädi ketti ~ don song etä bødli 15/3 ušol urum qağan oğuz qağannting jarlığın saqlamaz erdi qatılaşqış barmaz erdi ~ iç sız sözni tutmaz män turur män tåp yarlığqa baqmadı
18/4 oğuz taqı čaɾiq birlä turup turdı ~da atıl môrin täğän bir taluq bar erdi 26/4-26/9 jolda ušbo ayğir at közdän yitü qaçıti ~da uluq bir taq bar erdi üzä üstündöng tånı taqı muq bar bar turur anuŋ başï soğqutan ap aq turur anuŋ üçün anung ati muq taq turur oğuz qağannting ati muq taq iğiq qaläq kettı loguq qağan ~dan köp ğqay ğmqagq ećüp turdı 28/2 oğuz qağan sewinç birlä küldü aytti kim lay săn ~da beglärqā bõgül başfıq män mängilap sängä at bolusn qaɣarlıqī tıp tädi 29/2-29/4 anqa jarlıq qildî kim lsän ~da qal ač qaqlan açuqdgond song kål orduqal tıp tädi ~dan anqa qalaçe at qoydî 29/9 tarlağusız bir yazı yer erdi l-ɣa jürçäd tätururlar erdi
30/3 ~da jürçäd qaŋänı elknııı oğuz qaŋqanqa qaršu kälildär
32/1-32/2 bo čâbär bir qaŋqa japtı qaŋqa üstündöng öluğ bargünü qoydî lqanqa başıda tırg bargünü qoydî tårıfılar kettılar nokärılmärning elkünning qamağī l-î körildär šaʃštıları qaŋqaları taqı japtıları ~lar qaŋqa yörmükä qaŋqa qaŋqa söz berä turur erdär erdi 34/1 kündünkı bulungda baranq’ täğän bir yer bar turur luluq băruluq bir yurtturur köp išïg

558 We find three types of ‘bız’ in the text. The first one is the presonal 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 dispite 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 bız are recorded here. I marked 'suffixes' with italic, for easier differentiation from the personal pronoun.
bir yer turur! -da köp kliklär köp quşlar bar turur! [...]]

~ušbo <wšbw>
1/2 [...] bolsunğil täp tädirär anung angəğusu ~ turur [picture]
5/9-6/3 ya birlä oq birlä şungqarını öldürdi başın kästi andan song tädi kim şungqar nängüşi ~ turur [picture] buğu yedi aduğ yedi jidam öldürdü təmür bolsa [monster]nı şungqar yedi ya oqım öldürdü yel bolsa täp tädi ketti taqı [monster]nəng angəğusu ~ turur [picture] 7/1 köktön bir kık yaraq tüstü [...] ~ yaraqnunq arassında bir qız bar erdi 12/6 oğuz qañ an tört sarığa yarlğ jumşadı bildürülük bititi [...] ~ bildürülükta bitilmiş erdi kim [...] 13/3 senlərdan baş čalunguluq tilıp män turur [...] ~ kim ağğüzüma baqmar turur bolsa çamat çaqıp čarığ čäkip duşman tutar män 13/9 känä bo çaqda ong jangaqta altun täqän bir qañan bar erdi ~ altun qañan oğuz qañanga elçi yumşap yibarırdı 14/8 çong jangaqda urum täqän bir qañan bar erdi ~ qañanğun čarıği köp köp bałuqları köp köp erdirlär erdi 25/1 oğuz qañan känä kök tülüklük kök jálluq erkäk böri körđi ~ kök böri oğuz qañangä aytı kim [...] 26/2-26/3 oğuz qañan bir čuqurdan ayğır atqa minä turur erdi ~ ayğır ațn bek čoq sewür erdi jolda ~ ayğır at közdän yitü qaçt ketti

?boda- <bwd> ‘to parturitate’
(se kiiðäi-)
1/4 känä künлärändäri bir kün ay qañanğun közü yarıp ~dî erkäk oğul tuğurdı

boğus (’boğaz’) <bwq’z> ‘embryo’
OT ‘boğaz’ 1. ‘throat’ 2. ‘pregnant’ (ED 322) ~ Mo. ‘embryo, fetus, pregnant (of an animal)’ (L 113)
8/1 anung birlä yattı tilägüsün aldî töl ~ boldi künлärändän song keçlärändän song yarudî uč erkäk oğul tuğurdı 10/2 anung birlä yattı tilägüsün aldî töl ~ boldi künлärändän song keçlärändän song yarudî uč erkäk oğulnii tuğurdı

bol- <bw1> ‘to be, become’
OT bol- ‘to become’ (ED 331)
var. <bw1> 13/4 <b> 21/9, 24/7 1/1 [...] —sunğil täp tädirär 2/9 uşol oğul [...] yilçılär kćüdaya turur erdi atlarğa minä turur erdi kık aw awlaya turur erdi künлärändän song keçlärändän song yigıt ~dî 4/4 anand song ertä ~dî 6/1-6/2 anand song tädi kim şungqarname anuçusı uşbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jidam öldürdü təmür ~sa [monster]nı şungqar yedi ya oqım öldürdü yez ~sa täp tädi 8/2 oğuz qañan anı kördüktü usi qalmadılı ketti sewđi aldılı anung birlä yattı tilägüsin aldılı töl boşus ~dî 9/8 yaqşı körülük bir qız erdi [...] andağ körülük erdi kim yerning yeklünü anı körsä ay ay ay ołribiz täp sütünk qumuz ~a tururlar 10/2 oğuz qañan anı kördüktü usi ketti jürükägä atağ tüstü anı sewđi aldılı aning birlä yattı tilägüsin aldılı töl boşus ~dî 11/7-11/8-11/9-12/1-12/2 lmän senlärgä ~dum qañan lalaling ya taqı qañan itämğı bizğı ~sun buyan lık böri ~sunğil urun təmür jida bol orman law yerdi yörüsbin qulan laqtaq taluy taqı mörän ilkun tuğ ~ğl lık qorğıgan täp tädi 12/7-12/9-13/2-13/4-13/6 uşbo bildürülükta bitilmiş erdi kim män uyğurning qañanı ~a män kim yerning tört bulunqi nung qañani ~sam karık turur senlärändän baş čalunguluq tilıp män turur uşol kim männing ağığımğa baqar turur ~sa tartıq tartıp dost tutar män tep tädi uşbo kim ağığımğa baqmar turur ~asa çamat çaqıp čarığ čäkip duşman tutar män təqäraq basıp astirıp yoq ~sunğil täp qiflur män täp tädi 14/7 känä bo çaqda ong jangaqta altun qañan täqän bir qañan bar erdi uşbo altun qañan oğuz qañangä elçi yumşap yibarırdı [...] ~ ağığıça baqündi yaqli begi birlä dostlq qildi anung birlä amférence ~dî 16/1-16/2 oğuz qañan [...] čarığ birlä atlap tuglarmi tutup kätti qırığ küdnönd song muq täqän taqanızında adaqiga keldi qorğıgını tüşgürdü süük ~up uyup turdi čang ertä ~ducht oğuz qañanğun qorğıganı kän tğa bir jaraq kirdı 16/9-17/2 uşol böri [...] täp tädi kim lay ay oğuz urum üstigä sän atlar ~a sän lay ay oğuz tapışunglarça män yörü ~a mänl täp tädi 18/9-19/2-19/3-19/5 etil möränngun qadğuğä bir qara täq tapişğida uruşdu tutulduq oq birlä jida birlä qılıč birlä uruş糖尿lä açığınlarında aårarida köp tālim ~dî uruşdu lekkünlərmən aralarında köp tālim ~dî ayğul tutulunə uruşunə andaq yaman ~dî kim etil möränngun suqı qız çiqi sapsanggir täq ~dî 20/1 oğuz qañan urum qañanğun qanlanğun aldılı elkninä aldı orduşüga köp uluq ölgü bırgu köp tālim tiriq bırgu tusu ~dî 21/9-22/5 urus bānging oğul [...] täq tädi kim [...] sändän jərləğ bğağlı bellług ~a män
bulung <bw'lwng> ‘cardinal point, quarter of the world’ OT bulung ‘corner, angle, cardinal point, a quarter of the world’ (ED 343) var. <bw' ng> 27/3 , see also čaliŋ bulung 12/8 ušbo bildürülükätä bitilmüş erdi kim män uyğurng qağanî bola män kim yerning tört ~ınung qağanî bolsam käräk turur [...] 33/7 čärgida bir bedik qağiq er båg bar erdi ķ čaλang ~dan qorumqaz turur erdi 33/7 Kündünkî ~da baraq̲a̲ täğän bir yer bar turur

buat <bw' n> ‘mark of luck’ Sans. punya > OT buyan ‘merit, meritorious deeds’ Mo. 1. ‘moral, merit, virtue’ 2. good luck, furtune, prosperity’ (L 132) 11/9 oğuz qağan beglärgä elkiñlärgä Jarlıg qildi kim lmän senlärgä boldum qağanî alaling ya taqi qalqan ltanga bizgä bolsun ~ l kōk bōri bolsungılı uranl [...]]

buat <bw' sow > ‘calf’ OT buzag/ buzwaz ‘a calf’ (ED 391) 30/2 tarlağusuz bir yazi yer erdi munga jürçäd tätururlar erdi bādük bir yurt el kän erdi yılıqïlärî köp ud ~larî köp altun kümüsîlärî köp ârdanîlärî köp erdirli erdi

buatluq <bw'sowlwq> ‘part, fragment’ OT buz- ‘to destroy, damage’ (ED 389) 39/2 kän ay yulduz köp kiklär köp quşlar awlağularıdan song jolda bir altun yañî taptïr aldïr atâşığa berdïlär oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqî yañî üč ~ qildi

buat <bw'sowwq> ‘broken/Ethnonyms: Broken’ OT buzuq ‘spoil, ruined, destroyed’ (ED 390) 41/7 andan song oğuz qağan ulug qurlîyay čaqîrdï nökîlärîn elkiñlärîn çarlap čaqîrdï kâlip kengäßip olturdîlär [...] [ong] yaqta ~lar olturdî ķ cong yaqta üč oğlar olturdîl

čäg <Č q̲> ‘era, time’ Mo. čäg ‘time, period, season, age’ (L 156) var. <Č q̲> 13/7 3/1 bo ~da bo yerdä bir ulug orman bar erdi 4/4 andan song ertä boldî tang ertä ~da käldi kördi kim [...] 13/7 Känä bo ~da ong jänqätä altun täğän bir qağan bar erdi

čaliŋ bulung <Č l’ng bw’l’ng> ‘hide and seek’ OT čal- ‘to knock sg down’ (ED 417) MT čal-’çalmak, hırsızlk etmek’ (WOT 215) OT bul- ‘to find, to obtain’ (ED 332) 27/3 Jolda ušbo aqyig at közdän yitü qaçëri munda ulug bir taq bar erdi üzi üstündälîng taqî muz bar turur anung bäśi soğuçtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung atî muz taq turur oğuz qağannîng atî muz taq iċığâ qaçîp ketti [...] čärgida bir bedik qa藜q er båg bar erdî ~dan qorumqaz turur erdi [...] ušol beq taglarça kirdî yörüdî toqz kündön song oğuz qaçangâ aqyig atñi kâldürđi

čalungülûq <Č lwnqwlwq> ‘bowing, courtesy’ OT čal- ‘to throw (oneself) to the ground’ (ED 421) 12/9-13/1 ušbo bildürülükätä bitilmüş erdi kim män uyğurng qağanî bola män kim yerning tört bulungûnqan qağan bolsam käräk turur sânlärdän baş ~ tilap män turur [...]}

?čamat <Č m̲’d̲> ‘blame, anger’ ? Mo. jim-e ‘conduct, manner of behvior, bâleme, reprimand’; jimed- ‘to accuse, to blame, to reprimand’ (L 1056) 13/4 ušbo bildürülükätä bitilmüş erdi kim [...] ušbo kim ağızumgä baqmaq turur bolsa ~ čaqîp čâriger čâkip duşman tutar män taquraq basïp asturîq yoq bolsungûlî tilap qûrîr män tâp tädi 15/5 ušol urum qağan [...] münü söz sözni tutmaz män turur män tâp yaqlyğa baqmadî oğuz qağan ~ âtûp anga atlağu tilädi 21/7 taqi tädi kim ay qağanum sän mângä atam bo bałuqni bârip turur taqi tädi kim [...] tâp tädi atam ~ âtûp ersemi mânçung tapum erûr mü

čaq- <Č q̲> ‘to burst (into anger)’ OT čaq- ‘to strike fire’ (ED 405) 13/5 ušbo bildürülükätä bitilmüş erdi kim [...] ušbo kim ağızumgä baqmaq turur bolsa čamät ~ip čâriger čâkip duşman tatar män

čaqîr- <Č q̲’r̲> ‘to call, to call for’
OT čağır- 'to call out, shout' (ED 410)
40/5-40/7 landan song oğuz qağan ulug qurlıtyaž də hökerlərin elkünlnər čarlap də l
čap- <č'b'> see tap- cf. Ḷap-
čarla- <č'rl'> '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 bediuk toy berdi elköngäjarlıq ~p kengiştilər kəldilər
37/8 andan song ertdi bolupta aqalarnı iniləri ~p keldürdi
OT 14/9 čarla- <čʾ> OT čap-
čəbər <č'b'> 'clean pure (mentally), wise'
Mo. ĉebər 'clean, pure' (L 167)
28/9 čəbərda bir qaşqı ~ er bar erdi anung atı tömürtı [qağul] erdi
31/5-31/6 oğuz qağannıng čəbərdi uluğ qaşqı bir ~ kişi bar erdi anung atı barmaqliq jəson bellig erdi bo ~ bir qaşqa jəpti
čək- <č'k> 'to gather (army), to suffer (pain)'
OT čək- 'to pull, to suffer (pain)' (ED 413)
13/5 uşbo bildürğululụtka bitilmiş erdi kim [...] uşbo kim ağızuma maqma turur bolsa čamat čəqip čərığ ~ip duşman tutar mən
27/1 oğuz qağannıng atı muq taq içigä qaçıp ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp čiğay āmğaq ~üp turdi
čərığ 'army'
OT čərığ 'army' (ED 429)
var. <č'kı> 13/5, 15/6, 17/5, 18/, 25/3 <č'rıYk> 14/9, 23/4 <č'ryk> 18/8, 23/8, 25/8, 27/1, 28/9, 31/1, 31/5
13/5 uşbo bildürğululụtka bitilmiş erdi kim [...] uşbo kim ağızuma maqma turur bolsa čamat čəqip ~ čəkıp duşman tutar mən
14/9 čong jąngaşda urum tąğan bir qağan bar ärdi uşbo qağannıng ~ i köp köp balaqları köp köp ərdiiler erdi
15/6 ușol urum qağan [...] yarlığığa maqmadı oğuz qağan čamat atüp anga atlağul tilădį ~ bırla atlap tuglərlən tətup ketti
17/5 andan song oğuz qağan qorğannıng türdürdi ketti körđi kim ~ning tapuğ Kardashian kök tülükłąv kök jallülüq bədik bir erkäk bəri yörğüdül turur 18/3 bir năça künlandan song [...] bo erkäk bəri turup turdi oğuz qağı ~ bırla turup turdi
18/8 etil mörənmüng quduğida bir qaqa taq tişığida uruşuq tutuldu [...] ~larning aralarıda köp təlim boldi uluğ qağan elkünlnarning köngülərdidä köp təlim boldi qağul l
23/4-23/8 kənä ~ bırla [...] [etil] tąğan mörəngä kəcči etil tąğan bədik bir näng turur oğuz qağan anı [körđi] taqı tădi kim etlındi "şuğidan năçık keçər biz tăp tădi ~ da bir qaşqı bığ bar erdi anung atı uluğ oğrud bığ erdi [...] 25/3-25/8 andan song oğuz qağan kənä [...] erkäk bəri körđi uşbo kök bəri oğuz qağana aytti kim amdii ~ bırla [munden atləŋ qağan] atləp elkünlnəni bəlgənli kəldürğil mən səngə bəşləp yolnlı körğurüm mən tăp tădi tərtə bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk bərə ~ ning tapuğlarıda yörğüdül turur sewindii ilgərü ketti
27/1 oğuz qağannıng atı muq taq içigä qaçıp ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp čiğay āmğaq čəkıp turdi ~ da bir bedik qaqiz er bığ bar erdi čalınd bulingdan qoruğmaz erdi
28/9 kənä yolda bedik bir ʿuy körđi bo üynüng [...] qağanları tämüründər erdiqer qapululup erdi ac̣iğicə yoq erdi ~ da bir qaşqı čəbər er bar erdi anung atı tömürtı [qağul] erdi anqa jarlıq qildi kim isə mundə qal aq qağan laqçndon song käl orduqal tăp tădi
31/1-31/5 uruşqudon song oğuz qağannıng ~ iğä nökärliğidə elköngä andaq uşuğlı bərzü tüstü kim yüləlmäkkä keldürmäkkä at qağatır ud azlıq boldi
anda oğuz qağannıng ~idä uluğ qaşqı bir čəbər kişi bar erdi anung atı barmaqliq jəson belliğ erdi
čiğay <čʾy> 'poor'
OT čiğan–čiğay 'poor, destitute' (ED 409)
27/1 oğuz qağannıng atı muq taq içigä qaçıp ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp ~ āmğaq čəküp turdi
čiq- 'to go out, step forward; to leave'
OT čiq- 'to go out' (ED 405)
var. <čyq> 3/9, <čʾq> 16/6, 22/7
3/9 künlanda bir kün oğuz qağan avğa ~tī jīda bırla ya qı bırla tāqī qılıç bırla qağan bırla atlaqdi
16/6 čang ertə boluqta oğuz qağannıng qorğanığa kün tąq bir jaruq kırđi oll jaruqtan kök tülükłąv kök jallülüq bedik bir erkäk bəri ~ tī 22/7 urus bəğning oğulī [...] taqı tădi kim [...] mən səngə başümün quşummi berəmən bärgü berip dostluqtan ~maztur tăp tădi
čıray <čʾrʾq> 'face, appearance'
Mo. čırəi 'face, appearance' (L 191)
13/3 uşbo bilürgülükta bitilmiш erdi kim [...] uşol kim mäning ağizumğa buqar turur bolsa tarîtu tartin - tutar män
34/8 anung ~lar köp sewinç [...] erdi lusunlar köp quyulgar [...] loguz qaşan baştى sanaguluqsuz namihar yilqilar aldi yurtiga üyga tüsti ketti
42/5 taqi tädi kim l [...] duşunlarını igağurдум ~larının män külğurдум kök tängriğ män ötdümlü sünârgä berämän yurtum [täp tädi]

 dostluq <dwsd-lwq> 'friendship, alliance' Per. dost 'a friend' (ST 544)
14/6 uşbo altun qaşan oğuz qaşanğa elçi yumşap yibärdı [...] ağızîga baqûndï yaqshi bergü birläl - qildî
22/7 urus bäging oğuli [...] taqi tädi kim [...] sänğä başmünq qu新动能über män bärgü berip ~ tan qaçmaqtur täp tädi
23/3 oğuz qaşan yiqitining sözün yaqshi kördü sewindi taqi aytî kim mängä köp altun yumşap sän ibaluqä yaqşi saqlap sän täp tädi anung üçün anga saqlap at qoqydi ~ qildî

duşman <dwsd-mn> 'foe' Per. dušman 'enemy, foe' (ST 526)
13/5 uşbo bildürüglükübitilmiş erdi kim [...] uşbo kim ağizumğa baqum az turur bolsa çumat caqip çariç ekip ~ tutar män
34/9 anung dostlar köp sewinç [...] erdi lanun ~ lar köp quyulgar [...]1
42/5 taqi tädi kim [...] ~ları igağurдум dostlarının män külğurдум kök tängriğ män ötdümlü sünârgä berä män yurtuml [täp tädi]

E

elë 'envoy' OT elë 'ambassador' (ED 129)
var. <ylyç> 12/5, <ylyç> 14/1
12/5 känä andan song oğuz qaşan tört sarîğä jalrî jumrådi bildürülük bitidi ~ lårigä bariğ yibärdi
14/1 känä bo çagda ong jangaqa altun qaşan täğän bir qaşan bar erdi uşbo altun qaşan oğuz qaşanğa ~ yumşap yibärdi

elkün 'nation, common folk' OT el 'realm' (ED 121) Mo. kümü 'man, person, people' (L 501)
var. <yly-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
er 'man'
OT är 'man, human male' (ED 192)
var. ˂r’r> 2/7, 2/75, ˂r’y> 28/9, ˂r’y> 35/8
27/2-27/5 çarıgdı bir bedik qaqqız — bığ bar erdi çalıng bulingdan qoruqmaz turur erdi jörlügündə sögürguda öngə — erdi
28/9 çarıgdı bir yaqqız çäbär — bar erdi anung atf tömürtü qağul erdi

35/8 oğuz qağannanın janıda aq saqاقلзу moz saçluğ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi uq’guluq tusün bir — erdi tüşiməl erdi anung atf uluğ türük erdi

er- ‘˂yr’ ‘to be’ 859
OT är- ‘to be’ (ED 193)
var. ˂r’y> 2/6, ˂r’y> 3/1 ˂r’y> 6/6, 18/5 ˂r’y> 14/8
1/6-1/7/1/8 uşol oğulung öngülü küriyä kık —di ağızı ataş qızıl —di közlərli al saclarlı qaşlarlı qara —dilär —di yaqqlı nawsiliklərdän korülgülkörök —di
2/6-2/7/2/8 adaçi ud adaçi tätig belləri bir belləri tätig layğıri kişi yaqqı tätig inkögüzdü adüş öğüzü tätig —di lbadanınqa qaqqız tätig tüllüklüg —di liyüşlər kıldiyä turur —di liyilərməli minä turur —di lik aw awlaya turur —di 1
6/6-6/9-7/2-7/3-7/5-7/6 känä künlandär bir kın oğuz qaγan töngmüri jalwarfuda —di qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kık yarug yüsti kündön (ay) aydan qogulguşuqaq —di oğuz qaγan yörüdi kördi ki uşo yarunqunung arsında bir qız bar —di yalız olturur —di yaqqı korülugluk bir qız —di anung bañsında ataşlug yarugluq bir mängi bar —di anut qazq tug —di uşol qız andaŋ korülugluk —di ki küläs kök tängri külä turur ışıłasa kök tängri ışıla turur
9/1-9/2-9/3-9/5-9/6 känä bir kın oğuz qaγan awga ketti bir kıl arsında alündan bir iğaç kördi bo iğaçnunung qawuçuında bir qız bar —di jalız olturur —di yaqqı korülugluq bir qız —di anung közu köktön kökrök —di anung saçı mörän 'suğlı tug anung tışı üçü tug —di andaŋ korülugluk —di ki yerning yelkənini anı körśli ay ay aq aq olbrizl tü süttün qağul Türk bolur urur...

859 the immediate argument of er- is in italic.
urm qagan oğuz qağannung jarlığın saqlamaz –di qatıqlağu barmaz erdi
16/7 ol jaraqton [...] bir erkäk böri científico uşol böri oğuz qağanga söz barih turur –di taqi täđi kim [...] 
17/9 oğuz qağan [...] kördi kim [...] çäricing tapuqlarında [...] bädik bir erkäk böri yörügüdä turur ol böringin artlarında qatıqlag yörügüdä turur –dilär –di
18/5 munda atil mörän tâğän bir taluy bar –di 20/2-20/3 urum qağannung bar qarundaşı bar –di urus bâg tâğän –di 
21/7-21/8 atum çamat atüp –sä mânünün tapum –üm mü 
23/9-24/1 çäringdä bir yaqşî bâg bar –di anung ați uluğ ordu bâg –di uluğ [...] bir er –di 
26/2-26/3 oğuz qağan bir eçürdan ayğır atqa münä turur –di uşbo ayğır atnän baä çeq sewür –di
26/5 munda uluğ bir taq bar –di 
27/2-27/4-27/5 çäringdä bir bedük qaqtız bâg bar –di çaling bulingdan qorqmaz turur –di jörügüdä soqurğuda öngä er –di 
27/9 muz taqlarda köp soğuşq boluptan ol bäg qağandan sarunmäd –di 
29/9-30/1-30/3 tarlaqışz bir yazi yer –di mungä jürçäd tätürurlar –di bâdük bir yurt elkän –di yliqlar köp ùd buzaqlar köp altun küümüšleri köp ärdambileri köp –dilär –di 
31/5-31/6 anda oğuz qaganncing çäringdä uluğq yaqşî bir çäbär kişi bar –di anung afi barnaqlığı josun bellig –di 
32/4 munlar qanqa yörmûmtäq qanqa qanqa söz berä turur –di ilâr –di 
34/5 uşol yerning qaganı müsir tâğän bir qagan –di 
34/9 anung dostlarını köp sewinç [...] –di lanung duşmanları köp quyğular [...]
35/7-35/8-35/9 taşqaran qalmasun kim belligg bolsun kim oğuz qağannung janiðä aq saqallug moz saçluq uzun uluğq bir qart kişi turur bar –di anung ați uluğ türik –di tüşimät –di 36/4-36/6 bo altun ya kün küümüs qo tüm yënggaqqa ketä turur –di 
3/8 oğuz qağan bir ~ qaqtız kişi erdi bo [monster]nä aowlamaq tilädi

eräkkä <'yrk'k> 'male' 
OT eräkkä 'male, masculine' (ED 223) 
var.<'YrkK'> 1/4, <'YrkYk'> 25/1
1/4 känä künârândän bir kän ay qağannung közü yarip küdädi – oğul tûrgürdi 
8/3 künârândän song käçälârdän song yarudi üc – oğul tûrgürdi 
10/4 künârândän song käçälârdän song yarudi üc – oğul tûrgürdi 
16/6 ol jaraqton kök tülüklik kök jalluq bedik bir ~ böri çäq ştr 
17/7 kördi kim çäricing tapuqlarında kök tülüklik kök jalluq bädük bir ~ böri yörügüdä turur 
18/3 bir nääç künârândän kök tülüklik kök jalluq bo bädük ~ böri turup turdi oğuz taqı çäриg birlä turup turdi 
25/1 andan song oğuz qağan känä kök tülüklik kök jalluq ~ böri kördi 
25/7 tang eträ bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim ~ böri çäringing tapuqlarında yörügüdä turur sewindi ilgärü ketti 
33/2 känä bo kök tülüklik kök jalluq ~ böri birlä sündu taqı tantqat qatı şagam yingğaqlariga atlap ketti

eräti <'yr'd'> 'early' 
OT eräti 'the early morning' (ED 202) 
var.<'YrdY'> 25/6 
4/4 andan song ~ boldi tão ~ çäqda kaldi kördi kim [monster] buğun'ü alup turur 
4/8 mundon song ~ boldi tanto ~ çäqda keldi kördi kim [monster] aduñq'ü alup turur 
16/1 çang ~ bolduqta oğuz qağannung qorğanîga kün tâg bir jaraq kirdi 
25/6 tang ~ bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk börü çäringing tapuqlarında yörügüdä turur sewindi ilgärü ketti 
37/7 andan song ~ bolupta aqalarını iniläni çarlap keldirdi

etíl 'Proper name: river Etïl (Volga)' 
var. <'d'> 18/4, <'yd'> 18/5, 23/5, 23/7 <'Yd'> 19/3, 18/4-18/5 munda ~ mörän tâğän bir taluy bar erdi ~ möränning quduğida bir qara taq tâpçigida uruşçu tutuldi 
19/3 tutulunç uruşunç andaq yaman boldi kim ~ möränning sügi qip qûzîl çepçinde, tâg boldi 
23/5-23/7 kän çäriq birlä [...] [-] tâğän mörän[gä] käçti [-] tâğän [bädük] bir näng
 StringIO object containing the text content of the page.
16/5, 17/6, 18/2, 25/1, 29/6, 33/1 kök tülüklü
OT 6/5 känä künlärdä bir kün o
var. < OT 40/2 o
ü bolsun sänlärnüng ya att
bolsun kim o
35/6 känä tašqarun qalmasun kim bellüg
OT 31/7-32/2 o
14/7 erdi uqº
(< 38/9, 39/8 see
anung atï ulu
11/2 andan song o
something’
alwar-
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30/7-30/8 qarşu käldilär uruš toquš bašladï
30/3 munda ~ qa öldürdi baš baq ğān
42/4 taqï tädi kim [ay] o
18/7 etil mörännüng qudu birlä uruşt qawu kästi andan song tädi kim şungqarnung ang 5/9 ya birlä oq birlä şungqarni öldürdi bașin kästî andan song tädi kim şungqarnung anggûsî uşbo turur ibuğu yedi aduq yedi ~m öldürdi tâmûr bolsal [monster]nî şungqar yedi ya oqum öldürdi yaz bolsa täp tädi
11/9 toydân song oğuz qağan beglîrga elkûnlûrga järliq berdi taqï tädi kim lmân senlêrga boldum qağanî alalîng ya taqî qaqlan tamgâ bizgâ bolsun buyan lkôk bôrî bolsunqûr uranî tâmûr ~lar bol ormanî aw yerdâ yörüsûn qulani taqî taluy taqî mörânî kûn tuğ bolqîl kôk qorîngâlîn täp tädi
18/7 etil mörânûng quduqûdâ bîr qara taq tapıqîdîda uruşqu tutulûdî oq birtû ~ birlâ qâlîc birlâ uruştîlar
42/4 taqî tädi kim [ay] oğullar köp mân aşadum lurusqûlär köp mân körûmdû ~ basa köp qâq attûm zayqîr birlâ köp yörûmdû l[...] [täp tädi]
jl ol see yol
jôrû- see yörü-
Jumşa- see yunûŞa-
Jûrâk <êwr’k> ‘heart’
OT yûrâk ‘heart’ (ED 965)
9/9 oğuz qağan anî körûmdûtka usî ketti ~iqa ataş tûstî anî sewdi aldî anîq birât yatti tilâgûsûn aldî tôl boğûs boldî künlûrdân song keçêldûrdân song yarûdû
Jûrcêd <êwr’d> ‘Prop. Djürchi’
29/9 oğuz qağan taqî turûî qorîng tûshkûrû tûrûn tûrdû taraqûsûz bir yazî yer erdi mûnaga ~ tûtururur erdi
30/3 munda ~ qağanî elkûnî oğuz qaçqang çaqư qaldîlår uruş toqûş başlâdî
30/7-30/8 oğuz qaçqan baştî öldürdi bașin kästî ~ elkûnin öz ağîzîğâ baqîndûrdûrû
OT qaç- ‘to flee, run away’ (ED 589)
var. <ç’ç’e> 19/6, 34/7, <ç’ç’e> 26/4, <ç’ç’e> 26/9
19/6 oğuz qağan baştî urum qaçqan ~ti oğuz qaçqan urum qaçqanîn aldî elkûnin aldî
26/4 çolda uşbo ayqûr at közdân yîtî ~ti ketti
26/9 oğuz qaçqanîn aldî mûz taq içûgâ ~îp ketti
34/7 qatîq yaman uruşqû boldî loğuz qaçqan baštî müsr qaçqan ~tî oğuz anî bastîl yurtûn aldî kettî
qağan <ç’ç’i> ‘kagan (title)’ (cf. qaçîz)
OT qağan ‘an independent ruler of a tribe or people’ (ED 611)
var. ?<ç’ç’ n> 3/7, 27/2 <ç’ç’n> 12/4, 15/5, 19/6, 24/5, 24/9, 25/2, 26/9, (39/1), 40/5, 42/1, <ç’ç’n> 20/9
1/3 kân künlûrdân bîr kân ay ~nûng kösû yarîp küldûdî
?3/7-3/8 oğuz ~ bir eren ~ kişi erdi bo [monster]nî awlamaq tilâdî
6/5 oğuz ~
6/9 oğuz ~
7/8 oğuz ~
8/7 oğuz ~
9/8 oğuz ~
10/8 oğuz ~
11/5 oğuz ~
11/7 mûn senlêrga boldum ~l alalîng ya taqî qalqan |
12/4 oğuz ~
12/7-12/8 uşbo bildûrgûlûkta bitîlmiş erdi kim mûn uyqûrthing ~î bûla mûn kim yerning tört bulungûnîng ~î bolsam kârâk turur
13/8-13/9-14/1 kân bo çâqda ong jangâqta altun ~ tâgân bir ~ bar erdi uşbo altun ~ oğuz ~ xâ elci yumûşap yibûrdî [... ] ağîzîqî baqîndî yaqşî be(r)gü bîrîla dost luq qîldî anîq birât amûraq boldû
14/8 çông jangâqda urum tâgân bir ~ bar erdi
15/1 usol urum ~ oğuz ~ nîq järliqin saqlamaz erdi
15/5 oğuz ~
16/7 oğuz ~
17/3 oğuz ~
19/5-19/6 oğuz ~ baštî urum ~ qaçtî oğuz ~ urum ~nûng qaçqanîn aldî elkûnin aldî
20/1 urum ~nûng bir qarûndaštî bar erdi urus bîg tâgân erdi
20/9 oğuz ~
21/3urus bâging oğulîi [... ] taqî tädi kim ay männing ~um sên mânqâ atam bo baluqîn berîp turur taqî tädi kim [...]
22/8 oğuz ~
Q
qawucaq <ç’bw-ç’ç’> ‘hollow (of a tree)’
OT qoburcaq, qabarcaq ‘a wooden case’ MT qabarcaq ağaç içi oyularak yapan, yahut ağaç kabûqûnidan yapan holka, kutu’ (WOT 562-563)
8/9 oğuz qaçqan […] bûr iğaç kördî bo iğaçnûng ~inda bûr qız bar erdi jâlqûz oltûrur erdi
qaç- ‘to flee, run away’
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. çärigdä bir bedik ~ bäg bar erdi çäling bulingdan qo'rgunmaz turur erdi jörögüdä so'qurğuda onga er erdi
27/7 oğuz ~
29/7 oğuz ~
30/3 munda jürçäd ~i elkünı oğuz ~ğa qaršu kälililär urus toqš başlaşı
30/6-30/7 urus toqš başlaşı oqlar birlä qïlïäldilär uruš toquš başladï oqlar birlä uruštïlar oğuz ~ bašti jürçäd ~nì bastï öldürdi bašin kästi
30/9 oğuz ~
31/4 oğuz ~
32/5 oğuz ~
34/4 taşqarun qalmasun bällüg bolsun kim kündünkä bulungda baraq* tätigän bir yer bar turur [...] uşol yerning ~i misir tätigän bir ~ erdi 34/5 oğuz ~
34/7 qatiq yaman uruşçu boldi loguz ~ baštï mïşir ~ <q’q>n> qaçtî l oğuz anî bastï lyurtin aldï kettï
(35/1) oğuz ~
35/5 oğuz ~
36/7 oğuz ~
36/8 anung atï uluq türük erdi [...] uyqudson song tüzüä körgänin oğuz qägangä bildürä tüzü tâdi kim ay ~um sängä jaşãgä bolungsñ uzun l[ay ~um] sängä türük bolungsñ tüzüän [...] 37/4 oğuz ~
(39/1) oğuz ~
40/5 oğuz ~
39/9 oğuz ~
40/8 oğuz ~
42/1 oğuz ~

qäganluq <ğ’q’n-lwq> 'the state of being kagan’ (cf. qaquiz-luq)
OT qägan 'an independent ruler of a tribe or people’ (ED 611)
var. ?<ğ’q’n-lwq> 38/1
19/7 oğuz qägan urum qägangunn qäganluqin aldi elkünin aldi
?38/1 ay manûng köngülm äwnî tiläp turur qarî bolugsan maning ~um yoq turur

qägar/qär <ğ’q’r> ‘snow’
OT qar ‘snow’ (ED 641)
27/9 muz tağlarda köp so'qug boluptan ol bäg ~dan sarunmiş erdi

qağarlıq/qarlıq <ğ’q’r-l’çi> ‘Prop./ethnonym Karluk’
28/3 oğuz qaqan sewinç bírlä küldü aytti kim ay sân munda beglärgä bol-nil bašliq lmän mängiläp sängä at bolsun ~ l

qağıtir/qatîr <<ğ’q’d’r> > ‘mule’
OT qatîr ‘mule’ (ED 604)
31/3 uruṣqudon song oğuz qaqangunn çäригä gökârlärigä elkünigä andag uluq olug bârğı tüsti iki yükülmäkkä keldürmäkkä at ~ ud azliq boldî

?aqaţ <ğ’q’z> ‘impulsive, hot-headed’
OT qaţi 'to be angry (with sy) to abuse’ (ED 609), ~ qaş ‘to strike, tap’ (ED 609) ~ qiğiţ ‘to shout’ (ED 612) > *qiğiţ > *qiğiţ (cf. Erdal 1991 321-327)
3/8 oğuz qaqan bir eres ~ kişi erdi bo [monster]ni awlamaq tilädi
27/2 çärigdä bir bedik ~ bäg bar erdi çäling bulingdan qo'rgunmaz turur erdi jörögüdä so'qurğuda onga er erdi

?aqaţzluq <ğ’q’z-lwq> 'impulsiveness'
OT qaţi- ‘to be angry (with sy) to abuse’ (ED 609)
38/1 ay manûng köngülm äwnî tiläp turur qarî bolugsan maning ~um yoq turur

qal - <ğ’l> ‘to stay, remain’
OT qal- ‘to remain’ (ED 615)
29/2 çärigdä bir qaçţä çäbär er bar erdi anung atî tömûrtä qaçul tätigän erdi anga järîfî qildîkim lsän munda ~ aça qalqan laçqungdon song käl orgudä lâp tâdi mûndan anga qalaç at qoydi
33/6 kän taşqarun ~masun bällüg bolsun kim [...] 35/4 kän taşqarun ~masun kim bellüg bolsun kim

qalaç <ğ’l’çi> ‘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. <ğ’lq’n> 4/1, 5/2, 11/8 <ğ’lq[n]> 28/7, <ğ’lq n> 29/2
4/1 bir kün awîg qaçî qaçî birliq ya oq birlä tâqî qîlič bírlä ~ bírlä atladi
qamağ <q'ı'mʿq> 'all, the whole of'
Per. > OT qamağ all' (ED 627)
2/5 badanalın ~i tük tüllüklü erdi
32/1 nøkärlnüm elkuümü ~i munñ kördilär
šašilär qanqlar taqi japtär

qanca <q'ı'nq> '1. a kind of cart 2. onomatopeic word'
OT qang onomatopeic, gaggå, honk' (ED 630), qangá 'wagon, cart' (ED 638)
var. <q'ı'nq> 31/8
31/7-31/8 bo chábir bir ~ japtär ~ üstündä ölög
bargün qoydi ~ bašda türiq bargünı qoydi
 tarıttär käättär
32/2-32/3-32/5-32/6-32/8 nøkärlnüm elkuümü qamağ müñ kördilär šašilär ~lar taqi japtär munlar ~ yörmükätä ~ ~ söz berä
turur erdi erdi anun üçün anlarğa ~ at qoydlär oğuz qağan ~lArn kördi küldi taqi
aýtär kim ~ ~ birlä öülgü türiq yörmüştürün qaŋaluğ sängä at bolğuluq ~ bälğürüsün täp tädī

qanqaluğ <q'ı'nq'-lwq> 'Prop. ethnonym Qanglıñone having a cart'
OT qanglıñi 'wagon, cart, carriage' (ED 638)
32/7-32/8 see qanca

qapulug <q'ıbwl[w]q> 'closed, (?a house)
 having a door'
OT qapul- 'to be seized grasped' (ED 584); qapilquşq (a house having a door):
28/8 bo üynüüm taqumn altundan erdi tüngülüqları taqi kümmüşün qaqlanları tümqärndän
erdilär erdi ~ erdi ače GIič yoq erdi

qara ‘black’
OT qara ‘black' (ED 643)
var. <q'ırer> 1/7, 41/6, <q'ırer> 18/6, 34/3
1/7 ušol qoğluüng [...] saçlärı qasılar ~ ärddilär ärdi
18/6 etil möränningen quduqida bir ~ taq
tapüqida urusuq tutuldī

34/3 [...] kündünk bulungda baraql kăgän bir
yeri bar turur [...] elkuümüürün öngülki čičraqı
qap ~ turur
41/6 anun bašda bir kümüs taçuq qoysı
adaqida bir ~ qoyunun bağlađı

qarang gluq <q'ı'rńqw lwq> ‘darkness’
OT qaranggú ‘darkness' (ED 662)
6/6 oğuz qağan bir yerda tängri jalwarğuda
ärdi ~ keldi köktön bir kök yaraq türüšī

qarı <q'ı'ry> ‘old (man or woman)'
OT qarı 'old' (ED 644)
37/9 [...] taq ayttī kim ay münung köngü Cummings
awnī tilāp turur ~ bolğumdan māning
qağızluqum yoq turur

cart <q'ı'rd> ‘old'
OT qart '1. ulcer 2. old' (ED 647)
35/7 oğuz qağannung jānida aq saqalluğ moz
saçuğ uzun usluğ bir ~ kiši turur bar erdi

qaršu <q'ı'şw> ‘against’
OT qaršı ‘opposed, opposite, against' (ED 663)
30/4 munda jürçäd qağanı elkuıı oğuz qağanğa
~ kälüllär

qarundaş <q'ı'wnd-ı̊š> ‘brother’
OT qarindaş ‘sibling (with common mother)' (ED 662)
20/2 urum qağannung bir ~ı bar erdi uruñ bā∫
tägän erdi

qası <q'ı's> ‘eyebrow’
OT qası ‘eyebrow’ (ED 669)
1/6 ušol qoğluüng [...] saçlärı ~ lari qara
ärddilärärđi

qatigu̲?qatigu̲ <q'ı'daq> ‘chaotic ?massive’
OT qatigu ‘hard, firm, tough' (ED 597) < 2. qat-
’to be bard'; ~ qatigu ‘something mixed into
something else' (ED 598) < 1. qat- ’to mix, to
add’
34/6 ušol yerning qağanı müsrü tāgän bir qağan
erdi oğuz qağan anun ulügü attläq - yaman
uruşqu boldu

qatığlaq 'the act of making massive, fortified'
OT qatığ ‘hard, firm, tough' (ED 597);
qatığlän- 'to harden oneself' (ED 600) < 2. qat-
’to be bard’
var. <q'ı’dq̱-q̱w> 20/6, <q’ı’dq̱ḻq̱w> 21/5
20/6 ol urus bā∫ qoļun taç bašda täring
mörän arasa da yaqşı bāřk baluqua yummăr
taqı tādī kim baluqnī ~ kāråk turur sän taqı
uruşqulardan song baluqnu bizgä saqlap kälgil täp tädi
21/5 [...] taqı tädi kim ay männinq qağanum sän mängä atam bo baluqnu bärüp turur taqi tädi kim baluqnu ~ käräk turur sän taqi ērēg dilan sän uruşqulardan song baluqnu bängä saqlap kälgil täp tädi

?qatiqla- <<q d’q–l’> ‘to join, to follow’
OT qatîq ‘something mixed into something else’ (ED 598) < l. qat- ‘to mix, to add’ ~ qatîq ‘hard, firm, tough’ (ED 597); qatîqdi ‘tightly, firmly’ (ED 599) < 2. qat ‘to be hard’
17/8 kördi kim çäriçing tapuşlarida […] bädik bir erkäk böri yörügüdä turur ol börining artlarin ~p yörügüdä turur erdilär erdi

?qatiqlagų <<q d’q–l’qw> ‘the act of following, joining (forces)’
OT qatîq ‘something mixed into something else’ (ED 598) < l. qat- ‘to mix, to add’ cf.
qatiqlagų
15/2 u swoją urum qağan oğuz qağanning jarlıgün saqlamaz erdi ~ barmaz erdi munı söz sözni tutmaz män turur män täp yarlığga baqmadi

qaygu <<q yq̂w> ‘fear, grief, sorrow’
OT qadgu ‘sorrow, grief’ (ED 598)
19/2 oq birlä ğida birlä qilîç birlä uruştilar çäriçinärning aralarıda köp tälim boldi uruşgu lekkiïnärning köngülliärildä köp tälim boldi ~ 35/1 anung dostları köp sewinç […] erdi lanung duṣmanlarlı köp ~ lar […]

qazuq <<q swq> ‘pole’
OT qazqaz ‘a peg driven into the ground’ altun qazuq ‘the Pole Star’ (ED 682)
7/5 anung başnda ataşłuq yaraşluq bir mängi bar erdi altun ~ täg 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 uöbo kim ağızumga baqmaz turur bolsa […] duşman tutar män taşuraq başıp asturîp yov bolsunqîl täp ~ur män 14/0 altun qağan oğuz qağanqa elëi yumşap yibärdi […] ağızıği baqmıdı yaqși begü birlä dostluq ~di
23/4 aytti kim mängä köp altun yumşap sän baluqnu yaqsı saqlap sän täp tädi […] dostluq ~[~d]i
29/2 yolda bedûk bir üy kördi […] qapuluq erdi ač’rîçé yov erdi çäriçdi bir yaqsı çübir er bar erdi […] anga jarlığ ~di kim sän munda qal aç qağanı açqungdon song kül orduqal 37/6 oğuz qağan ulüğ türükünç sözün yaqşi kördi ögüttün tilädi ögüttüga körä ~di 39/2 jolda bir altun yanı taptilar aldı[lar] atasığa bàrdı[lar] [oğuz qağan] [?bo altun yanı] [uç] bizgülulq ~di

qılıč ‘sword’
var. <<qyl’c> 4/1, <<q’l’c>5/4, 30/5 <<qYl’c> 18/8
4/1 oğuz qağan bir kün awga çńtq jida birlä ya oq birlä taqı ~ birlä qağan birlä atladi
5/4 oğuz jida birlä başın urdı âni öldürdi ~ birlä başın kásti aldı ketti
18/8 etil mıränınıng quadığida bir qara taq tapığida uruşqu tutuldı oq birlä jida birlä ~ birlä uruştılar
30/5 uruș toqış başładı oqlar birlä ~lar birlä uruştılar

qımız see. qumuz

qıpçaq <<qy)bč̂q> ‘Prop/Ethnonym Kipchak’
24/7 oğuz qağan sâwuńe âtti küldi taqi aytti kim ay a sän munda bâg bolung ~ tägan sän bâg bolung

qırıq ‘forty, many’
OT qırq ‘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 tîli kélé başlàdı ~ kündön song bâduklärî yörüdü oynadı
11/1-11/2 oğuz qağan bedûk toy berdi elkiyngä jarlığ çârlap këngâstılar küdïlär ~ şira ~ bandang japturdı
15/7 çârig birlä atlâp tuğlärni tutup ketti ~ kündön song muz tag tägan taqçannda adaqığa keldı
41/4 [çong] yaqqida ~ qol aç iğaçını tik türdü
41/9 [ong] yaqta buzluqlar oldurdi çöq yaqta uç qoqlar olurdi ~ kün ~ keçâ aștilar içtilar sewinç taptilar

qız I <<qyz> ‘girl’
OT qicz ‘girl, unmarried woman’ (ED 679)
var. <<qYz> 7/3
7/1 uöbo yaraşnung arasında bir ~ bar erdi yâlquz olurur erdi
7/3 yaqısı kûrgüluk bir ~ erdi
7/5 uöso ~ anda kûrgülük erdi kim külsä kök tängri külä tururi iltâsa kök tängri ilğaya tururl
9/1 bo iğaçınıng qawuçaqında bir ~ bar erdi yâlquz olurur erdi
qöz II <qż> ‘rare, valuable’

OT qoż ‘costly, expensive, rare’ (ED 680)
14/3 ušbo altun qagan oğuz qaganda elči yumşap yibärdi köp tålim altun kümiş tartıp köp tålim ~ yaqut taş alup köp tålim ārdāniår yibårüp yumşap oğuz qaganda soyurqap berdi.

güzil ‘red’

OT gužil ‘red’ (ED 683)
var. <qšyl> 1/6, <qšyl> 19/4
1/6 ušol oğulning onglüki čiraği kök erdi ağızı atas ~ erdi
19/4 uruşunče tutulanč andağ yaman boldi kim etil möranunq suğ qıp ~ sāpsinggir tāg boldi

qorğan ‘camp, dome’

OT qorğ ‘an enclosure, enclosed area (for the ruler)’ (ED 652) Mo. qoruy-a(n), qorug-a ‘courtyard, enclosure, camp’ (L 967)
var. <qwylı̱n> 12/3, <qwylı̱n> 15/9, 16/3
<qwırq> 17/4, <qwırYı̱n> 29/7
12/3 […]law yerđä yörüsun qulan ıtaqi taluy taqi mörän kün tug bolgil kök ~ ltıp tädı
15/9 qırığı kündon song muż tay tägän tağnung adaqiğa keldi ~nı tüşkürdi šük bolup uyup tūrdi
16/3 čang ertzä bolduqta oğuz qagannung ~ić kön tāg bir járuq kirdi
17/4 āndan song oğuz qagan ~nı tüŕkürdi ketti kördi kim […]
29/7 känä bir kün […] erkäk börö yörüümäyün türdi oğuz taqi türdi ~ tüşkür tüرغän türdi tarлагüşiz bir yazi yer erdi

qoruq <qwrq> ‘to fear’

OT qorg ‘to fear, be afraid’ (ED 651)
27/3 čārigda bedik qaçır er bäg erdi čalıng bulingdan ~maz turur erdi

qoy <quw> ‘to put, place sg’

OT qod ‘to put down, abandon’ (ED 595)
var. <qw> 8/6, 23/3
8/4-8/5-8/6 birinçisigä kün at ~dılår ekinçisigä ay at ~dılår üçünçüsügä yulduz at ~dılår
10/5-10/6-10/7 birinçisigä kök at ~dılår ekinçisigä taq at ~dılår üçünçisügü tāngiz at ~dılår
23/3 aytı kim mängä köp altun yumşap sän baluquq yaqşi saqlap sän täp tädi anung üçün anqa saqlap at ~dir
29/4 anqa járlığ qıldi kim sän munda qal ağa qalqan laçqungdon song kāl orduğa ltıp tädi munday anqa qalač at ~dir
31/8-31/9 bo čābär bir qańqa jäfti qańqa üstündä ölög bargańi ~dir qańqa başda tirīg bargańi ~dir tārtīltär kettīltär
32/5 munlar qańqa yörümmāti qańqa qańqa söz berä turur erdilär erdi anung üçün anlarğa qańqa at ~dılår
41/5 čong qańqa qırığ qolac śicań tinńūrdiri anung başda bir kümiş tāguq ~dir

qoyun ‘sheep’

OT qoń ‘sheep’ (ED 631)
var. <qw’wn> 41/3, <qwywn> 41/6
41/3 [adaq]da bir aq ~ bağladı
41/6 čong qańqa qırış qolac śicań tinńūrdiri anung başda bir kümiş tāguq qoyđi adaqda bir qara ~ bağladı

quduq <qwudq> ‘edge, river-bank’

OT qidq ‘the edge of sg, sea-shore’ (ED 598) ≠ quduq ‘well’
18/5 etil möranńin ~ıda bir qara tağ tāpiğida uruşuq tutulđi

qulan <qwlı̱n> ‘wild ass’

OT qulan ‘wild ass’ (ED 622)
12/1 […]tamgü bizgü bolsun buyan lıkök börö bolsungüll and uťämür jida bol orman law yerdä yörüstün ~ […]

qumuz ‘kommiss’

OT qımız ‘fermented mare’s milk, kommiss’ (ED 629)
var. <qwmwz> 9/8, <q’mYz> 11/3
9/8 andağ körüqlük erdi kim yerning yelküni anî körsä ay ay ağa ölbüriz tāp sütün ~ bala tururlär
11/3 qırığ śira qırığ bandanj japtürdi türlüğ ašlar türlüğ sormalar čubuyanlar ~lar ašțlar ičtīlir

quriltay <qwry’d’y> ‘Kuriltay, great council’
Mo, *quraltu* 'assembly, meeting' (L 988)
40/5 andan song oğuz qağan ulug ~ çagirdi nöklärin elknünärin çarlap çagirdi

**quş** <qws> ‘bird’
OT *quş* (ED 670)
var. <qwš> 38/7
3/4 bo çağda bo yerdä bir ulug orman bar erdi [...] bunda kelğünän kık köp köp bunda ucqanlar ~ köp köp erdi
34/1 kündünki bulungda baraq' tığän bin yır bar turur ulug bərguluğ bir yurt turur köp isığ bir yer turur munda köp kıkläri köp quşarı bar turur
38/7 kın ay yulduz köp kıkär köp ~lar awlاغularıдан song jolda bir altın ya tąptılar
39/6 andan song kök tag tąngız köp kıkär köp ~lar awlاغularıdan song jolda üç kümüs oq tąptılar

**qut** <qwd> ‘regal charisma’
OT *qut* 'the favour of heaven, good fortune' (ED 594)
22/1-22/2 bizning qutbί sening qutung bolmuș biznɪn uruşqίn zusammen iğaçungnung uruğί bolmuș bolup turur

**K**

**kāl** ‘to come’
*kāl* ‘to come’ (ED 715)
var. <k'ә> 4/5, 5/2, 5/5, 20/8, 29/, 30/5, 40/7,
<k'ı> 2/2, <k'yl> 4/9, 6/6, 15/9, 21/6
2/2 anasınıng kögüzündön oğuznί içıp munden artıqraq içmäδi yeg ät aș sorma tiläδi tífi ~ä başläδi
4/5 andan song ertä bolδi tang ertä çağda ~di kördi kim [...] 4/9 munden song ertä bolδi tang ertä çağda ~di kördi kim [...] 5/5 kön özu iğaçınıng tǔbändi turđi [monster] ~ıp başı birlä oğuz qağanın urđi
5/5 kön ~ıp kördi kim bir şuŋqar [monster] iğaçınıng yemäktä turur ya birlä oğuz qağanınıng kördübol ~di
6/6 oğuz qağan bir yerdä täŋgini jalwarğuda erdi qarangğuluq ~di
15/9 çärig birlä atlap tuğlarını tutup ketti qırış köndön song muğ tag tąğän tağnum adağığa ~di
20/8 uruʂqulardan song baluqni bızgà saqlap ~ gił
21/6 uruʂqular dan song baluqni bāŋgà saqlap ~ gił
29/3 anga järľüğ qıldi kim sän munda qal aș qağan aqçungdon song ~ orduğa tąp tądi
30/5 jürčäd qağanı elknunı oğuz qağanğa qarşu ~diłär
40/7 oğuz qağan ulug quırlayt çagirdi nöklärin elknünärin çarlap çagirdi ~ip kengäşıp olturdlär

**käldür** ‘to bring’
OT *kältür* ‘to bring sg' (ED 716)
var. <kYldwr> 25/4 <k'ldwr> 27/7, 37/2, 37/8 25/4 uşbo kök böri oğuz qağanğa ayttı kim amdı çärig birlä munden atlang qağan atlap elknünärni beglärni ~gil
27/7 uşol beg tağlarga kırđi yörüdü toqz kündön song oğuz qağanğa ayğır anı ~di
37/2 tädi kim ay qağanun sängä jəşağu bolsunğıl uzun lay qağanun sängä tūrück bolsunğıl tüzün [...] täŋgiri berdi tüsümđä ~ sünl tola turur yerni uruşquna berdürsnün
38/7 andan song ertä bolupta aqalınır inilärni çarlap ~di

**kās** <k's> ‘to cut sg (off)’
OT *kās* ‘to cut, cut off' (ED 748)
var. <k's> 5/4, 5/7 <k'Ys> 30/8
5/4 jīda birlä [monster]ning bašın urđi anı öldürdi qılči birlä bašın ~ti aldık ketti
5/7 kördı kim bir şuŋqar [monster]ning iğaçınıng yemäktä turur ya birlä oğuz qağanınıng bašın ~ti
(24/4) kördı kim [...] köp tälim tallar köp tälim [...]lar [...] jığaćlər [...] ~[...] ağaçlarda yattı keći
30/8 uruʂ toqųx başläδi oqlär birlä qılčılär birlä uruʂjähr oğuz qağan baštį jürčäd qağanğı bastį öldürdi bašın ~ti

**kārāk** <k'r'k> ‘necessary’
OT *kārgāk* 'necessity, necessary' (ED 742)
12/9 uşbo bildürğülükta bitimiš erdi kim män ugyurnıng qağan gì bola män kim yerning tört bulungınıng qağan gü bolsam ~ turur
20/6 uruș bāğ oğulun tag başıda türing mörän arasıdı yaşiği bārık baluqqa yumorşdi taq tądi kim baluqni qatıqlagų ~ turur
21/5 mängä atam bo baluqni berip turur taq tädi kim baluqni qatıqlagų ~ turur

**keč** ‘to pass (through), cross’
OT *kēč* ‘to pass through' (ED 693)
var. <k'č> 23/5 <k'չ> 23/8, 24/5
23/5 kön çärig birlä [...] etil tägän möränge ~ti
23/8 oğuz qağan anı [...] taq tądi kim etilning <sugdan> nāçük ~är biz tąp tądi
35/4 ~ taşqaran 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. <kyńk’> 11/1, <kyńk’> 40/7
11/1 oğuz qağan bedük bir toy berdi elköngä järliğ čarlap ~tilär käldilär
40/7 oğuz qağan uluğ qurūtay čağrđı nökerlärın elkönlärin čarlap čağrđı kälip ~ip olturdular

ket- <kyd> 'to go (away)'
OT ket- 'to go (away)' (ED 701)
var. <k’d> 15/7
4/3 bir buğdaldi şol bügünü talnun čuβuqči birga iğačqa bagladi ~ti
4/7 kęna bir aduğaldi altunluğ belbağlı birga iğačqa bagladi ~ti
5/4 jıda birḷa [monster]ning başın urdani anı öldürdü qılić birla başın kästialdi ketti
6/3 andan song tädikim şungqarnang anggusu ušbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jıdam öldürdü tämür bolsal [monster]ni şungqar yedi yaoqum öldürdü yel bolsa täp tädik ~ti
7/9 oğuz qağan anı körküdük väsi qalmadı ~ti säwdalaldi aning birla yattı
8/7 kän bir kün oğuz qağan awğa ~ti
9/9 oğuz qağan anı körküdük väsi ~i jürükägä ataş tüsti anı säwdalaldi aning birla yattı
15/7 čärig birla atlap tüşlärini tütup ~ti
17/4 andan song oğuz qağan qorqğınni türdürdi ~ti kördikim […]
24/8 [naming ritual] täp tädik taqı ilgärü ~ti
25/9 oğuz qağan kördikim erkäk börü çäriging tapuğlarında yörgüdä turur säwindi ilgärü ~ ti
26/4 ušbo ayıqir at közdän yitti qačtį ~ti
26/9 oğuz qağanann atı muz taq ıčği qačıp ~ ti
28/4 [naming ritual] täp tädik köp erđani soyurqadi ilgärü ~ ti
29/5 [naming ritual] täp tädik mundan anga qalaç at qoydı ilgärü ~ti
31/9 qańça üstündä ölig buğunun qoydı qańça başıda tirıg buğunun qoydı tarıtılları ~tilär
32/9 [naming ritual] täp tädik ~ti
33/3 kän […] erkäk börü birla sindu taqı tangqut taqı şağam yinggaqlarığı atlap ~ti
34/8 oğuz qağan baştı lmıșır qağan qačtıl oğuz anı bastı lyur tín adılı ~ til
35/3 loğuq qağan baştı lısanagulüşüz nümällär yılçıllar adılı lyurğta uyğa tüştį ~ ti
The only exceptions are the utterances found in 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-giäl in 1/1, since it is direct speech as tāp tādīlär 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.
kük II <kwkw> ‘1. sky 2. Prop. [The fourth son of Oğuz]
OT kük ‘the sky, sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey’ (ED 708)
6/9 qaranguluq keldi ~tün bir kök yaraq tişti kündön ay aydan qoqululuqraq erdi
7/6/7 qus ändaq köqülük erdi kim külisä ~ tängri külä turur üflasa ~ tängri üflaya tururl
9/3 yaqşi köqülük bir qz erdi anung közu ~tün kôrkä erdi
10/5 üc erkä oğulun tügürdi biricësögä ~ at qoydïlar
12/2 […]kän tuq bolgïl ~ qorïgan
38/3 kän ay yulduz tag sariqa sänlar barungl ~ tag tängiz tän sariqa sänlar barung täp tädi
39/4 ay [qaq]lar yi bolsun senlënrîng] yi täg oqlamî ~käçä atung!
39/5 andan song ~ tag tängiz köp klikär kök quslar awlağularîdan song jolda üc kümüs oğni taptïlar
42/6 […] ludışmanlîn iqlaşdurum ldostlarumnî män kül gördüm ~ tängrigi män ötdüüm Islänlarqä berämn yurdüm!

könqül <kwkwl> ‘heart’
OT könqül ‘the mind, thought, heart’ (ED 731)
19/1 çäriglënriq aralarida köp tälîm boldi uruşqul elünküläriq ~ lärädö köp tälîm boldi quygu
37/9 taq äytti kim ay mänung ~üm awnî tiläp turur lqarî bolgümİdan mänïng qazïlqum yuq turur

küp <kwb> ‘many, much’
OT küp ‘abundant, luxuriant, much, many’ (ED 686)
3/2 bo çagda bo yerdä bir uluq orman bar erdi ~ möränllär ~ ögüzlär bar erdi
3/3 bunda kelgänllär kîk ~ ~ lbunda uçqanlar quş ~ ~ lerdî
14/2-14/3 uşbo altun qaqan oğuz qaqangä elëi yumşap yibärdî ~ tälîm altun kümüs tarp ~ tälîm qiz yaqaut taş alup ~ tälîm årdänllärî yibärüp yumşap oğuz qaqangä soyurqap berdi
14/9 uşol qagannung çärgi ~ ~ buluqlärî ~ ~ erdilär erdi
18/9-19/2 çäriglënriq aralarida ~ tälîm boldî uruşqul elünküläriq kôngülârîdî ~ tälîm boldi quygu
19/8-19/9 oğuz qaqan urum qagannung qagãnuñquñ aldî elünkîn aldî orðusiga ~ uluq olug bargu ~ tälîm tirig bargu tusu boldî
21/1 oğuz qaqan uşol buluqqa atladi urus biqning oğulî nga ~ altun kümüs yibärdî taqk tädï kim […]
23/1 oğuz qaqan […] taq äytti kim mänug ~ altun yumşap sâni buluqquñ yaqşî saqol sâni täp tädi
24/2 çärigôda bir yaqşi bâg bar erdi […] kördi kim […]da […] [tälîm tallar] ~ tälîm […]lar […]
27/8 muz tağlarda ~ soğug boluptan ol bâg qagardan sanumüş erdi ap aq erdi
28/4 oğuz qaqan sewinë birlä küldü äytti kim […] täp tädî ~ ärdänî soyurqadî igârû ketti
30/2-30/3 mungâ jürçäd tätururlar erdi bedük bir yurt elünk erdi yîqlîrî ~ ud buzgalîrî ~ altun kümüsli ~ ärdänlläri ~ erdilär erdi
33/4 kän bo […] erkä börî birlâ sîndu taqqt quş luqam yinggaîrâlqä atlap ketti ~ uruşqudan ~ toquşqudon song anlarînî aldî öz yurtîga birlädi
33/9-34/1-34/2 kündünkî bulungdâ baraç tâqgnä bir yer bar turur uluq bargulug bî yurt turur ~ isîğ bir yer turur munda ~ klikärî ~ qușlär bar turur altunî ~ kümüsî ~ ärdîniläri ~ turur […]
34/9 anung dostlärî ~ sewinë […] erdi anung duşmanlärî ~ qaygûlar […]
38/7 kän ay yulduz ~ klikär ~ qușlar awlağularîdan song jolda bir altun yanî taptïlar
39/6 kök taq tängiz ~ klikär ~ qușlar awlağularîdan song jolda bir üc kümüs oğni taptïlar
42/3-42/4 taqk tädï kim [ay] oğullär ~ män aşadum luruşqalar ~ män kördüm ÿda basa ~ oq attumlaygîr birlâ ~ yördüml[…][…]

kör- <kwêr> ‘to see sg’
OT kör- ‘to see sg’ (ED 736)
4/5 tang erta çagda kälî ~di kim [monster] buğûni alup turur
4/9 tang erta çagdä keldi ~di kim [monster] adûqni alup turur
5/5 känâ kälîp ~di kim şungqar [monster] içägüsin yemäktä turur
6/9 oğuz qaqan yördü ~di kim uşbo yaruqunung arásinda bir qiz bar erdi
7/9 oğuz qoqan anı ~dükta ush qalmaδış kətti sewdî aldî anung birlə yattî
8/9 oğuz qoqan avga kətti bir köl arasında alîndan bir ğaç ~dî
9/6 andağ körəlgül erdi kîm yerding yelkûnî anî ~sâ ay ay âç âç ölörbiz tâp sütûnd qumuz bola tururlar
9/9 oğuz qoqan anî ~dükta ush ketti jûrâkiğâ atasâ tûsti
17/5 anyand song oğuz qoqan qorîğannî tûrdürdî kətti ~di kîm čârînîq tapuqlarîda [...] bâdik bir erkâk börî yörügûdâ turur
22/9 oğuz qoqan yîğîînîn sözûn yagçî ~di sewindi kûldî taqî ayttî kîm mûnâ köp altun yümçap sân balaqînî yagçî saqîl sap sân tâp tâdî
24/2 čârîdîbî yagçî bâg bar erdi [...] ~di kîm [...]da [köp tâlim tâllar] köp tâlim [...]lar [...] 
25/1 anand song oğuz qoqan kânîn kök tûlûkçığ kök jalluq erkâk börî ~dî
25/7 tang ertzî bolduqta oğuz qoqan ~di kîm erkâk börî čârînîq tapuqlarîda yörügûdâ turur
28/5 taqî ilçărî ketti yolda bedûk bir üy ~di
32/1 nôkârlûmûn qumçûnî qunmûnî ~dílîr šâsîl ydançalar taqî japtîlalar
32/6 oğuz qoqan qanqalarnî ~di kûrdi taqî ayttî kîm [...] 
36/2 kûnîldarâ bir kûn yunquda bir altun ya ~di taqî üc kûmuûq oq ~dî
36/6 yunqudon song tüstî ~gânîn oğuz qoqangâ bildûrdû
37/5 oğuz qoqan ulug tûrûkçûnîn sözûn yagçî ~di ôğütûn tîldî ôğüütûgî körî qûldî
42/3 taqî tâdî kîm ay ôğullar köp mân așadum uluqçular köp mân ~dûm [...]]

körû ckwr'> 'according to'
OT kör- 'to see sğ' (ED 736)
37/6 oğuz qoqan ulug tûrûkçûnîn sözûn yagçî kördî ôğütûn tîldî ôğüütûgû ~ qûldî

körûgûr-<kwrkw-r>'to show'
OT körgûr~körgûr- 'to show' (ED 740)
25/9 oğuz qoqangî ayttî kîm amdî čârîg bîrîlîr munûn âtlarq qoqang atlap elqûnîlarni beqlârînî keldûrîlgî mân sângâ başlal yolkî ~ür mân tâp tûdî

körûglûk <kwrwk-lwk>'beautiful'
OT körûglûg 'having the shape of, beautiful (ED 743)
1/8 usul oğulunîng öngûlûkî čirağî kök erdi lağîzî atasâ qizîl erdi lkozlârî al saçlarî qaslarî qara ärdîlîr ärdî lyaqçî nûwiskîldârâ ~rûk erdî
7/2 ushû yarûqunîn arasından bir qiz bar erdi yalçu olurur erdi yaqçî ~ bir qiz erdî
7/6 usûl qiz andağ ~ erdi kîm külşâ kök tûngir tûlû mûlû gûslû kök tûngir îqlayû turur
9/3 yaqçî ~ bir qiz erdi anung köktör kökârk erdi anung saçî mûrân usûqî tûg anung tîsî üncü tûg erdî
9/5 andağ ~ erdi kîm yer ning yelkûnî anî körçîsî ay ay âç âç ölörbiz tâp sütûnd qumuz bola tururlar

köz <kzw> ‘eye’
OT köz 'eye' (ED 756)
1/4 kânûn kûnîldarân bir kûn ay qagannûn ~ã yarîp kûdûdi erkûk oqul tûgûrdû
1/6 usul oğulunîng öngûlûkî čirağî kök erdi lağîzî atasâ qizîl erdi lâ-lârä al saçlarî qaslarî qara ärdîlîr ärdî lyaqçî nûwiskîldârân körôğûlrôk erdî
9/3 yagçî körôûglûk bir qiz erdi anung ~ã köktör kökârk erdi anung saçî mûrân usûqî tûg anung tîsî üncü tûg erdî
26/3 ushû ayغني atnî bû cû swûr erdî jolda ushû ayغني at ~dan yîtî qâcêti kettî

küdâ-<kwd>'to wait, to pasture'
OT küd- 'to wait, wait for, attend to' (ED 701)
(?)1/4 kânûn kûnîldarân bir kûn ay qagannûn közû yarîp ~ã erkûk oqul tûgûrdû
2/6 yîlçîlars ~yâ turur erdî latlârâ minâ turur erdî ikkî aw awlûya turur erdî 

kül-<kw-r>'to laugh'
OT kül- 'to laugh' (ED 715)
7/6-7/7 usûl qiz fûndar körûglûk erdî kîm ~sâ kök tûngîr ~ã turur îqlayû gûs kök tûngir îqlayû turur
22/9 oğuz qoqan yîğîînîn sözûn yagçî kördî sewindî ~dî
24/5 usul bir er erdî kûrdi kîm [...] ağaçlarîda yattî keçti oğuz qoqan sâwinî âtti ~dî taqî ayttî kîm [...] 
28/1 toqûs kûnûn song oğuz qoqangê ayغني atnî kûldûrdû [...] oğuz qoqan sewinî bûlûrlû ~dû ayﬃtî kîm [...] 
32/6 bo çâbîr bar qanqa japtî [...] oğuz qoqan qanqalarnî kördî ~dî
39/9 jolda üc kûmuûq qançîlarp aldûlar aldûlar atasîgâ berdiîr oğuz qoqan sewindî ~dî taqî oqîłarnî üçûqû ülástûrdû

kûlgûr-<kwkw>r>’to make laugh’
OT kültîr- 'to make sy laugh' (ED 717)
kümüş <kwmwš> ‘silver’
OT kümüş ‘silver’ (ED 723)
14/2 uşbo altun qəğan oğuz qəğanqa elə yumşap yibrədi köp təlilm altun – tartuq köp təlilm qiz yaqut taş alup köp təlilm ardánílar yibrəp yumşap oğuz qəğanqa soyuşqap berdi
21/2 oğuz qəğan uşol balaqqa atlaði urus bəğning oğülü anqa köp altun – yibrədi taqı tədik kim […]
28/7 bo üynəŋ tağamə altundan erdi təngləqlərə taqı –tən qəlqanları təmərdən erdiləridi erdi
30/2 kündənki bulundə təğən bir yer bar turur uluq bərəluğül bir yurt turur köp əsər bir yer turur munda köp kikləri köp qışları bar turur altunlı köp –i köp erdinalıları köp turur
34/2 taqalaqız bir yazı yerdi erdi munga jürəcəd tətəurlər erdi bədili bir yurt el÷ən erdi yıqələri köp ud buzaqləri köp altun – ləri köp ardáníləri köp erdiləridi erdi
36/2 künərdərədik ki kün uyquda bir altun ya kördir taqı üç – o qördaughter
36/5 bo altun ya kün tuğışida (da) kün batuşiğaça təğən erdi taqı bo üç – o qün yinqaqaqə kətə turur erdi
39/7 kənən andon song kök taq təngiz köp kikläri köp qışlar aqlağularıdan song jolda üç – qənn əçıqfar aldlər atasıqa berdilərdi
41/5 [çong] yaqəda qır°q qolaq içəcni tıkətərdi anuŋ bašında bir ~ taquq qoqədi adaqiya bir qara qoyun bağlaði
dušmanlərin iqləqərməldən mão ~düm ~tən qurudurdi bən ~düm isə kənən təngəri –gə mão ottədəm əsnələrə berənmən yurdunum

kün <kwn> ‘1. day 2. sun 3. Prop. the first son of Oğuz’
OT kün ‘the sun, day’ (ED 725)
1/3 kənən ~ ərdən bir ~ ya qəğannən közü yarip küdərə erkək oğul tuğurdı
2/2 […] oğuznı iəp munden arlıq qədəmə liyəgət aš şorma tələdə lišə kələ başlədə ləqirəq –dön əsər bədəkiklədə yörədə oynədə
2/8 yəqliqlər küdəiyə turur erdi atlaqərə minə turur erdi kik aw avlaya turur erdi ~ərdən song keçərdən əştəqə bəldə
6/4 kənən ~ ərdən bir ~ oğuz qəğan bir yerdə tənənini təlbərədə ərdə
6/7 qarangəluq keldi kökən bir kök yaraq təştı –dön ay (ay)dan xoquləluq urduşq qərəqrdə erdi
8/2 təl böğəs bələdə –ərdən song keçərdən song yarudü üç erkək oğul tuğurdı
8/4 bərinçəsiqə – at qoydular
8/6 kən bir ~ oğuz qəğan avəqə ketti
təbək 10/2 təl böğəs bələdə –ərdən song keçərdən song yarudü üç erkək oğul tuğurdı
12/2 […]~ təbi bəqtəl ikək qoqışqan təp tədik
15/8 çərəq birlə atlaqulaq tuqulək ketti qır°q ~ dən song muz taq təğən təngən adaqiya keldi
16/3 tang ertə bolduqta oğuz qəğannən qorışqağıya – təbək bir qara kirdi
18/1 bir nəcə –ərdən song […] bo bədik erkək bərə turup turudı oğuz tuqə qərəq bərə turup turdə
dən 27/6 uşol beg tağərəkı kirdi yörüdə toquz ~ dən song oğuz qəğanqa ayqvə atnə kildərə
29/5 kənən bir ~ […] erkək bəri yörəmən turdı oğuz qəğan taqı turdə
35/9-36/1 anuŋ atlı uluq türək erdi –ərdən bir ~ uyquda bir altun ya kördir taqı üç kümüş qörərdi
36/3 bo altun ya ~ tuğışida (da) – batuşiğaça təgən erdi
38/1 ~ ay yulduz tən sərışə sənən barung ikək təbək tən sərışə sən lər barung
38/6 ~ ay yulduz köp kikläri köp qışlar aqlağularıdan song jolda bir altun yənə təttəfərə 41/9 [çong] yaqəda buzuqlər oltdurudi ləcən qaqtyə üç oqlər oltdurudi ləqirəq ~ qırəq keçə aštəlar iəttələr ləswinə təttəfərə
dušmanlərin iəp munden atəşbaru dənəkən balaqqa atlaðaqə berdilər

kündənki <kwn-dwn-ky> ‘southern’
OT kündən ‘in the direction of the sun, south’ (ED 729)
33/7 kənən taʃərək qaləmsən bəlləq bolson kim ~dənəkən bulundə baraqo təgən bir yer bar turur

M

?ma/mə <m> ‘here you are! Lo and behold!’
(cf. mão)
OT ma/mə ‘here you are!’ (ED 765)
28/3 oğuz qəğan sewinə birlə küdələ αyttə kim munda bəglərgə bolğəl başləq – məngiləp sənəq at bolson qaγərəğı

mən ‘I’ (1sg personal pronoun)861
OT bən T (ED 346)

861 I followed the same method as in the case of biz
See the footnote there. Just like +biz The suffix +mən usually co-occurs with the personal pronoun, with one exception, see. instance 15/4.
11/6 taq tədii kim ~ senlärgä boldum qahan lalalîng yə taq qalqaln\[...\]
17/1 ay ay o
bolsun qa
37/8-38/1 taq
munda beglärgä bolguš ləmän ~p sängät at bolsun qaŋarlıqılı
müsir <m’ r>s>r>\'Proper name, Egypt’
MT müsir, müsir Eýpten, Kairo (Z 854a)
34/4-34-7 usöl yerning qagana ~ təgän bir qahan erdi oğuz qahan anung üstigä atlaði qað içi̇ man uruşqu boldü oğuz qahan baʃt ~ qahan qaðtı

mängilä- <m’rl’b/mnkl’b> ‘to rejoice, to be happy’
OT mängilä ‘to rejoice, to be happy’ (ED 770)
28/3 oğuz qahan sewiné birli̇ küldü añtii kim munda beglärgä bolguš baʃlīq ləmän ~p sängät at bolsun qaŋarlıqılı

mäng <m’nık> ‘mole’
OT bäng ‘a mole on the face’ (ED 346)
7/4 yaqış köürüglük bir qız erdi anung baʃında ataşlug yaraﬂlug bir ~i bar erdi

\[monster\]^862 var. <çç’çê’ > 3/4, <çç’çê’ > 3/8,
<kyyńê’ > 4/5, <d’w’ > 4/9, <d’ǹêk’ > 4/9,
<k’w’ > 5/3, <[ç]dyêŋ’ > 5/5, <[n]dyêŋ’ > 5/6,
<kyyńê’ > 6/3
3/4 usöl orman i̇cindä bıdük bir ~ bar erdi
yılçılarn yerki̇nlerni̇n yer erdi
3/8 oğuz qahan bir eres qaquests i̇ki̇ erdi bo ~n awlama tılädi
4/5 bir buğuu aldi [... ] tang tertä çada keld kürdi kim ~ buğunu alup turur
4/9 kenä bir adug aldi [... ] tang tertä çada keldi kürdi kim ~ aduñgü alip turur
5/1-5/3 käng özu i̇ gaçınıng tılbändi tırdü ~ kılpi̇ baʃi̇ birli̇ oğuz qalganın urdu oğuz jıda bırla ~nüğ baʃın urdi anı öldürdü
5/5 käng kılpi̇ kürdi kim bir şungqar ~nüğ i̇ gä الوزin yemäktä turur
tümür bolsa ~nı şungqar yedi ya oçum öldürdü
eyl bolsa tıp tədi taq tı ~nüğ ang’gusu usbo turur [picture]

moz <mzw> ‘grey (hair)’
OT boz ‘grey’ (ED 388)
35/6 käng taʃqarun qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qagannañ janida aq saqallugu ~ saçlug uzun usluğ bir qart kiʃi 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 çəğəda bo yerdə bir uluğ orman bar erdil köp –lär köp əğəzlər bar erdil bunda əlgənlər klik köp köp əlgəndə uşqanlar quş köp köp ərdə
9/4 yağış körlüglük bir qız erdi anung közü köktən kökrük erdi anung saçı – œsüşü təq anung tiişi üncü təq erdi
12/2 [[...]]təmür jida bo orman orman law yerdə yörüşün qulan taqı teleq – ləkü təg bolğil kök qorğan təp tədə
18/4-18/5 bir nəçə künlandrən song […] bo bedik erkək böri turup turuði əğuz taqı çərəq birlə turup turuðu mündən etil – təgən bir təlay bar erdil etil – nüşədəqəridə bir qara taq təpgi yurdə uşuluq tutuldu
19/3 tutulunç urușunç andañ yaman boldi kim etil –nüşə şüş qızıl şapsanggir təq erdi
20/4 urus bəğ əğənlən təsyə ərdə – arasida yəşəi bàrik bələnqə yumşadı
23/5 kənə çərəq birəl […] etil təgən – gə kəcəti etil təgən baduk bir nəşū turur

mun+ see bu

muz <mzw> ‘ice’
OT buć ‘ice’ (ED 389)
15/8 çərəq birələ atlap təglərən tətup ketti qırəq kündən song – təgən tənəng adaqışqə keldi
26/5-26/7-26/8 mündən əluq bir təg bar erdil üzü üstündə təng taqı – bar turur anuŋ başlı səqıştan ap aq turur anuŋ tiişə anuŋ ati muz – təgən turur əğuz qağan əğuz qəzənnər atı – təgə nüşə əşiq ətən
27/7 unəş bəğ təhərək qidrə yörüdən toqquz kündən song əğuz qağanda ayşər atın käldürə – təglərə koop səqış bəłuptan ol bəğ qağandən sarunməş erdi ap aq erdi

(?jmọstɛi <mzw t'y> (Prop.) 'icy'
see taq
Mo. mọstii ‘icy, iced, glacial' (L 551)
15/8 çərəq birələ atlap təglərən tətup ketti qırəq kündən song – təgən tənəng adaqışqə keldi

N

nawšiki <n’bysky> ‘fairy’
Mid. Per. > Tokh. > OT nevaşigi ‘a good spirit' (ED 775)

O

oğul (?o)l) ‘(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 künlandrən bir kən ay qağənnən közü yaɾıp kədiə erkək – təğərdi uşol – nəŋ öŋlüki qiɾəqi kök erdi
1/8 uşol – anasınıng kögüzəndən əğuznəq ičəp mündən qərtişqə ičətdə
8/3 təl boğux bolux künlandrən song kicəldəndən song yarudü üc erkək –qi næğərdi
10/4 təl boğux bolux künlandrən song kicəldəndən song yarudü üc erkək –qi næğərdi
oğuz (؟ўз) I <wqw> ‘colostrum, first milk’
OT aguž/aguç ‘colostrum, the first milk after parturition’ (ED 98)
1/9 ušol oğul anasining kögüzöndön ~nі içip munden arıtqarq içmädi

oğuz (؟ўз)II ‘Prop/Ethnonym Oghuz’ var. <wqw> 3/7, 6/5, 7/8, 10/8, 25/9, 27/6 <wqw> 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, <wqw> 8/7, 12/4, [23/6], 24/9, 25/2, 25/7, 30/4, 31/4, <wqw> 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, <wqw> 14/1, 16/6, <wqw> 19/5 see also qağan
3/7 – qağan
5/2 [monster] kälip ~ qaqlanın urdu ~ jida birla [monster]ning bašın urdu anı öldürdi qılıč birlā bašın käsți
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 börı oğuz qağanga söz berip turur erdi ay ay ~ urum üstigä sän atlar bola sän ay ay ~ tapugunglarğa män yöür bolâ män tap tädi 18/3 bir nacı kälnärđan song […] bo bedik erkâk börı turup turdī ~ taqî çărığ birlā turup turdī
19/5 – qağan
19/6 – qağan
20/8 – qağan
22/8 – qağan
23/6 – qağan

oğuz (؟ўз)II ‘Prop/Ethnonym Oghuz’
OT aguž/aguç ‘colostrum, the first milk after parturition’ (ED 98)
1/9 ušol oğul anasining kögüzöndön ~nі içip munden arıtqarq içmädi

oq <wqw> ‘arrow’
OT əq ‘arrow’ (ED 76) var. <wqw> 6/2 <wqw> 36/2, 41/8
4/1 kälnärđa bık kün awğa čiqtı jida birła ya ~ birlā taqı qılıč birlā qağan birlā atladı
5/6 käln kördi kim bir şungqar [monster] ičägüsün yemäktä turur ya birlā ~ birlā şungqarını öldürdü bašın käsći
6/2 buğu yedi adug yedil jıdam öldürdü tämür bılsal [monster]nı şungqar yedi lya ~um öldürdü yel bılsal lıp tädi
18/7 etil möränning quduğida bir qara taq taşbağıda uruşçu tutulđı ~ birlā jıda birlā qılıč birlā uruştilar 30/5 uruş toquş başladi ~lar birlā qılıčlar birlā uruştilar
36/2-36/5 kälnärđa bık kün uşquda bir altun ya kördi taqı üč kümüş ~ kördi bo altun ya kün tʊğişida (da) kün batuşğaça täggn erdi taqı bo üç kümüş ~ tün yinggaqqa ketä turur erdi 39/4 taqı ayytı kim [ay aqa]lar ya bolsun senlärning ya täg ~lärini kökкäцä atung täp tädi 39/7 kök taq tængiz köp kiklar köp quşlar awlağularından song jolda üç kümüş ~nı taptıl lar aldılar atasiğa berdilär 39/9 oğuz qağan sewindi küldi taqı ~lärni üčüga ülästürdi
ol <'wl> (exactly) that (demonstrative pronoun)

OT ol'that' (ED 123)

40/2-40/3 taqī aytī kim ay inilär ~lar bolsun sənəlnərəng ya attī ~nī ~lar təq sənələr bolung 41/8 [ong] yaqta buzuculər olturdu cong yaqta üc oqlar olturdu 42/4 taqī tädi kim [ay] oğullar köp mən așadum luruşulər köp mən kördüm ljdə basa köp ~ attum layyırirlə birlə köp yörüdüm [...] ]

<šwl> 1/5, 1/8, 7/5 <ušol>

16/4 tang erti bolduqa oğuz qağannung qorğanlıqə kün təq bir jaruq kirdi ~ jaruqtən [...] bedik bir erkäk börı čiqtī

17/8 kördi kim ĕrăgınıng tapuğlarida [...] bδãdik bir erkäk börı yörüğüdə turur ~ börininə artlarıq qatılqap yörüğüdə turur erdilər erdī 20/3 urum qağannung bir qarunəsə bərə erdi urs bəğ təqân erdī ~ urs bəğ oğulun taq başida tərqing mörən arasıdə yaqşī bərık baluqqa yumşadı 27/8 čarigdī bir bedik qaçız er bəğ bar erdi [...] ~ beg qağardan sarummiş erdī ap aq erdī

ušol var. <'swwl> 1/5, 1/8, 7/5 <'swwl> 3/4, 15/1, 16/6, 20/9, 27/5, 34/4 <'swwl> 13/1 1/5-1/8 künlardən bir kün ay qağannung közu yarıl kudidə erkäk oğul turgurdu ~ oğulnungen oğlıxı čıraqı kök erdī [...] ~ oğul anasının köğüzündən oğuznī icıp mundun artıraq içmədī 3/4 bo čaqda bo yerdi bir uluğ orman bar erdī [...] ~ orman icində bädük bir [monster] bar erdī 7/5 ušbo yarənuqıng arəsilənda bir qız bar erdi yalıq oğuz olturur erdī yaqşī körüglük bir qız erdī [...] ~ qız andaq körüglük erdī kim [...] 13/1 [...] senlardən baš čalunguluq tiləp mən turur ~ kim məning ağızumıq başar turur bolsa tartıştuq tartıq dost tatar mən [...] 15/1 čong jangaqda urum təqən bir qız bar erdī [...] ~ urum qağan oğuz qağannung jarlığın saqlamaz erdī qatiqlaçu barmaz erdī 16/6 oł jaruqtən kök tülükçik kök jallugu bedik bir erkäk börı čiqtī ~ börı oğuz qağanqə söz berip turur erdī 20/9 oł urs bəğ oğulun taq başıda təraq mörən arasıdə yaqşī bərık baluqqa yumşadı [...] oğuz qağan ~ baluqqa atlıdə 27/5 čarigdī bir bedik qaçız er beg bar erdi [...] ~ beg taglarğə kirdi yöörüdū 34/4 kündünkə buluqgə bar'qa təqən bir yer bar turur uluğ bəğululuq bir yurt turur köp isığ bir yer turur [...] ~ yerning qağanı mıs'r təqən bir qağan erdī

šol <'swwl> 4/2 bir buğu aldı ~ buğunı talnagun čuqubuq birələ iğaça bağlağıdə ketti ~ an+ <i+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 bolsunğul təq tədilər ~ung ang'gusu uşbo turur 4/4 bir buğu aldı šol buğuq talnagun čuqubı birələ iğaça bağlağıdə ketti ~dan song erti boldı 5/3 oğuz jıda birələ [monster]ning başın urdī ~i öldürdi qılıq birələ başın kəstı 5/7 ya birəl oq birələ şuqquarnı öldürdi başın kəstı ~dan song tädi kim şuqquarnung ang'gusı uşbo turur 7/3-7/5 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdī ~ung başında ataşlug yaruglug bir məngə bar erdī uşol qız ~daq körüglük erdī kim külşə kök təngri külä turur iğlasa kök təngri iğlaya turur 7/9 oğuz qağan ~i kördükə uş qalmadı ketti aldī ~ung birələ yatti təlgüsin aldī 9/2-9/4 yaqşı körüglük bir qız erdī ~ung közü köktən kökərk erdī ~ung saçlı mörən "suğ" təq ~ung tüşi unçu təq erdī 9/5-9/6 ~daq körüglük erdī kim yerning yelkünü ~i körsə ayl ay aq aş olırbiz təp sütdən qumuz bəla tururlar 9/9-10/1 oğuz qağan ~i kördükə uş ketti jūrākığa atas tüşti ~i sewdi aldī ~ing birələ yatti təlgüsinin aldī 10/8 künlardən song kəcələrdən song yarudü üc erkäk oğulnuq turgurdu [...] ~dan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi 12/3 oğuz qağan beğlärgə elkünlağə jarlığ berdi taqı tädi kim [...] ~ täp tädi ~dan song oğuz qağan tört sarığa jarlığ jumşadı bildürgülük bətiti 14/6 uşbo altun qağan [...] yaqşı beğü birələ dostluq qildi ~ung birələ amiraq boldı 15/6 oğuz qağan çamat ütüş ~a atlaçu tilədi čarig birələ atlaçuñlərini tutup ketti 17/3 uşol börı oğuz qağanqə söz birəp turur erdī taqı tädi kim [...] ~ täp tädi ~dan song oğuz qağan qorğanlıq türdürüdə ketti 19/3 tutuluñ uruşunə ~daq yaman boldı kim etil mörənnəng suğı qıp qızël səp səngiir təq boldı 21/1 oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa atlıdə urs bəngin vəlün ~ga kōp altun kümüiş yibardı 23/2-23/3 taqı aytı kim məngə köp altun yumşəp sən baluquq yaqşı saqlap sən təp tädi ~ung ücün ~ga saqlap at qoydı 23/6 [etil] təqən [biðiq] bir nān [turur oğuz] qağan ~i [kör]di taqı tädi kim etiline "suğidan nečik kəcərbiq təp tädi

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23/9 Շարապը մի ազատ է հայտնել, որպեսզի դարձնե գույնը բարձրացնի և կոչվել այսօր բարձր էր
24/8 տարի ինչպես կուտակվի, երբեք գույզի լուսը կանգնե կինը բեկում է ուղին ինչպես... կազմված է տակի զանգ
26/6-26/7 մնացությունը սուր է բարձր էր ինչպես այսօր... կտավ հայտնված է կազմված է տակի զանգ
28/9-29/1-29/4 Շարապը այսօր է կարող էլ կոչվել այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
31/2 սուրբ շարժում սուրբ շարժում կազմված է տակի զանգ
32/4 մինչև այսօր հայտնված է կազմված է տակի զանգ
35/9 կարող է կարող էլ կոչվել այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
34/5 կոշիկը կարող է կարող էլ կոչվել այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
32/9 գույզը տապանական Շարապը այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
35/9 կատարի լուսամուծ կատարի լուսամուծ կազմված է տակի զանգ
33/5 կատարի այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
34/5 աշխորը այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
38/4 աշխորը այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
35/9 աշխորը այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր

ong: <ˈwŋk> 'right (side)'
OT on- 'right' (ED 166)
13/8 կոչ չէ ճանապարհ է գույզը բակի էր
41/7 [-] շարժում բոլոր շարժում էր

oltur: -<ˈwldwr> 'to sit'
OT olo-r-oltur- 'to sit' (ED 150)
var. 〈wldwr〉 7/2
7/2 ուժով շարժվում է տակի զանգ
9/3 բակի չէ ճանապարհ է գույզը բակի էր
14/3 տակի զանգ
40/7 գույզը տակատ շարժում կազմված է տակի զանգ
35/9 կատարի լուսամուծ կատարի լուսամուծ կազմված է տակի զանգ
34/5 աշխորը այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
38/4 աշխորը այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
35/9 աշխորը այսօր հայտնի է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
32/9 քաղցրը քաղցրը կատարի լուսամուծ կազմված է տակի զանգ
35/9 քաղցրը քաղցրը կատարի լուսամուծ կազմված է տակի զանգ
32/9 քաղցրը քաղցրը կատարի լուսամուծ կազմված է տակի զանգ
35/9 քաղցրը քաղցրը կատարի լուսամուծ կազմված է տակի զանգ

orman: <ˈwrnɪ> 'forest, wood'
MT orman ։ Wald, Gehölz' (Z 118a)
3/1-3/4 թե չի ենթադրվում է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր
12/1 թե կամ ոչ է, որպեսզի ձեռք բերե այսօր

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buynal kök bori bolsunğil uranl tämür jida bol ~ law yerdä yörüüsün quanl […]]

?osug <swswq> 'river-bed' (cf. suw)
OT osug 'a way of using sg' (ED 245)
9/4 yaqśi körülük birlä qiz erdi anung közu köktän kökürk erdi anung sači mörän ~täg anung tışi üncü täg erdi
23/7 čarig birlä […] etil tägän mörongä käčti etil tägän bälük bir neng turur oğuz qağan anĩ [kördi] taqü tädi kim etilhän ~iðan nečük kečär biz täp tädi

owyana- <wyñ> ‘to play’
OT oyna- ‘to play’ (ED 275)
2/3 yeg ät aš sorma tilädi tQué täp tädi

ç ägüsin yemektä turur ya birlä oqur xärbig birlä mörän ~täg an an

öl <wl> ‘to die’
OT ol ‘to die’ (ED 125)
9/7 andağ körülük erdi kim yerning yelküni anĩ körsä ay ay aș aș ~irbüz täp süttän quumz bolsa tururlar

öldür- ‘to kill’
OT öldr-/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 bäsä birlä oğuz qağanını urdi oğuz jida birlä [monster]näng bäsän urdi anĩ ~di qilqil bäsän käsți aldĩ ketti känä kälip kördi kim bir şungqar [monster] ičägūsin yemektä turur ya birlä oğ birlä şungqarnini ~di bäsän käsți
6/1-6/2 taqü tädi kim şungqarnun anggūsu ušbo turur buğu yedi aduğ yedi jidad ~di tämür bolsa [monster]näng şungqar yedi ya oqum ~di yel bolsa täp tädi
30/7 uruș toqüs bäsän bqləqal birlä birlä uruştilar oğuz qağan bäsń jürčed qağanını bäsän ~di bäsän käsți

öülüg <wlwk> ‘lifeless, inanimate’
OT öülüg 'dead, corpse' (ED 142)
19/9 oğuz qağan urum qağannung qağanluqünü äldi elkürün äldi orduşiğä köp ulug ~ bargu köp tālim tirig bargu tusu boldĩ
31/2 uruşqonden song oğuz qağannung čarigigä nökärliğär elkürünä andağ ulug ~ bargu tušti kim yüklämäkä keldürmäkä at qağätur ud azlıq boldĩ
31/7 bo čäbär bir qağan jāpti qağan üstündä ~ bargunı qoydı qağan bašida tirig bargunı qoydı tarıftilär kettilär
32/7 oğuz qağan qağanqlarnini kördi küldi taqü aytti kim qağan qağan birlä ~ni tirig yörürsün ~išnâqal quş Süng qanqalqul qanqa bälqursün täp tädi

önq ‘front part’ <wng> ‘to front’
OT öng ‘the front’ (ED 167)
27/4 čarigidä bir bedik qaqız er bāg bar erdi čaling bulingdan qorqumz turur erdi jörügüdä soğurğuda ~gï er erdi

önlük ‘<wng-lwk> ‘face, complexion’
OT öng ‘colour’ (ED 167)
1/5 känä künländän bir kän ay qağannung közu yarp küldädi erkäk oğul tügürdï ušol oğulnun ~i čäray kük erdi
34/3 kündünki bulündə baraqt tägän bir yer bar turur ulug barqulug bir yurt turur köp isiq bir bir yer turur [...] elünkärin ~i čäray qap qara turur

ötä- <wa> ‘to carry out an obligation’
OT ötä- ‘to carry out an obligation (to God), to pay a debt’ (ED 43)
42/6 taqü tädi kim [...] duşmanlarni ğilagurdum loodstrumünü män külğürdüm ikök tängriğä män ~düm İslänğıä berämän yurtuml

öz ‘self, own’
OT öz ‘spirit, self’ (ED 278)
var. <ws> 5/1, <wz> 30/8, 33/5
5/1 känä ~u ğaçınıng tübindä turdï [monster] kälip bäsä birlä oğuz qağanını urdi oğuz jida birlä [monster]näng bäsän urdi anĩ öldürdĩ
30/8 oğuz qağan bäsći jürčed qağannını bäsści öldürdï bäsän kässti jürčed elkürün ~ ağızıqa başınınturdï
35/3 känä bo [...] erkäk bōi birlä sündu taqşi tangut taqşi şagam yinggaqlarıği ketti köp uruşqodont köp toquşqodon song anlarını äldi ~ yurtıga birlädi bäsći bäsści

342
sač <ʾc> ‘(a piece of) hair’
OT sač ‘hair’ (ED 794)
1/6 ušol oğulnang ʊŋšulʊki čiraŋ kök erdi ağızi atas ԛizıl erdi közleri al ~laɾi qaʃlaɾi qara ärdilär ärdi
9/4 yaqşä köɾuğlülk bir ԛ iz erdi anung közu köktön köğrä körd erdi anung ~i möränan ‘suği täg erdi anung tʃış uńci täg erdi
saçuğ <ʾc-lwq> ‘one having hair’
OT saçuğ ‘hairy’ (ED 808)
35/6 oğuz qağannung jańída aq saçuług moz ~ uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi
sanağuluqöz <ʾni-qw-lwq-syz> ‘unaccountable’
OT sana- ‘to count’ (ED 835)
35/2 anung dostları köp sewinče […] erdi anung duşmanlar köp qağylar […] oğuz [qağan] baštī ~ námilar yıflılaraldi yurtığa tästi ketti
saçuğlu <ʾq-lwq> ‘bearded’
OT saçuğ ‘beard’ (ED 808)
35/6 oğuz qağannung jańída aq ~ moz saçuług uzun usluğ bir qart kişi turur bar erdi
saqa <-š’ql'> ‘to watch over, protect’
OT saqa ‘to watch over, protect’ (ED 810)
var. <š’ql’> 15/2, <š’ql’> 20/8, 21/7, 23/2
15/2 čong jangqaqida urum täğän bir qağan bar ärdi […] ušol urum qağan oğuz qağannung jarlıqın ~maz erdi
20/8 taq’ tädi kim baluğun qaṭıqluğu käräk turur sän taq’ urusqulardan song baluğun bīzgä ~p kāl gıl täp tädi
21/7 mângä atam bo baluqn biɾur turur taq’ tädi kim baluqn qaṭıqluğu käräk turur sän taq’ urusqulardan song baluğun bāŋgā ~p kālgīl 23/2 oğuz qağan yıgiatan sözün yaqşī kördi sewindi küldı taq’ ayättī kim mângā köp altun yuʃap sän baluqn yaqşī ~p sän täp tädi anung üčün anga saqlap at qoydı
saqlap <-š’ql’b> ‘proper name: Slav’
23/3 see saqa-
sari <-š’ry> ‘direction’
OT sari ‘towards, in the directon of’ (ED 844)
12/4 känä andan song oğuz qağan tört ~ga jarlıq jumşadı bildür güllük biɾdi elçilärigä härıp yibärđi
38/2-38/3 taq’ tädi kim ay mänung köŋülüm awnī tilap turur łarı bolguɣdan mänung qaçızluqım yoq turur ik̲i̲n ay yulduz tang ~rım sänlar barung lıkq taq’ tängiz tūn ~rım sänlar barung lātp tädi
38/5-38/6 andan song üçəğüşü tang ~rım bardilar taq’ üçəğüşü tūn ~rım bardilar
sarun- <-š’r-bi’> ‘to be covered, wrapped in’
OT saro-/sar- ‘to wind, wrap sg’ (ED 844)
sarın- ‘to wind, wrap oneself’ (ED 854)
27/9 ušol beg tɑlğɑrɑ kirdi yȯrǔdǔ toqz kündön song oğuz qağanqɑ ay gör atnī kǎldůrdi muz tɑlgardɑ körıp soğq boluqtɑn ol bɑq qağardɑn ~mış erdi ap aq erdi
sān ‘you’ (personal pronoun)863
OT sān ‘thou’ (ED 831)
var. <š’n> 11/6, <š’Yn> 12/9, 39/3, <š’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 <š’n> 20/7, 21/3, 21/5, 21/8, 22/4, 24/7, 25/5, 38/2, 40/2, 40/4, 42/7 <š’Yn> 22/1, 11/6 oğuz qağan beglıngä elkuńlərgä jarlıq berdi taq’ tädi kim män ~fargā boldum qağanl alaling ya taq’ qaqlanl […]]
12/9 ušbo bildür güllüktä bitilmiş erdi kim män uyqurmung qağanl bola män kim yerning tört bulunguniq qağanl bolsam käräk turur ~lardän bas čalunguļuq tilāp män turur 16/9 ušol börî oğuz qağanqangq söz berip turur erdi taq’ tädi kim lay ay oğuz urum üstiqā ~ atlar bola sān lay ay oğuz tapuqunglarğa män yūrū bola män
20/7 taq’ tädi kim baluqn qaṭıqluğu käräk turur ~ taq’ urusqulardan song baluqn bīzgā saqlap kālgīl täp tädi
21/3 taq’ tädi kim ay mänung qağanumṣān
21/5 taq’ tädi kim baluqn qaṭıqluğu käräk turur ~ taq’ urusqulardan song baluqn bāŋgā saqlap kālgīl täp tädi
21/8 atam čamat ātūp ersī mänung tapum erūr mū ~dān jarlıq baglıq bellūg bola mān
22/1-22/3-22/4-22/5 bīznung qutbūz ~nīng qaṭung bolmuș bīznung urūbūz ~nīng āğaçungung urūq bolmuș bolup turur tāŋgīrī ~gā yer berip bujurmūş bolup turur mān ~gā başümni qutumını bērā mān
23/1-23/2 oğuzqağan […] sewindi küldı taq’ ayyttī kim mângā köp altun yuşap sān bālaşqan qa⊄q saqlap sāntāp tädi
24/6-24/7 oğuz qağan sewinče ātī küldı taq’ tädi kim ay ay ~ munda bāg bolung čiŋçaq tāgān ~ bāg bolung

863 I followed the same method as in the case of biz and mān, see there.
25/5 uşbo kök börö oğuz qağanqa ayttı kim amidî čärig birlə [munden atlang qağan] […] män –gä bašlap yolni körğürür män t açdä 7/2/28-23/3 oğuz qağan sewinç birlə küldü ayttı kim ay – munda beglärgä bolgil bašlq män/män mängilip –gä at bolsun qağarlıq 29/2 čärigdä bir yaqşı čäibär er bar erdi […] anqa jarlıq gldil kim – munda qal ač qağan laqçungdon song käl ordugal 32/8 oğuz qağan qaŋqalarını kördi küldi taqı ayttı kim qaŋqa qaŋqa birlə ölçüng tüür tür gürsün –gä at bolguluq qaŋqa bälğürsün 36/8-36/9 uyqodon song tüstä körğünin oğuz qağanqa bildürüldü taqı tädä kim ay qağanum –gä jaşağu bolsungil uzun ay qağanum sängü türlük bolsungil tüüzün 38/2-38/3 taqı ayttı kim ay mänöng körülüm awní türür qaği bolğündan mänöng qaçızluqum yoq turur kün ay yulduz täng sarıqä – lär barung lkök tag tängiz tün sarıqä – lär barung täpdä 39/3 oğuz qağan sewindı küldi […] taqı ayttı kim ay aqlalar ya bolsun – länngl yä tāq oqlarnän kikkäčä atung! 40/2-40/4 oğuz qağan sewindı küldi […] taqı ayttı kim ay inilär oqlar bolsun –länngl yä attı oqlär tāq – lär bolung! 42/7 […] dusmanlarnın ǧläğürdüm döstdarumlünün män külgürüm køk tängirgä män öttädiülm – lægü berä män yurtum! säpsänçgür ‘s<swq-besnggwr> ‘cinnabar’ Per. sïm-shagarf ‘cinnabar’ (ST 718) 19/4 tutulunç urusunç andaq yaman boldi kim etil mörännung suwi qıp qızıll – tāq boldi sev- ‘(bü)-’ ‘to (fell in) love, to like’ OT süv- ‘to love, to like’ (ED 784) var. <swv> 7/9, 10/1 <swyy> 26/2 7/9 yaqși körüglük bir qız erdi […] oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usš qla-mdä ketti –di aldı anung birlā yättı tilägülüs aldı 10/1 yaqși körüglük bir qız erdi […] oğuz qağan anı kördüktä usš jürükgä atas tüşti anı –di aldı aning birlā yättı tilägülüs aldı 26/2 oğuz qağan bir çuçurdan ayğır atqa minä turur erdi uşbo ayğır atnä bük çök –ur erdi sevinç ‘to be glad’ OT süvîn- ‘to rejoice, be joyful, glad’ (ED 790) var. <swyy> 22/9, 39/9 <swsv> 25/9 22/9 oğuz qağan yigitining sözün yaqși kördi –di küldi 25/9 tang ertya bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkäk börö čärigning tapuqlarından yörüşüdä turur –di 39/1 kün ay yulduz […] jolda bir altun nhân taptalar aldı[lar] atasılğa bärtilär oğuz qağan –di küldi taqı yani uč buzgulq qildi! 39/9 kök taq tängiz […] jolda uč kümüüs oqni taptlar aldılar atasılğa berdilm oğuz qağan –di küldi taqı oqlarlının učgüä ülästürdi sevinç ‘joy, happiness’ OT sëvinç ‘joy, pleasure, delight’ (ED 790) var. <swyyn> 1/2, <swyn> 24/5, <swyn> 28/5, <sywyyn> 34/9, <sywyyn> 42/1 1/2 […] bolsungil täp tädilär anung ang’gusu uşbo turur [picture] taqı munden song ~ taptlar 24/5 čärigdä bir yaqṣı bğa bar erdi […] kördi kim […] tata köp tälim […] [lar] […] [jiğaclar] […] agaçlardara yättı kečit [oğuz qağan] –etti küldi 28/1 uşol taglarga kirdi yörüldü toqoz künän song oğuz qağanqa ayğır atnä küldürdi […] oğuz qağan – birlā küldü 34/9 anung dostlarlı köp ~ […] erdi anung dusmanlarlı köp qayğular […] oğuz [qağan] bašti 42/1 [ong] yaqa buzuzlar olturdi çong yaqta uč oqlar olturdi qırıq kiin qırıq keči aštılar ičtilir ~ taptlar ʔšîra ‘row’ cf. šîrâ OT šîra ‘Reihe, Ordnung, Lage’ (Z 568c) 11/1 andan song oğuz qağan bedik toy berdi […] qırıq ~ qırıq bandang japturdi sindu ‘syndwe’ ‘Geographical name India’ Per. > MT hind, hind ‘Indien’ (Z 943b) 33/2 känä bo […] erkäk börö birlā – taqı tangqut taqı şagam yinggaqlarığa atlap ketti soğuq ‘(sowuq) <swq-wq> ‘cold’ OT soğîq ‘cold’ (ED 808) 26/6 munda uluğ bir taq bar erdi üzü üstündə tong taqı muq bar turur anung şaši – tan ap aq turur 27/8 muz taqlarda köp ~ boluptan ol bğa qağardan sarunmısı erdi soğurgu ‘(sowurgu) <swqw-rq> ‘the state of being cold’ OT soğî ‘to be cold’ 27/4 čärigdä bir bedik qaqız er bğa bar erdi […] jörüşüdä –da onga er erdi song ‘swik’ ‘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 qırıq kündön ~
2/9 künładan ~ kćalälrdän ~
4/8 mundon ~
5/8 andan ~
8/2 künładan ~ kćalälrdän ~
10/3 künładan ~ kćalälrdän ~
10/8 andan ~
11/4 toydan ~
12/3 kenä andan ~
15/8 qırıq kündön ~
17/3 kenä andan ~
18/1 bir nącä künładan ~
20/7 uruşqulardan ~
21/6 uruşqulardan ~
24/8 andan ~
27/0 toqüz kündön ~
29/3aēqungdon ~
30/9 uruşquldon ~
32/9 andan ~
33/4 köp uruşquldan köp toquzquldan ~
36/6 uyquldon ~
37/7 andan ~
38/4 andan ~
38/8 kīm ay yulduz köp kliklär köp qušlar awlağularıdan ~
39/5 kenä andan ~
39/7 kök tağ tângiz köp kliklär köp qušlar 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 oglul anasınıng kögüzündön oglunun içip mundon artışraq .average aq at as ~ tilädi 11/3 andan song oglun qağan bedük toy berdi [...] qırıq sıra qırıq bandan ąpturđi türülüq așlar türülüq ~ lar ąbüyanlar qırımızlar aștlar ičtilär

soyurqa- 'to award, donate'
Chin. > OT tsøyurqa- 'to have pity on sy, to be compassionate' (ED 556) >Mo. soyurqa- 'to deign, condescend; to grant' (L 724)
var. <swyrq> 14/4, <swywrq> 28/4
14/4 usbo altun qağan oglun qağanqa elçi yumşap yibrıd köp tälim altun kümluş törtıp köp tälim qız yaqut taș alup köp tälim aŕdänılları yibrıüp yumşap oglun qağanqa ~ p berdi

28/4 oğuz qağan sewınč birlä küldi aytti kim [...] tıp tädi köp aďrändi soyurqadı ilğärü ketti

söz <swz> 1. 'word' 2. 'sound'
OT söz 'word, speech, statement' (ED 860)
15/3 ușol urum qağan oğuz qağannung jarlıghın saqlamaz erdi qatiqlaŋu barmaz erdi munı ~ ni tuqmaz män turnur män tıp tädi 16/7 ol jaruqton kök tülüľül kök jallüğ bedık bir erkäk bőr içiŋ ușol bőr oğuz qağanqa ~ bărıp turnur erdi taqi tädi kim [...] 22/9 oğuz qağan yıgitınıng ~ünk yaqşı körüd sewindı küldi taqi tädi kim [...] 32/3 münlar qaça yörumaktä qaça qaça ~ berä turnur erdılar erdi anung üçan anlarğa qaça at qoydifär 37/5 oğuz qağan ulug türükününg sözün yaqşı körüd őğütün tilädi őğıtüğä körä qildi

suw <swv> 'water'
OT suw 'water' (ED 783)
?var. <swsw> 9/4, 23/7
9/4 yaqşı körülgük bir qız erdi anung közü kökton kökräk erdi anung sači mörän ~ tį tąg anung tişi unču tąg erdi
19/4 tultanunce urusunun andag yaman boldi kim etıl möränıng ~ tį qızıl sǎpsänggır tąg boldi
23/7 čarig birlä [...] etıl tągın mörängä kacıt etıl tągın bůäük bir neng turnur oğuz qağan ań [kördi] taqı tädi kim etılınıng ~ idan nečük kečär biz tıp tädi

süt <swd> 'milk'
OT süt 'milk' (ED 798)
9/7 andag körülgük erdi kim yerning yelküni ań körsä ay ay aš <š> 'Geographic name Syria, Damascus'
Ar. > (Per.) > MT šām 'Syrien, Damaskus' (Z 536a)
33/3 kānä bo [...] erkäk bőr birlä sindu taqı tąngqut taqı ~ yinggäqlarığa atlap ketti

šās- <šš> 'to wonder'
OT sāš- 'to count' (ED 781), see also saš- 'to be astonished' (ED 857, 856)
32/1 bo čąbär bir qaça japtı [...] nökärlnüm nünk amıqı münü körüdlär ~ tılq qanqalar taqi japtıl
širä <syr> ‘table’ (cf. sëra)
Mo. sirege(n) [š- ] ‘table, desk, throne, seat, feast’ (L 716)
11/1 andan song oğuz qağan bedük toy berdi [...] qiriq ~ qiriq bandang japturdi

shol<swl> see ol

şung-qar falcon’
Mo. singur [š-], sönqur ‘falcon, gerfalcon’ (L 712)
var. < šwîk-qi’r> 5/5, 5/8, 6/1 < šwnk-qi’r> 5/7, 5/5-7/5-8/6/1 känä kälip kördi kim bir ~ [monster](ning) iêgûsîn yemâktä turur ya bîrlâ oq bîrlâ ~ni öldürdi bašîn kästi andan song tädî kim ~ nung angûsî uşbo turur buğü yedi adug yedi jîdam öldürdi tümür bolsa [monster]ni ~ yedi yaoqum öldürdi yel bolsa tâp tâdî ketti

şük <şwâ> ‘silent’
So. > OT šük ‘quiet, silent, still’ (ED 867)
16/1 çährî bîrlâ atlap tuğlânî tułup ketti qirîq köndön song muz tâq tâgân tağung adaqîgâ keldi qorîgannî tüsîkûrdi ~ bolup uyup turdi

T

tag ‘mountain/Prop The fifth son of Oğuz’
OT tağ ‘mountain’ (ED 463)
var. < dö> 10/5, 15/9, 27/5, 27/8, 38/3, 39/4 <dî> 15/8, < d> 18/5, <d> 20/3, 26/4, 26/7, 26/8.
10/6 kûnlârdân song keçâlîrdân song yarudî üc erkêk oğulnî tuğûrdî birîncîsîgî kök at qoydîlar ikinîçisîgî ~ at qoydîlar iêcûtüüsügâ tâgîzî at qoydîlar
15/8-15/9 qirîq köndön song muz ~ tâgân ~ nung adaqîgä keldi
18/6 munda etil mörân tâgân bir taluy bar erdi etil mörânning qudqûdîsa bir qara ~ tapîgâda uruşîq tutuldu
20/3 urum qağannung bir qarundaş bir erdi urus bâg tâgân erdi ol urus bâg oğulan ~ başida târing mörân arasîda yaqşî bârîk baluqqa yumşadî
26/4-26/7-26/8 ýolda uşbo ayîgir at közdân yîti qaçîtî munda ulug bar ~ bar erdi uzä üstûndâ tong taqî muz bar turur anung başi sogûqtan ap aq turur anung üçun anung âtî muz ~ turur oğuz qağannung atî muz ~ içîgi qaçîp ketti 27/5-27/8 çährîdî bir bedik qaçîz er bâg bar erdi [...] uşol beg ~lärğâ kirdî yöürüdî toquz köndön song oğuz qağannya ayîgir atnî käldürdî muz ~larda köp soğûq boluptan ol bâg qağdan sarunmis erdi ap aq erdi 38/3 taqî tâdî kim lay mänûng köngûlüm awnî tilâp turur kârî bolgunman mänûng qaçîzluqum yoq tururl kûn ay yulduz tang sarîğa sân lâr barung lâkî ~ tângîz tûn sarîğa sânlâr barung ltâp tâdî 39/5 kânâ andan song kök ~ tângîz kök kîklâr köq quşlar awwâlegûrdan song jolda üc kümüüs oqûn tâptîlar aldîlar atasîga berdiîlär
tağam (tâm) <d’qî m> ‘wall’
OT tam ‘wall’ (ED 502)
28/6 kânâ yolda bedûk bir üy kördi bo üytûng ~i altundan erdî tüngûlûrlarî taqî kümüştün qaçanlarîn tûmûrûndan erdîlar erdi qapuluq erdi âç’gîq yoq erdi

taçuq (?twaq) <d’qwîq> ‘fowl’
OT taçuq ‘domestic fowl’ (ED 468)
41/5 [qong] yaqîda qirîq qołaç iğaçnî tikîrdî anung başîda bir kümûs ~ qoydî adaqîda bir qara qoyunnî bağﬂîdî

taçuqra (<twarq) <d’w’qu> ‘quickly’
OT tavraq ‘speed, hurry, quick’ (ED 443)
13/6 uşbo bildügüülükît bitîmüş erdî kim [...] uşbo kim mânûng âgîzunûga baqmaç turur bolsa çâmam çâqîp çährî çâkîp du$$man tuta mûn ~ başîp asturîq yoq bolsun$$gîl tâp qîlûr mûn

taqî <d’qy> ‘then, furthermore’ (ED 466)
var., <d>qy> 11/6, 28/6, <d’qy> 21/2, 21/4, 21/5, 24/6, <dqy> 40/1
1/2 ~ mundan song sewin$$ tâptîlar
4/1 ýîda bîrlâ ya oq bîrlâ ~ qîlîc bîrlâ qalqan bîrlâ atlapdu
6/3 ~ [monster]ning angû$$gusu uşbo turur 11/6-11/7 ~ tàdi kim lmân senlärg $$ boldum qâ$$n qalqan $$ya ~ qalqan $$[...] tâp tâdi 12/2 $$[...] ~ taluy ~ mörânî kûn tug bolgîl kök qorîgann tâp tâdi 16/8 ~ tàdi km [...] 18/3 oğuz ~ çährî bîrlâ turup turdü 20/5-20/7 ~ tàdi kim baluqni qatîglagû qärâk turur sen ~ uru$$qûrdan song baluqni bizgâ saqçap kälgîl tâp tâdi 21/2 ~ tàdi km [...] 21/4-21/5 ~ tàdi kim baluqni qatîglagû qärâk turur sen ~ uru$$qûrdan song baluqni bângâ saqçap kälgîl tâp tâdi 22/9 ~ âyttî km [...] 23/7 ~ tàdi km [...]
24/6 ~ aytţ kim [...] 
24/8 ~ ilgärü kettîlar
26/5 üzä üstündä tong ~ muz bar turur
28/6 bo üyûnng tagamî altundan erdi tûngtüqlarî ~ kımûštîn qalqanlarî tämûrîn dûrîndä erdi
29/7 kenä bí kûn bo [...] erkkî börî yörumâyın turdi oğuz qagan ~ turdî
32/2 nöklärîntüng elkinng qamaği munî kördîlär şaštîlar qanqalar ~ japtîlär
32/6 ~ aytţ kim
33/2 kena bo [...] erkkî börî birîlû sündû ~ tangqut ~ şaçam yûngqarlarîgâ atlap ketti
36/2-36/6 bir kûn uyyûdana bí artun ya kýrði ~ üç kımuuș o qörði bo altun ya kûn tuğñîşda (da) kûn batuştîgaça tággä erdi ~ bo üç kımuuș oq o tan yûngqarqqa keti turur erdi
36/8 ~ tádi kim [...] 
37/8 ~ aytţ kim [...] 
38/5 andan song üçûşüû sât sarîga bardîlär ~ üçûşüû tûn sarîga bardîlär
39/2 ~ [aytţ] kim [...] 
39/9 oğuz qagan sewindi küldî ~ oqlarîn üçiûga üläştürdi ~ aytî kim [...] 
42/2 ~ tádi kim [...] 

tal <d’l> ‘willow’
OT tal ‘branch, twig, willow tree’ (ED 489)
4/2 bir buğu aldi şol bugünî ~nûng cûbuquoi birîlä iğaçqa baqladî ketti
24/2 çâriqdi já yaqşî bîg bar erdi anûng atî ulûq ordu bûg erdi ulûq [...] bí er erdi kördî kim [...] köp tälîm ~lar köp tälîm [...]lar [...] jiğaçlar [...] kâs[...] âqâçlarda ýattî keçî

?tala <d’l> ‘flat land, plain’ cf. tol-
Mo. tal-a ‘plain, level space, steppe’ (L.771)
37/2 uyyûdun song tûştä körççîn ogûz qâ苄ga bîldürdi táç tûdî kim lay qâçanum sângâ jaşgü boluʃülgî uzunlî ay qâçanûm sângâ tûrûk boluʃülgî tûznünt [...] tângî berdi tûşumdü kâldûrsünî ~ turur yerni urûngçu gûnda bürûnsünî tûp tûdî

talu ‘a large body of water, river’
OT talûy ‘a large body of water, sea’ (ED 502) var. <d’lyv> 12/2, <d’l’y> 18/5
12/2 táç tûdî kim liûn sênîlûng bûldum qâçan lâlalîng ya táç qalqanlî tamqà bizçä bolsun buyan lkôk börî boluʃülgî uren tûmûrûrû jîda bol orman law yerdî ýûrûsun quulan táç ~ táç mûrûn lkûn tuq bolgîl kôk çôrgiîn tût tûdî
18/5 oğuz táçç çârîg birîlû turup turdî mûnda etil mûrûn tâgîn bûr ~ bar erdi

tamqà <d’mîj> ‘distinguishing mark’
OT tamqà ‘brand, mark of ownership’ (ED 504)
11/8 taqç tûdî kim liûn sênîlûng bûldum qâçan lâlalîng ya táç qalqanlî ~ bizçä bolsun buyan lkôk börî boluʃülgî uren tûmûrûrû jîda bol orman law yerdî ýûrûsun quulan táçlî talûy táçî mûrûn lkûn tuq bolgîl kôk çôrgiîn tût tûdî

tang <d’n’k> ‘early, dawn’
OT tang ‘dawn’ (ED 510) var. <ê’n’k> 16/1
4/4-4/8 bí buğu aldi şol bugünî talnung çûbuquoi birîlä iğaçqa baqladî ketti andan song ertâ boldî ~ ertä çağda kâldî kördî kim [monster] bugünî alup turur kenä bí aduq aldi altunlug belbaquoi birîlä iğaçqa baqladî ketti mûndon song ertâ boldî ~ ertä çağda keldî kördî kim [monster] aduŋînu alup turur
16/1 qôrîğannî tûskürdü sük bolup uyup turdî ~ ertâ bolduqta oğuz qâçanunng qôrîğannîga kûn tâg bí jaraq kirdî
25/6 ~ ertâ bolduqta oğuz qâçan kördî kim erkkî börî çarîngîn taqpuqlarîda yûrgûdî turur sewindi ilgûrû ketti
38/2-38/5 andan song ertâ bolupça aqalarnî iniñînrî čarlap kâldûrdi táç aytî kim [...] kûn ay yûlûz ~ sarîqa sâmîr barûng kôk taq tûngiz tûn sarîqa sâmîr barûng táp tûdî andan song üçûşüû ~ sarîqa bardîlär taqç üçûşüû tûn sarîqa bardîlär

tangqut <d’n-kwd> ‘Geographic name/ethnonym Tângut’
33/2 kânûn bo kôk túlülîkîg kôj jallûg erkkî börî birîlû sündû taqç ~ taqç şaçam yûngqarlarîgâ atlap ketti

tap <d’b > ‘to find’
OT tap- ‘to find’ (ED 435)
var. <ê’b> 38/9, 39/8
1/3 [...] boluʃülgî tûp tûdilär anûng ang’gusu uʃbo turur <picture> táqç mûndon song säwînî ~tûlar
38/9 kûn ay yûlûz kôp kliklär kôp quşlar awlاغûrlarîdân song jolda bí artun yânî ~tûlar alûdîlar atasîgä bardîlîr
39/8 andan song kôk taq tûngiz kôp kliklär kôp quşlar awlاغûrlarîdân song jolda üç kımuuș oqnî ~tûlar alûdîlar atasîgä berdîlîr
42/1 [onq] yaqta buzuglar olûrdîl çong yaqta üç oqlar olûrdîl qîrîq kûn qîrîq keçî aštîlär icîlär sewinç ~tûlar

tap(u) <d’b(w)> ‘satisfaction’
OT tap/tapi 'satisfaction, sufficiency' (ED 434, 436)
21/8 urus bağning oğulü [...] taqı tädi kim ay mənənq qaqanum sän mənğə atam bo balaquñ bərip turur taqı tädi kim balaquñ qatıqlaşq kärək turur sän taqı urusququlardan song balaquñ bəngə saqlap kälgil təpi tädi atam čamət atüp ərsä mənənq –(u)mr ərə mi səndən jarəlg baglıq bellıq bolə mən [...] təp tädi
tapuğ 'vicinity'
OT tap- 'to find' (ED 435); ≠ tapiş 'service' (ED 437)
<var.＞17/1, 17/5, 25/8 <d’bYqq> 18/6
17/1-17/5 uəslo bərə oğuz qaqanğa söz bərip turur erdi taqı tädi kim ay oğuz urum üstəğä atlar bən săn ay ay oğuz –əngərə mən yörür bən mən təp tädi kənə andan song oğuz qaqan qorğanında tərdürdi ketti körə kim čàrînging –larıda kök tülkləğ kök jərləq bedik bir erkək bərə yorğudüdä turur 18/6 munda atılı mərən təğən bir taluq bar erdi etil mərənməng qudügiatan bir qara təq ~ ida uruşq tutuldı 25/8 tang ərtə bolduqta oğuz qaqan körə kim erkək bərə čàrînging –larıda [...] yorğudüdä turur sewindi ilğirü ketti
tarlağuşiz <tarlawşiz> <d’rl’⁻qw-şyz> 'uncultivated'
OT tarıqğal (CC tarlov) 'cultivated field' (ED 541)
29/8 kənə bir kını [...] erkək bərə yorğuməyn tərdq oğuz qaqan taqı tərdq qorğan tüşkərü tərəng tərdq ~ bir yazi yer erdi mungə jürəcäd təttururlar erdi
tart- 'to pull, to drag'
OT tart- 'to pull, to drag' (ED 534)
<var.＞13/3, 14/2 <d’r d’> 31/9
13/3 uəbo bildərgülüktdä bitilmiş erdi kim [...] uəbo kim ağızumğa baqar turur bolşə tərtqłu ~ip dost tətur mən təp tädi 14/2 uəbo altun qaqan oğuz qaqanğa elə yumsəp yibrədə köp tələm altun kümüş ~ip köp tələm qız yaqut taş alup köp köp tələm arədəniləri yibrəüp yumsəp oğuz qaqanqa soyurqap berdi ağızıga bağındı 31/9 bo əcəbər bir qanqa jəpti qanqa üstəndiä olig bərənə qoydı qanqa başıda tirig bərənə qoydı ~ tılar kettılär
tarłıtq <d’r dqw> 'tribute, present'
OT tart- 'to pull, to drag' (ED 534)
13/2 uəbo bildərgülüktdä bitilmiş erdi kim [...] uəbo kim ağızumğa baqar turur bolşə tərəpped yorğudüdä turur mən təp tädi
taš <d’š> 'stone'
OT taş 'stone' (ED 557)
14/3 uəbo altun qaqan oğuz qaqanqanqa elə yumsəp yibrədə köp tələm altun kümüş tərtq köp tələm qız yaqut ~ alup köp tələm arədəniləri yibrəüp yumsəp oğuz qaqanqa soyurqap berdi ağızıga bağındı
taşqarun 'outwards, excluded'
OT taşgaru 'outwards' (ED 563)
<var.＞<d’š’rwn> 33/6 <c’š’-rwn> 33/6 kənə ~ qalmasun bəllüq bolşun kim [...] 35/4 kənə ~ qalmasun kim bolşun bolşun kim [...]tä- <d’> 'to say'
OT te- 'to say' (ED 433)
1/1 [...] bolsunğil ~p ~dilär 6/2 [...] ~p ~di 9/7 yerning yelkənini anı körsə ay ay ay ~ ihrerbəz ~p sütən qumuz bolururlar 11/6-12/3 taqı ~di kim [...] ~p ~di 13/3 [...] ~p ~di 13/7 [...] ~p qəfur mən ~p ~di 15/4 mənə söz söznə tutmaz mən turur mən ~p yarlığğa baqmədi 16/8-17/2 taqı ~di kim [...] ~p ~di 20/6-20/8 taqı ~di ink [...] ~p ~di 21/2-21/4-21/7-22/8 taqı ~di kim [...] taqı ~di kim [...] ~p ~di [...~p ~di [...] ~p ~di 23/2 ayttı kim [...] ~p ~di 23/7-23/8 taqı ~di kim [...] ~p ~di 24/8 ayttı kim [...] ~p ~di 25/6 ayttı kim [...] ~p ~di 28/4 ayttı kim [...] ~p ~di 29/9 tarlağuşiz bir yazi yer erdi mungə jürəcäd təttururlar erdi 32/9 ayttı kim [...] ~p ~di 36/8-37/4 taqı ~di kim ~p ~di 38/4 taqı ayttı kim [...] ~p ~di 39/4[tuqı ayttı kim] [...] ~p ~di 40/4 taqı ayttı kim [...] ~p ~di 42/2-42/7 taqı ~di kim [...] ~p [...]?tədūr- <d’dwr> 'to have sy to say sg’ cf. tä-
OT tetür- 'to have sy to say sg’ (ED 459)
29/9 tarlağuşiz bir yazi yer erdi mungə jürəcäd ~urlər erdi
tağ <d’k> 'like, similar to'
OT təğ 'like' (ED 475)
7/7 uşoł qız andağ körlüklük erdi kim külsä kök ~ külə turur ışləsə kök ~ ışlaya turur
22/4urus bəngənc ə OBJ [...] təqți tədi kim [...] bizniz qutbız sənnin qutun bolmuş bizniz urugbız sənnin ighəncəngnur urugq bolmuš bolup turur ~ səngə yer berip bujumuş bolup turur mən səngə bəsumündə quşum mən bəngü berip dostluqta çıxmaztur təp tədə 37/2 uygudon song tüstə körgənində oğuz qağançə bildürdi təqți tədi kim ay qağanum səngə jəşəqə bələsunğıl uzun ay qağanum səngə ụlənğ bolsuşturma əberdən təm tədə 42/6 təqți tədi kim ay oğullar köp mən əsədən uruqşular köp mən kördəmdə ąbaq basa köp oq attum ayğır birlə köp yörü difíc débutmanlərə ighetəngdəməstər turum mən küləiəmdər kök ~ ga mən ötləmdə sənlərgä berənmən yurum [təp tədə]

tairəng <d’r’nk>’deep’
OT tairəng ‘deep’ (ED 551)
20/4 ol urus bəq oğuluñ tağ bəşəda ~ mərən arəsəda yaqşa bərik baluqqa yumşadı

til/tıl <d’> ‘tongue, speech’
OT til ‘tongue, language’ (ED 489)
2/2 uşoł elən asənəndən köğəzündən oğuzni içəp mundon artərqəq içəmədi yeg ət aş sorma tilədi ~i kəla bəşəldi qirəq kündən song bədükəldə yörüdə oynadı

tiś <d’Ş> ‘tooth’
OT tiś ‘tooth’ (ED 557)
9/5 yaqşi körlüklük bir qız erdi anung közü köktən kökək erdi anung saçı mərən ‘səği təq anung ~i üncü təq erdi

tıktür- <d’kdwër ‘to order to erect’
OT tık tüür ‘to order to sew or erect sg’ (ED 479)
41/4 kəliç kəncəşip oluşturlar [...] çong yaqși qirəq qolaq ighən ~ di anung bəşəda bir kümüş tağış qoydə adaqda bir qara qoyun bağlaşi

tila- <d’l> ‘to wish for, to desire sg’
OT tila- ‘to seek, to desire sg’ (ED 492)
2/2 uşoł elən asənəndən köğəzündən oğuzni içəp mundon artərqəq içəmədi yeg ət aş sorma ~di tili kəla bəşəldi
13/1 uşoł bildürüülükta biiltənli erdi mən mən uyğurmuş qağanı bəla mən kəm yerning tört bulungənən qağanızı bolsam kərər turur senlərdən bəş çalıngulul ~p mən mən turur

15/6 uşoł urum qağan oğuz qağanənən jarlığın saqlamaz erdi qațiqləqu barmaz erdi mənə söz söznə tutmaq mən mən təp yarlığə baqmədi oğuz qağan çamat atıp anqa atlaq ~di 37/6-37/9 oğuz qağan ulug türükünsədən qaşqı kördə şəgət ~di şəgəti şərən qildi andan song ərtə bolupta aqlarını inilərə əliçər kəldərdə təqı ayttı kim ay mənən məngətən kündəni yunən ~p turur
tiləgü <d’l kw> ‘object of wish, desire’
OT tiləğ ‘to seek, to desire sg’ (ED 492)
8/1 oğuz qağan anı kördəktə usi qalmədi ketti sewdı aldı anung birlə yattı ~sin aldı
10/1 oğuz qağan anı kördəktə usi ketti jürəkəgə atas tüşti anı sewdı aldı anung birlə yattı ~ ənən aldı
tirig ‘living, animate’
OT tiriğ ‘living, alive, life’ (ED 543)
var. <d’ ryk> 19/9 <d’ r’k> 31/8, 32/7 19/9 oğuz qağan urum qağanənən qağənluquñ aldı elkünin aldı ərdəisəgə köp ulug ölég bərgq köp təkim ~ bərgu tusu bəldi 31/8 anung atı barmaqlıq əsən bəlliq erdi bo çiibər bir qaçqə qəpti qaçqə üstəndədə ölég bərgənən qoydi qaçqə bəşəda ~ bərgənən qoydi tərəftərənə bəklər
32/7 oğuz qağan qaçqaləri kördə küldə taqı ayttı kim ləqəna qaçqə birlə öləngi ~ yörügənən ləqənələq səngə at boluğulü qaçqə bəlgəsənən təp tədə ketti
toqü <dwqws> ‘fight, battle’
OT toqış ‘battle’ (ED 474)
30/5 munda jürədə qağanlı elkəni oğuz qağanən qərşü kəldər uruş ~ bəşəldi oqlər birlə qılələr birlə uruştər

toquş <dwqws> ‘fight, battle’
OT toquş ‘to collide’ (ED 474)
33/4 kəndə bo [...] erkək bərə birlə sənələtən qaşqəli atlaq ketti köp uruşıqdan köp ~ doñ song anlərənələdii özi yurṭığa bəklər

toquz <dwqws> ‘nine’
OT toquz ‘nine’ (ED 474)
27/6 oğuz qağanənən atı məz taq içəgi qəçəp ketti [...] çarığdə bir bedik qaqız er bəq bar erdi çalıng bəliqdan qorumqaz turur erdi [...] uşoł bel tağlərə kirdi yorudu ~ kündən song oğuz qağanən aygır atnə kəldərdə
töl- *dwl’* ‘to be filled, full’ see *tala*
OT *töl-* ‘to be filled, full’ (ED 491)
37/2 uyqodon song tüstå körgänin oğuz qağanga bildürdii taqi tädi kim lay qağanum sängä jağaux bolsunğül uzunl ay qağanum sängä türlük bolsunğül tüzünl […] tängi berdi tüşümär käldürsnül ~a turur yerni uruğununga berdürsnül täp tädi

tong *dwnk* ‘frost’
OT *tong* ‘frozen hard’ (ED 513)
26/5 munda uluğ bir taq bar erdi üzü üstündė ~ taqi muz bar turur anung bași soğuqtan ap aq turur anung üçün anung ați muz taq turur

toy *dwy* ‘feast’
OT *toy* ‘camp, community, gathering, (wedding) feast’ (ED 566)
10/9-11/4 andan song oğuz qağan bedük ~ berdi elküngä jarlıg çarlup kengästilr käldilär qırıq şırq qırıq bandarg japturdii türlük ašlar türlük sormalar çubuyanlar qımızlar ašlar içilär ~dan song oğuz qağan beglärgä el künlærgä jarlıg berdi

töb boğus ‘descendant’
OT *töb* progeny, descendants, foetus’ (ED 490)
Mo. *boğus* ‘embryo, fetus; pregnant (of animlas) (L113)
var. *dwl bw’q* /8/1, *dwl bw’qz* (sic!) 10/2 8/1 oğuz qağan anı kördükta usî qalmađi kettii sewdi ałdi anung birlä yatti tilägüsín ałdi ~ boldi künlärdän song kächälärðän song yarudi üc erkäq öğulnû tuğurði
10/2 oğuz qağan anı kördükta usî ketti jüräkigä ataș tüsti anı sewdi ałdi anung birlä yatti tilägüsün ałdi ~ boldi künlärdän song kецälärðän song yarudi üc erkäq öğulnû tuğurði

tömür tü qagul *dwmwrdw [q]qwl* ‘Prop’
Mo. *temür* ‘iron, metal; *temürliq* ‘ferrous, iron, metallic, metal’ (L 800); *?OT qağil* ‘willow shoot’ (ED 610)
29/1 çärıgdii bir yaqşi çäbür er bar erdi anung atı ~ tägän erdi

tört *dwdr* ‘four’
OT *tört* ‘four’ (ED 534)
12/4-12/8 känä andan song oğuz qağan ~ sarağä jarlıg jumäsdi bildürgülük bitidi elçılarğä bärir yibärdi ušbo bildürgülükä bitilmiš erdi kim män uyğurning qağanı bola män kim yerning ~ buluŋunung qağanı bolsam kärärk turur senlärdän baš çalınguluq tiläp män turur

tuğ ‘banner’
OT *tuğ* ‘royal emblem, standard, banner’ (ED 464)
var. *dwiq* /12/2, *dwiq* 15/9
12/2 taqi tädi kim làmän senlärdän boldum qağan lalalig yata taqi qağan ltamça bizgä bolsun buyan lık böri bolsunğül uran întümür jida bol orman law yerda yörüsün qulan ltaqı taluq taqı mörän ikün ~ bolğit kök qorginlän täp tädi 15/9 ušol urum qağan oğuz qağanung jarlığın saqlamaz erdi […] oğuz qağan çamät atüp anger atlıq tišlädii çärig birlä atlap ~ larni tutup kettii

tuğsî *dwiq ‘is’ birth* (kün tuğsî ‘East’)
OT *tuğum* ‘birth’ (ED 470)
36/3 bo altun ya kün ~ida (da) kün batușiçaça tágân erdi taqi bo uc kümüs q tünn yingqaqqa ketä turur erdi

tuğur- *dwiqr* ‘to give birth’
OT *tuğur* ‘to give birth’ (ED 472)
1/4 kän künlärdän bir kün ay qağanung közü yaŕıp küdii erkäq oğul ~di ušol oğulnun öngülük čérağ kök erdi 8/3 töb boğus boldi künlärdän song kääçälärđän song yarudi üc erkäq oğulnû ~di 10/4 töb boğus boldi künlärdän song kääçälärđän song yarudi üc erkäq oğulnû ~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’gusü ušbo ~ur
2/7-2/8-2/9 yiqılär küldüyä ~ur erdi atlayq minä ~ur erdi kik aw awlaya ~ ur erdi
4/6 körði kim [monster] buğünü alap ~ur
4/9körði kim [monster] aduğni alap ~ur
5/1 kenä özü iğaçnun tübündä ~di
5/6 körđi kim bir šungqar [monster] içağüsün yenäktä ~ur
5/9 taqi tädi kim šungqarunuq anggusü ušbo ~ur
6/4 taqi [monster] ning anügü su ušbo ~ur
7/7-7/8 ušol qız andağ kökülgük erdi kim külas kök tängri külä ~ur ğilsga kök tängri iğlaya ~ur
9/8 andağ kökülgük erdi kim yerning yelkünü anı körsä ay ay aχ aχ ölibiz täp süttän qumuz bola ~urlar
12/9-13/1 män uyğurning qağanı bola män kim yerning tört buluŋunung qağanı bolsam kärärk ~ur sänlärdän baš çalınguluq tiläp män ~ur

864 the immediate argument of *tur-* is in italic
13/2-13/4 uşol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar ~ur bolsa tarıtıq tutıp dost tutar män tär tädi uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmar ~ur bolsa çamat qaşıp çarıq çüküp dusman tutar män 15/4 muni söz sözni tutmaz män ~ur män tär yarlığa baqmađi
16/1 qorğınanıtışkirdi şük bolup uyup ~dï
16/7 uşol böri oğuz qağanqa söz berip ~ur erdi 17/8-17/9 kördi kim çarığıninng tapuqlarında [...] bedik bir erkək böri qorğındı ~ur ol börining artlarına qatıqlap qorğındı ~ur erdi ~ur erdi 18/3-18/4 bir nacă künlaşdan sonq [...] bo bedik erkək böri ~up ~dï oğuz taşq çarıq birla ~up ~dï
20/6 taşq tädi kim baluqni qatıqlağı kərək ~ur 21/5 taşq tädi kim baluqni qatıqlağı kərək ~ur 22/4-22/5-22/7 bizniz qutbız sanning qutung bolmuş bizniz urubuz bəniz sanning iğiçəngənnən uruq bolmuş bolup ~ur tängri sänga yer berip bujürmuş bolup ~ur män sängə basumnlı qutumnı berämın bergi berip dostluqtan çıqıqaz ~up tädi 23/6 etl təğən bedik bir nänge ~ur
25/9 tang etrə bolduqta oğuz qağan kördi kim erkək böri qarığınning tapuqlarında qorğındı ~ur sewindi ilğärü ketti 26/2 loguz qağan bir çuqurdan ayğiŋ atıq maňı ~ur erdi luşbo ayğiŋ atil bek çok sewir erdi 26/6-26/7-26/8 munda uluş bir taş qar bar erdi uzə üstündə tong taşq muz bar ~ur anung başı soğuqtan ap aq ~ur anung üçün anung ați muz tag ~ur 27/1 oğuz qağanınıng ați muz taşq işiğə qaçıp ketti oğuz qağan mundan köp çığay ämğaç çapkıp ~dï 27/3 çarığında bir bedik qaçız er bığ bar erdi çalıq bulungdan qorqmaz ~ur erdi 29/7-29/8-29/9 qenä bir kün [...] erkək böri yörümöyn ~dï oğuz taşq ~dï qorğınanıtışkirda ~gan ~dï 32/3 munlar qanqa yörülmüktdä qanqa qanqa söz berä ~ur erdi ~erdi 33/8-33/9-34/1-34/2-34/3 qenä taşqarın qalamus bellüg bolsum kim kündünkü bulungda baraq7 təğən bir yer bar ~ur uluş barçınta bir yurt ~ur köp işğb bir yer ~ur munda köp klikləri köp quşları bar ~ur altun köp kümüşi köp erdinliarı köp ~up elkinslärdin qalınıq anq quýqarlı ~qarp qara ~ur 35/7 oğuz qağanınıng janida aq saqalluş moz saçluq uzun uluşlub bir qart kişi ~ur bar erdi 36/6 bo altn un ya kün tüşişdi (da) kün batuşışgaça təşğən erdi taşq bo üc kümüş oq tün yingğaqa ketä ~ur erdi 37/3 taşq tädi kim lay qağanum sänga jaşagu bolsunğil uzunl ay qağanum sänga tümğək bolsunğil düzünü [...] tängri berdi tüşümünən keldürsün tola ~ur yerni urüğungğa berdürsün tär tädi 37/9-38/1 taşq aytti kim mäning köngülüm avnî təlär ~ur qarq bolğundan mäning qağızlərınım yoz ~ur

tusu <dws> 'benefit, advantage'
OT tusu 'benefit advantage' (ED 554)
20/2 oğuz qağan urum qağanınıng qağanluqının aldı elkünin aldı ordusıga köp uluş ölçög barğu köp təlim tirig barğu ~ boldî
tut- <dwd> 'to hold, consider'
OT tut- 'to hold, grasp, seize' (ED 451) var. <dWd> 13/3
13/3-13/5 uşbo bildürgünlüktdä bitilmiş erdi kim män uyğunnum qağanına bala män küm yerning tört bulungınıng qağanı bolsa kərək turur senlärändän başka çalunluq təlär män turur uşol kim mäning ağızumğa baqar turur bolsa tarıtıq tertip dost ~ur män uşbo kim ağızumğa baqmar turursa çamat qaşıp çarıq çüküp dusman ~ur män tağuqaq başq asturq yoq bolsunğil tär qilur män tär tädi 15/4-15/7 uşol urum qağan oğuz qağanınıng jarlıgün saqlamaz erdi qaçığlağ buarmaz erdi muni söz sözni ~maz män män turur män tär yarlığa baqrəmdä oğuz qağan çamat aṭqıp çarıq duşman ~ur män tağuqaq başq asturq yoq bolsunğil tär qilur män tär tädi

tutul- <dwdwb> 'to be held, grasped, caught'
OT tutul- 'to be held, grasped, caught' (ED 456)
18/7 munda etil mörən täğən bir talay bar erdi etil mörənnününg qaɖudügüda bir qara taşq tapıqäda uruşuq ~dï
tutulun <dwdwlwn> 'capturing'
OT tutulun- 'to be held, grasped, caught' (ED 456)
19/2 oq birlağ jida birlağ qılıq birlağ uruştildar çarığınning aralarında köp tälim boldi uruşuq elkinslärdin köngüllärindä köp tälim boldi qayğu ~ uruşunç andağ yaman boldi kim etil mörənnününg suği qıp qızıl şepsänqgir təq boldi
tüb <dwb> 'root'
OT tüb 'root of a tree' (ED 434)
5/1 kän özü iğiçəng ~ində turdi [monster] kälıp başä birlağ oğuz qalqanın urdi oğuz{jıda birlağ [monster]näง başın urdi anı öldürdı
tüg <dwrk> 'hair of the body'
OT tü 'hair of the body' (ED 433) cf. tüg 'several, many' (ED 476)
see tüükülg 2/6

tüükülg <dwlrk-lwk>'hairy, furry'
OT tü 'hair of the body' (ED 433), tüülüg 'hairy, feathered' (ED 498)
2/6 adaqı ud adaqı tég belläri börü belläri tég yağırı kiş yağırı tég kögüzü aду kögüzü tég erdä badanınıng qamağı tüük ~ erdi 16/5 çang erto bolduqta oğuz qagannung qorğiğanıgı kün tág bir jaɾuq kırđi ol jaɾuqton kök ~ kök jallug bedik bir erkäk börü çetiği 17/6 andan song oğuz qağan qorğiğanı tüürdürdi ketti kördi kım çarınıng tapuqlarıdı kök ~ kök jallug bâdıük bir erkäk börü yörtügüdä turur 18/2 bir näça kûnlärändän song kök ~ kök jallug bo bâdıük erkäk börü turup turdu oğuz taqı çäriğ birlä turup turdu 24/9 andan song oğuz qağan känä kök ~ kök jallug erkäk börü kördi ušbo kök börü oğuz qağança aytı kım [...] 29/5 känä bir kün kök ~ kök jallug erkäk börü yöruitüng tüürdürdi oğuz qağan taqı tüürdürdi qorğiğanı tüşkûrâ tüürdürdi 33/1 känä bo kök ~ kök jallug erkäk börü birlä sinđu taqı tangqut taqı şagam yinggâqlarliga atlap ketti

tün <dwn>'night'
OT tüün 'night' (ED 513)
36/5 kûnlärändä bir kün uyqudä bir atłun ya kördi taqı üç kümiş oq kördi bo atłun ya kün tuğüşda (da) kün batuşuşqâqa tûşgun erdi taqı bo üç kümiş oq ~ yinggâqqa ketä turur erdi 38/3-38/6 taqı aytı kım ay mâning köngülüm awnî tilâp turur qari bolğumdan mâning qaçqızlaqum yoq turur kün ay yulduz tang sârla sânlar barung kök taq tângiz ~ sârla sânlar barung tâp tädi andan song üçâgûsu tang sârla barunglar taqı üçâgûsu ~ sârla barunglar

tüngliq <dwng-lwq> 'window'
OT tüngliq 'the smoke-hole of a tent' (ED 520)
28/6 känä yolda bedik bir yntax kördi bo üynüng taqamî altundan erdi ~ larî taqı kümiştün qaqlanlari tämûrdän erdilär erdî

türdür- <dwr-dwr> 'to break up (a camp)'
OT tüür- 'to roll up' (ED 530)
17/4 andan song oğuz qağan qorğiğanını ~di ketti

?türlüğ 'various, all kinds of'
OT türelüg 'sort, kind' (ED 546) Mo. düri 'shape, form, complexon, expression of the face' (L 282) var. <dwr-lwk> 11/2-11/3 <dwrwk> 11/2
11/2-11/3 andan song oğuz qağan bedik toy berdi elünküng järılı şarlâ kengâştilär kâldîlar qîrîq şîra qîrîq bandang japturdu ~ aşlar ~ sormalar êbûyanlar qîmîzlar aștilar içtilär 37/1 uyqudon song tüştä körâgînîn oğuz qağanqa bildürdü taqı tädi kîm lay qağanum sângâ jaş꾸q bolşungîl uzun lay qağanum sângâ ~ bolşungîl tûzün [...] tängri bârdi tüüsürdüädä kâldûrsün ìlota turur yerni urugungga berdûrsünlp tâp tädi

?türilik <dwrwk> 'expression of the face'
Mo. düri 'shape, form, complexon, expression of the face' (L 282) (cf. türlüğ)
37/1 uyqudon song tüştä körâgînîn oğuz qağanqa bildûrdü taqı tädi kîm lay qağanum sângâ jaşçuq bolşungîl uzun lay qağanum sângâ ~ bolşungîl tûzün [...] tängri bârdi tüüsürdüädä kâldûrsün ìlota turur yerni urugungga berdûrsünlp tâp tädi

tür"k <dwrk>
OT türk 'Turk' (ED 542)
uluğ ~ 'Prop. Great Turk'
see uluğ 35/9, 37/5

tüš <dwš> 'dream, vision'
OT tüş 'dream' (ED 559)
36-6/37-2 uyqudon song ~tä körâgînîn oğuz qağanqa bildûrdü taqı tädi kîm lay qağanum sângâ jaşçuq bolşungîl uzun lay qağanum sângâ ~ bolşungîl tûzün [...] tängri bârdi ~ümđä kâldûrsün ìlota turur yerni urugungga berdûrsünlp tâp tädi

tüş <dwš> 'to descend, to fall, to settle'
OT tüş- 'to move downwards, to settle, to fall, etc.' (ED 560)
6/7 känä kûnlârdä bir kün oğuz qağan bir yerdi tängînî jalgawûrdä ärdi qarangguluqfeld kök tûn bir kık yaruç ~tî kîndîn (ay) aydan qoquguluqraq erdi 10/1 yaqşî körüglük bir qîz erdi [...] oğuz qağan anî kördükîtä usl ketti jürûgîq atas ~tî anî sewdî alît anung birlâ yattî tilägüsîn alît 31/2 urusqudon song oğuz qagannung çärîgîgâ nökârlärigi elgünîgâ andâq ulûq öläq barğu ~tî kîm yûklämîkka küldûrmâkkä at qaçâtür ûd azlíq bîldî
35/3 anunq dostlar köp sewinç [...] anunq duşmanlar köp qaygular [...] oğuz qaqan başış sañağuluqsz námälär yilçilaraldo yurtığa üygä –ti ketti
tüşiñmäl <dwşmäl> ‘seer, visionary’
Mo. tüşişmäl ‘official, functionary’ (L 857)
35/8 känä tæşqaran qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qaqannun janida aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun uslug bir qart kişi tururbar erdi uq’guluğ tüszün berti er erdi – erdi anunq atü uluğ türük erdi
tüsکüür- <dwşkwur> ‘to set, establish (camp)’
OT tüşür- ‘let fall, order to dismount’ (ED 566)
16/1 qıïrį kündön song muz taq tåğän tänqun adaqığa keldi qorğanın –di şük bolup uyup turdü
29/8 känä bir kiin kök tüülkülg kök jalluğ erkák böri yörmäyn turdu oğuz qaqan tätz türuz türdü qorğan –ä turqan turdu
tüzün <dwşwını> ‘well-behaved, gentle’
OT tüzün ‘self-controlled, well-behaved, gentle’ (ED 576)
35/8 känä tæşqaran qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qaqannun janida aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun uslug bir qart kişi turur bar erdi uq’guluğ – bir er erdi tüşişmäl erdi anunq atü uluğ türük erdi
37/1uyqodon song tüstä körgänin oğuz qaqangà bildürdi taq tüüz kim lay qaqanum sängä jåşgü bolsunğil lay qaqanum sängä türlük bolsunğil ~ [...] tängir bärdi tüüsündä kälïrdürsuren ëlota turur yerni urugungga berdürsün tıp tüüdi

U
ucqan <‘weqj’> ‘flying, having flown’
OT uč- ‘to fly’ (ED 19)
3/3 bo çağda bo yerđä bir uluğ orman bar erdi köp möränler köp ögüzlär bar erdi ëlban kelğänler kik köp ëlbana ~lar quş köp köp lerdi
ud ‘bovine, ox’
OT ud ‘bovine, ox’ (ED 34)
var. <wd> 2/3, <wd> 30/2, 31/3
2/3 adaqį ~ adaqį tåg bellärı böri bellärı tåg yağırı kişi yağırı tåg kögüzi aduq kögüyi tüüz tüÜkülg erdi 30/2 tarläğusız bir yazi yer erdi munga jürçäd tätururlar erdi bädük bir yurt elkin erdi yülçilär köp ~ buzaqlär köp altun kümüşlär köp ärdänllär köp erdlär erdi
31/3 urusuqdon song oğuz qaqannun çärigiğä nökärlärlärga elnükä görä uluğ öľüg barq tüüti kim yülümäkka keldümäkła at qatqärı ~ azliq bolidi
uq’guluğ <‘wqj-’qw-luqj> ‘reasonable, ’resourceful’
OT uq- ‘to understand, to find out’ (ED 78)
35/8 känä tæşqaran qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qaqannun janida aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun uslug bir qart kişi turur bar erdi – tüüzın bir er erdi
uluğ ‘big, great’
OT uluğ ‘big, great’ (ED 136)
var. <w[lwqj] 3/1, 26/4, 33/8 <lwqj 19/9, 23/9, 35/9, 37/5, 40/5 <lwqj 31/2, 3/1 bo çağda bo yerđä bir ~ orman bar erdi köp möränler köp ögüzlär bar erdi
19/9 oğuz qaqan urun qaqannun qagänluxün aldı elknin aldı ordusığa köp ~ öľüg barq köp tälim tiregü barqu tusu bolidi
23/9 çärigiğä bir yaqşi bäg bar erdi anunq atü ~ ordu bäg erdi uluğ [...] bir er erdi
26/4 jolda usbő ayğir at közdän yiitü çaqçit ketti munda ~ bir taq bar erdi üzä üstündä tonaq muz bar turur [...] 
31/2 urusuqdon song oğuz qaqannun çärigiğä nökärlärlärga elnükä görä ~ öľüg barq tüüti kim yülümäkka keldümäkła at qatqärı ud azliq bolidi
33/8 känä tæşqaran qalmasun bältlüg bolsun kim köändünkä bulunqda baraq’ tägä bir yer bar turur ~ barquluğ bir yurt turur köp işği bir yer yer turur [...] 
35/9 känä çaşqaran qalmasun kim bellüg bolsun kim oğuz qaqannun janida aq saqalluğ moz saçluğ uzun uslug bir qart kişi turur bar erdi uq’guluğ tüüzün bir er erdi tüşişmäl erdi anunq atü ~ tüürük erdi
37/5 oğuz qaqan ~ tüürkünung sözün yaqšï kördi ögützin tiläidä ögütüşigä körä qldid
40/5 känä andan song oğuz qaqan ~ quriltay çaqçirdi nökærlerin elknilerin çärlap çaqçirdi kälip kengäşiip oltürdülar
ur- ‘to strike’
OT ur- ‘to strike’ (ED 194)
var. <wr> 5/2, <wr> 5/3
5/2-5/3 känä özü içâncınıg tübändä turdu [monster] kälip başï birlä oğuz qalaquin ~di oğuz jida birlä [monster]nîng başïn ~di anï öldürdi qîlîç birlä başin kastï aldi ketti

354
uran < wr’n > ‘warcry, password’

The word is not present in the ED, L, or Z, the DTS 614 cites the PON only. Şe 73 cites the Bâbur-nâmâ (I: 127). The citation explains the meaning of the word.

11/9 toyard song oğuz qağan beglärgä elknülgä järľig berdi taqï tädi kim lmän senlärgä boldum qağan lalalyng ya taqï qağan itlämgä bizği bolsun buyan lkök bòrï bolsungïl ~ îtmür jîda bol orman law yerdä yôrüsän Ŀûlan taqï taluy taqï mörän lkün tuq bolgïl kôk qôrıqanî tîp tådi

urugu ‘seed, heredity’

OT urugu ‘seed, progeny, descendants, clan’ (ED 214)

var. < wrwpq> 22/2, 37/3 < wrwpq> 22/4, 22/2-22/4 urus bägning oğuli anka köp altun kümüs yibärdi taqï tädi kim [...] bizning qutbïz senning qutung bolsmu bizning ~bîz sănning iğaçînmög ~i bolmuś bolup turur tångri săngä yer berüp bujurmus bolup turur [...] 37/3 uyqodon song tüstä körğänin oğuz qağangä bildürdi taqï tädi kim lay qağanunum săngä jäṣâgu bolsungïl uzunluy qağanunum săngä túrlük bolsungïl tångri [...] tångri berdi tûşümädä kälûrdüsän ûtola turur yerni ~ungga berdürüsän tîp tådi

urum < wrwm> ‘Geographic Prop. Name Rum, Byzantine Empire’

MT rûm, urum ‘das öströmische Reich, Greichenland’ (Z 472b)

14/7-15/1 çong jangqağäda ~ tägän bir qağan bar erdi ušbo qağannung çärigi köp köp baluqrâlgä köp köp erdılar erdi ušol ~ qağan oğuz qağannung järľînm qaslaqamaz erdi qätîlqalgu bärmaq erdi [...] 16/8 ušol börï oğuz qağangâ söz bärïp turur erdi taqï tädi kim lay ay oğuz ~ üstägâ sân atlar bola sân lay ay oğuz tapuqunglarga män yöür bola män tåp tådi 19/5-19/6 oğuz qağan baştï ~ qağan qaçätî oğuz qağan ~ qağannung qağanluqün aldi elkülin aldî 20/1 ~ qağannung bir qarundaşï bar erdi urus bâg tägän erdi

urus < wrwz> ‘Prop/ Ethronym Rus, Russian’

MT urus ‘Russie, russisch’ (Z 119a)

20/2-20/3 urum qağannung bir qarundaşï bar erdi ~ bâg tägän erdi ol ~ bâg oğulun taq başida târing mörän arasîda yaqşï bärïk baluqqa yumşadî

20/9 oğuz qağan uşol baluqqa atladi ~ bägning oğuli anka köp altun kümüs yibärdi taqï tädi kim ay männing qağannunum sän [...] tîp tådi

uruş < wrws> ‘battle, fight’

OT uruş ‘fight, quarrel’ (ED 239)

30/5 munda jürçäd qağanî elküni oğuz qağanga qaşu kälûrdilâ ~ toquş başlädi oqlar bïrla qillêlç bïrlâ uruştïlar

uruş- < wrws> ‘to fight each other

OT uruş- ‘to strike one another, fight’ (ED 239)

18/8 munda etil mörän tågän bir taluy bar erdi etilmöränning qadûğïda bir qara taq täpîgïda uruşqututüldi ozqîl qillê bïrla ~tilç 30/6 munda jürçäd elküni elküni oğuz qağanga qaşu kälûrdil uruş toquş başlädi oqlar bïrla qillêlç bïrlâ ~tilç

uruşqu ‘battle, fighting’

OT uruş- ‘to strike one another, fight’ (ED 239)

var. < wrwsq> 18/7, 18/9, 33/4 < wrwsq> 20/7, 21/6 < wrwsq> 30/9, < wrwsq> 42/3

18/7-18/9 munda etil mörän tågän bir taluy bar erdi etil möränning qadûğïda bir qara taq täpîgïda ~ tutülûd ozqîl qillê bïrla uruştïlar lârîgnêm aralarïda köp tålim bïldi ~ lêlkûlnêm köngülläridä köp tålim bïldi qaçû ~ 20/7 ol urus bâg oğulun taq başida târing mörän arasîda yaqşï bärïk baluqqa yumşadî taq tädi kim baluqqu qâtîlganu käräk turur sän taqî ~ larden song baluqqu бизdiği saqlap kälûp tîp tådi 21/6 urus bägning oğulî anka köp altun kümüs yibärdi taqï tädi kim ay männing qağannunum sän mängä atam bo baluqqu bärïp baluqqu tågän bir taluy bar erdi möränning qadûğïda bir qara taq täpîgïda ~ larden song baluqqu bâg qaslaq kälûp tîp tådi atam ëmat ätpûr ersâ männing tapum erur mû sândän järľûq bâlgê bêllûq bola män [...] tîp tådi 30/9 uruş toquş başlädi oqlar bïrla qillêlç bïrlâ uruştïlar oğuz qağan başti jürçäd qağanî bastî öldürdi bâšn kásti jürçäd elküni öz äğiţïga baqantürdi ~don song oğuz qağannung çärigiçä nökârlârgä elküniçä andag ulûq öläss barû büyü külmâmäkâk kurdûrmämäkâk at qaçînrud azîľî bïldi 33/4 käna bû kók túlûklûg kók jallûğ erkâk bûrî bïrla sûndu taqï tângqat taqï şągam yëngqagaçarîga atlup ketti köp ~don köp toquşqodun song anlarmî aldi öz yurtíça bïrlä başti bastî
42/3 andan song oğuz qaqlan oqullariga yurtin ülaštirüp berdi taqi tädi kim [lay] oqullar köp män aşaduni ~lar köp män kördüm jëda basa köp qoq attum lay geçtir birli köp yörüdüm [...]]

uruşunç <`wrrsw<w> 'battle, fighting'
OT urus- 'to strike one another, fight' (ED 239) 19/2 etil morânnung quduqida bir qara taq tâpüjida uruşqu tutuldü qoq birliq qâlba uruşqu [...] ~ tutulunç andağ yaman boldi kim etil morânnung suqi qizil sipsinggir täq boldi oğuz qaqlan baštir urum qaqlan qaçtii

us 'intelligence'
OT us 'intelligence' (ED 240) var. <ws> 7/9, <`ws> 9/9 7/9 ušbo yarûqngun arasinda bir qiz bar erdi yalûq olturur erdi yaqşî körlüqgï bir qiz erdi [...] oğuz qaqlan anî kördüktä ~i qalmaðicbitti sewdi aldî anuq birliq yâlta tilâgusun aldî 9/9 bo ijaçungun qawucaqinda bir qiz bar erdi jalûq olturur erdi yaqşî körlüqgï bir qiz erdi [...] oğuz qaqlan anî kördüktä ~i ketti jürâkigï atas tüüti sewdi aldî anuq birliq yâlta tilâgusun aldî

uslûg <`wslw<w> 'intelligent, witful'
OT uslûg 'of sound judgement' (ED 247) 24/1 caërigdä bir yaqşî bğa bar erdi anuq atti ulûq ordu bğa erdi ~ [...] bir er erdi 31/5 oğuz qaqlannung caërigdä uslûg yaqşî bir çâbär kîshi bar erdi anuq atti barmaqlîq josun bellig erdi 35/7 känâ taçqarun qalmasun kim bellüq bolsun kim oğuz qaqlannung janida aq saqqalûq moz saçluq uzun ~ bir qart kîşi turur bar erdi uq>gulûq tûzin bir yer erdi tûsimül erdi anuq atti ulûq türük erdi

ušbo see bo

ušol see ol

üyûr <wyôwr> 'Ethnonym Uyghur, 'Buddhist, non-Muslim'
OT üyûr (DTS 607) 12/7 ušbo bildürgüülükta bitimliș erdi kim män ~ning qaçanî bolamän kim yerning tört bulungnûn qaçanî bolsam kûrak turur senîrdän baș çalunguluq tilâp män turur [...] tâp tädi

uuyû <wyôw> 'the act of sleeping'
OT udiq 'sleepy, asleep' (ED 46) 36/1-36/6 [uluq tüürük] kûnlârdä bir kûn ~ da bir altun ya kûrdi taqî üç kûmüş oq kûrdi bo altun ya kûn tuşişida (da) kûn batuşiğaça tâggan erdi taqî bo üç kûmüş oq tûn ýingaqqa ketä turur erdi ~don song tûstâ kûrgânin oğuz qaqlanqa bildürdi

uyu- <`wyw> 'to sleep'
OT udi- 'to sleep' (ED 42) 16/1 qiríg kündön song muq tay tûqan tagnung adaqiga keldi qoriqannü tüşkûrdi sûk bolup ~p turdi

uzun <`wsw<w> 'long'
OT uzun 'long' (ED 288) 35/7 känâ taçqarun qalmasun kim bellüq bolsun kim oğuz qaqlannung janida aq saqqalûq moz saçluq ~ ulûq bar qart kîşi turur bar erdi uq>gulûq tûzin bir yer erdi tûsimül erdi anuq atti ulûq türük erdi 36/9 uyqudan song tûstä kûrgânin oğuz qaqlanqa bildürdi taqî tädi kim lay qaqlanun sãngä jaşaçu bolsunçul ~ lay qaqlanun sãngä türlik bolsunçul tûzin [...] tângri bûrdi tûsumül käldrürsün tola turur yerni uruqunggâ berdürsünî tâp tädi

Ü

üç <`wê> 'three'
OT üç 'three' (ED 18) 8/3 töl boğus boldi kûnlârdän song käçîlârdän song yarudi ~ erkäk oğul tûqûrdi 10/4 töl boğus boldi kûnlârdän song käçîlârdän song yarudi ~ erkäk oğulni tûqûrdi 36/2-36/4 kûnlârdä bir kûn uyyquda bir altun ya kûrdi taqî ~ kûmüş oq kûrdi bo altun ya kûn tuşişida (da) kûn batuşiğaça tâggan erdi taqî bo ~ kûmüş oq tûn ýingaqqa ketä turur erdi 39/2 oğuz qaqlan sewindi kûldi taqî yanî ~ buzguluq qûldi 39/7-40/1 kän andan song kûk tag tângzig köp kliklar köp quşlar awlagülaridan song jolda ~ kûmüş oqni taptîlar aldîr atasîga berdülär oğuz qaqlan sewindi kûldi taqî oqlarnî ~ügä ülaştürdi

üçãgu <`wê`kw> 'three each'
OT üçâgu 'all three, three together' (ED 25) 38/4-38/5 andan song ~ sü tang sarışga bardîlar taqî ~ sü tûn sarışga bardîlar
üćkë <‘wê ‘wq> 'Prop, 'Three Arrows', the tribal federation made by the three younger son of Oğuz’ (see îć and oq)
41/8 [ông yaqta bir qirîq qolaç îğaçînî tiktürdi anung] başida bir altun [taçuq qoydî adaqî’da bir aq qoyun bağlađi] [ông] yaqta bir qirîq qolaç îğaçînî tiktürdi anung başida bir kümiş taçuq qoydî adaqida bir qara qoyunun bağlađi [ông] yaqta buzuşlar olturdi êông yaqta –lar olturdi qirîq kîn qirîq keçî aştîlar iştîlîr sewînî taptîlar

üçün <‘wêwn> ‘because of’
OT üçün ‘because of, for’ (ED 28)
23/3 oğuz qagan yigtînîng sôzîn yaqshî kordî sewîndî kûldî taqi ayyûlikînîn mângî kîp altun yumşap sên baluqînî yaqshî saqlap sên tâp tâdi anung – anga saqlap at qoydî dostluq qildî
26/7 munda ulûq bir taq bar erdi üzä üstündä tong taqî muz bar turur anung başî soqûntan ap aq turur anung – anung aî muz taq turur
32/4 munlar qanqa yörûmkânta qanqa qanqa söz bera turur erdîlar erdi anung – anlarîga qanqa at qoydîlar

üçünçü ‘third’
OT üçünçü ‘third’ (ED 29)
var. <wêwn-çw> 8/5, <wêwn-çw> 10/6
8/5 kûnlârdîn song kêçîlîrdan song yarudî üç erkak oğul tugurî birinîçisîgä kûn at qoydîlar ekinîçisîgä ay at qoydîlar – sügä yulud at qoydîlar
10/6 kûnlârdan song kêçîlîrdan song yarudî üç erkak oğulînî tugurî birinîçisîgä kûk at qoydîlar ekinîçisîgä taq at qoydîlar – sügä tângiz at qoydîlar

üllâştir – to make someone(s) to divide something up (among themselves)
OT ülläş – to divide sg equally among themselves, to divide sg up’ (ED 154)
var. <wî’sdwr> 40/1, <î’sdwr> 42/2
40/1 oğuz qagan sewîndi kûldî taqî oqlarînî üçügä – di taqî aytî kim ay inîlîr oqlar bolsun sänîrmûng ya atî oqni oqlar tâg sänîr bolung tâp tâdi
42/2 andan song oğuz qagan oğullarîgä yurtîn –üp berdi taqî tâdi kîm lay oğullar kîp mân așadûm luruşqular kîp mân körümlî liđa basa kîp oq attum laygîr bîlîr kîp yörûdmî lduşmanînî lglağurdum ldostlarumî mân külîgurdum ikok tângirîg mân otiadmî lsnîrîgâ berî mân yurtum [tâp tâdi]

ünçü <wênçw> ‘pearl’

Chin. > OT yinçü ‘pearl’ (ED 944)
9/5 yaqshî körüglük bir qiz erdi anung közü köktön kökrik erdi anung saçî mîrân ‘suqî tâg anung tîsh – tâg erdi andaq körüklög erdi kim yerning yelkûnî anî körsä ay ay aç aç olîrbiz tâp sütîn qumuz bôla tururlar

üst <‘wsd> ‘the top of something’
var. <‘Wsd> 16/9
OT üst ‘upper surface, top’ (ED 242)
16/9 uşol börî oğuz qâqanî söz bârîp turur erdi taqî tâdi kim ay ay oğuz urum üstîgä sân atlar bôla sên ay ay oğuz taquuçûnglarîn mân yörûr bôla mân tâp tâdi
26/5 munda ulûq bir taq bar erdi üzä –ündä tông taqî muz bar turur anung başî soqûntan ap aq turur anung – anung aî muz taq turur
31/7 oğuz qâqannîn çärîgidî usluq yaşqî bir çäbär kisî bar erdi anung aî barmalqîq josun bellig erdi bo çäbär bir qanqa japtî qanqa –ündä olûq barang îqodî qanqa başîda tirîg barangîq qoydlî tarîttîlar kettîlar
34/5 uşol yerning qâqani mîşir tâgân bir qagan erdi oğuz qagan anung –îgî atladî qatîq yaman uruşqî boldî

üy <‘wy> ‘house, home’
OT âv ‘dwellling place, tent, house’ (ED 3)
28/5 kânâ yolda bâdûk bir – kordî bo ~nûng taqamî altundan erdi tûnglûçlarî taqî kümûştûn qalanlarî tämûrdêr erdîlar erdi qapuçuqlu erdi aêqîqî yeq erd
35/3 oğuz [qagan] başî sanaqulûşqî nâmîlar yîlqîlar aldî yurtîgä –gä tûşî ketti

üzî <‘wys> ‘above, on high’
OT üzî ‘above, on high’ (ED 280)
26/5 munda ulûq bir taq bar erdi ~ üstündä tong taqî muz bar turur anung başî soqûntan ap aq turur anung üçün anung aî muz taq turur

Y

ya <‘y> ‘bow’
OT ya ‘bow’ (ED 869)
4/1 kûnlârdî bîr kîn awça çëştî jida bîrlâ –eq bîrlâ taqî qilîl bîrla qalan bîrla atladî
5/6 kâlip kordî kim bir şungqar [monster] içägüsîn yermäktä turur ~ bîrla eq bîrla şungqarnî öldürdü başin kástî
6/2 andan song tâdi kim şungqarnûng angûsû uşbî turur bûgu yedi aûdug yedi jîdam öldürdü tümür bôsa [monster]nî şungqar yedi ~ oqum öldürdü yel bôsa tâp tâdi
yağır <yüş> ‘shoulder’
OT yağır ‘saddle-gall’ > MT shoulder’ (ED 905) 2/4 qüriq küündün song bälküldüni yörüðü oynadı daaqıt uד daaqıt tég bälüları börü bälüları tég l-i kış –i tég íkogüzü adug kögüzü tég lerdı badanınını qamagî tég tüüüküg erdi

yaq (?yäq) ‘side’
?OT yaga ‘edge, border’ (ED 898), yäqug ‘near, neighbourhood’ (ED 901) var. ‘y-lq’> 41/4, ‘y→q’> 41/7, 41/8 41/4 [çon] –iða bir qüriq qolaça içäge tiktürdü anung başıda bir kümüšt tąguq qoydī adaqıda bir qara qoynunメディ 41/7-41/8 [ong] –ta büzqlar olturdı çong – ta uč oqlar olturđı

yaqși ‘wonderful (for appearance), good.’
OT yaqși ‘suitable, pleasing, good-looking’ (ED 908) var. ‘y-yüş’> 1/7, 7/2, 9/2, 14/5 <yüşy> 20/5, 22/9, 23/9 ‘y-qüşy’> 23/2, ‘yüşy’> 28/9, 37/5, ‘yüş ylyşy’> 31/5 1/7 ušol oğulunun öngülüği çirağı kök erdi ağızı ataş qizılı erdi közləri al sacları qaşları qara erdirildi erdi – nawsikilərdən körüglükər erdi 7/2 ušbo yaruqunun arasında bir qız bar erdi yəłğuz olturur erdi – körüglük bir qız erdi 9/2 bo içaqının qawuqaqında bir qız bar erdi yəłğuz olturur erdi – körüglük bir qız erdi 1/4 ušbo altun qagun oğuz qağangə elçi yumsap yibərdi köp taliim altun kümüş tərtib […] oğuz qağangę soyyurqap berdi – be(r)ığu birlə dostluq qıldı anung birlə amirəq boldı 20/5 ol urus bąq oğulun tąq başıda täring mörün arasında – bərık baluqa yumşadı

yar- ‘to labour (with child), to be in parturiency’
OT yar- ‘to be or become bright, to shine’ (ED 956) see jarlığ 15/4

yamu- ‘alone’
OT yamnu ‘alone, only, solitary’ (ED 930) var. ‘y-yamu’> 3/6, ‘y’m’> 19/3, 34/6 3/6 ušol orman icində bədük bir [monster] bar erdi yilqərəmləi yelkünərəmli yer erdi bedük – bir kık erdi 19/3 tutunun uşunuň andaq – boldi kim etil mərmənnin suqı qıp qızıl sænggir tąq boldı 34/6 ušol yerning qağanı mısır tąğın bir qağan erdi oğuz qağan anung üstünə atladı qatıq ~ uşuşq boldı

yarlığ <y’rl> ‘(written) command, decree’
OT yarlığ ‘a command from a superior to an inferior’ (ED 966)
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 käna künlärädä bir kün oğuz qağan tängrini jalvarguda erdi qarangçuqluq keldi köktön bir kök ~ tüsći [...] oğuz qağan yörüdi kördi kim uşbo ~ nung araisinga bir qız bar erdi yalguz olturur erdi  
16/4 çang ertä bolduqtä oğuz qağannung qoriğanña käna täs bir ~ kirdi ol ~ tun kök tölükluq kök jalluq bedik bir erków börí çift

yaruqlug <y’rwq-lwq> ‘shiny’  
OT yaruqlug ‘shining’ (ED 964), svetlyj (DTS 244)  
7/4 yaqşši körüglük bir qız erdi anung bašında atasluğ ~ bir mãngi bar erdi

yaşa- see aša- and jaşa-

yat- <y’d> ‘to lie, lie down’  
OT yạr- ‘to lie down’ (ED 884)  
8/1 oğuz qağan ançi kördükta usi qalmaḍi ketti sewdi alḍi anung birlä ~tä tilagüsün alḍi töl boğusboldi  
10/1 oğuz qağan ançi kördükta usi ketti jüräkigä atas tüsći ançi sewdi alḍi anung birlä ~tä tilagüsün alḍi töl boğusboldi  
24/5 çarığında bir yaqşši bag bar erdi [...] usluq bir erdi kördi kim [...]ta [köp tälim tallar] köp tälim [...]lar [...] jığaçałar [...] aşğaçağarda ~tä kečti

yazı <y’sy> ‘plain, flat’  
OT yazi’ ‘a broad, open plain’ (ED 984)  
29/9 oğuz qağan taği türdi qoriğan tüşkürä turgan türdi tarlاغüsiz bir ~ yer erdi munga jürädä täturaturlar erdi

?yazı <yl> ‘brass’ cf. yel  
OT yazı ‘a copper alloy, brass’ (ED 982)  
6/2 andan song tädi kim şungqarşungungan anggusî uşbo turur buğu yedi aduq yedi jidäm oldürdi tämür bolsa [monster]ni şungqar yedi ya oqum oldürdi ~ <ył> <y丘s> 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 bădük bir [monster] bar erdi yîlqılanrîn yelkülärni ~r erdi bădük yaman bir kik erdi  
5/6 kâlip körđi kim bir şungqar [monster] içägüsîn yemäktä turur  
5/9-6/2 andan song tädi kim şungqarşungungan anggusî uşbo turur buğu ~di aduq ~di jidäm oldürdi tämür bolsa [monster]ni şungqar ~di ya oqum oldürdi yel bolsa täp tädi

yer <yyr> ‘place, ground, the World’  
OT yer ‘ground, earth, soil, place’ (ED 954)  
3/1 bo çaqda bo ~dä bir uluq orman bar erdi köp möränlar köp öğüzlar bar erdi  
6/5 käna künlärädä bir kün oğuz qağan bir ~ dä tängrini jalvarguda erdi  
9/6 andağ körlük erdi ki ~ ning yelkünü anį körsă ay ay așç olirbüz täp sütün qumuz bolsa tururlar  
12/1 [...] itämğa bıgzābolus buyanl kök börı bolsunğıl uran tämüür jida bol orman aw ~dä yörüsun qulan[...]l  
12/8 usbo bildürülükstä bitilmiş erdi ki män uygurng qağanı bola män köm ~nig tört bulungünq qağanı bolsa kârmiş turur senlärädä baš çalınguluq tilap män turur  
22/5 bizning quþbü şäning quťung bolmuş bizning uruğbû şäning iğaçungunu uruğ bolmuş bolup turur tängri sängä ~ berip bujirmuş bolup turur män sängä başmuni quţumnını berä män  
29/9 oğuz qağan taqi türdi qoriğan tüşkürä turgan türdi tarlagusiz bir yazi ~ erdi munga jürädä täturaturlar erdi  
33/8-33/9-34/4 käna taşqarun qalmasun hâllîq bolusn kim kündünkî bulungdâ baraq° tägän bir ~ bar turur ulułq barqulûq bir yurt turur köp isığ bir ~ turur [...] uşol ~ ning qağanı misir tägän bir qağan erdi  
37/3 taqi tädi kim ay qağanunun sängä jașagu bolsunğıl uzunl ay qağanunun sängä türük bolsunğıl tüzün [...] tängri berdi tüsümdä kâldürünsül tola turur ~ni uruğungûg berdûrsûnl

yilq <y’lqy> ‘livestock’  
OT yilq ‘livestock, quadrupeds’ (ED 925)  
2/6 badanınqun qamağı tüg tölükluq erdi l= lar kûdäyä turur erdi latâlarga minä turur erdi kik aw awlaya turur erdi  
3/5 uşol orman içindä bădük bir [monster] bar erdi l= larnı yelkülärni yer erdi ledık yaman bir kik erdi  
30/1 tarlagusiz bir yazi yer erdi munga jürädä täturaturlar erdi bădük bir yurt etkûn erdi ~larî köp ud buzaqlarî köp [...] erdirîlär erdi
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 ušbo kim mäning ägitumga baqomaz turur bolsa çamat çaqip çārīg çākip duşman tutar män taqurfaq basip asturip ~ bolsunqīl tap qilur män tāp tädi
28/8 bo üýnunğ taqamī allundan erdi tängliqları taqi kümüştün qalqanları tämûrdän erdilär erdi qapuļug erdi ačeqiçe ~ erdi 38/1 taqi aytını kim ay inilär mäning köngülüm awnî tilîp turur qari bolsugmundan mäning qaçızluqum ~ turur

yol ‘way, road’

OT yol ‘road, way’ (ED 917) <yw>l> 25/5, 28/5 <cw>l> 26/3, 39/7 <č>l> 38/8, 25/5 ušbo kök böri oğuz qagangā aytı kim ämdir çārīg birla munden atlung qagang atlap elünkärni beglerni keldürğil män sängā başlap ~n köฎırgürtımän
26/3 oğuz qagang bir čuqurdan aytırt atqa minä turur erdi ušbo aytırt atnî bāk çeq sewur erdi jolda ušbo aytırt at közdän yiti qaçtī
28/5 ilgärü ketti känā ~da bedük bir ły kördi 38/8 küm ay yulduz köp kliklär köp quslar awlaşūlgaridan song ~da bir altun yanî taptılar aldılar ataşıga berdilär
39/7 kök tag tāŋzis köp kliklär köp quslar awlaşūlgaridan song ~da uc kümüş qeq taptılar aldılar ataşıga berdilär

yörü- <ywrb> ‘to walk, march’

OT yori ‘to walk, march’ (ED 957) var. <cwrb> 27/4
2/3 tılı kelä başlادي qirıq kündön song bâdûkliði ~di oynadı
6/9 qarangguluq keldi köktön bir kök yaruq tüsti kündön (ay) aytından qogulğuluqraq erdi oğuz qagan ~di kördi kim ušbo yaruqnuŋ arasinda bir qız bar erdi
12/1 […] la̱mğa bizğa bolsun buyan ikbö kök bolsunqīl uranl tâmûr jûda bol orman law yerđa ~sûn quulan […]
17/2 ušbol böri oğuz qagangā sÖZ bärip turur erdi taqı tädi kim ay ay oğuz urum üstiqā atlar bola sän lay ay oğuz tapuqunglarça mân ~r bola mân
17/7-17/9 oğuz qagan […] kördi kim çariqning tapuqlarida […] bir erkâk böri ~güdä turur ol böringe artlarları qatıglap ~güdä turur erdilär erdi
25/8 oğuz qağan kordı kim erkä böri çärınging tapuğlarida –güdä turur sewindi ilgärü ketti
27/4-27/7 çärıngda bir bedik qaği ez bälg bar erdi çaling bulüngdan qoruqmaz erdi –güdä sogurgüda öngä er erdi ušol beg taglässga kirdi –dü
29/6 känä bir kün […] erkäk börü ~mäyn turd
32/2 bo çäbir bir qaqa japti […] munlar qaqa ~mäktä qaqa qaqa söz berä turur
42/4 taği tädi kim ay uğullar köp män aşadum luruşgular köp män körümdän [ída basa köp oq attum layğir birlä köp –düm […]]

yörügür <ywrrkw>r ‘to carry’
OT yorit- ‘to make walk, move, etc.’ (ED 960)
32/7 oğuz qağan qaçilermä kördi kuldı taqi aytıi kim lqaña qaqa birlä ölıgni tirig –sün lqaŋqalüg sängä at bolgüluq qaqa bälğırsün lトラブル tädi

yulduz <ywldzw> ‘star/Prop. the third son of Oğuz’
OT yulduz ‘star’ (ED 922)
8/6 künładun song keçälädänd song yaruddü üc erkäk oğul tugurdi birinçisigä kün at qoydilar ikinçisigä ay at qoydilar ücünüşügü ~ at qoydilar
38/2 taği aytıi kim ay mänüng köngülüm awni tilap turur qari bolğumdan mäning qaqizluğuq yuq turur kün ay – tang sariğa sänlär barung kök taq tingiz tü sanriğa sänlär barung
38/7 kün ay ~ köp kliklar köp quşlar awałğulärîdan song jolda bir altun yanı taptılars aldılars atasığa bärdirär

yumuša- <ywms> ‘to send’
OT yumuş ‘an errand’ (ED 938) yumuşcâ ‘messenger’ (ED 939)
var. <chwms> 12/5
12/5 andan song oğuz qağan tört sariğa jarlığ ~dí bildürgülük bitidi elçilärigä bärüp yibärâdi
14/1-14/4 ušbo altun qağan oğuz qağangâ elçi –p yibärâdi köp tälim altun kümüs tartüp köp tälim qiz yaqut taš alup köp tälim ardanları yibärüp –p oğuz qağangâ soyurqap berdi
20/5 ol urus bäg oğulun taš bàșiä tärin mörän aradası yaqši bärir baluqqa ~di taqi tädi kim […]
23/1 oğuz qağan yigitning sözün yaqšı kördi sewindi küldi taqi aytıi kim mängä köp altun –p sän baluqnu yaqšı saqlapsän

yurt <ywrd> ‘country’
OT yurt ‘dwelling place, residence, (one’s own) country’ (ED 958)
30/1 oğuz qağan taqi täridi qörügan tükürü türğan turdı tarlağüsiz bir yaz倚 yer erdi munga jürçäd tátururlar erdi bädük bir ~ elkin erdi 33/5 känä bo […] erkäk böri birlä sündu taqi tangqut taqi şaqam yıngağlärliga atlap ketti […] anlarını aldi öz ~iğä birlädi
33/9 kündünkî bulungda baraq° tâğän bir yer bar turur uluğ barguluq bir ~ turur köp işig bir yer turur
34/8 qatiq yaman uruşqu boldi oğuz qagän baštı mıșr qağan qaćtî oğuz anı bastı ~ın aldi ketti
35/3 oğuz qagên sanğalulqsız nämlär yîlqlar aldi ~iğä üyoğu tüsti ketti
42/2 qirîq kün qirîq keçä aştılar iḱtılär sewinę taptılars andan song oğuz qagên oğullarığä ~în ülästürüp berdi
42/7 taqi tädi kim […] duşmanlärî ılglağurdu mîlostarummä män kilgürdüm lkök tângirügä män otâdüm lsânlärägä berämän ~uml

yüklämäk <ywkł’m’k> ‘the act of loading on’
OT yükâl– ‘to load sg on sg’ (ED 912)
31/3 oğuz qağangü çärıngigä nökärärigä andâq uluğ oluç bargu tüsti kiim ~kä keldürmekkä at qağatîr üd azlıqboldi
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