UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF LINGUISTICS

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# FINITE VERB FORMS IN A 17TH-CENTURY TURKIC HISTORICAL TEXT: QĀDIR ʿALI BEG'S *ǦĀMIʿ AT-TAWĀRĪX* 'COMPENDIUM OF CHRONICLES'

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I, Guldana Togabayeva, hereby state that all the work presented in this dissertation is the result of my own academic effort, completed under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Mária Ivanics and Dr. Balázs Danka. I further declare that present dissertation does not include any content that has been submitted for the award of a PhD degree at any other university.

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(signature)

**Contents**

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**Technicalities**

**Transcription and transliteration**

| Sign | Transliteration | Transcription |
|------|-----------------|---------------|
| آ | ʾ | ā, a, ä |
| ا | ʾ | ā, a, ä, i, ï |
| اى | ʾy | e, i, ï, ī |
| او | ʾw | o, ö, u, ü |
| ب | b | b, p |
| پ | p | p |
| ت | t | t |
| ث | s̱ | s̱ |
| ج | ǰ | ǰ, č |
| ح | ḥ | ḥ |
| خ | χ | χ |
| چ | č | č |
| د | d | d |
| ذ | ẕ | ẕ |
| ر | r | r |
| ز | z | z |
| س | s | s |
| ش | š | š |
| ص | ṣ | ṣ |
| ض | ż | ż |
| ط | ṭ | ṭ |
| ظ | ẓ | ẓ |
| ع | ʿ | ʿ |
| غ | ɣ | ɣ |
| ف | f | f |
| ق | ḳ | ḳ |
| ک | k | g, k |
| ل | l | l |
| م | m | m |
| ن | n | n |

| نک | nk | ŋ |
| ه | h | h, a, ä |
| و | w | o, ö, ū, u, ü, w, v |
| ى ي | y | e, ē, ī, i, ï, y |
| ء | ʾ | ʾ |

## Other signs

| sentence division; morpheme analysis

[] semantic additions

{} morphophonemic formulas

⟨⟩ transliteration of Arabic script; representation of standard orthographic forms in Latin script; insertion of words or phrases absent in the St. Petersburg manuscript but available in the Kazan manuscript

< developed from

> developed into

← derived from

→ derived as

~ alternates with

\* reconstructed and hypothetical elements

† spelling mistake

° unwritten vowel

ʾ aleph in transliteration

C consonant

V vowel

In translations and explanations, X is used for the 3SG personal pronouns 'he/she/it', 'him/her/it', and for indicating any verb. In the cases where I refer to Erdal (1991; 2004), X is used for *i ~ ï ~ u ~ ü*, as marked by the author.

A hyphen to the right of the form stands for a verb stem, e.g. *bär-* 'to give'. Moreover, hyphens are used for the segmentation of complex forms, displaying the boundaries between the constituent segments, e.g. *öl-tür-di* 'X killed'. The denominal markers are marked with a + sign, e.g. {+lA-}.

A bracketed vowel sign signifies the occurrence of the vowel after consonant-final stems and its absence after vowel-final stems. A bracketed consonant signifies that it can be omitted under certain conditions.

Specific terms are given in *italics*.

## Morphophonemic notations

| {A} | a, e |
|-----|------|
| {I} | i, ï |
| {U} | u, ü |
| {D} | d, t |
| {G} | g, ɣ, k, ḳ |
| {K} | k, ḳ, ɣ |

## Abbreviations

| 1SG | first person singular |
|-----|------------------------|
| 2SG | second person singular |
| 3SG | third person singular |
| 1PL | first person plural |
| 3PL | third person plural |
| A | Arabic |
| ACT | actionality |
| AGR.POSS | possessive agreement |
| AGR.PRON | pronominal agreement |
| AOR | aorist |
| CAUS | causative stem |
| Chin. | Chinese |
| *Compendium* | 'Compendium of Chronicles' |
| CONV.INTRA | intraterminal converb |
| CONV.POST | postterminal converb |
| COP | copula |
| COP PART | copular particle |

| | |
|---|---|
| DAT | dative case |
| EOT | East Old Turkic |
| EVID. COP PART | evidential copular particle |
| F | focal |
| HF | high-focal |
| IMP | imperative |
| INTRA | intraterminal |
| ITR | intransitive |
| K | Kazan manuscript |
| LF | low-focal |
| LOC | locative case |
| LonII | second London manuscript |
| Mo | Mongolic languages |
| MMo | Middle Mongolic |
| MT | Middle Turkic |
| [N] | Nominal |
| NEC | necessitative |
| NEG | negation |
| NF | non-focal |
| NN | denominal noun derivative |
| NV | denominal verb derivative |
| OPT | optative |
| OT | Old Turkic |
| P | Persian |
| PART. | participle |
| PAST | past tense |
| PL | plural |
| PLU | pluripredicate |
| PON | the 'Pagan' Oɣuz-nāmä |
| POSS | possessive |
| POSS1SG | first person possessive suffix |
| POSS3SG | third person possessive suffix |

| | |
|---|---|
| POST | postterminal |
| PRO | prospective |
| QAB | Qādir ʿAli Beg |
| RD | Rašīd ad-Dīn |
| SG | singular |
| StP | St. Petersburg manuscript |
| TERM | terminal |
| TR | transitive |
| TRS | *Tatarsko-russkij slovarʹ* |
| VN | deverbal noun derivative |
| VOL | voluntative |
| WMo | Written or Script Mongolic |
| WOT | West Old Turkic |

# 1 Introduction

This dissertation undertakes a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic characteristics of finite verbs in an early 17th-century Turkic historical text, *Ǧāmiʿ at-Tawārīχ* 'Compendium of Chronicles' (hereafter the *Compendium*), written by Qādir ʿAli Beg[1] (hereafter QAB) in 1602. The text is composed in the literary Turkic language of Central Asia, or the so-called Chaghatay language, during the rule of Uraz-Muhammed Khan,[2] most likely in the Qasym Khanate (1452–1681). In 1851, Berezin introduced it to the scholarly world in an article titled *Tatarskij letopisec. Sovremennik Borisa Fedoroviča Godunova* in the journal *Moskvitjanin*.

The main portion of the manuscript is an abridged Turkic translation of Rašīd ad-Dīn's (1247–1318) (hereafter RD) Persian *Ǧāmiʿ at-Tawārīχ* 'Compendium of Chronicles', which details the genealogy of Oghuz Khan, Genghis Khan's ancestors, Genghis Khan himself, and his descendants. Since the manuscript's first pages, where the title would have appeared, are missing, and as it is primarily a translation of the renowned Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles', Berezin conventionally attributed the same title to the Turkic manuscript. This title has remained in use to this day.

Currently, two manuscripts and three fragments of the *Compendium* are known. Two additional unconfirmed manuscripts are registered under the authorship of QAB. The two confirmed manuscripts are incomplete; however, they complement each other. Both manuscripts are later copies, likely derived from the same original source.

## 1.1 Aim of the study

The *Compendium* has previously been studied from the perspective of descriptive grammar. My focus will be on alternative linguistics, specifically through the analysis of finite verb forms. Currently, there are three Cyrillic (Syzdykova 1989; Syzdyḳova & Ḳojgeldiev 1991; Xisamieva 2022) and one Latin (Alimov 2022) transcriptions, as well as partial and full translations of the *Compendium* into Kazakh (Syzdyḳova & Ḳojgeldiev 1991; Mingulov et al. 1997) and Russian (Vel´jaminov-Zernov 1864; Valixanov 1961; Usmanov 1972; Alimov 2022; Xisamieva 2022). Because some parts of the text are difficult to understand, the translations are far from accurate and differ more or less from each other. Furthermore, only a small number of linguistic studies have investigated the language. As a result, the main aims of this dissertation are as follows:

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[1] I use *Qādir ʿAli Beg* instead of the widely distributed *Qādirghali Ǧālāyirī* or *Qādirghali Ǧālāyir*. As early as 1972, Usmanov (1972: 38) noted that *Ǧālāyirī* is an artificial *nisba*. In the available manuscripts, there is no mention of the *nisba* جلايرى *jalāyīrī*. However, phrases such as (StP: f.155v/3) جلاير قادر على بيک *jalāyīr Qādir ʿAli Beg*, (StP: f.157r/5) جلاير تراق تمغالى *jalāyīr taraḳ tamγalï* do appear. It follows that the term جلاير *jalāyīr* indicates not the author's literary pseudonym but rather his tribal origin.

[2] Uraz-Muhammed Khan (1600–1610) was the ruler of the Qasym Khanate and a nephew of Taukel Khan (1583–1598), the khan of the Qazaq khanate.

1. To offer a modern, up-to-date linguistic analysis based on the theoretical framework of Lars Johanson and others for the sake of better understanding the text itself. This will be achieved by focusing on finite verb forms.
2. To analyze an important part of the grammar of the text with special respect to the historical morphology of the verb forms, in order to place the text in the continuum of the linguistic history of Turkic literary languages.
3. To enhance general knowledge on Turkic comparative and historical grammar by a detailed analysis of the finite verb forms in an early 17th-century Turkic text.
4. To investigate the Kipchak and Oghuz peculiarities of the *Compendium* to characterize its special status within the continuum of the literary texts of the same period.

Overall, the primary aim of this dissertation is to conduct an exhaustive exploration of the finite verb forms in QAB's *Compendium*, starting with finite verbs with thematic bases, such as terminals, intraterminals, postterminals, imperatives, voluntatives, and optatives, and progressing to copular devices, postverbial constructions, and verb stems.

*1.2 Research methods*

The methods used here are comparative, descriptive, and data-oriented. The finite verb forms in the *Compendium* are analyzed using a functional framework based on Lars Johanson's works (1971; 1976; 1995; 1999; 2000a; 2000b; 2009; 2014; 2020; 2021a; 2021b; 2022a; 2022b; 2022c). The framework defines the semantic notions of verbal categories from a functional and typological perspective, including an examination of the morphological, morphophonological, syntactic, and morphosyntactic features of the *Compendium*. These categories are compared with equivalent features found in the Kazakh, Tatar, Turkish, and Siberian languages. This approach has been used in the current research to investigate the devices QAB applies to express different finite verb forms in the *Compendium*. The dissertation's task is to apply these methodological approaches to the analysis of the language of the 'Compendium of Chronicles'.

*1.3 Data*

The data used in this dissertation include mainly the historical text of the St. Petersburg manuscript. In cases where examples are not available in the St. Petersburg manuscript, examples from the Kazan manuscript will be provided. The reason I chose the St. Petersburg manuscript as the main source is that it was scribed earlier and is closer in time to the original, unfound manuscript. Section 1.5 will elaborate on the manuscripts. The translation of the Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles' from the appropriate parts will be provided in Russian

and English translations by Smirnova (1952) and Thackston (1998), respectively, in the hard-reading parts.

It is also worth noting that the suffixes are written separately in the *Compendium*, which is a peculiarity of the Uyghur script; however, this feature has not been considered in the examples I have provided.

*1.4 Research history*

As previously mentioned, Berezin first presented the *Compendium* in the *Moskvitjanin* journal in 1851, and later, in 1854, he published the first printed text in Arabic script.

In 1852, Valixanov entered into correspondence with Berezin. As Valixanov was a Kazakh scholar, Genghisid, and the great-grandson of Kazakh Khan Abylai, who spoke several oriental languages, the Russian orientalist requested Valixanov to decipher some historical and ethnographic terms found in the *yarlyk*s of the khans of the Golden Horde. In response to Berezin's letter, Valixanov cited information from the Turkic *Compendium*. Later (exact date unknown), Valixanov wrote an article on the *Compendium* titled *Izvlečenija iz* جامع التواريخ, where he gave a translation of the third, final part of the text. Valixanov's investigations remained unpublished until 1961–1972.

In 1864, Vel´jaminov-Zernov (1864: 97–498), while working on the history of the Qasym Khanate, devoted a chapter to Uraz-Muhammed Khan, in which he widely used the *Compendium* to answer two significant questions. The questions concern the year of Uraz-Muhammed's enthronement in Kasimov and the voluntary nature of his arrival in Moscow. The primary aim of Vel´jaminov-Zernov was to establish the identity of Uraz-Muhammed. For this purpose, he studied the genealogy of Genghisid and important historical events connected with his relatives in detail and provide extensive information about the first Kazakh khans, as well as about their relationships with neighboring states and the Tsardom of Russia. He analyzed the *Compendium* and provided translations of some parts.

In 1922, Raxim found the Kazan manuscript, and in 1927, he found a fragment from the Kyškary village. In the same year, he provided an elaborate account of the recent findings (Raxim 1927 [2008]: 196, 212).

In 1972, Usmanov, the Tatar scholar, described the St. Petersburg and Kazan manuscripts in detail from the historiographical and source-study perspective.

In 1980, Xisamieva defended her doctoral dissertation in Ufa under the supervision of Teniševa. The title of her dissertation was *Jazyk dastanov Kadyr-Gali beka*. In 2022, Xisamieva's dissertation was published in Kazan with the same title. She considered the

grammatical and lexical characteristics of the language of the *Compendium*. The edition contains a transcription into Cyrillic and a translation into Russian of the first and third parts.

The Kazakh scholar Syzdykova (1989) transcribed the entire text of both manuscripts (St. Petersburg and Kazan) in Cyrillic. This work included the historical and linguistic features of the text in Russian. Ķojgeldiev co-authored another edition in 1991, two years after Syzdykova's first publication. This edition, in addition to the transcribed text and a linguistic study of the manuscript in Kazakh, contains a translation of the first and third parts of the work into Kazakh. Syzdykova served as the responsible editor of the thesaurus dictionary for the *Compendium* in Kazakh, compiled by Mamyrbekova and Sejtbekova in 2012. In 2014, the Kazakh publication, co-authored with Ķojgeldiev, was reissued, supplemented with a facsimile of the Kazan manuscript. One year later, in 2015, Syzdykova's first publication in Russian was reissued. The new edition was supplemented with the Arabic-printed text from Berezin's 1854 publication. In 2017, Syzdykova's work was republished by the Committee for the Development of Languages and Social and Political Work of the Ministry of Culture and Sports of the Republic of Kazakhstan under the State Program for the Development and Functioning of Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011–2020. This edition exhibits variations in comparison to the 2014 and 2015 editions due to the presence of a distinct Arabic facsimile source on pages 302 to 414 (Web 1). The author of the book does not provide any information about this new Arabic source, which does not resemble either of the two known manuscripts (St. Petersburg and Kazan). However, pages 397, 399–405 contain a part of the Kazan manuscript. The rest of the text is irrelevant to the subject of the present study. I believe the editors added the facsimile for reference. The manuscript itself has the inventory number B 286. According to Dmitrieva's catalogue (2002: 252), these are the *hikmet*s of Ahmed Yasawi. The same can also be read at the beginning of the manuscript: *munājāt-i Aḥmed Yasawī* 'Ahmed Yasawi's poem written in the form of a prayer to God'.

In 1997, Mingulov et al. completed a translation of the *Compendium* into Kazakh. It remained the only translation of the whole text until 2022.

In 2005, Alimov defended his dissertation titled *Kadir Ali Bek ve Camiü't-Tevarih'i. Üzerine Dil İncelemesi (İmla – Fonetik – Morfoloji – Karşılaştırmalı Metin – Dizin – Sözlük)* in Istanbul. He later published several articles on the *Compendium* (Alimov 2015; 2016; 2018). In 2022, his latest critical edition of the *Compendium*, including a transcription, a translation of the entire text into Russian, a glossary, and four facsimiles (the Kazan manuscript, the St. Petersburg manuscript, the London manuscript (I), and the London manuscript (II)) was published in Kazan. Alimov used the Kazan manuscript as his main source. For more information on his contribution, see Section 1.5.

The 2019 article by Nagamine, written in Russian, is one of the most recent studies on the *Compendium*. The Japanese scholar provides an overview of the studies of previous years, explains the principle of the Turkic-Mongolian tradition of inheritance, and highlights the phrase *ḳuda anda* in the text, interpreting it as 'a friend based on marital bonds'. Furthermore, Nagamine announced that he is collaborating with Kawaguchi to prepare a critical edition and translation of the text into English and Japanese.

In 2020, Danka translated a passage from the St. Petersburg *Compendium* into English. He compared the original text to the translation of Syzdyḳova & Ḳojgeldiev (1991), provided a syntactic analysis, and proposed a new English translation of the passage.

Wheeler Thackston made a partial Latin transcription of the *Compendium*. He translated Rašīd ad-Dīn's *Compendium* into English. Since some parts of the work were incomprehensible in Persian, Thackston resorted to the Turkic text and provided the transcribed text in footnotes. He worked with the Berezin's publication of 1854, referring to pages [98] to [111] of the Arabic script. He emphasized that the text QAB worked with must have been of better quality than the one he worked with because QAB probably understood the Persian text much better (Thackston 1998: 293–301).

In March 2023, the Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences hosted an international conference, with the main topic being the *Compendium*. In the same year, articles were published related to QAB and his *Compendium* in the journal *Golden Horde Review* (vol 11, no. 2).

Overall, Berezin (1851, 1854), Valixanov,[3] Vel´jaminov-Zernov (1864), and Raxim (1927 [2008]; 1930 [2008]) were the earliest researchers of the *Compendium*. To date, Usmanov's work (1972) and several times republished work by Syzdykova (first publication in 1989) remain full-fledged sources and historiographical studies of the *Compendium*. Among the reviewed works, the most informative are the articles by Alimov (2015, 2016, 2018) and Nagamine (2019). In general, there is a limited amount of specialized literature on the *Compendium*. The circle of researchers is primarily limited to Kazakh and Tatar scholars, who, in their counties' manuals on history and literature, refer to the *Compendium* as a written monument to their people. The 'Compendium of Chronicles' is, so far, the only known historical work reflecting the history of Turkic (Kazakh-Tatar) aristocracy in the 16th–17th centuries. In the historiographical context, the first and final parts of the *Compendium* seem to be the most valuable. To date, there is no consensus on the identity of QAB among scholars. His name no longer appears on other works' pages, and the question of his origin remains open.

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[3] There is no information on when exactly Valixanov (1835–1865) wrote his articles. They were published decades later, between 1961 and 1972.

*1.5 The study of the Compendium*

The study of the *Compendium* can be divided into three main periods:

- The discovery of the St. Petersburg manuscript;
- The discovery of the Kazan manuscript;
- The discovery of new manuscript fragments.

**The discovery of the St. Petersburg manuscript**

The St. Petersburg manuscript was discovered by Ibraxim Xal´fin, a Tatar language lecturer at Kazan University. For this reason, some sources refer to this manuscript as the Xal´fin manuscript. The circumstances of his discovery are not clear. Thanks to Xal´fin, the manuscript was brought to the library of Kazan University, where it was listed under No. 10422 (Berezin 1854: 1). After the closure of the Oriental Faculty of Kazan University in 1854, the manuscript was transferred to St. Petersburg (Raxim 1927 [2008]: 195). It is currently preserved in the Oriental division of St. Petersburg University Library, under no. M$_s$O. 59.

St. Petersburg manuscript gained initial recognition in the scientific world through the work of Kazan orientalist Berezin, who published an article on his discovery in 1851.

Inventory No. 3713 is inscribed vertically in purple ink on the right side of the first folio, along with No. 10422. The date 1934 is noted in the lower right corner. The initial folios, which praise Allah and the Prophet Muhammed according to the Muslim tradition, are missing, as well as several folios at the end of the manuscript. Because the manuscript lacked the first pages, including the title page, Berezin – unaware of its original title – conventionally named it *Ǎmiʿ at-Tawārīχ* 'Compendium of Chronicles', as the main part of QAB's work contained a translation of Rašīd ad-Dīn's (1247–1318) *Ǎmiʿ at-Tawārīχ* 'Compendium of Chronicles'. The later discovery of the Kazan manuscript in 1922 helped fill in some of the gaps at the end of the St. Petersburg manuscript.

The St. Petersburg manuscript consists of 157 folios (314 pages) in a 19.5x14.5 cm format (Usmanov 1972: 36), with 11 lines on each page. The folios of the third part of the manuscript, which contains nine original chapters, are bound in the wrong order. The confusion starts with the front page of folio 148 (f.148r). This folio is the concluding one of the entire manuscript and contains the colophon. The back page of folio 148 (f.148v) contains a passage from a completely different work. This folio (f.148) is shorter at the bottom than all other folios. Berezin characterizes the manuscript's writing as an ugly *semi-shikasta* (Berezin 1854: 1). Titles, keywords, and important proper names are written in red, while all other proper names are simply underlined in red. The endnotes in the margins, found on folios 10r, 10v, 11v, 40v,

41r, correspond to Abū'l-Ɣāzī's 'Genealogy of the Turks'. On the extreme left side of the front page of folio 148 (f.148r), there is a vertically positioned, illegible and difficult-to-transcribe expression. Alimov (2016: 42) sees in this line the following على شیر ابی خافظ (ʿAli Šīr Ābi Xāfiẓ), assuming under it the name of the scribe. The colophon provides the manuscript's completion date, which corresponds to the year 1051 in the Hijri calendar. This is equivalent to 1641–1642 in the Gregorian calendar. However, this date refers to the completion of the St. Petersburg manuscript, not the original autograph. The St. Petersburg manuscript does not mention the autograph.

In 1854, Berezin published the printed Arabic text of the St. Petersburg *Compendium*. It was presented in the form of 171 pages, excluding the texts in the margins. Berezin, in both the article (1851: 544) and the preface to the text edition (1854: 7), used the translation made by Il´minskij. Furthermore, in the preface of the Arabic text edition, Berezin informed the readers that the Russian translation by Il´minskij had been in his hands for about three years. However, he could not begin printing it until the orientalist returned from his eastward journey. In 1972, Usmanov (1972: 33) wrote that the fate of Il´minskij's unpublished translation was unknown, and it remains unknown to this day. High-resolution color photographs of the St. Petersburg manuscript are available digitally in the Free Access Archive of St. Petersburg State University (Web2).

In general, scholars have studied the St. Petersburg manuscript much better and more thoroughly.

**The discovery of the Kazan manuscript**

The Kazan manuscript of the *Compendium* was discovered by Tatar literary scholar and researcher Ali Raxim in 1922, among the books bequeathed by Kazan mullah Galeev-Barudi to the Central Eastern Library in Kazan. Raxim (1927 [2008]: 197) suggests that the Šakulovs, an aristocratic family of the Qasym Khanate, most likely owned this copy, which was brought from Kasimov city. The manuscript is currently preserved under the number T. 40 in the division of manuscripts and rare books at the Scientific Library of Kazan State University, with the first inventory number being T. 969 (Raxim 1927 [2008]: 197) and the old number T. 5028 (Usmanov 1972: 36). This manuscript, referred to as the Barudi or Galeev-Barudi manuscript, is named after the mullah. It is also called the Kazan manuscript due to its storage location.

High-resolution color photographs are available digitally on the Scientific Library of Kazan University's website (Web3). The electronically provided manuscript is represented by 79 numbered folios; however, it actually consists of 80 written folios. The folio numbered "1" in the "Arabic" numbering system, likely added later, begins with the second available folio,

which confuses the page count slightly. At the start of the provided electronic version, there is one unnumbered, torn end of a folio. Two defective folios appear on the following electronic page. On the right side of the folio is the torn back of the previous folio. The folio on the left side bears the barely legible number "1" and is the front side of the folio adjacent to the one numbered "2". Thus, there is one additional unnumbered folio at the beginning of the manuscript. Although the manuscript consists of "79" numbered folios, the text of the *Compendium* is only present on the "69" numbered folios. The remaining ten folios, written in the same handwriting, contain another work, which begins with the title *däftär Däftär-i Čiŋgiz-nāmä* 'The book *Defter-i Genghis-name*'[4]. Red ink is used for the titles in the manuscript and some important proper names. Each side of the folio contains 17 lines. Folios 9, 10, 11, 33, 34, 35, and 79 have varying degrees of damage; however, this damage does not interfere with reading. The folios have a slightly irregular order. The folio "10" is followed by folio "12", and folio "68" is followed by folio "70". The folio "78" is followed by the very last page of the manuscript (most likely the back side of the folio numbered "79") and is then followed by an image of the manuscript's black leather binding. However, this is not the end of the manuscript in the digital version provided on the university website. The binding is followed by a continuation of the missing folio "69", then "11", and finally the concluding folio "79". Folio "79", followed by the numbered folios "11" and "69", is repeated at the very end of the electronically provided manuscript.

The manuscript is enclosed in a rough black leather binding sewn from several pieces, with primitive patterns scratched into the leather. According to Raxim (1927 [2008]: 199–200), the book was bound by a self-taught bookbinder without much skill and had been lying in a damp room. The initial and final folios of the book are moldy, making some words on the last page difficult to read. Raxim characterizes the writing as a spoiled *taalik* slightly influenced by *naskh*. The format of the manuscript is 20x15 cm.

The Kazan manuscript lacks the first part (one of the three compositional parts), which consists of the preface and dedication to Boris Godunov. However, this manuscript sheds light on the primary source's completion date. Furthermore, the Kazan manuscript reveals the author's identity. The presumed primary source dates back to 1011 in the Hijri calendar (1602 in the Gregorian calendar), specifically the Year of the Hare, at the end of the holy month of Muharram, on a Saturday. A postscript in blue ink appears at the bottom of the same folio in the Kazan manuscript (K: f.69r). The postscript reads *1602–1603 мил* in Cyrillic and differs in handwriting. It was most likely added later as a note for quick orientation to the time period.

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[4] For a facsimile and transcription of the anonymous *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä*, see Ivanics & Usmanov (2002) and Ivanics (2024).

The colophon of the Kazan manuscript is located ten folios after the date of the original manuscript, at the very end, following the anonymous *Däftär-i Čiŋgiz-nāmä*. The Kazan manuscript is dated to the Year of the Pig, the fifth of Ramazan, on a Monday/Tuesday, 144 (K: f.79v/8–11). Eastern manuscripts frequently omit number 1 in Hijri dates exceeding a thousand years (Raxim 1927 [2008]: 210). Thus, the year 144 corresponds to the year 1144, in the Hijri calendar, which is 1732 in the Gregorian calendar.

In general, there are practically no textual discrepancies in the St. Petersburg and Kazan manuscripts, except for some differences in spelling.

**The discovery of a fragment from Kyškary village**

Thanks to articles by Ali Raxim, published in 1927 and 1930, a fragment of the *Compendium* became known. Raxim discovered it in Kyškary, a Tatar village in the Novo-Kišitskaja volostˊ of the Arsk canton, in the library of the village muezzin, Gumer Musin. This fragment was represented by a small chapter with a single folio, describing the subjects, with the enumeration of the clans who participated in the calling of the first Crimean Hajji Giray Khan (1441/1442–1466) to the khanship. Musin stated that this fragment was inscribed in a handwritten compendium containing four different works.

It is not excluded that this fragment is a copy of already available manuscripts. Alimov (2018: 254) suggests that it predates the Kazan manuscript. This fragment is identical to the story from the chapter on *ḥāǰǰi giray χān*, with minor differences. Zajcev (2023) investigated this chapter in detail and concluded that Hajji Giray Khan was closely connected to the Kazan *yurt* by kinship ties and was the legitimate heir to the Kazan throne. Therefore, this dastan reflected the desire of the representatives from the Volga's left-bank lands to call Hajji Giray Khan to the Kazan throne.

**The discovery of new manuscript fragments**

*Two London manuscripts (London manuscript (I), London manuscript (II))*

Two other fragments of the *Compendium* are preserved at the British Library in London. These fragments became known to the scientific community thanks to Hofman, who annotated translations of RD's Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles'. Hofman (1969: 115) notes only one, the so-called first London manuscript, without mentioning the second. Both London manuscripts are compendiums of several works, including fragments from the *Compendium*. Charles Rieu (1888: 282–283), the compiler of the British Library's catalogue of Turkic manuscripts, attributes a fragment of the *Compendium* only to the first London manuscript, listed under inventory number 11, 726. In the same catalogue, Rieu (1888: 281–282) also

provides information about the second manuscript of interest (London manuscript (II)), which includes another fragment of QAB's translation of RD's treatise.

Although the London manuscripts, mentioned by Rieu (1888: 281–283) in the British Library catalogue and listed by Hofman (1969: 115) in his work were noted, they were not widely known until Alimov's discovery and inclusion in his dissertation, completed in Turkish in 2005. His dissertation was not published. However, information on the London manuscripts became available through his articles (Alimov 2015; 2016; 2018) and recently published book (2022).

The London manuscript (I) consists of 51 folios, in which four different historical essays are interwoven. The text is written in a not very elegant *taalik* (Alimov 2016: 44; 2022: 25), with 10 lines on each page. The first work is a fragment of the second part of the Turkic *Compendium*, translated from Persian. This fragment includes an introduction to the origin of the Turks and the history of Oghuz Khan. The manuscript does not provide any information about its author or the scribe. However, in the annotation to this work, Rieu (1888: 282) refers to it as a translation of an extract from RD's 'Compendium of Chronicles' made by QAB. The second work contains short extracts from Abū'l-Ɣāzī's 'Genealogy of the Turks', which almost completely coincide with the text found in the margins of the St. Petersburg *Compendium*. The third work is a fragment of *J̌ehān Numā* of Hajji Khalifah. And the fourth work is a poem about the ascension of Muhammed (Rieu 1888: 282–283). The transcription and facsimile of folios 1–29 from the London manuscript (I), where a fragment of the *Compendium* and a fragment of Abū'l-Ɣāzī's 'Genealogy of the Turks', corresponding to the margins of folios 10r, 10v, and 11v of the St. Petersburg manuscript, can be found in Alimov's article (2015).

The British Library also preserved the London manuscript (II), listed under the inventory number 11, 725. The manuscript contains 134 folios, with three historical essays, bound at 9 lines per page. The first 70 folios contain the legendary history of Genghis Khan, a part of the *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä* (fragments of the same work are found on the last ten pages of the Kazan manuscript). Folios 70–75 contain extracts from Abū'l-Ɣāzī's 'Genealogy of the Turks'. And the remaining folios present a fragment from the *Compendium* (Rieu 1888: 281–282). The London manuscript (II) provides information on Genghis Khan's ancestors up to the eighth generation, the history of his birth and early life, the history of his life year by year from age 41 to his death, and details about his sons, daughters, and wives, as well as his exhortation to his sons. Chapter titles and proper names are written in red ink.

Rieu (1888) and Hofman (1969), pioneers in studying the London manuscript, as well as Nagamine (2019), always mention only the first London manuscript. This may be because Rieu, the compiler of the British Museum catalogue, managed to establish authorship for only one of

the manuscripts. Both London manuscripts constitute only the second/translated part of the *Compendium*. Alimov (2018: 255) suggests that the texts of the first and second London manuscripts may have been parts of the same manuscript, since they are very similar in handwriting, orthography, and language examples.

The presence of marginal endnotes from the St. Petersburg manuscript, inserted in both London manuscripts, suggests a high probability that the fragments of the *Compendium* in the London manuscripts were copied from the St. Petersburg manuscript. Neither of them contains the date or the scribe's name. It is also unclear where they came to be in the London library. However, it is known that during the 18th century, Protestantism actively penetrated Astrakhan, with the Edinburgh Missionary Society playing an important role. Representatives of the Edinburgh Missionary Society were also involved in Astrakhan's translation activities, ordering censuses of Persian manuscripts from Kazan mullahs. The texts for their works can be found in the National Library of France and the Bavarian State Library in Munich. In 1844, Askakov reflected on the possible political motives behind the British state in spreading its influence on Asia from two sides through missionaries (Zajcev 2007: 151–159). The missionaries demonstrated great interest in the manuscripts. John Dickson and Melville collected many Turkic manuscripts in 1819–1825 in Astrakhan. These manuscripts currently form the basis of the Turkic manuscript collection at the New College Library in Edinburgh (Zajcev 2007: 157; Zajcev 2009: 209). It is possible that two London manuscripts found their way into the British Library via Edinburgh missionary activity (Togabayeva 2022).

*Report by Ryčkov*

In the journal *Ežemesjačnye sočinenija* for 1759, Russian historian and regional ethnographer Ryčkov reported having a Russian translation of a Tatar essay dedicated to Boris Godunov (Usmanov 1972: 63). Although it is not certain whether this is a translation of the *Compendium*, I cannot fail to mention it.

*Unconfirmed manuscripts (Berlin manuscript; Paris manuscript)*

Two more manuscripts were registered with the authorship of QAB. Hofman (1969: 114–115) recorded the existence of the Berlin manuscript. However, he left the manuscript without output data. Subsequent researchers, due to the absence of the manuscript number, found it difficult to confirm its existence. It is quite likely that Hofman wrote about the manuscript, which is indeed currently stored in the Berlin State Library in the Oriental Department under the title *Historia Dschingischani* and number 137 (Web4). The text uses diacritic marks. There is an entry in Latin at the beginning of the manuscript on the back page of the very first folio. This folio is

unnumbered; the numbering begins with the next one. The *Historia Dschingischani* consists of only 23 pencil-numbered folios, written in black ink.

The National Library of France holds a manuscript under inventory number 758 (Hofman 1969: 115). Edgar Blochet, the compiler of the catalogue of Oriental manuscripts at the National Library of France, attributes this manuscript to QAB. The manuscript is titled جامع ترکی ترجمة رشیدی (Blochet 1933: 57–58) *tärǰämä-i türkī ǰamaʿ-i rašīdī* 'Taken from the Turkic compendium of Rašīd [ad-Dīn]'. Hofman (1969: 114–115) also considers QAB to be the author of this manuscript. However, DeWeese (1994: 382 n.123) and Frank (1998: 13 n.5), who briefly discussed the Paris manuscript, considered it in need of further study. Nagamine (2019: 118) doubts QAB's involvement in the writing of the Paris manuscript, while Alimov excludes QAB from the authorship. According to him (2016: 47; 2018: 256; 2022: 20), the Paris manuscript belongs to *Salar-baba Qul-Ali Haridari*. It is also a translation of RD's 'Compendium of Chronicles', which is stored at the National Institute of Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan under inventory number 5263.

### 1.6 Text

The *Compendium* can be divided into three parts: the introduction and dedication (a panegyric) to Boris Godunov, an abridged Turkic translation of the Persian *J̌amiʿ at-Tawārīχ* 'Compendium of Chronicles', and a self-contained part.

### The introduction and dedication (a panegyric) to Boris Godunov

The introduction and dedication (a panegyric) to Boris Godunov (1598–1605) are presented only in the St. Petersburg manuscript (StP: f.1r–6r). The Kazan manuscript does not include these folios, as the initial pages are torn.

### An abridged Turkic translation of the J̌amiʿ at-Tawārīχ

An abridged Turkic translation of the Persian chronicle of the same title, *J̌amiʿ at-Tawārīχ* 'Compendium of Chronicles', written by RD (1247–1318), concentrates on the genealogy of Oghuz Khan, Genghis Khan's ancestors, Genghis Khan himself, and his descendants. The volume of this translated part exceeds the total volume of the first and final parts (StP: f.6r– 142r/4; K: f.v/1–59v/17). Bartol´d (1966: 193) believed that the translation of the relevant part of RD's 'Compendium of Chronicles' was made especially for Boris Godunov.

It is the second part of the *Compendium* and serves as a retelling or summary of the Persian chronicle of the same title by RD. The St. Petersburg manuscript and the RD's 'Compendium of Chronicles', translated into Russian (Arends 1946; Xetagurov 1952; Smirnova 1952; Verxovskij 1960) and English (Thackston 1998), were used in this observation.

The translated part of the *Compendium* from **Volume I, Part 1**, is limited to a preface and a section on Oghuz Khan, the twenty-four branches of his sons and their descendants, as well as some of his brothers and cousins who joined him. When enumerating the names of the tribes, QAB kept the enumeration but changed the order of the tribes. Furthermore, QAB omits the names of the descendants of Oghuz Khan's six sons, their *tamga*s, *onqun*s, as defined by Igit Irqil Khwaja.

The narrative of Genghis Khan's ancestors, beginning with Dobun Bayan and Alan Qo'a, a brief chronology of Genghis Khan's life by the years, an illustration of the commanding divisions of a thousand and companies of a hundred in his army, and Genghis Khan's exhortation were rewritten from **Volume I, Part 2**. QAB begins story of Dobun Bayan and his wife, Alan Go'a, in the form of a retelling or summary. QAB often writes down only the beginning of the narratives, frequently omits translations of certain words, adds his own information, and provides conclusions, offering a brief review of the above-written. The translation into Turkic comes from different parts of RD's 'Compendium of Chronicles'. Since RD includes brief descriptions in addition to the full story, QAB typically translates the condensed version when available. As a result, he frequently inserts his own introductions before the next part to ensure a smooth transition.

One of the most significant differences between the Persian and Turkic texts is the eye color of the descendants of Yesügei Bahadur. RD describes them as blue-eyed in the translation of Smirnova (1952: 48) and grey-eyed in the translation of Thackston (1998: 133), while QAB describes them as black-eyed (StP: f.36r/5–6). The second part of the *Compendium* is almost completely translated, with some omissions, changes in names and numbers, and minor inconsistencies. For example, RD states that the Jalayirs fled with seventy *kuren*s[5] (RD/Smirnova 1952: 18; RD/Thackston 1998: 119), while QAB states that the Jalayirs fled with one *kuren* (StP: f.29v/9). In the Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles', Dutum Menen is located in the area of *[A]noš Ergi* and *Küh-i Siyāh*[6] (RD/Smirnova 1952: 18; RD/Thackston 1998: 119), whereas QAb places him in the area of *ḳara taɣ* (StP: f.29r/3). Another example is the number of tents belonging to each of the nine sons of Tumina Khan. RD (RD/Smirnova 1952: 29) states they had up to thirty thousand tents, while QAB (StP: f.33r/5–6) mentions between twenty and thirty thousand tents. However, Thackston's (RD/Thackston 1998: 124) English translation provides the same number: "[…] twenty to thirty thousand […]". Numbers often vary, and names are given in different ways. For example, when describing the children

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[5] A *kuren* refers to a tribe, detachment, corps, or regiment consisting of a thousand nomadic tents (Budagov 1871: 124).
[6] *Küh-i Siyāh* is the Persian equivalent of the Turkic *ḳara taɣ* 'black mountain'.

of Yesügei Bahadur, QAB writes about two dogs that could go under Jochi Qasar (StP: f.38r/1–2), while RD mentions only one dog (RD/Smirnova 1952: 51; RD/Thackston 1998: 135). In the section on commanders of divisions of a thousand and companies of a hundred in Genghis Khan's army, when mentioning Sagan, the fifth son of Genghis Khan, QAB describes how Genghis Khan met and adopted him (StP: f.65r), while RD does not have this story in the section on the commanders. However, it is still quite possible that this story is mentioned in other parts of the RD's 'Compendium of Chronicles'.

The lineages of Ögedei qa'an, Jochi Khan, Chaghatai Khan, Tolui Khan, Güyük Khan, Möngke qa'an, Qubilai qa'an, and Temür qa'an are translated by QAB from **Volume II,** while the lineages of Hulagu Khan, Abaqa Khan, Tegüder Khan, Arghun Khan, Gaikhatu Khan, and Ghazan Khan are translated from **Volume III**.

The narrative about Ögedei qa'an is as concise as possible and is written more poorly than all the other narratives. The sequence of events differs greatly from RD's story, with some data confused (such as the enumeration of children), and there are omissions of certain descendants. QAB provided only the lineage, without additional information on a specific part. The story of Jochi is the most detailed. QAB actively adds additional information from himself. The order in which his sons are listed, as well as their names, differs in the story of Chaghatai. The narrative of Tolui Khan is accompanied by a great confusion in the names. It is possible that this chapter was rewritten by QAB from another source, since there are a large number of personal names that are absent in the RD's 'Compendium of Chronicles'. In the story about Möngke qa'an, there is a difference in translation. QAB (StP: f.124v/4–5) matches Möngke qa'an's daughter named Bayalun to the son of Cha'uqurchin, while RAD (RD/Verxovskij 1960: 127) records that Möngke qa'an gave her to Cha'uqurchin himself. Thackston (1998: 399), however, translates this part the same as QAB. The story of Hulagu Khan is the most substantial of all the stories in **Volume III**. It includes an almost complete translation of Hulagu Khan's genealogy. The translated part of the *Compendium* ends with the story of Ghazan, which is the same as in RD. However, the story of Ghazan's conversion to Islam is given in a free translation.

*A self-contained part*

The last part of the *Compendium* is self-contained. It consists of nine chapters that provide information on rulers ranging from Urus Khan to his descendant Uraz-Muhammed Khan. The folios of the third part are in the wrong order, starting with folio 148. These last nine chapters are based on the oral steppe historical tradition (Ivanics 2017: 43). Some of these data cover information about the Crimean Khanate, which is unknown in modern Crimea (Zaatov 2015: 238). Furthermore, the chapter on *ḥājǧi giray χān* seems to reflect the desire of representatives

from the Volga's left-bank lands to call *ḥāǰǰi giray χān* to the Kazan throne (Zajcev 2023). The order and the titles of the chapters are as follows (StP: f.142r/5–148r; K: f.60r/1–69r/17):

1. *urus χān*. The full text is presented in the Kazan manuscript (K: f.60r/1–61r/5) and fragments in the St. Petersburg manuscript (StP: f.142r/5–142v/11);

2. *toḳtamïš χān*. The full text is presented in the Kazan manuscript (K: f.61r/5–61v/12). In the St. Petersburg manuscript, the beginning, end, and title of the chapter are absent; the text is adjacent to the chapter of *Bulɣayïr χān* (StP: f.145r/1–146r/5);

3. *temir ḳutlu χān*. The text appears in full in both manuscripts (K: f.61v/13–62r/8; StP: f.146r/6–147r/1);

4. *ḥāǰǰi giray χān*. The full text is contained in both manuscripts (K: f.62r/9–62v/6; StP: f.147r/2–147v/11) and in the fragment from Kyškary village;

5. *idige biy*. The full text is presented in the Kazan manuscript (K: f.62v/7–64r/10). In the St. Petersburg manuscript, the beginning, end, and title of the chapter are absent (StP: f.149r/1–143r/9);

6. *ḥāǰǰi muḥammäd χān*. The text appears in full in both manuscripts (K: f.64r/11–64v/10; StP: f.143r/10–144r/9);

7. *bulɣayïr χān*. The full text is presented in the Kazan manuscript (K: f.64v/11–65r/6). In the St. Petersburg manuscript, the end is missing (f.144r/10–144v/11);

8. *yādigār χān*. The text is presented in full in the Kazan manuscript (K: f.65r/7–65v/5). In the St. Petersburg manuscript, there is only the last line (StP: f.152r/1);

9. *uraz muḥammäd χān*. The text is shown in full in both manuscripts (K: f.65v/6–69r/17; StP: f.152r/2–148r/11).

## 2 The linguistical analysis of finite verb forms

### 2.1 Finite verbal categories

In Turkic grammar, finite verbal predicates serve as heads of main clauses. They encompass characteristics such as person, number, viewpoint aspect, modality, and tense. On the other hand, non-finite verbal predicates in Turkic grammar functions as the heads of non-finite clauses. They include action nominals, participant nominals, and converbs. While primarily found in non-finite clauses, they can occasionally appear within main clauses as well (Johanson 2021a: 618).

This section will deal with finite verbal categories. Finite verb predicates are analyzed in the theoretical framework based on the works of Johanson (1971, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2021a, 2021b, 2022a), Schönig (1997), Rentzsch (2005, 2015), Nevskaya (2005, 2010), Karakoç (2005), Ragagnin (2011), Abish (2016), Danka (2019a) in Turkic languages.

This research will discuss verb stems as a verbal predicate in main clauses after Johanson (2021a: 619) on markers in the main following thematic bases:

- intraterminal ‹INTRA›
- postterminal ‹POST›
- terminal ‹TERM›
- imperative ‹IMP›
- voluntative ‹VOL›
- optative ‹OPT›.

Markers of thematic bases in the *Compendium* follow the negation and precede the person in the chain of verbal morphology, as in other Turkic languages.

### 2.1.1 Agreement markers

Finite verbal agreement markers in the *Compendium* consist of two types:

- The pronominal type ‹AGR.PRON›
- The possessive type ‹AGR.POSS›.

#### 2.1.1.1 The pronominal type

The pronominal agreement markers were originally pronominal in nature, but they no longer maintain that function. They are now considered enclitics and usually cannot be accented in

modern languages. Most thematic bases commonly use the pronominal agreement markers in conjunction (Johanson 2021a: 619). In the *Compendium*, the pronominal type markers are used after the aorist {-(°)r} and after the optative marker {-GAy}. See Table 1.1 and examples (1)–(11).

The pronominal type of agreement marker is consistently used throughout the entire paradigm with the aorist. Following the {-GAy} marker, the pronominal agreement markers are attested in the forms of the first person plural (7), the third person singular (5), and the third person plural (11).

Table 1.1. The pronominal type markers

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| 1ˢᵗ person | {-m°n} | {-m°z} |
| 2ⁿᵈ person | {-s°n} | {-s°z} |
| 3ʳᵈ person | {-} | {-lAr} |

**First person singular marker**

(1) *ol aydï*
*män köräl vilāyätiɣa (sic!) barurm•n tedi* (f.143v/7–8)

'He answered,
"I **am going** to the province of *Körel*."'[7]

(2) *ägär χudāyɣa tabunsaŋ*
*ol χudāyɣa muḥibb bolsaŋ*
*säniŋ sütiŋni emärm•n* (f.17r/11–17v/1)

'If you obey the Almighty Lord,
[and] treat the Almighty Lord with love (lit. become an affectionate friend to the Almighty Lord),
I **will suckle** your milk.'

**Second person singular marker**

(3) *ḳaydïn kelib*
*ḳayda barurs°n*
*tedi* (f.143v/7)

'"Where are you coming from
and where **are you going**?"
[Edige Beg] said.'

**Third person singular marker**

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[7] Kingdom of Poland. For more detailed information about *Körel*, see Kołodziejczyk (2011: 57).

(4) *taχtïŋ säniŋ taγγa **oχšar*** (f.1v/10)
'Your throne **is like** a mountain.'

(5) *χudāy taʿālā yär yüzündä pādišāhlïḳ saŋa **bärgäy*** (f.56v/1–2)
'**May** the Almighty Lord – may He be exalted – **give** you sovereignty on Earth.'

**First person plural marker**

(6) *anïŋ uruγïn soŋ **ayturm•z*** (f.122r/7)
'**We are going to talk** about his clan later.'

(7) *anïŋ oγlanlarïn soŋ **ayγaym•z*** (f.122v/2–3)
'We **will say** (**Let us talk**) [about] his sons later.'

**Second person plural marker**

In the *Compendium*, only two instances of the second person plural form were found; see examples (8)–(9). However, these two instances convey different connotations. Example (8) represents a non-polite plural, while example (9) denotes the polite singular. Eckmann (1966: 112) also indicated that in Chaghatay, both polite and non-polite uses of the second person plural form coexisted.

(8) *mäniŋ oγlanlarïm[nïŋ] aṭ ǰabïb oynar yärlärin näčün čuḳur čuḳur **ḳazars•z*** (f.30r/4–5)
'Why **are you [PL] digging** holes in places where my son's horses gallop and caracole?'

(9) *bu maʿnādïn ḥażrät ögätäy χānγa ʿarża ḳïlγum turur
tā **buyururs•z*** (f.83v/10–11)

'That's why I need to/have the intention to submit a request to His Majesty, Ögedei Khan,
[and ask him:] "**What will thou [SG] command?**"'

**Third person plural marker**

(10) *maʿnā-yi tämügä atï turur
otǰigin maʿnada moγolnïŋ räsmi ol turur
kim kičigin otčigin **derlär*** (f.39v/8–10)

'The meaning of Temüge is his name,
[and] the meaning of *otčigin* is that according to Mongol customs,
**they call** the youngest [of sons] *otčigin*.'

(11) *anïŋ soŋγudan oŋ χān bilän oγlï sängun bir bolub
läškär tartïb nā-gāh ǰiŋgiz χannïŋ üstinä **barγaylar*** (f.53v/6–7)

'Then, Ong Khan, together with his son Sengun,
went on a campaign **in order to attack** Genghis Khan unexpectedly.'

## 2.1.1.2 The possessive type

The possessive agreement markers are commonly believed to originate from possessive forms, which are employed not only with the terminal base but also, starting from the Karakhanid period, with the hypothetical base. Following from the Old Uyghur period, the old first person plural marker {-mIz} is typically replaced by {-K}. However, in Chaghatay, both markers {-mIz} and {-K} coexist (Johanson 2021a: 620). In the *Compendium*, both {-m°z} and {-K} markers are also present simultaneously; see Table 1.2 and examples (19)–(20) and (21)–(23), respectively. Notably, {-K} markers are utilized more frequently after the terminal base compared to the {-m°z} marker. The {-K} marker is observed seven times, while the {-m°z} marker appears four times after the past terminal {-DI}.

The complete paradigm of possessive type markers is observed after the terminal base marker {-DI}. Additionally, the same possessive markers that form a complete paradigm are used after the hypothetical base, with only a minor distinction. The {-K} marker serves as the possessive agreement marker for the first person plural within the hypothetical base. Most instances involving the hypothetical base appear in non-finite forms. This section does not provide examples of non-finite verbs since they fall outside the scope of the current research.

Table 1.2. The possessive type markers

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| 1$^{st}$ person | {-m} | {-m°z} / {-K} |
| 2$^{nd}$ person | {-ŋ} | {-ŋ°z} |
| 3$^{rd}$ person | {-} | {-lAr} |

**First person singular marker**

    (12) *säniŋ sözüŋni **ḳabūl ḳïldïm***
        *wä **īmān keltürdüm*** (f.19v/2)

        'I **accepted** your word,
        and I **followed your communion**.'

    (13) *bu uluɣlarnï sizlärgä **bärdim*** (f.82r/8)
        'I **gave** you these great [*amirs*].'

**Second person singular marker**

    (14) *säniŋ atïŋ bu maʿnādïn ǰïŋgizī erdi*
        *yaʿnī pādišāhlar pādišāhï **bolduŋ*** (f.56v/5–6)

'Your name was given as Genghis for this reason,
and it is precisely why **you became** the padishah of padishahs.'

(15) *muḳali göyäŋ sordï*
*näčük ḳulluɣum°znï ǰiŋgiz χānɣa **tegürdüŋ***
*mäniŋ sözümni ʿarża ḳïldïŋ*
*nä aydï (*f.99v/11–100r/2)

'Muqali *Göyen*[8] asked:
"How **did you deliver** our obedience to Genghis Khan
[when you] **reported** my words?
What did he say?"'

## Third person singular without marker

(16) *täŋri āzaldïn saŋa böylä **bärdi*** (f.4v/8)
'Tengri **gave** you this from eternity.'

(17) *ol toḳtayɣa näčä yïllar **pādišāhlïḳ ḳïldï** idil boyunda* (f.142v/9–10)
'That Toqta **reigned** for such a long time along the Volga.'

(18) *anïŋ näslidin hič kim **ḳalmadï*** (f.142v/11)
'**None** of his descendant **remained**.'

## First person plural marker

(19) *biz aŋa **inkār ḳïldïm°z***
*anïŋ sözinä **kirmädim°z*** (f.20r/11–20v/1)

'We **retracted** from that;
we **didn't accept** (lit. didn't go enter) his word.'

(20) *ol aydï kim*
*biz anlarnï näǰük **kördüm°z***
*anlar häm bizni anïŋdak kördülär* (f.94r/3–4)

'He said:
"The same as **we saw** them
they also saw us."'

(21) *ǰoǰi χānnïŋ on tört oɣlïnïŋ atlarïnï **bitidük*** (f.105r/10–11)
'We **wrote** the names of Jochi Khan's four sons.'

(22) *ǰanïbek χānnïŋ oɣlanlarïn bu zamān taḳï **yād ḳïlduḳ*** (f.152r/10–11)
'This time, we also **remembered** the sons of Janibek Khan.'

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[8] *Göyen* is rendered as *gui ong* in the Mongolian transcription and is a well-known Chinese exalted title meaning *kuo-wang* or Prince of State (Rachewiltz 2004: 761).

(23) *biz aŋɣa **aṭlanduḳ*** (f.94v/2)
    'We **set out** for the hunting.'


## Second person plural marker

(24) *ḳaysï ata aɣaŋïzɣa keŋäš ḳilïb*
    *munuŋ dek ḳan **ḳuydïŋïz*** (f.30v/6–7)

    'With which relatives did you consult
    that **you shed** so much blood?'


## Third person plural marker

(25) *ol urušda idigä begni **öltürdilär*** (f.145v/5)
    '[Qadir Berdi Khan with the Crimean army] **killed** Edige Beg in that battle.'

(26) *uraz muḥammäd χān bin ondan sulṭānnï **χānliḳɣa olturɣuzdïlar*** (f.154v/10–11)
    '**They enthroned** Uraz-Muhammed Khan, the son of Ondan Sultan.'

(27)*χān ḥażrätläriniŋ üstinä **nis̱ārlar ḳildïlar*** (StP: f.155v/8)
   *χān ḥażrätläriniŋ üstinä **nis̱ār ḳildïlar*** (K: f.68r/7)

    'They **scattered small coins** on His Highness, the Khan.'


The *Compendium* illustrates an interesting issue concerning the agreement marker after the postterminal base {-mIš}. This marker is supposed to be of the pronominal type (Eckmann 1966: 167; Bodrogligeti 2001: 214–215). Only markers for the first person singular, third person singular, and third person plural have been attested in the *Compendium*, as illustrated in Table 1.3, where the first person singular is represented by the possessive type of agreement marker. The marker of the third person does not provide any distinction since both pronominal and possessive types share identical markers in the third person. Moreover, it is worth noting that there is only one instance of the marker {-°m} after the postterminal base {-mIš}. Johanson (2021a: 622) claims that {-(A)m}, used for the first person singular in Chaghatay, occurs instead of {-mAn} under the influence of the similar Persian first person singular marker {-am}. However, due to the scarcity of examples, it is not possible to determine the complete paradigm in the *Compendium*.

Table 1.3. The markers after postterminal marker {-mIš}

|  | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st person | {-°m} | |
| 2nd person | | |
| 3rd person | {-} | {-lAr} |

**First person singular marker**

(28) *män bu ḳāmät säχāvät pādišāh hič **körmämiš•m*** (f.5r/10–11)
    'I **haven't seen** [such] a stately generous sovereign.'

**Third person singular marker**

(29) *yär yüzindä aŋa mädäd-i dävlät **paydā bolmïš*** (f.90v/10)
    'Prosperity **has appeared** on the earth surface to help him.'

**Third person plural marker**

(30) *andaɣ **aymïšlar*** (f.144r/2)
    '**They have been said** the following…'

Overall, it can be concluded that the *Compendium* extensively elaborates on base systems using both pronominal and possessive agreement types. Pronominal agreement markers are applied to intraterminal, prospective, and optative bases, and more probably to postterminal, while possessive agreement markers are used with terminal and hypothetical bases.

**2.1.2 Viewpoint Aspect**

This section will deal with viewpoint aspect categories (intraterminals, postterminals, and terminals) and their focalities.

**Aspect categories**

Turkic verbs exhibit viewpoint aspect categories that have become grammaticalized from actional phrases. This process conveys that these categories no longer describe the actional content of the verbs instead convey different perspectives on events (Johanson 2021a: 624). In the *Compendium*, the aspect categories are classified as a) intraterminality; b) postterminality; c) terminality. Additionally, focality plays a significant role within the aspectual domain. The degree of focality, exhibited by intraterminals and postterminals, depends on the extent of vision. Focality implies the state of being located around a focus and showing lower or higher degrees of inner notion of a verb, which demonstrates the narrowness of the speaker's viewpoint on the event. Focality may have focal (F) and non-focal (NF) values. Focals (F) can be high (HF) and low (LF) (Johanson 2000a: 38–39; 2021a: 625–626).

Specific postverbial constructions in Turkic languages have undergone further grammaticalization, resulting in the emergence of viewpoint aspect operators formed with auxiliary verbs, such as 'to be', 'to stand', 'to move', 'to sit', and 'to lie'. Initially, the new

aspectual item was difficult to distinguish from the original postverbial construction (Johanson 2000a: 95–97; 2021a: 626). In the *Compendium*, the copular particles *tur-ur/er-ür/dür* and *erdi* are used in the creation of viewpoint aspect operators by the auxiliaries, such as the postural verb *tur-* 'to stand' and copula verb *er-* 'to be'.

### 2.1.2.1 Intraterminals

The intraterminal viewpoint operators in the *Compendium* are based on the Turkic aorist {-(°)r} and its negation. The aorist, which is the oldest known intraterminal marker in Turkic, carries a misleading label as the term ‹ἀόριστος› meaning 'indefinite' is used to denote past tense in Indo-European languages. In Chaghatay, the aorist has a very wide range of interpretation, from its general and habitual usage to modal usage, expressing inclination and prospectivity. Moreover, it can still function with high focality (Johanson 2021a: 627–628). Therefore, I will label the intraterminals expressed by the aorist as ‹AOR›, whereas the other intraterminals will be labeled as ‹INTRA› after Johanson.

Intraterminal elements, such as presents and imperfects, are used to envision an event within its boundaries, that is, after its start but before its conclusion. Some of these elements are more focal and similar to English progressive, while others are less focal and similar to English simple present (Johanson 2000a: 76–77; 2021a: 625–626; Csató et al. 2019: 5).

The intraterminals in the *Compendium* can be viewed from different perspectives in relation to the event. Consequently, they can be divided into two groups:

- Intraterminals in the non-past *(-PAST)(+INTRA)*;
- Intraterminals in the past *(+PAST)(+INTRA)*.

**Intraterminals in the non-past *(-PAST)(+INTRA)***

The intraterminals in the non-past describe the event's internal perspective in the present. In the *Compendium*, the non-past is expressed by the aorist.

The aorist describes an action or a state that is not bound to a specific time or to a concrete location. This allows the speaker or writer to use the aorist in a wide variety of ways. The aorist is formed with {-(°)r}, and negation is indicated with {-mA-s} (Eckmann 1966: 162; Bodrogligeti 2001: 203).

In Old Turkic, there was only one present tense form, which encompassed the present in both a general and a current sense (Gabain 1959: 36). In later stages, this form lost its function as the marker of current present, leading to the emergence of new forms to fulfil that role (Johanson 1976: 57–74; 2021a: 638–650). In later Turkic languages, the aorist {-(°)r}

underwent different functional developments. Menges (1959: 474) observed that the aorist {-(°)r} generally conveyed a very vague meaning that was not specifically linked to any particular tense. In languages with distinct morphological markers for the future tense, the aorist could occasionally be interpreted or translated as a future tense form. However, Menges argued that due to this reason, the aorist cannot be categorically labeled as future tense. Johanson (2021a: 628) further elaborated on this matter, highlighting that in the context of Chaghatay and Ottoman, the aorist exhibits a wide range of interpretations. These interpretations encompass general and habitual actions, as well as modal usages conveying inclinations and prospectivities, all of which are evident in the *Compendium*.

The intraterminals in the non-past, expressed by the aorist {-(°)r} type, represent a strongly non-focal category in the *Compendium*. Therefore, it possesses a wide variety of meanings. Moreover, it is sometimes not easy to distinguish its function between intraterminality and modality; see example (31).

(31) *anïŋ ḥikāyätläri öz dāstānïda här yärdä **kelür*** (f.146r/7–8)

(a)'His stories **come** (up) in every place in his own dastan.'
(b) 'His stories **might come** (up) in every place in his own dastan.'
*kel[ür]*
come[AOR]

Non-focal intraterminals in the non-past can express more general or universally occurring items. They can be translated, among others, using the English 'Present simple'; see examples (32)–(34), though not necessarily. For example, *kelür* in (31b) can also be presented with modal concepts (Johanson 2021a: 628). Example (31) is ambiguous, as the aorist marker {-(°)r} can represent both aspect and prospectivity. According to Abish (2016: 59), the aorist marker {-(°)r} indicates prospectivity with a meaning of epistemic possibility. Moreover, instances can convey both general information (32)–(33) as well as habitual information (34).

(32) *andïn üǰ börtä **čïḳar*** (f.143v/1–2)
'Three beams[9] **set out** from it (river).'
*čïq[ar]*
set out[AOR]

(33) *ol batunï ṣayïn χān deb **ayturlar*** (f.142r/10)
'They **call** that Batu Sayïn Khan.'
*ayt[ur][lar]*
call[AOR][3PL]

---

[9] The beam (geographical) refers to a dry valley with soddy slopes that form dry stream beds.

(34) *beglär wä mirzalar därgāhiŋda kündä tabuɣuŋɣa **kelürlär*** (f.4v/2–3)
   'Begs and mirzas **come** to your door for service every day.'
   *kel[ür][lär]*
   come[AOR][3PL]

In the *Compendium*, the negative {-mA-s} marker was attested mainly in the third person singular.

(35) *näčün bularnï **säwmäs***
   *soŋɣïnï säwär mäniŋ oɣlum* (f.20r/5–6)

   'Why **does/would** my son **not love** these [wives],
   [but] love the last one?'
   *säw[mäs]*
   love[NEG.AOR]

In addition to the negative {-mA-s} marker, two sentences were presented in the form of aorist negation {-mA-s}, along with the person-number agreement suffix provided by the copular *dUr* and *tur-ur*.

(36) *rūm bilän χïṭayɣa **tegmäs dür** aniŋ bahasï* (f.4r/5)
   '[However,] its value **isn't matched** to Rum and China.'
   *teg[mäs][dür]*
   reach[NEG.AOR][COP]

(37) *barǰa mäšāyiχ wä ä'immä ‹bilän› ṭāʿat wä ʿibādätḳa mäšɣūl boldï*
   *wä bär-kāfī-yi ʿuḳalā örtüklü er**mäs turur*** (f.141v/9–142r/1)

   'According to all the intelligents, it **is not** a secret that
   he (Ghazan Khan), along with all sheikhs and imams, have occupied themselves with piety and prayer.'
   *er[mäs tur][ur]*
   be[NEG.AOR COP *tur-*][AOR]

   Johanson (2021a: 628) claims that in older languages, such as Chaghatay, the aorist can sometimes retain cases of focality. In the *Compendium*, the aorist {-(°)r} also continues to cover a high-focal degree of the intraterminal category, although in smaller numbers.

(38) *ḳaydïn kelib*
   *ḳayda **barurs°n***
   *tedi*
   *ol aydï*
   *män köräl vilāyätiɣa (sic!) **barurm•n** tedi* (f.143v/7–8)

   "Where are you coming from

and where **are you going**?"
[Edige Beg] asked.
He answered,
"I **am going** to the province of *Körel*."'

| | |
|---|---|
| *bar[ur][s°n]* | *bar[ur][m°n]* |
| go[AOR][2SG] | go[AOR][1SG] |

Many Turkic languages have incorporated intraterminal structures mainly through the grammaticalization of various types of postverbial constructions, such as {-A} *er-ür,* {-A} *tur-ur,* {-A} *yürü-r.* Both Chaghatay and Middle Kipchak provide evidence of reduced forms in the shape of ‹A› *DIr /* ‹A› *DUr,* where the *dur* element can be omitted in the first and second person singular forms of intraterminals (Johanson 2021a: 638–644; Bodrogligeti 2001: 239). This reduction is also demonstrated in the 'pagan' Oɣuz-namä text (Danka 2019a: 240), where a personal marker is used when the subject of the sentence is not in the third person. Although this type of intraterminal is not common in the *Compendium*, an instance with {-ma-y} *s°n* is attested in example (39). In the context of negation, the {-ma-y} form is the counterpart of both types ‹A› and ‹B›. This dual correspondence creates ambiguity when considered out of context. However, the broader context of the example (39) supports an intraterminal rather than a postterminal interpretation. Alimov (2022: 130) also translates this construction as intraterminal. The Russian and English translations of the Persian *Compendium* also reflect intraterminality. Smirnova (1952: 68) translates it as "Почему ты не возьмешь ее [себе]?", while Thackston (1998: 146) renders it as "Why don't you take her for yourself?".

(39) *begläri ķaračularï aydï*
  *näčün **almays•n** teb aydï* (f.42r/8–9)

  '*Beg*s and *qaraču*s asked,
  "Why **are you not marrying** [her] (lit. why **are you not taking** [her as a wife]?"'
  *al[ma][y][s°n]*
  take[NEG][CONV.INTRA][2SG]

In conclusion, two forms of the intraterminals in the non-past were attested. The first form is expressed by the aorist marker {-(°)r}, which encompasses a wide range of meanings. The second form is expressed by the reduced form of {-A} *turur,* with only one instance observed. As there are only two markers of intraterminals in the non-past, the focal oppositions within intraterminals are limited to non-focal and focal distinctions.

**Intraterminals in the past** *(+PAST)(+INTRA)*

Intraterminals in the past are commonly represented in the *Compendium*. As previously stated, intraterminal items may represent different events. In the *Compendium*, *(+PAST)(+INTRA)* corresponds to forms with *(-PAST)(+INTRA)* in combination with the remote copular particle *erdi*. As a result, the forms {-(°)r} *erdi* and {-A} *turur erdi* manifest.

The form {-(°)r} *erdi* indicates a non-focal degree in the *Compendium*, similar to the corresponding form {-(°)r} in *(-PAST)(+INTRA)*. Therefore, it conveys general and habitual meaning; see examples (40)–(42) and (43)–(45), respectively.

(40) *hulagu χān irān zamīngä kälgändä*
*ḳutuy χātunniŋ ordasïn bašlab*
*muʿīn **köjürür erdi*** (f.131r/4–6)

'When Hulagu Khan came to the land of Iran,
[Ajay] headed the residence of Qutuy Khatun
and assisted to **make them migrate**.'
*köjür[ür er][di]*
migrate[CAUS][AOR COP er-][PAST]

(41) *šul här ondïn ekini bularɣa **bärür erdi*** (f.76r/5)
'He **gave** two out of every ten people to them.'
*bär[ür er][di]*
give[AOR COP er-][PAST]

(42) *bä-märtäbä muḳali göyäŋ bilän **olturur erdi*** (f.73r/9–10)
'He **was** equal in rank to (lit. **sat together with**) Muqali *Göyen*.'
*oltur[ur er][di]*
sit[AOR COP er-][PAST]

The instances of habitual actions below are translated using the English phrase *used to*. However, this phrase is typically employed in English for modal verb constructions that refer to past actions, which is not appropriate for the *Compendium*. In the *Compendium*, these instances are instead analyzed as *(+PAST)(+INTRA)*; see examples (43)–(45).

(43) ‹*bir*› *kāsä-niŋ bir yaɣïdïn biri ʿäsälni **ičär erdi***
*biri bir yaɣïdïn **ičär erdi*** (f.144v/3–4)

'One [of them] **used to drink** the mead from one side of cup,
[the other] one **used to drink** from another (lit. one) side.'

*ič[är er][di]*                   *ič[är er][di]*
drink[AOR COP er-][PAST]          drink[AOR COPer-][PAST]

(44) *oŋ ḳolda šarīʿat bilän ʿamäl **ḳïlur erdi***
*sol ḳolï bilän oɣrï ḳaraḳčïnï yamanlarnï pādišāh barïš fyodaraviǰ χān ḥükmi yarlïɣï*
*bilän siyāsät ḳamčïsïnï yamanlarɣa kötäk **urar erdi*** (f.156v/7–10)

37

'He **used to enforce** the law according to Sharia with his right hand.
He **used to beat** bad [people] with a stick with his left hand, according to the command of the sovereign Boris Fyodorovich Khan, [directing] the whip of rule against thieves, robbers, and bad [people].'

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʿamäl qïl[ur er][di]* | *ur[ar er][di]* |
| manage affairs[AOR COP er-][PAST] | beat[AOR COP er-][PAST] |

(45) *ol su yaḳasïna tawar ḳarasïn **yïγar erdi*** (f.29r/6)
'[He] **used to collect** his livestock on the bank of that river (lit. water).'
*yïğ[ar er][di]*
collect[AOR COP er-][PAST]


The *Compendium* also includes instances of {-(°)r} *erdi* constructions that convey a higher focal meaning, which can be translated using the English past continuous. However, these cases are relatively rare, with only four clear instances in three examples (46)–(48).


(46) *ǰäwāb buyurdï kim*
*burunlar taχt-i mämläkätgä olturmasdïn burun*
*bir naubat yalγuzïn yol bilän **kelür erdim*** (f.100v/5–7)

'[He] deigned to answer,
"Once, long before I sat on the throne,
I **was coming** [down] the road alone."'

*kel[ür er][di][m]*
come[AOR COP er-][PAST][1SG]


(47) *taḳï aytïb turur*
*bir naubat burγuǰï bilän **kelür erdim***
*on eki kim ersä taγ üstündä yolnï alïb turur erdilär*
*wä burγuǰï mäniŋ soŋumda **kelür erdi*** (f.101r/2–5)

'Also, he has said,
"Once [when] I **was coming** [to the mountain] with Burguǰï,
twelve people had captured the road on the mountain,
and Burguji **was walking** (lit. coming) behind me."'

| | |
|---|---|
| *kel[ür er][di][m]* | *kel[ür er][di]* |
| come[AOR COP er-][PAST][1SG] | come[AOR COP er-][PAST] |


(48) *kördi kim*
*ǰalayïrnïŋ oγlan[larï] ǰawḳasïn (sic!) **ḳazar erdi***
*yärni čuḳur čuḳur etib* (f.30r/2–3)

'[Monolun] saw that
boys of the Jalayir tribe **were digging up** tulips,
tearing up the ground [around].'

*qaz[ar er][di]*
dig[AOR COP er-][PAST]

There is one more ambiguous instance in the *Compendium* where one interpretation could convey the higher focal intraterminal-in-past meaning, see example (49a). Notably, in some cases, {-(I)p} does not necessarily indicate a postterminal interpretation.

(49) *zaχmlïḳ bolub yatur erdim* (f.101r/10–11)

(49a) '**I got wounded** and (then) **I was lying there**.' PLU
*zaχmlïḳ bol[ub]*
*yat[ur er][di][m]*

get wounded[CONV.POST]
lie[AOR COP er-][PAST][1SG]

(49b) '**I was wounded,** and **I was lying there**.' PLU
*zaχmlïḳ bol[ub]*
*yat[ur er][di][m]*

be wounded[CONV.POST]
lie[AOR COP er-][PAST][1SG]

(49c) '**I was lying there wounded**.' ACT
*zaχmlïḳ bol[ub yat[ur er][di][m]*
be wounded[duration] [AOR COP er-][PAST][1SG]

The form {-mA-s} *erdi* also attests the negative counterpart of the intraterminal viewpoint operator:

(50) *dāyim käčä kündüz bir kāsä mäy ičsä*
*anï yād ḳïlmay **ičmäs erdi*** (f.156r/10–11)

'Always, day and night, whenever he drank a cup of wine,
he **did not use to drink** without remembering him (i.e. Godunov).'

*ič[mäs er][di]*
drink[NEG.AOR COP er-][PAST]

**{-A}** *turur erdi*

Examples (51) and (52) demonstrate the form {-A} *tur-ur* with a remote copula.

(51) *χātunlar wä kälinlär wä ḳïzlar kim andaγ ḳïzïl ot tüslük **ǰaynay turur erdilär*** (f.98v/1–2)
'Spouses, daughters-in-law, and daughters **were shining** like red fire.'
*ǰayna[y tur][ur er][di]*
shine[**iterative**][INTRA][PAST]

(52) *toḳtayγa **alïb kelä turur erdi***

*yolda oḳ öldi* (f.142v/8–9)

'While he **was just bringing** [him] to Tokhta,
he suddenly died on the way.'

*alïb kel*[10]*[ä turur][erdi]*
bring[INTRA][COP PAST]

When remote copular particles are combined with focal intraterminals, they mostly produce imperfect forms *(+PAST)(+INTRA)* that express single or repeated events as ongoing at an anterior orientation point without the beginning or the end of the event. Several markers contributed to the renewal of focal intraterminal constructions within imperfect constructions (Csató et al. 2019: 5; Johanson 2021a: 719). The marker {-A} *turur erdi* is one of them. The appearance of *turur* in the verbal constructions in (51) and (52) is problematic, as it leads to ambiguous readings in the *Compendium* with respect to actionality and aspect. Both interpretations are possible. The *tur-* can function as a copula along with other copulas (*er-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to be, become') in aspectual constructions. However, it can also serve as an auxiliary verb in actional constructions.

Thus, the question arises whether {-A} *turur* is truly a grammaticalized aspect here or whether it retains the actional value of postverbial constructions. I assume that example (51) can be interpreted as a simple focal intraterminal with an actional value, while example (52) represents a pure high focal construction. However, since there are only two examples of the construction {-A} *turur erdi*, this question is open.

Example (51) illustrates actionality and a simple *(+PAST)(+INTRA)* form, where {-A} *tur-* is used to denote iterative action; therefore, the verb form manifests a postverbial construction with *(+INTRA$^F$)*.

The most important event in the narrative discourse is used to describe "overlapping events, denoting an event that has already begun and is taking place when another event begins" (Johanson 2000a: 80). Such verbal constructions are interpreted as higher focal and translated with the English past continuous, as seen in example (52); however, they cannot be differentiated from example (51). This is the point of ambiguity between the postverbial construction and the aspectual marker.

Table 1.4 sums up the viewpoint operators used to express the intraterminal meaning. The number of examples in which the forms occur is listed after the forms in the table. Usually, in Turkic languages, when a new focal intraterminal appears, the previous one undergoes a defocalization process, as observed in the *Compendium*. Thus, the {-A} *tur-ur* marker, which

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[10] The verb *alïb kel-* 'to bring' (lit. 'to take and come') is a lexicalized verb.

takes the form of the omitted copula but includes a personal marker, appears in the focal category, while the aorist {-(°)r} remains non-focal. Since there are only two forms of intraterminals in both the non-past and past, I did not differentiate focal intraterminals into LF and HF in the Table 1.4.

Table 1.4. (+INTRA) operators in the *Compendium*

|  | **-PAST** | **+PAST** |
|---|---|---|
| **NF** | {-(°)r} (31)–(34), (38)<br>{-mA-s} (35)<br>{-mA-s} *dUr* (36)<br>{-mA-s} *turur* (37) | {-(°)r} *erdi* (40)–(49), (51)<br>{-mA-s} e*rdi* (50) |
| **F** | {-ma-y} *s°n* (39) | {-A} *turur erdi* (52) |

### 2.1.2.2 Postterminals

Postterminals are widely used in the *Compendium*. There are three main postterminal markers: {-mIš}, {-GAn}, and {-(I)p}. Furthermore, these markers are combined with copular particles. These markers indicate the completion of actions up to a certain time in the past. In non-past contexts, the markers indicate that the relevant time limit of the event is before the time of speech.

Johanson highlights that postterminals may create language-specific distinctions based on the degree of focality (2000a: 120–121; 2021a: 651–660; 2022a: 38); therefore, postterminals can be divided into focal and non-focal types. They do not directly picture the event but rather relate to the orientation (observation) point, which is situated after the relevant limit of the action but still holds validity. This characteristic is typical of high-focal postterminals and corresponds to resultative perfects. However, postterminals often tend to be defocalized. Lower focal non-past posttermianals are more like the English present perfect, pointing to the current relevance of a past event or representing an event-oriented 'historical' postterminal. These postterminals easily combine with expressions that indicate the period of localization. Defocalization of postterminal form typically introduces a new focal postterminality (Johanson 2000a: 110, 115; 2000b: 63; 2021a: 651).

Postterminals are closely interconnected with indirectivity, sometimes conveying information indirectly and signaling various evidential connotations through hearsay (report), inference (logical conclusion), and perception as in 'obviously', 'as it turns out', 'evidently', 'reportedly' (Johanson 1971: 280–292; 2000a: 121; 2000b: 63; 2021a: 651).

There is no dedicated high-focal marker in the *Compendium*. As a result, the investigated research focuses solely on examining focality and non-focality.

**Postterminals in the non-past *(-PAST)(+POST)***

The marker {-mIš} is the oldest known postterminal marker in Turkic studies. It most likely evolved from a postverbial construction with the auxiliary verb *bïš-* 'to ripen', 'to become mature' (Clauson 1972: 376; Boeschoten: 86). The marker {-mIš} occasionally occurs in Chaghatay, since the marker {-GAn}[11] started to replace it at that time. The marker {-mIš} has not survived in modern Kipchak languages, except in a few lexicalized forms (Johanson 2021a: 652–654). In the *Compendium*, both {-mIš} and {-GAn} are attested in the forms of {-mIš} and {-GAn} *turur / erür / dUr.*

The marker {-mIš} was observed in a non-focal type of focality, illustrating a wide range of meanings. Initially, it served as a high-focal postterminal. Later, it became defocalized and functioned as past tense forms while retaining their original postterminal capability. Further defocalization into non-focal postterminals (ultimate defocalization) is indicated by the disappearance of the postterminality item in the past, shifting from "perfect" to "perfectum historicum" and finally into "historical tense" or "past tense" (Johanson 2000a: 108–120). Therefore, the {-mIš} marker can appear at any point after the crucial time limit in relation to the English past tense and past perfect.

See instances of non-focal posterminals in examples (53)–(55). The marker {-mIš} in these instances narrates an unwitnessed/indirect/evidential event.

(53) *üyünüŋ tüŋlügi **ačïlmïš*** (f.27v/4)
    'The smoke-hole of a tent **was apparently opened**.'
    *ačïl[mïš]*
    be opened[PART.POST]

(54) *soŋ yänä yaɣï **bolmïš*** (f.59v/10)
    'After, [Tumat tribe] again **reportedly became** enemy.'
    *bol[mïš]*
    become[PART.POST]

(55) *näčük χudāy taʿālā yol bärdi ersä*
    *wä anïŋ dāḳ müyässär **bolmïš** unutɣanda öŋägä köŋül ḳïlɣanlarnï* (f.94v/3–5)

    'Just as the Almighty Lord – may He be exalted – made it possible (lit. gave a way), so it **was evidently** accomplished, having forgot those who care for others.'

    *bol[mïš]*
    be[PART.POST]

---

[11] The origin of the marker {-GAn} is unclear. Johanson (2021a: 654) suggests that it may go back to the verb *ḳan-* 'to be satisfied (with water)' (Clauson 1972: 632; Boeschoten 2023: 235).

Below, a broader range of meaning is illustrated while keeping the original postterminal item.

(56) *män bu ḳāmät säχāvät pādišāh hič **körmämiš•m*** (f.5r/10–11)
'I **haven't seen** [such] a stately generous sovereign.'
*kör[mä][miš][°m]*
see[NEG][PART.POST][1SG]

(57) *yär yüzindä aŋa mädäd dävlät **payda bolmïš*** (f.90v/10)
'The prosperity **has appeared** on earth surface [to] help him.'
*payda bol[mïš]*
appear[PART.POST]


Despite being defocalized, the {-mIš} marker occasionally still conveys present-like meanings. As a result, its syntactic behavior tends to be similar to that of intraterminals (Johanson 2000a: 111), as shown in the following examples (58)–(61). It is worth noting that Xisamieva (2022: 67), in her analysis, indicates only four sentences with {-mIš}, which correspond to examples (58)–(61) in the current research. She classifies them as *прошедшее неочевидное время*, which is similar to the indirect past tense.

Furthermore, based on examples (58)–(59), it is evident that the verbs *te-* 'to say' and *ay-* 'id.' are interchangeable in the *Compendium*.

(58) *ekisiniŋ pādišāhliyï el[l]ik yïl käčti*
***temišlär*** (K: f.60r/16)

'"The reign of the two of them lasted for fifty years,"
they (**have been said and) are still said**.'

*te[miš][lär]*
say[PART.POST][3PL]

(59) *[o]tuz [o]ɣlï ḳïrḳ inisi bar*
***temišlär*** (K: f.60v/17)

'"He has thirty sons and forty grandsons,"[12]
they (**have been said and) are still said**.'

*te[miš][lär]*
say[PART.POST][3PL]

(60) *aṣlï özbegiya arasïnda söz bu turur*
*andaɣ **aymïšlar***
*idigä beg häm väfāt boldï* (144r/1–2)

'This is what [this] word is about among the noble Uzbekiya.

---

[12] The word *ini* means 'younger brother', however, Clauson (1972: 170) also records a meaning 'grandson' in *Codex Cumanicus*, which would fit better for the context.

They (**have been said and) are still said** the following:
"Edige Beg also died."'

*ay[mïš][lar]*
say[PART.POST][3PL]


(61) *aṣlï söz özbegiya arasïnda mundaɣ **aymïšlar*** (K: f.65r/8–9)
　　 'True words among Uzbekiya **(have been said and) are still said** as follows.'
　　 *ay[mïš][lar]*
　　 say[PART.POST][3PL]


The defocalization of {-mIš} let to the renewal of focal postterminality, which resulted in the emergence of the {-GAn} *tur-ur* and periphrastic {-(I)p} *tur-ur* forms. At first glance, it may seem that, since there are three forms of postterminals, the hierarchy of focality should be non-focal, low-focal, and high-focal. However, the *Compendium* demonstrates that the interpretations of the corresponding examples of {-GAn} *tur-ur* and {-(I)p} *tur-ur* do not differ in meaning. Therefore, I suggest that these are competing forms, with the {-(I)p} *tur-ur/dUr/s°n* form being more productive than the {-GAn} *tur-ur / er-ür / dUr* construction. Moreover, it is worth noting that these two forms are already appear in the defocalized low-focal category in the *Compendium*.

　　Thus, the {-GAn} *tur-ur* marker type underwent defocalization, and as a result, instances appear relatively earlier in the past at their respective discourse levels, as seen in examples (62)–(63). It is also worth noting that the defocalized markers appeared only in a reduced form as {-GAn} *dUr*.

(62) *χaǰǰï käräy sulṭān kičig **ekändür*** (f.147r/6)
　　 'Hajji Giray Sultan **has been** young.'
　　 *e[kän][dür]*
　　 be[PART.POST][COP]


(63) *uluɣ muḥammäd χānnïŋ oɣlï maḥmutäk χān ḳazan vilāyätiɣa **kelgändür*** (f.146v/7–8)
　　 'Mahmutek, the son of Ulugh Muhammed, **has come** to Kazan.'
　　 *kel[gän][dür]*
　　 come[PART.POST][COP]


The postterminal marker {-GAn} *tur-ur* also shows a resultative meaning in the *Compendium*. In this case, the postterminal marker appeared in combination with {-GAn} and the unaltered form of the copular particles *tur-ur* (64) and *er-ür* (65). These constructions indicate the relevant event at the orientation point. Both examples (64) and (65) can be literally translated as 'he has/they have been born', meaning 'is/are born'.

Eckmann (1966: 180–181) and Baskakov (1971: 49) note that the copulas *turur* and *erür* can be used interchangeably as synonyms.

(64) *bular oḳumïš χātundïn **tuɣ[ɣ]an turur*** (f.102r/11–102v/1)
  'They **were born** from Oqumys Khatun.'
  *tuɣ[ɣan tur][ur]*
  born[PART.POST COP *tur-*][AOR]

(65) *ǰaɣan begimdin **tuɣ[ɣ]an erür*** (f.152v/4–5)
  '[He] **was born** from Jagan *Begim*.'[13]
  *tuɣ[ɣan er][ür]*
  born[PART.POST COP *er-*][AOR]

The periphrastic form {-(I)p} *tur-ur* is attested more frequently in the *Compendium*. Three orthographical varations are attested: {-(I)p} *tur-ur*, a reduced form {-(I)p} *dUr*, and the form with only {-(I)p} accompanied by a personal marker and an omitted copula, which is typical in Chaghatay (Bodrogligeti 2001: 243). As mentioned earlier, this form appeared due to the defocalization of the {-mIš} form. The postterminal form shifts its focus to a more event-oriented perspective, manifesting in a manner similar to the perfect.

(66) *χudāy taʿālā **buyurub turur***
  *säniŋ atïn ǰiŋgiz χān bolɣay* (f.56v/6–7)

  'The Almighty Lord – may He be exalted – **has ordered**,
  "Let your name be Genghis Khan."'

  *buyur[ub tur][ur]*
  order[CONV.POST COP *tur-*][AOR]

(67) *uzak čoranï kaʿba-i šärīfgä **yibärib dür*** (f.149v/4–5)
  'He **has sent** Uzak Chora to the holy Kaaba.'
  *yibär[ib][dür]*
  send[CONV.POST][COP]

(68) *payɣambar ṣalla'llāhu ʿaläyhi wä sällämniŋ ḳabrlarïdïn säyyīd naḳïbka āwāz **bärib dür*** (f.149v/2–3)
  'Prophet – *may Allah bless him and greet him* – **has given** a voice from the grave to Seyyid Naqïb.'
  *bär[ib][dür]*
  give[CONV.POST][COP]

(69) *munuŋdek tafṣīldä **keltürüb dür*** (f.41v/7)
  '[Their names] **have come** (up) (lit. **have brought**) in a detailed illustration in the following order.'

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[13] *Begim* is a title that combines the names of sovereigns' daughters and wives (Syzdykova 1989: 75).

*keltür[üb][dür]*
bring[CONV.POST][COP]

(70) *nä üǰün bašïŋa nišāna ḳïl̆ïbs•n* (f.65r/10)
    'Why **have** you **made** a mark on your head?'
    *ḳïl[ïb][s°n]*
    make[CONV.POST][2SG]

Like the postterminal marker {-GAn} *tur-ur*, the {-(I)p} *tur-ur* marker retains the characteristics of a high-focal postterminal, where its literal meaning is 'X stands having X-ed', as seen in examples (71)–(73). It also serves a resultative function, as exemplified in example (74).

(71) *anlar kim öz yurtlarïnda **olturub turur***
    *biligni ešitmäy*
    *anlarnïŋ ḥāli mïs̱ālï taš bolɣay*
    *köb ‹suw› astïnda ḳalɣay* (f.91v/8–9)

    '[The condition of] those who **have sat** in their *yurts*
    and have not listened to the *biligs*
    will be like that of a stone
    left under high water.'

    *oltur[ub tur][ur]*
    sit[CONV.POST COP *tur-*][AOR]

(72) *ol öŋin dīn **tutub turur*** (f.20r/9)
    'He **has taken** a different faith.'
    *tut[ub tur][ur]*
    take[CONV.POST COP *tur-*][AOR]

(73) *sulṭān ǰälāl ad-dīn ɣaznīnda sind daryāsïnda ḳutuḳu noyan birlä uruš ḳïlïb*
    *ḳutuḳunï **basïb turur*** (f.61v/8–10)

    'Sultan Jelal al-Din has been engaged in a battle with Qutuqu *Noyan* near the Sind River in Ghaznin
    and **has defeated** Qutuqu.'

    *bas[ïb tur][ur]*
    defeat[CONV.POST COP *tur-*][AOR]

(74) *ḳutlu ḳiyanï urus χān **šähīd ḳïlïb dur*** (f.149r/6)
    'Urus Khan **martyred** Qutlu Qiya.'
    *šähīd ḳïl[ïb][dur]*
    martyr [CONV.POST][COP]

The negation marker for the ‹B› type converb is {-mA-y}. However, this {-mA-y} marker can also serve as the negative counterpart for an ‹A› type converb. As a result, the intraterminal

{-A} *tur-ur* and the postterminal {-(I)p} *tur-ur* can appear in the same form when negated, leading to ambiguity when taken out of context; see examples (75a) and (76a). However, a closer examination of the context reveals that these two examples are postterminals.

Example (75) exhibits an interesting realization of the event, involving two different discourse types that narrate events in separate temporal strata.[14] The conjunctor *kim* 'that', acting as a bridge between these two strata, introduces the direct quotation, which describes the circumstances of the given event (Danka 2019a: 235).

(75) (a)
*anï **dost tutmay turur*** (f.18r/11–18v/1)
'[Oghuz] **is not accepting/has not accepted (lit. hold)** (her as) **his friend**.'
*dost tut[ma][y tur][ur]*
'accept (as a) friend[NEG][**INTRA**][AOR]'
'accept (as a) friend[NEG][**POST**][AOR]'

(b)
*atasï **kördi kim***
*anï **dost tutmay turur*** (f.18r/11–18v/1)

'His father saw that
[Oghuz] **has not accepted (lit. hold)** [her as] **his friend**.'

*dost tut[ma][y tur][ur]*
'accept [as a] friend[NEG][**POST**][AOR]'

(76) (a)
*ol eki[si] bir biri birlä **urušmaydurlar*** (f.53r/4)
'[These two] **are not fighting/have not fought** each other.'
*uruš[ma][y dur][lar]*
fight[NEG][**INTRA**][3PL]
fight[NEG][**POST**][3PL]

(b)
*tamām läškärläri bilän ekisi uruškalï **aṭlandï***
*ol eki[si] bir biri birlä **urušmaydurlar*** (f.53r/3–4)

'[Genghis Khan and Ong Khan], with the whole army, set out on a campaign against them,
[but] they **have not fought** each other.'

*uruš[ma][y dur][lar]*
fight[NEG][**POST**][3PL]

The next construction of postterminals in the non-past expresses categorical postterminality, specifically indicating only the absence of an event up to the moment of speaking. This construction is a complex form of an actional nominal with a possessive marker

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[14] For more detailed information, see Johanson (1971: 76–87).

and the adjective *yoḳ* 'not-existent; absent', i.e. {-GAn}-*POSS yoḳ*. Generally, this construction underlines a negative statement (Johanson 2021a: 660).

(77) *män χudāynï **ešitkänim yoḳ***
    ***bilgänim yoḳ*** (f.19r/8–9)

    'I **have absolutely not heard** the Almighty Lord;
    I **have absolutely not known** [Him].'

    *ešit[kän][im][yoḳ]*
    hear[PART.POST][POSS1SG][not-existent]

    *bil[gän][im][yoḳ]*
    know[PART.POST][POSS1SG][not-existent]

Various copula forms can also combine with the mentioned forms to modify the postterminal viewpoints. Therefore, the next section will address postterminals with the remote copula *erdi* in relation to temporal meaning.

**Postterminals in the past** *(+PAST)(+POST)*

Postterminals in the past (also known as pluperfects or past perfects) are widely used in the *Compendium*. They reveal the events where the relevant limits have transgressed into a secondary orientation in the past, showing what is 'visible' at a specific postterminal point of orientation (Johanson 2000a: 107; 2000b: 63). By definition, postterminal units suggest that the actional phrase refers to an event where at least part of the action has already passed the point of view, looking back beyond the critical boundary. This characteristic often results in the reinterpretation of *(+PAST)(+POST)* as low-focal and non-focal postterminals (Rentzsch 2005: 38).

Postterminals in the past can be divided into five groups in the *Compendium*. They are manifested mainly by the markers of *(-PAST)(+POST)* combined with the remote copular particle *erdi*.

The first group of postterminal examples in the *Compendium* exhibits forms with the remote copular particle *erdi*, which is created by combining a copular verb with the terminal marker {-DI}. These forms have more event-oriented functions, indicating a past anterior sense, similar to their usage in EOT (Johanson 2021a: 722), and they extend furthest beyond the crucial limit of the event; see example (78). Nevertheless, they also denote pluperfects, as seen in examples (79)–(80).

(78) *mundïn ilgäri ol vaḳïtda kim oγlanlarïγa **vaṣiyyät ḳïldï erdi***
    *anda aytïb erdi…(*f.63v/2–3)

'Before that, when [Genghis Khan] **eventually made a testamentary arrangement** for his sons,
that time he has said…'

*vaṣiyyät ḳïl[dï er][di]*
make a testamentary arrangement[TERM COP *er-*][PAST]

(79) *andïn soŋ börä noyan **boldï erdi*** (f.66r/2)
'Böre **had eventually become** a *noyan* after that.'
*bol[dï er][di]*
become[TERM COP *er-*][PAST]

(80) *hänūz üyinä **tüšürmädi erdi*** (f.18v/8)
'[At that time] he **had not yet married** (her) (lit. **had not yet hosted** her into his house [as a bride].'
*tüšür[mä][di er][di]*
marry[CAUS][NEG][TERM COP *er-*][PAST]

The next examples (81)–(82) illustrate the form {-GAn} *erdi*, which is closer to the orientation point compared to {-DI} *erdi*.

(81) *soŋ läškäri kim bu zamānda anïŋ oɣlanlarïda turur*
*ošbu ǰinsdä šul läškärdin ǰiŋgiz χān **bärgän erdi*** (f.80r/6–8)

'The last army that is currently under his sons' [control]
[consists of] those nationalities from which army Genghis Khan **had given** [before].'

*bär[gän er][di]*
give[PART.POST COP *er-*][PAST]

(82) *bu eki mïŋnï aṣl nusχada **bitilmägän erdi*** (f.78v/2)
'These two thousand **hadn't been written** in the original copy.'
***bitil[mä][gän er][di]***
be written[NEG][PART.POST COP *er-*][PAST]

It is interesting to note that the *Compendium* attests another negative statement similar to example (82). This is the form {-GAn} *yoḳ erdi*, which closely resembles the categorical postterminality in the non-past {-GAn}-*POSS yoḳ*; see example (83). This construction conveys the absence of an event up the moment of speaking but lacks the possessive suffix. Therefore, I consider example (83) to represent a higher focal postterminal, while example (82) corresponds to a lower focal one. Consequently, two different realizations of postterminals in the past can be observed. However, it is challenging to establish a clear distinction between them, as they are nearly identical. Johanson (2021a: 660) emphasized the categorical experiential postterminal with the word 'absolutely', and I have adopted this word following his usage.

(83) *bu mïŋ aṣl nusχada **bitilgän yoḳ erdi*** (f.79r/8–9)
  'This thousand **had absolutely not been written** in the original copy.'
  *bitil[gän][yoḳ][erdi]*
  be written[PART.POST][not-existent][COP PAST]


Nevertheless, the form {-GAn} *erdi* is also attested as the anteriorized equivalent, indicating a resultative meaning; examples (84)–(85) illustrates this.


(84) *musa bilä yamγurǰï bir anadïn **tuγ[γ]an erdi*** (f.143r/1–2)
  'Musa and Yamgurǰï **was born** from one mother.'
  *tuγ[γan er][di]*
  born[PART.POST COP *er-*][PAST]


(85) *bu ḳïz ḳumadïn **bolγan erdi*** (f.46r10–11)
  'This girl **was** from a concubine.'
  *bol[γan er][di]*
  be[PART.POST COP *er-*][PAST]


The next group of *(+PAST)(+POST)* forms is based on the ‹B› type converb and the remote copular particle *erdi*, i.e. {-(I)p} *erdi*; see examples (86)–(89). It indicates low-focal postterminals (86)–(88); however, it can also indicate high-focal postterminals (89) in the *Compendium*.


(86) *uraz muḥammäd χān ḥażrätläriniŋ näǰük pādišāh ḥażrätläri ʿizzät ikrām bilän χānlïḳγa olturγuzγanïn*
  ‹*häm tā› ḥażrät-i Nuḥ ʿalayhi 's-salām-dïn bärü oγuzγa deg[g]äǰ oγuzdïn hiǰrätgä deg[g]äǰ hiǰrätdin ǰiŋgizgä deg[g]äǰ ǰiŋgizdin bu zamānγa deg[g]äǰ nä ǰaḳlï pādišāhlar χānlar **ötüb erdi*** (f.157r/9–157v/3)

  '[This chronicle was written to describe] how His Majesty, the Padishah, with honors, placed His Highness Uraz-Muhammed Khan into khanate.
  Also, all the padishahs and khans who lived **had passed**, starting from His Majesty, [the Prophet] Nuh – *May God welcome him!* – to Oghuz, from Oghuz to Hijra, from Hijra to Genghis, [and] from Genghis to the present day.'

  *öt[üb er][di]*
  pass[CONV.POST COP *er-*][PAST]


The term *ḥażrätläri*, found in example (86), is an honorific nominal designation formed by adding the plural suffix {+lAr}. The word *ḥażrät* means 'majesty' or 'superiority' and is used to refer to a padishah, khan, or sultan. It always takes the plural possessive form and translates

to 'His Majesty, the Padishah; His Highness, the Khan/ Sultan'. The usage of the honorific plural in the nominal form of *ḥażrät* is frequently found in the *Compendium*.

(87) *äwwäl ǰoǰigä tört miŋ läškär **bärib erdi*** (f.142r/8)
    'First, he **had given** four thousand warriors to Jochi.'
    *bär[ib er][di]*
    give[CONV.POST COP *er-*][PAST]

(88) *özläri bir näčä nökärläri bilän **yatïb erdi*** (f.145r/3–4)
    '[Tokhtamysh] himself **had laid** with some *nökers*.'
    *yat[ïb er][di]*
    lie[CONV.POST COP *er-*][PAST]

A few words about the translations are needed here. *Nöker* was a significant term in tribal society at the time, with two main meanings: 'friend' or 'mate' and 'companion-at-arms, comrade'. These are not satisfying translations, however. The second definition can be compared with the term *družinnik*, meaning 'bodyguard' (*drug* 'friend'), in Kieven Rus, the Merovingian *antrustion*, and the Danish or late old English *housecarl (huscarl)*. The Mongol *nökör* was a young man or warrior who voluntarily pledged allegiance and support to a chief or potential chief of another clan or tribe, forming a group of personal retainers with other loyal followers. These *nököt* (= WMo *nököd*, pl. of *nökör*) played a crucial role in the transformation of Mongol society from tribal to feudal during the reign of Genghis Khan. They served as members of the leader's elite bodyguard and, in times of peace, they assisted the leader in domestic and administrative matters where personal loyalty and trust were crucial (Rachewiltz 2004: 257).

The term *özläri* is an honorific 3SG pronoun. Honorific usage of plural forms is employed to show respect and is typically "limited to the pronominal and the verbal domain" (Erdal 2004: 159). Siewierska (2004: 226) provides examples from Turkish and Hungarian, where the Turkish *kendi* '(one)self' and Hungarian *maga* '(one)self' are considered honorific. The honorific meaning in the *Compendium* is expressed by the possessive form of the 3PL of the reflexive pronoun *öz* '(one)self' in the possessive 3PL *özläri*. In the honorific plural *özleri*, the verb endings are always singular.

(89) *bu üč ḳïzï ʿaiša χātundïŋ **tuγub erdi*** (f.140v/1–2)
    'These his two daughters **were born** from Aisha Khatun.'
    *tuγ[ub er][di]*
    born[CONV.POST COP *er-*][PAST]

Only two attestations of the next postterterminal construction in the past, {-mIš} *erdi*, are found, and it is exclusively used with the verb *tuγ-*; see example (90). It appears to be semantically

identical to {-(I)p} *erdi* (89) and {-GAn} *erdi* (84)–(85) in the past, conveying a resultative meaning.

(90) *toḳtay olǰay χātundïŋ* **tuɣmïš erdi** (f.112v/10–11)
    'Toqtay **was born** from Olǰay Khatun.'
    *tuɣ[mïš er][di]*
    born[PART.POST COP *er-*][PAST]

**{-(I)p}** *turur erdi/* **{-(I)p}** *DUr erdi*

As discussed earlier, *erdi* is a remote copula that functions as the counterpart of the non-past copula *tur-ur* for the converb marker {-(I)p} and the participle marker {-GAn} in the renewed postterminal-in-past forms {-(I)p} *erdi* and {-GAn} *erdi*.

    However, the *Compendium* also attests four intsances of {-(I)p} *erdi* with an additional *turur*; see examples (91)–(92).

(91) *bir naubat burɣuǰï bilän kälür erdim*
    *on eki kim ersä taɣ üstündä yolnï* **alïb turur erdilär** (f.101r/2–4)

    'Once [when] I was coming [to the mountain] with Burguǰï,
    twelve people **had kept capturing**/**had captured** the road on the mountain.'

    *al[ïb tur][ur er][di][lär]*           *al[ïb turur][erdi][lär]*
    take**[iterative]**[INTRA][PAST][3PL]    take**[POST]**[COP PAST][3PL]

(92) *ǰiŋgiz χān yigit zamānïda ertä uyḳudïn turdï ersä*
    *käkülindä bir näǰä ḳïllar* **aḳarïb turur erdi** (f.101v/7–9)

    'When Genghis Khan woke up early in his youth,
    a few strands on his forehead **unexpectedly turned white/ had turned white**.'

    *aḳar[ïb tur][ur er][di]*           *aḳar[ïb turur][erdi]*
    turn white**[ACT]**[INTRA][PAST]    turn white**[POST]**[COP PAST]

The appearance of *turur* in the construction is problematic, as it introduces ambiguous readings in the *Compendium*. The issue in investigating postverbial constructions lies in the relationship between actionality and aspect, particularly in the case of the ‹B› type converb combined with the verb *tur-* 'to stop, stand'. This *tur-* can function as a copula, along with other copulas such as *er-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to be, become', in aspectual constructions, or as an auxiliary verb in actional constructions. For instance, example (91) can be read as expressing actionality through the converb marker and the auxiliary *tur-* 'to stand', which usually expresses durativity but can also convey other actions. Example (92), for instance, reflects a finitransfomative meaning, i.e. the end of a process: *aḳarïb turur erdi* 'turned white'. How did it turn? *Unexpectedly*. And, of

course, this construction can be interpreted as postterminal-in-past. The contexts of examples (91)–(92) are unclear and support both interpretations.

Consequently, the following question arises: What is the correct analysis of the constructions *[b tur][ur erdi]* or *[b turur] [erdi]*? Should the analysis be *alï[b tur][ur erdi]* and *aḳarï[b tur][ur erdi]*, where *[b tur]* represents actionality and *[ur erdi]* represents viewpoint aspect? Or should it be *alï[b turur][erdi]* and *aḳarï[b turur][erdi]*, where *[b turur]* represents aspect and *[erdi]* represents the remote copula particle? To explore this issue, consider the following examples (93)–(94).

(93) *ičkili oɣlï ḥasan idigä biyniŋ aχta atïn **alïb turur erdi*** (f.146r/2–3)
'Hasan, the son of Ichkili, **had grabbed** (lit. **had taken**) the gelding horse of Edige Beg.'
*al[ïb turur][erdi]*
take**[POST]**[COP PAST]

(94) *sul nökärläri bilän özi bir yïlɣada **busub turur erdi*** (f.94r/7–8)
'[He,] along with his *nökers*, **had laid an ambush** in a ravine.'
*bus[ub turur][erdi]*
lay an ambush**[POST]**[COP PAST]

The examples (93)–(94) clearly demonstrate a postterminal reading. The context does not imply actionality, as it does not suggest any duration. Based on these examples, the correct analysis of the {-(I)p} *turur erdi* constructions appears to be *[b turur][erdi]*, indicating postterminal-in-past. This interpretation is further supported by the negative form of this construction with the shortened copular *dUr* in the form *[b dUr][erdi]*; see examples (95)–(96).

(95) *pādišāhlïḳɣa **tegmäydür erdi*** (f.47v/10)
'(At that moment/time) [he] **had not yet reached** the rulership.'
*teg[mä][y dür][erdi]*
reach[NEG]**[POST]**[COP PAST]

(96) *bu ḳïz rasīda **bolmay dur erdi*** (f.46v/3)
'This girl **had not yet been** in the right age.'
*bol[ma][y dur][erdi]*
be[NEG]**[POST]** COP PAST]

Moreover, there is an example where the *(-PAST)(+POST)* sentence omits *tur-ur* in the 3SG (see example (70) above), which would be impossible in the case of actionality.

In negation, the complex marker {-(I)p} *turur* takes the form of {-ma-y} *tur-ur* (Johanson 2021a: 657–658). However, it is important not to confuse this with the intraterminal, which shares the same form, {-ma-y} *tur-ur erdi*, in negation.

Table 1.5 sums up the viewpoint operators that express postterminal meaning. Almost all *(-PAST)(+POST)* markers demonstrate fully functioning oppositions in the past, with the exception of the marker {-mIš}. The {-mIš} serves as the most general unit in the non-past, as it has the broadest applicability in discourse. Furthermore, it conveys an indirect evidential connotation coupled with a historical interpretation, constituting a narrative of an unwitnessed past event. When combined with specific time expressions, the marker {-mIš} employs the verb form {-DI}, retaining its focal quality and maintaining a high-focal degree.

Two inventories of the markers {-GAn} and {-(I)p} can be considered symmetric in terms of their fulfillment in the past. Additionally, upon examination, the inventory of high-focal postterminals in the non-past appears slightly asymmetrical, as the possessive marker is omitted in the past strata.

Table 1.5. (+POST) operators in the *Compendium*

|  | **-PAST** | **+PAST** |
|---|---|---|
| **NF** | {-mIš} (53)–(61) | {-DI} *erdi* (78)–(80) |
| **F** | {-GAn} *turur* (64)<br>{-GAn} *erür* (65)<br>{-GAn} *dUr* (62)–(63)<br>{-GAn}-*POSS yoḳ* (77)<br><br>{-(I)p} *dUr* (67)–(69), (74), (76)<br>{-(I)p} *turur* (66), (71)–(73), (75)<br>{-(I)p} *s°n* (70) | {-GAn} *erdi* (81)–(82), (84)–(85)<br><br>{-GAn} *yoḳ erdi* (83)<br><br>{-(I)p} *erdi* (86)–(89),<br>{-(I)p} *turur erdi* (91)–(94)<br>{-(I)p} *dUr erdi* (95)–(96)<br><br>{-mIš} *erdi* (90) |

**Four forms of postterminal: {-GAn} *erdi*, {-(I)p} *erdi*, {-DI} *erdi* and {-mIš} *erdi***

The forms {-GAn} *erdi* and {-(I)p} *erdi* appear to belong to the same semantic domain, suggesting that they may represent competing forms. In the vast majority of cases, these constructions are translated into English as the past perfect. However, there may be nuances in the meaning of these constructions in Chaghatay and, in particular, in the *Compendium*.

Several definitions of the {-GAn} *erdi* form exist in the context of Turkic languages. According to the most accepted interpretation, the {-GAn} *erdi* form is mainly used in conjunction with the 'categorical past' marker {-DI} to express precedence. This construction is basically called 'plusquamperfekt', implying that an action expressed by {-GAn} *erdi* occurred prior to another event in the past; see examples (81)–(82). According to Juldašev

(1965: 168), the {-GAn} *erdi* form expresses anteriority, denoting a fully completely action. In these instances, {-GAn} *erdi* cannot be interchanged with other postterminal marker, such as {-(I)p} *erdi*, as it does not denote an action situated in the past relative to the present moment. Therefore, the {-GAn} *erdi* form cannot indicate *(+PAST)(+POST^HF)*. However, in the *Compendium*, instances of the resultative function of {-GAn} *erdi* in the past are attested, which are illustrated as competing forms of {-(I)p} *erdi* and {-mIš} *erdi*. See the following examples:

(97) *musa bilä yamɣurǰï bir anadïn **tuɣ[ɣ]an erdi*** (f.143r/1–2)
 'Musa and Yamgurǰï **was born** from one mother.'
 *tuɣ[ɣan er][di]*
 born[PART.POST COP *er*-][PAST]

(98) *bu üč ḳïzï ʿaiša χātundïŋ **tuɣub erdi*** (f.140v/1–2)
 'These his two daughters **were born** from Aisha Khatun.'
 *tuɣ[ub er][di]*
 born[CONV.POST COP *er*-][PAST]

(99) *toḳtay olǰay χātundïŋ **tuɣmuš erdi*** (f.112v/10–11)
 'Toqtay **was born** from Olǰay Khatun.'
 ***tuɣ[muš er][di]***
 born[PART.POST COP *er*-][PAST]

The construction {-(I)p} *erdi* itself denotes a typical single action (both one-time and repeated) (Juldašev 1965: 188). Juldašev also presents additional interpretations of the meaning of {-(I)p} *erdi* constructions: the form in {-(I)p} *erdi* represents an action completed by the time another action is performed, which does not necessarily imply that the second action immediately proceeds the first one. Also, the form in {-(I)p} *erdi* expresses the action that was happening before the eyes of the speaker (or writer) and, therefore, cannot point to a long past event. Furthermore, {-(I)p} *erdi* may indicate an action that occurred very recently (Juldašev 1965: 191–193), which contrasts with {-GAn*}* *erdi*, though not in the *Compendium*. {-GAn} *erdi* and {-(I)p} *erdi* cannot be contrated in terms of focality. Moreover, both forms appear in the second/translated and third/original parts of the *Compendium*.

Among the viewpoint operators in the *Compendium*, we also find the forms based on {-DI} *erdi* (78)–(80) and {-mIš} *erdi* (90). These two forms are represented only in the second part of the *Compendium*, translated from Persian. The forms {-DI} *erdi* and {-mIš} *erdi* are derived from the terminal and postterminal forms, respectively, and are not preserved in many modern languages. The {-DI} *erdi* form exists only in some modern Turkic languages, such as Gagauz, Turkish (Oghuz), Kyrgyz, and in some dialects of the Tatar language (Kipchak). The {-mIš} *erdi* form exists only in modern Turkish and Azeri (Oghuz) (Juldašev 1965: 184, 198).

In EOT, the {-DI} *erdi* form is opposed to {-mIš} *erdi*, 'pluperfect' vs. 'remote past', but later languages employ the same meanings of remote past (Johanson 2021a: 722).

Interestingly, the three forms {-mIš} *erdi*, {-(I)p} *erdi*, and {-GAn} *erdi* in the *Compendium*, when applied to the verb *tuɣ-*, present semantically identical postterminal meaning in terms of resultativity.

### 2.1.2.3 Terminals

Terminal aspect is a non-intraterminal and non-postterminal finite category that indicates the event directly preceding the primary orientation point and is expressed by a {-DI} type marker. It is the final component of the aspect system and can be translated into English as the simple past or past perfect (Johanson 2021a: 661). Possessive markers follow it; see examples (100)–(102).

(100) *bu uluɣlarnï sizlärgä **bärdim*** (f.82r/8)
'I **gave** you these great [*amirs*].'

(101) *täŋri āzaldïn saŋa böylä **bärdi*** (f.4v/8)
'Tengri **gave** you this from eternity.'

(102) *ǰoǰi χānnïŋ on tört oɣlïnïŋ atlarïnï **bitidük*** (f.105r/10–11)
'We **wrote** the names of Jochi Khan's four sons.'

### 2.1.3 Imperatives

This section will deal with imperatives, whose primary function is to issue strict orders, requests, advice, or suggestions to the addressee, which are relevant only in the second person.

In some traditional grammars of modern Turkic languages, the imperative mood has merged with what is commonly referred to as the "imperative", including the paradigms of the first and third person voluntative. On the other hand, the first and third person voluntatives have merged into a so-called "optative". Imperative, optative, and voluntative are closely related in the sense of their utilization but encode different notions. This occurs because imperatives naturally express *deontic* concepts, as they involve only addresser and addressee (Rentzsch 2015: 55), whereas voluntative and optative express *volitional* ideas. Turkic *volitionals* can inhibit various formal and functional differences. Therefore, the lack of complete *volitional* paradigms leads to confusion (Johanson 2014: 21–22; 2021a: 680). For a more detailed description of *deontic* and *volitional* notions, see Section 2.1.4.

Imperatives manifest various degrees of politeness due to the relationship between addresser and addressee (Johanson 2021a: 670); therefore, it is very important to indicate who is the addresser and who is the addressee. Three degrees of politeness can be attested:

- Higher → polite, so-called "honorific"
- Equal → polite or non-polite, so-called "normal"
- Lower → non-polite

### *Imperative based on the bare verb stem*

In Turkic languages, the singular form of the imperative is often homonymous with the bare verb stem and lacks any markers. However, it is interesting to note that in the *Compendium*, there is only a single example of this markerless form, whereas the marker {-GIl} is widely used.

Thus, example (103) illustrates the use of the imperative without a marker in a non-main temporal clause, providing background information. Here, we can observe the distinct lower degree of politeness, implying an order from a higher position to a lower one. This sentence is from the first part of the *Compendium*, dedicated to Boris Godunov, in which Godunov (the addresser) addresses his order to the army (the addressee) in a singular non-polite form. It is common for singular imperatives to be considered non-polite because of straightforward association with authority (Johanson 2021a: 673). The singular non-polite is typical for commands in military contexts, as can be seen in example (103).

(103) **aṭlan** *degändä*
*yüz miŋ ayar anuḳ* (f.4v/7)

'When [you] say "**Set out**",
one hundred thousand saddles are ready.'

However, in this context, the situation is more complex. The part in which the sentence is attested concerns the panegyric for Boris Godunov. Therefore, example (103) suggests that *when Boris Godunov says "Set out" to his army, everyone is ready*. In this situation, Godunov considers it permissible/desirable that his soldiers perform the action. As a result, the imperative here is not specific and can be paraphrased as "When Godunov wants his troops to perform the action (*aṭlan-*), all of the troops perform that action".[15] The narrator, Boris Godunov, is a "virtual narrator" introduced by QAB, i.e. the "virtual narrator" (Godunov) does not coincide

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[15] See Rentzsch (2015: 178–180) on the unspecific imperative in Turkish. According to him, the imperative covers the modal domains.

with the actual narrator (QAB). No additional examples of imperatives based on the bare verb stem are attested.

*{-GIl}*

The marker {-GIl}[16] is an alternative form of a singular imperative in old Turkic languages. This marker dates back to the imperative form *ḳil-* with a pure verb stem (Brockelmann 1954: 225; Erdal 2004: 351). Typically, {-GIl} represents the second person singular.

Since imperatives vary in degrees of politeness depending on the relative status of the addresser and the addressee, non-polite imperatives can convey a sense of familiarity with the addressee, as seen in examples (104)–(105).

(104) *[ǰiŋgiz χān] aydï kim*
*muḳalïɣa ḳoygïl teb* (f.100r/3)

'[Genghis Khan] said,
"**Put** [a finger] on Maqali."'

(105) *här söz kim bar üǰ dānā bilä keŋäšmäk käräk*
*här [yärdä] anï[n] aytɣanïn **etkil***
*wä illā muŋa iʿtimād bolmasa*
*öz sözüŋni taḳï dānālarnïŋ sözigä **ḳiyās etkil*** (f.92r/9–11)

'Every word must be discussed with three knowledgeable people.
**Do** what(ever) they say.
Otherwise, if there is no trust in this,
**compare** your word[s] with the word[s] of knowledgeable people.'

Null subjects in imperative clauses are common in Turkic languages, as illustrated in examples (104)–(105). The use of explicit of subjects is unusual but possible, as seen in the example (106). In this case, this second person singular pronoun *sän* is used for emphasis and can appear before or after the verb (Bodrogligeti 2001: 176).

(106) *idigä aydï*
*<u>sän</u> ‹bu urušda› mänim birlä **bolɣïl*** (f.143v/8)

'Edige said,
"<u>You</u> **be** with me ‹in this battle›."'

---

[16] Xisamieva states that {-GIl} is absent in both standard literary Kazakh and Tatar but points out the preservation of the marker {-GIn} in Tatar dialects (2022: 70). However, the poetic styles and dialects of Kazakh, including the dialect of the Ili region, also preserve the form {-GIn}. Furthermore, oral texts and folklore document the presence of the old form {-GIl} in Tatar (Balakaev 1962: 334; Abish 2016: 20). This is not a coincidence, as the {-GIl} marker appeared in Middle Kipchak and Chaghatay (Johanson 2021a: 677).

The next example in the *Compendium* represents the use of the non-polite imperative markers {-GIl} in quotation, illustrating direct speech spoken by Oghuz to his wives, one after the other.

> (107) *tilädim kim*
> *kökniŋ χudāyɣa **īmān keltürgil***
> *aŋa dost **bolɣïl** teb* (f.19r/3–4)
>
> 'I wished and said [to them],
> "**Put** your **faith** in the Almighty Lord of Heaven,
> **be** a friend to him."'

The following example is noteworthy, as the addressee is plural in the first part (*sizlär*), but it is singular in the second (*sän*).

> (108) *oɣlanlarïm sizlär hänūz yaššïz*
> *wä taḳï kim günāhlïḳ (sic!) bolsalar*
> <u>*sän*</u> *anlarnï öz köŋlüŋ birlä **öltürmägil***
> *mäŋä keŋäšmäginčä* (f.82r/8–10)
>
> 'My sons, you are still inexperienced.
> If someone commits a sin,
> <u>you</u> **do not kill** them of your own accord
> without consulting with me.'

The next example (109) illustrates the degree of politeness based on the status of the addressee. In this context, Genghis Khan, according to the ritual, climbed to the top of the mountain, fell on his knees, and addressed his words to *bār χudā yā* 'o God!'. Therefore, the addressee holds a higher, so-called "honorific" rank.

> (109) *ägär bilsäŋ kim*
> *bu ändīšämni mäniŋ ḥaḳḳïm turur*
> *šul yuḳartïn ḳut nuṣrät maŋa mädäd **yibärgil***
> *wä färmān **bärgil** tā šul üstümizdägi mälāīkälär wä ādamlar wä bärriylär wä dēwler*
> *maŋa mädäd <u>yibärgil</u>*
> *wä färmān **bärgil***
> *tā šul muʿāwänät maŋa <u>körsätsünlär</u>*[17] (f.97v/9–98r/2)
>
> 'If you (o God!) know that
> my understanding is fair,
> **send down** luck and victory from above to help me!
> And **give** an order to angels, people, fairies, and demons who are above us
> [and] <u>send [them]</u> to help me!
> And **give** them an order

---

[17] † *körsünlär.*

that they show me assistance!'

It should be emphasized that the imperative marker {-GIl} in the word *yibärgil* and the voluntative marker {-sUn-lAr} in the word *körsätsünlär* appear in the clauses of purpose (final clauses), which define the main clause in Turkic languages (Eckmann 1966: 209; Bodrogligeti 2001: 380). *Yibärgil* and *körsätsünlär* were underlined for better illustration. Von Gabain (1941 [1974]: 111) claims that the third person plural voluntative might serve as a respectful / humble imperative, where the de facto result is a respectful imperative (Rentzsch 2015: 62). However, in example (109), the voluntative marker {-sUn-lAr} seems more likely to serve as a jussive. Furthermore, Abish (2016) considers the imperative to be a volitional process. That's why she explains the expression in the bare marker of imperative, such as *гүлдей жайна* ‹güldey žayna› 'May you bloom like a flower!' (Abish 2016: 24) in modern Kazakh, illustrating the usage of good wishes in imperative, which is really very close to the third person singular voluntative meaning. However, Johanson (2021a: 670) considers such conventional speech formulae as exceptions. Eckmann (1966: 202) points out that there are various types of subordinate clauses in Chaghatay that developed under the influence of Persian language. Examples (109) and (110) illustrate the clause of purpose. Moreover, the Persian word *tā* appears as an introducer of purpose clauses (Eckmann 1966: 209–210; Bodrogligeti 2011: 380; Johanson 2021a: 916).

(110)  *šarḥ ǰümlä tilä‹sä›*
       *kelür*
       *tā maʿlūm **kilγil*** (f.11v/3)

       'If [someone] desires an explanation,
       it will come (up)
       in order **to make** [it] known.'

Purposive clauses are usually based on the optative {-GAy}, voluntative {-sUn}, and aorist {-(°)r} markers (Bodrogligeti 2001: 380–381; Johanson 2021a: 917). However, in the *Compendium*, the purposive clauses contain markers of imperative as well.

## *{jI}*

Johanson (2021a: 671) mentions that imperatives can sometimes be softened by modalities expressing intension, wish, or potentiality. Therefore, it is worth noting that Abish (2016: 80; 2022: 346) classifies the nonaccentuable enclitic particle {šI*ǰ*} in Kazakh as a modal particle.

The enclitic particle {jI} > {čU} ~ {čI} is added to the base to form polite expressions of the second person imperative, indicating encouragement, begging, or entreaty. It conveyed a

particular sense of urgency or emphasis in Karakhanid and East Middle Turkic (Johanson 2021a: 678). Some modern Turkic languages, such as Kazakh, Noghay, Tatar, Kirghiz, Uzbek also use the nonaccentuable particles {čI} and {šI} to soften the tone of requests or make them more polite. It is interesting to note that this particle is preserved in Kazakh as {šI}, in Tatar as {čI}, but in Chuvash as {čị //ǰị} when added to forms in {-sAm} (Balakaev 1959: 115; Johanson 2021a: 678). In the *Compendium*, only a single example (111) is observed.

(111) *ayturlar*
*maŋa **bärǰi***
*teb aytur erdi* (f.68v/10)

'They say,
"he used to say,
'**Give** [her] to me, **I beg you!**'"'

## *{-(I)ŋ-Iz} ~ {-(U)ŋ-uz}*

The simplest second person plural marker is represented in EOT as {-(I)ŋ}. Most later languages carried both {-(I)ŋ} and {-(I)ŋ-Iz} (Rentzsch 2015: 56; Johanson 2021a: 672).

Data from the 17th century *Compendium*, in addition to the form {-(I)ŋ-Iz}, reveal the emergence of the {-(U)ŋ-uz} marker, demonstrating a rounded vowel after a rounded syllable, with one exception; see example (116). The {-(I)ŋ-Iz} ~ {-Uŋ-uz} form is commonly used as a polite / honorific singular in some Turkic languages, where the ambiguity between singular and plural arises (Rentzsch 2015: 181). In the *Compendium*, the {-(I)ŋ-Iz} ~ {-Uŋ-uz} marker is attested with both polite singular usage (112) and numerous non-polite plural meanings (113)–(118).

Let us begin with the polite singular, which is the only example in the *Compendium*.

(112) *ol waḳïtda börtä füǰin färzändgä ārzū erdi*
*ǰïŋgiz χān buyurdi*
*anï **iktüläŋiz** teb* (f.69r/2–3)

'At that time Lady Börte desired a child.
Genghis Khan ordered,
"**Bring** him **up**."'

First and foremost, a question may arise regarding whether the sentence addresses a singular or plural person. Is Genghis Khan addressing his order to his wife, Lady Börte, or to the servants (plural)? This sentence is the translation from the Persian *Compendium*. In the Russian translation of the Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles', the sentence is the following:

"Так как в то время Бортэ-фуджин не имела детей, Чингиз-хан приказал, чтобы **она** его воспитала" (RD/ Smirnova 1952: 269).

This sentence translates as 'Since Lady Börte had no children at that time, Genghis Khan ordered **her** to raise him'. The English translation of the Persian *Compendium* is the following: "At that time Börtä desired a child, so Genghis Khan told **her** to raise him" (Thackston 1998: 274). Both translations suggest that the addressee is Börte, a singular person.

In the *Compendium*, the plural imperative marker {-(I)ŋ-Iz} ~ {-Uŋ-uz} addresses more than one addressee or one addressee together with someone else.

(113) *mäniŋ vaṣiyyätimni aŋa **tegürüŋüz***
*mäbādā kim män kečkändin soŋ mäniŋ sözümni taḳi mülkdä **tämäǯämiš̌ī ḳiliŋiz***[18]
(f.89r/11–89v/1)

'**Convey** (PL) my last wish to him,
"**Do not dispute** (PL) my words in the state under any circumstances after my passing.'

(114) *šarṭ ḳildurdï barǯa läškärinä*
*bir iškä yätmägünǯä*
*olǯaɣa ɣanïmätḳa (sic!) **mäšɣūl bolmaŋiz** teb* (f.52v/5–7)

'[Genghis Khan] forced all the soldiers to set conditions and said,
"Until [you (PL)] complete the task,
**do not touch (lit. do not devote to something)** (PL) the spoil[s].'''

(115) *anlar yurtlarïnda buyurdum*
*tā anlardïn **yïraḳ etiŋiz** deb*
*ot tikänni **ketäriŋiz** teb* (98v/10–11)

'I ordered [those who] are in their yurts,
"**Distance** (PL) from them.
**Remove** (PL) the thorns of grass."'

(116) *mäniŋ atïmnï oɣuz **ḳoyuŋïz*** (f.17v/11–18r/1)
'**Name** (PL) me Oghuz.'

The instances in the following two examples (117)–(118) feature pronouns. However, their roles in the sentences differ. In example (117), the pronoun is part of the vocative within the expression *sizlär kim mändin soŋ*, which means 'you who [come] after me'. In example (118), the pronoun *sizlär* 'you' (non-polite, PL) serves an emphasizing role.

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[18] K: *tämäǯämiš̌ī etiŋiz* (f.36r/12).

(117) *sizlär kim mändin soŋ män buyurɣan yasaḳnï **buzmaŋïz***
*özgä ʿamäl **čïḳarmaŋïz*** (f.89r/9–10)

'You (PL) who after me, **do not break** (PL) the law I prescribed,
**do not compose** (lit. bring out) (PL) another practice.'

(118) *ay oɣlanlarïm **aŋlaŋïz** <u>sizlär</u>*
*bu dünyādïn säfär ḳïlmaḳ waḳtï mäŋä täyib turur* (f.88v/6–7)

'Oh, my sons, <u>you</u> (PL) **understand** [that]
my travel time in this world has come to an end (lit. has touched).'


### 2.1.4 Modality

According to Johanson's conception, "modalities express various attitudes towards propositions" (2021a: 679). Modality does not directly reference any attribute of the event, such as tense or aspect, but instead points to the status of the proposition. The term *proposition* refers to a conceptual relation inherent in a statement, the meaning of which is determined by the marker (Rentzsch, 2015: 18). Modalities usually pertain to the future domain and indicate desire, necessity, obligation, anticipation, certainty, possibility, probability, permissibility, prediction, and other notions. In Turkic languages, modality is often expressed through modal operators, which correspond to English modal modifiers such as *can, could, may, might, must, to have to, to need to, to ought to, shall, should, will, would, to be going to* (Johanson 2021a: 679).

In the *Compendium*, modal notions are conveyed both grammatically and analytically. For instance, the analytically derived category of potential modality (ability/possibility) is expressed through postverbial constructions with the auxiliary verbs *bil-* and *al-*. These constructions represent circumstantial ability/inability and mental ability/inability in the *Compendium*; see (119)–(120).

(119) Physical ability
*hiǰ ǰānwär aṭ kötär**ä al**mas erdi* (f.106v/6–7)
'No animal, no horse **could** have lifted him.'

(120) Circumstantial inability
*ol suwdan läškär-i χïṭay käč**ä bil**mädi* (f.29v/3–4)
'It was **impossible** for the Chinese troops to cross the water.'

As seen in examples (119)–(120), ability/inability does not strictly align with the definition of modality. According to Abish (2016: 13), postverbial constructions based on the auxiliary verbs *bil-* and *al-* possess inherent properties rather than attitudes. Consequently, they are not

considered part of modality in this study. These constructions are discussed separately in Section 2.3.5.

The semantic classes of modality discussed in this section include *volitional* (desire, hope, need, permission, warning, recommendation, promise, advice), *epistemic* (possibility, necessity, certainty, confirmation, likelihood with regard to knowledge), and *deontic* (moral, legal, social or ethnic norms) evaluation. The main type of modality expressed in Turkic is *volitional*, conveyed through voluntative and optative markers. These markers express wish and desirability and naturally refer to future actions. However, voluntatives and optatives usually lack complete paradigms (Johanson 2021a: 680), which has led to the misclassification of imperatives and voluntatives as constituting a single paradigm in traditional grammars of Turkic languages. The first person voluntative conveys a readiness to perform an action, while the third person voluntative expresses the necessity or desirability of the action being performed by a third person (Johanson 2021a: 682). Optative modality, on the other hand, conveys the necessity or desirability of achieving the action itself (Johanson 2021a: 692).

*Deontic* modality pertains to the possibility and necessity of action in terms of duty or obligation accordingly to a system of rules (Johanson 2021a: 680). *Epistemic* modality involves the possibility and necessity of propositions in terms of truth. The distinction between deontic and epistemic modalities is not always precise (Johanson 2021a: 681).

## 2.1.4.1 Voluntatives[19]

Voluntatives in Turkic languages denote the desirability of a given action. They are used when the speaker wants the action to occur but does not command a second person(s) directly, but instead expresses expectations, desire, obligations, etc, toward first and third persons. There are no markers for the second person voluntative (Johanson 2021a: 682).

Turkic voluntatives can be translated into English using modal modifiers, such as 'I/we will act', 'Let me/us act', 'May I/we act', 'It is desirable that I/we/X act', 'May X act', 'X shall act', 'Let X act', and so on.

Most modern Turkic languages, as well as Old Turkic, traditionally have one form for the first person singular voluntative and only one form for the fisrt person plural voluntative (Nevskaya 2010: 120; Rentzsch 2015: 184). The *Compendium* contains two forms for first person singular and four for the first person plural voluntatives with an additional variant.

Table 1.6. Voluntative markers in the *Compendium*

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[19] The examination of the first person voluntative is based on my research on this field, which was published in Togabayeva (2024a).

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** | {-AyI-m}<br>{-(A)yI-n} > {-n}? | {-AlI}<br>{-AlI-m}<br>{-AlI-ŋ}<br>{-AlI-K}, ({-AyI-K}) |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | {-sUn} | {-sUn-lar} |

**First person singular voluntative markers**

The first person singular voluntative expresses "the intention or readiness […] to perform the action". It also "covers situations in which the projected action would be performed reluctantly or as a concession" (Rentzsch 2015: 183). There are two markers of the first person singular voluntative in the *Compendium*. They are scarcely attested. There is only one sentence (121) with two instances of the marker {-AyI-m} and eight instances occurring in six sentences (122)–(127) of the marker {-(A)yI-n}. Consider the following examples.

{-AyI-m} ‹ʾym›

(121) *ägär sän uluɣ χudāyɣa iḳrār ḳïlsaŋ*
*anïŋ birligiŋä īmān keltürsäŋ*
*säni **alayïm***
***dost tutayïm*** (f.19r/6–7)

'If you acknowledge the Almighty Lord,
[and] if you follow this communion,
I **shall take** you
and I **consider** you **as my friend**.'

{-(A)yI-n} ‹ʾyn, yn›

(122) *taŋrï išimni oŋarsa*
*män säni **χānlayïn*** (f.143v/9)

'If Tengri directs my affairs [on the right path],
**I am ready to make** you **the khan**.'

(123) *ol häm özi elǰi yibärdi*
***el bolayïn*** *teb* (f.57v/8–9)

'He also sent an envoy and said,
"**I am ready to obey** [you]."'

(124) *män χudāynï ešitkänim yoḳ*
*bilgänim yoḳ*
*wä lēkin säniŋ söziŋdän **čïḳmayïn***

65

*wä färmānïŋgä* **muṭīʿ bolayïn**
*sän nä desäŋ*
*anï ḳïlayïn* (f.19r/8–10)

'I have absolutely not heard the Almighty Lord,
I have absolutely not known [Him],
but **I promise not** to **go against** (lit. **go out**) your words,
and [instead] **obey** your order.
**May I do**
whatever you say.'

(125) *mäniŋ dīnim yolïndïn ḳaytïb ermiš*
*anï* ~~anï~~ *tirig* **etmän**
*der* (f.20v/9–10)

*mäniŋ dīnim yolïndïn ḳaytïb ermiš*
*anï tirig* **etmäyin**
*der* (K: f.7r/4–5)

"It occurred that he left the path of my religion.
I shall **not let** him **live**",
he says.'

The first person singular voluntative marker {-(A)yI-n} in example (125) is expressed somewhat differently in two manuscripts. In the St. Petersburg manuscript, the marker {-(A)yI-n} is shortened and appears as ‹n› after the negation {-mA-}, e.g. ايتمان. In the Kazan manuscript, however, it is written as ‹yn›, e.g. ايتماين. The discrepancy in the St. Petersburg manuscript could be considered an erratum. However, Adamović (1985: 244–247) provides examples where abbreviated suffixes of first person singular voluntative appear in Turkish dialects. Therefore, it is also possible to consider the spelling of *etmän* as a variant of *etmäyin*.

(126) *bir waḳïtda andïn köŋül ḳališïb idigä küjükkä*
*ḳahr ḳïlïb*
**öldüräyin** *tädi* (K: f.61r/7–8)

'One day [Tokhtamysh] took offense at Edige *küčük*[20] and,
being angry with him,
he said, "I **shall kill** [you/him]."'

(127) *ägär tiläsä*
*turub*

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[20] The Turkic word *küčük* 'small' here means 'dog', 'puppy' and corresponds to Mongolian *noḳay* 'dog' (Lessing 592). In the Turkic-Mongol world, *Noqay* (a Kipchak variant of the Mongolian *noḳay*), *Barak* 'long-haired dog', and *Mamay* were popular personal names. *Nogay* was the name of *beglerbeg* Nogay, who established an independent khanate in the Balkans in the 13th century. When Edige reached the peak of his power, he was not satisfied with the title *beg/biy*. However, he could not accept the title of *Khan* because he was not a Genghisid. Therefore, in addition to his name, he began using the names of former powerful figures of the Golden Horde as titles, appending them to his personal name. He used the titles Edige *Nogay Beg*, Edige *Küčük Beg*, and Edige *Mamay Beg* (Trepavlov 1997).

***olturayïn*** *tesä*
*rāst oltura almaɣay* (f.96r/2–3)

'If/Whenever/Usually when [a drunk person] request saying
"I **shall** stand
and **sit down"**,
he will not be able to sit down properly.'

The limited occurrence of {-AyI-m} in the manuscript makes it difficult to give a comprehensive analysis of first person singular voluntatives. The variation between {-AyI-m} in (121) and {-(A)yI-n} in (122)–(127) may indicate that different Turkic varieties are represented in the *Compendium*. Corresponding variation in Oghuz varieties have been documented; see, for instance, Adamović (1985: 243–248).

**First person plural voluntative markers**

The morphology of plural voluntatives is more complex than that of singular forms. First person plural voluntatives serve "cohortative functions, expressing incitement, encouragement or invitation to act together with the addressee(s) and/or others" (Johanson 2021a: 682).

Turkic languages of the Northeastern branch (Siberian Turkic languages) and the Southwestern branch (Turkmen, Azeri, and dialects of Anatolian Turkish) possess more than one first person plural voluntative form, marking inclusive versus non-inclusive/exclusive meanings (Nevskaya 2010: 121–123, Johanson 2021: 687–688, Turan 2022: 51). Inclusive voluntative markers involve both the speaker and the listener, while non-inclusive/exclusive voluntatives involve the speaker's group but exclude the listener. It is noteworthy, however, that the use of non-inclusive voluntatives can be relatively neutral, expressing a more general plurality that is not always exclusive.

Non-inclusive markers have relatively simple forms and often use dual signaling. Inclusive markers, on the other hand, are derived from these non-inclusive forms through augmentation, mostly in the form of plural markers (Johanson 2021: 687–688).

In the *Compendium*, the contexts in which voluntatives are used allow for inclusive readings of {-AlI} in (128)–(129); {-AlI-m} in (130)–(132); {-AlI-ŋ} in (133); and {-AlI-K} in (134)–(135), and a neutral reading of {-AlI-K} in (136).

Although, the different voluntative markers found in the *Compendium* can be read as inclusive depending on the context, there is no clear morphological distinction between inclusive and non-inclusive/exclusive forms.

{-AlI} ‹ʾly›

{-AlI} appears to be the oldest reconstructable first person plural voluntative marker. There are only two examples of it in the entire manuscript.

(128) *burunɣi waḳïtda bir birinä yaχšïlïḳ ḳïlïšɣannï öfkä sözin aytïb yibärdi* **yarašalï** *deb* (f.54r/1–2)

'[Genghis Khan] said that they (Genghis Khan on one hand, Ong Khan and Sengün Khan on the other) have made good things to each other in the past and burst out in words of anger,
"**Let us make peace!**"'

(129) *nökärläri aydïlar*
*näčük biz üčäw*
*anlarnï* **ḳowalï**
*ǰabïb barïb soḳalïm tedi* (f.94r/2–3)

'The *nökers* said,
"Since there are three of us,
**let us** [together with you] **persecute** them!
Let us ride and beat [them] up!"'

The voluntative marker {-AlI-m} in the word *soḳalïm* raises doubts about the correct spelling of the word *ḳowalï* قوالى. However, in the Kazan manuscript it is written in the same way, i.e. as *ḳowalï* قوالى (K: f.38r/10), thereby avoiding any potential misinterpretation. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Alimov (2022: 79) transcribed it as *ḳuv-ala-y* (K: f.39a/10)

Sentences (128) and (129) demonstrate the use of the voluntative when the interpretation involves the listeners in the action. In example (128), Ong Khan and Sengün Khan embarked on a campaign against Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan fled, but later, he returned to his 'royal camp' and sent an envoy to Ong Khan and Sengün Khan, ordering them to make peace. In this sentence, the speaker is Genghis Khan, addressing several addressees (Ong Khan and Sengün Khan). In sentence (129), the *nökers* offer to chase two horsemen with Derikey Uha. The adressee/listener, i.e. Derikey Uha, is also included in the action.

{-AlI-m} ‹ʾlm, ʾlym›

All four occurrences of {-AlI-m} are found in only three sentences, (130)–(132). All of them can be interpreted in such a way that the listener is involved in the action. In examples (130) and (131), a dialogue unfolds between the amirs of Genghis Khan and Sorḳaḳtani Beki. They discuss new developments following Genghis Khan's death that contradict his command. Examples (130) and (131) directly follow each other in the text. In sentence (131), Sorḳaḳtani Beki suggests acting according to new rules, emphasizing the invitation is to the addressees to

act together. These two examples can be interpreted in such a way that the first person plural voluntative marker {-AlI-m} involves both the speaker and the listener.

(130) *biz näčük andïn **käčälim***
*anïŋ färmānïn näčük **χilāf ḳilalïm*** (f.83v/9–10)

'How **may we** [together with you] **cross** [Genghis Khan's will],
how **may we act against** his order?'

(131) *sizniŋ rāst turur sözüŋüz*
*wä lēkin šul anwāʿdïn bizlär andïn kim tururm°z tā bunuŋ dek **ötkäzälim*** (f.83v/11–84r/2)

'Your words are right,
but we **shall be content** with the things of which we have.'

Example (132) is identical to (129), sharing a cohortative function that expresses a call to action in conjunction with the addressee. The interpretation of the context suggests the inclusion of the addressee in the action, with everyone in the speech situation acting together. Moreover, this example shows that the two voluntative markers {-AlI} and {-AlI-m} convey the same meaning.

(132) *nökärläri aydïlar*
*näčük biz üčäw*
*anlarnï ḳowalï*
*ǰabïb barïb **soḳalïm** tedi* (f.94r/2–3)

'The *nökers* said,
"Since there are three of us,
let us [together with you] persecute them!
**Let us** ride and **beat** [them] **up!**"'

{-AlI-ŋ} ‹ʾlynk, ʾlnk›

There is only one example with two instances of the marker {-AlI-ŋ}.

(133) *ḳïrïm läškäri ümära-yi ‹büzürg› uluγlar ‹aydïlar›*
*bu yïl yazγïsïn **yaylamïš[ï̄] ḳïlalïŋ***
*atïmïz **semürtäliŋ*** (f.145v/5–7)

'The great amirs of the Crimean army said,
"**Let us** [we, together with you] **settle** in the pasture this year in the summer
and **let us fatten** our horses!"'

The narrative in this part of the manuscript focuses on a confrontation between Edige and Qadir Berdi Khan. In the text, the great amirs of the Crimean army persuaded Qadir Berdi Khan to

settle in the pasture that summer, as they wanted to cross the Volga River in the winter, when the river would be frozen and provide easier passage. Qadir Berdi Khan was present at that campaign; therefore, the amirs (speakers) expressed their request to Qadir Berdi Khan (listener), including him as a co-participant. Thus, the marker {-AlI-ŋ} in example (133) can be interpreted in this context as involving the addressees, just like {-AlI} in (128)–(129) and {-AlI-m} in (130)–(132).

{-AlI-K} ‹ʾlyḳ› and and ({-AyI-K} ‹ʾyḳ›)

The *Compendium* contains five examples of {-AlI-K} in three separate sentences, shown in (134)–(136).

(134) *pādišāh altan χān uluɣlarï bilän keŋäš ḳïldï*
*munuŋ bilän **urušalïḳ mu***
*yā **yarašalïḳ mu** teb* (f.58v/3–4)

‘The sovereign Altan Khan counselled with his great [amirs] and asked,
**"Shall we battle** [together with you]
or **may we make peace** with him?"’

(135) *yarašmaḳlïḳnï oχšatïb*
*elǰi yibärdi*
***el bolalïḳ** teb* (f.58v/4–5)

*yarašmaḳlïḳnï oχšatïb*
*elči yibärdi*
***el bolayïḳ** teb* (K: f.23v/7–8)

‘Choosing reconciliation,
he (Altan Khan) sent an envoy [to Genghis Khan]
and said, **"Let us make peace** [ with you]."’

(136) *suāl ḳïldï kim*
*bizgä iǰāzät bar mu yā yoḳ mu*
*yarlïɣïna ermiš*
*yā **ḳaytalïḳ mu***
*yā taḳï ḳalaʿlarnï **alalïḳ mu** teb* (f.99v/9–10)

‘[He] asked,
"Do you have permission for us or not?"
[He] asked for his order,
**"Shall we** [without you] **return**
or **shall we** [without you] **capture** more cities?"’

Examples (134)–(135) allow the same inclusive interpretation as the markers {-AlI} in (128)–(129), {-AlI-m} in (130)–(132) and {-AlI-ŋ} in (133).

In example (134), the sovereign Altan Khan consultes with his amirs to decide whether to engage in battle or make peace.

The Kazan manuscript shows the voluntative marker {-AyI-K̠} in *el bolayiķ* 'Let us make peace [with you]' (135) instead of {-AlI-K̠}. The previous examination in this topic (Togabayeva 2024a) reached the wrong conclusion, as it was analyzed as excluding the addressee with the incorrect translation. However, the voluntative verb *el bolaliķ/el bolayiķ* 'Let us make peace' is not exclusive but inclusive.

In example (136), the marker {-AlI-K̠} is explicitly used to request permission from the addressee to perform an action; however, the addressee is not physically involved in the action. In this case, the use of voluntative {-AlI-K̠} refers to a request for permission from the superior, rather than a desire or wish, and is not interpreted inclusively.

**Third person voluntative markers**

The third person voluntative indicates requests, demands, encouragement or invitation, incitement, permission, advice, or consent for an action to be performed by an entity other than the addressee. It is usually used in an impersonal sense, where the act is expected to be performed from the speaker's perspective. Semantically, the voluntative is closely related to the optative and can be translated as 'X shall do', 'X should do', 'May X do', 'Let X do' (Johanson 2021a: 682).

Both suffix variants {-sUn} ~ {-sIn} are used for the third person singular voluntative in the *Compendium*. However, in the St. Petersburg manuscript, there is only one instance of {-sIn}, as shown in (142). The Kazan manuscript attests the form {-sIn} in place of the St. Petersburg marker {-sUn}, see examples (140)–(141), (142). These examples demonstrate that there was no strict rule governing the vowel in the third person voluntative marker within the *Compendium*.

The third person singular voluntative may express the addresser's desideratives (137)–(139) or jussives, directing Genghis Khan's orders to a third person singular (140)–(142).

(137) *tā abäd al-abäd-gäǰä dävlät aŋa yār **bolsun*** (StP: f.157r/2)
*tā abäd al-abäd-gäǰä dävlät aŋa yār **bolsun*** (K: f.68v/10)

'**May** happiness **be** his friend forever and ever.'

(138) *yïl **ašasun***
*yüz **yašasun*** (f.2r/3)

'**Let** him **consume** the year[s],
**let** him **live** one hundred [of them].'

The next voluntative in example (139) is presented in the prepredicative position of the subject, with the nominal clause rhyme.

(139) *kündin küngä **ziyādä bolsun** dävläti*
*häm **bozulmasun** mämläkäti* (f.4r/5–6)

'His fortune **shall thrive** day by day!
His realm **shall not decay**!' (Danka 2020: 78)

(140) *aŋa χabär yibärdi*
*naymannïŋ pādišāhï tayan χānγa **mädäd ḳilmasun** teb* (StP: f.55r/10–55v/1)

*aŋa χabär yibärdi*
*naymannïŋ pādišāhï tayan χānγa **mädäd ḳilmasïn** teb* (K: f.22r/11)

'[He] sent an information:
"[He] **should not help** to Tayan Khan, padishah of Naymans."'

(141) *χabär wāḳiʿī här vilāyätḳa **tüšmäsün***
*tā ulus sizniŋ bilän vilāyätiŋizgä **kelmäsin*** (StP: f.63v/7–8)

*χabär wāḳiʿī här vilāyätḳa **tüšmäsin***
*tā ulus birgä sizniŋ bilän vilāyätiŋizgä **kälmäsün*** (K: f.25v/12)

'Pertinent news **should not be known** throughout all the provinces (lit. **should not be fallen** to all the provinces),
even until the people **should not come** to your province with you.'

(142) *ǰiŋgiz χān elǰi yibärdi*
*kün ïsïγ gärm boldï*
***ḳaytsïn** teb* (StP: f.61v/3)

*čiŋgiz χān elči yibärdi*
*kün ïsïγ gärm boldï*
***ḳaytsïn** teb* (K: f.24v/14–15)

'Genghis Khan sent an envoy and said,
"The day turned hot.
[He] **should go back**."'

Moreover, the third person singular voluntative marker {-sUn} appears in the purposive clause; see example (143). The conjugator *tā* occurs in complex sentences in the same way as it does with imperative; see Section 2.1.3.

(143) *yolda här kišini yoluḳsa öldürüŋüz*
*tā χabär här ṭarafḳa **čïḳmasun***
*teb bu vaṣiyyätni ḳildï* (StP: f.63v/11–64r/2)

*yolda här nä yoluḳsa öldürüŋüz*
*tā χabär här ṭarafḳa **čïḳmasïn***
*teb bu vaṣiyyätni ḳildï* (K: f.25v/14–15)

'"Kill everyone you (PL) meet on the way

in order to the news **is not spread** (lit. **go out**) to all sides,"
he made this testamentary arrangement.'

The accusative case marker {-nI} in the *vaṣiyyätni ḳïl-* 'to bequeath, make a testamentary arrangement' in example (143) raises questions about the existence of the analytic denominal verb derivation.

The {-lAr} marker was permanently added to {-sUn} to express multiple subject referents. There are three instances of the third person plural in the *Compendium*; all are jussives, directing Genghis Khan's orders; see examples (144)–(145) and Table 1.6.

(144) *uluɣlar wä läškär χalḳï barǰasï* **ṣabr ḳïlsunlar** (StP: f.63v/5–6)
*uluɣlar wä läškär χalḳï barčasï* **ṣabr ḳïlsunlar** (K: f.25v/10–11)

'Great [amirs] and the whole military people **shall be patient**.'

(145) *ḳurčïlarɣa buyurdï*
*turɣanlar munuŋdek bu ḳïr daḳ bolub ḳara* **bolsunlar** (f.98r/11–98v/1)

*ḳurčïlarɣa buyurdï*
*turɣanlar munuŋdek bu ḳïr daḳ bolub ḳara* **bolsunlar** (K: f.40r/5–6)

'[Cenghis Khan] ordered the quiver bearers,
"**Let** those standings **be black** like this steppe."'

## 2.1.4.2 Optatives

The Turkic optative performs a variety of functions. It is "a modal category with volitional, deontic, and epistemic functions" (Johanson 2021a: 692).

The volitional notion represents wish, will, desire, hope, expectation, incitement, inducement, purpose, invocation, advice, command, directive, promise, blessing, and so on. However, these volitional notions frequently lead to deontic and epistemic notions such as prediction, necessity, potentiality, obligation, and counter factuality, as in the old Indo-European languages. The optative can be translated into English as 'May X act' for volitional and 'X may/should/must/will/shall act' for epistemic or deontic possibility. Furthermore, the Turkic optative can function as a marker of predication and potentiality, allowing its use in conditional clauses. These situations express unfulfilled actions that convey future time, indicating expected, desired, and possible notions. It can be compared to the Indo-European prospective and the use of the English *will/shall*. Therefore, Turkic grammarians label this category as 'future' or 'optative-future'. The future situation is presented as possible, probable, or necessary (Johanson 2014: 20, 38–39; 2021a: 692–693; Abish 2016:

36). Originally the *{-GAy}* marker developed from the old prospective, and in the early Middle Turkic era, the meaning shifted to an emotive one (Rentzsch 2015: 188).

The main difference between voluntative and optative (as both represent primary volitional notions) is that "voluntatives mainly cover the semantic domains of desire and permissibility", while "optative items tend to cover the domains of desire and necessity". Moreover, the optative encompasses the full range of addressee shapes available with the voluntative and imperative and, therefore, may refer to both participant-internal and participant-external domains (Rentzch 2015: 187).

In the *Compendium*, not all optative paradigms are attested. Table 1.7 illustrates the grammatical markers of the optative marker {-GAy} with the first person plural, third person singular, and third person plural pronominal types of agreement markers.

Table 1.7. Optative markers

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| 1<sup>st</sup> **person** |  | {-GAy-mIz} |
| 2<sup>nd</sup> **person** |  |  |
| 3<sup>rd</sup> **person** | {-GAy} | {-GAy-lAr} |

The first person plural optative usually indicates the addresser's readiness to act or to request permission to perform an action and can be translated as 'May we act', 'We will act', 'Let us act' (Johanson 2021a: 692). See the example below.

(146) *anïŋ oɣlanlarïn soŋ* **ayɣaymïẓ** (f.122v/2–3)
    '**Let us talk** [about] his sons later.'

The third person optative conveys "the wish of the addresser or some other entity, but they may also be used in an impersonal sense" (Johanson 2021a: 692).

**Wish, desire, or hope**

(147) *χudāy taʿāla yär yüzündä pādišāhlïḳ saŋa* **bärgäy** (f.56v/1–2)
    '**May** the Almighty Lord – may He be exalted – **give** you sovereignty on the surface of the Earth.'

(148) *ešitgüĭigä χoš kelib*
    *oḳuɣuĭïɣa ʿāḳïlɣa fāydasï* **bolɣay** (f.1r/1)

    '**May** [it] **be** pleasant to the listener
    **and** useful to the reader's mind.'

(149) *χudāy taʿāla buyurub turur*
*seniŋ atïŋ ǰiŋgiz χān **bolγay*** (f.56v/6–56v/7)

'The Almighty Lord – may He be exalted – has ordered,
**"May** your name **be** Genghis Khan."'

(150) *ol läškärniŋ arabasïn tämirdin yasattï yaʿnī*
*{tämir (ḳudalaḳta ?) yolda taγlï tašlï yärdä araba **sïnmaγay}** teb* (f.59v/4–5)

'He forced to make an army's wagon-load from the iron, saying,
**"May** the wagon-load **not break** [and] (go further ?) on the hard-to-pass (iron, round)
road [that lies] on the mountainous, stony land."'

Turkic languages exhibit various systems of verbal inflection for the modality in main clauses
(Johanson 2014: 19). However, modality also appears in embedded finite clauses, the so-called
non-main (subordinate) clauses in the *Compendium*. Although subordinate clauses are not
native to Turkic languages, various types of subordinate clause developed in Chaghatay in
imitation of the Persian (Eckmann 1966: 202), while still being expressed by finite predicates.
The use of the imperative and voluntative in embedded finite clauses can be seen in Sections
2.1.3 and 2.1.4.1. The examples below show the use of the optative in subordinate clauses.

(151) *ošbu tört oγuldïn birisini tilädi*
*bu maḳāmdïn özgä maḳāmγa **barγay*** (f.24r/10–11)

'He wanted/wished one of these four sons [that]
he **shall go** from one dwelling to another.'

(152) *tilädi kim bizni*
*özinä **muwāfaḳat ḳïlγaymïz*** (f.20r/11)

'He desired us that
we **should agree** with him (and accept his religion).'

**Command, directive**

(153) *χalḳ arasïnda näčük kičik buzaγu dek tek **turγay***
*wä taḳï uruš vaḳïtïnda mi$\underline{s}$āl-i aǰ kim šïkār-gāhda ǰähd iškä zārïlïḳ bilä **kelgäy***
(f.93r/4–6).
'[A man] **must conduct (lit. stay)** like a small calf among the people
and, in time of war, [a man] **must take up (lit. come)** work hard in the hunting place
with wailing like a hungry [hawk].'

**Necessity**

The following examples (154)–(156) are similar to the sentences presented in example (153). However, there is a modal word *käräk* 'necessary' in examples (154)–(156), which slightly limits the meaning of the command and indicates necessity (Berta & Csató 2022: 157). Matrix clause structures imply the complementizer *kim*, which, together with the optative as a subjunctive, indicates the influence of the Persian language, as seen as in Middle Turkic and Kipchak (Rentzsch 2015: 128–129).

(154) *ägär šunï ičmäkdin ǰäräsi bolmasa anda* *käräk kim*
*bir ayda üǰ ḳatla mäst bol**ɣay***
*näčük šul üǰdin ötsä*
*χaṭā bol**ɣay*** (f.97r/5–7)

'If there is no solution for drinking, then it must be so that
[he] **may be intoxicated / drunk** three times a month.
As he exceeds three,
it **will be** a fault.'

(155) *anda* *kim...*(f.95r/6)
*ümärā-yi läškär so* *anda* *käräk kim*
*o* *lanlarï* *a o* *att**ï**ɣay***
*aṭḳa ǰaptur**ɣay***
*tutušmaḳnï ya* *šï bildürgäy*
*anlarnï munu* *dek išdä **āzmāyiš et[t]ürgäy***
*wä anda* *bol**ɣay*** ~~*bol**ɣay***~~
*mäš* *ūr wä bahādūr bolub yürügäylär* (f.95r/9–95v/1)

'So that...
the *amirs* of the army must [be] so that
[they] **must let** their sons **shoot** arrows,
[they] **must let** [their sons] **ride** a horse.
And [they] **must** properly **teach** wrestling.
They **must trial** them in such things/work.
It **must be** that/in the following way:
**they shall live** being a famous [man] and a hero.'

In example (156), the {-GAy} marker fulfills the function of necessity, while modifying the command or directive in the embedded clauses.

(156) *tümän begi wä mï* *begi wä yüz begi anda* *käräk kim*
*här biri öz läškärini anda* *yasamïšī ḳil**ɣaylar***
*żabṭ anda* *bol**ɣay*** *kim*
*här waḳïtda kim anï* *färmānï* *a wä ḥukmï* *a yätkäy*
‹*käčäni kündüz ḳïlïb*› *aytmay aṭlan**ɣay*** (f.99r/9–99v/1).

'Every general, colonel, and captain must [be] so that
all of them **should/must regulate** their own army that/in the following way:
enforcement/obedience/discipline **should/must be** so that

[they] **should/must obey** his commands and decisions/judgements all the time
[and they] **must ride/march** ‹turning night into day› without saying/questioning.'

## General truth

According to Eckmann (1966: 161) and Bodrogligeti (2001: 199), the optative is sometimes used to express a general truth and is translated using the English present tense. I am highlighting the function of 'general truth' within the optative, which I have chosen as the basis for my analysis. However, it is important to note that Johanson does not address this particular function.

(157) *šahr-i talaš ḳarï anda **bolɣay***
*šahr-i otrar ṣayram ḥaddïɣa yaqïn **bolɣay***
*čuw talaš ïsïɣ köl täkälik almalïq ilä ḳaratal ol vilāyätlärdä **bolɣay***
*yäti känt häm anda **bolɣay*** (K: f.60v/6–7)

'The ancient Talas city **is located** there.
Otrar and Sayram cities **are located** near the border [of that mountain].
Chu, Talas, Issyk-Kul, Tekelik, Almalyk, Ile and Karatal **are located** on that land.
[These] seven cities **are** also **located** there.'

## Probability

(158) *bu zamānda ol yärdä muḳīm musulmān **bolɣay***
*musulmānɣa **tābiʿ bolɣay*** (f.16v/11–17r/1)

'At this time at that place inhabitants **must be** Muslims.
[Therefore, the city] **must be subdued** to Muslims.'

## Potentiality

(159) *här kim ersä öz üyüni rāst ḳïlsa*
*mülkni häm **rāst ḳïlɣay***
*här kim ersä on kim ersäni yasamïšï etsä*
*lāyïḳ aŋa **bolɣay** kim*
*mïŋ beglikni taḳï tümän begligini muŋa **bärgäylär***
*wä **yasamïšï ḳïlɣay*** (f.91v/11–92r/3)

'Whoever can keep his own home in order
[that one] **can** also **keep** the property **in order**.
Anybody who can keep ten men in order
[that one] **is** worthy of **being** that
they **must give** him the title of colonel and general,
and [that person] **must set things in order**.'

**Prediction, expectation**

(160) *mägär anlar artuḳsï läškär paydā ḳïlɣay*
*wä anlar kim öz yurtlarïnda olturub turur biligni ešitmäy*
*anlarnïŋ ḥāli miṯ̱ālï taš **bolɣay***
*köb suw astïnda **ḳalɣay***
*yā kämālgä keltürmäy*
*atḳan oḳ **bolɣay***
***nā-bädīd bolɣay***
*andaɣ kim ersä pīšvālïḳda **oltura almaɣay*** (f.91v/7–11)

'Except for them more army make to appear.
And they sit in their *yurts* and do not listen to the *biligs*
their **situation will be** like a stone [that]
**remains** under the water
or **will be** like an arrow,
[which is] shot imperfectly (lit. does not come perfectly)
[and] **will disappear**.
In that case [they] **will not rule (properly)** (lit. **could not sit** on the leadership).'

(161) *bizniŋ ḳawmïzda munuŋdek oɣlan hïǰ tuɣmadï*
*hïǰ färzänd yinä **kelmägäy*** (f.17v/7–9)

'Such a boy has not yet been born in our tribe so far,
and **probably** [such a boy] **will** not **come** anymore.'

(162) *bizdin soŋ bizniŋ uruɣum•z ḳubbälär bilän aḳča **toldurɣay***
*yaχšï tonlar **kiygäylär***
*wä niʿmätlär ǰärb wä šīrīn **yegäylär***
*yaχšï ṣurätlïḳ aṭlarɣa **mingäylär***
*wä χūb yüzlük körklük χātunlarnï **alɣaylar***
***aytmaɣaylar** kim*
*bularnï bizniŋ atalarïm•z aɣalarïm•z ǰāmiʿ ḳalɣan erdilär teb*
*wä bizni ol uluɣ kün **unutmaḳlïḳ etkäy*** (f.95v/3–8).

'After us, our offspring **will fill [the treasury]** with heaps of money with outer,
they **will put on** good fur coats
and they **will eat** fatty and delicious food,
they **will sit** on strong (lit. well-shaped) horses
and they **will take** fine-faced beautiful wives,
[but] they **will not say** that
our fathers and elders collected all of these.
And they **will forget** us on that day of judgment.'

**Purpose**

(163) *anïŋ soŋɣudan oŋ χān bilän oɣlï säŋun bir bolub*

*läškär tartïb nā-gāh ǰiŋgiz χanniŋ üstünä **barɣaylar*** (53v/6–7)

'Then, Ong Khan, together with his son Sengun,
went on a campaign **in order to attack** Genghis Khan unexpectedly.'

(164) *özlärin körsätib*
*tā näǰük ol üǰ aṭlïɣlar aŋa **ḳaṣd etkäy***
*ḳaǰurub ḳowub **kelgäy***
*wä bi-mädäd nökärläri bilän anlarnï **tutɣay*** (94r/8–10)

'[He] showed himself
**in order to** those three horsemen **encroach his life**
[and] **chased** him,
and [he] **would catch** them **up** with the aid of his *nökers*.'

**Rhetorical question**

(165) *wä ol näfs kim mäst bolmaḳni özi ḳaydan **tabḳay*** (f.97r/9–10)
'Where to **find** such a person who would not be intoxicated at all?'

In the *Compendium*, the ablative case is typically marked by {-dIn} دین. However, {-dAn} دان sporadically represents it as well, as shown in example (165).

**Optative in the past**

There is no example in Chaghatay grammars where the pure optative marker expresses a past situation (Eckmann 1966; Bodrogligeti 2001). Johanson (2021: 692–701) also did not provide such examples in the Turkic language manual. The remote copula *erdi* is always added when expressing the optative in the past. However, the *Compendium* demonstrates examples of optative markers with past meaning, using the {-GAy} marker in discourse type based on the finite verb form {-DI}; see examples (166)–(167).

**Probability in the past**

Example (166) indicates a very high probability, similar to example (158), but in the past. However, even though the context allows for the interpretation of the sentence as a generally known truth, this is unlikely. This is because the sentence is part of the historical narrative about Timur Qutlugh; therefore, a present or future interpretation of this sentence is not possible.

(166) *bi-mävżiʿ idil ḥaddïnda mämālik-i ḥaǰǰï tarχānda **bolɣay*** (f.146r/7)

'He **must have been** [a khan] in the countries of *Hajji Tarkhan*[21] on the border of the Volga.'

There are examples in the *Compendium* where the entire passage consists of the modal marker {-GAy}, which performs various meanings related to modality. The following example (167) illustrates the notions of necessity, recommendation, possibility, and expectation in the main clause.

(167) *taḳï aytïb turur*
*er künni özindä ermäs teb* **bilgäy** (necessity)
*barǰa yärdä özi dek eränlär bilän* **körgäy** (possibility)
*andaɣ bolsa erläri aŋɣa yā ǰäriggä ketib ersä*
*χātunlar üyün asbābïn yarašuḳ* **ḳïlɣay** (recommendation*) andaɣ kim näčük*
*elči yā mihmān bolsa*
*aniŋ üyünä kelib* **ḳonɣay** (possibility)
*barǰa närsädin tärtībli* **körgäylär** (possibility)
*wä ašïnï yaχšï* **etkäy** (recommendation)
*mihmānnï yaχšï* **ḳonaḳlaɣay** (recommendation)
*la-ǰäräm eriniŋ yaχšï atïnï* **paydā ḳïlɣay** (expectation)
*aniŋ atï* **biyükkä čïḳɣay** (expectation) *näčük taɣ üstünä čïḳɣan dek*
*yaχšï erli yaχšï χātunlï teb* **maʿlūm bolɣay** (expectation) (f.93r/10–93v/7)[22]

'Also, he has said,
"[A man] **shall know** (necessity) that the Sun is not in himself [that]
he **can see** (possibility) males like him everywhere.
In that case when their husbands go hunting or to the army
the wives **should keep** the house and utensils **pleasing** (recommendation) so that
if there is an envoy or a guest,
[they] **could alight** (possibility) at his house
and they **could see** (possibility) everything in order.
And [wives] **should prepare** (recommendation) a good meal.
And [wives] **should prepare** everything that the guest needs (lit. let take up temporary quarters in a place) (recommendation).
As a result, [such wives] **create** (expectation) a good reputation [for their husbands].
His name **shall be exalted** (expectation) like [a name of man] who has climbed a mountain.
Good qualities of a husband **are recognized** (expectation) [by] the good qualities of a wife.'''

Thackston (1998: 293 n.1; 295–296) used this part of the Turkic *Compendium* when translating the Persian text, since this section of the Persian text was obscure. He translated it as the following:

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[21] Hajji Tarkhan is a medieval town located on the right bank of the Volga River; it is now known as Astrakhan.
[22] The source of example (167) is *Dede Korkut*, see Lewis (1974: 193).

"A man [is not the sun] that he can show himself openly to his relatives everywhere. A woman whose husband has mounted to go hunting or on an expedition should keep the home in order and decorated to that if an envoy or a guest alight at the home he will see that everything is well arranged, and she should prepare good food and see the guest's needs. As a consequence, she will have made a good name for her husband, his reputation will be good, and he will hold his head aloft like a mountain in assemblies and gatherings. A man's good repute is known from the goodness of his wife".

The relevance of singular and plural optatives in the *Compendium* is presented, although not fully elaborated. The optative expresses various readings of performing an action in the *Compendium*. Nevertheless, every optative conveys the expression of a wish, even in epistemic notions, with the exception of general truth.

### 2.1.4.3 Further Modals

**Expressions of necessity**

The necessitative modal meaning pertains to modality in terms of the duty to act and can be translated using English 'must', 'have to', 'should', 'necessary'. They are used to express ethical, moral, legal, or social norms without a strong force of obligation (Johanson 2014: 20–21; 2021a: 705; Abish 2016: 126).

Two examples of necessitatives are attested in the *Compendium*, in addition to the modal word *käräk* in sentences with the optative marker {-GAy}, which limits the means of command; see examples (154)–(155) above.

The constructions of the two examples below are formed with the adjectival operator of necessity (modal word or auxiliary noun) *käräk* and the verbal noun in {-mAk} (although it is missing in example (169)) (Rentzsch 2015: 43; Abish 2016: 126; Berta & Csató 2022: 157; Johanson 2022a: 39), which is the most common structure of necessity. Rentzsch (2015: 117) mentions construction in both *Babur-name* and Old Uighur.

(168)  *här söz kim bar*
    *üč dānā bilä **keŋäšmäk käräk*** (f.92r/9–10)

    'Every word there is
    **must be consulted** with three wise men.'

The following example lacks a verbal noun; however, it is necessary for it to be there. It is likely that QAB missed it, as the verbal noun is absent in both St. Petersburg and Kazan manuscripts.

(169)  *ägär andïn ilgäri söz aytsa*

*ägär tïŋlasa fä-bihā*
*wä īlla temir ḳïẓɣanda [?] käräk* (f.92v/4–5)

'If he says a word early,
it is good if they listen;
except that iron **must be [stroked]** while it is hot.'

## Expressions of potentiality

Turkic potentials are inherent in possible, probable, or feasible action. They can express epistemic or deontic meanings. Potentiality markers generally indicate ability, regarding the subject of the sentence as 'by virtue of his abilities', which means that 'it is possible', comparable to an English modal verb *can* (Johanson 2021a: 710).

Furthermore, potentials refer to a relative future, representing an expected, supposed, destined event (Johanson 2021a: 712), which is expressed in the *Compendium* using the negated aorist marker {-mA-s}. Abish (2016: 59) noted that the aorist marker {-(°)r} exhibits prospectivity with the meaning of epistemic possibility; see examples (170) and (171). However, in the *Compendium*, the aorist marker {-(°)r} still conveys prospectivity in the sense of 'neutral' future categories.

(170) *daryā suwïn hič kim ersä ičib **tügänä almas*** (f.3v/2–3)
'There is no one who **can drink up** all the water of the river.'

The next example is a well-known Turkic verse that appears in the part of the *Compendium* recounting the story of Tokhtamysh Khan. The verse highlights that the officers of the Crimean army were not willing to set off until the Volga froze. However, Qadir Berdi did not agree. His statement is preserved in history as following:

(171) *idil ṭoŋsa kim **käčmäs***
*idigä ölsä kim **barmas***
*idil ṭoŋmas burun*
*idigä ölmäs burun* (f.145v/9–10)

'If the Volga freezes, **none will cross** it.
If Edige dies, **none will go**.
The Volga has not frozen before.'
Edige has not died before.'

## Expressions of prospective

Turkic languages lack futurity markers, and references to future actions are always expressed through modality. Prospectives can be translated as 'will/shall', 'ought to', 'has to', 'may', 'can'

(Johanson 2021a: 712). The modal behavior of prospectivity does not establish a specific modal notion; however, it does not exclude interpretations of desire, possibility, or necessity in certain cases (Rentzsch 2015: 198).

The *Compendium* demonstrates prospectivity only in the non-past stratum. The prospective in the past wasn't attested. However, it is theoretically possible that such a form existed in the language in which the *Compendium* is written, expressing an action planned in the past to be accomplished at a later date.

Prospectivity in the *Compendium* is expressed through the negative form of the simple aorist marker {-(°)r}, which went through a defocalization process of the intraterminal item (Johanson 2000a: 100–101; 2021a: 712). It is the most widespread prospective marker in many modern Turkic languages (Rentzsch 2015: 203). It is worth noting that Xisamieva (2022: 64) excludes the future expression of the aorist marker {-(°)r} in Kazakh. However, in modern Kazakh, the aorist marker {-(°)r} does convey various notions of modality, including prospectivity.

(172) *kündä säniŋ χayrïŋ **eksimäs***
*χazīnädä*[23] *hič mālïŋ **tügänmäs*** (f.5r/11–5v/1)

'Your good deed **will not diminish** each day.
Your wealth **will not be depleted** in your treasury.'

(173) *säniŋ ʿināyät sohurγallarïŋ*
*tā abäd al-abäd-gäǰä χazīnädä mālïŋ hič kim ersägä bärib*
***tügänmäs** häm **eksimäs*** (f.3v/3–5)

'Your generosity [is such that]
even if you distribute the treasures of your wealth forever and ever to everyone,
it **will neither deplete nor diminish**.'

Conditional sentences also utilize the aorist marker {-(°)r}. In such cases, hypotheticals are used as converb markers in the conditional sentences of dependent clauses, marked by {-sA} with agreement possessive suffixes, while the aorist marker {-(°)r} appears in the main clauses; see examples (174) and (175).

(174) *ägär χudāyγa tabunsaŋ*
*ol χudāyγa müḥibb bolsaŋ*
*säniŋ sütiŋni **emärm•n*** (f.17r/11–17v/1)

'If you obey the Almighty Lord,

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[23] † *χazīŋädä*.

[and] treat the Almighty Lord with love (lit. become an affectionate friend to the Almighty Lord),
I **will suckle** your milk.'

(175) *kim köb biligni bilib köŋlidä tutsa*
*dävläti **artar***
*säʿādät aŋa yār bolsa*
*miḥnatnï kim **tartar*** (f.4v/11–5r/1)

'Those who knows and keeps a lot of *bilig*s in his heart
that's power **will increase.**
If happiness is his companion,
who **will suffer** (lit. **bear** the suffering**)**?'

Another element that can be interpreted as prospective is {-(°)r} *bol-*. Old Turkic {-(°)r} *bol-* 'become doing' signals the transition to an intraterminal state in focus and is interpreted as prospectivity (Danka 2019a: 242; Johanson 2022a: 37). In Bodrogligeti's terminology, it represents the optative of the aorist, expressing the anticipated future in the form {-(°)r} *bolγay* (Bodrogligeti 2001: 213). Such a future, modified by the optative marker {-GAy}, is attested in example (176).

(176) *fatḥ wä nuṣrät bilän **yätär bolγay** šām bilän ʿirāḵya* (f.4r/2–3)
'Victoriously **shall** they **reach** Syria and Iraq!' (Danka 2020: 78)

The form {-(°)r} *bol-* 'become doing' indicates a transition to an intraterminal state in focus, interpreting prospectivity, as seen in example (176). On the other hand, the form {-GAn} *bol-* 'become having done' signals a transition to a postterminal state in focus, modifying the future with the optative marker {-GAy}. This form is combined with the terminal base and the hypothetical copular particle in the non-main clause in the *Compendium*, as shown in example (177).

(177) *kim ersä üsrük boldï ersä*
*ol ḥālätdä **ölgän bolγay*** (f.96r/1–2)

'If someone would be intoxicated,
in that case he **will be (like a) dead** one.'

The *Compendium* also demonstrates prospectivity through the construction of the verbal noun formant {-GU}, combined with the possessive suffix and the copula *turur*. This prospective was also attested in Chaghatay, expressing an imminent event that will definitely and unconditionally occur (Eckmann 1959: 155–156; Bodrogligeti 2001: 230; Rentzsch 2015: 202;

Boeschoten 2022: 168). In the *Compendium*, examples are attested only in the first person; see examples (178) and (179). These constructions convey an inner urge related to modality.

(178) *inšā allāh taʿālā här ḳaysïsïnï birär faṣïl **bäyān ḳïlɣumᵒz turur*** (f.1r/2–3)
     'According to Allah's will – may He be exalted – we **need to/have the intention to describe** every section one by one.'

(179) *bu maʿnādïn ḥażrät ögätäy χānɣa ʿarża ḳïlɣum turur* (f.83v/10–11)
     'That's why I **need to/have the intention to submit a request** to His Majesty, Ögedei Khan.'

## 2.2 Copular devices

Three types of copular devices will be distinguished in this investigation: person-number agreement suffixes, copular verbs, and copular particles.

### 2.2.1 Person-number agreement suffixes

The person-number agreement markers are unaccentuated enclitic elements. There are two types of person-number markers: the pronominal type and the possessive type. The possessive type is attached to the verb forms in the accentuable terminal suffix {-DI} and hypothetical {-sA}, while the pronominal type is used in all other cases.

Agreement suffixes always occupy the last position in the morpheme chain of word forms. The third person is marked by {+DUr}. In the *Compendium*, there are agreement markers for the first person singular, the second person singular and plural, and the third person singular and plural.

Table 2.1. Person-number agreement suffixes of the pronominal type

|  | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** | {+mᵒn} ‹mn› | |
| **2ⁿᵈ person** | {+sᵒn} ‹sn› | {+sᵒz} ‹sz› |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | - / {+DUr} ‹dwr› | |

In the *Compendium*, only one example of the first person singular (1), second person singular (2), and second person plural (3) forms of each was found.

**First person singular marker**

(1) *män noḳay**mᵒn***
     *tädi* (f.142v/8)

'"I **am** Noghay,"
[he] said.'

## Second person singular marker

(2) *ay bār χudā yā*
*ḳadīmdin bärü sän bilürs•n ve āgāhs•n kim*
*ilgäridin altan χān fitnälär ḳilγan erdi* (f.97v/4–5)

'O God!
You know from the olden times, and you **are** aware that
Altan Khan stirred up troubles from before.'

## Second person plural marker

(3) *oγlanlarïm sizlär hänūz yašsiẕ* (f.82r/8–9)
'My sons, you **are** still inexprierenced.'

## Third person singular markers

The lack of the third person marker is a common feature in Turkic languages, including the *Compendium*. Consider the following examples (4)–(7):

(4) *χalāyïḳin ʿādïllïk bilän suraγan χān* (f.1r/9–10)
'[He] **is** the khan who has ruled people with the justice.'

(5) *ǰümlät al-kristiān pādišāh ḥażrätläri barïṣ fyodorāvič uluγ beg aḳ χān* (f.1r/6–7)
'His Majesty, the Padishah of all Christians, Boris Fyodorovich **is** a great lord [and] White Khan.'

(6) *atï awalun ekä atlïγ* (f.47v/11–48r/1)
'Her name **is** Mother Awalun.'

(7) *ʿādïllïḳ etärgä saŋa layïḳ mämläkätiŋdä här iš saŋa müvāfïḳ*
*dävlät-i säʿādät saŋa vāmïḳ* (f.4v/3–5)

'To you, good-doer, in a good country everything **is** favorable for you.
The state of prosperity **is** amorous to you.'

Clitics of copular type with the form {+DUr} are contracted forms of *tur-ur*. The term *tur-ur* is the aorist form of the verb *tur-* 'to stand'. The aorist in Turkic languages is employed, indicating intraterminality or prospectivity in the non-past. However, the form *tur-ur* also serves as a copula in nominal predicates in non-past. They are utilized as markers for the third person; see examples (8)–(9).

(8) *taχtnïŋ ṣūräti ošbu**dur*** (f.155v/1)
'The shape of the throne **is** the following.'

(9) *ǰaɣatay bu yerdä ḥāżïr dägüldür* (f.89r/10–11)
    'Chaghatay **is** not present here (lit. at this place).'

Furthermore, the following examples demonstrate the use of the form {+DUr} with third person plural subjects. In the *Compendium*, there are only two occurrences, both of which are used with the adjective *bar* 'existent'; see examples (10)–(11).

(10) *bu zamānda anïŋ oɣlanlarï χānnïŋ ḳulluɣunda bardur*[24] (f.76v/6–7)
    'There **are** (some of) his sons in the service of the khan nowadays.'

(11) *ol yärdä taḳï oɣlanlarï bardur* (f.78v/1)
    'There **are** more of his sons there.'

In Old Turkic written languages, the third person predicates either have no markers or use the pronominal type *ol* (Johanson 2021a: 560). Although the *Compendium* does not feature a pronominal type *ol* predicate, in examples (12)–(13), *ol* appears as a demonstrative pronoun with the copula *turur*.

(12) *näčä anča häzār taɣdïn murād ol turur kim*
    *säniŋ taχtïŋnï taɣɣa mïs̱āl ḳïldïlar* (f.2v/8–9)

    'The meaning of so many thousand mountains **is** <u>the following</u>:
    they compared your throne to the mountain.'

(13) *χalḳdïn murād ol turur kim*
    *sāyä-yi dävlät mïs̱āl säniŋ χalḳïŋ dävlätkä oχšar* (f.2v/11–3r/1)

    'The meaning of people **is** <u>that</u>
    your people are like the shadow of [your] reign.'

## 2.2.2 Copular verbs

Copular verbs include *er-* 'to be', *bol-* (*ol-*)[25] 'to be(come)', 'to emerge', 'to turn out to be', *tur-* 'to stop, stand', and also verbs of physical position, such as *oltur-* 'to sit', *yürü-* 'to walk', and *yat-* 'to lie'.

### *2.2.2.1 Er- 'to be'*

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[24] K: *durur* (f.30v/17). However, the form *durur* ‹drwr› does not appear anywhere else in the two manuscripts of the *Compendium*.
[25] An example with the form *ol-* 'to be(come)' (StP: f.48v/1) is attested in the St. Peterburg manuscript; however, the same sentence appears with *bol-* 'id.' (K: f.19r/13) in the Kazan manuscript.

In Old Turkic written languages, *er-* 'to be' is a fully conjugated verb with many forms (Johanson 2021a: 562). Although not all inflected forms are found in the *Compendium*, it is still a very active copular verb. The paradigms of terminal *er-di*, intraterminal *er-ür*, and hypothetical *er-sä* are attested in the *Compendium*. See Tables 2.2–2.4 below and examples of *er-* 'to be'.

### *Er-di*

The terminal forms take on person-number markers of the possessive type (Boeschoten 2022: 167), such as first person singular *er-di-m*, second person singular *er-di-ŋ*. However, only third person singular and third person plural forms are attested in the *Compendium*. See Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2. Terminal forms of the copular verb *er-* 'to be'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** |  |  |
| **2ⁿᵈ person** |  |  |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | *er-di* ‹ʾyrdy› / *e-di* ‹ʾydy› | *e-di-lär* ‹ʾydylʾr› / *er-di-lär* ‹ʾyrdylʾr› |

### Third person singular

The occurrences of the third person singular terminal *er-di* are shown in examples (14)–(15), and the form *e-di* in examples (16)–(17).

> (14) *musa begniŋ oɣlï* **erdi** (f.143r/7)
> '[He] **was** the son of Musa Beg.'

> (15) *uruɣï aṣlï*[26] *moɣol ḳawmïdan* **erdi** (f.14r/11)
> 'His clan **was** from the Mongolian tribe.'

In later stages, the *-r* at the end of the stem is frequently dropped, especially before consonants, e.g. *e(r)-di > e-di* (Johanson 2021a: 563). This is attested in the following examples:

> (16) *näčük muʿtäbär* **edi** (f.72v/2)
> '[He] **was** so respected.'

> (17) *ʿaẓim muʿtäbär* **edi** (f.73r/9)
> '[He] **was** powerful and respected.'

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[26] *Uruɣï aṣlï* is a hendiadys, a device that uses two parallel nouns with similar meanings to express a single idea.

The following examples demonstrate the use of *er-di* (18)–(20) and *e-di* (21)–(22) with third person plural subjects. In examples (19) and (22), the plural subjects are morphologically singular, as Turkic uses the singular form for nouns following numerals.

(18) *anïŋ oɣlanlarï köb **erdi*** (K: f.60v/16–17)
  'His sons **were** many.'

(19) *aḥmäd χānnïŋ üǰ χātunïdïn toḳuz oɣul **erdi*** (f.146v/1)
  '[There] **were** nine sons of Ahmet Khan from three wives.'

(20) *oḳlarï uzun uzun **erdi*** (f.143v/5–6)
  '[His] arrows **were** very long.'

(21) *ol zamānda tamāmï büzürg ümärā-yi uluɣ ähl-i iʿtibār **edi*** (f.71v/8–9)
  'All the great *amirs* **were** respected during that time.'

(22) *ol altï oɣlï özi bilän birgä **edi*** (K: f.7v/17)
  'Those six sons of him **were** with himself.'

**Third person plural**

The forms marked for plural, *er-di-lär* and *e-di-lär*, are also attested, see examples (23)–(24) and (25)–(26), respectively. The subject *bu ḳawm* in example (23) is a singular form with a collective meaning. The subject in *kärman uluɣlarï* 'the great ones of Kasimov' in example (24), on the other hand, is morphologically marked for plural.

(23) *bu ḳawm eki böläk **erdilär*** (f.12v/7)
  'This tribe **were** two divisions.'

(24) *kärman uluɣlarï häm birgä χān ḥażrätläri ḳulluɣunda **erdilär*** (f.154v/3–4)
  'All the great ones of Kasimov **were** in the service of His Highness, the Khan.'

In example (25), the subjects, *anlarnïŋ atasï aɣasï* 'his father and elder brother', are coordinated nouns meaning X and Y. The plural marker can have an individualizing function, referring to the persons involved individually. This is motivated by the text.

(25) *näǰük kim anlarnïŋ atasï aɣasï kāfir **edilär***
  *oɣuz anlardïn bašḳa yürür erdi* (f.19v/5–7)

  'As his father and elder brother[s] **were** non-believers,
  Oghuz was walking apart from them.'

The subject of the plural marked copula in example (26) is a morphologically singular form, *bu ekisi* 'these two'.

(26) *bu ekisi aɣa wä ini **edilär*** (f.75v/2)
    'These two **were** elder and younger brethren.'

## *Er-ür*

The aorist of *er-* takes on person-number markers of the pronominal type (Johanson 2021a: 633), such as the first person singular *er-ür-m°n* 'I am', second person singular *er-ür-s°n* 'you are', etc. However, in the *Compendium*, only third person singular forms are attested; see Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3. Intratermianl forms of the copular verb *er-* 'to be'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** |  |  |
| **2ⁿᵈ person** |  |  |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | *er-ür* ‹ʾyrwr› |  |

**Third person singular**

(27) *aniŋ oɣlï ǰalayir saba **erür*** (f.157v/6–7)
    'His son **is** Saba [of the] Jalayir.'

(28) *mäymänä oŋ ḳol mäysärä sol ḳol **erür*** (f.157v/11)
    'Meymene **is** the right wing and meysere **is** the left wing.'

The following examples demonstrate the use of *er-ür* (29)–(30) with third person plural subjects.

(29) *urus χānnïŋ näslidä uluɣ ümärā-yi büzürg **erür*** (f.157v/9–10)
    'There **are** great amirs in the progeny of Urus Khan.'

(30) *ḳawm ḳataɣïn öz aralarïnda bu zamānɣa deg[g]äǰ uluɣlarï maʿlūm **erür*** (f.148r/3–4)
    'Their great [amirs] **are** known to this day among the tribe of Qatagin.'

## *Er-se*

The hypothetical marker {-sA} is used in conditional clauses. It is important to note that *er-sä* is not commonly used in the *Compendium*, occuring exclusively in the third person singular form. Below are two out of the three examples (31)–(32) presented. Additionally, there are examples of the hypothetical copular particle *er-sä* combined with terminals, which can be seen in Section 2.2.3.4.

Table 2.4. Hypothetical forms of copular verb *er-* 'to be'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** |  |  |
| **2ⁿᵈ person** |  |  |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | *er-sä* ‹ʾyrsʾ› |  |

**Third person plural**

The next examples (31)–(32) demonstrate the use of *er-sä* with third person plural subjects.

(31) *ḳaraču är kim ersä yaʿnī ʿāmmä šarāb ičmäklikkä ḥarīṣ bolsalar*
*aṭ wä gälä wä här nä ǰaḳlï **bar ersä** anlarnïŋ ǰümläsini tamām etkäy*
*wä müflis bolɣay* (f.96v/6–8)

'If any subordinate person, i.e. commoners, become craving for drinking wine,
they will (lose) all **whatever** they **have**, horse, herd, and other possessions,
and become impoverished.'

(32) *erläri aŋɣa yā ǰäriggä ketib **ersä***
*χātunlar üyün asbābïn yarašuḳ ḳïlɣay* (f.93v/1–2)

'**When/if** their husbands **go** hunting or to the army,
the wives should keep the house and utensils pleasing.'

## 2.2.2.2 Bol- 'to be(come)'

The copular verb *bol-* 'to be(come)' is originally an initio-transformative verb that denotes both a dynamic 'to become' and a static 'to be' phase. It has partially replaced the old verb *er-* 'to be' in its role as a copular verb (Johanson 2021a: 563). The *Compendium* contains the paradigms of the terminal *bol-dï*, aorist *bol-ur*, postterminal *bol-mïš*, and hypothetical *bol-sa*.

### Bol-dï

The terminal forms of the verb *bol-* 'to be(come)' take on person-number markers of the possessive type. In the *Compendium*, all singular forms of *bol-* 'to be(come)' are represented: first person (33), second person (34), and third person (35)–(40), while the plural is represented only by the third person (41)–(42). See Table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Terminal forms of the copular verb *bol-* 'to be(come)'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** | *bol-du-m* ‹bwldwm› |  |
| **2ⁿᵈ person** | *bol-du-ŋ* ‹bwldwng› |  |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | *bol-dï* ‹bwldy› | *bol-dï-lar* ‹bwldylʾr› |

**First person singular**

(33) *muḥibb-i ḥaḳḳ taʿālāɣa* **boldum**
   *tedi* (f.19v/3)

   '"I **became** a believer (lit. an affectionate friend) in the Rightful God – may He be exalted,"
   she said.'

**Second person singular**

(34) *pādišahlar pādišahï* **bolduŋ** (f.56v/6)
   'You **became** the padishah of padishahs.'

**Third person singular**

(35) *aniŋ oɣlï ǰanibek χān* **boldï** (K: f.60r/15)
   'His son Janibek **became** the khan.'

(36) *ol ulusda manṣur biyniŋ ornuɣa (sic!) ḳażi biy* **boldï** (K: f.63v/14–15)
   'Among those people, Qazi **became** the beg in the place of Mansur Beg.'

(37) *ḥasan begdin soŋ musa begniŋ oɣlï šïdaḳ beg* **boldï** (f.143r/4–5)
   'After Hasan Beg, Musa Beg's son, Shidaq **became** the beg.'

(38) *ol häm biraz waḳït χān* **boldï** (f.150v/11)
   'He also **was** the khan for a while.'

The following examples demonstrate the use of *bol-dï* (39)–(40) with third person plural subjects.

(39) *anlarnïŋ nām[larï] maʿlūm muʿayyän* **boldï** (f.152v/3–4)
   'Their names **were/became** known.'

(40) *andïn soŋ oɣlanlarï [miŋ begi]* **boldï** (f.69v/5)
   'After that, his sons **became** [colonels].'

**Third person plural**

The use of *bol-dï-lar*, the form marked for plural, is also attested; see examples (41)–(42).

(41) *ekisi häm pādišāh* **boldïlar** (f.136r/1)
   'Both of them **were/became** padishahs.'

(42) *ammā bir anča ol vilāyätdä kältä χānlar* **boldïlar** (f.150v/8–9)
   '[They] **were/became** minor khans in that land for some [time].'

The copular verb *bol-dï* is primarily transformative and expresses a transformation into a new state, as shown in examples (33)–(37), (40). Nevertheless, it can also function as a non-transformative marker (38), like in Turkmen, as well as Kipchak and Karluk branches (Johanson 2021a: 563). In some cases, it may sometimes be difficult to determine whether *bol-dï* is used in a transformative or non-transformative senses, as in examples (39), (41) and (43).

### *Bol-ur*

The aorist form of the verb *bol-* is attested only in the third person singular. Examples (43)–(45) present non-transformative usages, which can be considered synonymous with the intraterminal copular verb *er-ür* (27)–(28).

Table 2.6. Intraterminal form of the copular verb *bol-* 'to be(come)'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** |  |  |
| **2ⁿᵈ person** |  |  |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | *bol-ur* ‹bwlwr› |  |

### Third person singular

(43) *[burḳučin tukum] moɣolnïŋ bir čäti **bolur*** (f.31r/2–3)
  '[Burkuchin Tukum] **is** one of the outskirts of the Mongols.'

(44) *maʿna-yi ǰiŋgizi ol turur*
  *yaʿnī güür χān temäklig **bolur***
  *yaʿnī ḳawī muʿaẓẓam uluɣ pādišah temäk **bolur*** (f.54v/10–55r/1).

  'The meaning of [the name] Genghis is that
  so [he] **is** called *Gür Khan*,
  so that means, [he] **is** an immensely respected great padishah.'

(45) *maʿna-yi līḳūm χïṭay tili bilän uluɣ beg demäk **bolur*** (f.31v/2–3)
  'Thus, the meaning of *liḳum* in the Chinese language **is** *ulugbeg* (great lord).'

### *Bol-mïš*

The postterminal form *bol-mïš* indicates that the statement is supported by a source or evidence. The *Compendium* contains only two examples (46) and (47) of the indirective/evidential copular particle, both in the third person singular. In both cases, the copular verb *bol-mïš* is used in a transformative sense.

Table 2.7. Postterminal form of the copular verb *bol-* 'to be(come)'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1<sup>st</sup> person** |  |  |
| **2<sup>nd</sup> person** |  |  |
| **3<sup>rd</sup> person** | *bol-miš* ‹bwlmyš›, ‹bwlmš› |  |

**Third person singular**

> (46) *soŋ yänä yaɣï **bolmïš*** (f.59v/10)
> 'After, [Tumat tribe] again **reportedly became** enemy.'

> (47) *näčük χudāy taʿālā yol bärdi ersä*
> *wä anïŋ dāḳ müyässär **bolmïš** unutɣanda öŋägä köŋül ḳïlɣanlarnï* (f.94v/4–5)
>
> 'Just as the Almighty Lord – may He be exalted – made it possible (lit. gave a way),
> so it **was evidently** accomplished, having forgot those who care for others.'

Example (47) shows a complex sentence translated from Persian into Turkic by QAB in the second part of the text. Thackston (1998: 296) translates this sentence as follows:

> "When God gives a way,
> such things **are** possible; you forget this and think things are otherwise."

***Bol-sa***

The hypothetical marker {-sA} is used with the copular verb *bol-* 'to be(come)' to express conditions and serve as the predicate in a conditional clause. *Bol-sa* has the same meaning as *er-sä*. However, *bol-sa* is more frequently used as a predicate in conditional clauses, while *er-sä* functions more as a hypothetical copular particle. There are many examples of hypothetical *bol-sa* in the *Compendium*, most of which are in the third person singular. Second person singular (48) and third person plural (51) forms also attested. In example (49), *bol-sa* conveys a rhetorical question.

Table 2.8. Hypothetical forms of the copular verb *bol-* 'to be(come)'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1<sup>st</sup> person** |  |  |
| **2<sup>nd</sup> person** | *bol-sa-ŋ* ‹bwlsʾng› |  |
| **3<sup>rd</sup> person** | *bol-sa* ‹bwlsʾ› | *bol-sa-lar* ‹bwlsʾlʾr› |

**Second person singular**

> (48) *ägär χudāyɣa tabunsaŋ*

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*ol χudāyγa muḥibb* **bolsaŋ**
*säniŋ sütiŋni emärm°n* (f.17r/11–17v/1)

'If you obey the Almighty Lord
[and] treat the Almighty Lord with love (lit. **become** an affectionate friend to the Almighty Lord),
I will suckle your milk.'

**Third person singular**

(49) *säʿādät aŋa yār* **bolsa**
  *miḥnatnï kim tartar* (f.5r/1)

  '**If** happiness **is** his companion,
  who **will suffer** (lit. **bear** the suffering**)**?'

(50) *andaγ kim*
  *näčük elči yā mihmān* **bolsa**
  *anïŋ üyünä kelib ḳonγay*
  *barǰa närsädin tärtībli körgäylär* (f.93v/2–3)

  'So that
  **if** there **is** an envoy or a guest,
  [they] could alight at his (a man's) house
  [and they] could see everything in order.'

**Third person plural**

(51) *oγlanlarïm sizlär hänūz yaššïz*
  *wä taḳï kim günāhliḳ (sic!)* **bolsalar**
  *sän anlarnï öz köŋlüŋ birlä öltürmägil*
  *mäŋä keŋäšmäginčä* (f.82r/8–10)

  'My sons, you are still inexperienced.
  **If** someone **commits** a sin,
  you (PL) do not kill them of your own accord
  until [you] consult with me.'

### 2.2.2.3 Tur- 'to stop, stand'

### Tur-ur

In the *Compendium*, only the aorist form *tur-ur* of the verb *tur-* 'to stop, stand' is attested as a copular verb. It uses pronominal type person-number agreement markers. Almost the full paradigm is attested, with the exception of the first person singular and the second person plural. See examples (52)–(59).

Table 2.9. Intraterminal forms of the copular verb *tur-* 'to stop, stand'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** |  | *tur-ur-m°z* ‹trwrmz› |
| **2ⁿᵈ person** | *tur-ur-s°n* ‹trwrsn› |  |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | *tur-ur* ‹trwr› | *tur-ur-lar* ‹trwrlʾr› |

**Second person singular**

(52) *oɣuz aydï*
*köŋlüm tilägän sän tururs•n* (f.19r/10–11)

'Oghuz said,
"You **are** the one my heart wanted."'

**First person plural**

(53) *sizniŋ rāst turur sözüŋüz*
*wä lēkin šul anwāʿdïn bizlär andïn kim tururm°z tā bunuŋ dek ötkizälim* (f.83v/11–

84r/2)

'Your words are right,
but we **shall be content** with the things of which we have.'

**Third person singular**

(54) *biriniŋ atï ʿabdurraḥman χoǰa turur* (f.149r/11)
'The name of one [of Baba Tükles's sons] **is** Abdurrahman Hojja.'

(55) *aytmaslar yaman turur yā yaχšï* (f.96v/11–97r/1)
'They won't / cannot tell whether he **is** bad or good.'

The following examples demonstrate the use of semantically plural *tur-ur* (56)–(57) with the

third person plural subjects.

(56) *bu ǰāmāʿätlär kim ḳawmlarï bisyār üküš köb turur* (f.13v/2–3)
'These groups **are** [composed of] too many tribes.'

(57) *ögätäy χānniŋ oɣlanlarï wä oɣliniŋ oɣlanlarï bular turur* (f.102r/7–8)
'These **are** the sons of Ögedei Khan and the sons' of his son.'

In the following example (58), both the subject and verb are morphologically singular. The

subject in *beš beg* 'five begs' is singular, as Turkic nouns following numeral adjectives appear

in singular form.

(58) *bu beš beg maʿlūm turur* (f.73r/1)
'These five begs **are** known.'

**Third person plural**

The form marked for plural, *tur-ur-lar*, is also attested, see example (59).

> (59) *kičik χātundïn tuɣḳan oɣlanlar munlar **tururlar*** (f.34r/1–2)
> 'These **are** sons born from Kichik Khatun.'

### *2.2.2.4 Other copular verbs*

In the *Compendium*, copular verbs are also expressed by verbs such as *oltur-* 'to sit', *yürü-* 'to walk', and *yat-* 'to lie', which indicate physical position. These Turkic verbs can function as equivalents to English copular verbs such as 'to appear', 'to seem', among others (Johanson 2021a: 564). All these copular verbs are attested in the aorist form.

### *Oltur-ur*

Table 2.10. Intraterminal form of the copular verb *oltur-* 'to sit'

|  | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1ˢᵗ **person** |  |  |
| 2ⁿᵈ **person** |  |  |
| 3ʳᵈ **person** | *oltur-ur* ‹ʾwltwrwr› |  |

**Third person singular**

> (60) *tamāmï anlarnïŋ uruɣï ol yärlärdä **olturur***[27] (f.10r/6–7)
> 'All their clan **dwells** in those places.'

Remarkably, the aorist form *oltur-ur* conveys a copular meaning similar to {+DUr} < *tur-ur*, while the terminal *oltur-dï* (f.38v/2, f.38v/3, f.68r/9, f.74r/6) consistently exhibits the lexical meaning 'X sat', as {-DI} serves as the basis of the narrative discourse type.

Graphically, the examples resemble the copular verb *turur* combined with the demonstrative pronoun *ol*, as shown in examples (12), (13), and (44) above.

The copular verb *oltur-ur*, in example (60), can be compared to corresponding verbs in Turkish and Kazakh. The Turkish word *oltur- > otur-* 'to sit down, sit' can sometimes be used in figurative senses, such as 'to live', 'to dwell', as illustrated in examples (61) and (62), respectively. The example (60) from the *Compendium* shares the same figurative meaning as the Turkish verb in the sense of 'to live', 'to dwell'.

> (61) *Ali genellikle kütüphanede pencere kenarında **oturur***

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[27] K: *tamāmï anlarnïŋ uruɣï ol yärlärdä **olturur erdi** (f.2v/3–4).

'Ali usually **sits** in the library near a window.'

(62) *Zeynep'in bir arkadaşı İstanbul'da* **oturur**
'One of Zeynep's friends **lives** in Istanbul.'

In Kazakh, the verb *otïr-* 'to sit' can also mean 'to be located', expressing a state rather than an action. Additionally, *otïr-* 'to sit' as well as *tur-* 'to stand', *žat-* 'to lie', and *žür-* 'to move' can serve as copular verbs, conveying various shades of actional meanings. In example (63a), the verb *otïr-* 'to sit' is used as a copular verb in Kazakh with a static interpretation, indicating the state of being located. Dropping the copula, as in example (63b), does not alter the general meaning. See examples (63a)–(63b) and compare them with example (60). Furthermore, in Kazakh, the copulas *žür-* 'to move' and *žat-* 'to lie' are often interpreted as 'to be' with static meanings, as seen in examples (63c)–(63d). Notably, the Kazakh stem *žatïr-* in the present tense is quite unique. The suffix {-ïr} in *žatïr-* reflects the old aorist form and is used exclusively in the high-focal intraterminal present tense. Among these verbs, *žat-* 'to lie' is the most grammaticalized; *žür-* 'to move' has only partially lost its lexical meaning, and *otïr-* 'to sit' is the least grammaticalized (Muhamedowa 2016: 131–132).

(63)
   (a) *Ol üydä* **otïr**
   'He/she/it **[permanently] is** (located) at home.'

   (b) *Ol üydä* **Ø**
   'He/she/it **is** at home.'

   (c) *Ol üydä* **žür**
   'He/she/it **[temporarily] is** at home.'

   (d) *Ol üydä* **žatïr**
   'He/she/it **is** at home **[at the moment]**.'

### *Yürü-r*

The copular verb *yürü-r* 'to walk' in the *Compendium* functions similarly to the Kazakh verb *žür-* 'to move' (63c) in terms of indicating that an action is temporary (64), (66), and limited to a specific period of time (65). These verbs can be translated into various English verb forms, but the meaning remains the same: the events occur temporarily.

Table 2.11. Intraterminal forms of the copular verb *yürü-* 'to walk'

|  | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st **person** | *yürü-r-m°n* ⟨ywrwrmn⟩ | |
| 2nd **person** | | |
| 3rd **person** | *yürü-r* ⟨ywrwr⟩ | |

**First person singular**

(64) *mäni (sic!) tilämäsm°n üydä ölmäkni*
*wä bä-ǰihät-i atïm nāmūsïm birlä* **yürürm•n** (f.89r/8–9)

'I do not want to die at home,
that's why I **[temporally] live** [along] with my [good] name [and] honor.'

**Third person singular**

(65) *ḳišlaḳï anïŋ ol yärdä* **yürür** (f.16v/6)
'His winter quarter (for cattle) **is / is located** there.'

The following example demonstrates the coordination of multiple singular subjects: *irṭiš wä ḳara ḳorum wä taḳï altay taɣ orɣan suwï vilāyät-i ḳirḳiz kämkämǰiut* 'the Irtysh and the Qara Qorum, as well as the Altay Mountains and the Orkhon river, provinces of Qirghiz and Kemkemjiut'.

(66) *wä taḳï irṭiš wä ḳara ḳorum wä taḳï altay taɣ orɣan suwï vilāyät-i ḳirḳiz kämkämǰiut*
**yürür** (f.9v/10–11)
'There **are** also the Irtysh and the Qara Qorum, as well as the Altay Mountains and the Orkhon river, provinces of Qirghiz and Kemkemjiut [at that time].'

***Yat-ur***

Table 2.12. Intraterminal form of the copular verb *yat-* 'to lie'

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| **1ˢᵗ person** |  |  |
| **2ⁿᵈ person** |  |  |
| **3ʳᵈ person** | *yat-ur* ⟨yʾtwr⟩ |  |

The copular verb *yat-* in the *Compendium* not only means 'to lie' (67), but also conveys a meaning (68) similar to the Turkish verb *bul-un-*, which means 'to be found' or 'to be located' (69). Similarly, Kazakh uses the verb *žat-* 'to lie' to indicate the meaning 'to be located', as demonstrated in example (70).

The meaning of the sentence in example (67) is that they are buried in a lying position there.

(67) *biri kaʿba-niŋ yanïnda* **yatur**
*wä biri ürgänǰdä* **yatur** (f.149r/8)

'One of them **lies** near of Kaaba

and one of them **lies** in Urgench.'

(68) *ḳādïr berdi χānγa χabär ḳïldï*
*idigä munda* **yatur** *teb* (f.146r/3–4)

'[He] informed Qadir Berdi:
"Edige **is / is located** here."'

(69) *Millî kütüphanesinde farklı dilde kitap* **bulunur**
'Books in different languages **are located** in/ **available** at the National Library.'

(70) *Ewraziya Ewropa män Aziyanïŋ ortasïnda* **žatïr**
'Eurasia **lies/is located** between Europe and Asia.'

## 2.2.3 Copular particles

In Turkic languages, particles can indicate tense, express certainty or uncertainty, denote agreement or disagreement, negation and politeness, and confirm or presume the statement. These particles are usually used with the terminal forms of *er-* 'to be'. In the *Compendium*, copular particles of various types have been identified, including:

- remote
- evidential
- hypothetical
- confirmative and presumptive
- negation

Particles can convey the addresser's emotions, feelings, or attitude towards what is being said. *Remote copular particles* denote "temporal and nontemporal remoteness". The particle mostly takes the form *er-di*. Turkic *evidential (indirective) copular particles* express that the statement in question is based on some source. The particles trace back to postterminal particles formed from the copula *\*er-* and markers {-mIš} and {-GAn}. *Rhetorical copular particles* are "part of rhetorical questions to which no answer is expected, or they are self-addressed questions". The old uninflected particle *er-ki* expresses skepticism. Later, it was replaced by the secondary form *er-kin*, which might be the same as the evidential particle *e(r)-ken* but with a different function. It is likely that *erki* developed into *e(r)ken* due to contamination. It can be difficult to clearly distinguish between the evidential *e(r)-ken* and the rhetorical *e(r)-ken*. *Hypothetical copular particle* indicates "conditional and similar concepts and may also contribute to counterfactual utterances" in the form of *er-se*. *Confirmative copular particles* of the type {+DUr} < *tur-ur* can function as assertive markers as well as *presumptive copular markers*,

which means that the statement is questioned or needs to be confirmed. *Negative copular particles* are expressed in Turkic languages in different shapes, i.e. *är-mäz ~ ä(r)-mäs/ tägül ~ değil ~ deyil* 'is not', *er-mäs er-di ~ e-mäs e-di/ tägül e-di* 'X was not' (Johanson 2021a: 564–571).

### 2.2.3.1 Remote copular particles

The term *remote* refers to a type of past tense or aspect used to show that events occurred before a specific point in the past or are distant from the present moment (Johanson 2021a: 564). The copular verb *er-di* (71)–(72) usually represents it. For more instances, see examples (14)–(26) in the *er-di* subchapter on copular verbs. Additionally, the copular verb *bol-dï* (73) can also function as a remote copular particle in the *Compendium* when it serves as a non-transformative marker.

(71) *maʿlūm mäšhūr üǰ ‹uluɣ› ordusï **bar erdi*** (f.151r/6–7)
　　'[His] three known and famous ‹main› residence (of wives) **were existent**.'

(72) *hänūz yaš **erdi*** (f.138r/8–9)
　　'[She] **was** still a young/inexperienced [girl].'

(73) *...yaʿnī anïŋ uruɣï ḳiyat **boldï*** (f.34r/9)
　　'… so his clan **was** Qiyat.'

The remote copular particles *er-di* (71)–(72) and *bol-dï* (73) attested in the *Compendium* can be interchangeable. Instances of their interchangeability can be seen in examples (74)–(75).

(74) *oɣlï bisyār köb **erdi*** (f.39v/2)
　　'[He] **had** a lot of sons (lit. there **was** a lot of sons).'

(75) *näčük kim ʿināyät-i ‹äzäldin› anlar ḥaḳḳïnda*
　　*ḳurb tört yüz yïl zamān käčgändin soŋ anlarnïŋ uruɣï bisyār köb **boldï*** (f.14r/2–4)

　　'Because of the eternal kindness of Rightful God,
　　some four hundred years later their descendants **became** many (lit. there **were** a lot of descendants).'

### 2.2.3.2 Evidential copular particles

In the *Compendium*, there are examples of the evidential copular particles *bol-mïš* combined with the copular verb *bol-* 'to be(come)' and postterminal marker. Evidential copular particles indicate that a given statement or information relies on a source (Johanson 2021a: 565).

Examples of the evidential copular particles *bolmïš*, such as examples (46)–(47), which mean 'reportedly became', 'evidently was', are shown above in Table 2.7.

### 2.2.3.3 Rhetorical copular particles

Rhetorical copular particles are typically used in questions that do not answer or are self-addressed questions (Johanson 2021a: 567). The *Compendium* does not include any examples of rhetorical copular particles, such as *er-ki* or *e-ken*. However, the *Compendium* contains rhetorical questions using the hypothetical copular particle *bol-sa* and the verb form *tab-ḳay* in the Sections on copular verbs and optative, respectively.

### 2.2.3.4 Hypothetical copular particles

Hypothetical copular particles are used in the form *er-se* and can be combined with different verb forms. In the *Compendium*, the use of the hypothetical copular particle *er-se* is constantly associated with terminal bases, to which the personal markers are added.

Table 2.13. Hypothetical copular particle *er-sä* with terminal base

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| 1<sup>st</sup> **person** | *-DI-m er-sä ‹d/tym ʾyrsʾ›* | |
| 2<sup>nd</sup> **person** | | |
| 3<sup>rd</sup> **person** | *-DI er-sä ‹d/ty ʾyrsʾ›* | *-DI-lAr er-sä ‹dylʾr ʾyrsʾ›* |

**First person singular**

> (76) *mäni (sic!) näčük anlarɣa yaḳïn keldim ersä*
> *ǰümläsi bir dämdä oḳnï yamɣur tek ḳïldïlar* (f.100v/8–9)
>
> '**When/As** I **approached** them,
> they all shot arrows like rain in a matter of seconds.'

> (77) *ol yärdin sälāmät kečtim ersä*
> *mäniŋ yolumda ölgänlärniŋ altï aχta aṭï hiǰ kimärsäsiz tizginin basa basa yürür* (f.100v/11–101r/1)
>
> '**As** I **passed** safely through that place,
> the six gelded horses of the deceased were walking along my path, treading their reins without anyone [restraining/riding them].'

**Third person singular**

> (78) *ol yärgä yät[t]i ersä*
> *vilāyät-i taŋḳut wä ǰürǰä[n] pādišāhïgä elǰilär yibärdi* (f.63r/5–6)
>
> '**When** he **reached** those lands,

he sent envoys to the province of Tangut and to padishah of Jurchens[28].'

(79) *kim ersä üsrük **boldï ersä***
*ol ḥālätdä ölgän bolγay* (f.96r/1–2)

'**If** someone **would be** intoxicated,
in that case he will be (like a) dead one.'

**Third person plural**

(80) *näčük musaχχar **ḳildïlar ersä***
*anlarnï anda oḳ oχšatïb*
*ol mämläkät (sic!) muʿayyän sürdi*[29] (f.85r/7–8)

'**When** [they] **had conquered** [lands],
then [Genghis Khan] found them suitable
and decreed that territor[ies should] be assigned [to them].'

### 2.2.3.5 Confirmative and presumptive copular particles

Confirmative (or assertive) and presumptive copular particles exist in Turkic languages and indicate confirmation or uncertainty. They contain copular particles of the type {+DUr} < *tur-ur*. According to Johanson (2021a: 569), copular particles of the type {+DUr} can express presumption in certain informal speech, while confirmative copular particles are found in formal registers and more common in written discourse.

Morphologically unmarked indicative sentences can be used for neutral, straightforward assertions, indicating that "the utterance is intended as a statement of fact" (Johanson 2014: 19). An assertive copular particle indicates a commitment to the content of the proposition and can be paraphrased using words, such as 'actually', 'really', 'indeed', 'in fact', 'undoubtedly', etc. (Johanson 2021a: 569).

Such sentences frequently use the marker {+DUr} in the *Compendium*. Although it is unclear whether the assertive copular particle {+DUr} is applicable to the *Compendium*, as it is a written language with no present-day speakers, the context of the attested examples with the copular particle of the type {+DUr} can testify to the validity of the confirmative (or assertive) copular particles. See example (81). Compare it with Turkish assertive copular particle {+DUr} in example (82), which indicate that the event is considered true and can be translated as 'it is true', 'it is verified' and so on.

(81) *bizdän soŋ χān**dur*** (f.84r/2–3)

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[28] The Jurchens were the people of Jurchen/Jin dynasty (1115–1234), which ruled over much of northern China (Rachewiltz 2004: 298, 302).
[29] K: *buyurdï* (f.34v/3).

'He **is undoubtedly** the khan over us (lit. after us).'

(82) *Türk dilleri yaklaşık 170 milyon kişi tarafından konuşulmaktadır*
'Turkic languages **are** spoken by about 170 million people.'


## 2.2.3.6 Negation particles

There are two types of negation particles in Turkic: *er-mäs* and *tägül*. Many modern languages, such as Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, and Chuvash, still use the *er-mäs* type, dating back to the old written languages. Some Kipchak and Oghuz languages use the *tägül* type of negative particle (Johanson 2021a: 570).

In the *Compendium*, negative copular particles are mostly indicated by the copular verb *er-* 'to be' and are achieved by the negated aorist marker {-mA-s}. The copular particles *er-mäs* have been observed in the third person singular. In the only attested first person singular form in the *Compendium*, the negative copular particle is formed by adding the pronominal suffix {+m°n} to indicate person and number after the negation marker {-mA-s}, see example (83).

There is only one instance of the negation particle *tägül* in the *Compendium*; see example (89).

Table 2.14. Non-past forms of the negation particle *er-mäs*

|  | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1ˢᵗ **person** | *er-mäs-m°n* ⟨ʾyrmʾsmn⟩ | |
| 2ⁿᵈ **person** | | |
| 3ʳᵈ **person** | *er-mäs* ⟨ʾyrmʾs⟩ | |

**First person singular**

(83) *bä-härzä **ermäsm•n*** (f.100r/3–4)
'I **am** not raving.'

**Third person singular**

(84) *munuŋ anasï maʿlūm **ermäs*** (f.127v/3–4)
'His mother **is** not known.'

The following example (85) demonstrates the use of *er-mäs* with third person plural subjects.

(85) *atlarï maʿlūm **ermäs*** (K: f.63v/6)
'Their names **are** not known.'

The terminal forms are created with the third person singular form of the negation particle and the terminal copular particle *erdi*.

Table 2.15. Terminal forms of the negation particle *er-mäs*

|  | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1<sup>st</sup> person |  |  |
| 2<sup>nd</sup> person |  |  |
| 3<sup>rd</sup> person | *er-mäs er-di* ‹ʾyrmʾs ʾyrdy› | *er-mäs er-di-lär* ‹ʾyrmʾs ʾyrdy-lʾr› |

**Third person singular**

(86) *atï maʿlūm **ermäs erdi*** (f.45v/8)
'His name **was not** known.'

The following example (87) demonstrates the use of *er-mäs er-di* with third person plural subject.

(87) *lēkin anlarnïŋ aṣlī atlarï moγol **ermäs erdi*** (f.13r/1–2)
'But their original names **were not** Mongol.'

**Third person plural**

(88) *oγuz bilän birgä **ermäs erdilär*** (f.12v/6–7)
'[They] **were not** together with Oghuz.'

The *Compendium* also employs a negative particle of the type *tägül*, as seen in example (89).

(89) *ǰaγatay bu yerdä ḥāżïr **dägüldür***[30] (f.89r/10–11)
'Chagatai **is not** present here.'

### 2.2.3.7 Combinations with copular particles

"Copular particles combine with various semantic bases, thus participating in the formation of numerous analytic constructions expressing aspectual, modal, evidential, and temporal concept" (Johanson 2021a: 716). Turkic languages use copular particles derived from the old verb base *er-* 'to be' in various forms (Johanson 2021a: 564). The *Compendium* is not an exception, as remote copular particles and evidential copular particles are attested in the corpus.

*Combinations with remote copular particles*

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[30] K: *tügül* ‹twgwl› (f.36r/11).

"Distant copular particles combine with intraterminal, postterminal, prospective, necessitative, and other thematic bases, mostly producing constructions that describe situations obtaining at some anterior orientation point" (Johanson 2021a: 716).

The old copular verb *er- 'to be' and the terminal marker {-DI} represent remote copular particles. Therefore, the remote copular marker *erdi* serves as an anterior that localizes predicates at anterior orientation points. For detailed information about remote copular particles, see Section 2.2.3.1.

*Remote copular particles with aorist bases*

The aorist forms with the {-(°)r} marker, and their negation, is indicated with {-mA-s}. The aorist is used in main clause predicates, indicating intraterminality or prospectivity, with the meaning of epistemic possibility in the non-past.

At first, the aorist and the remote copular particle *erdi* were put together analytically to form intraterminals-in-past in EOT. However, in almost all other Turkic languages, combinations of the aorist with remote copular particles began to signal inclination and potentiality, which can be interpreted as habituality ('would X', 'used to X') as well as counterfactuality ('would X', 'would have X-ed') (Johanson 2021a: 716–717). This change suggests that, in many cases, combinations of the aorist and distant copular particles become strongly defocalized and modalized.

The *Compendium* predominantly indicates intraterminal meaning in the combination of the remote copular particle with the aorist base; see examples (90)–(92). However, there are also examples of modal meanings; see example (93).

(90) *yurtï anïŋ ḳara taɣ degän taɣda* **olturur erdi**
*mālïnïŋ ḥisābïn* **bilmäs erdi**
*tört yaḳdïn mālïn tawar ḳarasïn* **yiɣar erdi**
*taɣ tübündä bir uluɣ suw* **aḳar erdi** (f.29r/3–6)

'His land **used to be** at the [foot of] the mountain called the Qara tag.
He **used to know no** account of his wealth.
He **used to collect** his wealth [and] livestock from the four sides.
At the foot of the mountain a large river (lit. large water) **used to flow**.'

Examples in the *Compendium* show instances where the consonant *r* in the remote copular particle *erdi* has been dropped.

(91) *bu iḳlīmde här birisin güür χān deb* **aytur edilär** (f.56v/4)
'[They] **called** them all Gür Khan in this clime.'

(92) *bir ḳarārda öz läškärin* **biylür edilär** (f.76v/7–8)

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'They **ruled** their army with stability.'

The next example demonstrates the combination of the prospective (with an aorist base), a so-called 'prospective-in-past'. The unreal hypothetical conditional clause is based on the counterfactual conditional {-sA} and the past copular particle *erdi* in the non-main clause. The main clause contains the aorist {-(°)r} and the remote copular particle *erdi*. This represents an unreal condition with an imaginary situation in the past, corresponding to English *Conditional 3*. The construction in the main clause can be translated into English using *would* and the postterminal marker for a clear interpretation in the form of 'would have X-ed' (Johanson 2021a: 719).

(93)  *ägär atam χān mäniŋ üyümni yänä maŋa bärse erdi*
      *aniŋ ‹bilän› **el bolur erdim*** (f.54r/10–11)

      'If only my grandfather [Ong Khan] had returned my household to me,
      I **would have submitted to** him'.

Table 2.16. Paradigms based on aorist and remote copular particle

|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |
|---|---|---|
| 1<sup>st</sup> **person** | {-(°)r} *er-di-**m*** |  |
| 2<sup>nd</sup> **person** |  |  |
| 3<sup>rd</sup> **person** | {-(°)r} *er-di* | {-(°)r}-***lAr** er-di*<br>{-(°)r} *er-di-**lär*** |

Table 2.16 shows the paradigms based on the aorist and remote copular particle {-(°)r} *er-di*. It is clear that the paradigm of third person plural, based on the aorist marker {-(°)r} and the remote copular particle *er-di*, exhibits two forms: {-(°)r}-***lAr** er-di* and {-(°)r} *er-di-**lär***. The verbal morphology of Turkic verbs is usually produced in long (synthetically) derived chains in a strict order, normally comprising "markers of actionality, voice, possibility, negation, viewpoint aspect, mood, tense, person, and interrogation, […], e.g. Turkish ‹Kov-ala-n-ma-mış-tı-k› 'We had not been persecuted', i.e. 'to persecute + iterative + passive/reflexive + negative + postterminal + anterior + 1PL'" (Johanson 2022a: 36). According to this rule, the third person plural marker should follow the tense, as shown in an example (94). However, in example (95), the category of person comes before the category of tense.

(94)  *taḳï oγuzniŋ barǰa ḳawmïn ol waḳïtda türkmän teb **aytur erdilär*** (f.10v/3–4)
      'Also, they **called** all Oghuz people Turkmen at that time.'

(95) *soŋ anï awalun ekä deb **ayturlar erdi*** (f.37v/5)

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'After they **called** her Mother Awalun.'

According to Erdal (2004: 322), the verb *er-* 'to be' "is a fully conjugated regular copula", which means that, theoretically, the grammatical person must come after the tense, as in example (94). However, Erdal (2004: 246) also mentions that the category of "number" can express plurality in two ways: in the remote copular particle *erdi* and in aorist bases in Old Turkic. Both Eckmann (1966: 165) and Boeschoten (2022: 168) indicate that, in Chaghatay, both the aorist base and the remote verb *er-* can display the third person plural marker in intraterminals-in-past.

*Remote copular particles with focal intraterminal bases*

Remote copular particles, when combined with more focal intraterminals, mainly produce imperfects *((+PAST)(+INTRA))* that express "single or repeated events as going on at an anterior orientation point", without indicating the beginning or end of the event. Several markers contribute to the renewal of the focal intraterminal (Johanson 2021a: 719).

In the *Compendium*, the sole instance of a focal intraterminal in the form {-A} *turur erdi* was attested; see example (52) in the Section on Intreaterminals.

In modern South Kipchak and Altay languages, ‹B› type converbs, together with the auxiliary verbs meaning 'to move', 'to lie', and 'to sit', indicate the focality of intraterminality (Johanson 2021a: 720). However, in the *Compendium*, the transformative reading of the verb constructions {-(I)p} *yürü-/*{-(I)p} *yür-* 'to walk', {-(I)p} *yat-* 'to lie', {-(I)p} *oltur-* 'to sit' is clearly blocked. They block dynamic readings and indicate non-dynamic phase, usually specifying nontransformative durativity. For detailed information, see the section on nontransformativizing constructions.

*Remote copular particles with postterminal bases*

Postterminals are widely used in the *Compendium*. "Postterminals-in-past (pluperfects, past perfects) transpose the postterminal view into the past and mostly correspond to English pluperfects" (Johanson 2021a: 720). The *Compendium* categorizes remote copular particle combinations with postterminal bases into three groups.

The first group is based on the converb {-(I)p} and the remote copular particle *erdi*. This group also forms pluperfects with {-(I)p} *tur-ur erdi* and {-ma-y} *DUr erdi* constructions.

The second group of postterminal-in-past is based on the past participle *{-GAn}* and the remote copular particle *erdi*. Two types of negation within the {-GAn} *erdi* form are attested.

One involves the normal negation {-mA-} before the postterminal item. The second involves the lexical item *yoq* appearing between the postterminal base and the remote copular particle.

The third group of combinations with a postterminal base and a remote copular particle is the {-mIš} *erdi* construction. It is worth noting that this form is represented only in the second part of the *Compendium*, which is translated from Persian, while {-(I)p} *erdi* and {-GAn} *erdi* appears in both second/translated and third/original parts.

Intraterminals in the past do not mark evidentiality, whereas postterminals in the non-past do. For detailed information about postterminals-in-past and the differences between the four forms of postterminals, see Section 2.1.2.2.

*Remote copular particles with terminal bases*

Several Turkic languages create a remote past category by combining the terminal base {-DI} with the remote copular particle *erdi*, which "has more event-oriented functions". This feature exists in languages such as EOT, Turkish, Gagauz, and Crimean Tatar (Johanson 2021a: 722). The {-DI} *erdi* construction is also attested in the *Compendium*. For detailed information, see Section 2.1.2.3.

*Remote copular paricles with volitional bases*

There are different combinations with volitional bases in Turkic languages, including voluntatives, optatives, and hypotheticals. In the *Compendium*, only one example of a hypothetical combination with a remote copular particle is attested. It expresses a complex counterfactual, a so-called 'unreal' condition, and an unfulfilled wish in the non-main clause (Johanson 2021a: 722–724). The combination of hypotheticals consists of the conditional {-sA} and the remote copular particle *erdi*. On contrast, the main clause exhibits a combination of prospective.

(96) *ägär atam χān mäniŋ üyümni yänä maŋa **bärse erdi**
aniŋ ‹bilän› el bolur erdim* (f.54r/10–11)

'If **only** my grandfather [Ong Khan] **had returned** my household to me,
I would have submitted to him.'

**Combinations with evidential copular particles**

Evidential copular particles are of the type *er-miš*. This element does not co-occur with the terminal marker {-DI} and can indicate both past and non-past events (Johanson 2021a: 725–726).

In the *Compendium*, the evidential copular particle *er-miš* combines with intraterminal and postterminals. There are only three instances of the particle *ermiš*. Example (97) is formed with the intraterminal marker {-(°)r} and the evidential copular particle, while examples (98)–(99) are formed by the postterminal marker {-(I)p} and the evidential copular particle.

(97) *bu zamān yaman išni **tutub yürür ermiš*** (f.20v/8–9)
    'At this time [Oghuz] **is evidently holding** bad acts.'

(98) *mäniŋ dīnim yolïndïn **ḳaytïb ermiš***
    *anï ~~anï~~ tirig etmäyin*
    *der* (f.20v/9–20v/10)

    '"It **occurred that he left** the path of my religion.
    I will not let him live,"
    he says.'

(99) *naymannïŋ pādišāhïnïŋ aɣasï buyruḳ χān bilän özgä ḳawmlar häm anïŋ birlä **bir**
    **bolub ermiš*** (f.53r/1–3)

    'All other tribes **have reportedly been united** with Buyruk Khan, the elder brother of the nayman's padishah.'

## 2.3 Postverbial constructions

A postverbial construction is a product of analytic derivation. The Turkic languages have a complex system of verbs, characterized by a rich inventory of multiverbal constructions, of which postverbial constructions are one type. They are frequently used in Turkic languages as well as in the *Compendium*. A postverbial construction comprises a lexical verb in a converbial form, followed by an auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb loses its lexical meaning and has a grammatical meaning instead. It combines with the main verb with a preceding converb suffix to form a cohesive grammatical unit (Karakoç 2019: 178).

The converb is a non-finite verb form primarily used to indicate adverbial subordination. However, it can also serve as a connective in postverbial constructions. Converbs are also known as gerund, participle in European languages, and *deepričastie* in Russian (Haspelmath 1995: 2–3). Converb markers are part of converbial constructions. A verb stem together with a converb suffix creates a converb, i.e. a converb is a verb form consisting of a verb stem and a converb marker. Two basic converb types participate in the formation of postverbial constructions in the *Compendium*. In this research, I will label them as follows, following Johanson's consideration (2021a: 750–753):

- the ‹A› type, where the converb marker ends in a vowel or *-y* when the verb stem ends in a vowel;
- the ‹B› type, where the converb marker ends in a labial stop.

These types of converbs are subordinated to grammaticalized verbs. The ‹A› and ‹B› type converbs have the basic function of linking a sequence of clauses to form a sentence. The converb suffixes used in postverbial constructions are usually of intraterminal and postterminal origin and lead to various types of ambiguity. In spoken languages, these meanings are typically distinguished by prosodic features, primarily pitch differences. Additionally, pluripredicate constructions may exhibit a brief pause between the verbs (Johanson 2021a: 598). However, in written texts in dead language varieties like the *Compendium*, ambiguous verb sequences cannot be distinguished by phonological features, and there are no speakers available to provide clarifications. In some, but not all cases, the context may be helpful in clarifying ambiguity.

The ‹B› type converb is the most widely used one and it usually indicates postterminality. Nevertheless, in pluripredicative constructions, the converbial verb in ‹B› functions as a separate predicate and translates into English as the main verb being in an independent clause. In that case, the ‹B› converb indicates simultaneous actions, and actions follow one another (Erdal 2004: 459–460). Moreover, the ‹B› type converb may perform various functions. "It may modify the content of a following syntactically superordinate verb […]. It may combine with the following verb to form a compound in which both members maintain their lexical meaning" ,being a clause-combining device "and". "It may also participate in serial verb constructions, in which verbs combine to describe what is conceptualized as one single event" (postverbial constructions). It may represent an event structure in similar multi-verb constructions when converbs are syntactically independent (Johanson 2021a: 753–754).

In contrast to the ‹B› type converb, ‹A› type converbs are limited to certain postverbial constructions and reduplications, indicating intensive or repeated action (Johanson 2021a: 752). Beside postverbial constructions, ‹A› type converbs were found in the creation of converb clauses through reduplication in the *Compendium*. Three examples of reduplication are shown in examples (1)–(3). Furthermore, one example in which the ‹A› type converb may modify the content of the following syntactically superordinate verb is found in the *Compendium*, which is not common in modern Turkic languages. See example (4)

(1) *ol yärdin sälāmät kečtim ersä*
*mäniŋ yolumda ölgänlärniŋ altï aχta aṭï hiǰ kimärsäsiz tizginin* **basa basa** *yürür*
(f.100v/11–101r/1)

'As I passed safely through that place,

the six gelded horses of the deceased were walking along my path, **treading** their reins without anyone [restraining/riding them].'

(2) *ol vilāyätlärniŋ ḳiraɣïnda šähär bar erdi*
*yolda barïsïn **ala ala** käldi* (f.60v/5–7)

'There was a city on the border of those lands.
[He] came **capturing** everything on the way.'

(3) *toluɣ χānnï läškär alïnda vilāyätlär **ala ala** yibärdi* (61r/6–7)
'[He] sent Tolui Khan at the head of an army **to seize** the countries.'

(4) *artïdïn bala noyannï ḳowdura yibärdi* (f.62r/1)
'[Genghis Khan] sent Bala *Noyan* after [Jelal al-Din] **to chase** him.'

In Turkic languages, *actional verb phrases* include at least one verb lexeme and may also contain additional complements and/or circumstantial elements. Actional verb phrases can be categorized into transformatives and nontransformatives, based on their internal structure. These categories distinguish between phrases that show a possibility of the object being acted upon and those that do not. See Figure 1 (Johanson 2000a: 58; 2021a: 573):

Figure 1. Actional phrases

- Transformatives [+t]
    Finitransformative [+tf], e.g. *öl-* 'to die'
        Momentaneous [+mom], e.g. *tab-* 'to find'
        Non-momentaneous [-mom], e.g. *ös-* 'to grow up'
    Initiotransformative [+ti], e.g. *oltur-* 'to sit down, sit'
- Nontransformatives [-t]
    Dynamic [+dyn], e.g. *biti-* 'to write'
    Not-dynamic [-dyn], e.g. *bil-* 'to get to know, know'.

If an actional phrase denotes a telic action that suggests a key limit or a natural turning point, it is transformative ‹+t›. The ‹+t› can be divided into finitransformatives ‹+tf›, such as *öl-* 'to die' when the limit is at the end of the action, and initiotransformatives ‹+ti› when the inherent crucial limit is at the start of the action, such as *oltur-* 'to sit down, sit'. The action of finitransformatives concludes when the limit is reached and can also be momentaneous ‹+mom› or non-momentaneous ‹-mom›. In the ‹+mom› case, only the transforming final limit is important. In the ‹-mom› case, the process leading up to that limit is seen as significant (Johanson 2021a: 573).

The ‹+tf, +mom› occurs without a significant focus on the process that leads up to it. Even if the events have a very short duration, the beginning and the process leading up to it are

unimportant and blend together with the final result (Johanson 2000a: 61); see example (5). The term ‹+tf, -mom› describes activities that take some time to complete and are significant and can be seen as steps leading up to a significant outcome (Johanson 2000a: 62); see example (6).

(5) *bi-faẓl-i χudāy uluɣluḳnï bu maʿanādïn **tabdïm*** (f.91r/1–2)
    'I **found** greatness by this reason with the grace of the Almighty Lord.'

(6) *nihāyätsiz bolub **östi*** (f.105r/7–8)
    'They **grew up**, and there were countless of them.'

The ‹+ti› verb has two phases: dynamic and not-dynamic. The dynamic phase is used with verbs that involve motion, while the not-dynamic phase is used with verbs that describe a static state (Johanson 2000a: 63), such as *oltur-* 'to sit down' (7), and *oltur-* 'to sit' (8), respectively. The verb *oltur-* 'to sit down, sit' is intransitive. Example (7) illustrates the typical use of the dynamic phase with a prepositional phrase. The prepositional phrase 'into khanate' in the phraseological expression provides only additional information about where the person sat down using the dative-locative case, but not the object of the verb 'to sit down'. However, in a particular example, the intransitive verb *oltur-* 'to sit down, sit' can be easily transformed into a transitive verb using the transformativizer, e.g. the causative marker {-t-}, as seen in (8).

(7) *yigirmi yašïnda uraz muḥammäd χān ḥaẓrätläri **χānlïḳɣa olturdï*** (f.155r/10–11)
    'His Majesty, Uraz-Muhammed Khan, **took power** (lit. **sat down** into khanate) at the age of twenty.'

(8) *anlarnï orunda **olturttï*** (f.20r/3)
    '[He] **seated** them in place [of honor].'

The Turkic ‹+ti› category is relatively rich, whereas in English and Russian, they tend to use two counterparts, e.g. *otur-* may correspond to transformative (finitransformative) and nontransformative, *sest'* 'to sit down', *sidet'* 'to sit', respectively. Therefore, the Turkic ‹+ti› should not be mistaken when compared to their English or Russian equivalents (Johanson 1999: 173; Johanson 2000a: 63).

An activity is deemed nontransformative ‹-t› if the action is atelic, meaning it lacks a distinct start and finish. It means that the event is ongoing or has already been completed. Although the feature of ‹+dyn› is generally characteristic of transformatives, it can also serve as a subclassifying criterion for nontransformatives. Actions with ‹-t, +dyn› have a clear beginning and end, as seen in the word *biti-* 'to write' in example (9). The content of ‹-t, +dyn› is characterized by a dynamic internal evaluation (Johanson 2000a: 64).

The actional content of ‹-t, -dyn› is "conceptualized as static, homogeneous, lacking internal processual evaluation". It includes physical, social, and cognitive states properties, as well as possessions, relationships, and knowledge that are relatively stable over time. The actional content of ‹-t, -dyn› is less specific than that of ‹-t, +dyn›, and the category cannot express speed (Johanson 2000a: 65), e.g. *bil-* 'to (get to) know' in example (10).

(9) *pādišāh bariş fyodaravičniŋ tuz ötmäk ʿadlï ḥaḳḳï üǰün **bitildi*** (f.157r/8–9)
  '[This chronicle] **was written** for the sake of the fair right of "bread and salt" of the padishah Boris Fyodorovich.'

(10) *köb kïtāblar da oḳub häm **bildim** män* (f.5r/9)
  'And I also read many books and **got to know** [a lot].'

Actional phrases are open to recategorization, meaning that they can be transformed from one category to another, i.e. transformativization and nontransformativization (Johanson 2021a: 574). Phase specification, or so-called actional modification (Johanson 2021a: 600; 2021b: 761) in these postverbial constructions can be categorized into transformativizing and nontransformativizing.

The transformativity of an actional phrase is important because the actional phrase, accompanied by a grammaticalized auxiliary verb in postverbial constructions, may (but not necessarily) point out changes in the transformativity and marks the start of a new stage. Consequently, the grammatical functions of these constructions cannot always be predicted from the lexical meaning of the source verbs. The actional phrase can have more than one meaning, depending on the context. In addition to them, examples exist where different actional values express the same meaning (Johanson 2021a: 597–615). The data in the *Compendium* do not show a wide corpus of such examples. On the other hand, repeated, durative, continuative, frequent, constant, iterative actions can be expressed not only by ‹B› *oltur-* 'to sit', but also by other static verbs ‹B› *tur-*/‹A› *tur-* 'to stand', ‹B› *yat-* 'to lie', and the dynamic verb ‹B› *yürü-*/‹B› *yür-* 'to walk'. Nevertheless, the grammaticalized verb can express not only actional but also viewpoint-aspectual or modal meaning. Such constructions have developed further from actional phrases expressed by postverbial constructions (Johanson 2021a: 597–598). This causes doubt and ambiguity in the analysis of verb forms. Comrie (1989: 25) denotes that subdivisions of aspectual actions of imperfective in some languages are presented by habitual/continuative and nonprogressive/progressive oppositions. These subdivisions are regarded as a separate category and are called actionality (Aktionsart) in current Turkic studies (Johanson 1971, 1999, 2021a, 2021b, 2022a; Schönig 1984, 1997; Anderson 2004; Rentzsch 2005; Karakoç 2005; Ağcagül 2009; Ragagnin 2011).

*Actionality, actional properties* (German *Aktionsart*) is a verbal grammatical category. Postverbial constructions function as markers of actionality by altering the inherent phase structures of preceding lexical verbs (Johanson 2021b: 759), thereby modifying their contents. The primary role of postverbial constructions related to actionality is to specify an inherent actional phase, thus reclassifying transformative or nontransformative lexical content (Johanson 2000a: 58–66). Actionality is one of the complex and contradictory phenomena of Turkic languages that has not yet received an unambiguous interpretation. The lexical and auxiliary verbs exhibit a strong sense of cohesion. Actionality describes the way how the action is performed. Schönig (1984: 48–72) analyzes actionality as an element of the phase structure of an actional phrase. Erdal (2004: 247) claims that "actionality describes the course and development of the event in time and specifies the stage of this development in which the point referred to is situated as actually perceived by the speaker". In other words, actionality is a broad semantic category that is expressed mainly by postverbial forms based on the lexical verb, converb types ‹A› and ‹B›, and auxiliary verbs.

It is worth noting that Erdal and Johanson provide slightly different classifications for the expression of postverbial constructions. Erdal (2004: 247) characterizes all types of action into domains of actionality, intention, ability, and version. On the other hand, according to Johanson (2021a: 597; 2021b: 759–762; 2022: 36), postverbial constructions modify the inherent actional characteristics of the lexical verb by expressing phase specification (actional modification, actionality), spatial orientation (directionality), version, ability/inability (potentiality). In this research, I will adopt the theoretical framework and methodology of Johanson. Therefore, I will use the terms *phase specification*, *spatial orientation*, *version*, and *ability/inability*.

Postverbial constructions operate for *phase specification* (or *actional modification*) to underline "the meaning of the actional phrase, specifying it qualitatively or quantitatively"; for *spatial orientation* (or *directionality*), "specifying whether an action is directed towards a deictic center, or away from it"; for *version,* indicating "whether a given action is performed to the benefit or affliction (advantage or disadvantage) of some entity"; and for *ability/disability* (or *potentiality*) (Johanson 2021a: 600–615; 2021b: 759–762).

The auxiliary verb follows the lexical verb in postverbial constructions. The members of the construction may have values of common aspect, tense, mood, modality, and evidentiality. There is strong cohesion between the lexical and the auxiliary verb, and only enclitic particles such as 'and', 'also', 'even', 'only' can be inserted between them (Johanson 2021a: 597–599). The *Compendium* exhibits a highly developed postverbial construction system, where no inserted enclitic particles are found.

Auxiliary verbs found in postverbial constructions of the *Compendium* can be traced back to the postural verbs *tur-* 'to stand', *oltur-* 'to sit', *yat-* 'to lie', *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain', as well as to motion verbs *yürü-/ yür-* 'to walk', *kel-* 'to come', *bar-* 'to go', *käč-* 'to pass', *öt-* 'to pass', *ket-* 'to go away', and to verbs denoting different activities as, *al-* 'to take', *bär-* 'to give', *yibär-* 'to send', *tüš-* 'to fall, settle, descend', *bil-* 'to know'.

## 2.3.1 Ambiguity

In written texts, no morphological distinction exists between pluripredicative verb sequences that describe two events and monopredicative verb sequences that describe a single event. The latter are referred to as postverbial constructions, where the second component belongs to a limited set of semantic classes, such as actionality/modality modifiers, which are grammaticalized and further undergo grammaticalization as viewpoint-aspect operators. Grammaticalization often leads to ambiguity between pluripredicative, actional, and viewpoint-aspectual reading, as the grammaticalized elements do not exhibit distinct morphological properties. However, accentuation might have the potential to solve such ambiguities (Csató et al. 2019: 2–3; Johanson 2021a: 599). Danka noted that ambiguity in the written register of the 17th century *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä* is understood from the point of view of the receiver, as the scribe rarely intended to introduce ambiguity. As a result, there are several possible interpretations of certain verb sequences (Danka 2019b: 135). These observations align precisely with the ambiguity found in the *Compendium*.

When a single sequence can be interpreted in multiple ways, structurally ambiguous verb sequences emerge. Based on morphology, there are two types of pluricpredicative and monopredicative sequences (Csató et al. 2019: 5–6):

- One construction can be interpreted in several ways (see example (11));
- Several different constructions may have one and the same interpretation (see example (12))

(11) Turkish (Csató et al. 2019: 5)

    (11a) 'looked (and) stood'
    *bak-tï*                *dur-du*
    look[PAST]         stand[PAST]

    (11b) 'looking stood'
    *bak-tï*                 *dur-du*
    look[PAST]         stand[PAST]

(12) Turkish (Csató et al. 2019: 6)

(12a) 'looking stood'
*bak-tï*               *dur-du*
look[PAST]        stand[PAST]

(12b) 'looking stood'
*bak-a*              *dur-du*
look[A.CONV]     stand[PAST]

The ambiguity of verb sequences occurs systematically in Turkic languages. These ambiguities encompass various forms that exhibit structural ambiguity, leading to a complex challenge in morphological and semantic analysis. The types of ambiguities, explanations, and corresponding examples (13)–(16) are outlined by Csató et al. (2019: 1–8):

- Ambiguity between lexical and grammaticalized readings;
- Ambiguity between "do-and-do" and "doing-do" readings of the converb-type pluripredicative constructions;
- Ambiguity between actionality and viewpoint-aspect readings of postverbial constructions;
- Ambiguity between different viewpoint-aspect readings.

**Ambiguity between lexical and grammaticalized readings**

Within verb sequences, the second or subsequent verb can be interpreted either with a lexical meaning (13a) or with a grammaticalized meaning, which can be either actional/modal or viewpoint-aspectual (13b).

(13) Turkish (Csató et al. 2019: 7)
*bakïp <u>durdu</u>*

(13a) 'looking stood'
*bak-ip*          *dur-du*
look[CONV]    stand/stop[PAST]

(13b) 'X looking stood'
*bak-ip*          *dur-du*
look[CONV]    stand[AUX.DI]

**Ambiguity between "do-and-do" and "doing-do" readings of the converb-type pluripredicative constructions**

The combination of a converb and an inflected verb in its lexical meaning can be understood as a 'do-an-do' reading, where two predications occur, with the first being syntactically

subordinate but semantically not modifying the second, as seen in example (14a). Secondly, it can be interpreted as a 'doing-do' reading, where the first predication acts as an adverbial modifier of the main predicate, as seen in example (14b).

(14) Turkish (Csató et al. 2019: 7)
*alïp*          *gitti*
take[B.CONV]       go[DI.PAST]

(14a) 'X <u>took</u> (it) and went'

(14b) '<u>taking/having taken</u> X <u>went</u>'

## Ambiguity between actionality and viewpoint-aspect readings of postverbial constructions

The ambiguity between actionality and viewpoint-aspect readings in postverbial constructions is limited to a specific group of auxiliary verbs that have undergone grammaticalization, transforming into viewpoint operators. For instance, example (15) demonstrates structural ambiguity, as it allows interpretation of both actionality (15a) and viewpoint aspect (15b) assigned to the auxiliary verb.

(15) Aliefendi dialect of Turkish (Csató et al. 2019: 2)
*Koşup <u>durur</u>*

(15a) 'X <u>continues to</u> run.'
*koş-up*         *dur-ur*
run[B.CONV]      stand[AOR.3SG]

(15b) 'X <u>is running</u>.'
*koş-up*         *dur-ur*
run[B.CONV]      stand[AOR.3SG]

## Ambiguity between different viewpoint-aspect readings

In certain Turkic languages, such as Noghay, certain constructions that involve a combination of the converb form in {-(I)p} of a lexical verb and the inflected form of the auxiliary verb *tur-* 'to stand (up)' or *yat-* 'to lie (down)' can exhibit ambiguity between an intraterminal interpretation (16a) and a postterminal interpretation (16b).

(16) Noghay (Csató et al. 2019: 8)

(16a)'who is coming' (INTRA)
*kel-**ip***         *tur-ɣan*
come[B.CONV]     stand[AUX.PART.NOM]

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(16b) 'who has come', 'who is in the state of having come' (POST)
*kel-ip*              *tur-**ɣan***
come[B.CONV]          stand[AUX.PART.NOM]

The sentences in the *Compendium* where the ambiguity arises usually consist of two or more verbs. For instance, in example (17), the verb form is complex and consists of three verbs.

(17) *mäni kördi kim šul **zaχmlïḳ bolub yatur erdim*** (f.101r/10–11)

(17a) '[He] saw me (when) **I got wounded** and (then) **I was lying there**.' PLU

(17b) '[He] saw me (that) **I was wounded,** and **I was lying there**.' PLU

(17c) '[He] saw me (when) **I was lying there wounded**.' ACT

The first interpretation illustrates one, in which two subsequent actions follow each other with the postterminal interpretation of {-(I)p}; see example (17a). In this case, the observer (*mäni kördi kim)* saw both actions. However, the context suggests that he only saw the result of him being wounded.

The next interpretation (17b) is slightly grammaticalized, where two lexical verbs represent two actions that occur in parallel. In this case, {-(I)p} does not have a postterminal interpretation. At a certain stage of development, {-(I)p} can refer to both subsequent and parallel actions (Johanson 1995: 327–331). In this case, *bol-* does not have a transformative meaning, so *zaχmlïḳ bol-* does not mean 'to get wounded' but simply 'to be wounded'.

The last interpretation (17c) is a grammaticalized one. The grammaticalized meaning of the form ‹B› *yat-* implies duration while still retaining something from its original lexical meaning referring to the actual position of the body. The English translation may not convey the intended meaning since the main action would be 'to be wounded', extended in time by ‹B› *yat-*. The postverbial construction signifies the durative meaning, which takes place in the narrative past and is continued for a certain period of time. The verb *bol-* is nontransformative. According to the context, example (17c) is the most accurate interpretation, although all of them are possible.

To sum up, the verb in the ‹B› type converb indicates action prior to the next verb; therefore, the time-levels of actions are not so different or distant from each other (Menges 1968: 135; Erdal 2004: 459–460). Furthermore, the construction is interpreted as a pluripredicate construction, where the ‹B› converb serves as a modifier that influences the meaning of a subsequent verb, which is syntactically subordinate. As a result, the abovementioned example (17) exemplified the ambiguity between the lexical (17a; 17b) and

the grammaticalized readings (17c), as well as the ambiguity between "do-an-do" (17a) and "doing-do" (17b) readings of the converb-type pluripredicate constructions. Examples (17b) and (17c) illustrate different degrees of grammaticalization for comparison.

The *Compendium* also captures the ambiguity between actionality and aspect. This ambiguity typically arises in postverbial constructions involving verb stems, converb markers, and the auxiliary verb *tur-* 'to stand'. In actional interpretations, the use of *tur-* 'to stand' frequently conveys durativity. Example (18) illustrates how the expression *taḳï aytïb turur* presents a long quotation.

(18) *taḳï **aytïb turur***
 *bir naubat burɣuǰï bilän kelür erdim*
 *on eki kim ersä taɣ üstündä yolnï alïb turur erdilär*
 *wä burɣuǰï mäniŋ soŋumda kelür erdi* (f.101r/2–5)

 'Also, he **has said/continues to say**,
 "Once [when] I was coming [to the mountain] with Burguǰï,
 twelve people had captured the road on the mountain,
 and Burguǰï was walking behind me."'

 (18a) '[he] **has said**' (POST)
 *ayt-ïb* *tur-ur*
 say[B.CONV] stand[AOR]

 (18b) '[he] **continues to say**' (ACT)
 *ayt-ïb* *tur-ur*
 say[B.CONV] stand[AOR]

The next examples (19)–(20) highlight structural ambiguity in the reading of ‹A› *yibär-* form, as ‹A› type converbs are commonly utilized in the formation of postverbial constructions. However, in our examples, the verb sequences manifest a pluripredicate interpretation.

(19) *oŋ [χān] oɣlï sängun üǰün ḥïlä bilän ḳïz tilätä yibärdi* (f.53v/4–5)
 'Ong [Khan] **sent to make [someone] to arrange a match** with cunning for his son Sengun.'

(20) *ǰäbä noyan wä sübüdey bahadurnï sulṭān muḥammäd χoräzmī šāh artïdïn ḳowdura yibär*di (f.61r/3–4)
 '[Genghis Khan] **sent** Jebe *Noyan* and Sübüdei *Bahadur* after Khwarazmian Sultan Muhammed **to chase** him.'

As previously mentioned, in contemporary languages, the use of ‹A› converbs can appear in reduplications, postverbial constructions, and specific limited verb forms (Johanson 2021a: 752). In the *Compendium*, the ‹A› converb appears in pluripredicate and reduplication forms

with the verb *yibär-* 'to send'; see examples (19)–(20) and (21), respectively. However, there is also a postverbial construction ‹B› *yibär-* (22) that utilizes the same lexical verb as the verb sequence ‹A› *yibär-* in (20). In example (22), the postverbial construction ‹B› *yibär-* conveys the meaning of the completion of an action. Therefore, there is a structural ambiguity, which arises from the question of whether the form ‹A› *yibär-* can serve as a postverbial construction or not. However, it is worth noting that Eckmann (1966: 145) provided a sentence with ‹A› *yibär-*, referring to a sudden action, which can be considered a postverbial construction.

(21) *toluy χānnï läškär alïnda vilāyätlär **ala ala** yibärdi* (61r/6–7)
   '[He] sent Tolui Khan at the head of an army **to seize** the countries.'

(22) *oŋ χān bir aγasïn ḳow**ub yibär**di* (f.49r/11–49v/1)
   'Ong Khan **drove away** one of his brothers.'

If the finitransformative lexical verb *yibär-* 'to send' can be grammaticalized in the postverbial construction of ‹B› type, it is hypothetically possible for the same lexical verb *yibär-* 'to send' to be grammaticalized in the postverbial construction of ‹A› type. However, according to Erdal (2004: 247), the {-A} suffix mainly forms the lexical verb, while the {-(I)p} converb suffixes are often interchangeable and can form both lexical and auxiliary verbs. Nevertheless, Rentzsch demonstrates the actional construction {-E} *yibär-* in the form of {-Iver-} 'to send' in Uyghur, which carries two meanings. The first meaning is spontaneous or casual action, while the second one is fast action (Rentzsch 2005: 27). Johanson (2021a: 601–602, 613) compares the same {-(I)-wär-} and discusses in length that modern Turkish {-(I)-ver-} is the corresponding form of construction that goes back to *ï:δ-u ber-* in examples like *gül/i/ver-* 'burst out laughing'.

   A different verb sequence, demonstrating morphological ambiguity, is presented in the form of ‹A› *at-*; see example (23). The construction ‹A› *at-* with the converb marker {-A} and the verb *at-* 'to throw, shoot' appears solely in the *Compendium*. The meaning of the sentence using this construction remains uncertain. Today, four translations of this sentence are presented by native Turkic speakers: QAB/Mingulov et al. (Kazakh), Syzdyḳova & Ḳojgeldiev (Kazakh), Alimov (Kirghiz), Xisamieva (Tatar). All the different Turkic language speakers translated it differently. Kazakh scholars presented Kazakh translations, while Kirghiz and Tatar scholars provided Russian translations. However, both Kazakh translations are almost identical to the QAB's sentence, and the construction that interested us remained the same.

(23) *ḳādïr berdi χānnï[ŋ] altunlïγ ḳolluγïn **käsä attï*** (f.143v/11)

The abovementioned scholars' translations are as follows:

(QAB/Mingulov et al. 1997: 119) 'Қадірберді ханды ол алтын садағымен **кесе атты**.'
*He **shot, cutting** Qadir Berdi with his golden bow.*

(Syzdyķova & Ķojgeldiev 1991: 256) 'Қадірберді ханды алтын садағымен **кесе атты**.'
*[Hajji Muhammed Ulan] **shot, cutting** Qadir Berdi with his golden bow.*

(Xisamieva 2022: 138) '…**уничтожил** золотой трон Кадыр-берди…'
*[He] **destroyed** the Golden throne of Qadir Berdi.*

(Alimov 2022: 168) 'Он **рассек** [мечом] золотой наруч Кадырберди-хана.'
*He **sliced through** the golden sleeve of Qadir Berdi Khan [with a sword].*

The problem is that the translations of QAB/Mingulov et al., Syzdyķova & Ķojgeldiev, and Xisamieva do not reflect the exact meaning of the sentence. Kazakh language translators inserted the word *садақ* ‹sadaķ› 'bow', which is absent in the *Compendium*. Xisamieva understood the word *ķolluķ* as 'armchair' and translated it figuratively. However, that interpretation is wrong for the *Compendium*, as QAB used the words *taχt* and *ṣandal* for the meaning of 'throne'. *Ķolluķ* here means 'sleeve', it is the armament of a warrior designed to protect the arm and covers from the shoulder to the wrists or knuckles (Bobrov & Hudjakov 2008: 494).

Alimov, in his Russian translation, used the verb *rassek,* which describes the action, and means 'to separate by a blow; chop or cut in two, into pieces; cut the body in half'. Moreover, this verb often indicates speediness (actional transformativizing notion).

Although no observed postverbial construction such as ‹A› *at-* exists in any grammar of Turkic languages, and there is no auxiliary verb such as *at-* 'to throw, shoot', the function of the verbal construction in the abovementioned sentence seems to be an actional phrase. Judaxin (1985: 77) indicates that in Kyrghyz, there is a possibility for *at-* to function as an abridged form of the auxiliary verb *yat-* 'to lie down, lie'. The construction in that given scenario traces back to ‹A› *yat-*. However, the issue lies in the fact that in Turkic languages, the postverbial construction ‹A› *yat-* usually conveys a continuative function, the meaning of which is not compatible with the given context.

The verb *at-* 'to shoot' describes the action that involves launching something. In Turkic languages, there is a postverbial construction with a verb describing the action with an element of physical movement. It is the verb *tašla-* 'to throw (away)' in the ‹B› *tašla-* construction, which manifests fast, energetic, and resolute action, along with other interpretations. The sentence, semantically, is very close to that meaning. See the possible translation below, with a resolute action:

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'[Hajji Muḥammed Ulan] **cut** Qadir Berdi's golden sleeve **once and for all**.'

Moreover, the verb sequence *käsä at-* is semantically very familiar to the Kazakh *кесіп таста-* ‹kesip tasta-›, coinciding with the translation provided above. Nevertheless, the grammatically adequate translation for the verb sequence *käsä at-* can also be the pluripredicate one:

'[Hajji Muḥammed Ulan] **shot, cutting** Qadir Berdi's golden sleeve.'

However, it is interesting to note that a sentence is attested with *at-* 'to throw, shoot' in an ambiguous verb sequence in Ötemiš Hajji's *Činggiz-näme* 'Book of Genghis Khan' (1551). This verb sequence is *ḳowalap atar-*. Kamalov (2009) translated the Tashkent manuscript into Turkish based on Judin's Russian translation (1992), and Mirgaleev (2017) translated the Istanbul manuscript into Russian. All translations are based on the idea that it is a pluripredicate construction. See transcriptions of the Tashkent manuscript (ÖHt) and Istanbul manuscript (ÖHi) as well as translations below.

(ÖHt: f.37b/14–37b/15)
*anï ḳowala**b** aṭarda*
*aṭdïn yïkïlïb boynï sïnïb väfāt boldï*

(ÖHi: f.16b/4–16b/5)
*anï ḳowala**b at**arda*
*aṭdïn yïkïlïb boyunï üzülüb väfāt boldï*

(ÖHt/Judin 1992: 91)
'**Преследуя** его и **пуская стрелы**,
он свалился с коня, свернул себе шею и умер.'

*While **chasing** him and **shouting arrows**,*
*he fell from the horse, broke his neck, and died.*

(ÖHt/Kamalov 2009: 31)
'Onu kovala**yıp (ok) at**arken
attan düşüp boyunu kırıp vefat etti.'

*While **chasing** and **shooting (arrows)** at him,*
*he fell from the horse, broke his neck, and died.*

(ÖHi/Mirgaleev 2017: 28)
'Он **начал пускать стрелы** и **преследовать** их,
но упал с коня и свернул себе шею и умер.'

*He **began shooting arrows** and **chasing** them,*
*but he fell from his horse, broke his neck, and died.*

However, Balázs Danka (personal communication) recommends that it is possible that the sentence in question can be translated as a finitransformative postverbial construction:

> 'When he was going **to hotfoot after** them,
> he fell off the horse, broke his neck, and died.'

However, this is the only single sentence of such an example in ÖH. I also tend to believe that this is a postverbial construction.

Furthermore, the analytic denominal verb was attested in the 'Pagan' Oghuz-name (15th century), where the auxiliary verb *et-* 'to do, make' is uncertain and can also be interpreted as *at-* 'to throw' in the examples *čamat ät-/at-* 'to become angry'/ 'to burst with anger' and *sewinč ät-/at-* 'to be glad'/ 'to rejoice'. This ambiguity arises because the second element in these examples is spelled irregularly as ‹ʾʾd› in the Uyghur script (Danka 2019a: 144, 210).

Of course, these examples could simply be coincidences. However, the very fact that the verb *at-* 'to throw, shoot' can appear as an auxiliary verb in three different sources increases the possibility of its use as an auxiliary verb, and consequently, as part of the postverbial construction in the *Compendium*.

To sum up all that is mentioned above, the *Compendium* obtains almost all possible ambiguities classified by Csató et al., apart from the ambiguity between different viewpoint-aspect readings.

### 2.3.2 Phase specification

Postverbial constructions commonly specify and emphasize inherent aspects of the actional phrase, whether in qualitative or quantitative terms. Phase specification, or so-called actional modification (Johanson 2021a: 600; 2021b: 761) in these postverbial constructions can be categorized into transformativizing and nontransformativizing (see above).

**Transformativizing constructions**

Transformativizing postverbial constructions are utilized to emphasize the initial or final phase of an action within actionally ambiguous actional phrases, thereby blocking nontransformative interpretations. The auxiliary verbs utilized in these constructions alter the lexical verbs' actions (Johanson 2021a: 600). In the *Compendium*, verbs such as *yibär-* 'to send', *ket-* 'to go away', *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain', *tüš-* 'to fall, settle, descend' are attested. Additionally, I have included the lexical phasal verb *bašla-* 'to begin' within the transformativizing group. Johanson

introduces another group that is not considered in this research, wherein lexical phasal verbs, as opposed to auxiliary verbs, are used based on semantic meanings, resulting in less grammaticalization of postverbial constructions since the verb that should function as an auxiliary still remains a lexical verb (Johanson 2021a: 617). There is only one example of such constructions in the *Compendium*, ‹A› *bašla-*; see examples (36)–(37). Therefore, I have concluded that there is no need to keep an additional group for a single example. From a semantic point of view, this construction belongs to phase specification within the transformativizing category, as they narrow the meaning of the actional phase to transitioning to another phase, encompassing 'to begin doing something'.

**‹B› *yibär-* 'to send (away)'**

The form ‹B› *yibär-* 'to send (away)' conveys the sudden beginning of an action; see example (24). The auxiliary verb *yibär-* can be traced back to the simple *ï:ẟ-* + ‹A› + *bär-* 'to give'.

> (24) *burunÿï waḳïtda bir birinä yaχšïliḳ ḳïlïšɣannï öfkä sözin ayt**ïb yibär**di yarašalï deb* (f.54r/1–2)
>
> 'Genghis Khan **bursted out** in words of anger for all the good things they had done to each other in the old days
> saying, "Let peace be made."'

Moreover, the form ‹B› *yibär-* 'to send (away)' also indicates the completion of an action in the *Compendium*; see example (25), as the context of the text emphasizes the completion, rather than the suddenness, of Ong khan's action. A meaning highlighted in Eckmann's manual (1966: 151).

> (25) *oŋ χān bir aɣasïn ḳow**ub yibär**di* (f.49r/11–49v/1)
> 'Ong Khan **drove away** one of his brothers.'

Furthermore, the verb sequence with ‹B› *yibär-* can also serve as a pluripredicate; see example (26).

> (26) *tamāmïsïn läškär bilän Hulagu χānɣa **ḳošub yibär**dilär irān zamïngä* (f.87r/2–3)
>   'They **attached** all of them to Hulagu Khan with troops **and sent** them to the land of Iran.'

From this perspective, the context of sentences is very important, as the converb marker {-(I)p} can function as both an indicator of the standard postterminal interpretation, where two

subsequent actions follow each other (26), and also as a connective in postverbial constructions (24)–(25).

Thus, the semantics of ‹B› *yibär-* construction is ambiguous in interpretation. It can manifest as both a postverbial and a pluripredicate construction in the *Compendium*.

**‹B› *ket-*/‹B› *kät-*/‹B› *ke[t]-* 'to leave, go (away)'**

In the *Compendium*, eight examples of postverbial construction ‹B› *ket-*/‹B› *kät-*/‹B› *ke[t]-* were attested with transformativizing meaning. The construction ‹B› *ket-* in example (27) emphasizes the fast, energetic, resolute action.

(27) *sulṭān ǰalāl ad-dīn sïr daryāsïndïn käčib
ḳačïb ke[t]ti* (f.61v/11–62r/1)

'Sultan Jelal al-Din crossed the Syr Darya
and **quickly escaped**.'

Moreover, the postverbial construction ‹B› *kät-* also modifies the description of the action in the sense of 'to do something suddenly or unexpectedly'; see examples (28)–(29).

(28) *nūr miẕāllïḳ kim ersä olturub mäniŋ közümgä körünüb kätib erdi* (f.36r/8–9)
'A light-like someone **had suddenly appeared** before my eyes.'

The translation in example (29) represents only one of the possible interpretations. However, since the sentence contains three verbs, there can be different possibilities for the analysis. Nevertheless, the purpose of this section is to illustrate the meaning of the ‹B› *ket-*/‹B› *kät-*/‹B› *ke[t]-* construction, so other interpretations were not discussed.

(29) *kim ersä öz maḳāmïnda yol bärmägäy
yaʿnī talab alïb ket mägäy* (f.90r/8–9)

'Nobody should allow [such people] to appear in their own locality,
so that they shall not **suddenly/unexpectedly** pillage (for themselves).'

In Old Turkic, the verb *ket-* 'to go away' was originally finitransformative verb. Therefore, finitransaformality is sometimes the key to the source verb. Consequently, construction ‹B› *ket-* seemingly emphasizes the completion of the action, conveying the intended meaning of 'finally' in example (30).

(30) *wä lēkin āχir zamānda näčük vilāyät Tajikkä aṭlanɣanda
anï üyündä ordularïnda läškäri bilän salïb ke[t]ti* (f.81r/5–6)

'However, when [Genghis Khan] went on a campaign in the land of the Tajiks the last time,

he **layed** him (his brother) in charge with his troops at his home, [i.e.] his residences…'

(31) *andïn üč ḳawm bol**ub ke[t]**ti* (f.32v/11)
'They **finally became** three tribes (and that was it).'

Among other instances, two examples closely resembled those indicated in example (31), featuring verb forms *uluɣ bolub ke[t]ti* (f.14v/11–15r/1) and *ḳawm bolub ke[t]tilär* (f.25v/2).

**‹B› *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain'**

The next transformativizing is presented by the actional phrase of a construction based on ‹B› *ḳal-*, which means 'to get into a state and remain in there'; see example (32). The verb *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain' inherently possesses an initiontransformative nature. Thus, the ‹B› *ḳal-* construction highlights the **initial** dynamic phase of an action while also encompassing the subsequent posttransformative phase (Johanson 2021a: 603). This has clearly actional interpretation and found in the only example (32) in the *Compendium*.

(32) *ḳïmïz ṣabasïnï yaba turɣan täri ṭonnïŋ arasïnda yašurub al**ïb ḳal**dïlar* (f.30v/1–2)
'They **hid** him (and **kept him hidden**) [for their own sake] between leather overcoats that covered the koumiss in a leather bottle.'

**‹B› *tüš-* 'to fall, settle, descend'**

The last transformativizing construction relates to the finitransformative action of ‹B› *tüš-* with the grammaticalized verb *tüš-* 'to fall, settle, descend'. There are only four examples of this construction in the *Compendium*, all of which are examples of *kelib tüš-*, where grammaticalized *tüš-* is combined only with the semantical verb *kel-* 'to come'. See examples (33)–(35).

(33) *bir hafta ičindä šawwāl ayïnïŋ yigirmi törtünǰi kün tāriχ-i mïŋda pänǰšänbä kün dävlät bilän mubāräk ḳadam ḳutluɣ rūzgār bilän kärman šähriɣa kel**ib tüš**dilär* (f.154v/4–6)

'Within a week [they] **arrived** in Kasimov city on the 24th of the month of Shawwal 1000 on Thursday along with might and a blessed, and a happy fate.'

(34) *ǰiŋgiz χān bu yïl yazɣïsïn öz ordularïɣa kel**ib tüš**tï* (f.62v/1–2)
'This summer, Genghis Khan **arrived** at his [royal] residences.'

(35) *anda kel**ib tüš**ti* (f.98r/9)
'[He] **arrived** there.'

While the translation of *kelib tüš-* can be a simple presentation of the finitransformative verb 'to arrive' in English, contrasting with 'to come (be on the way)', the German verb 'ankommen'

provides a more precise translation. Therefore, these constructions convey a sense of completion or termination. Johanson (2021a: 601) mentioned that one of the auxiliary verbs utilized in these transformativizing constructions was the finitransformative source verb 'to fall', but did not give exact examples with *tüš-* 'to fall'.

It is also necessary to note the explanation of Jumabay et al. (2019: 153) given to the verb sequence *kelib tüs-* 'to stay, stay overnight' in the contemporary Kazakh language. According to them, *kelib tüs-* is "a complex verb where the two verbal roots combine their semantic meaning and are put together to express the meaning of a complex action". They call the Kazakh postverbial construction *kelib tüs-* a *composite verb*.

Nevertheless, all the examples of ‹B› *tüš-* in the *Compendium* convey the finitransformative meaning of 'to arrive'. While example (33) undoubtedly carries the meaning of the finitransformative verb 'to arrive', examples (34)–(35) can be ambiguous. Based solely on the meaning of the sentence, it is impossible to determine the accurate translation; both 'to arrive' and 'to stay overnight' are possible. However, considering the contextual story in examples (34) and (35), the ‹B› *tüš-* construction clearly indicates the finitransformative phase distinction. Importantly, Alimov (2022: 149) translates the form ‹B› *tüš-* in example (34) as *остановился* 'stayed', 'stopped.'

## ‹A› *bašla-* 'to begin'

In the *Compendium*, two examples (36)–(37) of ‹A› *bašla-* 'to begin' are identified. According to Erdal (2004: 249, 409–410), verbs that indicate phasal verbs, such as *bašla-*, should not be referred to as auxiliary verbs because they do not form part of a grammatical category. Regarding this type of verb, he refers to them as 'supine constructions', drawing a parallel to the utilization of Latin supine I (e.g. *salutatum venire* 'to come to greet') and Latin supine II (e.g. *horribile dictu* 'terrible to say').

Compared to constructions discussed previously, the lexical phasal verb displays a lower degree of grammaticalization in the text. Unlike the fully grammaticalized second verbs found in other constructions, the following constructions incorporate the phasal verb *bašla-* with its inherent lexical meaning 'to begin'. The ingressive verb *bašla-* can combine with both ‹A› and ‹B› type converbs (Johanson 2021a: 617). However, the data in the *Compendium* contains only two examples of the ‹A› *bašla-* form.

(36) *ol oɣlan anasïnïŋ sütin yem**ä bašla**dï* (f.17v/5)
  'This boy **started to suck** his mother's milk.'

(37) *ol zamānda ǰiŋgiz χānɣa ol yïl ḳawm tayǰiut öngä aɣa wä inisi ḳawm ǰuriyat wä märkit tatar wä ɣaïr häm här birisi bir az zaḥmät tegür**ä bašla**dï* (f.48r/2–4)

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'At that time in that year, the Tayjiut tribe, [as well as] other older and younger brothers from the tribes of Juriat, Merkit, Tatar, and others **began to harass** Genghis Khan.'

## Nontransformativizing constructions

Certain constructions exhibit a nontransformativizing nature, emphasizing the statal (non-dynamic) phase of an action. In these postverbial constructions, the auxiliary verbs alter the internal phasal structure of a lexical verb, turning it into nontransformative forms through a process of recategorization (Johanson 2021a: 603–604; 2021b: 762). These constructions are based on initiotransformative postural verbs, such as *tur-* 'to stand up, stand', *oltur-* 'to sit down, sit', *yat-* 'to lie down, lie', *ḳal-* 'to get into a state' + 'to remain in the state'; and on motion verbs such as *yürü-/ yür-* 'to walk', *kel-* 'to come', *ket-* 'to leave, go (away)', and *öt-* 'to pass', *käč-* 'id.' in the *Compendium*. The category of nontransformativizing comprises two converb types of postverbial constructions: the ‹B› type and the ‹A› type.

## The ‹B› type

The largest subgroup with the ‹B› type category of nontransformativizing comprises the actional meaning expressed through four distinct constructions: ‹B› *tur-* 'to stand', ‹B› *oltur-* 'to sit', ‹B› *yat-* 'to lie', ‹B› *yürü-/*‹B› *yür-* 'to walk'. ‹B› *tur-* 'to stand', ‹B› *oltur-* 'to sit', and ‹B› *yat-* 'to lie' are classified as static (non-dynamic) phases of the actional phrase, while ‹B› *yürü-/*‹B› *yür-* 'to walk' is classifies as dynamic. They are generally characterized by repetition, duration, continuity, frequency, constancy, and iteration. These constructions are typically used in a similar way, offering further information about the physical position of the action. It can be stated that the combination of the ‹B› type converb together with auxiliaries, expressed by the postural verbs as *tur-* 'to stand', *oltur-* 'to sit', *yat-* 'to lie', and motion verb *yürü-/ yür-* 'to walk', turns the transformative or actionally ambiguous actional phrases into nontransformative verbs.

In the *Compendium*, six postverbial constructions, including ‹B› *öt-* 'to pass', ‹B› *käč-* 'id.', and the four forms mentioned above, together with lexical verbs, are used to show the ‹B› type nontransformativizing constructions.

### ‹B› *tur-* 'to stand'

(38) *bir näčä kün pādišāh ḥażrätläri yanïnda mävḳūf bol**ub tur**dïlar* (f.154r/2–3)
    'For several days, he **kept** staying on His Majesty, the Sovereign's side.'

(39) *bir yärdä bir uruɣ **bolub turur erdilär*** (f.70r/2–3)
    'They **were being** one clan in one place.'

Example (39) presents a grammaticalized durative action of the form ‹B› *tur-*, which implies duration and conveys the meaning 'to be'. The postverbial construction signifies the durative meaning, which takes place in the narrative past and is continued for a certain period of time. It is the most appropriate interpretation; however, since the construction consists of three verbs, it demonstrates the ambiguity. Therefore, the second interpretation can be the illustration of two subsequent actions that follow each other with the standard postterminal interpretation of {-(I)p}, where *bol-* is 'to become' and *tur-* is 'to live, dwell'; see example (39b). The next interpretation (39c) is slightly grammaticalized, with two lexical verbs representing two actions that occur in parallel. Thus, example (39) consists of a set of ambiguous sequences between pluripredicate and postverbial interpretations.

(39b) 'They **became** one clan **and (then) lived** in one place.' PL

(39c) 'They **were being** one **clan** and **were** (**standing)** in one place.' PL

## ‹B› *oltur-* 'to sit'

(40) *ol ḥāldä bu naṣiḥatni buyurdï*
*ol ḥāżïrda barča ümärā-yi uluɣlarï baḳïb oltur*ub erdilär* (82v/1–3)

'When [Genghis Khan] prescribed this advice on that occasion,
all the great *ulug[begs]* (great lords) who were present there had **kept** watching [at him] that time.'

(41) *ol häm ḳon*ub oltur*ub erdi*
*anda oḳ bastï öltürdi* (f.57r/2)

'He had just **settled** to rest,
[when] an arrow hit [him] and killed [him] there.'

## ‹B› *yat-* 'to lie'

(42) *mäni kördi kim*
*šul zaχmlïḳ bol*ub yat*ur erdim* (f.101r/10–11)

'[He] saw me
(when) **I was lying there wounded**.'

Example (42) in the form ‹B› *yat-* 'to lie' is a non-dynamic construction that is found only once in the *Compendium*. The construction expresses an actional meaning through nontransformative durativity. However, in addition to its actional meaning, construction can also be interpreted as

a pluripredicate construction where *yat-* expresses its lexical meaning; see examples (42b)–(42c).

(42b) '[He] saw me(when) **I got wounded** and (then) **I was lying there**.'

(42c) '[He] saw me (that) **I was wounded,** and **I was lying there**.'


**‹B› *yürü-*/‹B› *yür-* 'to walk'**

(43) *bir waḳit[da] biri χān biri beg bolub yürügän erdi* (f.144v/4–5)
'One [of them] **had lived** as a khan, [and the other] one **had lived** as a beg at the same time.'

(44) *ḥaǰǰï muḥammäd ulannï manṣur beg χānladï*[31]
*biri χān biri beg bolub yürür erdi* (f.144r/3–5)

'[After] Mansur Beg enthroned Hajji Muhammed *Ulan*,
one of them **lived** as a khan, [and the other] one **lived** as a *beg*.'

(45) *ačlïḳ susalïḳ bolub yürür erdi* (f.145r/1)
'They were **living being** hungry and thirsty.'

(46) *anlarnï läškär uluɣï etib yürgüzdi* (f.90v/5–6)
'[He] made them to be **[and living]** commanders of the army.'

All instances represented in examples (43)–(46) in an actional reading indicate nontransformative durativity, which prevents the dynamic interpretation of ‹B› *yürü-*/‹B› *yür-* 'to walk'. However, three of them (43)–(45) express ambiguity between a pluripredicative and a monopredicative reading without contextual knowledge. Another text, *Däftär-i Čingiz-nāmä*, also written in Turkic variety in the 17th century, exhibits the same characteristic (Danka 2019b: 139).

**‹B› *öt-* 'to pass' and ‹B› *käč-* 'id.'**

Johanson (2021a: 611) explained both the ‹B› *öt-* and ‹B› *käč-* constructions as actions carried in passing, with overtones of casual, careless performance. However, he provided evidence only in Uzbek for the ‹B› *öt-* and in Turkish for the ‹B› *käč-*, without presenting evidence from other languages and putting them in the spatial orientation expression of postverbial constructions. The ‹B› *öt-* construction was described by Gabain (1945: 125) as the expression of a well-executed action in Uzbek. Modern Turkish has *geç-* 'to pass' which corresponds to the verb *öt-* 'to pass' in other Turkic languages. Clauson (1972: 39) writes that the main connotation

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[31] † *χānlandï.*

of *öt-* is movement or over; however, in the later stage, it mostly appears with 'time'. In the Oghuz branch, *öt-* only appears in Turkmen and in the Anatolian dialect of Turkish.

Since both of ‹B› *öt-* and ‹B› *käč-* forms convey the idea of '(time) to pass', they were combined in one section in the *Compendium*; see *öt-* (47)–(49) and *käč-* (50)–(52). The focus in all the examples is on the process and, therefore, can be expressed using the adverb 'gradually' or the adverbial phrase 'step by step', 'one by one'. Both *öt-* and *käč-* appear together with phrases such as 'until today, for some time, from then until now' (49)–(51), which represent a specific period of time.

(47) *büzürg muʿtäbär bol**ub öt**ti* (f.76v/4)
     '[He] became **step by step** very well respected.'

(48) *bu moɣollar aṣlï eki böläk bol**ub öt**tilär* (f.14r/9–10)
     'The origin of these Mongols **gradually** came from two groups.'

(49) *aḥwāl moɣol läškärläri anǰa tā gāyät waḳitḳa deg[g]äč maʿlūm bol**ub öt**üb erdilär* (f.88r/10–11)
     'The position of the Mongolian army had become **step by step** so famous until today.'

(50) *näǰä waḳitḳa deg[g]äǰ bär münša ʿib uruɣ bol**ub käč**tilär* (f.146r/9–10)
     '[They] **gradually** became clan, branching out for a long time.'

(51) *ol ḳawm ol kündin bu küngä deg[g]äǰ bisiyār ḳawm bol**ub käč**tilär* (f.10r/10–11)
     'That tribe **gradually** became a large tribe from that time until today.'

(52) *turkistān ḥaddïndakï šähärlärni al**ïb käč**ä ke[t]ti* (f.60v/8)
     '[Jochi, Chagatai and Ogedei] took over the cities **one by one** on their way to the Turkestan border.'

The sentence in example (52) is complex, featuring three verbs that can be combined. The construction *al-ïb käč-* appears to emphasize the process of action, i.e. 'took the cities one by one (as a process)'. However, the construction ‹A› *ke[t]-* poses some issues. It can function similarly to the ‹B› *ket-* construction, which would mean 'he **finally** took the cities one by one', combining ‹B› *käč-* and ‹B›/‹A› *ket-* together. Gabain (1941 [1974]: 123) stated that the most important difference between the ‹A› and ‹B› type converbs is that ‹A› indicates simultaneity, while ‹B› type means a temporal antecedent. However, later researchers questioned Gabain's interpretations of the ‹A› and ‹B› types (Erdal 2004: 462). Among them, Johanson (2021a: 599) concluded that in many cases, the opposition between ‹A› and ‹B› types becomes neutralized, resulting in relatively vague functions.

Gabain (1945: 124) attested to the ‹A› *ket-* form in Uzbek and indicated it as an inchoative actionality, the meaning of which is close to the ‹B› *ket-* form. Alternatively, the presence of

the ‹A› type converb following ‹B› *käč-* could indicate the pluripredicate construction, expressing 'he went way, taking the cities one by one'. However, apart from reduplications and the ambiguous lexical verb *yibär-* 'to send', no other examples of the ‹A› type markers were found in the *Compendium*, serving as a modifier that influences the meaning of a subsequent verb in pluripredicate sentences. Although the ‹A› *ke[t]-* construction is the only example in the *Compendium*, it is represented as an active actionality in modern Kazakh. It conveys the meaning of an additional action occurring in parallel with another action, where the second action serves as the main action (Oralbaeva 1979: 164). That's why the form ‹A› *ke[t]-* in example (52) is translated as 'on (their) way'.

**The ‹A› type**

**‹A› *tur-* 'to stand'**

The category of nontransformativizing in the ‹A› *tur-* form is expressed through the continuative meaning, which is classified as a statal (non-dynamic) phase. There is only one instance in the *Compendium*; see examples (53).

> (53) *χātunlar wä kälinlär wä ḳizlar kim andaɣ ḳizïl ot tüslük ǰaynaɣ **tur**ur erdilär* (f.98v/1–2)
> 'Spouses, daughters-in-law, and daughters **were shining** like red fire.'

It seems that there is no semantic difference between the forms ‹A› *tur-* and ‹B› *tur-* in the *Compendium*. Moreover, there are mostly no strict rules governing the usage of the ‹A› type converb or that of the ‹B› type converb, but rather a tendency towards one form or the other (Menges 1968: 150–151; Johanson 2021a: 599). Juldašev (1965: 73) notes that in Bashkir folklore in the sphere of present tense, the form ‹A› *tur-* can convey the same meaning as ‹B› *tur-*. Kononov (1956: 210) and Lewis (1967: 191) maintain about the same meanings of ‹A› *dur-* and ‹B› *dur-* in modern Turkish. However, according to Johanson (2021a: 607), these two constructions differ from each other. Only the ‹A› *tur-* construction expresses the continuative action that has already begun and can refer to an action in relation to a second action. Furthermore, ‹A› *tur-* does not combine with finitrasformatives. Due to the lack of the form constructions with ‹A› *tur-* in the *Compendium*, the difference remains unclear.

**‹A› *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain'**

The verb *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain' inherently possesses an initiontransformative nature, as already mentioned above. However, this lexical verb, when used as an auxiliary verb together with the ‹A› type converb, creates the category of nontransformativizing in the actional construction ‹A›

*ḳal-*, meaning 'to get into a posttransformative state and to remain in it'. So, the construction illustrates "comparable properties, highlighting the second phase (non-initial), while also including the initial phase that leads to it" (Johanson 2021a: 608). It explicitly states that the observed action is in its final stage (Erdal 2004: 250).

(54) *ägär müvāfiḳ tüšsä*
*äytkänläri här käz kelmäy ḳalmas* (f.92r/11–92v/1)

'[Even] if [this advice] is appropriate,
it does not **remain** valid every time.'

In the *Compendium*, there is another example of the verb *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain' with the ‹B› type converb in the section on transformativizing constructions. That usage, on the contrary, prevents the nontransformative interpretation and emphasizes the initial phase; see example (55).

(55) *ḳïmïz ṣabasïnï yaba turɣan täri ṭonniŋ arasïnda yašurub alïb ḳaldïlar* (f.30v/1–2)
'They **hid** him (and **kept him hidden**) [for their own sake] between leather overcoats that covered the koumiss in a leather bottle.'

Erdal (2004: 250) and Anderson (2004: 116–120) propose that ‹A› *ḳal-* serves the same function as ‹B› *ḳal-* in EOT and South Siberian, respectively, with minor nuances. In EOT, ‹A› *ḳal-* defines the meaning as "the action's last stage". In South Siberian, ‹A› *ḳal-* defines a "perfective action", while ‹B› *ḳal-* carries "an additional connotation of successful completion of an action". However, these two constructions are different in the *Compendium*.

**‹A› *kel-* 'to come'**

The next subgroup of nontransformativizing constructions is ‹A› *kel-* 'to come' with actional meaning "up to some later orientation point" (Johanson 2021a: 608). It indicates actions that have been ongoing for a certain duration but analyzes them from a later stage, possibly when they have become habitual or are being narrated (Erdal 2004: 250, 253).

(56) *uruɣlarï pādišāh bola keldilär* (f.33r/3–4)
'His descendants became a ruler **until today**.'

(57) *ol zamāndïn bu zamān ǰiŋgiz χānɣa deg[g]äǰ ḳul bola keldilär* (f.30v/9)
'From that time **until** this time of Genghis Khan, [they] were slaves.'

Generally, the word *ḳul* translates as 'servant' rather than 'slave' in the *Compendium*. Its original meaning corresponds to 'servant', 'subordinate', or 'subject' (Budagov 1871: 45).

However, in example (57), it is clear that the meaning is 'slave'. This sentence belongs to the dastan of Dutum Menen (see footnote 195). After the murder of Monolun and her eight sons, the Jalayirs who participated in the murder were given to Qaidu as slaves. The translators of Persian *Compendium* into English (RD/Thackston 1998: 120) and Russia (RD/Smirnova 1952: 19), as well as the Russian translation of the Turkic *Compendium* (Alimov 2022: 126), have rendered it as 'slave' in this context.

### 2.3.3 Spatial orientation

The spatial orientation (or directionality) group is divided into two subgroups, both based on the ‹B› type converb, with three motion verbs:

- towards the deictic center ('to this place'), using the meaning verbs of 'to come';
- away from the deictic center ('from this place'), using the meaning verbs of 'to go away' (Johanson 2021a: 610).

The first subgroup of spatial orientation is the direction of motion towards the deictic center (to this place) based on the converb and motion verb ‹B› *kel-* 'to come'. The term *venitive* (*cislocative*) is also used to indicate the concept 'coming' (Johanson 2021b: 761).

Example (58) indicates the orientation with respect to the point of reference.

(58) *özlärin körsätib*
*tā näǰük ol üǰ aṭlïɣlar aŋa ḳaṣd etkäy*
*ḳaǰurub ḳow**ub kel**gäy*
*wä bi-mädäd nökärläri bilän anlarnï tutɣay* (94r/8–10)

'[He] showed himself
in order to those three horsemen encroach his life
[and] **chased** him,
and [he] would catch them up with the aid of his *nökers*.'

(59) *toḵtayɣa al**ïb kel**ä[32] turur erdi* (f.142v/8–9)
'[He] was on the way **bringing** [him] **to** Tokhta.'

The second subgroup of spatial orientation refers to the direction of motion away from the deictic center ('from this place'). This is expressed through *andative* (*translocative*) constructions that rely on converbs and auxiliary verbs based on ‹B› *bar-* 'to go' and ‹B› *ket-* 'to leave, go (away)' (Johanson 2021a: 610; 2021b: 761).

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[32] *Alïb kel-* is a lexicalized verb, with its lexicalization occurring as a secondary development after the emergence of the postverbial construction.

The *Compendium* comprises three examples of ‹B› type lexical constructions that involve the verb *bar-* 'to go'. It seems that all three examples (60)–(62) are lexicalized. Examples (61)–(62) manifest the partially lexicalized verb *alïb bar-* 'to carry away', which is the counterpart of the fully lexicalized *alïb kel-* 'to bring' (59).

(60) *bir vilāyät[din] bir vilāyätķa **ötüb ba**rur erdi* (f.143v/4)
　　'[He] was **passing** from one country to another.'

(61) *soŋ bu ķaydunï ol ķawmɣa **alïb bar**dï* (f.30v/4)
　　'After, he **took** this Qaydu to that tribe.'

(62) *börtä füǰinnï **alïb bar**dïlar* (f.42r/4)
　　'[They] **took** Lady Börte **away.**'

The direction of motion away from the deictic center ('from this place'), expressed by the construction ‹B› *ket-*, is attested in the following examples (63)–(65):

(63) *andïn burun ǰiŋgiz χānnïŋ ḥukumï yarïɣï bilän ǰoǰi χān läškär bilän **aṭlanïb ket**ib erdi*[33] (f.111r/6–7)
　　'Earlier, Jochi Khan **set out** with an army on the order of Genghis Khan.'

(64) *ķoyan yïlï bahār waķïtda güyük χān bilän möŋgü χān yarlïɣï bilän toluy χān ḥażrätiɣa **ķaytïb ke[t]**tilär* (f.111v/7–9)
　　'In the Year of the Hare, during the springtime, in accordance with the command of Güyük Khan and Möngke Khan they **went back to** His Majesty, Tolui Khan.'

(65) *ǰoǰi aɣruķ ķïna **ķaytïb ket**ib turur* (f.61v/8)
　　'Jochi **has returned** to his baggage.'

## 2.3.4 Version

Version is the construction based on the verbs *bär-* 'to give' and *al-* 'to take'. The term 'version' denotes its directionality, precisely indicating whether a particular action is executed for the advantage or detriment of a specific entity. Primarily, this concept argues around beneficence, showing whose benefit or interest the action serves: action in one's own interest or acting for the benefits of someone else (Erdal 2004: 247, 260–261; Johanson 2021a: 611) and is illustrated by:

- ‹B› *al-* 'to take' (indicates the benefit for the performer, i.e. for one's own sake);

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[33] *Aṭlanïb erdi* (K: f.45v/4).

- ‹B› *bär-* 'to give' (indicates the interest of the action carrier, i.e. for the sake of someone else).

Constructions derived from the verb *al-* 'to take' convey the subject vision (66)–(68), while constructions derived from the verb *bär-* 'to give' express the object version (69)–(71) (Johanson 2021b: 761).

**‹B› *al-* 'to take'**

(66) *anïŋ üyüŋ tirligin malïn oŋ χān ǰab**ib** al**d**ï* (f.54r/7)
'Ong Khan **seized** [Jojï Qasar's] household and wealth (**for himself**).'

(67) *köbräk rübʿ mäskūn taχtïn taṣarruf ḳïl**ib** al**d**ïlar* (f.10r/9–10)
'He **took possession** of his throne over most of the inhabited one-quarter [of the Earth].'

(68) *ǰïŋgiz χān bu yïllar buχaraɣa kel**ib** al**d**ï*
*häm ošbu yïl oḳ anïŋ tegräsi[n]dägi šähärlärni al**d**ï* (f.60v/10–11)

'Genghis Khan **came (in his own interest**) to Bukhara those years.
And [he] took the cities around it.'

**‹B› *bär-* 'to give'**

(69) *ǰïŋgiz χān oɣlanlarïɣa läškär böl**üb** bär**d**i* (f.142r/6–7)
'Cenghis Khan **divided** the troops **for** his sons.'

(70) *kärman šährin sohurɣal ḳïl**ib** bär**d**i* (f.154r/1–2)
'He **granted** Kasimov city [to Uraz Muhammed].'

(71) *här birisiɣa tört mïŋ läškär ḥiṣṣa ḳïl**ib** bär**d**i* (f.142r/7–8)
'He **contributed** four thousand warriors **for** each of them.'

## 2.3.5 Ability/Inability

The term "ability" or "potentiality" denotes the capacity of the subject to effectively perform the action in question (Erdal 2004: 247). In the *Compendium*, the constructions of ability/inability are based on the forms ‹A› *al-* 'to take' for the physical, mental ability/inability and ‹A› *bil-* 'to know' for the circumstantial possibility.

It is noteworthy to highlight that the *Compendium* yielded only a few examples, demonstrating circumstantial possibility; see examples (75)–(76). On the contrary, a significantly broader range of examples provided evidence for physical and mental ability/inability. A total of fifteen examples of ability/inability (‹A› *al-*) and only two examples of circumstantial possibility ‹A› *bil-* were found in the *Compendium*.

‹**A**› **al-** 'to take'

> (72) *toḵuzunǰï oɣlïn tab**a al**madïlar* (f.30r/11–30v/1)
> 'They **could not** find her ninth son.'

> (73) *hiǰ ǰānwär aṭ kötär**ä al**mas erdi* (f.106v/6–7)
> 'No animal, no horse **could** have lifted him.'

> (74) *daryā suwïn hič kim ersä ičib tügän**ä al**mas* (f.3v/2–3)
> 'There is no one who **can** drink up all the water of the river.'

‹**A**› **bil-** 'to know'

> (75) *ol suwdan läškär-i χïṭay käč**ä bil**mädi* (f.29v/3–4)
> 'It was **impossible** for the Chinese troops to cross the water.'

> (76) *ägär günāh etsälär*
> *ittifāḵ bilän keŋäš ḵïlsaŋïz*
> *anlarnïŋ günāhnï raušan bolɣay*
> *tā köŋüllärindä inkār et**ä bil**mägäylär* (f.82v/4–6)
>
> 'If they sin,
> [and] if you consult with consent,
> their sin will be clear;
> that is, it will be **impossible** for them to deny.'

This section highlights the current state of the system of postverbial constructions. The postverbial constructions, such as ‹B› *ḵal-* 'to stay, remain', ‹A› *ḵal-* 'to stay, remain', ‹B› *tüš-* 'to fall, settle, descend', ‹B› *öt-* 'to pass' and ‹B› *käč-* 'id.', ‹A› *ke[t]-* 'to leave, go (away)', ‹B› *ket-* 'to leave, go (away)', ‹A› *kel-* 'to come', ‹B› *kel-* 'to come', ‹B› *bar-* 'to go', ‹B› *bär-* 'to give', ‹A› *al-* 'to take', ‹A› *bil-* 'to know' are not problematic and, therefore, probably, already have completed of development, while the constructions, such as ‹A› *tur-* 'to stand', ‹B› *tur-* 'to stand', ‹B› *oltur-* 'to sit', ‹B› yat- 'to lie', ‹B› *yürü-/*‹B› *yür-* 'to walk', ‹B› *ket-*, ‹B› *yibär-* are being under development with completing forms, due to overload in usage. However, this analysis remains hypothetical, as the *Compendium* contains only a limited number of examples.

## 2.4 Verb stems

This chapter will distinguish denominal verb derivation, analytic denominal verb derivation, phraseological phrases and expressions, and deverbal verb derivation.

According to Johanson (2021a: 572), Turkic verbs fall under an open lexical class that is divided into the following main subclasses:

- **Intransitive** verbs are verbs that convey a complete idea in a sentence without requiring an object to complement the meaning. They do not require an object to convey their meaning in the sentence, e.g. *öl-di* 'X died'. See example (1).

- **Transitive** verbs are verbs that show an action in the sentence and require an object to complete their action. In other words, they are preceded by a direct object in the sentence, e.g. *kötär-di-lär* 'X raised (PL)'. See example (2).

- **Ambitransitive (neutral)** verbs are verbs that can function as both transitive and intransitive, depending on their usage in the sentence. One of the most frequently used ambitransitive verbs in Turkic languages is *ič-* 'to drink', 'to drink (something)'. Compare examples (3) and (4).

(1) *toḵtaγa **öldi*** (f.142v/10)
   'Toqtaga **died**.'

(2) *tört kim ersä tört yaḵtïn ḥażrät χānnï altunlïγ ṣandalnïŋ üstinä **kötärdilär*** (f.155r/8–10)
   'Four [*qaraču begs*] from the four sides **raised** His Highness, the Khan, to the golden throne.'[34]

In the following example (3), the sentence is transitive because the verb has the object *ʿäsäl* 'mead'. The question here is, "What did he drink?" and the answer is, "He drank the mead". In contrast, in example (4), the verb *ič-* 'to drink' is used intransitively, without an object in general, answering the question, "What does he/she/it do?" The answer to this is, "He/she/it drinks".

(3) *ʿäsälni **ičär erdi*** (f.144v/3)
   '[He] **drank** the mead.'

(4) Turkish: ***İçiyor*** (Johanson 2021a: 572)
   'He/she/it **drinks**.'

Due to corpus limitations, ambitransitive verbs in the *Compendium* are often observed in their transitive forms.

Verbs generally exist as either primary stems or secondary stems (derived forms). Secondary stems can be further categorized into two types: deverbal verbs and denominal verbs.

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[34] Uraz-Muhammed was elevated to the throne by the four highest-ranking clan leaders (*qaračï begs*): Jalayir, Mangit, Argin, and Kipchak. The *qaračï begs* held chieftain positions in the main clans of the Crimea, Kazan, and Qasym khanates. Typically, the chiefs of these clans included Shirin, Barin, Argin, and Kipchak. They usually install a khan by raising him on white felt. This act of elevating on the felt symbolized their share of power (Ivanics 2022: 148). According to Beljakov (2019: 67), the enthronement ceremony of Uraz-Muhammed was more likely an exceptional instance of a khan's inauguration in Kasimov.

Secondary verb stems are actively used in Turkic languages. Adding a suffix to a primary stem modifiies the function or meaning of the verb, forming these stems. This is a very important feature of Turkic languages, as it allows addressees to express different shades of meaning in their speech. Derivational suffixes or auxiliary verbs can form secondary stems synthetically or analytically (Johanson 2021a: 572). See the respective examples (5) and (6).

(5) *manṣur begni baraḳ χān öltürdi* (f.144r/5)
   'Baraq Khan **killed** (lit. **made to die**) Mansur Beg'.

(6) *soŋ bu ḳaydunï ol ḳawmγa **alïb barđï*** (f.30v/4)
   'After, he **took** this Qaydu to that tribe'.

This chapter will consider the definitions of productivity and non-productivity in connection with derivation. In linguistics, productivity is a broad term that refers to the ability of language users to generate and comprehend an unlimited number of sentences. A pattern is considered productive if it is repeatedly used in a language to create additional instances of the same type. On the other hand, non-productive (or unproductive) patterns lack the potential to generate further instances. Furthermore, there exists another pattern known as semi-productive forms, which are characterized by limited or occasional creativity (Crystal 2008: 389–390). Kempf (2013: 49) accurately pointed out that while the concepts of productivity and non-productivity are frequently employed in "Altaic" linguistics, including historical languages, the precise quantity of examples required to be considered productive or non-productive poses a challenge in terms of definition. Erdal (1991: 26) examined the functions of derivatives in word formation and established several criteria for distinguishing them. The most important suggestion is that "both base *and* suffix of synchronous formation have to be attested". Therefore, in this research, I categorize the derivational elements into productive, attested, and unproductive categories. A marker is considered productive when both the stem and the derivative are attested in three and more examples in the *Compendium*. When the derivative is attested but the stem does not occur in the *Compendium*, regardless of the number of derivative examples, I classify the marker as attested. Danka (2019a: 185) explains that the absence of commonly used stems in the text only indicates that the variety in historical texts is not fully described. Finally, I classify a marker as unproductive when the verb's derivation is not transparent or when there are fewer than three examples.

### 2.4.1 Denominal verb derivation[35]

The following inventory of denominal verb derivational elements is attested in the *Compendium*: {+lA-}, {+A-}, {+I-}, {+(A)l-}, {+(A)y-}, {+(A)r-}, {+dA-}, {+(I)K-}, {+KAr}, {+(U)(r)ka-}. Additionally, an example illustrates the ancient *z ~ r* correspondence, where *z* is replaced by *r* when using the denominal verbalizer{+I-}. For example, *semiz* 'fat' ~ *semür-* 'to be(come) fat' (Erdal 1991: 480).

Tables 4.1–4.12 will provide the forms of various denominal verb derivational elements.

### *2.4.1.1 {+lA-}*

The {+lA-} suffix serves as the primary denominal verb formative, allowing unrestricted addition to foreign bases, as shown in Table 4.1. Verbs derived with the {+lA-} suffix can encompass a broad  spectrum of meanings associated with the meaning of the base. It functions as a verbalizer for transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive (neutral) verbs (Erdal 1991: 415, 454).

Examples (7)–(8) illustrate transitive verbs; examples (9)–(10) display intransitive verbs; and examples (11)–(12) demonstrate the ambitransitive verbs.

> (7) *ḥajjï muḥammäd ulannï manṣur beg **χānladï***
> *biri χān biri beg bolub yürür erdi* (f.144r/3–5)
>
> '[After] Mansur Beg **enthroned** Hajji Muhammed *Ulan*[36],
> one of them lived as a khan, [and the other] one lived as a *beg*.'

> (8) *töhmät ‹bi-siḥr› bilän anï kür suwïγa **tašladï*** (f.137r/8)
> 'On suspicion ‹of witchcraft›, [he] **threw** her into the Kura River.'

> (9) *anda ḳïšladï* (f.54v/2)
> '[They] **passed the winter** there.'

> (10) *özi läškäri bilän nigias taba **yüzländi*** (f.89v/4–5)
> 'He and his army **turned towards** Nikyas.'[37].'

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[35] The examination of denominal verb derivation is based on my research, which was published in Togabayeva (2024b).

[36] *Ulan* is a Genghisid from the Jochid, Chagataid, and Hulaguid dynasties. By the 15th century, the Jochids, began using the tern *sultan* to refer to princes, while *oγlan* was lowered in the social hierarchy (Beljakov 2019: 56). *Ulan* is the Kipchak form of the Turkic *oγlan*.

[37] According to Thackston's English translation of the Persian *Compendium* (1998: 262), the term used is *Nankiyas*. In the Russian translation, it is referred to as *Нангяс* (RD/Smirnova 1952: 232). In the footnotes, it is explained that *Нангяс* is a term used for southerners, derived from the Chinese *нань-цзя (\*нань-гя)*, and it incorporates the Mongolian plural suffix. It is a Mongolian name, while the Chinese refer the country as *Манзи*. The term *Манзи* comes from the Chinese *мань-цзы*, which means "the southern barbarians". In ancient times, the Chinese used this term to refer to all the alien tribes that lived in southern China. During the Mongolian period, the name *мань-цзы* was specifically applied to the southern Chinese (RD/Smirnova 1952: 77 n.3, 4).

The denomial verbs *färmān-la-* 'to order' and *ḥisāb-la-* 'to count' exhibit ambitransitive meanings (both transitive and intransitive). However, the *Compendium* lacks sufficient examples to directly observe the transitive and initransitive aspects of ambitransitive verbs. Only one example is available for each verb in the *Compendium*. The verb *färmān-la-* 'to order' is used in its intransitive form, without an object, in example (11). The ambitransitive verb *ḥisāb-la-* 'to count' is exemplified only together with the transitivizing causative marker {-t-}, see example (12), which demonstrates the transitive verb *ḥisāb-la-t-* 'to cause to count'.

(11) *andaɣ **färmānladïm*** (f.19v/1)
     'I **ordered** so/ the following…'

(12) *tämügä otǐigin noyannïŋ uruɣïn ḳu[b]ilay χān **ḥisāblattï*** (f.40r/9–10)
     'Kublai Khan **caused** (them) **to count** the descendants of Temüge *Otčigin*[38] *Noyan*[39].'

An instance of the verb formative {+lA-} appears in the transitive verb *tïŋla-* 'to hear, listen' in the *Compendium*; see example (13). Clauson (1972: 512, 522) notes that it has been suggested that the verb *tïŋla-* was derived, albeit doubtful, from the form *tïŋ,* which may have originated from the Chinese word *t'ing* 'to hear, listen' and is attested in Old Uyghur with the meaning 'sound'. Boeschoten (2023: 338) similarly recognizes *\*tïŋ* as a reconstructed form associated with 'sound'.

(13) *mäniŋ sözümni **tïŋlamaďi*** (f.19r/4–5)
     '[They] **didn't listen to** my words.'

Table 4.1. Verbs derived with {+lA-}

| etymological stems found independently in the corpus |
| --- |
| *aṭ-la-n-* 'to march against, set out' ← *at* 'horse' |
| *baš-la-* 'to begin, lead' ← *baš* 'head' |
| *biy-lä-* 'to rule' ← *biy* 'biy/beg' |
| *färmān-la-* 'to issue a *firman*, order' ← *färmān* P '*firman*, imperial edict; command, order' |
| *ḥisāb-la-t-* 'to cause to count, cause to plan, cause to calculate' ← *ḥisāb* A 'counting, numbering', 'considering' |
| *χān-la-* 'to enthrone' ← *χān* 'khan' |
| *ʿizzät-lä-* 'to treat with respect, honor' ← *ʿizzät* A 'a being glorious', 'glory, greatness', 'excellence', 'honor, dignity' |
| *ḳïš-la-* 'to pass the winter, into winter quarters' ← *ḳïš* 'winter' |

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[38] *Otčigin* (Mo *otčigin* ← *ot* + *tigin* (> *čigin*) 'fire-prince') is the youngest son and the guardian of the hearth, the keeper of (the family) fire(place) (Rachewiltz 2004: 236, 288).
[39] *Noyan* is the Mongolian equivalent of the English 'chief', 'commander', 'official', 'nobleman' (Rachewiltz: 2004: 247).

| | |
|---|---|
| **söz-lä-** 'to speak, say' ← **söz** 'word, speech, statement' | |
| **taš-la** 'to stone' ← **taš** 'stone' | |
| **yaɣï-la**-š- 'to antagonize each other, feud with one another' ← **yaɣï** 'hostile, enemy' | |
| **yüz-lä-n**- 'to face toward, turn towards' ← **yüz** 'face' | |
| **etymological stems not found independently in the corpus** | |
| **aŋ-la-** 'to understand' ← **aŋ** 'understanding, intelligence' | |
| **baɣ-la-** 'to tie, fasten' ← **baɣ** 'bond, tie, belt' ← **ba-** 'to bind', 'to fasten' **{-(I)G}** VN | |
| **iktü-lä-** 'to bring up' ← **iktü** 'a small-fed animal' | |
| **ǰar-la-** 'to call to, summon' ← **ǰar** 'onomatopoetic jingle' | |
| **kiz-lä-** 'to hide', lit. 'to put (something) in a box or bag' ← **kiz** 'wardrobe, clothes bag, cupboard' (Clauson 1972: 756); ***kiz** 'secret' (Boeschoten 2023:169) | |
| **ḳonaḳ-la-** 'to entertain (a guest)' ← **ḳonaḳ** 'guest' ← **ḳon-** 'to settle, stop (for the night), settle down' **{-(°)K}**[40] VN | |
| **ḳučaḳ-la**-š- 'to embrace one another' ← **ḳučaḳ** 'embrace, armful' ← **ḳuč-** 'to embrace' {-(°)**K**} VN | |
| **saḳ-la-** 'to watch over guard, protect' ← **saḳ** 'awake, alert' | |
| **tïŋ-la-** 'to hear, listen' ← **tïŋ** 'sound' | |
| **yay-la-** 'to pass the summer' ← **yay** 'summer' | |
| **yïɣ-la-** 'to weep' ← **ïɣï** 'weeping, sobbing' | |
| **yuma-la-n**- 'to roll' ← *yumar-la-* 'to knead (dough) into a ball' < *yumur-la-* 'id.' ← *yumur* 'something round, globular, coiled' ← *yum-* **{-(°)r}** VN or **{-mUr}** VN | |

The verb *yuma-la-* with the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-(I)n-} is of special interest. Clauson (1972: 938) indicates the form *yum-ur-la-*. *Yumur* basically refers to 'something round, globular, or coiled'; hence, it is associated with 'the howls', especially those of animals (Clauson 1972: 937). It is derived from *\*yum-* 'to be round' (Clauson 1972: 934; Boeschoten 2023: 426). *\*Yum-* is a reconstructed verb that has survived in words such as *yumɣak* 'a spherical or globular object' (Clauson 1972: 936), *yumurtɣa* 'egg' (Clauson 1972: 938), and *yumuš* literally something like 'circulating'. Originally, it implied 'an errand' but later it survived with the broader meaning of 'a task', 'piece of work' (Clauson 1972: 938), *yumuz* 'round, globular' and, of course, *yumur* (Clauson 1972: 940). However, *yum-* can also mean 'to shut, clench', and 'to assemble'. Therefore, there are two ideas of derivation (Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: 399). The earliest is the aorist marker {-(°)r} within *yum-ur*. The second one is a suffix {-mUr} in *\*yum-mur > yumur*. For detailed information, see Róna-Tas & Berta (2011). Furthermore, it is highly interesting to note that in modern Kazakh, the initial consonant is rendered by the realization of Proto-Turkic *\*ď'\** in the form of домала- ‹domala-›, as the initial *d-* reflects Proto-Turkic *\*ď'\** in some historical documented languages (Johanson 2021a: 366–

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[40] I labeled it {-(°)K} since the word 'guest' first appeared independently in Qarakhanid Turkic in the form *kon-ok*. Erdal (1991: 238) describes the derivational marker in the noun as {-(O)k}, while Johanson (2021a: 448) identifies such markers as {-(U̯)K}~{-(I̯)K}. For comparison, *ḳonaḳ* can appear in the forms of *konak/konaɣ/konuk/konok/konïk/* (Clauson 1972: 637).

367), cf. Kirghiz (Judaxin 1985: 268) *жума-ла-* ‹žuma-la-› 'катить, скатывать', and Tatar (TRS 1966: 188) *йомар-ла-* ‹yomar-la-› 'катиться, скатываться, скатать, придать круглую форму'. The WOT borrowing words in Hungarian also reflect the realization of the initial *d'-*, as seen in the words like *gyümölcs* ‹d'ümölč› < *ǰemilč* ← WOT *\*ǰemilč* | EOT *yemiš* 'fruit' < *ye-* 'to eat' (Róna-Tas & Berta: 2011: 417), cf. Kazakh *жеміс* ‹žemis›. In Kazak, it usually takes the initial *ž-*. It is intriguing that this initial *ž-* is preserved in Kazakh words, such as *жұмыртқа* ‹žumïrtķa› 'egg' and *жұмыс* ‹žumïs› 'work' or 'labor' which share the same original stem. This is a perfect illustration of the word-inital sounds *y- ~ ǰ- ~ ž- ~ t'- ~ d'- ~ ts- ~ ś- ~ s-*. While EOT displays the initial *y-*, the WOT illustrates *ǰ-*. Chuvash and Yakut show the initial *s-*. Old and more recent languages exhibit variations between *ǰ- ~ y-*. Many modern languages show *y-*. The vacillation between *y- ~ ǰ-* is observed in Kipchak languages, whereas Kazakh shows a stable *ž-*. The North Altay varieties illustrate *t'- ~ d'- ~ ts- ~ y-*. South Siberian languages illustrate the initial *d'-* and *t'-,* which is the dentalization of *y-* (Johanson 2020: 110).

Erdal (1991: 416) noted that in Old Turkic, bisyllables ending in the velars *K*, *G*, and *ŋ* generally took the marker {+lA-} rather than {+A-}. However, in the *Compendium*, the suffix {+lA-} is primarily found after monosyllables ending in velars *ķ*, *g*, *ɣ*, *ŋ* and only once after a bisyllable ending in the velar *ķ*. In contrast, no instances of syllables ending in any velar sound with the {+A-} suffix are attested in the *Compendium*.

According to the corresponding examples in Table 4.1, denominal verbs formed with {+lA-} are highly productive in the *Compendium*. These verbs reflect actions or activities associated with the nouns from which they are derived. Furthermore, the marker {+lA-} appears in combinations and formative sequences such as {+lA-n-}, {+lA-š-}, and {+lA-t-}. The documented derivations include nouns from Turkic, Arabic, Persian, and other languages.

### 2.4.1.2 *{+A-}*

The suffix {+A-} is the second most frequently occurring denominal verb formative in the *Compendium*. It attaches to nominals that end in a consonant and forms both transitive and intransitive verbs from nouns and adjectives. This denominal verbalizer {+A-} indicates the action or activity associated with the noun or adjective from which it is derived, functioning similarly to the denominal verbalizer {+lA-}. It can be added to both mono- and bisyllabic bases; however, in bisyllabic bases, the second vowel is typically shortened (Erdal 1991: 416; 2004: 228; Johanson 2021a: 574). The *Compendium* provides evidence for only five examples of denominal verbs with the {+A-} suffix on monosyllabic bases.

All the documented examples in the *Compendium* are synthetically derived from nouns and an adjective, as illustrated in Table 4.2. Among these verbs, the transitive denominal verb

*at-a-* 'to call out', 'to nominate to a post', 'to betroth' displays a wide range of usage; see its transitive usage in example (14). However, the reflexive form {-(I)n-} also attests to instances indicating intransitive meanings, as seen in example (15).

> (14) *anï öz aɣasïnïŋ oɣlïɣa **ataďï*** (f.141r/6–7)
> '[He] **betrothed** her to his elder brother's son.'

> (15) *ǰïŋgiz χānnïŋ zamānïnda göyäŋ **atanďïlar*** (f.30v/11–31r/1)
> 'In Genghis Khan's time they **were called out** as *göyäŋ*.'

The denominal verbs *aš-a-* 'to eat (up)' and *yaš-a-* 'to live (for many years)' are attested only once as transitive verbs in the *Compendium*; see example (16).

> (16) *yïl **ašasun***
> *yüz **yašasun*** (f.2r/3)
>
> '**Let** him **consume** the year[s],
> **let** him **live** one hundred [of them].'

One of the most frequently used verbs with the suffix {+A-} in the *Compendium* is *til-ä-* 'to wish'.

> (17) *pādišāh bariṣ fyodaraviǰnïŋ tilägin **tilädi*** (f.156r/9–10)
> '[He] **complied with** (lit. wished) the wishes of Tsar Boris Fyodorovich.'

Table 4.2. Verbs derived with {+A-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| ***aš-a-*** 'to eat', 'to eat up, destroy', 'to enjoy, experience (something)' ← ***aš*** 'food' |
| ***at-a-*** 'to call out (someone's name)', 'to nominate to a post', 'to betroth' ← ***at*** 'name' |
| ***keŋ-ä-*š-** 'to take counsel (together) ← ***keŋ*** 'wide, broad' |
| ***til-ä-*** 'to wish' ← ***til*** 'tongue' |
| ***yaš-a-*** 'to live (for many years)' ← ***yaš*** 'year' |

The productivity of the {+A-} suffix in the *Compendium* is limited, as only five forms have been observed. These five verb forms are linked to nominal stems related to nouns such as *at* 'name', *aš* 'food', *yaš* 'year', and *til* 'tongue' and the adjective *keŋ* 'wide, broad'. Danka (2019a: 198) noted that the connection between *tilä-* 'to wish' (Clauson 1972: 492) and *til* 'tongue' was not made by Clauson or Erdal.

The verb *keŋ-ä-* 'to arrange one's affairs with somebody' itself is not found in the *Compendium*; the verb appears only with the cooperative-reciprocal voice marker {-(I)š-} in the form *keŋ-ä-š-* 'to take counsel (together)'. According to Erdal (1991: 420), the semantic connection between *keŋ* 'wide, broad' and *keŋ-ä-* 'to arrange one's affairs with somebody' is

not entirely transparent, but it is possible that the term was calqued from a foreign language. Danka (2019a: 199) considered *keŋ* base word for *keŋ-ä-š-* in his example of verbs. However, Clauson (1972: 727) did not establish the connection between *keŋ* 'wide' and *keŋ-ä-* 'to arrange one's affairs with somebody', and Boeschoten (2023: 161) suggests \**keŋä-* as a reconstructed verb 'to settle one's affairs.'

Based on the attested verbs listed in Table 4.2, we can observe three clear examples of stem-derivative pairs: *at* 'name' → *ata-* 'to call out (someone's name)', 'to nominate to a post', 'to betroth'; *aš* 'food' → *aša-* 'to eat (up)'; and *yaš* 'year' → *yaša-* 'to live (for many years)'. Additionally, there are two examples, *til-ä-* 'to wish' and *keŋ-ä-* 'to arrange one's affairs with somebody', where the derivation of the verbs may already not be transparent. However, the existence of three examples of verbs derived with {+A-}, where both the stems and the derivatives are clearly transparent, suggests that {+A-} tended to be productive in the *Compendium*.

### 2.4.1.3 {+I-}

The denominal verbalizer {+I-} functions similar to the commonly used {+A-} in Turkic languages. Like {+A-}, it is used exclusively with base words that ending in consonants. However, unlike {+A-}, it generates only intransitive verbs. Its purpose is to indicate the process of becoming the entity represents by the base noun or adjective (Erdal 1991: 474, 479; Johanson 2021a: 574). In the *Compendium*, there are only two pure instances of the {+I-} verbalizer in three examples (18)–(20) with transparent derivation; see the instances in Table 4.3.

> (18) *anlar (sic!) bu säbäbdin köŋülläri aɣrïdï* (f.52v/10)
> 'For this reason [they] **became angry** (lit. their hearts became heavy) [at him].'

> (19) *tamāmïsï bu sözni ešitkäĵ oɣuzdïn aɣrïdïlar* (f.20v/10–11)
> 'Everyone, having heard these words, **became angry** at Oghuz.'

> (20) *tört ṭarafḳa bärib hič kämimäs* (f.5v/1)
> '[Even] giving out to the four corners [of the word], they **will not diminish**.'

Table 4.3. Verbs derived with {+I-}

| etymological stems found independently in the corpus |
| --- |
| *aɣr-ï-* 'to be(come) heavy', 'to be in pain, be angry' ← *aɣïr*[41] 'heavy in the physical sense' |

---

[41] Numerous Turkic languages exhibit a distinct pattern in which lax vowels alternate with Ø in a group of bisyllable primary roots ((C)VC-**V**C). This means that the vowel in the second syllable is delated. These vowels are known as volatile vowels. Most primary stems with volatile vowels tend to end in the consonants *n, r, l,* and *z* (Johanson 2021a: 293–294).

| |
|---|
| **käm-i-** 'to diminish' ← **käm** P 'few, little, diminished', 'less' |
| **semür**-*t*- 'to be(come) fat or corpulent' ← **semri**- 'id.' ← **semiz** 'fat, corpulent' **{+I-}** NV |

The denominal verb *kämi-* leads us to believe that the denominal verbalizer {+I-} was quite active in the 17th century. It was derived from the Persian word *käm* 'few, little, diminished' and has not been attested in earlier stages by either Erdal (in Old Turkic), Clauson (in pre-13th century Turkic), or Boeschoten (in Early Middle Turkic).

Nominal bases ending in the consonant *z* undergo substitution with *r* when the {+I-} suffix is added; refer to Table 4.3. This descriptive statement can only be replaced by an explanatory one if it is part of a theory that explains the phenomenon of *rhotacism* vs. *zetacism* in the "Trans-Eurasian"[42] (or "Altaic") languages as a whole.

Erdal (1991: 480) documented the verb *semri-* 'to be(come) fat or corpulent' in Old Turkic languages. It demonstrates the ancient *z ~ r* correspondence, where the verb *semri-* is derived from the adjective *semiz* 'fat, corpulent', achieved by omission of its second vowel, and clearly indicates the *z* + {+I-} derivation. This process probably has ancient origins and was likely active during an undocumented historical linguistic stage. The EOT runiform transcriptions already attest to the presence of the *semiz → semir-*. In the *Compendium*, the verb *semri-* underwent certain phonological processes and transformed into *semür-*; see example (21).

> (21) *ärdiš suwïnï yaylamïšï ḳïldï*
> *tā aṭïn ulaɣïn* **semürtti** (f.60v/4–5)
>
> 'He passed the summer on the Irtysh River
> and **fattened** his horses and post horses.'

Thus, the *Compendium* lists three examples of denominal verb formations using the {+I-} suffix. All these examples appear to be productive, as both stems and their derivatives are attested. Therefore, I classify the verb formative {+I-} as productive in the *Compendium*.

All the examples with the denominal derivational suffix {+I-} indicate actions related to the notion revealed by the adjective, such as the {+lA-} and {+A-} suffixes. The occurrence of these markers is restricted to monosyllabic and bisyllabic word endings in a consonant.

### 2.4.1.4 *{+(A)δ-}*

The dental lenes (weak) *d* in the earliest reconstructible hypothetical Proto-Turkic language transformed into the fricative sound represented by the symbol *δ*, which later commonly

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[42] A newly used term by Johanson and Robbeets (2010: 1–2).

evolved into the sound *y* (Johanson 2021a: 363; 2022b: 101). Erdal (2004: 62) expresses a greater confidence in utilizing the written symbol *d* instead of the fricative symbol *δ*. Johanson (2021a: 576) documents the fricative *δ* within the formative {+(A)δ-} of the {+(A)D-} group, where he demonstrates examples from modern Turkic languages with {+(A)y}. Johanson explains that "{+(A)D-} forms intransitive verbs meaning 'to become (something)'. The derivates are occasionally transitive". The formation of these verbs can have bases that consist of one or two syllables. A significant number of verbs with the {+(A)D-} suffix have human subjects (Erdal 1991: 485).

### 2.4.1.4.1 {+(A)y-}

There is only one example of the formative {+(A)y-} in the *Compendium*; see example (22).

> (22) *soŋ ḳartaydï* (f.74r/5)
> 'Later [he] **grew old**'

Table 4.4. Verb derived with {+(A)y-}, where the etymological stem is not found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| *ḳart-ay-* 'to grow old, get old' ← *ḳart* 'an old man', 'old' |

It is interesting that there is no evidence of the verb *ḳart-ay-* 'to grow old' in either Erdal (1991) or Clauson's work (1972). However, Boeschoten (2023: 240) indicates *ḳart-ay-* 'to grow old' in *at-Tuḥfa az-zakkiyya* (Atalay 1945; Fazylov & Zijaeva 1978).

### 2.4.1.5 {+(A)l-}

Johanson (2021a: 574–576) notes the use of the marker {+(A)l-} in the Oghuz branch, which means 'to become something'. The suffix {+(A)l-} is common in Oghuz but not in Kipchak and Karluk (Nugteren & Korpershoek 2007: 59).

There are two examples of the formative {+(A)l-} in the *Compendium*, see Table 4.5. This linguistic characteristic is found in the *Compendium* as a derivation of adjectives, with both instances being intransitive. Examples (23)–(24) illustrate this derivation.

> (23) *soŋ bir birindin ösä*
> *artuḳraḳ* **köpäldilär** (f.78v/5–6)
>
> 'Then increased by each other,
> [they] **became more numerous**.'

> (24) *anlarɣa üstün bolub*
> *bäkrät qawmïnï tüb tüz ‹ḳïldï›*
> *yaʿnī* **yoḳaldï** (f.48r/8)

'[He] overpowered them,
razed the Bekret tribe to the ground,
that is, [they] were **destroyed**.'

Table 4.5. Verbs derived with {+(A)l-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| ***köp-äl-*** 'to increase, become numerous' ← ***köp*** 'much, many' |
| ***yoḳ-al-*** ~ ***yoɣ-al-***[43] 'to be destroyed, perish, disappear' ← ***yoḳ*** 'not-existent' |

## 2.4.1.6 {+(A)r-}

A denominal verbalizer, represented by {+(A)r-}, is used to create intransitive verbs, often with an inchoative meaning derived from adjectives. This verbalizer is more commonly used in the Kipchak branch compared to the Karluk branch, except when forming verbs from color adjectives (Erdal 1991: 499; 2004: 228; Johanson 2021a: 574).

Verbs that utilize the {+(A)r-} suffix do not undergo passive or transitive transformations. Typically, these verbs consist of one, two, or three syllables when using {+(A)r-}. It is worth noting that a considerable number of these stems are derived from bases that end in *gU*. Another notable group includes derivates formed from color names. In general, {+(A)r-} verbs express the meaning "to be or become, to form or turn into what the base nominal denotes" (Erdal 1991: 506–507). In the *Compendium*, there are examples of denominal verbs derived synthetically from a color adjective, see example (25), as well as verbs derived from a noun ending in *gU;* see example (26).

(25) *ǰiŋgiz χān yigit zamānïda ertä uyḳudïn turdï ersä*
*käkülindä bir näǰä ḳïllar **aḳarïb turur erdi*** (f.101v/7–9)

'When Genghis Khan woke up early in his youth,
a few strands on his forehead **unexpectedly turned white**.'

(26) ‹*anïŋ*› *yüzindä χastalïḳ **belgürdi*** (f.63r/10)
'[A sign of] illness **appeared** on ‹his› face.'

Table 4.6. Verbs derived with {+(A)r-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| ***aḳ-ar-*** 'to turn/become white' ← ***aḳ*** 'white' |
| ***belgü-r-*** 'to appear, became manifest' ← ***belgü*** 'sign, mark', 'distinguishing chracteristic' |

## 2.4.1.7 {+dA-}

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[43] According to Nugteren & Korpershoek (2007: 62), *\*yok-a-l-* displays passive formation from the denominal verb in {+A-}.

The denominal verb formative {+dA-} is an exceptionally uncommon verbalizer that exclusively attaches to a limited range of consonants, resulting only in transitive verbs. It did not appear prior to the Qarakhanid period (Clauson 1972: xlv; Erdal 1991: 417, 455). In Old Turkic, {+dA-} is attested after bases ending in *l*, *n*, and *z* (Erdal 1991: 457–458). Monosyllabic stems ending in consonants also use it. There does not seem to be any clear synthetic implication associated with the suffix. Similar to {+lA-} and {+A-}, there are no apparent limitations on the formation of verbs with {+dA} bases, indicating an indeterminate behavior. The *Compendium* provides only one documented instance of this verbalizer derived from a noun.

(27) *bu ḳulï andaɣ erdi kim*
*hulagu χān irān zamīngä barɣanda tā*
*här ǰānïbdaɣï šāhzādälärni läškäri bilän ǰihat özünä bolušluḳɣa **ündädi*** (f.107v/9–108r/1)

'It was the same Quli who,
when Hulagu Khan marched into the land of Iran,
**urged** *shahzades* from all sides to join him with their armies.'

Table 4.7. Verb derived with {+dA-}, where the etymological stem is not found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| ***ün-dä-*** 'to call, urge, encourage, invite' ← **ün** 'sound' |

## 2.4.1.8 {+(I)K-}

The denominal verb formative {+(I)K-} can be observed after both vowels and consonants in intransitive constructions. Verbs formed with {+(I)K-} typically have bases consisting of one or two syllables. The transitive or causative counterpart of {+(I)K-} is the formative {+KAr-}. With a few exceptions, the subjects of {+(I)K-} verbs do not correspond to the bases of these verbs, indicating that they do not signify "to be or become what the base nominal denotes" (Erdal 1991: 492, 497–499). In the *Compendium*, only a single transparent instance of a finite verb form utilizing this verbalizer, derived from the numeral *bir* 'one', is attested; see example (28).

(28) *muŋa **birikti*** (f.80r/6)
'[They] **joined** him.'

Table 4.8. Verb derived with {+(I)K-}, where the etymological stem is found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| ***bir-ik-*** 'to join' ← ***bir*** 'one' |

Another example of a denominal verb derivation can be seen in the verb *čïq-*, which means 'to go out', formed with {+(I)K}. However, this verb is completely non-transparent. In the EOT, *čïḳ-* developed from *taš-ïḳ- ← taš* 'exterior' and the {+(I)K-} suffix, indicating an inherent lack of transparency in its formation (Clauson 1972: 562; Danka 2019a: 200).

(29) *künlärdä bir kün oɣuz yazïɣa **čïḳtï*** (f.18v/8–9)
    'One day [Oghuz] **went out** to the plain.'

Table 4.9. Non-segmentable denominal verb with {+(I)K-}

| |
|---|
| *čïḳ-* 'to go out' < ***taš-ïḳ*** 'id.' ← ***taš*** 'exterior' |

Generally, the denominal verb formative {+(I)K-} exhibits limited productivity, as it is observed in only one transparent example with the numeral *bir* 'one'. In this particular case, {+(I)K-} means 'to become what the base nominal denotes', specifically 'to become one with others'. The second example, however, lacks transparency. Therefore, it is concluded that the {+(I)K-} suffix is unproductive in the *Compendium*.

### 2.4.1.9 {+KAr-}

All formations with {+KAr-} form transitive verbs and serve as the transitive counterpart of {+(I)K-} (Erdal 1991: 415, 498). This verbalizer has only one verb form in the *Compendium*; see example (30). Based on the similarities in form and meaning, it is probable that the formative {+KAr-} originated from the combination {+(X)k-}+{+Ar-} (Erdal 1991: 747).

(30) *hämīšä mäniŋ niyätim ol turur kim*
    *ilgäriki šäkär siyurɣamišïnï anlarnïŋ aɣïzlarïɣa šīrīn ḳïldïm*
    *wä ilgäriki wä soŋɣï yürgüzüb*
    *anlarɣa altunlï tonlar bilän keltürdüm*
    *wä anlarnï yaχšï aχta aṭlarɣa mindirib yolda yürgüzdüm*
    *wä tatlï arïḳ aḳïn suwlardïn ičirdim*
    *wä tawar ḳarasïn anlarnïŋ yaχšï otluḳ suwluḳ yärlärdä **otḳardïm***[44]... (f.98v/3–8)

    'My intentions were always the following:
    to further sweeten the gift [like] sugar to their mouths,
    and let them go back and forth,
    to dress them in golden fur coats,
    and let them ride on good horses,
    and give [them] drink from some delicious clean streaming water,
    and **graze** their cattle in a good place for pasture with abundant water and streams.

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[44] StP: † *otḳazdïm*; K: *otḳardïm* (f.40r/11).

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The abovementioned sentence is a story in the section of Genghis Khan's exhortation to his sons, where all the verbs are used in the causative voice. The first verb, *šīrīn ḳïl-* 'to sweeten, make sweet', is derived from the light verb *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' and indicates that the action expressed by the verb is caused or made to happen by the subject. The next verb, *kel-tür-* 'to bring, make to come', uses the causative marker {-DUr-}, followed by *yür-güz-* 'to let ride', which uses the causative marker {-GUz-}, and *ič-ir-* 'to give drink', which uses the causative marker {-ir-}. Finally, the verb *ot-ḳar-* 'to pasture' is derived with the denominal verb derivational element of causation {+KAr-} (Erdal 1991: 742–748).

The initial velar sound of the formative {+KAr-} has been voiced since the earliest texts, with the voiceless variant appearing only in Qarakhanid (Erdal 1991: 746). Therefore, it would be expected to find the voiced *g* in the {+KAr-} formation in the *Compendium*, as *ot-gar-*, like in Erdal's list (1991: 746). The presence of the velar *ḳ* in the *Compendium* could potentially be attributed to a mistake made by the scribe or rewriter. However, a closer examination of the *Compendium* reveals that the velar *ḳ* is consistently used on two separate occasions (the second being in the infinite verb form), indicating a deliberate choice rather than random usage.

> (31) *tawar ḳarasïn **otḳarïb***
> *ol yärdä mänzil ḳïldïlar* (f.9v/3)
>
> '**Grazing** their cattle,
> they settled down in that place.'

Table 4.10. Verb derived with {+KAr-}, where the etymological stem is found independently in the corpus

---

*ot-ḳar-* 'to pasture, graze (an animal)' ← *ot* 'grass, vegetation'

---

### 2.4.1.10 {+(U)(r)KA-}

The denominal verbalizer {+(U)(r)KA-} is a very rare creator of transitive verbs that express emotions, attitudes, or opinions towards their objects (Erdal 2004: 228). Erdal categorizes the transitive denominal verb formative {+(X)(r)kA-} as a *verba sentiendi* and describes it as follows:

> "The verbs created with this formative all denote feelings or sensations, the base nominal being either the name of the feeling, the object of the attitude, what one sees an object as, the mental source of the attitude, etc." (Erdal 1991: 458).

According to Erdal's explanation, when the base is monosyllabic, the full form of the formatives {+(X)(r)kA-} is represented, i.e. *soy-urɣa-*. In the case of a bisyllabic base ending with a vowel, the formative is used without a vowel, which is expressed as {+(r)kA-}. However, if a bisyllabic

base ends in a consonant, the alternative formative is expressed by {+kA-}, as seen in the example like *yarlïḳ-ga-*. Erdal clarified that there were no other formatives in Old Turkic with the shape {+kA-}. The alternation between {+(X)(r)kA-}, {+(r)kA-}, and {+kA-} is a deliberate pattern aimed at maintaining a consistent number of syllables in the stem (Erdal 1991: 458–459).

Poppe (1954 [2006]: 65) interprets the semantic significance of the formative as "to denote possession of something in abundance" in written Mongolian,[45] while Erdal describes the function of the formative {-(X)(r)kA-} as expressing a particular type of action in Turkic (Erdal 1991: 463).

In the *Compendium*, there are examples of both a monosyllabic stem, see example (32), and an a bisyllabic stem, see example (33). However, neither of them can be segmented at the synchronic level of the *Compendium*.

> (32) *ǰïŋgiz χān anï bisyār **soyurγar erdi*** (f.38r/7)
> 'Genghis Khan **showed** a lot of **favor** to him.'

In the given sentence, the verb *soyurγa-* serves as a denominal verb derived from the Chinese *tz'ü* 'kind, merciful' in Old Turkic. It was borrowed into Mongolian as a non-segmental form *soyurka-* with an alteration to its first vowel, becoming a whole unit that was not segmented. Later, it was borrowed back into Turkic as *soyurka-*, also in a not-segmental stem. When the *Compendium* was written, it was a Mongolic loanword that was already not segmental. Moreover, the stem *soy* has no independent meaning in Turkic. In its original Turkic context, it was meant to act as 'to have pity on (someone), be compassionate'. However, in Mongolian, the term acquired a more practical connotation, signifying 'to show favor to (someone), reward'. During the medieval period, it was reborrowed from Mongolian into Turkic with the same practical sense, yet it appears to have become obsolete everywhere (Clauson 1972: 556; Danka 2019a: 200).

> (33) *ǰïŋgiz χān soŋ anïŋ ḳalγan aḳlïγïna öküš sohurγallar ḳïldï*
> *ḳalγanïn **yarlïḳadï*** (f.59v/11–60r/2)
>
> 'Genghis Khan [because of] respect [for the deceased Burgul *Noyan*] made many gifts [to wives and children] who remained after him
> and **was gracious** to the rest.'

The verb form *yarlïg-ka-*, which means 'to be gracious; to command', is frequently used as an auxiliary of majesty, commonly translated as 'to deign' in Old Uyghur. The distinction between

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*yarlïgka-* and *yarlïka-* is considered to be determined by chronological or stylistic factors. The honorific usage of this verb appears to be secondary and aligns with the appropriate transfer of pragmatic norms in this domain (Erdal 1991: 462). In the *Compendium*, *yarlïḳa-* is already not segmental.

Table 4.11. Non-segmentable denominal verbs with {+(U)(r)KA-}

| |
|---|
| **soyurɣa-** 'to show favor to (someone), reward' < \***tsuy-urɣa-** ← **tz'ü** Chin. 'kind, merciful' |
| **yarlïḳa-** 'to issue orders, be gracious, be compassionate, forgive' < \***yarlïɣ-ḳa-** ← **yarlïɣ** 'a command from a superior to an interior' |

In the *Compendium*, the transitive denominal verb formative {+(U)(r)KA-} lacks transparency and is used as a cohesive syntactic unit. It can be argued that this formative was inactive and unproductive in its usage.

The following Table 4.12 indicates a summary of the denominal verb derivational elements in the *Compendium*.

Table 4.12. Denominal verb derivational elements in the *Compendium*

| | |
|---|---|
| {+lA-} | productive |
| {+A-} | productive |
| {+I-} | productive |
| {+(A)l-} | unproductive |
| {+(A)y-} | attested |
| {+(A)r-} | unproductive |
| {+dA-} | attested |
| {+(I)K-} | unproductive |
| {+KAr-} | unproductive |
| {+(U)(r)KA-} | unproductive |

## 2.4.2 Analytic denominal verb derivation

*Analytic derivation* is a word formation process in which new words are created by combining existing words without changing their original forms. This type of derivation involves a secondary stem that is composed of a nominal element and an auxiliary verb, typically *et-, ḳïl-* 'to do', which cannot be separated from them except by certain particles, such as the interrogative particle {mU}, the focus particle {OK}, and the additive particle {dA} (Johanson 2021a: 578).

Examples in which the nominal element and the verb are separated are presented below (34)–(37) to demonstrate that such examples do not belong to analytic derivation.

Sentences (34) and (35) illustrate that *ḳïl-* is not an auxiliary verb but a fully lexical verb, taking direct objects like *toylar* (feasts) and *sohurɣallar* (gifts), which are separated by the plural suffix {+lAr}.

(34) *häm ol zamān uluɣ ʿaẓim toylar **ḳïldïlar*** (f.156r/3)
'[He] also **made** great feasts at that time.'

(35) *ǰiŋgiz χān aniŋ ḳalɣan aḳlïɣïna öküš sohurɣallar*[46] ***ḳïldï***
*ḳalɣanïn yarlïḳadï* (f.59v/11–60r/2)

'Genghis Khan [because of] respect [for the deceased Burgul *Noyan*] **made** many gifts [to wives and children] who remained after him
and was gracious to the rest.'

The combination *tärtīb ḳïl-* (36) could potentially be considered an analytic verb; however, the participle *üze* 'following', originally functioning as an adverb meaning 'above, on high' (Clauson 1972: 280), separates them and indicates that *ḳïl-* is a lexical verb.

(36) *mundaɣ **tärtīb** üze **ḳïlïndï*** (f.110r/10)
'[They] **are listed** (lit. made) in the following order.'

The word *ʿazīmät* (Budagov 1869: 762) functions as the plural form of the Arabic noun *ʿazm* 'a setting out, beginning, undertaking' (Budagov 1869: 761; Boeschoten 2023: 48). The combination *ʿazm ḳïl-* serves as an analytic verb, meaning 'to move, head for, set out on a journey'; see example (38). Theoretically, the plural form *ʿazīmät* should not participate in the analytic verb form. However, due to borrowing, the plural form undergoes changes within the word; see example (37). In any case, *mämalik-i χïtayɣa* is inserted between the word *ʿazīmät* and the auxiliary verb *ḳïl-*, which refutes the idea of analytic denominal verb derivation in *ʿazīmät ḳïl-*.

(37) *ǰiŋgiz χān ol waḳïtda kim **ʿazīmät** mämalik-i χïtayɣa **ḳïldï*** (f.97r/10–11)
'At that time, Genghis Khan **set out on a journey** against the possessions of Khitay.'

(38) *šawwāl ayïnda pänǰšänbä kün Kärman šähriɣa (sic!) **ʿazm ḳïldï*** (f.154v/2–3)
'They **headed for** Kasimov city in the month of Shawwal on Thursday.'

Analytic verbs usually express a more special meaning than synthetic verbs. Although it is impossible to claim that analytic devices appeared under the influence of foreign languages, their usage has undoubtedly been validated by foreign models (Johanson 2009: 495). See Tables 4.13–4.54.

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[46] K: *siyurɣal* (f.24r/9).

Auxiliary verbs may have limited semantic content and be combined with the so-called light verbs, which are the most commonly used in the *Compendium*. Light verbs have a non-specific meaning that, on their own, is insufficient to function as a complete predicate (Johanson 2021a: 578). Therefore, they require a complement to function as an effective predicate (Crystal 2008: 281). Although light verbs can be transitive on their own, when combined with a nominal stem, they can ultimately be intransitive. The *Compendium* contains three transitive light verbs with the meaning 'to do, make'. From the most to the least frequent ones are *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' (see Tables 4.13–4.27), *et-* 'to do, make' (see Tables 4.28–4.37), and *yasa-* 'to do, make' (see Table 4.38), which is found only in a single expression. Tables 4.45–4.50 list instances of the intransitive verb *bol-* 'to be(come)'.

Alternatively, auxiliary verbs can be used by semantic verbs for derivational purposes in the *Compendium*. The most commonly used semantic verbs are *bär-* 'to give' (see Table 4.39) and *tab-* 'to find' (see Table 4.40). Additionally, there are exceedingly rare auxiliary verbs, such as *ḳoy-* 'to put' (see Table 4.41), *yibär-* 'to send' (see Table 4.42), *tut-* 'to take, hold' (see Table 4.43), *ur-* 'to strike' (see Table 4.44), *kel-* 'to come' (see Table 4.52), and *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain' (see Table 4.53). Copulas, such as *er-* 'to be' (see Table 4.51) and *tur-* 'to stand' (see Table 4.54), are also used for analytic derivation.

It is worth noting that parallel analytic and synthetic derivations can coexist, e.g. *χānla-* 'to enthrone' vs. *χān yasa-* 'id.', *keŋäš-* 'to take counsel (together)' vs. *keŋäš et-* 'id.', *keŋäš ḳïl-* 'id.', and so on.

Below the tables, examples that illustrate analytic derivation will be provided to facilitate comprehension.

Four types of auxiliary verbs will be distinguished in the following sections:

- transitive light verbs;
- the other transitive auxiliaries with more definable verbal meanings;
- intransitive light verbs;
- the other intransitive auxiliaries with more definable verbal meanings.

### 2.4.2.1 Transitive light verbs

This section will deal with three light verbs: *ḳïl-* 'to do, make', *et-* 'id.', and *yasa-* 'id.'.

**The light verb *ḳïl-* 'to do', 'to make'**

In the *Compendium*, the examples of analytic denominal verb derivation with the light verb *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' can be divided into the following seven groups:

1. Arabic nouns with *ḳïl-* (88 examples)
2. Persian nouns with *ḳïl-* (12 examples)
3. Turkic nouns (primary stems and derivates) with *ḳïl-* (10 examples)
4. Turkic nouns of Arabic and Persian origin with {+lIK} and with *ḳïl-* (9 examples)
5. Persian nouns of Turkic and Mongolic origin with {-mIš-ī} and with *ḳïl-* (7 examples)
6. Turkic nouns of foreign origin with *ḳïl-* (2 examples)
7. A Mongolic noun with *ḳïl-* (1 example)

**Arabic nouns with *ḳïl-***

In the *Compendium*, the majority of analytic denominal verb derivations originate from Arabic nouns. Arabic-based lexemes are notably more prevalent in the *Compendium* compared to those from other languages. The transitive auxiliary verb *ḳïl-* pairs with Arabic nouns, providing numerous examples. The results of using the transitive auxiliary verb *ḳïl-* indicate all types of transitivity, including transitive, intransitive (where the nominal stem functions as the object of the light verb, but the overall expression is intransitive), and ambitransitive categories. See instances in Tables 4.13–4.15.

Table 4.13. Transitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***bäyān ḳïl-*** 'to illuminate, explain' ← ***bäyān*** A 'explanation, exposition' |
| ***däfn ḳïl-*** 'to bury' ← ***däfn*** A 'funeral, burial' |
| ***ɣāfïl ḳïl-*** 'to catch by surprise, catch at a weak moment' ← ***ɣāfïl*** A 'careless, inattentive' |
| ***ḥāṣïl ḳïl-*** 'to result, accrue', 'to be obtained, be acquired' ← ***ḥāṣïl*** A 'resulting, result, effect', 'occuring', 'existing' |
| ***ḥawālät ḳïl-*** 'to entrust, transfer' ← ***ḥawālät*** A 'procuratory, delivery' |
| ***hälāk ḳïl-*** 'to kill, cause to perish' ← ***hälāk*** A 'perishing, destruction, miserable death' |
| ***ḥïṣṣa ḳïl-*** 'to divide into parts, distribute' ← ***ḥïṣṣa*** A 'part, share' |
| ***χarāb ḳïl-*** 'to destroy, lay waste' ← ***χarāb*** A 'devastation, damage' |
| ***iḥtiāǰ ḳïl-*** 'to be needy' ← ***iḥtiāǰ*** A 'need, necessity, indispensability' |
| ***ikrām ḳïl-*** 'to respect' ← ***ikrām*** A 'respect, honor' |
| ***istinbāṭ ḳïl-*** 'to gain, benefit' ← ***istinbāṭ*** A 'a bringing to light a hidden matter', 'deducting, interring' |
| ***ʿizzät [ḳïl-]*** 'to respect, esteem, render honors' ← ***ʿizzät*** A 'respect, regard, honor' |
| ***ǰamiʿ ḳïl-*** 'to compile, compose, collect' ← ***ǰamiʿ*** A 'compendium', 'that collects, unites, brings together', 'embracing, containing, holding' |
| ***māniʿ ḳïl-*** 'to hinder, resist' ← ***māniʿ*** A 'hindrance, trouble, disturbance' |
| ***muʿayyän ḳïl-*** 'to define' ← ***muʿayyän*** A 'pointed out, designated, known, defined' |
| ***muχtaṣar ḳïl-*** 'to shorten' ← ***muχtaṣar*** A 'shortened, abridged, summarized', 'short, brief' |
| ***muḳarrar ḳïl-*** 'to establish, approve, assign' ← ***muḳarrar*** A 'approved, appointed, determined' |
| ***musaχχar ḳïl-*** 'to subdue, subject, place under the command of' ← ***musaχχar*** A 'conquered, captured, captive' |

| |
|---|
| *naṣiḥat ḳïl-* 'to instruct' ← *naṣiḥat* A 'advice, guidance' |
| *nikāḥ ḳïl-* 'to marry, take a wife, enter into marriage' ← *nigāḥ* A 'marriage, engagement' |
| *nisbät ḳïl-* 'to relate, attribute' ← *nisbät* A 'relation, attribution to (someone or something)' |
| *ḳabūl ḳïl-* 'to agree, accept' ← *ḳabūl* A 'accepting' |
| *ḳatl ḳïl-* 'to kill' ← *ḳatl* A 'killing, murdering' |
| *šähīd ḳïl-* 'to martyr' ← *šähīd* A 'martyr' |
| *tābiʿ ḳïl-* 'to subdue' ← *tābiʿ* A 'subordinate, subjugated, subject' |
| *taḥḳīḳ ḳïl-* 'to approve, certify, prove, accept as truth, make sure' ← *taḥḳīḳ* A 'true, original, truth, reliability' |
| *ṭalab ḳïl-* 'to request, require, expect'[47] ← *ṭalab* A 'demand, order, request' |
| *tamām ḳïl-* 'to complete, finish' ← *tamām* A 'complete, finished', 'completion' |
| *taʿrīf ḳïl-* 'to describe', 'to define' ← *taʿrīf* A 'description', 'definition' |
| *taṣnīf ḳïl-* 'to compose, compile, write' ← *taṣnīf* A 'compilation, composition' |
| *taʿyïn ḳïl-* 'to appoint', 'to decide, settle' ← *taʿyïn* A 'assignment, nomination, designation' |
| *tähäyyüǰ ḳïl-* 'to encourage, excite, concern', 'to irritate' ← *tähäyyüǰ* A 'excitement, emotion', being raised (as anger or dust)' |
| *tärbiyät ḳïl-* 'to bring up, educate, train, raise, teach manners' ← *tärbiyät* A 'bringing up, raising, nursing, training, educating' |
| *väfāt ḳïl-* 'to kill' ← *väfāt* A 'death' |

(39) *här ǰānibdaɣï vilāyätlärni özinä **musaχχar ḳïldï*** (K: f.60v/14)
    'He **subdued** provinces from all sides.'

(40) *bu oɣlïn **tärbiyät ḳïldï*** (f.48r/1)
    '[She] **raised up** this son.'

(41) *šarḥïn **muχtaṣar ḳïlduḳ*** (f.11r/5)
    'We **shortened** the explanation.'

Table 4.14. Intransitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| *ʿamäl ḳïl-* 'to manage affairs' ← *ʿamäl* A 'labor, job, activity' |
| *ʿarża ḳïl-* 'to submit a request', 'to report' ← *ʿarża* A 'statement, announcement, report' |
| *ʿayš [ḳïl-]* 'to bliss' ← *ʿayš* A 'life', 'pleasant life' |
| *ʿazm ḳïl-* 'to head for, set out on a journey' ← *ʿazm* A 'a setting out, beginning, undertaking' |
| *bī-hūšlïḳ ḳïl-* 'to lose consciousness, flake out, feel dizzy' ← *bī* P 'without' *hūš* P 'consciousness, mind; cautious' {+IIK} NN |
| *duʿā ḳïl-* 'to pray, read the prayers' ← *duʿā* A 'prayer, blessing' |
| *färāɣät [ḳïl-]* 'to relax' ← *färāɣät* A 'rest, calm, liberty' |
| *ɣarɣarä ḳïl-* 'to gargle' ← *ɣarɣarä* A 'gargling', 'gargle' |
| *ḥādis̱ ḳïl-ïn-*[48] 'to occur, come into existence' ← *ḥādis̱* A 'new, recent', 'newly coming into existence' |
| *ḥamlä ḳïl-* 'to make an attack' ← *ḥamlä* A 'attack, onset' |

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[47] The transitive verb *ṭalab ḳïl-* appears three times in the *Compendium*. In one example (f.57v/7–57v/8), the direct object is mistakenly used with the possessive case instead of the accusative case.
[48] The transitive verb *ḥādis̱ ḳïl-* appears only in the tranzitivized form with the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-(I)n-} in the *Compendium*.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ḥarb ḳïl-* 'to fight' ← *ḥarb* A 'battle' | |
| *χabär ḳïl-* 'to put on notice' ← *χabär* A 'news, information, knowledge' | |
| *χayr [ḳïl]-* 'to shower favor' ← *χayr* A 'good deed' | |
| *χurūǰ ḳïl-* 'to set out (on a campaign)' ← *χurūǰ* A 'a coming or going out' | |
| *χūṣūmat ḳïl-* 'to have a feud, be at war, conflict', 'to have a spat with' ← *χūṣūmat* A 'hostility, animosity, enmity, war', 'falling-out' | |
| *iḥsān ḳïl-* 'to shower grace' ← *iḥsān* A 'grace, good deed, goodness' | |
| *iχtiyār ḳïl-* 'to choose, elect' ← *iχtiyār* A 'will, freedom, power, choice, consent' | |
| *iltifāt ḳïl-* 'to treat with favor, show courtesy, take notice' ← *iltifāt* A 'a treating with coursery or kindness', 'courteous or kind treatment', 'favor', 'a paying attention' | |
| *inkār ḳïl-* 'to retract' ← *inkār* A 'denial, nonacceptance' | |
| *intiẓār ḳïl-* 'to wait' ← *intiẓār* A 'waiting' | |
| *istiʿānät ḳïl-* 'to ask for help' ← *istiʿānät* A 'an asking or seeking for help' | |
| *ittifāḳ ḳïl-* 'to agree, be unanimous', 'to be allied' ← *ittifāḳ* A 'agreeing, consenting, agreement, alliance' | |
| *maṣāff ḳïl-ïš-*[49] 'to fight on the battlefield against each other' ← *maṣāff* A 'battlefield, battle, ranks of combatants' | |
| *mädäd ḳïl-* 'to help' ← *mädäd* A 'help, aid', 'a helper, reinforcement' | |
| *mänzil ḳïl-* 'to settle down' ← *mänzil* A 'dwelling, encampment' | |
| *mäyil ḳïl-* 'to lean (towards someone's side)', 'to have disposition or inclination', 'to wish or desire' ← *mäyil* A 'a leaning, inclining', 'love, prospensity' | |
| *mis̱āl ḳïl-* 'to compare' ← *mis̱āl* A 'like, match, semblance', 'example, model, precedent', 'command, edict' | |
| *mülāzämät ḳïl-*[50] 'to serve diligently' ← *mülāzämät* A 'affection, devotion, loyalty' | |
| *muwāfaḳat ḳïl-* 'to agree, consent' ← *muwāfaḳat* A 'agreeing, consenting', 'aggreement, consent' | |
| *naẓar ḳïl-* 'to look, gaze, glance' ← *naẓar* A 'eye, glance' | |
| *näwḥä ḳïl-* 'to wail and lament vociferously' ← *näwḥä* A 'wail or lament', 'lamentation, moan, keening' | |
| *nis̱ār ḳïl-* 'to scatter small coins' ← *nis̱ār* A 'coins strewn among people' | |
| *ḳanāʿt ḳïl-* 'to be satisfied, be content' ← *ḳanāʿt* A 'contentment, satisfaction' | |
| *raḥīm [ḳïl-]* 'to show kindness, empathize' ← *raḥīm* A 'mercy, compassion' | |
| *rivāyät ḳïl-* 'to tell' ← *rivāyät* A 'story, tale, legend' | |
| *ṣabr ḳïl-* 'to be patient' ← *ṣabr* A 'patience, forbearance, endurance, fortitude' | |
| *s̱änā ḳïl-* 'to pay tribute to', 'to praise, commend' ← *s̱änā* A 'praise, gratitude' | |
| *ṣoḥbät ḳïl-* 'to talk, chat, speak' ← *ṣoḥbät* A 'conversation, society' | |
| *suāl ḳïl-* 'to ask, request' ← *suāl* A 'question, interrogation, questioning', 'the Last Judgment' | |
| *šarṭ ḳïl-* 'to make conditions' ← *šarṭ* A 'condition, arrangement' | |
| *šäfaḳat ḳïl-* 'to pity, show compassion, mercy' ← *šäfaḳat* A 'mercy, compassion' | |
| *tafṣīl ḳïl-ïn-* 'to be illustrated in detail'[51] ← *tafṣīl* A 'detailed illustration' | |

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[49] The intransitive verb *maṣāff ḳïl-* 'to fight on the battlefield' appears only once in the form with the cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-}.

[50] The verb is presented as *mülāzämät ḳïldïlar* ملازمت قيلدى لار in the St.Petersburg manuscript (StP: f.84r/11); however, it appears as *mülāzamatlïḳ ḳïldïlar* ملازمت ليق قيلديلار at the same place in the Kazan manuscript (K: f.34r/7).

[51] This verb is used quite often in the *Compendium*, but only in the passive form with the marker {-(I)n-}. Four instances of *tafṣīl ḳïl-ïn-* occurred, mistakenly combining the passive voice with a direct object (f.107r/4; f.116v/9; f.118r/2; f.122r/5).

| |
|---|
| ***taṣarruf ḳïl-*** 'to take/gain possession of' ← ***taṣarruf*** A 'possession, capture, occupation, invasion' |
| ***vaṣiyyät ḳïl-*** 'to make a will, bequeath, make a testamentary arrangement' ← ***vaṣiyyät*** A 'an injunction, advice', 'command', 'a last will and testament' |
| ***vaṭan ḳïl-*** 'to settle down' ← ***vaṭan*** A 'motherland, birthplace, homeland' |
| ***vädāʿ ḳïl-*** 'to give a goodbye, say farewell' ← ***vädāʿ*** A 'farewell, parting' |
| ***väfā ḳïl-*** 'to fulfill the promised word, observe loyalty, be devoted' ← ***väfā*** A 'loyalty, devotion' |

(42) *šawwāl ayïnda pänǰšänbä kün Kärman šähriɣa (sic!)* **ʿazm ḳïldï** (f.154v/2–3)
'They **headed for** Kasimov city in the month of Shawwal on Thursday.'

(43) *köbräk rübʿ mäskūn taχtïn* **taṣarruf ḳïlïb** aldïlar (f.10r/9–10)
'He **took possession of** his throne over most of inhabited one-quarter [of the Earth].'

(44) *hindu daryāsï yaḳasïnda* **vaṭan ḳïldïlar** (f.9v/2)
'They **settled down** along the Indian Ocean.'

Table 4.15. Ambitransitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***ɣārät ḳïl-*** 'to raid, sack, plunder, pillage' ← ***ɣārät*** A 'pillage, plundering, sack of a place', 'booty, plunder' |
| ***ḥisāb ḳïl-*** 'to count' ← ***ḥisāb*** A 'counting, numbering', 'considering' |
| ***χilāf ḳïl-*** 'to act against, disobey' ← ***χilāf*** A 'contradiction, contrary' |
| ***mufaṣṣal ḳïl-ïn-*** 'to be explained in detail'[52] ← ***mufaṣṣal*** A 'detailed, thorough, appropriately' |
| ***naḳl ḳïl-*** 'to tell, rehearse' ← ***naḳl*** A 'story, retelling, narration' |
| ***taḳrīr ḳïl-*** 'to report' ← ***taḳrīr*** A 'statement, deposition, report' |
| ***tażarruʿ ḳïl-*** 'to humbly to beg' ← ***tażarruʿ*** A 'humbling oneself in prayer' |

(45) *barǰa moɣol türkī ḥisābï birlä* **ḥisāb ḳïlur** (f.47r/10–11)
'All mongols **count** according to the Turkic calendar.'

(46) *elčiday noyannïŋ uruḳïn (sic!)* **ḥisāb ḳïldïlar** (f.39v/6–7)
'They **counted** the clan of Elchitay *Noyan*.'

(47) *aɣasï anïŋ daritay otǰi[gin] ḳu[t]ïla χānnïŋ oɣlï altan näkün tayšïnïŋ oɣlï ḳuǰar sözlärinä* **χilāf ḳïldïlar** (f.52v/7–8)
'His uncle Daritai *Otčigin*, the son of Qutula Khan Altan, and the son of Nekun *Tayshi* Quchar **disobeyed** to his words.'

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[52] The verb *mufaṣṣal ḳïl-ïn-* appears three times in the *Compendium*. On all three occasions, it is used with the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-(I)n-}, which results in the intransitivation of the transitive verb *mufaṣṣal ḳïl-*. However, the sentences contain some errors. In two instances, the passive voice is used together with a direct object (f.114v/8; f.119v/10), while in one case, the grammar is correct, and *mufaṣṣal ḳïl-ïn-* is used intransitively (f.117v/2).

(48) *aniŋ färmānïn näčük **χilāf ḳilalïm*** (f.83v/9–10)
'How **may** we **act against** his order?'

(49) *barǰasïn **γārät ḳil**a keldilär* (f.61v/4–5)
'They came **pillaging** everything [in their path].'

(50) *bisiyār ḳatl **γārät ḳildï*** (f.62r/4)
'He killed and **pillaged** a lot.'

**Persian nouns with ḳil-**

In the *Compendium*, analytic denominal verb derivations involving Persian noun and the verb *ḳil-* 'to do, make' are also present. However, they are not as widespread as those formed with Arabic nouns. The results of the transitive auxiliary verb *ḳil-* also indicate all three types of transitivity: transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive. See them in Tables 4.16–4.18.

Table 4.16. Transitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *ḳil-*

| |
|---|
| ***aγāz ḳil-*** 'to start, begin' ← ***aγāz*** P 'beginning' |
| ***āzād ḳil-*** 'to free, liberate, relieve' ← ***āzād*** P 'free, not enslaved' |
| ***baχšïš ḳil-*** 'to present' ← ***baχšïš*** P 'gift, present' |
| ***bänd[ä] ḳil-*** 'to enslave, subjugate' ← ***bändä*** P 'slave, captive, servant' |
| ***pāk ḳil-*** 'to clean, purify' ← ***pāk*** P 'clean, innocent' |
| ***rāst ḳil-*** 'to keep in order' ← ***rāst*** P 'right' |
| ***rūzī ḳil-*** 'to allot' ← ***ruzï*** P 'daily bread, allotment' |
| ***šīrīn ḳil-*** 'to sweeten, make sweet' ← ***šīrīn*** P 'sweet, juicy' |
| ***yād ḳil-*** 'to remember, mention' ← ***yād*** P 'memory, remembrance' |

(51) *pādišāh ḥażrätläri sohurγallar inaʿāmlar **baχšïš ḳildï*** (f.154r/1)
'His Majesty, the Padishah, **distributed** many gifts and favors.'

(52) *hämīšä mäniŋ niyätim ol turur kim*
*ilgäriki šäkär siyurγamïšïnï anlarnïŋ aγïzlarïγa **šīrīn ḳildïm** ...* (f.98v/3–4)

'My intentions were always the following:
to further **sweeten** the gift [like] sugar to their mouths …'

(53) *ǰanibek χānnïŋ oγlanlarïn bu zamān taḳï **yād ḳilduḳ** tā anïŋ oγli‹nïŋ› oγli näbiräläri‹gä› deg[g]äǰ* (f.152r/10–152v/1)
'This time, we also **remembered** the sons of Janibek Khan, until the sons of his sons and grandsons.

Table 4.17. Intransitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *ḳil-*

| |
|---|
| ***äfsūs ḳil-*** 'to grieve, be sad, regret' ← ***äfsūs*** P 'regret, pity' |

*jäwälān ḳïl-* 'to train, practise' ← *jäwälān* P 'circulation, circular motion, practice of the troops'

(54) *ǰalayïr ol suwɣa išänib ol läškär[ä] taba baḳïb*
     *ḳollarïn[a] börüklärin alïb **äfsūs ḳïlïb edilär*** (f.29v/4–6)

   'The Jalayirids, relying on the river, faced the army
   [and], grabbing their caps in their hands [feignedly], **grieved**.'

(55) *oŋda wä ṣolda sulṭānlar beglär wä mïrzālar aǰ arslan täg här bir bahadurlar*
     ***jäwälān ḳïlur*** (f.3v/10–4r/1)
   'Sultans, begs, and mirzās [as well as] each *bahadur*, **are trained** on the right and
   the left side, much like hungry lions.'

Table 4.18. Ambitransitive result of transitive auxiliary with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***paydā ḳïl-*** 'to create, lead' TR; 'to appear' ITR ← ***paydā*** P 'visible, conspicuous, evident' |

(56) *lā-ǰäräm eriniŋ yaχšï atïnï **payda ḳïlɣay*** (f.93v/4–5)
   'This will inevitably **create** a good reputation for the husband.'

(57) *ol ḥāldä isïg suw **paydā ḳïldï*** (f.101v/1)
   'This is where the hot water **appeared** at that time.'

**Turkic nouns (primary stems and derivates) with *ḳïl-***

The use of the transitive auxiliary verb *ḳïl-* with Turkic nouns in the *Compendium* exhibits only two types of transitivity: transitive and intransitive. Ten examples of verb forms involving Turkic nouns and the auxiliary verb *ḳïl-* are presented. However, the transitive meaning appears only twice; see examples (58)–(59). The others are presented in the intransitive meaning; see examples (60)–(62).

The deverbal nominal marker {-(A)K} appears only once in the nominal head of an analytic verb. Four examples involve deverbal nominal derivation with the productive {-(I)š} marker. In these cases, they connected with the cooperative-reciprocal {-(I)š-} to form an analytic verb, resulting in an intransitive meaning. Additionally, two bases with the stems *köŋül* and *tapa* produce a reflexive meaning within the analytic unit.

Table 4.19. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***yaman ḳïl-*** 'to do mischief' ← ***yaman*** 'bad, evil' |
| ***yïraḳ ḳïl-*** 'to alienate, distance' ← ***yïraḳ*** 'far way, distant, remote' ← ***yïra-*** 'to be distant, keep away (from something)' **{-(A)K}** VN |

(58) *aniŋ üjün anlarnï özümdin **yïraḳ ḳïldïm*** (f.19r/5–6)
    'For this reason, I **have distanced** them from me.'

(59) *anlarnï **yaman ḳïldï*** (f.52r/1–2)
    '[He] **did mischief** to them.'

Table 4.20. Intransitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***keŋäš ḳïl-*** 'to take counsel (together)' ← ***keŋäš*** 'counsel' ← ***keŋä-*** 'to settle one's affairs' **{-(I)š}** VN |
| ***köŋül ḳïl-*** 'to concentrate, maintain attention' ← ***köŋül*** '*heart* with a wide range shades of meaning' |
| ***sančïš ḳïl-*** 'to fight a fierce battle' ← ***sančïš*** 'battle, fight' ← ***sanč-*** 'to pierce' **{-(I)š}** VN |
| ***tapa ḳïl-*** 'to lean to the side, go to the side' ← ***tapa*** 'towards, to, in the direction of' |
| ***toḳuš ḳïl-*** 'to wage war' ← ***toḳuš*** 'battle, fight' ← ***toḳï-*** 'to knock' **{-(I)š}** VN |
| ***ṭoy ḳïl-*** 'to feast, celebrate, make feast' ← ***ṭoy*** 'feast, celebration' |
| ***uruš ḳïl-*** 'to battle, fight' ← ***uruš*** 'battle, fight' ← ***ur-*** 'to strike' **{-(I)š}** VN |
| ***yarlïɣ ḳïl-*** 'to command, order' ← ***yarlïɣ*** 'a command from a superior to an inferior' |

(60) *soŋ on bir yašaɣanda ḳādïr berdi χān kelib*
    *ḳïrïm läškäri bilän idil daryāsïn ötä käčib*
    *idigä beg bilän **toḳuš ḳïldï*** (f.145v/3–5)

    'Then, at the age of eleven, Qadir Berdi Khan came,
    crossed the Volga River with the Crimean army
    and **waged war** against Edige Beg.'

(61) *ḳoylay χān **yarlïɣ ḳïldï*** (f.39v/6)
    'Kublai Khan **commanded**.'

(62) *ǰiŋgiz χān bu yïl yazɣïsïn sarï kähärdä oŋ χān bilän **keŋäǰ ḳïldïlar*** (f.51v/2–4)
    'This year in the summer Genghis Khan **took counsel with** Ong Khan in *Sary Keher*.'

The next usage of the analytic verb in the form *keŋäš ḳïl-* is not 'to take consult (together)'. Instead, there are examples where the verb *ḳïl-* denotes its lexical meaning, with *keŋäš* functioning as the direct object; see examples (63) and (64).

(63) *oŋ χānnïŋ ba ʿẓī uluɣlarï özgä yanɣa köŋül etib*
    *yaman keŋäš ḳïldïlar* (f.54r/3–4)

    'The hearts of some of the great [amirs] of Ong Khan turned toward another side
    and [it] led to a poor decision (lit. [they] **made** a bad decision).'

(64) *uluɣ ḳurïltay ḳïldï*
    *yaʿnī uluɣ keŋäš ḳïldï* (f.60r/11–60v/1)

    '[Genghis Khan] arranged a large kurultai,

which means, [he] **arranged** a large counsel.'

Furthermore, the *Compendium* contains a few instances of ambiguity with respect to the verb sequences. One such example is *ṭoy ḳil-*, as demonstrated in example (65). The question arises as to whether this verb sequence belongs to analytic denominal verb derivation, as the verb *ṭoy ḳïl-* can be interpreted as both 'to celebrate' and 'to make a feast'.

(65) *äwwäl ay ičindä* **ṭoy ḳïldïlar** (f.141v/5–6)

'They **celebrated** in the first month.'

'They **made** feast in the first month.'

In addition, the occurrence of the lexical verb *ḳïl-* with the plural object *toy-lar* in example (66) creates extra difficulty and raises questions about its classification as an analytically derived verb. Similar ambiguous examples, such as *toḳuš ḳïl-* 'to wage war' (60) and *toḳuš-lar ḳïl-* 'to wage wars' (67) are also appear in the *Compendium*.

(66) *häm ol zamān uluɣ ʿaẓim toylar* **ḳïldïlar** (f.156r/3)
'[He] also **made** great feasts at that time.'

(67) *mundaɣ χurūǰ ḳilïb*
*ḳatïɣ* **toḳušlar ḳïldï** (f.145v/10–11)

'Having set out on such a campaign,
they **waged** hard **wars** (lit. made hard battles).'

**Turkic nouns of Arabic and Persian origin with {+lIK} and with *ḳïl-***

The combination of the transitive auxiliary verb *ḳïl-* with nouns of Arabic and Persian origin, accompanied by the {+lIK} suffix, results exclusively in an intransitive meaning. See Table 4.21.

Table 4.21. Intransitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| *ʿāḳïllïḳ ḳïl-* 'to make a smart choice' ← *ʿāḳïl* A 'clever, smart, wise, prudent' **{+lIK}** NN |
| *āsāyïšlïḳ ḳïl-* 'to relax' ← *āsāyïš* P 'rest, comfort, calm' **{+lIK}** NN |
| *baχadurlïḳ ḳïl-* 'to commit heroism' ← *baχadur*[53] 'brave, valiant; champion, hero' **{+lIK}** NN |

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[53] Redhouse (1974: 121) indicates that this word is of Persian origin. Alimov (2022: 177) cites it as the Mongolian word *герой, богатырь, эпитет, присваиваемый монголами выдающимся воинам*. Lessing (1960: 68) indeed indicates *baɣatur / баатар\** as 'hero', 'knight', 'heroic, brave'. Boeschoten (2023: 69), in the latest dictionary of Early Middle Turkic, states that *bahatur* is also of Mongolian origin. However, Clauson (1972: 313) manifests that *baɣa:tu:r* is most likely of Hunnish (Hsiung-nu) origin, specifically from the second Hsiung-nu *shan-yü* (209–174

| |
|---|
| ***dušmānlïḳ ḳïl-*** 'to be in enmity, feud' ← ***dušmān*** P 'enemy' **{+lIK}** NN |
| ***fitnälik ḳïl-*** 'to stir up trouble' ← ***fitnä*** A 'indignation, misfortune, atrocity' **{+lIK}** NN |
| ***ɣawwāṣlïḳ ḳïl-*** 'to dive' ← ***ɣawwāṣ*** A 'diver (for pearls)', 'penetrating, subtle' **{+lIK}** NN |
| ***mülāzämätlik ḳïl-***[54] 'to serve diligently' ← ***mülāzämät*** A 'affection, devotion, loyalty' **{+lIK}** NN |
| ***muwāfaḳatlïḳ ḳïl-*** 'to agree, consent' ← ***muwāfaḳat*** A 'agreeing, consenting', 'aggreement, consent' **{+lIK}** NN |
| ***pādišāhlïḳ ḳïl-*** 'to reign' ← ***pādišāh*** P 'padishah' **{+lIK}** NN |

(68) *ol toḳtayɣa näčä yïllar **pādišāhlïḳ ḳïldï** idil boyunda* (f.142v/9–10)
'That Tokhta **reigned** for so many years along the Volga.'

(69) *ḳaǰiun begi oŋ χān birlä birigib*
*ǰiŋgiz χānɣa **dušmānlïḳ ḳïldï*** (f.32r/5–6)

'Qajiun *Begi* united with Ong Khan
and **was in enmity against** Genghis Khan.'

(70) *aŋa **mülāzämätlik ḳïldï*** (f.83r/3)
'He **served diligently** to him.'

## Persian nouns of Turkic and Mongolic origin with {-mIš-ī} and with *ḳïl-*

In written Persian sources, there is an established procedure for borrowing verbs from Turkic and Mongolic languages. The main pattern of borrowing involves the morphological integration of Turkic and Mongolic verbs (via Turkic) into Persian and some other Iranian varieties. This process uses the postterminal participle marker {-mïš}, the Iranian abstract suffix {-ī}, and a native Persian auxiliary verb like 'to do' (*kardan*, *shurdan*, etc.). The meaning of borrowed verbs in Persian roughly correspond to their meanings in the original languages. The suffix {-mïšī} was not attested before the Mongolic period; however, after this period, examples of {-mïšī} became quite common (Doerfer 1963: 32).

Juvayni's work shows that Turkic verbs formed with {-mïš-ī} are prevalent, especially in sections dedicated to Mongol campaigns. Additionally, a few more examples of Turkic borrowings appear in later new Persian language. In the modern Talysh language (as of the time of publication, that is, 1957), the regular borrowing of suffixes has led to the formation of verbs from the {-mïš-ī} suffix. These Turkic and Mongolic verbs with {-mïš-ī}, used in Iranian

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BC), whose name was rendered in Chinese as Mao-tun. It was an early loanword in Mongolian, mostly as an element in proper names but also as a common noun 'picked warrior'. The word only occurs once in the early period, and then as a proper name. In Mongolian, the shift from a proper name to a noun most likely occurred. During the medieval era, the word resurfaced in Turkic, usually in variants with the medial *-h-*, suggesting Persian as the immediate source. Therefore, I classify the word *baχadur* with the medial *-ɣ-* in the Persian group.

[54] The verb is presented as *mülāzämätlik ḳïldï* ملازمت ليك قيلدى in the St.Petersburg manuscript (StP: f.83r/3); however, it appears as *mülāzamatlïḳ ḳïldï* ملازمت ليق قيلدى at the same place in the Kazan manuscript (K: f.33v/4).

languages, could re-enter Turkic under the influence of Persian, serving as a model for parallel formation (Menges 1957: 712–713). This is observable in the Turkic *Compendium*. Consequently, the construction of analytic verbs with the Turkic or Mongolic lexical verb together with {-mïš-ī} and the light verb *ḳïl-* in the *Compendium* shows the copying of the nominal form of the verbal element and the translation of the light verb into Turkic.

The combination of the transitive auxiliary verb *ḳïl-* with Persian nouns of Turkic and Mongolic origin with {-mIš-ī} yields transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive categories. See them in Tables 4.22–4.24.

Table 4.22. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *ḳïl-*

| |
| --- |
| ***basmïšī ḳïl-*** 'to press' ← ***bas-*** 'to press' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ī}** P NN |
| ***siyurɣamïšī ḳïl-*** 'to favor, benefit, grant, bestow' ← Mo ***soyurɣa-***[55] < EOT ***tsuyurḳa-*** **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ī}** P NN |

 

        (71) *baš barmaɣïn **basmïšī** ḳïldï* (f.100r/2)
            'He **pressed** his thumb.'

In the *Compendium*, the verb *bas-* 'to press', when combined with {-mIš-ī}, appears as *bašmïšī ḳïl-*, which is clearly written with the Arabic letter ش ‹š› in both manuscripts (StP: f.100r/2; K: f. 40v/12). However, in all other instances, the verb *bas-* is spelled with س ‹s›. Regarding the case of *baš-*, it can be assumed that *baš-* is identical to the verb *baša-* 'to attack', which functioned in PON as *baš-*. Danka (2019a: 198) suggests that *baš-* 'to attack' (Clauson 1972: 377) derived from *baš* 'wound' (Clauson 1972: 376) with the {+A-} suffix and was not transparent. Nevertheless, the context of the investigated example (71) involves manipulations with fingers on the hand. Thackston (1998: 293 n.1; 299 n.5), in his English translation of the Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles', relied on QAB's Turkic translation because this section of the Persian text was obscure, probably due to its original translation of the Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles' from Mongolian. Thackston provided a transcription of the Turkic *Compendium* of this part in a footnote. He transcribed it as: "Bash barmaghïn bashmïsh [basmïsh] qïldï". As a result, he considered *bas-* to be the correct verb. The Russian translation of the same Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles' is the following: *Когда посол вернулся, Мукали-гойон [его] спросил: «Когда ты прибыл к Чингиз-хану и доложил мои слова, что он делал?». [Тот] сказал: «Он **разделял** [свои пальцы]»* (RD/Smirnova 1952: 264). 'When

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[55] *soyurɣa-* 'to grant, concede', *sïyurɣa-* 'to entertain, give a present < MMo \*soyurɣa-* 'to grant, donate' < OT *tsoyurḳā-* 'to have pity on someone, be passionate'. The term *soyurɣa-* 'to grant, denote' and its derivate *soyurɣal* 'donation, grant' made their initial appearance in Turkic languages after the Mongol invasion in *Codex Cumanicus* (Kincses-Nagy 2018: 195).

the envoy returned, Muqali göyen asked [him]: "When you arrived in Genghis Khan and reported my words, what did he do?" [He] said': "He **separated** [his fingures]".' In a footnote, it is noticed that in the original Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles', *baīšmīšï* was used instead of *basmīšī mīkard* derived from the verb *basmak* (RD/Smirnova 1952: 264 n.3). Alimov (2022: 81; 178) also transcribes it as *basmïšï* and translates it as *давить, надавливать на что-л.* 'to press, apply pressure to something', therefore *basmïšï ḳïl-* translated as *(букв. давить пальцем на что-л.) поставить печать пальцем, оставить отпечаток пальца* 'lit. to press with a figure on something) to make a fingerprint, leave a fingerprint'. That is why I consider the verb *bas-* in the sentence above is indeed in its correct form.

(72) *äwwäl anï sulṭān-i kärmān ǰälāl ad-dīnɣa* **siyurɣamïš[ï]** *ḳïldï* (f.132v/9–10)
'At first, [he] **granted** her to Jelal al-Din, the Sultan of Kerman.'

Table 4.23. Intransitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***čïrḳamïšï ḳïl-*** 'to take pleasure, enjoy, have fun' ← ***čïrḳa-*[56] Mo 'to take pleasure, enjoy, have fun' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ï}** P NN |
| ***olǰamïšï ḳïl-*** 'to present gifts' ← ***olǰa-*[57] MMo 'to present gifts' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ï}** P NN |
| ***yasamïšï ḳïl-*** 'to set regulations, set things in order' ← ***yasa-*** Mo 'to do' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ï}** P NN |
| ***yaylamïšï ḳïl-*** 'to pass the summer' ← ***yayla-*** 'to pass the summer' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ï}** P NN |

(73) *näčä küngä deg[g]äǰ ol ay ötkünčä käčä ‹wä› kündüz ʿaïš wä ʿišrätḳa (sic!)* ***čïrḳamïšï ḳïldï*** (f.156r/1–3)
'[During] the several days before the end of the month, [they] **enjoyed** a pleasant life and carousing.'

(74) *ḳarluḳnïŋ (sic!) arslan χān yuɣurnïŋ ïdï ḳut (!) ekisi ol yärdä ǰïŋgiz χānɣa ḳulluḳɣa keldilär*
***olǰamïšï ḳïldïlar*** (f.58r/4–6)

'[The ruler] of the Karluks, Arslan Khan, and the *iduqut* of the Uyghurs arrived together in the service of Genghis Khan
and **presented gifts / greeted him with bending knee**.'

Table 4.24. Ambitransitive result of transitive auxiliary with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***tämäǰämïšï ḳïl-*** 'to fight, struggle', 'to contest, contend', 'to cause discord' ← ***tämäǰä-*** Mo 'to fight, struggle', 'to contest, contend' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ï}** P NN |

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[56] *ǰïrɣa-* 'to rejoice, enjoy oneself' ~ *čïrɣa-* 'to enjoy oneself' < MMo *\*ǰïrɣa-* 'to be joyful, be happy' (Kincses-Nagy 2018: 126–127).
[57] West MMo *ūlǰa-* 'to present gifts' ~ *hūlǰa-* 'id.' < *\*haɣulǰa-* 'id.' (Doerfer 1963: 169).

(75) *mäniŋ vaṣiyyätimni aŋa tegürüŋüz*
   *mäbādā kim män kečkändin soŋ mäniŋ sözümni taḳï mülkdä **tämäǰämišī ḳïlïŋïz***[58]
   (f.89r/11–89v/1)
   'Convey my last wish to him,
   "**Do not dispute** my words in the state under any circumstances after my passing.'

(76) *käčatu χātundïn[59] (sic!) soŋ näčä aylar mülkdä **tämäǰämišī ḳïldï*** (f.130v/2)
   'After [the death of] Kechatu Khan, [Baydu] **caused discord** in the state for several months.'

The analytic verb *tämäǰämišī ḳïl-*, consists of the noun *tämäǰämišī*, which, as Budagov (1969: 375) notes, was used by Persian historians to denote concepts such as 'dispute', 'quarrel', 'competition', 'dumping'. It appears that this term was employed in the Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles' and adopted by QAB. A footnote in the Russian translation of the Persian text (RD/Xetagurov 1952: 141 n.8; 142 n.4; RD/Smirnova 1952: 232 n.1, 249 n.1) mentions this usage, referring to Budagov. Smirnova provided a translation of the derivate but did not specify its stem. It is possible that the translator was unaware of the original stem, as other examples with the same {-mïš-ī} construction include both the stem verb and the translations. Xetagurov, the translator of another volume of the Persian *Compendium*, also refers to Budagov and identifies *tämāǰāmīšī* as a Turkic word. On the other hand, Alimov, in his latest publication (2022: 213), proposes that the noun *tamaǰamïšī* is derived from the Mongolian verb *tamula-*, which means 'to torture, torment' (Lessing 1960: 776). However, in the textual section, he transcribes the verb as *tämäčämišī ḳïl-* (2022: 77) and translates it as *učiniť razdor*, which means 'to cause discord' (2022: 147). Kincses-Nagy (2018: 210) has investigated that the form *tämäǰämiši* 'anxiety; persecution, pestering, harassment' is a secondary Persian formation that was copied into Chaghatay in the following way:

> "***Tämäǰä-:*** *tämäǰämiši* 'anxiety; persecution, pestering, harassment' ← P *tämäǰämiši* ← MT *tämäǰä-miš* < MT ***tämäǰä-*** ← MMo *\*temeče-* 'to fight, struggle; to contest, contend' < *\*teme-če-*. Mo: *temeče- ~ demeče-* 'to quarrel with one another.'"

Four of the attested examples of the nominal part of the analytic verbs in seven cases can be traced back to the original Mongolian base. Interestingly, among the remaining three examples, two are verbs of Turkic origin, *bas-* 'to press' and *yayla-* 'to pass the summer'. Additionally, there is a derivate, which likely originated from the Chinese *tz'ü* 'kind, merciful', although this noun form was not attested. The form was borrowed into Mongolian from EOT and later

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[58] K: *tämäǰämišī etiŋiz* (f.36r/12).
[59] K: *χāndïn* (f.54v/10).

reborrowed from Mongolian to Turkic already as *soyurka-/soyurga-*. For a more detailed analysis of *soyurka-/soyurga-*, see Section 2.4.1.10 on the denominal verbalizer {+(U)(r)kA-}.

**Turkic nouns of foreign origin with *ḳïl-***

Two analytic denominal verbs attested in Old Turkic, derived from the nouns of foreign origin with Turkic derivational suffixes and the auxiliary verb *ḳïl-*, were attested in both transitive and intransitive meanings.

Table 4.25. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***sohurɣal ḳïl-*** 'to favor, benefit, grant, bestow' ← ***soyurɣal*** 'a grant of privileges' ← Mo ***soyurġa-*** {**-l**} VN |

    (77) *kärman šährin* **sohurɣal ḳïlïb bärdi** (f.154r/1–2)
       'He **granted** Kasimov city [to Uraz Muhammed].'

Table 4.26. Intransitive result of transitive auxiliary with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***bitimäklik ḳïl-*** 'to write (completed), compose' ← ***biti-***[60] 'to write' {**-mAk**} VN {**+lIK**} NN |

    (78) *taḳï ḥarf-i ekinči mäšrūḥ wä mufaṣṣal* **bitimäklik ḳïldïm°z** (f.77r/2–3)
       'I[61] also **composed**, illustrated, and fully described, [in] the second section (lit. letter).'

**A Mongolic noun with *ḳïl-***

Only one example presents the transitive auxiliary *ḳïl-* with a Mongolic noun. This construction's result shows a transitive output.

Table 4.27. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *ḳïl-*

| |
|---|
| ***olǰa ḳïl-*** 'to capture as prey' ← ***olǰa*** Mo 'war booty, capture, captive' |

    (79) *yinä malïn tirligin ɣārät ḳïlïb*

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[60] The early Turkic verb *biti-* 'to write' may have been connected to the idea of inscribing or writing. None of the proposed etymologies, including Chinese ('writing brush') and Indo-European roots, appear to adequately account for the Turkic word's development, which was influenced by neighboring cultures, especially in the evolution of its derived forms (*bitig, bitik*) and meanings in various dialects. It's interesting note that non-Islamicized Turks use *biti-* 'to write', whereas those who have converted to Islam use *yaz-* 'id.' (Róna-Tas & Berta 2011: 123–125). Both verbs are attested in the *Compendium*.

[61] Most probably, the pronoun is 'I'. Although the verb has a first plural possessive marker, it must be a first singular one. Previously, the scribe wrote *bu zaman bašladïm* (StP: f.77r/2; P: f.30v/22). Therefore, there should be a QAB's error, as *bitimeklik ḳïldïm°z* was utilized in both the St.Petersburg (f.77r/3) and Kazan (30v/22) manuscripts.

*olǰa ḳïldï* (f.52r/5)

'He again plundered households
and **captured** them **as prey**.'

## The light verb *et-* 'to do', 'to make'

In the *Compendium*, examples of analytic denominal verb derivation with the light verb *et-* 'to do, make' have been attested in much smaller quantities compared to the light verb *ḳïl-* 'id.'. These examples can be divided into the following five groups:

1. Arabic nouns with *et-* (16)
2. Persian nouns of Turkic and Mongolic origin with {-mIš-ï̄} and with *et-* (3)
3. Turkic nouns with *et-* (2)
4. A Persian noun with *et-* (1)
5. A Turkic noun with {+lIK} and with *et-* (1)
6. A Turkic noun of Persian origin with {+lIK} and with *et-* (1)

## Arabic nouns with *et-*

Table 4.28. Transitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *et-*

| |
|---|
| *äsīr et-* 'to captive' ← *äsīr* A 'slave', 'prisoner of war, captive' |
| *hälāk e[t]-* 'to kill, cause to perish' ← *hälāk* A 'perishing, destruction, miserable death' |
| *inkār et-* 'to refuse, deny' ← *inkār* A 'denial, nonacceptance' |
| *maḥbūs e[t]-* 'to captivate' ← *maḥbūs* A 'prisoner', 'imprisoned' |
| *muʿayyän et-* 'to define' ← *muʿayyän* A 'pointed out, designated, known, defined' |
| *musaχχar e[t]-* 'to subdue, subject, place under the command of' ← *musaχχar* A 'conquered, captured, captive' |
| *naṣïḥat et-* 'to instruct' ← *naṣïḥat* A 'advice, guidance' |
| *ḳiyās et-* 'to compare', 'to conclude by analogy' ← *ḳiyās* A 'comparison', 'rule, opinion' |
| *ṭalab et-* 'to request, require, expect' ← *ṭalab* A 'demand, order, request' |
| *tamām et-* 'to complete, finish' ← *tamām* A 'complete, finished', 'completion' |

(80) *aŋï häm **äsīr etib***
*alïb kelgän erdi* (f.65v/8)

'He **captivated** (that tribe)
and brought them there (for himself).'

(81) *bir nöbät χilāf etsä*
*anï tiliŋiz bilän **naṣïḥat etiŋiz*** (f.99r/1–2)

'If (someone) acts against [the *yasaq*][62] once,

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[62] *Yasaq* refers to a decree or ordinance (with normative force), issued by the *qan* (Rachewiltz 2001: 568).

**instruct** him verbally (lit. with your tongue).'

(82) *wä illā muŋa iʿtimād bolmasa*
*öz sözüŋni taķï dānālarnïŋ sözigä ķiyās etkil* (f.92r/10–92v/11)

'Otherwise, if there is no trust in this,
**compare** your word[s] with the word[s] of knowledgeable people.'

Table 4.29. Intransitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *et-*

| |
|---|
| ***χïzmät et-*** 'to serve, render service' ← ***χïzmät*** A 'service', 'duty, work', 'employment' |
| ***maķām e[t]-*** 'to live, reside' ← ***maķam*** A 'place' |
| ***niyāz e[t]-*** 'to make a request, entreat for, ask as a favor' ← ***niyāz*** P 'request, entreaty, supplication', 'need', 'wish' |
| ***ķaṣd et-*** 'to have (evil) intentions (against)' ← ***ķaṣd*** A 'intension, endeavour, aim' |
| ***täfāwüt et-*** 'to differ (one from other)' ← ***täfāwüt*** A 'difference' |

(83) *anlar kün tuɣušï tapa **maķām et[t]ilär*** (f.21v/3)
'They **settled** [in the lands] towards the east.'

(84) *ol maʿnāɣa ʿajabķa ķaldï*
*wä ķoruķtï*
*kim ersägä **niyāz ä[t]ti*** (f.27v/5–6)

'[She] was amazed for that reason
and scared
**to make a request** to anybody.'

(85) *özlärin körsätib*
*tā näjük ol üj aṭlïɣlar aŋa **ķaṣd etkäy***
*ķajurub ķowub kelgäy*
*wä bi-mädäd nökärläri bilän anlarnï tutɣay* (94r/8–10)

'[He] showed himself
**in order to** those three horsemen **encroach his life**
[and] chased him,
and [he] would catch them up with the aid of his *nökers*.'

Table 4.30. Ambitransitive result of transitive auxiliary with *et-*

| |
|---|
| ***ḥisāb e[t]-*** 'to count' ← ***ḥisāb*** A 'counting, numbering; considering' |

(86) ***ḥisāb e[t]tilär*** *andaɣ kim šul aṣlï kim bar erdi* (f.86v/5)
'They **counted** [the troops] to preserve [their] origin.'

**Persian nouns of Turkic and Mongolic origin with {-mIš-ī} and with *et-***

Table 4.31. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *et-*

*čïdamïšī et-* 'to be able', 'to be able to overcome' ← *čïda-* Mo 'to be able', 'to be able to overcome' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ī}** P NN

(87) *ägär pādišāh kim ersä šarāb wä ṭarāsunγa*[63] *ḥarīṣ bolsa*
*anïŋ uluγ išläri wä biligläri wä yosunlarï muʿaẓẓam* **čïdamïšī etä** *almaγay* (f.96r/10–96v/1)

'If any *padishah* becomes addicted to wine,
he will not be able to **accomplish** great deeds, *biligs*[64] and traditional customs.'

Table 4.32. Intransitive results of transitive auxiliaries with *et-*

| |
|---|
| *keŋäšmišī et-* 'to take counsel (together)' ← *keŋäš-* 'to take counsel (together) ← *keŋä-* 'to settle one's affairs' **{-(I)š}** VN **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ī}** P NN |
| *örüsdämišī et-* 'to be exhausted', 'to be ruined through misfortune or calamities', 'to be conquered, overcome' ← *öristä-* (Lessing 1960: 332; 642) Mo 'to be exhausted', 'to be ruined through misfortune or calamities', 'to be conquered, overcome' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ī}** P NN |

(88) *illā ǰümlä aγa wä ini ǰamiʿ bolγaylar*
*wä* **keŋäšmišī etkäylär** (f.99r/7–8)

'Otherwise, let all elder and younger brothers gather
and **take counsel**.'

(89) *är (sic!) käšiktü kačan šarāb ičmäklikkä ḥarīṣ bolsa*
*ol kimsä uluγ ḳatïḳ* **örüsdämišī etkäy** *yaʿnī bälā-yi ʿaẓīm muŋa teggäy* (f.96v/4–5)

'If a bodyguard becomes addicted to wine,
he **will be exhausted** by a great calamity.'

The form *är käšiktü* is complicated, as it is not found in dictionaries. Alimov transcribes the word as *ärkäšigtü* (Alimov 2022: 80) and explains it as being derived from the Mongolian *ärkäšigil* 'to empower, enable', hence *ärkäšigtü* 'bodyguard' (2022: 177). Indeed, the verb *erkesi-* 'to amass power or authority; to dominate, reign; to become self-indulgent through the accruements of one's position or power or authority' is present in the Mongolian dictionary (Lessing 1960: 329). The {-G} marker is a productive deverbal noun suffix in the written Mongolian, which forms nouns that designate the results of actions and abstract ideas (Poppe 1954 [2006]: 45). The {+tU} marker is a denominal noun suffix that forms nouns denoting possession of or containment in something, such as *moritu* 'horseman' from *morin* 'horse' (Poppe 1954 [2006]: 44). Originally, this suffix denoted the masculine gender (Khabtagaeva

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[63] *Darasu(n)* is a sweet wine made from either fruit or grain (Lessing 1960: 232).
[64] *Bilig* refers to Genghis Khan's wise saying (Rachewiltz 2004: 568). Knowledge of these *biligs* was a prerequisite for appointment to the highest administrative and military positions (Ivanics 2017: 14).

2009: 284). This explanation is plausible. However, Syzdykova (1989: 200) transcribes the word as *ар кашикту* ‹ar kašigtü›, but she does not provide a definition for this word. This transcription seems to be correct. In the footnote of RD's Russian translation, *kešigtu «телохранитель, гвардеец»*, derived from *kešig*, is indicated as the singular form of the *kašïktan* (written Mongolian *kešigten*) (RD/ Smirnova 1952: 35 n.1). In the Secret History of the Mongols, the term *kešik* (Proto-Mongolian *kešig, kesig*) is also provided, referring to the khan's bodyguard, which was the most important military institution. They were divided into nightguards and dayguards (Rachewiltz 2004: 113, 691). Redhouse (1974: 646) also lists *kešik* as an archaic 'guard, patrol'. Lessing (1960: 460) defines *kesigten* as 'Genghis Khan's bodyguards'. Thackston, in the glossary of the Persian 'Compendium of Chronicles', translates *gäzig* as 'bodyguard corps' and *gäzigtän* as 'member of the bodyguard' (Thackston 1998: 767). Therefore, *är* in the text appears to be separate from *käšiktü* 'bodyguard'. Redhouse (1974: 344) indicates that ار *är* is the Persian variant of اكر *ägär*, which is no longer in use. Moreover, a sentence with اكر *ägär* had appeared earlier in the same dastan.

## Turkic nouns with *et-*

Table 4.33. Intransitive result of transitive auxiliary with *et-*

| |
|---|
| ***keŋäš et-*** 'to take counsel (together) ← ***keŋäš*** 'councel' ← ***keŋä-*** 'to settle one's affairs' **{-(I)š}** VN |

(90) *mändin soŋ bir biriŋiz bilän **keŋäš etiŋiz*** (f.82r/10–11)
    '**Take counsel** with each other after me.'

Table 4.34. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *et-*

| |
|---|
| ***yïraḳ et-*** 'to alienate, distance' ← ***yïraḳ*** 'far way, distant, remote' ← ***yïra-*** 'to be distant, keep away (from something)' **{-(A)K}** VN |

(91) *anlar yurtlarïnda buyurdum tā*
    *anlardïn **yïraḳ etiŋiz** deb*
    *ot tikänni ketäriŋiz teb* (98v/10–11)

    'I ordered [those who] are in their yurts,
    "**Distance** (PL) from them.
    Remove (PL) the thorns of grass."'

## A Persian noun with *et-*

Table 4.35. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *et-*

| |
|---|
| ***āzmāyiš et-*** 'to test, subject to examination' ← ***āzmāyiš*** P 'experiment, proof, trial' |

(92)*anlarnï munuŋ dek išdä* ***āzmāyiš et[t]ürgäy*** (f.95r/11)
'[They] must **trial** them in such things/work.'

## A Turkic noun with {+lIK} and with *et-*

Table 4.36. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *et-*

---

***unutmaḳlïḳ et-*** 'to forget' ← ***unut-*** 'to forget' **{-mAk}** VN **{+lIK}** NN

---

(93)*bizdin soŋ bizniŋ uruɣum•z ḳabālar bilän aḳča tolduryay*
*yaχšï tonlar kiygäylär*
*wä niʿmätlär ǰarab wä šīrīn yegäylär*
*yaχšï ṣurätliḳ aṭlarɣa mingäylär*
*wä χūb yüzlük körklük χātunlarnï alɣaylar*
*aytmaɣaylar kim*
*bularnï bizniŋ atalarïm•z aɣalarïm•z ǰāmiʿ ḳalɣan erdilär teb*
*wä bizni ol uluɣ kün* ***unutmaḳlïḳ etkäy*** (95v/3–8)

'After us, our offsprings will fill [the treasury] with heaps of money with outer,
They will put on good fur coats
and they will eat fatty and delicious food,
they will sit on strong (lit. well-shaped) horses
and they will take fine-faced beautiful wives,
[but] they will not say that
our fathers and elders collected all of these.
And they **will forget** us on that day of judgement.'

## A Turkic noun of Persian origin with {+lIK} and with *et-*

Table 4.37. Inransitive result of transitive auxiliary with *et-*

---

***dostluḳ et-*** 'to be friends'← ***dostluḳ*** 'friendship' ← ***dost*** P 'friend' **{+lIK}** NN

---

(94)*maǰār rūm vilāyätidin murād ol turur kim*
*andïn häm mundïn häm bariš keliš etišïb*[65]
*dostuna dost bolub dušmanïna dušman bolub* ***dostluḳ etišdi*** (f.2r/7−9)

'His goal was to **maintain friendly relations** (lit. mutually made friendship) with the land of *Majar Rum*[66],
establishing diplomatic connections (lit. coming and going with each other) from here and there,
making friends with the friend and becoming hostile with the enemy.'

---

[65] †‹ʾyty šyn› ايتى شين.
[66] *Majar Rum* is most probably the geographical name for Hungary (Togabayeva forthcoming).

**The light verb *yasa-* 'to do', 'to make'**

Constructions with the light verb *yasa-* 'to make', 'to construct', 'to arrange' emerged relatively late, around the 13th to 14th centuries. It started as a light verb and continues to exist in certain contemporary languages (Johanson 2021a: 580).

In the *Compendium*, it appears only twice in the form *χān yasa-*.

Table 4.38. Transitive result of transitive auxiliary with *yasa-* 'to do'

| |
|---|
| ***χān yasa-*** 'to enthrone' ← ***χān*** 'khan' |

(95) *ḳačïb yürüb ǰaɣïrɣan bayɣa yalɣa kirib yürügändä*
*beglär öz aralarïnda biri birin ülüläšä (sic!) almay*
*χaǰǰï käräy sulṭānnï izläb tabub*
***χān yasadïlar*** *sänä-i 956 ǰumādā al-āχir ayïnda* (f.147r/6–9)

'When [he] was running and hiring on work to *Jagirgan Bay*,
begs who couldn't divide [the pasture] between themselves
looked for Hajji Giray and found [him].
[They] **enthroned** him in 956 in month of *jumada al-ahïr*.'[67]

A few words about the spelling of *ülüläšä* are necessary here. It is most likely that the verb should be *ülä-* 'to divide into shares and distribute' rather than *ülülä-* in *üläšä almay*. The spelling اولولاش- *ülü-lä-š-* must be misspelled by QAB itself and not by the scribes, as it appears in both St. Petersburg (f.147r/8) and Kazan (f.62r/13) manuscripts. Xisamieva (2022: 128, 137) and Alimov (2022: 216) transcribe this verb as *ulula-* and translate it as *возвеличивать* 'to exalt'. However, neither Clauson nor Nadeljaev et el. include the verb *ulula-*. Erdal (1991: 449) discovered *ülüg+lä-* in Maitr, which can be translated as 'to divide'. Syzdyḳova & Ḳojgeldiev (1991: 233) transcribe this word as *üle-*. At the same time, Valixanov (2014: 235) translates it as *в несогласии идя* 'walking in disagreement' and notes in the footnote that the Turkic original reads اولاشا الماى *беки, между собою не имея согласия* 'begs, without agreement among themselves'. When Valixanov mentions the original manuscript, he refers to Berezin's publication, where, in fact, Berezin printed it as اولاشا الماى (160/4).

Furthermore, the verb *čaɣïrɣan* is worth noting. Alimov (2022: 107; 166) transcribes it as the *čaɣïrɣan* (K: f.63a/12) and translates it as *'который звал'* 'who called/invited'. Xisamieva (2022: 128; 137) transcribes it as *чыгарган* (StP:147a); however, this word is skipped in the translation: *Нанимался у каждого богача в работники.* Syzdyḳova &

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[67] The sixth month of the Islamic calendar.

Ḳojgeldiev (1991: 236) transcribes the word with a capital letter, indicating a personal name *Чағырған бай*. However, they do not provide an explanation of its origin. Similarly, the Kazakh translators of the *Compendium* indicate it as a personal name *Чағырған бай* without explanation of his identity (QAB/Mingulov et al. 1997: 116). I also suppose that this is a personal name, as QAB mentions a lot of names of begs who participated in the enthronement of Hajji Giray in that particular part, although I cannot define his origin.

### 2.4.2.2 The other transitive auxiliaries with more definable verbal meanings

Table 4.39. Examples of derivation with auxiliary verb *bär-* 'to give'

| |
| --- |
| *χabär bär-* 'to notify, inform, announce' ← *χabär* 'news, information, knowledge' |
| *iǰāzät bär-* 'to allow, permit' ← *iǰāzät* ← 'permission' |
| *iʿlām bär-* 'to notify' ← *iʿlām* 'anouncement, notification' |
| *ǰäwāb bär-* 'to answer, respond' ← *ǰäwāb* 'answer, response' |
| *köŋül bär-* 'to show favor, give one's heart' ← *köŋül* '*heart* with a wide range shades of meaning' |
| *küǰ bär-* 'to help, support' ← *küǰ* 'strength, power' |

(96) *pādišāh ḥażrätläri iǰāzät bärdi uraz muhammäd χānγa* (f.154r/4–154v/1)
'His Majesty, the Padishah [Boris Godunov], **allowed** Uraz-Muhammed [to leave Moscow].'

(97) *andïn idigä beggä iʿlām bärdilär* (f.143v/6)
'Because of that, they **notified** Edige Beg [about him].'

(98) *köb küǰ bärdi ǰiŋgiz χānγa* (f.71r/9)
'[He] **helped to/supported** Genghis Khan a lot.'

Table 4.40. Examples of derivation with auxiliary verb *tab-* 'to find'

| |
| --- |
| *ädäb tab-* 'to have good morals' ← *ädäb* A 'breeding, politeness', 'respectfulness, modesty' |
| *ḳuwwät tab-* 'to gain strength' ← *ḳuwwät* A 'strength, power, greatness' |
| *šuhrät tab-* 'to become famous, earn fame' ← *šuhrät* A 'famousness, glory' |
| *väfāt tab-* 'to die' ← *väfāt* A 'death' |
| *ẓafär tab-* 'to achieve victory, conquer the field' ← *ẓafär* A 'victory' |

(99) *bu zamānda moγol arasïnda at atanïb šuhrät tabtï* (f.10v/7–8)
'At this time, [they] were called out [their separate] names and **became famous** among the Monghols.'

(100) *bu üǰ oγlï yašda väfāt tabdïlar* (f.46r/2–3)

'These three sons **died** young.'

(101) *ẕafär tabtï* (f.98r/6)
'[He] **achieved the victory**.'

Table 4.41. Examples of derivation with auxiliary verb *ḳoy-* 'to put'

| |
| --- |
| *at ḳoy-* 'to name, call' ← *at* 'name' |
| *ḳadam ḳoy-* 'to step, tread' ← *ḳadam* A 'foot, sole, footstep' |

(102) *ol vilāyätdin öz ordusï̈ya taba ḳadam ḳoydï* (f.62r/10)
'[He] **headed** towards his residence from that country.'

(103) *börte füjin (sic!) at ḳoydï ärikän*[68] *ekä teb* (f.69r/4)
'[He] **called** Lady Börte 'main (the first) mother.''

Table 4.42. Examples of derivation with auxiliary verb *yibär-* 'to send'

| |
| --- |
| *χabär yibär-* 'to report, send information' ← *χabär* A 'news, information, knowledge' |

(104) *anï̈ kelsun teb χabär yibärdi* (f.62r/5)
'He **reported**, "[He] shall come".'

Table 4.43. Examples of derivation with auxiliary verb *tut-* 'to take, hold'

| |
| --- |
| *taʿziyat tut-* 'to mourn for the dead' ← *taʿziyat* A 'mourning for the dead' |

(105) *taʿziyat tutmaŋïz* (f.63v/5)
'**Do not mourn**.'

Table 4.44. Examples of derivation with auxiliary verb *ur-* 'to strike'

| |
| --- |
| *yüz ur~* 'to face toward, turn towards' ← *yüz* 'face' |

(106) *mäniŋ süŋägimni turɣan ṣandūḳnï alïb*
*öz vilāyätniŋizɣa (sic!) yüz uruŋuz* (f.63v/10–11)

'Take the chest with that contains my body
and **turn towards** your country.'

## 2.4.2.3 Intransitive light verbs

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[68] Mo *terigyn* 'head; first, chief, foremost' (Lessing 1960: 805).

In the *Compendium*, examples of analytic denominal verb derivation with the intransitive auxiliary light verb *bol-* 'to be(come)' can be divided into the following five groups. All of them result in intransitive verbs.

1. Arabic nouns with *bol-* (23)
2. Persian nouns with *bol-* (4)
3. Turkic nouns with *bol-* (3)
4. A Turkic noun with {+lIG} and with *bol-* (1)
5. A Turkic noun of Persian origin with {+lIG} and with *bol-* (1)
6. A Persian noun of Mongolic origin with {-mIš-ī} and with *bol-* (1)

**Arabic nouns with *bol-***

Table 4.45. Examples of intransitive auxiliary with *bol-*

| |
|---|
| *dafʿ bol-* 'to ward off' ← *dafʿ* A 'driving/warning off, defence' |
| *ɣālib bol-* 'to prevail, overcome' ← *ɣālib* A 'winner, victor' |
| *ḥāmilä bol-* 'to become pregnant, get pregnant' ← *ḥāmilä* A 'pregnant' |
| *ḥāṣïl bol-* 'to happen, occur' ← *ḥāṣïl* A 'resulting, result, effect', 'occuring', 'existing' |
| *ḥāžïr bol-* 'to be present' ← *ḥāžïr* A 'present', 'resident', 'ready, prepared' |
| *hälāk bol-* 'to die' ← *hälāk* A 'perishing, destruction, miserable death' |
| *ǰamiʿ bol-* 'to gather, unite' ← *ǰamiʿ* A 'compendium', 'that collects, unites, brings together', 'embracing, containing, holding' |
| *maḵḫūr bol-* 'to be conquered' ← *maḵḫūr* A 'conquered, defeated, oppressed' |
| *mäǰālī bol-* 'to be strong, be powerful', 'to be able to resist', 'to be capable of opposing' ← *mäǰālī* 'strong, powerful' ← *meǰāl* A 'power, ability, strength', 'possibility' **{-ī}** P NN |
| *mäšɣūl bol-* 'to be busy with something, be devoted to something' ← *mäšɣūl* A 'busy' |
| *mävǰūd bol-* 'to exist' ← *mävǰūd* A 'existing' |
| *mävḵūf bol-* 'to be stopped', 'to depend on a condition' ← *mävḵūf* A 'stopped', 'dependent' |
| *mufaṣṣal bol-un-* 'to be explained in detail' ← *mufaṣṣal* A 'detailed, thorough, appropriately' |
| *muḵarrar bol-* 'to be considered certain, take it for granted' ← *muḵarrar* A 'approved, appointed, determined' |
| *muḵïrr bol-* 'to confess, admit' ← *muḵïrr* A 'who confess a fault', 'confessor' |
| *muʿtärif bol-* 'to make an admission, make acknowledgement' ← *muʿtärif* A 'who confesses', 'confessor', 'confessing, acknowledging, admitting' |
| *muṭīʿ bol-* 'to obey' ← *muṭīʿ* A 'obedient, subservient, conquered' |
| *sākin bol-* 'to live, settle' ← *sākin* A 'living, dwelling' |
| *šähīd bol-* 'to be martyred' ← *šähīd* A 'martyr' |
| *tābiʿ bol-* 'to be subdued' ← *tābiʿ* A 'subordinate, subjugated, subject' |
| *tamām bol-* 'to be completed, finished, ended' ← *tamām* A 'complete, finished', 'completion' |
| *väfāt bol-* 'to die' ← *väfāt* A 'dearth' |
| *ziyādä bol-* 'to thrive' ← *ziyadä* A 'increase' |

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(107) *illā ǰümlä aɣa wä ini **ǰami' bolɣaylar***
*wä keŋäšmišī etkäylär* (f.99r/7–8)

'Otherwise, let all elder and younger brothers **gather**
and take counsel.'

(108) *mälīk oɣli bašïbäk sulṭān bilän toḵuz sarï oɣlanlarï bilän ǰaɣat ḥaddïnda **šähīd boldïlar*** (f.150v/1–2)
'Melik's son, Bashibek Sultan, along with approximately nine of his sons, **were martyred** on the border of *Jagat*[69].'

(109) *dotum mänän ol waḳït[da] **väfāt bol**ub erdi* (f.29v/11)
'Dotum Menen **had died** that time.'


**Persian nouns with *bol-***

Table 4.46. Examples of intransitive auxiliary with *bol-*

| |
| --- |
| ***ǰudā bol-*** 'to be(come) separate', 'to part from a person' ← ***ǰudā*** P 'separation, parting, parted' |
| ***nā-bädīd bol-*** 'to disappear' ← ***nā-bädīd*** P 'invisible, vanished' |
| ***paydā bol-*** 'to appear' ← ***paydā*** P 'visible, conspicuous, evident' |
| ***rävān bol-*** 'to go, flow' ← ***rävān*** P 'going, flowing' |


(110) *uraz muḥammäd χān ol ibtidā säkiz yašïnda uluɣ babasï šïɣay χāndïn **ǰudā boldïlar*** (f.153r/5–6)
'As a beginning, when Uraz-Muhammed Khan was eight years old, he lost (lit. he was separate from) his grandfather Shigay Khan.'

(111) *wä anlar kim öz yurlarïnda olturub turur biligni ešitmäy*
*anlarnïŋ χālï misalï taš bolɣay köb suw astïnda ḵalɣay*
*yā kämālgä keltürmäy atḵan oḵ bolɣay **nā-bädīd bolɣay*** (f.91v/8–10)

'And the situation of those who sit in their *yurts* and do not heed the *biligs*
are resemble a stone [which] stays in deep water
or like an arrow [which is] shot imperfectly and **disappear**.'

(112) *salur ya'nī här yärgä kelsä*
*ḵïlïč wä čumaḵ birlä **rävān bol**ur erdi* (f.23r/9–10)

'Salur, that is, whenever he went,

---

[69] This sentence belongs to the dastan of Uraz-Muhammed. Therefore, the event described in this part was connected to the Qazaq Khanate. Several explanations have been proposed for the term *Jagat*. One of them is that *Jagat* refers to Chagatai. This means that the people mentioned in example (108) died in the Chagatai Ulus. Vel´jaminov-Zernov believed that Togum Khan (Kazakh khan) died in a battle with the Chagataid. He considered the word *chagat* to be a shortening of *Chagatai*. As the Chagataids in the 16th century controlled only East Turkestan, he identified this battle with the Kazakh-Mogul battle in 1537. Judin expressed the opinion that *chagat* should be understood as the people in against whom Togum Khan died in battle. It is likely that the nomad camps of these people were located on the Siberian frontiers. Akimushkina regards *Chagat* as the name of the area where Togum Khan and 37 khans died (Abuseitova 1985: 46).

his sword and mace **sprang** in action.'

**Turkic nouns with *bol-***

Table 4.47. Examples of intransitive auxiliary with *bol-*

| |
|---|
| ***basruḳ bol-*** 'to be covered' ← ***basruḳ*** 'pressed down, cover' ← ***bas-*** 'to press, oppress, make a suprise attack' **{-Ur-}** CAUS **{-(U)K}** VN |
| ***bir bol-*** 'to be united, rally' ← ***bir*** 'one' |
| ***el bol-*** 'to submit to, surrender to' ← ***el*** |

The verb *el bol-* is problematic from a semantic perspective. Both Turkic and Mongolic words *el* exist. The original Turkic meaning was 'a political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler'; the closest English equivalent is 'realm'. Later, it extended into 'the community, the people of the realm', and finally 'country, province; people, community' (Clauson 1972: 121). In Mongolic, this word means 'accord, harmony, peace; union; ally' (Lessing 1960: 306). The meaning of *el bol-* is, of course, consistent with 'to submit to, surrender to', but the realization can be different. It may imply 'to be a people of khan, so to submit' or 'to establish (to be) a union relationship, form (to be) an alliance', and consequently, 'to submit'.

(113) *näčä anča häzār taɣdïn murād ol turur kim*
*säniŋ taχtïŋnï taɣɣa miẕāl ḳildïlar*
*yaʿnī taɣnï ḥadd tabārak wä taʿālā yärgä basruḳ ḳilïb*
*taḳï säniŋ dävlätli taχtïŋ mämläkätkä **basruḳ bolɣay*** (f.2v/8–11)

'The meaning of so many thousand mountains is the following:
they compared your throne to a mountain.
As the Blessed God – may He be exalted – covered the Earth with mountains,
so your country **will be covered** by your royal throne.'

(114) ‹*märkit*› *ǰiŋgiz χānɣa **el boldï*** (f.44r/1)
'‹The Merkit tribe› **submitted** to Genghis Khan.'

**A Turkic noun with {+lIG} and with *bol-***

The {+lIG} is the most common NN derivational suffix in Turkic languages (Erdal 1991: 139; Johanson 2021a: 486). It derives adjectives from nouns with the meaning X + {+lIG} 'something having an X'. In Chaghatay sources, {+lIG} has the forms {+lIG} ‹lyk› (lik, lig), but also possibly ‹lyɣ› (lïɣ), as seen in (115), and ‹lyḳ› (lïḳ), as seen in example (116). In example (116), the form *zaχm* +{+lIG} 'having a wound' is used, instead of *zaχm* +{+lIK} 'woundness, meant to be wound' or the like.

Table 4.48. Examples of intransitive auxiliary with *bol-*

| |
|---|
| ***yaralïɣ bol-*** 'to get wounded' ← ***yaralïɣ*** 'wounded' ← ***yara*** 'wound, sore, cut, injury, hurt' **{+lIG}** NN |

 

(115) *idige beg **yaralïɣ boldï*** (f.145v/11)
    'Edige Beg **got wounded**.'

 

## A Turkic noun of Persian origin with {+lIG} and with *bol-*

Table 4.49. Examples of intransitive auxiliary with *bol-*

| |
|---|
| ***zaχmlïḳ bol-*** 'to get wounded' ← ***zaχm*** P 'wound, ulcer' **{+lIG}** NN |

 

(116) *ḳādïr berdi χān häm **zaχmlïḳ boldï*** (f.146r/1)
    'Qadir Berdi Khan also **got wounded**.'

 

## A Persian noun of Mongolic origin with {-mIš-ī} and with *bol-*

Table 4.50. Examples of intransitive auxiliary with *bol-*

| |
|---|
| ***čïrḳamïšī bol-*** 'to take pleasure, enjoy, have fun' ← ***čïrḳa-*** Mo 'to take pleasure, enjoy, have fun' **{-mIš}** PART.POST **{-ī}** P NN |

 

(117) *payvästä ʿaïšḳa **ǰïrḳamïšī bolɣaylar*** (f.91r/8–9)
    '[They] will always **enjoy** a pleasant life.'

 

## 2.4.2.4 The other intransitive auxiliaries with more definable verbal meanings

Table 4.51. Examples of derivation with copular verb *er-* 'to be'

| |
|---|
| ***ārzū er-*** 'to wish, aspire' ← ***ārzū*** P 'wish, desire' |
| ***ḥayāt er-*** 'to live' ← ***ḥayāt*** A 'life' |
| ***ḥāžïr er-*** 'to be present' ← ***ḥāžïr*** A 'present', 'resident', 'ready, prepared' |
| ***ǰudā er-*** 'to be(come) separate', 'to part from a person' ← ***ǰudā*** P 'separation, parting, parted' |
| ***niyāzlïḳ er-*** 'to pray' ← ***niyāz*** P 'request, entreaty, supplication', 'need, wish' **{+lIK}** NN |
| ***taʿyïn er-*** 'to appoint', 'to decide, settle' ← ***taʿyïn*** A 'assignment, nomination, designation' |
| ***täʿalluḳ er-*** 'to be attached to' ← ***täʿalluḳ*** A 'attachment', 'a being or becoming related to or connected with, connection, relation' |
| ***zaχmlïḳ er-*** 'to get wounded' ← ***zaχm*** P 'wound, ulcer' **{+lIK}** NN |

 

(118) *ol ḳoylay χān zamānïnda **ḥayāt erdi*** (f.68v/8–9)
    'He **lived** in the time of Qoylay Khan.'

(119) *barïş fyodaraviĭniŋ yarlïɣï bilän ol zamān alba[ɣ]ut häm anda **ḫāẓïr erdi** (*f.155r/6–7)

'A boyar also **was present** there by the command of Boris Fyodorovich.'

(120) *ḫaḳḳɣa **niyāzlïḳ erdi*** (f.19v/5)

'[He] **prayed** to the Truth.'

(121) *bu läškär ḳadīmdïn bärü öz aralarïnda mïŋ aɣasïnïŋ begi **taʿyïn erdi*** (f.75r/10–11)

'From of old, this army **appointed** *beg of ming aga*s[70] from within its ranks.'

Table 4.52. Examples of derivation with auxiliary verb *kel-* 'to come'

| |
|---|
| *χoš kel-* 'to please, like' ← *χoš* P 'delectable, delicious, desirable' |

(122) *bu söz ĭiŋgiz χānɣa **χoš keldi*** (f.65v/1)

'These words **pleased** Genghis Khan.'

Table 4.53. Examples of derivation with auxiliary verb *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain'

| |
|---|
| *tul ḳal-* 'to become a widow' ← *tul* 'widow' |

(123) *andïn alan ḳua **tul ḳaldï*** (f.26v/4)

'Alan Qua **was widowed** after [her husband's death].'

Table 4.54. Examples of derivation with other copular verbs

| |
|---|
| *ḥayāt tur-* 'to live' ← *ḥayāt* A 'life' + *tur-* 'to stand' |

(124) *ol vilāyätdä bu ʿahd-da **ḥayāt turur*** (f.153r/4–5)

'[He] currently **lives** in that country.'

Despite the various examples of analytic denominal verb derivation using the transitive auxiliary verbs *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' and *et-* 'id.', which are combined with simple nouns from Arabic, Persian, Turkic, and Mongolic, as well as derived nouns from Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Mongolic, and Chinese bases, nine verbs provide the same final result (without semantic difference) when the same noun is used with the interchangeable auxiliary verbs (verbal heads) *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' and *et-* 'id.' See Table 4.55.

Table 4.55. Analytic verbs with different verbal heads (same meaning) but the same semantics of verbal unit

| *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' | *et-* 'id.' |
|---|---|

---

[70] The title of *mïŋ aɣasïnïŋ begi* was given to the commander of the 'personal thousands of Genghis Khan'.

| | |
|---|---|
| *hälāk ḳïl-* 'to kill, cause to perish' | *hälāk e[t]-* 'id.' |
| *ḥisāb ḳïl-* 'to count' | *ḥisāb e[t]-* 'id.' |
| *keŋäǰ ḳïl-* 'to take counsel (together)' | **1.** *keŋäš et-* 'id.'; <br> **2.** *keŋäšmišī et-* 'id.' |
| *musaχχar ḳïl-* 'to subdue, subject' | *musaχχar e[t]-* 'id.' |
| *naṣiḥat ḳïl-* 'to instruct' | *naṣiḥat et-* 'id.' |
| *ṭalab ḳïl-* 'to request, require' | *ṭalab et-* 'id.' |
| *tamām ḳïl-* 'to complete, finish' | *tamām et-* 'id.' |
| *tämäǰämišī ḳïl-* 'to fight, struggle' | *tämäǰämišī et-* 'id.' |
| *yïraḳ ḳïl-* 'to alienate, distance' | *yïraḳ et-* 'id.' |

Among the nine verbs, two have synthetic counterparts. For the verb 'to count', the form *ḥisāb-la-* is observed. However, it is attested only in the causative voice; see example (12). The verb 'to take counsel (together)' appears most frequently, occurring twice analytically with the light verb *ḳïl-* in *keŋäǰ ḳïl-* (see example (62)), twice analytically with the light verb *et-* in *keŋäš et-* (see example (90)) and *keŋäšmišī et-* (see example (88)), and synthetically with cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-} in *keŋä-š-* (see Table 4.66).

Moreover, the *Compendium* provides examples where the verb *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' is used both as an auxiliary verb and as a lexical verb in a similar context and vocabulary, i.e. *keŋäš ḳïl-* 'to make decision' and 'to arrange counsel', see examples (63) and (64), respectively.

Additionally, the combination of analytic verbs with the noun *sohurɣal* 'gift, award' in example (77) conveys the meaning 'to favor, benefit, grant, bestow'. However, in certain cases, the verb *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' can also function synthetically as a lexical verb with the object *sohurɣal*, as demonstrated in example (35). These examples are related but pertain to distinct concepts: *sohurɣal ḳïl-* fits the definition of analytic derivation, while *sohurɣallar ḳïl-* presents the lexical verb *ḳïl-* with a direct object.

Furthermore, the *Compendium* attests to the analytic verb *sohurɣal ḳïl-*, which has a synonymous meaning to the analytic verb *siyurɣamišī ḳïl-* 'to favor, benefit, grant, bestow'; see example (72).

A pair of auxiliaries, *ḳïl- ~ et-*, generates significant interest because the final meanings of the analytic denominal verbs differ from each other. They are *inkār ḳïl-* 'to retract' and *inkār et-* 'to refuse, deny'; see Table 4.56.

Table 4.56. Analytic verbs with different verbal heads (same meaning) and varying semantics of verbal unit

| *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' | *et-* 'id.' |
|---|---|
| *inkār ḳïl-* 'to retract' | *inkār et-* 'to refuse, deny' |

In analytic denominal verb derivation, the copulative verb *er-* 'to be' exhibits synonymous interpretations with other auxiliary verbs when the stems match the form, such as the intransitive auxiliary *bol-* 'to be(come)', the transitive auxiliary *ḳïl-* 'to do', and the copular verb *tur-* 'to stop, stand', see Tables 4.57–4.59. However, when the morphological structure of the stems differ, the meanings of the analytic verbs change, i.e. *niyāz e[t]-* 'to make a request, entreat for, ask as a favor' differs from *niyāzlïḳ er-* 'to pray'. Moreover, the verb *niyāz e[t]-* 'to make a request, entreat for, ask as a favor' lacks an equivalent construction of a finite verb with the auxiliary verb *ḳïl-*. However, the lexical verb *ḳïl-* appears in a construction where *niyazlar* functions as the direct object, as in the verbal unit *niyāzlar ḳïl-* (f.156v/2).

When both the auxiliary verbs and the roots of the noun (with a difference in NN {+lIK}) are identical, the final meaning of the entire analytic verb remains uncganged, i.e. *mülāzämät ḳïl-* 'to serve diligently' and *mülāzämätlik ḳïl-* 'id.', *muwāfaḳat ḳïl-* 'to agree, consent' and *muwāfaḳatlïḳ ḳïl-* 'id.'

Table 4.57. Analytic verbs with different verbal heads (same meaning) but the same semantics of verbal unit

| *er-* 'to be' | *bol-* 'to be(come)' |
|---|---|
| *ḥāžïr er-* 'to be present' | *ḥāžïr bol-* 'id.' |
| *ǰudā er-* 'to be(come) separate', 'to part from a person' | *ǰudā bol-* 'id.' |
| *zaχmlïḳ er-* 'to get wounded' | *zaχmlïḳ bol-* 'id.' |

Table 4.58. Analytic verbs with different verbal heads (same meaning) but the same semantics of verbal unit

| *er-* 'to be' | *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' |
|---|---|
| *taʿyïn er-* 'to appoint', 'to decide, settle' | *taʿyïn ḳïl-* 'id.' |

Table 4.59. Analytic verbs with different verbal heads (same meaning) but the same semantics of verbal unit

| *er-* 'to be' | *tur-* 'to stand' |
|---|---|
| *ḥayāt er-* 'to live' | *ḥayāt tur-* 'to live' |

It is important to note that, in addition to the above-mentioned finite verbs, there are also various forms of non-finite verbs. This study solely focuses on finite verb forms and does not address non-finite forms.

## 2.4.3 Phraseological phrases and expressions

In addition to analytic denominal verb derivation, phraseological derivation is a highly productive way of forming verbs. They demonstrate how the meaning of the verbs depends on the whole phrase. The present section aims to identify and classify them.

The *Compendium* contains a number of phraseological phrases and expressions. I categorized them into (a) phraseological phrases with compound expressions, (b) phraseological phrases with suffixes of diathetic modifications, (c) phraseological phrases with case forms, and (d) pure phraseological expressions (phrasal verbs).

Table 4.60. Phraseological phrases with compound expressions

| |
|---|
| ***daʿvā-yi kärāmātlïḳ ḳïl-*** 'to make a prediction, predict the future' ← ***daʿvā*** A 'a pretention to a right', ***kärāmāt*** pl. A 'a miracle worked through the agency of a saint' **{+lIK}** NN |
| ***iẓhār-i vāḳïʿ ḳïl-*** 'to announce what happened' ← ***iẓhār*** A 'discovery, explanation, testimony', ***vāḳïʿ*** A 'happening, occurring, falling' |
| ***mubāräk bād ḳïl-*** 'to congratulate' ← ***mubāräk*** A 'blessed, prosperous, happy', ***bād*** P 'wind, puff, air' |
| ***mubāräk bādlïḳ ḳïl-*** 'to congratulate' ← ***mubāräk*** A 'blessed, prosperous, happy', ***bād*** P 'wind, puff, air' **{+lIK}** NN |
| ***ḳatl-i ʿām ḳïl-*** 'kill everyone, exterminate everyone' ← ***ḳatl*** A 'killing, murdering', ***ʿām*** A 'common, folk, simple people' |
| ***söz uzatmaḳlïḳ et-*** 'to drag the conversation, be verbose, be redundant' ← ***söz*** 'word', ***uzatmaḳlïḳ*** ← ***uza-*** 'to long, long drawn out' **{-t-}** CAUS **{-mAK}** VN **{+lIK}** NN |

(125) *barǰa ḥāżïrlar χān ḥażrätläriγa (sic!)* **mubāräk bādlïḳ ḳïldïlar** (f.156r/1)
'All those present [people] **brought their congratulations** to His Highness, the Khan.'

(126) *ǰalayïrnï ǰaptï*
**ḳatl-i ʿām ḳïldï** (f.29v/8)

'[Chinese troops] attacked Jalairids [by a sudden ride]
[and] **exterminated everyone**.'

(127) *toŋuz yïlï ramażān ayïnïŋ on törtünǰi kün tāriχnïŋ altï yüz yigirmi törtdä öz ordusïnda (sic!) keltürdilär*
**iẓhār-i vāḳïʿ ḳïldïlar** (f.64r/2–4)

'They brought [Genghis Khan's body] to his residence on the fourteenth day of the month of Ramadan in the Year of the Pig, in the six hundred twenty-fourth year, [and] **announced what happened** (Genghis Khan's passing).'

Table 4.61. Phraseological phrases with suffixes of diathetic modifications

| |
|---|
| **{-(I)l-}** |
| *at taḳ-ïl-* 'to be called' ← *at* 'name' + *taḳ-* 'to fix, attach' |
| *mäšrūḥ ayt-ul-* 'to be explained' ← *mäšrūḥ* A 'detailed, particular' + *ayt-* 'to say, tell' |
| **{-(I)š-}** |
| *ḥarb kel-iš-* 'to be dragged into the battle' ← *ḥarb* A 'battle' + *kel-* 'to come' |
| *köŋül ḳal-ïš-* 'to be disappointed in each other, be offended by each other' ← *köŋül* 'heart with a wide range shades of meaning' + *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain' |
| **{-DUr-}** |

| |
|---|
| *ḥāmilä kel-tür-* 'to give birth' ← *ḥāmilä* A 'pregnant' + *kel-* 'to come' |
| *īmān kel-tür-* 'to give faith in God, believe, profess' ← *īmān* A 'faith, trust' + *kel-* 'to come' |
| *ḳul ḳïl-dur-* 'to make to serve' ← *ḳul* 'submission' + *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' |
| **{-GUz-}** |
| *muʿayyän yür-güz-* 'to specify' ← *muʿayyän* A 'defined, pointed out, designated' + *yürü-* 'to walk, march' |
| **{-(U)r-}** |
| *ʿömr käč-ür-* 'to live' ← *ʿömr* A 'life' + *käč-* 'to pass (through), cross' |
| *ḳol ḳow-uš-ur-* 'to cross the arms over [the chest]' ← *ḳol* 'arm, hand' + *ḳow-* 'to follow, pursue, chase' |

Phraseological phrases with suffixes of diathetic modifications include the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-(I)l-} (128), the cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-} (129); and the causative markers {-DUr-} (130), {-GUz-} (131), and {-(U)r-} (132).

(128) *bu maʿnādïn aŋa **at taḳïldï** muḳur ḳuran teb* (f.70r/8–9)
  'For this reason, he **was called** (lit. a name was attached) Muqur Quran.'

(129) *bu säbäbdin anlar arasïnda **köŋül ḳalïštï*** (f.43r/10–11)
  'For this reason, they **went cold** on each other.'

(130) *ägär sän uluɣ χudāyɣa iḳrār ḳïlsaŋ*
    *anïŋ birligiŋä **īmān keltürsäŋ***
    *säni alayïm*
    *dost tutayïm* (f.19r/6–7)

  'If you acknowledge the Almighty Lord,
  [and] if you **follow this communion**,
  I shall take you
  and I shall consider you as my friend.'

(131) *ümärā-yi uluɣ kim särvär bolɣay*
    *wä tamāmï läškäri andaɣ käräk kim*
    *näčük kim aŋya aṭlansa öz aṭlarïɣa muʿayyän ḳïlɣay näčük kim*
    *uruška aṭlanɣan täk*
    *atï wä āwāzäsi öziniŋ **muʿayyän yürgüzgäy***
    *wä dāʾim χudāy taʿālādïn duʿā χayr tilägäy*
    *wä köŋül baɣlab ārāyïšnï säkiz yaḳtïn tilägäy*
    *tā ḳuwwätni χudāy-i ḳadīm bir yärdä turub tört ṭaraf tutɣay* (f.92v/9–93r/4)

  '*Great amirs*, who as a rule are commanders,
  as well as all the army must [be] so that
  they must define their own name when [they] go hunting that
  just as if they were going to fight.
  [They] must **specify** their own name and battle cry
  and [they] must request blessing from the Almighty Lord – may He be exalted –
  continuously.

And [they] must request an arrangement from the eight sides, setting hearts on [God], so that the Eternal Lord may cover the four sides with His power, standing in one place.

(132) *ramażān al-muʿaẓẓam ayïnda on bäšinǰi kün ǰümlä orus pādišāhï barïş fyodaraviǰniŋ ḥükmi yarlïɣï bilän oŋda ṣolda ḳaraču ʿaẓamät begläri olturub köǰä köǰä oram oram mïltïḳ andāzlar ǰälālät wä siyāsät bilän **ḳol ḳowušurub turur*** (f.153v/3–7)

'On the 15th day of *the venerable month of Ramadan*, by the command of Boris Fyodorovich, the Padishah of All Rus', the great *qaraču begs* were placed to the right and the left
[of Uraz Muhammed, who proceeded] through the streets [where] the gunners **stood with their arms crossed over [their chests]**, with majesty and severity.'

The expression *ḳol ḳowušur-* is found in the *drevnetjurkskij slovar´* in the forms *qol qavuštur-* and *qavušurur-*, meaning 'сложить руки [для приветствия]', 'скрестить руки [на груди]' (Nadeljaev et el. 1969: 438; 453), Boeschoten (2023: 255) notes this as a sign of respect.

Table 4.62. Phraseological phrases with case forms

| LOC |
| --- |
| *ḳaläm-dä kel-* 'to be written on paper, be recorded' ← *ḳaläm* A 'pen' {+DA} LOC + *kel-* 'to come' |
| **DAT** |
| *ʿaǰab-ḳa ḳal-* 'to be astonished, be amazed' ← *ʿaǰab* A 'astonishment, surprise, amazement' {+(G)A} DAT + *ḳal-* 'to stay, remain' |
| *ʿāḳil-ɣa kir-* 'to be(come) aware' ← *ʿāḳil* A 'clever, smart, wise, prudent' {+(G)A} DAT + *kir-* 'to enter' |
| *biyük-kä čïḳ-* 'to be exalted' ← *biyük* 'high or highest in rank' {+(G)A} DAT + *čïḳ-* 'to come out, go out' |
| *χānlïḳ-ɣa oltur-* 'to take power' ← *χān* 'padishah' {+lIK} NN {+(G)A} DAT + *oltur-* 'to sit' |
| *χānlïḳ-ɣa oltur-ɣuz-* 'to enthrone' ← *χān* 'padishah' {+lIK} NN {+(G)A} DAT + *oltur-* 'to sit' {-GUz-} CAUS |
| *pādišāhlïḳ-ɣa oltur-ɣuz-* 'to enthrone' ← *pādišāh* P 'padishah' {+lIK} NN {+(G)A} DAT + *oltur-* 'to sit' {-GUz-} CAUS |
| *pādišāhlïḳ-ɣa oltur-t-* 'to enthrone' ← *pādišāh* P 'padishah' {+lIK} NN {+(G)A} DAT + *oltur-* 'to sit' {-t-} CAUS |
| *ḳayta ḳol-ɣa tüš-ür-* 'to return' lit. 'to seize back' ← *ḳayta* 'back' + *ḳol* 'arm, hand' {+(G)A} DAT + *tüš-ür-* 'to let fall, cause to fall' ← *tüš-* 'to fall' {-(U)r-} CAUS |
| *üy-i-n-ä tüš-ür-* 'to marry' lit. 'to let host [a girl] into his house [as a bride]' ← *üy* 'house' {+I} POSS3SG {+(G)A} DAT + *tüš-ür-* 'to bring as a bride' ← *tüš-* 'to come as a bride' {-(U)r-} CAUS |

Phraseological phrases with case forms (in the nominals), as seen in Table 4.62, can sometimes include markers of diathetic modifications (in the verbs) within the verbal unit. However, these

markers are not listed in the table of phraseological phrases with suffixes of diathetic modifications (see Table 4.61), as they can function and convey meaning independently of grammatical voices.

(133) *ābā wä äǰdād uraz muḥammäd χānnïŋ barǰa uruɣ ḳarïndašlarï bilän bir dāstānda ḳalämdä keldi* (f.152r/7–8)
    'All the ancestors and great-grandfathers of Uraz-Muhammed Khan, along with his family [members], [including his] brothers and sisters **were recorded** in one story.'

(134) *ʿāḳïlɣa kirdi* (f.18r/4)
    '[Oghuz Khan] **became aware [person]**.'

(135) *här nä anlardïn alïb erdi yäni ḳayta ḳolɣa tüšürdi* (f.51r/10–11)
    '[Four *ulugbegs* (great lords) and army] **returned** everything that [they] had [previously] taken from Ong Khan.'

Table 4.63. Phraseological expressions (phrasal verbs)

| |
| --- |
| *ʿaḳlïn saḳla-* 'to be a very reasonable' ← *ʿaḳl* A 'mind, intellect' {+I} POSS3SG {+n} ACC + *saḳla-* 'to protect' |
| *ayaḳ astï bol-* 'to be under the authority', 'to surrender' ← *ayaḳ* 'leg, foot' + *astï* 'beneath' + *bol-* 'to be(come)' |
| *sözd°n čïḳ-ma-* 'not to go against' ← *söz* 'word' {+D°n} ABL + *čïḳ-* 'to go out' {-mA-} NEG |

(136) *dušmānïna ẓafär tabïb*
    *nuṣrät ḳïlïǰïn ǰabïb čerkes bilän tatarɣa*
    *nämäč köräl **boldï ayaḳ astï*** (f.4r/1–2)

    '[He], defeating his enemies,
    struck the Circassians and Tatars with his victorious sword.
    *Nemech Korel*[71] **surrendered**.'

(137) *män χudāynï ešitkänim yoḳ*
    *bilgänim yoḳ*
    *wä lēkin säniŋ **söziŋd°n čïḳmayïn***
    *wä färmānïŋgä muṭïʿ bolayïn*
    *sän nä desäŋ anï ḳïlayïn* (f.19r/8–10)

    'I have absolutely not heard the Almighty Lord,
    I have absolutely not known [Him],

---

[71] *Nemeč Körel* most likely refers to the military order 'the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary's Hospital in Jerusalim', best known as the Teutonic Order (Seward 1995). In the *Compendium*, the term *Nemeč Körel* نمج كورال / *Nemeǰ Körel* نمج كورال appears in example (136), instances on sheets (f.1v/6), (f.2r/9), and (f.142v/1). Similarly, in Abū'l-Ɣāzī's *Shajara-i Turk* (Desmaisons 1970), the term appears as *Körel ve Nemeš* كورل و نمش, with the conjunction "and" in several places (172/2–172/3), (180/4), (180/12). Although these examples are not numerous, their occurence in two different Turkic texts supports the idea that *Nemeč Körel* نمج كورال / *Nemeǰ Körel* نمج كورال and *Körel ve Nemeš* كورل و نمش represent a single concept consisting of two words, rather than a sequential enumeration of two concepts (*Nemeč* 'Polish', and *Körel* 'king').

but **I promise not to go against** (lit. not go out) your words
and [instead] obey your order.
May I do whatever you say.'

(138) *ägär šul yärdin čïķib kelsä*
*ādab tabɣay*
*wä ʿaķlïn saķlaɣay* (f.99r/6–7)

'When/If he comes out of there,
[he] will have good morals
and **will be very reasonable**.'

## 2.4.4 Deverbal verb derivation

The stem of a word refers to its form without inflectional affixes. There are two categories of stems: simple and complex. Simple structures are referred to as roots, while attaching a morpheme to roots transforms them into stems (Booij 2005: 28). In the *Compendium*, deverbal verb stems are synthetically formed by incorporating actional and diathetic markers, which occupy the space between the base of the verb and the slot of negation (Erdal 1991: 523), where negation is not included. Kempf provides a very precise definition of the derivation. In simpler terms, derivation examines how new words are made by adding affixes to existing words, whereas inflection explores the different forms that words can take based on their grammar. When a word undergoes derivation, it acquires a new meaning (Kempf 2013: 44).

### 2.4.4.1 Actional markers

*Actional markers*, or markers of actionality, play a crucial role in indicating the development and transformation of events over time (Erdal 2004: 248). Positioned after the primary stem in the morpheme chain, they serve to modify the action by expressing qualities such as intensiveness, iteration, acceleration, systematicity, or periodicity. It is noteworthy that actional markers are predominantly unproductive and having been replaced by postverbial constructions (Johanson 2021a: 582).

When examining the members within the category of action types, it becomes evident that each member describes an event that displays significant differences compared to the other members. Derived types of actionality establish grammatical nominal cases as their base forms and inherit either transitivity or intransitivity (Erdal 1991: 523).

The *Compendium* contains no examples of synthetically derived actionality.

### 2.4.4.2 Diathetic modifications

Diathetic modifications, also known as voices, represent the interaction between the participants in an action and their respective roles within it (Erdal 2004: 228). In the derivational chain, they occupy position after actionality. Verb stems that do not have diathetic markers can function as both transitive and intransitive. Diathetic modifications include passive-reflexive-medial, cooperative-reciprocal, and causative suffixes (Johanson 2021a: 583–584).

### 2.4.4.2.1 Passive-reflexive-medial Stems

Passive-reflexive-medial stems are synthetic devices derived from the suffixes {-(I)l-} and {-(I)n-} in the *Compendium*. They were described by Johanson (2021a: 584) as follows:

> "The passive voice is taken to indicate that the referent of the second argument of the base verb is the undergoer of the action.
>
> The reflexive voice indicates that the referent of the first argument of the base verb is identical to that of the second argument, i.e. the agent is coreferential with the undergoer.
>
> The medial voice indicates that the first argument of the base is identical to the beneficiary".

According to Eckmann (1966: 72), the {-(I)l-} suffix serves as a marker for passive or medial voice constructions, whereas the {-(I)n-} suffix denotes reflexive or medial voice. Bodrogligeti (2001: 160–162) observes that passive stems are typically created by adding the {-(I)l-} suffix, except for stems ending in *-l, -r,* and monosyllabic stems with vowels, which instead use the suffix {-(I)n-}. Furthermore, according to the analysis of Bodrogligeti, the reflexive or medial voice stems are identical to the passive stems. Boeschoten (2022: 168) notes that passives in Chaghatay form by adding the suffix {-(I)l-}, while reflexive and medial forms are derived using the {-(I)n-} suffix. In a study on the *Compendium*, Xisamieva (2022: 62) states that {-(I)l-} represents the passive voice, while {-(I)n-} signifies the reflexive or middle voice.

However, according to Johanson (2021a: 584–588), there is no clear one-to-one correspondence between the forms {-(I)n-} and {-(I)l-} and the passive and reflexive meanings, respectively. This observation aligns with the findings in the *Compendium*. According to current research, passive-reflexive-medial stems are presented by the {-(I)l-} and {-(I)n-} markers in the *Compendium*; see Tables 4.64 and 4.65, respectively. Furthermore, in the case of the intransitive analytic formations with the light verb ḳil- 'to do, make', the marker {-(I)n-} is expressed as passive; see example (146).

Johanson (2021a: 584) highlights that passive markers cannot precede causative markers. This statement is supported by the instances found in the current research, although not

completely, since the *Compendium* is limited in vocabulary. Only two examples of compound markers with passive-reflexive-medial forms are found. The verb *ḳoš-ul-uš-* in example (140) utilizes the cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-}, preceded by the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-(I)l-}. The verb *ḳoš-ul-uš-* means 'to be joined to each other, be united to each other' and is derived from *ḳoš-ul* 'to be joined, be united', which is based on *ḳoš-* 'to join, unite'. This follows the order of (1) base, (2) passive-reflexive-medial, and (3) cooperative-reciprocal, resulting in (1) *ḳoš-* 'to join', (2) *ḳoš-**ul**-* 'to be joined', and (3) *ḳoš-ul-**uš**-* 'to be joined to each other'.

In the second attested example, *baḳ-ïn-dïr-* 'to subjugate, conquer'. The passive-reflexive-medial diathetic formation {-(I)n-} precedes the causative marker; see example (144). This verb can be literally translated as 'to make obey', 'to force to submit', with the stem order being (1) base, (2) passive-reflexive-medial, and (3) causative, resulting in (1) *baḳ-* 'to obey somebody', (2) *baḳ-ïn-* 'to obey somebody' (3) *baḳ-ïn-dïr-* 'to make obey', thus meaning 'to subjugate', 'to conquer'. Interestingly, in this case, the reflexive formation does not significantly change the meaning, and the result of the verb *baḳ-ïn-dïr-* 'to subjugate', 'to conquer' can be considered synonymous with *baḳ-tur-* 'id.'. This is the only instance of a compound marker with passive-reflexive-medial and causative formations found in the *Compendium*.

## {-(I)l-}

In EOT, the marker {-(I)l-} forms unseparated passive-reflexive-medial verbs. The marker {-(I)n-} is used instead when attached to a final consonant *l* (Johanson 2021a: 585).

Johanson (2021a: 585–586) notes that while the marker {-(I)l-} primarily serves as a passive marker, it can also be function as a reflexive-medial marker.

Passive verbs are characterized by having the subject as the object of the action. A verb is considered passive when the subject is portrayed as not taking any initiative in the event. The {-(I)l-} suffix (Erdal 1991: 651) is a common and straightforward method for forming passive verbs, as shown in examples (139)–(140).

(139) *pādišāh barïš fyodaravičniŋ tuz ötmäk ʿadlï ḥaḳḳï üǰün **bitildi*** (f.157r/8)

'[This chronicle] **was written** for the sake of the fair right of "bread and salt" of the sovereign Boris Fyodorovich.'

(140) *šul läškärlärdin turur kim rūs wä ǰärkäs wä ḳïbǰāḳ wä māǰār andïn öngin häm anlarɣa **ḳošuluštïlar*** (f.77v/10−78r/1)

'They **were joined to each other** from the troops of Russian, Circassian, Kipchak, Majar, as well as other [peoples].'

In example (141), the passive reading of the marker {-(I)l-} is not clear. It can be interpreted as passive, which means 'they parted from each other (by somebody else)', or it can be interpreted as reflexive, meaning 'they parted from each other (by themselves)'.

Furthermore, the verb *ayr-**il**-* 'to be separated, be parted', 'to break away from' is derived from the base form *ayïr-* 'to separate, part', which lacks a clearly attested base, similar to other forms found for numerous causative and passive-reflexive-medial derivates, as noted by Johanson (2021a: 595). Thus, this *ayïr-* 'to separate, part' functions as a non-separable transitive stem and, as a result, is no longer causative in the *Compendium*.

(141) *här zamānda här uruɣdïn här birisidin birär birär uruɣ bolub*
*bir birisidin **ayrïldïlar*** (f.10r/11–10v/2)

'In each of the times, new and new clans emerged from each [of the existing] clans, and [therefore] they **were parted** from each other.'

Table 4.64. Examples of the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-(I)l-}

| **etymological stems found independently in the corpus** |
| --- |
| *[N] ḳoy-**il**-* 'to be V-ed' ← *ḳoy-* 'to V' |
| *ayt-**il**-* 'to be said' ← *ayt-* 'to say' |
| *bär-**il**-* 'to be given' ← *bär-* 'to give' |
| *biti-**l**-* 'to be written' ← *biti-* 'to write' |
| *buz-**ul**-* 'to be destroyed, be damaged' ← *buz-* 'to destroy, damage' |
| *kötär-**il**-* 'to be lifted' ← *kötär-* 'to lift' |
| *mäšrūḥ ayt-**ul**-* 'to be explained' ← *mäšrūḥ ayt-* 'to explain' ← *mäšrūḥ* 'commented', 'the aforesaid' + *ayt-* 'to say, tell' |
| *tab-**il**-* 'to be found' ← *tab-* 'to find' |
| *yaz-**il**-* 'to be written' ← *yaz-* 'to write' |
| *yïɣ-**il**-* 'to assemble' ← *yïɣ-* 'to gather, collect, assemble' |
| **etymological stems not found independently in the corpus** |
| *ač-**il**-* 'to be open' ← *ač-* 'to open' |
| *ayr-**il**-* 'to be separated, be parted', 'to break away from' ← *ayïr-* 'to separate, part' ← *\*ad̲-* |
| *ḳoš-**ul**-* 'to be joined, be united' ← *ḳoš-* 'to conjoin, unite' |
| *ḳoš-**ul**-**uš**-* 'to be joined to each other, be united to each other' ← *ḳoš-* 'to join, unite' |
| *saǰ-**il**-* 'to be scattered, be sprinkled' ← *saǰ-* 'to scatter, sprinkle' |
| *taḳ-**il**-* 'to get stuck' ← *taḳ-* 'to fasten' |
| *yïḵ-**il**-* 'to collapse, fall down' ← *yïḵ-* 'to overthrow, demolish, destroy' |

**{-(I)n-}**

Reflexive markers indicate that the action stays within the sphere of the initial referent, with no external association. The initial referent can serve as the target of the action ('reflexive'), the

originator of the action without a designated target, or the recipient of the action ('medial'), where the verb can govern direct actions performed for one's benefit (Johanson 2022a: 48). In the *Compendium*, the passive-reflexive-medial formation is represented by the {-(I)n-} suffix. Earlier Erdal (1991: 584) described this derivational suffix {-(I)n-} as reflexive verbs ("the subject represents both the agent and the object of the action"), medial verbs ("the action is carried out with respect to or for the benefit of the subject"), and anti-transitive or recessive ("presentation of an action as emanating from the subject itself").

(142) *ol säbäbdin ǰiŋgiz χānnï oγul uḳunγan erdi*[72] *(sic!)* (f.42r/7) REFL
    'For this reason, he **has recognized** Genghis Khan as a son.'

(143) *bu ḳaydunïŋ üǰ oγlï eki (sic!) bölündi* (f.31v/5) REFL
    'Three sons of this Qaydu **split (themselves)** up into two (parties).'

(144) *χïtay vilāyätidän anǰa vilāyätlär baḳïndïrïb erdi* (f.60r/5–6) REFL
    'He **has subjugated** lands out of so many provinces of China.'

(145) *müddät-i soŋ bašïna buḳtaḳ salïndï* (f.131r/11) PASS
    'After a while, a bugtak[73] was put **on** her head.'

(146) *soŋ zamānda äwwäl kim yād ḳïlïndï*
    *ǰiŋgiz χān oγlanlarïγa läškär bölüb bärdi* (f.154r/6–7) PASS

    'In recent times, it **is mentioned** that
    Genghis Khan had divided troops among his sons.'

Table 4.65. Examples of the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-(I)n-}

| **etymological stems found independently in the corpus** |
| --- |
| *[N] ḳïl-in-* PASS 'to be V-ed' ← *[N] ḳïl-* 'to V something' |
| *ata-n-* 'to be named, be called', 'to be famous' ← *ata-* 'to call out (someone's name)', 'to nominate to a pose', 'to betroth' |
| *baḳ-in-dïr-* 'to subjugate, conquer', lit. 'to make obey, force to submit' ← *baḳ-* 'to obey somebody' |
| *böl-ün-* 'to be divided, split up' ← *böl-* 'to divide (into shares), separate, distinguish' |
| *kör-ün-* 'to be visible, appear', lit. 'to let oneself be seen' ← *kör-* 'to see', 'to experience', 'to look to, obey' |
| *sal-in-* 'to put on oneself' ← *sal-* 'to put', 'to built' |
| *saḳ-la-n-* 'to protect oneself' ← *saḳla-* 'to watch over guard, protect' |
| **etymological stems not found independently in the corpus** |
| *aṭla-n-* 'to set out, march against, stride' ← *aṭla* 'to stride' |
| *saḳ-in-* 'to beware, be cautious, take care of oneself' ← *saḳ-* 'probably an emphatic form of verb in -k- from sa-, replaced at an early date by *sakin-* (Clauson 1972: 804)' |
| *sïγ-in-* 'to shelter, protect, take care of oneself, be cautious, be on one's guard against' ← *sïγ-* 'to fit into something' with various metaphorical meanings |

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[72] K: *oḳuγan erdi* (f. 16v/9).
[73] Mongolian female headdress.

| | |
|---|---|
| *tügä-**n**-* 'to come to an end, be exhausted' ← *tügä-* 'to come to an end, finish' | |
| *uḳ-**un**-* 'to treat like, perceive as' ← *uḳ-* 'to understand, find out, hear' | |
| *yumala-**n**-* 'to turn round, revolve', 'to roll over, fall down' ← *yumala-* 'to role, slide', 'to knead (dough) into a ball' | |
| *yüz-lä-**n**-* 'to face toward, turn towards' ← *yüzlä-* 'to bring about a meeting' | |

The collected data demonstrate that the verbs derived analytically using the {-(I)n-} suffix in the *Compendium* are often combined with the light verb *ḳïl-* 'to do, make'. Clauson (1972: 623) observed that the derivational form *ḳïl-ïn-* functions as a reflexive verb, although it is commonly used in a passive sense, meaning 'to be made, created'; see example (146). However, while passive interpretation is generally the most common and natural in many cases of Turkic languages, the {-n-} marker in many languages, both old and more recent, derives unseparated passive-reflexive-medial verbs when attached to vowel-final stems (Johanson 2021a: 585). Therefore, it can be observed that the {-(I)n-} marker in the *Compendium* serves as a passive-reflexive-medial marker.

### 2.4.4.2.2 Cooperative-reciprocal stem

The cooperative-reciprocal voice is a diathetic modification that involves the participation of multiple individuals performing the same action, either working together or competing with each other in various directions, such as on, towards, by, against, for, etc. The suffix {-(I)š-} forms it. Verbs with the suffix {-(I)š-} describe events influenced by collective participation. Otherwise, the speaker can simply use the plural form (Erdal 1991: 552). Verbs modified with cooperative-reciprocal markers typically convey the meanings 'to do together', 'to complete in doing', 'to cooperate in doing' (Johanson 2021a: 588). The cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-} is derived from the meaning 'to do something to one another' and transforms the transitivity of the verb stem from transitive to intransitive. For example, the transitive verb *ḳučaḳ-la-* 'to embrace something' in example (147) is transformed into an intransitive verb using the cooperative-reciprocal form {-(I)š-} *ḳučaḳ-la-š-* 'to embrace one another'.

> (147) *ol χalwatda*[74] *bu sözlärni tamām ḳïlɣan [soŋ]*
> *här eki oɣlï bilän bir biri bilän **ḳučaḳlaštïlar*** (f.89v/2–3)
>
> 'In this secret meeting, after finishing this speech,
> they **embraced** one another with each one of his two sons.'

---

[74] † *χalatda.*

Johanson (2021a: 588) noted that in Turkic languages, cooperative-reciprocal forms are frequently created by adding the suffix {+lA-} to the base. In the *Compendium*, there are indeed instances where the cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-} is derived from the denominal verb stem with the {+lA-} suffix, as illustrated in example (147). Furthermore, there are synthetic examples where the cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-} is followed by the causative marker {-DUr-}, as observed in examples (148)–(150).

> (148) *bir χilāf oŋ χān bilän bir bolub*
> *fitnälär ḳoyušturdï* (f.49r/3–4)
>
> '[Because of] the disagreement [that arose with Genghis Khan,] they rallied with Ong Khan
> and **revolted** (lit. atrocities **were appeared**).'

> (149) *tā bir ay pīškäšlär yarašturdï* (f.63r/9)
> 'He **set in order** [suitable] offerings during a month.'

> (150) *bu ǰaɣan ꞓä ulaɣ suwïsun šol ʿaǰämdin ošbunuŋdek ol ordalarɣa ol hazāraɣa bu*
> *üläštürür erdi* (f.65v/2–4)
>
> 'This Chagan **was responsible for dividing (lit. made to divide)** the livestock's water between the hordes [of Genghis Khan and his] thousandth guard, starting from Persia until there.'

Johanson (2021a: 582) discusses a special type of intensive marker that resembles a combination of the cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-} and the causative marker {-DUr-}. He provides examples from contemporary languages, such as Turkish. For instance, the word ‹ara|ş|tır-› 'to investigate' is derived from ‹ara-› 'to search', and ‹koş|uş|tur-› 'to run about' is derived from ‹koş-› 'to run' both expressing intensivity in action. However, the combination of the cooperative-reciprocal marker {-(I)š-} and the causative marker {-DUr-} in the *Compendium* does not exhibit the same synthetic actionality.

There are notable examples of phraseological expression verbs that combine the cooperative-reciprocal suffix {-(I)š-} with the causative suffix {-(U)r-}. The verb in the phraseological expression *ḳol ḳow-uš-ur-* 'to cross the arms over [the chest]', mentioned in example (132), is derived from the noun *ḳol* 'arm, hand' and the verb *ḳow-* 'to follow, pursue, chase'. It incorporates both the cooperative-reciprocal formation {-(I)š} and the causative {-(U)r-}.

Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that the intransitive verb *uyu-* 'to clot, curdle', originally meaning 'to sleep', is expressed in the *Compendium* with the cooperative-reciprocal marker but it still retains its active voice.

(151) *ḫulḳumumda ḳan* **uyušub erdi** (f.101v/1–2)
   'The blood in my throat **clotted**.'

Table 4.66. Examples of cooperative-reciprocal markers {-(I)š-}

| **etymological stems found independently in the corpus** |
|---|
| *ḥarb kel-**iš**-* 'to be dragged into the battle with each other' ← *ḥarb kel-* 'to be draggedd into the battle' |
| *χūṣūmat ḳil-**iš**-* 'to antagonize each other, feud with one another' ← *χūṣūmat ḳil-* 'to have a feud, be at war, conflict' |
| *käl-**iš**-* 'to come to an agreement' ← *käl-* 'to come' |
| *köŋül ḳal-**iš**-* 'to be disappointed in each other, be offended by each other' ← *köŋül ḳal-* 'to be disappointed, be offended' |
| *ḳoy-**uš**-tur-* 'to be increased, appear' ← *ḳoy-* 'to put (down)' {-DUr-} CAUS |
| *maṣāff ḳil-**iš**-* 'to fight each other on the battlefield' ← *maṣāff ḳil-* 'to fight on the battlefield' |
| *ḳol ḳow-**uš**-**ur**-* 'to cross the arms over [the chest]' ← *ḳol* 'arm, hand' + *ḳow-* 'to follow, pursue, chase' {-(U)r-} CAUS |
| *ḳow-**uš**-* 'to pursue each other' ← *ḳow-* 'to follow, pursue, chase' |
| *ur-**uš**-* 'to fight, battle' ← *ur-* 'to strike' |
| *yät-**iš**-* 'to reach, overtake' ← *yät-* 'to arrive, reach, overtake' |
| *yüɣür-**üš**-* 'to run together' ← *yüɣür-* (sic!) 'to run' |
| **etymological stems not found independently in the corpus** |
| *keŋä-**š**-* 'to take counsel (together)' ← *keŋä-* 'to settle one's affairs' |
| *ḳar-**iš**-* 'to mix with one another' ← *ḳar-* 'to mix' |
| *ḳoš-ul-**uš**-* 'to be joined to each other, be united to each other' ← *ḳoš-* 'to join, unite' |
| *ḳučaḳla-**š**-* 'to embrace one another' ← *ḳučaḳla-* 'to embrace' |
| *ülä-**š**-tür-* 'to make someone(s) to divide something among themselves' ← *ülä-* 'to divide into shares and distribute' |
| *uyu-**š**-* 'to clot, curdle', 'to sleep' ← *udï-* 'to clot, curdle', 'to sleep' (Clauson 1972: 42) |
| *yaɣïla-**š**-* 'to antagonize each other, feud with one another' ← *yaɣïla-* 'to feud, antagonize' |
| *yara-**š**-* 'to make peace', 'to agree', 'to be suitable, fit' ← *yara-* 'to be suitable', 'to benefit', 'to be worthy of' |
| *yara-**š**-tur-* 'to set in order, make ready' ← *yara-* 'to be suitable', 'to benefit', 'to be worthy of' {-DUr-} CAUS |

## 2.4.4.2.3 Causative stems

The causative derivational suffix shows that someone other than the initiator causes an event or action. Therefore, causative forms indicate how one participant in an action causes or enables another participant(s) to perform the action expressed by the base verb. They convey the meaning of 'to make/let/cause/get someone to act' (Johanson 2021a: 589). The *Compendium* exhibits an extensive range of causative markers, including {-DUr-} ~ {-Dïr-}, {-GUr-} ~ {-GUz-} ~ {-GAz-}/{-GAr-}, {-Ur-} ~ {-ir-}, {-Ar-}, {-t-}, as observed in Tables 4.67 to 4.75.

**{-DUr-} ~ {-Dïr-}**

The causative marker {-DUr-} ~ {-Dïr-} is the most widely used causative marker in the *Compendium*. Examples (152)–(155) illustrate its exclusively attachment to bases ending in a consonant.

> (152) *manṣur begni baraḳ χān **öl**türdi* (f.144r/5)
> 'Baraq Khan **kille**d Mansur Beg.'

It is interesting to note that the intransitive verb *kel-* 'to come' is transitivized by the causative verb suffix {-DUr-} in the derived verb *kel-tür-* 'to bring', originally conveying the sense of 'to cause to come', as seen in example (153). However, in the phraseological expression *īmān kel-tür-* 'to give faith in God, believe', 'to profess', 'to follow the communion', which is formed from the Arabic *īmān* 'faith, trust' and Turkic *kel-* 'to come' and literally means 'to bring the faith', the intransitive meaning remains, as seen in example (130).

> (153) *vilāyät-i taŋḳutni ǰabïb*
> *bisiyār äsīr **keltürdi** (f.55v/9)*
>
> '[Genghis Khan] attacked the land of Tangut
> and **brought** captives (lit. **made** captives **come**).'

The next verb featuring the causative marker {-DUr-}, *ay-tur-* 'to betroth', is derived from the verb *ay-* 'to say, declare' and literally conveys the sense of 'to make someone say'. The origin of this derivation can be traced back to the traditions of the Turkic peoples, when the betrothals were usually agreed upon through the verbal agreements between families.

> (154) *äwwäl anï oŋ χānnïŋ oɣli sängun anïŋ oɣli tusan buḳaɣa **ayturur erdi*** (f.43r/8–10)
> 'At first, [he] **betrothed** her to Tusan Buqa, the son of Sengun, grandson of Ong Khan.'

Table 4.67. Examples of causative marker {-DUr-}

| etymological stems found independently in the corpus |
| --- |
| *ay-**tur**-* 'to arrange a match', lit. 'to force to say' ← *ay-* 'to say, declare' |
| *āzmāyiš et-**tür**-* 'to order to test, order to subject to examination' ← *āzmāyiš* P 'experiment, proof, trial' |
| *baḳ-**tur**-* 'to make obey' ← *baḳ-* 'to obey (someone), look to' |
| *bas-**tur**-* 'to give order to crush' ← *bas-* 'to press, crush, oppress' |
| *bil-**dür**-* 'to bring to know' ← *bil-* 'to know' |
| *ḥisāb ḳïl-**dur**-* 'to make to count' ← *ḥisāb ḳïl-* 'to count, plan, think out' |
| *īmān kel-**tür**-* 'to give faith in God, believe, profess', lit. 'to bring the faith' ← *īmān* A 'faith, trust' + *kel-* 'to come' |
| *ǰap-**tur**-* 'to make (a horse) gallop' ← *ǰap-* 'to gallop, run' |
| *kel-**tür**-* 'to bring, make to come' ← *kel-* 'to come' |

| |
|---|
| *musaχχar ḳïl-**dur*** - 'to capture' lit. 'to cause to be subdued' ← *musaχχar ḳïl-* 'to subdue, subject, place under the command' |
| *öl-**tür*** - ~ *öl-**dür*** - 'to kill' ← *öl-* 'to die' |
| *ḳow-**dur*** - 'to make chase' ← *ḳow-* 'to follow, chase' |
| *ḳoy-uš-**tur*** - 'to be increased, appear' ← *ḳoy-* 'to put (down)' {-(I)š-} RECIP |
| *sal-**dur*** - 'to order to build' ← sal- 'to build', 'to put' |
| *sïn-**dur*** - 'to defeat, break' ← *sïn-* 'to be broken' |
| *šarṭ ḳïl-**dur*** - 'to force to make conditions' ← *šarṭ ḳïl-* 'to make conditions' |
| *tābiʿ ḳïl-**dur*** - 'to capture', lit. 'to cause to be subdued' ← *tābiʿ ḳïl-* 'to subdue' |
| *tol-**dur*** - 'to fill' ← *tol-* 'to be(come) full' |
| *ur-**dur*** - 'to order to beat' ← *ur-* 'to beat' |
| **etymological stems not found independently in the corpus** |
| *oz-**dur*** - 'to let to outstrip' ← *oz-* 'to outstrip' |
| *yara-š-**tur*** - 'to set in order, make ready' ← *yara-* 'to be suitable', 'to be worthy of' {-(I)š-} RECIP |

Despite the historical usage of the {-tUr-} form for causative in Old Turkic, as evidenced by Erdal (1991: 709), the PON (Danka 2019a: 200), Caghatay (Eckmann 1966: 71; Boeschoten 2022: 169), and Middle Kipchak (Berta & Csató 2022: 156) employed the {-DUr-} form. The data from *Compendium* reveals the emergence of the {-Dïr-} form, demonstrating an alternation with an unrounded vowel with just two documented examples. This finding is noteworthy, particularly considering that the modern Kazakh (Muhamedowa 2016: 214–215; Abish 2022: 343) and Tatar (Berta 2022: 310) exclusively employ the {-Dïr-} form.

The causative marker {-Dïr-} functions as an alternative form to the {-DUr-} marker. Table 4.68 demonstrates that it is attested only in *t ~ d* forms and only in a back vocalic environment. Based on evidence from old written texts, it is clear that {-Dïr-} emerged at a later stage. This could potentially explain its sporadic occurrence in two examples in the *Compendium*. A process of delabialization likely caused its emergence.

In example (155), the causative marker {-Dïr-} combines with the optative marker {-GAy}. The verb *attïrɣay* translates as 'must let to shoot'.

> (155) *ümärā-yi läškär soŋ andaɣ käräk kim*
> *oɣlanlarïɣa oḳ **attïrɣay***
> *aṭḳa ǰapturɣay*
> *tutušmaḳnï yaχšï bildürgäy*
> *anlarnï munuŋdek išdä āzmāyiš et[t]ürgäy*
> *wä andaɣ bolɣay* ~~*bolɣay*~~
> *mäšχūr wä bahādūr bolub yürügäylär* (f.95r/9–95v/1)
>
> 'The *amirs* of the army must [be] so that
> [they] **must let** their sons **to shoot** arrows,
> [they] must let [their sons] ride horse.
> And they must properly teach wrestling.

They must test them in this sort of assays/skills.
It must be that/in the following way:
they shall live being a famous [man] and a hero.'

One more example of the causative marker {-Dïr-} can be found in the verb *baḳ-ïn-dïr-* 'to subjugate, conquer'. In this case, the causative marker {-Dïr-} follows the passive-reflexive-medial marker {-(I)n-}, as seen in example (144).

Table 4.68. Examples of causative marker {-Dïr-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| *baḳ-ïn-**dïr**-* 'to subjugate, conquer', lit. 'to make obey, force to submit', ← *baḳ-* 'to obey (someone), look to' {-(I)n-} REFL. |
| *at-**tïr**-* 'to order to throw, order to shoot' ← *at-* 'to throw, shoot' |

The causative marker {-DUr-} ~ {-Dïr-} is realized as *-dur-, -dür-, -tur-, -tür-* ~ *-dïr-, -tïr-*. They are attested after one-, two-, and three-syllabic stems.

The causative marker {-dUr-} occurs after consonant-final stems ending in *-l, -r, -n, -z, -w*, while the alternation in the marker {-tUr-} occurs after consonant-final stems ending in *-l, -t, -s, -š, -ḳ, -y, -p*. After *-n*, the causative marker is also realized as {-dïr-}, and after *-t*, it is realized as {-tïr-}. However, after the final *-n*, it is always the initial *d-* of {-dUr-} ~ {-dïr-}, and after the final *-t*, it is always the final *t-* of {-tUr-} ~ {-tïr-}.

The same base in the *Compendium*, when combined with the marker {-DUr-} in *baḳ-tur-* and with the compound markers {-(I)n-} and {-Dïr-} in *baḳ-ïn-dïr-*, exhibits different phonetic realizations of the initial consonant and vowel in the causative formation {-DUr-} ~ {-Dïr-}. Both derived elements are attested after final *-l*. This phenomenon can be observed in the verb *öl-* 'to die', which has two forms of the causative stem *öl-tür-* and *öl-dür-* 'to kill' in contrast to *öl-* 'to die'.

Furthermore, it is evident that labial harmony does not operate in {-DUr-}. The {-DUr-} suffix is attested after both rounded and unrounded vowels, while instances in the {-Dïr-} form demonstrate a strong manifestation of the rounded suffix-vowel harmony. However, this can likely be attributed to the scarcity of available examples.

## {-GUr-} ~ {-GUz-} ~ {-GAr-} / {-GAz-}

The causative marker {-GUr-} is observed in three verbs within the *Compendium*. Historically, the causative suffix {-GUz-} was exclusively attached to a limited set of consonants (Clauson 1972: xlvii) and later replaced by {-GUr-} in several modern languages (Johanson 2021a: 593).

However, in the *Compendium*, both stems are found, highlighting the ancient *z ~ r* correspondence. This correspondence represents a significant phonological change that occurred in the history of Turkic languages. According to Erdal (1991: 756), the verb suffix {-gUr-} functions almost identically to that of the {-Ur-}, {-Ar-}, and {+gAr-} verbs.

Despite the historical usage of the {-gUr-} form for causatives in Old Turkic, as evidenced by Erdal (1991: 709), and the presence of the {-GUr-} form in the PON (Danka 2019a: 201), Chaghatay (Eckmann 1966: 71; Boeschoten 2022: 169) employed the {-GAr-} ~ {-GUr-} form. In Middle Kipchak, the occurrence of {-GUr-} was sporadic, while Armeno-Kipchak demonstrated a relatively frequent use of {-GIz-} (Berta & Csató 2022: 156). The *Compendium* does not provide evidence of an unlabialized {-GIr-} form.

Table 4.69. Examples of causative marker {-GUr-}

| **etymological stems found independently in the corpus** |
|---|
| *ur-ɣur-* 'to lead (the troops)', 'to take charge of', lit. 'to force to strike' ← *ur-* 'to strike' |
| *yet-kür-* 'to deliver, get to a place' ← *yet-* 'to arrive, reach, overtake' |
| **etymological stems not found independently in the corpus** |
| *äw-gür-* 'to translate, turn' ← *äw-* 'to fall, lean to the side' |

(156) *jiŋgiz nāmä kitābïdïn ‹bu nusχa› fārs tilindin türk tiligä **äwgürdi*** (f.157r/5–6)
'[He] **translated** this ‹manuscript› from the book of *Jiŋgiz nāme* from Persian into Turkic.'

The causative suffix {-GUr-} in the verb *ur-ɣur-* 'to lead (the troops)', 'to take charge of' is also of interest for our study. This suffix is not strictly used in a literal sense in the *Compendium*; refer to example (157). Therefore, the label 'function changed' is applied. Another causative formation of the same root *ur-*, with a literal meaning exists. This alternation form is *ur-dur-* with the causative formation {-DUr-}, which carries the meaning 'to order to beat'; see example (158). Clauson argues that the earliest form of *ur-* had two distinct meanings that shared a common thread involving the use of arms. The first meaning is 'to put something/ on something', while the second meaning is 'to strike'. Particularly noteworthy is the development of a wide range of idiomatic meanings (Clauson 1972: 194), as seen in the form *ur-ɣur-*.

(157) *ittifāḳ körüb*
*keŋäš ḳïlïb*
*muʿayyän ḳïlïb **urɣurdïlar*** (f.86r/9–10)

They consulted,
agreed,
[and] appointed [Hulagu Khan] **to lead the troops**.

(158) *χān yätmiš aγāǰ* **urdurdï** (f.126v/8–9)
    'Khan **ordered to be beaten** seventy [strikes of a] stick [on him].'

As mentioned earlier, the Old Turkic languages lack the causative marker {-GUz-}, which several modern languages have replaced with {-GUr-}. Two attested verbs within the *Compendium* use this particular formation. One occurs after the consonant-final *-r* in *oltur-γuz-* (159), and the second occurs in *yür-güz-* after the consonant-final *-r* (30). However, the verb *yür-* goes back to *yürü-* 'to walk', as found in an ancient Turkic dictionary as *ǰürü-* and *ǰürü-gür-* (Nadeljaev et el. 1969: 286–287). Therefore, the second vowel in the base is apocopated here.

(159) *atasï ornïnda (sic!)* **olturγuzdï** (f.44r/4–5)
    'He **seated** [him] in his father's place.'

Table 4.70. Examples of causative marker {-GUz-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| *oltur-**γuz**- 'to seat' ← oltur-* 'to sit down, sit' |
| *yür-**güz**- 'to let ride, walk' ← yürü-* 'to walk, march' |

The causative forms {-GUr-} and {-GUz-} in the *Compendium* were utilized equally and demonstrated a lack of productivity. It is worth noting that neither of these forms has survived in modern Kazakh (Muhamedowa 2016: 214–215; Abish 2022: 343) or Tatar (Berta 2022: 310–311).

The causative formation {-GAr-} / {-GAz-} is relatively rare in Turkic languages, with limited instances of occurrence. It appears that this suffix transformed from {-GUr-} ~ {-GUz-} during the Chaghatay period, since it was not found in East Old Turkic (Johanson 2022c: 137), West Old Turkic (Károly 2022: 149), Middle Kipchak (Berta & Csató 2022: 156), or Ottoman (Kerslake 2022: 184). There is one example of this formation in the *Compendium* with the verb *öt-kär- ~ öt-käz-*; see example (160). In contrast to the expected *öt-kär- ~ öt-käz-*, it appears as *öt-gür-* in EOT. Erdal notes the absence of *öt-gür-* in runic or Manichean texts, which hinders the determination of whether its velar consonant was voiced. Metaphorically, Erdal (1991: 751) suggests that *öt-gür-* conveys the meaning 'to get to bottom of a problem, understand in thoroughly' or 'to manage to explain'. Clauson (1972: 52) notes that in Chaghatay, *öt-gür-* took the form of *öt-kär-*. In modern Turkic languages, Johanson (2021a: 589) confirms the existence of both {-GAr-} ~ {-GAz-} and {-GUr-} ~{-GUz-} forms. Of the six attested examples in the *Compendium*, five (except *äw-gür-*) are realized in one of the most productive forms, namely {-GIz-}, in modern Kazakh, although it is not found in the *Compendium*.

(160)

*(a)sizniŋ rāst turur sözüŋüz*
*wä lēkin šul anwāʿdïn bizlär andïn kim tururm°z tā bunuŋ dek **ötkäẓälim***
(f.83v/11–84r/2)

*(b)sizniŋ sözüŋiz rāst turur*
*wä lēkin šul anwāʿdïn bizlär andïn kim tururbïz tā bunuŋ dek **ötkärälim*** (K: f.33v/17–34r/1)

'Your words are right,
but we **shall be content** with the things of which we have.'

Table 4.71. Examples of causative marker {-GAz-} / {-GAr-}

| |
|---|
| *öt-**käz/r**- 'to act, let graze, cause to pass through' ← öt-* 'to pass over' |

## {-Ur-} ~ {-ir-}

The causative marker {-Ur-} is derived from one or two syllable bases and is used with various consonant-final stems in the *Compendium*. The suffix is typically added after *-č, -s, -š, -g, -ɣ,* and *-t*, as demonstrated in Table 4.72. Erdal (1991: 733) generally indicates that the objects of {-Ur-} verbs relate to "food and drink, clothes, carts and drawing animals, mud, medicine, or words". Consequently, no verb with the {-Ur-} suffix indicates an event or a process that involves three participants. He also states that when {-Ur-} is "added to base of the shape (C)VCVC-, the second vowel of the base is usually syncopated". Johanson refers to such vowels as volatile vowels. An example of this can be seen in example (161), where the verb *tab-š-ur-* 'to entrust, hand over' is derived from the verb *tap-ïš-* 'to find one another'. This derivation follows a specific sequence: (1) base, (2) cooperative-reciprocal marker, and (3) causative marker. The vowel *ï* in the cooperative-reciprocal marker is dropped due to the initial vowel of the following morpheme {-Ur-}.

(161) *börtä füǰinni ʿizzät ḳïlïb*
*ǰalayïr sabaɣa **tabšurdï*** (f.42r/11–42v/1)

'He, having shown respect for Lady Börte,
**entrusted** her to Jalayirid Saba.'

Example (162), found in the *Compendium*, demonstrates that the causative marker {-Ur-} in the verb *käč-* 'to pass' is metaphorically used to express the concept of 'to die' and, in the causative sense, 'to kill'.

(162) *ähl-i taŋkut čïḳïb kelsä*

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*barčasïn ḳïlïǰ bilän **käčürüŋüz*** (f.63v/9–10)

'If the Tangut people come out [from the city],
then **kill** them all with a sword.'

Table 4.72. Examples of causative marker {-Ur-}.

| **etymological stems found independently in the corpus** |
| --- |
| *käč-**ür**-* 'to make pass', 'to kill', 'lit. to force to pass' ← *käč-* 'to pass' |
| *köč-**ür**-* 'to transfer' ← *köč-* 'to migrate' |
| *ʿömr käč-**ür**-* 'to live' ← *ʿömr* A 'life', *käč-* 'to pass (through), cross' |
| *ḳač-**ur**-* 'to put to flight, drive away' ← *ḳač-* 'to run away, flee' |
| *ḳayta ḳolya tüš-**ür**-* 'to return', lit. 'to seize back' ← *ḳol* 'arm, hand' {+(G)A} DAT + *tüš-* 'to fall' |
| *ḳol ḳow-uš-**ur**-* 'to cross the arms over [the chest]' ← *ḳol* 'arm, hand' + *ḳow-* 'to follow, pursue, chase' |
| *tabš-**ur**-* 'to entrust, hand over' ← *tapïš-* 'to find one another' ← *tap-* 'to find' {-(I)š-} RECIP |
| *teg-**ür**-* 'to cause to reach' ← *teg-* 'to reach' |
| *tuɣ-**ur**-* 'to give birth' ← *tuɣ-* 'to be born' |
| *tüš-**ür**-* 'to throw, shoot, waft' ← *tüš-* 'to fall, come down' |
| **etymological stems not found independently in the corpus** |
| *bat-**ur**-* 'to cause to sink' ← *bat-* 'to sink' |
| *yaš-**ur**-* 'to hide' ← *yaš-* 'to hide (oneself)' |

The causative marker {-Ur-} was found in example (163).

(163) *ol zamānda ǰiŋgiz χānɣa ol yïl ḳawm tayǰiut öngä aɣa wä inisi ḳawm ǰuriyat wä märkit tatar wä ɣaïr häm här birisi bir az zaḥmät **tegürä bašla**dï* (f.48r/2–4)

'At that time in that year, the Tayjiut clan, [as well as] other older and younger brothers from the clans of Juriat, Merkit, Tatar, and others **began to harass** Genghis Khan.'

The next causative marker is {-Ir-}, which is an alternative form of the {-Ur-} marker. Table 4.73 shows that it is attested only once in the *Compendium*. Previous claims mistakenly suggested that the causative markers {-Ir-} ~ {-Ur-} originated from the loss of the dental consonant *D* in {-DUr-} ~ {-Dïr-}. Furthermore, a Kipchak vocabulary from the 14th century erroneously indicated that the dental consonant in *ič-Dïr-* 'to give to drink' could sometimes be omitted, resulting in the formation of *ič-ir-* 'id' (Johanson 2021a: 592–593). See the example with *ič-ir-* 'to give to drink' in example (164).

(164) *tatlï ariḳ aḳin suwlardïn **ičirdim*** (f.98v/7)
'I **gave** you some delicious clean streaming water **to drink** (Lit. I **made you drink**).'

Table 4.73. Examples of causative marker {-ir-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| *ič-**ir**-* 'to let drink, give to drink' ← *ič-* 'to drink' |

During the EOT period, the verb 'to give someone something to drink' was expressed as *ič-ür-* (Erdal 1991: 715). Neither Eckmann (1966: 70–71) nor Bodrogligeti (2001: 167) attested the {-Ir-} form in Chaghatay. However, in the *Compendium*, the verb 'to let drink, give to drink' is the only example of the {-ir-} form, appearing as *ič-ir-*. This usage indicates a transitional shift from {-Ur-} to {-Ir-}. It is worth noting that the causative marker {-Ur} was already used with consonant-final *-č* in the *Compendium*. Additionally, the {-ir-} form is also attested after consonant-final in the *Compendium*. On the contrary, in modern Kazakh, this verb is represented by the forms {-GIz-} *iu-κiз-* ‹iš-kiz› and {-DIr-} *iu-mip-* ‹iš-tir› and there are no semantic differences between this forms (Muhamedowa 2016: 215).

**{-Ar-}**

Three verbs in the *Compendium* feature the causative stem {-Ar-}, all of which are derived from one syllable base, as illustrated in Table 4.74. See the example of the {-Ar-} marker in example (165).

>     (165) *ḫulḳumumda ḳan uyušub erdi*
>        *ḳaytardïm* (f.101v/1–2)
>
>       'The blood in my throat clotted.
>        I **spat** it **out**.'

Table 4.74. Examples of causative marker {-Ar-}, where the etymological stems are found independently in the corpus

| |
|---|
| *čïḳ-**ar**-* 'to bring out, send out, take out' ← *čïḳ-* 'to go out, come out' |
| *ket-ä**r**-* 'to remove, send away' ← *ket-* 'to go away' |
| *ḳayt-**ar**-* 'to get back, give back, bring back' ← *ḳayt-* 'to turn back, return, come back' |

It is important to note that there is no functional difference between the markers {-Ar-} and {-Ur-} ~ {-ir-} (Erdal 1991: 741). Both formations are attested with consonant-final stems. The {-Ar-} suffix is found after *-t* and *-ḳ* in the *Compendium*. Eckmann (1966: 70) combines the forms {-Ar-} with {-Ur-}, while Bodrogligeti (2001: 165, 167) separates these two suffixes. Regardless, the {-Ar-} marker is attested with only two stems, making it unproductive. On the other hand, the {-Ur-} marker is observed with a number of consonant-final stems and appears

to be productive. Additionally, the {-Ur-} suffix, along with {-DUr-} and {-t-}, is the most productive accusative suffix in the *Compendium*.

**{-t-}**

Erdal (1991: 799) stated that in 84% of EOT {-(X)t-} verbs, the formative loses its initial vowel due to its attachment "to bases ending in vowels or to polysyllabic bases ending in -*r*". In the *Compendium*, suffixes of the same causative marker can attach the stems ending in vowels such as -*a, -ä, -ü*, and -*i*, as well as consonants like -*r* and -*l*, as illustrated in Table 4.75. The *Compendium* does not attest to the initial vowel of the formation {-(X)t-}. We cannot determine whether it was labialized or unlabialized. Nevertheless, the suffix {-t-} is one of the three productive causative suffixes in the *Compendium*.

> (166) *oŋ [χān] oγlï sängun üǰün ḥīlä bilän ḳïz tilätä yibärdi* (f.53v/4–5)
> 'Ong [Khan] sent to **make [someone] to arrange a match** with cunning for his son Sengun.'

> (167) *ʿarabī tili bilän χudāy taʿālānïŋ atïn tilindä yürütür erdi allāh täb* (f.19v/8–9)
> '[He] **pronounced** the name of the Almighty Lord – may He be exalted – in Arabic as *Allah.*'

Table 4.75. Examples of causative marker {-t-}

| **etymological stems found independently in the corpus** |
| --- |
| *bälgür-t-* 'to make manifest, display' ← *bälgür-* 'to appear, become manifest' |
| *oltur-t-* 'to seat' ← *oltur-* 'to sit down, sit' |
| *pādišāhlïḳγa oltur-t-* 'to enthrone' ← *pādišāhlïḳγa oltur-* 'to be enthroned' |
| *ḳïz tilä-t-* 'to make someone to arrange a match' ← *ḳïz tilä-* 'to propose as a husband, arrange a match' |
| *yasa-t-* 'to make someone to construct' ← *yasa-* 'to do, construct, arrange' |
| *yoḳal-t-* 'to destroy, lose' ← *yoḳal-* 'to be destroyed, perish, disappear, be lost' |
| *yürü-t-* 'to pronounce', lit. 'to cause to walk' ← *yürü-* 'to walk' |
| **etymological stems not found independently in the corpus** |
| *eši-t-* 'to hear (something)', 'to get news of (something)', 'listen' ← *eši-* 'to cover, envelop' |
| *ḥisābla-t-* 'to make to count' ← *ḥisābla-* 'to count, plan, calculate' |
| *semür-t-* 'to fatten' ← *semür-* 'to be(come) fat' |
| *yara-t-* 'to approve', 'to create' ← *yara-* 'to be suitable', 'to benefit', 'to be worthy of' |

The phonological structure of the base influences the selection of causative markers in Turkic languages, although this is not entirely predictable. The lack of predictability is documented in the *Compendium*. See Table 4.76, where various causative formations were frequently added to consonant-final stem ending in -*l, -r*, and -*t*.

Table 4.76. Causative suffixes and final letters of the bases

| {-DUr-} ~ {-Dïr-} | ***-l***, ***-r***, *-n*, ***-t***, *-s*, *-š*, *-ḳ*, *-y*, *-p*, *-z*, *-w* |
|---|---|
| {-GUr-} ~ {-GUz-} ~ {-GAr-} / {-GAz-} | ***-r***, ***-t*** |
| {-Ur-} ~ {-ir-} | *-č*, *-s*, *-š*, *-g*, *-ɣ*, ***-t*** |
| {-Ar-} | ***-t***, *-ḳ* |
| {-t-} | ***-r***, ***-l***; *vowels* |

The presence of a large number of causative markers suggests that they may have originated from various Proto-Turkic elements (Johanson 2021a: 589–590). Furthermore, in the *Compendium*, three different verb bases with two different causative suffixes were attested; see Table 4.77. Additionally, a set of verb bases is derived from the Arabic noun *ḥisāb*, which means 'counting', 'numbering', 'considering'. The first verb in this set combines the primary stem *ḥisāb* with a transitive auxiliary formed from the light verb *ḳil-* and the causative suffix {-DUr-}, resulting in *ḥisāb ḳil-dur-*. The second verb is formed synthetically with verbalizer {+lA-} and the causative suffix {-t-}, resulting in *ḥisābla-t-*. It is interesting that there is no word *sana-* 'to count' derived from *sa-* 'to count' (Clauson 1972: 781) +*n* +*A*, instead *ḥisāb* appears in different forms.

Table 4.77. Causative variations and deverbal and denominal verbs derived from the same bases

| base | {-DUr-} | {-GUr-} | {-GUz-} | {-t-} |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ḥisāb* A | *ḥisāb ḳil-dur-* | | | *ḥisāb-la-t* |
| *oltur-* | | | *oltur-ɣuz-* | *oltur-t-* |
| *ur-* | *ur-dur-* | *ur-ɣur-* | | |
| *yürü-* | | | *yür-güz-* | *yürü-t-* |

If *ḥisāb ḳil-dur-* ~ *ḥisābla-t* and *oltur-ɣuz-* ~ *oltur-t-* have the same meaning, expressing 'to make to count' and 'to seat', respectively, then two different causative formations result in different meanings for the other two verbs. The base *ur-* 'to beat' with the causative suffix {-DUr-} literally means 'to order to beat', while the base with the causative suffix {-GUr-} develops further into the idiomatic meaning 'to lead (the troops)', 'to take charge of'. The second verb base is *yürü-* 'to walk, march'. With the causative suffix {-GUz-}, *yür-güz* means 'to let ride' in a literal sense, while the causative form {-t-} in *yürü-t-* is used idiomatically, expressing the meaning 'to pronounce' literally translating as 'to cause to walk'.

Causative verbs in old languages appeared in labialized forms. Various examples of causative verbs with labialization can be found in the *Compendium*. However, although less commonly and unproductive, several examples of causatives without labialization are also attested.

The most productive causative formations in the *Compendium* include {-DUr-}, {-Ur-}, and {-t-}. On the contrary, the suffixes {-Dïr-} and {-t-}, along with {-GIz-}, are the most productive in modern Kazakh (Balakaev et al. 1962: 308). However, the occurrence of these suffixes in Kazakh is also not completely predictable based on the phonological environment (Muhamedowa 2016: 214).

### 2.4.4.2.4 Irregular diathetic formations

When causative and passive-medial-reflexive derivations lack their clearly attested base forms, *irregular diathetic formations* can occur (Johanson 2021a: 595). In other words, these irregular formations arise when the result of the secondary verb stem cannot be traced back to the primary verb stem. Compare Table 4.78 and examples (168)–(169).

Example (168) contains a secondary stem, *ḳut-ul-*, with a passive suffix {-(I)l-}. However, the primary stem, often referred to as the root, is questionable. Clauson (1972: 650) reconstructed it as *\*ḳurt-*, which has an unknown meaning. Boeschoten (2023: 265) noted its usage in the available sources as *kurt-ul-, ḳut-ɣar-, ḳut-ḳar-, ḳut-ar-, ḳut-ul-*, and so on, all meaning 'to save'. This verb is presented as *ḳut-ḳar-* 'to save' in Kazakh and *kot-kar-* 'id.' in Tatar (TRS 286), both obviously connected to *ḳut-ul-* 'to be rescued', and its reconstructed form is *\*ḳurt* again. However, the question arises: why should active form of *kut-ul-* should be considered a passive form in the *Compendium* and a causative in modern Kazakh and Tatar, although the {-GAr-} suffix was rare and already unproductive in the 17th century *Compendium*.

The second verb presented in irregular diathetic formation in example (169) is *ičḳï-n-* 'to escape', which is morphologically a reflexive form, however, with no known basic form.

(168) *andïn bir kürän ǰalayïr ḳačïb*
  *ḳutuldï* (f.29v/9–10)

  'Of all the Jalayirids, [only] one *kuren* escaped
  and **was saved**.'


(169) *anlardïn andak āwāzä bilän šunuŋ ḳolïdïn **ičḳïndï*** (f.86r/6–7)
  '[They] **slipped away** from his hand with such a cry.'


Table 4.78. Examples of irregular diathetic formations

| |
|---|
| *ičḳï-**n**-* REFL 'to slip away, escape' ← basic form is unknown (Clauson 1972: 23) |
| *ḳut-**ul**-* PASS 'to be rescued, be saved' ← *ḳurt-ul- < \*ḳurt-* |

The following Table 4.79 provides a summary of the deverbal verb derivational elements attested in the *Compemdium*.

Table 4.79. Deverbal verb derivational elements in the *Compendium*

| | |
|---|---|
| {-(I)l-} | productive |
| {-(I)n-} | productive |
| {-(I)š-} | productive |
| {-DUr-} | productive |
| {-Dïr-} | unproductive |
| {-GUr-} | unproductive, function changed |
| {-GUz-} | unproductive |
| {-GAz-} / {-GAr-} | unproductive |
| {-Ur-} / {-üz-} | productive |
| {-ir-} | unproductive |
| {-Ar-} | productive |
| {-t-} | productive |

## 3 Conclusion

The aims of this dissertation, as well as the theoretical methods that I used, have been discussed in the Introduction. I will not repeat my explanations here. I will not attempt to summarize the individual findings of my research, but I will limit myself to highlighting only particular important points.

The linguistic analysis of the *Compendium* began with the finite verbal categories in Chapter 2.1, providing information on the key concepts of viewpoint aspect, imperative, and modality, including agreement markers.

Following the grammatical analysis, it is evident that both intraterminals and postterminals in the *Compendium* are introduced by low-focal and high-focal degrees of focality, resulting in wide range of interpretations in translation. It is known that a new viewpoint operator appears when the previous one has undergone the defocalization process. Intraterminals in the *Compendium* have only two forms, showing the perfectly symmetric system of non-focality and focality in the non-past and past stratum by representing one form for each. In contrast, the postterminal viewpoint operators appear to be much more complex. Postterminals illustrate one form that is non-focal and asymmetric in the non-past and the past, along with two competing forms of focality that involve various interpretations of copular verbs. The symmetric system of non-past and past forms with the remote copular *erdi* has been attested to focal degree; however, two more forms have not been presented in the non-past.

Four different forms of postterminals-in-past, {-GAn} *erdi,* {-(I)p} *erdi,* {-DI} *erdi*, and {-mIš} *erdi*, were attested. It was shown that {-DI} *erdi* appeared as the furthest form from the crucial limit of the event and, therefore, was classified as non-focal, while three others indicated a closer distance to the orientation point compared to the crucial limit. Furthermore, these three, {-mIš} *erdi*, {-(I)p} *erdi*, and {-GAn} *erdi*, semantically exhibit the same resultative meaning when applied to the verb *tuγ-* 'to be born' and are not opposed to focal meanings. Notably, {-DI} *erdi* and {-mIš} *erdi* appear exclusively in the second part of the *Compendium*, translated from Persian, whereas {-(I)p} *erdi* and {-GAn} *erdi* are found in both the second/translated and third/original parts of the *Compendium*. This distribution suggests that {-(I)p} *erdi* and {-GAn} *erdi* were actively used as posterminal-in-past, while {-DI} *erdi* and {-mIš} *erdi* were considered archaic.

The negated converb in the postterminal form {-(I)p} *turur* and in the intraterminal form {-A} *s°n*, reduced from the second person singular of {-A} *turur*, took the same form as {-ma-y}, appearing as an ambiguous interpretation. However, they were differentiated into their defined aspect categories in the *Compendium*.

This study included optative and voluntative in the modality section, while categorizing imperative as a separative entity. In addition to voluntative and optative, the definition of modality was employed for expressions of necessity, potentiality, and prospective. The *Compendium* mainly expressed the {-GIl} and {-(I)ŋ-Iz} ~ {-Uŋ-uz} markers for the imperative category, while using the imperative based on the stem of the bare verb in only one example. Additionally, the enclitic particle {jI} was also observed in a single example. The imperative only referred to second persons. Voluntative usage was presented in the first and third persons. Usually in Turkic languages, there is only one form for the first person singular voluntative and the other one for the first person plural voluntative. However, the *Compendium* illustrated two forms for the first person singular voluntative and four forms for the first person plural voluntative, i.e. {-AyI-m}, {-(A)yI-n} and {-AlI}, {-AlI-m}, {-AlI-ŋ}, {-AlI-K} ({-AyI-K}), respectively.

The contexts in which first person voluntatives are used in the *Compendium* allow for both inclusive and neutral readings. However, there is no morphologically marked distinction between inclusive and neutral forms. The use of several different markers for singular and plural voluntatives indicates dialectal variation.

Optative performed a wide range of modal functions in the *Compendium*, such as wish, desire, or hope; command and directive; necessity; probability; potentiality; prediction and expectation; purpose, and rhetorical question. Additionally, the optative marker {-GAy} exhibited interpretations of probability as well as the interpretation of the general truth.

Voluntative, optative, and imperative appeared in the non-main clauses (purposive clauses), which were developed under the influence of the Persian language.

After examining the finite verbal categories, I moved on to the copular devices. In general, observations in Chapter 2.2 yielded anticipated results and followed the rules of Chaghatay. These included the sporadic appearance of the plural marker {+lAr} in copular verbs. Copular particles did not exhibit any specific features in the non-past, as they coincided with the form of the copular verbs. However, in the past, the plural marker {+lAr} appeared both in the terminal base before the copular particle and in the copular particle itself. Furthermore, the study of third person non-past copular verbs revealed that the verb *tur-* 'to stop, stand' in the aorist form *tur-ur* is the most elaborated, almost in the full paradigm. Statistically, it is much more frequently utilized, i.e. two hundred and seventy-five times in the third person singular marker alone. Additionally, this verb is the most frequently used auxiliary verb in different categories in the *Compendium*. In comparison, synonymous copular verbs are attested less frequently: *er-ür* occurs twelve times and *bol-ur* occurs nine times. Other copular verbs are attested in much smaller numbers.

Chapter 2.3 examines postverbial constructions, which involve the use of two verbs: a lexical verb and an auxiliary verb. These constructions commonly feature approximately twenty auxiliary verbs. The actional phrase can convey more than one meaning, depending on the context, a phenomenon also attested in the *Compendium*. For example, the construction ‹B› *ket-* in the *Compendium* functions as a phase specification, emphasizing its transformativizing meaning. Additionally, it conveys spatial orientation, specifically denoting movement away from a deictic center as a secondary implication.

Typically, auxiliary verbs employing ‹A› and ‹B› type converbs illustrate different meanings. For example, the verb ‹B› *ḳal-* sets the critical initial boundary of the action phase in a singular instance in the *Compendium*, while the converb ‹A› *ḳal-* highlights the second phase (non initial), though this also occurs in only a single example. Postverbial forms with the verb *kel-* likewise appears with both ‹A› and ‹B› type converbs. ‹B› *kel-* expresses spatial orientation toward a deictic center while preserving the lexical meaning of the auxiliary *kel-*. In contrast, ‹A› *kel-* assumes a nontransformative, phase-defined function. The *Compendium* also conveys instances where the semantic distinction between postverbial constructions of A› and ‹B› type remains unclear, as seen in the constructions ‹A› *tur-* and ‹B› *tur-*. Moreover, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a compound verb belongs to the category of postverbial construction or aspect. These ambiguities extend to ‹B› *tur-* as well as to ‹B› *oltur-* and ‹B› *yat-* constructions.

The study highlights peculiarities associated with both Oghuz and Kipchak forms within the postverbial construction inventory, such as ‹B› *öt-* 'to pass' and ‹B› *käč-* 'id.'. These verbs, which have been described as postverbial forms relatively recently, exhibit the same postverbial characteristics as others, as they can be omitted with minimal impact on basic lexical semantics.

Illustrations from the *Compendium* also include examples of the lexical movement verb *kel-* 'to come' combined with the postverbial construction ‹B› *tüš-* 'to fall, settle, descend'. These instances show that the two verbs cannot be separated, as their boundaries seem blurred. The definite semantic similarities suggest that they function as a single, unified verb.

And finally, Chapter 2.4 was focused on derivation, synthetic and analytic, including diathesis.

The analysis of denominal verbs shows that the majority of bases are formed from Turkic roots with only six foreign roots appearing in the markers {+lA-}, {+I-}, and {+(U)(r)ka-}. These include two Arabic (*ḥisāb* 'counting'; *ʿizzät* 'honor, dignity'), two Persian (*färmān* 'command'; *käm* 'few, little'), one Chinese word (*tz'ü* 'kind, merciful'), and an ambiguous one.

The functions of almost all denominal verb derivations presented in the *Compendium* indicate a different range of processes related to becoming what the base noun represents. These

derivations include markers such as {+lA-}, {+A-}, {+I-}, {+(A)l-}, {+(A)y-}, {+(A)r-}, {+dA-}, {+(I)K-}, {+KAr-}. Only the denominal verb marker {+(U)(r)kA-} expresses emotions, attitudes, or opinions about its object.

Among the twenty-four finite verbs observed with the denominal verb formative {+lA-}, four (17%) are derived from deverbal nominals with markers such as {-(I)G} (*ba-ɣ-la-* 'to tie, fasten'), {-(°)K} (*ḳon-aḳ-la* 'to entertain (a guest)'; *ḳuč-aḳ-la-* 'to embrace') and {-(°)r} or {-mUr}} (*yuma-la-n* 'to roll' ← *yumar-la-* 'to knead (dough) into a ball' < *yumur-la-* 'id.'). The remaining verbs are derived from nominal stems without any further derivation. Notably, the *Compendium* does not contain a single denominal verb derived from a denominal nominal.

The *Compendium* attests to Kipchak and Oghuz formatives {+(A)y-} and {+(A)l-}, respectively.

The verb *semür-* 'to be(come) fat' appeared twice due to the phenomenon of *rhotacism* vs. *zetacism* in connection with the denominal verbalizer {+I-}, where the consonant *z* changed to *r*. The presence of *rhotacism* and *zetacism* was also attested in the alternation of the causative marker {-GUr-} ~ {-GUz-}. The existence of this pair makes suggests that the causative marker {-GAr-} / {-GAz-} should be considered a practicable alternation rather than a scribal variant caused by the single dot difference between Arabic letters -*z* (ز) and -*r* (ر). However, no final conclusion can be drawn here.

In the *Compendium*, almost all available causative markers are attested. They are the following: {-DUr-} ~ {-Dïr-}, {-GUr-} ~ {-GUz-} ~ {-GAz-} / {-GAr-}, {-Ur-} ~ {-ir-}, {-Ar-}, and {-t-}. The semantic range of these markers is the largest. They show varying degrees of productivity. However, only the markers {-DUr-}, {-Ur-}, {-Ar-}, and {-t-} proved to be productive, while the others are unproductive. In the case of the marker {-GUr-}, the function changes the distribution, as the suffix is used in a not a literal sense.

Notably, some analytic denominal verb derivation in the *Compendium* was influenced by the calque of Persian analytic denominal verb derivation, which involved Persian nouns of Turkic and Mongolic origin with {-mIš-ī} suffix and auxiliary verbs. The primary pattern of morphological integration of Turkic and Mongolic verbs into Persian via Turkic involved their postterminal participle form {-mIš}, combined with the Iranian abstract suffix {-ī} and a native Iranian auxiliary verb (such as *kardan*, *shurdan*, etc.).

Parallel analytic and synthetic derivations were attested in the *Compendium*; although they are very rare (*χān-la-* 'to enthrone' vs. *χān yasa-* 'id.'; *ḥisāb-la-* 'to count, calculate' vs. *ḥisāb ḳil-* 'id.; *yüz-lä-n-* 'to face toward, turn towards' vs. *yüz ur-* 'id.'; *keŋä-š-* 'to take counsel (together)' vs. *keŋäš et-* 'id.', *keŋäš ḳil-* 'id.', *keŋäšmišī et-* 'id.').

Analytic denominal verb derivation is utilized much more frequently than synthetic verb derivation, making it the primary method of verb formation in the *Compendium*. The analysis in this dissertation has shown that analytic denominal verb derivation was mainly achieved using light verbs *ḳïl-* 'to do, make', *et-* 'id.', and *bol-* 'to be(come)'. This process predominantly employed with lexemes of non-Turkic origin, particularly Arabic vocabulary (via Persian), which accounts for more than 65% of the exams. In contrast, lexemes of Persian, Turkic, Mongolic, and Chinese origin were less significant. Furthermore, analytic denominal verbs formed with Arabic nouns exhibit all three types of transitivity, whereas others are not always.

In this dissertation, one hundred twenty-nine analytic denominal verb forms with the light verbs *ḳïl-* were discussed in detail. The highest number of analytic denominal verb derivations comes from nouns of Arabic origin (68%). The next widespread analytic denominal verb derivations are from nouns of Persian origin (9%), followed by nouns of Turkic origin (8%), and Mongolic nouns, which account for a smaller proportion (1%). Furthermore, examples of analytic denominal verb derivation with the light verb *ḳïl-* were attested with derived nouns of Arabic and Persian origin, combined with the {+lIK} suffix (7%), Persian nouns of Turkic and Mongolic (via Turkic) origin with {-mIš-ī} suffix (5%), and finally, nouns of Chinese origin with Turkic derivational suffixes (2%).

A much smaller number of denominal verb forms with light verbs *et-* were attested. There were twenty-four nouns of Arabic, Turkic, and Persian origin, as well as Persian nouns of Turkic and Mongolic (via Turkic) origin with the {-mIš-ī} suffix, and denominal nouns derived from Turkic and Persian bases with the {+lIK} suffix. The highest number of analytic denominal verb derivations came from nouns of Arabic origin (67%). Due to the limited number of instances, other nouns were represented almost equally.

The next largest group of auxiliaries with light verbs was formed by the verb *bol-* 'to be(come)'. Thirty-three verb forms were attested in the *Compendium*. The highest number of analytic denominal verb derivations comes from nouns of Arabic origin (70%), the next is nouns of Persian (12%), Turkic origin (15%), and Persian noun of Mongolic (via Turkic) origin with the {-mIš-ī} suffix (3%).

The study of the material showed nine verbs that produced the same final result (without semantic difference) with the same noun but interchangeable auxiliary verbs (verb heads) *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' and *et-* 'id.'; three pairs of verbs by auxiliaries *er-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to be(come)'; a pair of verbs with the auxiliaries *er-* 'to be' and *ḳïl-* 'to do, make'; and a pair of verbs with the auxiliaries *er-* 'to be' and *tur-* 'to stand'. On the other hand, the *ḳïl- ~ et-* pair of auxiliaries was attested, where the final meanings of the analytic denominal verbs differ from

each other (*inkār ḳïl-* 'to retract' and *inkār et-* 'to refuse, deny'), indicating that the interchangeability of the auxiliary verbs does not work fully with the *Compendium*.

In the case where both the auxiliary verbs and the roots of the noun (with difference in NN {+lIK}, VN {-l}, VN {-mIšī}) of the pair are the same, the final meaning of all analytic verbs can be identical, i.e. *mülāzämät ḳïl-* 'to serve diligently' and *mülāzämätlik ḳïl-* 'id.', *muwāfaḳat ḳïl-* 'to agree, consent' and *muwāfaḳatlïḳ ḳïl-* 'id.', *sohurɣal ḳïl-* 'to favor, benefit, grant, bestow' and *siyurɣamïšī ḳïl-* 'id.' (both go back to *soyurgɣa-*).

Furthermore, this chapter raises the question of the entire concept of analytically derived verbs, considering such examples as *ṭoy ḳïl-*, which can be interpreted as both 'to celebrate' and 'to make a feast', and *sohurɣal ḳïl-* 'to favor, benefit, grant, bestow' and 'to make a gift'. It introduces the lexical verb *ḳïl-*, with direct objects *ṭoy* 'feast, celebration' and *sohurɣal* 'gift, award', respectively. Additionally, there are verbs like *toḳuš ḳïl-* 'to wage war' and *toḳušlar ḳïl-* 'to wage wars'; *niŝār ḳïl-* 'to scatter small coins' and *niŝārlar ḳïl-* 'id.', *niyāz e[t]-* 'to make a request, entreat for, ask as a favor' (with *niyāz ḳïl-* 'id.' in non-finite verb constructions) and *niyāz-lar ḳïl-* 'id.', *vaṣiyyät ḳïl-* 'to make a testamentary arrangement' and *vaṣiyyätni ḳïl-* 'id.'

Generally, the *Compendium* reflects a heterogeneous mix of features from the Kipchak and Oghuz branches of Turkic, exhibiting archaic and innovative characteristics.

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**APPENDICES**

The present section contains four different appendices. They are listed in the following order: index of inflectional suffixes, index of viewpoint operators, index of postverbial constructions, and index of other devices of finite verb forms.

The presence of four separate appendices differs on the basis of different verbal categories. Each is arranged in alphabetical order. The sign [N] in square brackets is entered as nominals in the analytic denominal verb derivation. In that case, the initial of the verb should be considered, e.g. *[N] ḳïl-* can be realized as *āzād ḳïl-* 'to free, liberate, relieve', *ḳabūl ḳïl-* 'to agree, accept', *ikrām ḳïl-* 'to respect' and so on. The sounds recorded in suffixes with changing initials, such as {-(A)yI-n}, mean that the initial -*A* in the {-AyI-n} is recorded after the final consonant, such as *ḳïl-* 'to do, make' in *ḳïl-ayïn*, while the morphemes ending in a vowel are recorded with {-yI-n}, such as *hān-la-yïn*. The forms of the morphemes listed in the appendices are abstracted from the spelling of their instances. If a suffix has several spellings, it is included with all of its spellings. This implies that if a morpheme appears only once, it is documented in its original form in bold, such as *köč-* 'to migrate'. If multiple morphs with distinct forms that can be categorized under the same morpheme appear in the *Compendium*, they are recorded at the most general level of abstraction in bold, such as *tėg-* 'to reach', and the lowest possible level of the instances appears non-bolded, such as *tėy-* 'to reach'. Additionally, when a morpheme has different inflexional suffixes, only the lexical stem of the first exemplified instance is bolded, e.g. *at-a-*, while the next identical lexical stem with a different inflexinal or derivational suffix is unbolded, e.g. *at-a-n-*.

Each individual register contains a specific set of linguistic characteristics, for example, the voluntative marker {-(A)yI-n}. The abstract form of the suffix includes all possible variations (with or without an initial vowel, which can be *a* or *e*). In this case, the allomorphs are {-ayï-n}, {-eyi-n}, {-yï-n}, and {-yi-n}. The list of verb lexemes in bold coincides with the suffix and its meaning. If it starts with [N], then the list of nominals with which the verb lexeme co-occurs appears without bold typing. The meaning of the suffix VOL 1SG is 'first person singular voluntative' (see the abbreviations). After the head of a given suffix, each instance in which it occurs is marked with ~. Examples of verb lexemes contain their location in the *Compendium*. For example, in 96r/2, the first number represents the folio number, *r* stands for *recto* (the front side of the leaf), *v* stands for *verso* (the back side of the leaf), and the last number indicates the line on the folio.

The aim of Appendix 1. Index of inflectional suffixes is used to determine the morphophonetic structures of the verb suffixes found in the *Compendium*. Appendix 2. Index of viewpoint operators indicates the grammaticalized postverbial constructions. The appendix

includes the inflexional suffixes but does not emphasize them. Viewpoint operators have been divided into four groups: intraterminals in the non-past, intraterminals in the past, postterminals in the non-past, and postterminals in the past. Appendix 3. Index of postverbial constructions contains the developed items of analytic derivation with a lexical verb in the converbial form followed by an auxiliary verb. The list of postverbial constructions in the appendix recorded lexical verbs with the ‹A› and ‹B› type converbs. The first item on the list is the ‹A› type converb with the auxiliary verb in alphabetical order. The last Appendix 4. Index of other devices of finite verb forms indicates the forms of different participles and prospectivities.

## APPENDIX 1. Index of inflectional suffixes

**Bare verb stem** IMP
*aṭ-la-n~* 'to march against, set out' 4v/7

**{-AlI}** VOL 1PL
*yara-š~* 'to make peace' 54r/2

**{-AlI-K}** VOL 1PL
*[N] bol~*
*el bol~* 'to submit to, surrender to' 58v/5
*al~mu* 'to take' 99v/10
*ḳayt~mu* 'to turn back, return' 99v/10
*ur-uš~mu* 'to fight, battle' 58v/4
*yara-š~mu* 'to make peace', 'to agree', 'to be suitable, fit' 58v/4

**{-AlI-m}** VOL 1PL
*[N] ḳïl~*
*χilāf ḳïl~* 'to act against, disobey' 83v/10
*käč~* 'to pass' 83v/9
*soḳ~* 'to beat' 94r/3
*öt-käz*[75]*~* 'to act, let graze, cause to pass through' 84r/2

**{-AlI-ŋ}** VOL 1PL
*[N] ḳïl~*
*yaylamïš[ï] ḳïl~* 'to pass the summer' 145v/6
*semür-t~* 'to fatten' 145v/7

**{-AyI-m}** VOL 1SG
*al~* 'to take' 19r/7
*tut~* 'to take, hold' 19r/7

**{-(A)yI-n}** VOL 1SG
*[N] bol~*
*el bol~* 'to submit to, surrender to' 57v/8
*muṭīʿ bol~* 'to obey' 19r/10
*χān-la~* 'to enthrone' 143v/9
*sözd°n čïḳ-ma~* 'not to go against' 19r/9
*ḳïl~* 'to do, make' 19r/10
*et-mä~* 'not to do, not to make' 20v/10
*oltur~* 'to sit down, sit' 96r/2

**{-DI}** TERM
*[N] ay~*
*ǰäwāb ay~* 'to answer, respond' 27v/10–11, 83v/11, 101v/11–102r/1
*[N] ber~*
*ǰäwāb bär~* 'to answer, respond' 19r/8
*χabär bär~* 'to notify' 51v/9, 53v/8, 57v/9, 99v/9
*küǰ bär~* 'to help, support' 71r/9, 72v/3, 73r/9, 73v/4
*iǰāzät bär~* 'to allow, permit' 154v/1

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[75] K: *öt-kär* (f.34r/1).

*[N] bär~lär*

*küǰ bär~lär* 'to help, support' 72r/6

*köŋül bär~lär* 'to give one's heart' 87v/2

*iʿlām bär~lär* 'to notify' 143v/6

*[N] bol~*

*ḥāmilä bol~* 'to become pregnant, get pregnant' 27v/7

*mufaṣṣal bol-un~* 'to be explained in detail' 106r/10

*ɣālib bol~* 'to prevail, overcome' 21r/11

*väfāt bol~* to die' 26v/4, 52r/8, 56r/3, 103v/3, 132v/3, 133r/10, 133v/2, 134r/2, 144r/2, 146r/5

*ǰamiʿ bol~* 'to gather' 49r/3

*ǰudā bol~* 'to be(come) separate' 51r/5

*el bol~* 'to submit to, surrender to' 44v/1, 58v/11, 63r/8, 69v/3–4, 70v/11, 76r/9, 76v/4

*tamām bol~* 'to be completed' 102v/10, 104v/10, 107v/8–9, 110v/7, 113r/10, 114r/4–5, 114v/2, 116r/7, 116v/6, 117r/9, 117v/10, 118r/11, 118v/10, 121v/8, 125r/6, 128r/8, 134v/7, 136v/6, 139r/11, 140v/2, 141v/1, 144r/9, 147r/1

*šähīd bol~* 'to be martyred' 150r/5, 150r/7, 151r/1, 153r/8

*paydā bol~* 'to appear' 3v/7, 11v/1, 15v/10, 27v/4–5, 28r/1, 31v/7, 31v/9, 33r/7, 78r/3, 84r/6, 90v/3, 102r/4, 149v/10

*baydā bol~* 24r/4, 24r/m, 24v/2, 53r/11

*yaralïɣ bol~* 'to get wounded' 145v/11

*zaχmlïḳ bol~* 'to get wounded' 146r/1

*ḥāṣïl bol~* 'to happen, occur' 56v/11, 149r/1, 149r/2, 149r/3, 149r/4, 149r/5, 149v/1

*ḥāṣïl bol-ma~* 88v/1

*mäšɣūl bol~* 'to be busy with something, be devoted to something' 61v/1, 141v/10

*muḳarrar bol~* 'to be considered certain, take it for granted' 70v/11, 85v/10

*mäǰālī bol-ma~* 'not to be strong' 2r/11

*[N] bol~lar*

*ǰamiʿ bol~lar* 'to gather' 51v/8, 55r/3

*el bol~lar* 'to submit to, surrender to' 34v/1[76], 52v/2, 57r/8

*ǰudā bol~lar* 'to be(come) separate' 54r/4–5, 153r/6

*hälāk bol~lar* 'to die' 101v/4–5

*šähīd bol~lar* 'to be martyred' 150v/2, 150v/7

*sākin bol~lar* 'to live, settle' 85r/9

*maḳhūr bol~lar* 'to be conquered' 56v/5

*ḥāżïr bol~lar* 'to be present' 153r/10–11

*[N] er~*

*ārzū er~* 'to wish' 69r/3

*ḥayāt er~* 'to live' 44v/4, 68v/9

*ǰudā eer~* 'to be(come) separate' 52r/2, 54r/7

*niyāzlïḳ er~* 'to pray' 19v/5

*täʿalluḳ er~* 'to be attached to' 66v/3, 84v/3–4

*taʿyïn er~* 'to appoint' 75r/11

*ḥāżïr er~* 'to be present' 155r/7, 156v/1

*zaχmlïḳ er~* 'to get wounded' 142v/7

*[N] eer~lär*

*täʿalluḳ er~* 'to be attached to' 83v/7

*ḥāżïr er~lär* 'to be present' 153v/1, 154r/4, 154v/11–155r/1, 155v/7

*[N] e[t]~*

*hälāk e[t]~* 'to kill' 34v/2–3

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[76] † لار ايلتى ‹ʾylty lʾr›.

*maḥbūs e[t]~* 'to captivate' 71v/4
*niyāz e[t]~* 'to make a request' 27v/6
*musaχχar e[t]~* 'to subdue' 86v/7

**[N] e[t]~lär**
*ḥisāb e[t]~lär* 'to count' 86v/5
*ḳaṣd e[t]~lär* 'to have (evil) intentions (against)' 100v/7–8
*maḳām e[t]~lär* 'to live, reside' 21v/3

**[N] et-iš~**
*dostluḳ et-iš~* 'to maintain friendly relations' 2r/9

**[N] ḳal~**
*ṭul ḳal~* 'to become a widow' 25v/1
*tul ḳal~* 'to become a widow' 26v/4

**[N] ḳïl~**
*āzād ḳïl~* 'to free, liberate, relieve' 156r/8
*basmïšī ḳïl~* 'to press' 100r/2
*bī-hūšlïḳ ḳïl~* 'to lose consciousness' 101r/9
*čïrḳamïšī ḳïl~* 'to take pleasure, enjoy, have fun' 156r/2–3
*χurūǰ ḳïl~* 'to set out (on a campaign)' 4r/4
*rūzī ḳïl~* 'to allot' 4v/9
*tażarruʿ ḳïl~* 'to humbly to beg' 17r/9
*tämäǰämïšī ḳïl~* 'to fight, struggle', 'to contest, contend' 130v/2
*ḳabūl ḳïl~* 'to agree, accept' 19v/4, 143v/9
*muwāfaḳatlïḳ ḳïl~* 'to agree, consent' 20v/3
*χabär ḳïl~* 'to put on notice' 21r/3–4, 146r/3
*toḳuš ḳïl~* 'to wage war' 21r/6–7, 37v/1, 48r/7, 50r/7, 142v/5, 145v/4–5
*uruš ḳïl~* 'to battle, fight' 42r/3, 52r/4
*ḥarb ḳïl~* 'to fight' 38r/5
*baχšïš ḳïl~* 'to present' 24v/7, 45r/6, 45v/1, 79v/7, 79v/11, 154r/1
*ʿāḳïllïḳ ḳïl~* 'to make a smart choice' 27v/6
*pādišāhlïḳ ḳïl~* 'to reign' 28v/1, 31r/8, 37r/11, 118r/6, 122r/7, 122v/5, 128v/6, 142v/9–10, 152v/5
*dušmānlïḳ ḳïl~* 'to be in enmity, feud' 32r/6, 36v/3, 37r/8
*baχadurlïḳ ḳïl~* 'to commit heroism' 38r/6
*mäyil ḳïl~* 'to lean (towards someone's side)' 35v/11, 47v/9
*ṣoḥbät ḳïl~* 'to talk, chat, speak' 39r/4
*siyurɣamïš[ī] ḳïl~* 'to favor, benefit, grant, bestow' 132v/10
*yarlïɣ ḳïl~* 'to command, order' 39v/6
*ḥisāb ḳïl~* 'to count' 39v/7
*ikrām ḳïl~* 'to respect' 42r/8
*tärbiyät ḳïl~* 'to bring up, educate, train, raise, teach manners' 48r/1
*māniʿ ḳïl~* 'to hinder, resist' 48r/2
*ḳanāʿt ḳïl~* 'to be satisfied, be content' 49v/6
*mädäd ḳïl~* 'to help' 49v/10
*ɣārät ḳïl~* 'to raid, sack, plunder, pillage' 51r/7, 61v/5, 62r/4
*olǰa ḳïl~* 'to capture as prey' 52r/5
*yaman ḳïl-* 'to do mischief' 52r/2
*ṭalab ḳïl~* 'to request, require, expect' 57v/7–8, 63r/1
*χarāb ḳïl~* 'to destroy, lay waste' 61v/6
*vaṣiyyät ḳïl~* 'to make a will, bequeath, make a testamentary arrangement' 63r/2, 88v/4
*iḥsān ḳïl~* 'to shower grace' 156r/7, 156r/9
*χayr [ḳïl]~* 'to shower grace' 156r/7
*ʿarża ḳïl~* 'to submit a request', 'to report' 63r/7, 83v/6–7

*ḥawālät ḳïl~* 'to entrust, transfer' 71r/10, 72v/3,
*taʿyïn ḳïl~* 'to appoint' 71r/11, 72v/4, 156r/6
*taḥḳīḳ ḳïl~* 'to approve, certify' 72r/10
*köŋül ḳïl~* 'to concentrate, maintain attention' 79v/5
*naṣïḥat ḳïl~* 'to instruct' 89r/6
*naẓar ḳïl~* 'to look, gaze, glance' 98r/11
*suāl ḳïl~* 'to ask, request' 99v/9
*paydā ḳïl~* 'to appear' 101v/1
*väfāt ḳïl~* 'to kill' 103r/6, 145r/7, 146r/4
*šähīd ḳïl~* 'to martyr' 151r/1–2, 151v/5
*ʿazm ḳïl~* 'to head for, set out on a journey' 154v/3
*ʿazīmät ḳïl~* 'to head for, set out on a journey' 97r/11
*aɣāz ḳïl~* 'to start, begin' 155r/8,
*taṣnīf ḳïl~* 'to compose' 157r/8
*vaṭan ḳïl~* 'to settle down' 31r/5
*yaylamïšï ḳïl~* 'to pass the summer' 60v/4
*yasamïšï ḳïl~* 'to set regulations, set things in order' 90v/4
*musaχχar ḳïl~* 'to subdue' 37r/10, 48v/5, 152v/6
*tābiʿ ḳïl~* 'to subdue' 37r/10

**[N] ḳïl~lar**

*mis̱āl ḳïl~lar* 'to compare' 2v/9
*ittifāḳ ḳïl~lar* 'to agree, be unanimous', 'to be allied' 20v/11
*toḳuš ḳïl~lar* 'to wage war' 21r/9–10, 51r/3, 57v/2–3, 143r/11–143v/1
*tämäǰämïšī*[77] *ḳïl~lar* 'to fight, struggle', 'to contest, contend', 'to cause discord' 21r/10
*uruš ḳïl~lar* 'to battle, fight' 36v/5
*ḳatl ḳïl~lar* 'to kill' 36v/6
*ɣawwāṣlïḳ ḳïl~lar* 'to dive' 27r/4
*ʿazm ḳïl~lar* 'to head for, set out on a journey' 42v/1
*bänd[ä] ḳïl~lar* 'to enslave, subjugate' 48r/5
*naḳl ḳïl~lar* 'to tell, rehearse' 15v/11
*keŋäš ḳïl~* 58v/3–4
*keŋäǰ ḳïl~lar* 'to take counsel (together)' 51v/3–4[78], 88r/8
*χïlāf ḳïl~lar* 'to act against, disobey' 52v/8
*ḳabūl ḳïl~lar* 'to agree, accept' 56v/9–10
*däfn ḳïl~lar* 'to bury' 64r/6–7, 150r/8, 151r/5, 151v/7
*mülāzämät ḳïl~lar* 'to serve diligently' 84r/11
*mülāzämätlik ḳïl~* 'to serve diligently' 83r/3
*ʿarża ḳïl~lar* 'to submit a request', 'to report' 88r/3–4
*suāl ḳïl~lar* 'to ask, request' 101v/9
*nisbät ḳïl~lar* 'to relate, attribute' 132r/3
*sančïš ḳïl~lar* 'to fight a fierce battle' 143v/3
*ʿayš [ḳïl~lar]* 'to bliss' 154v/7
*färāɣät [ḳïl~lar]* 'to relax' 154v/7
*āsāyïšlïḳ ḳïl~lar* 'to relax' 154v/7–8
*duʿā [ḳïl~lar]* 'to pray, read the prayers' 155v/7
*sänā ḳïl~lar* 'to pay tribute to', 'to praise, commend' 155v/7
*vädāʿ ḳïl~lar* 'to give a goodbye, say farewell' 89v/3
*vaṭan ḳïl~lar* 'to settle down' 9v/2
*ṭoy ḳïl~lar* 'to feast, celebrate, make feast' 141v/6

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[77] † *tämämǰämïšī.*
[78] † ‹nygǰ› نیكج.

*olǰamïšï ḳïl~lar* 'to present gifts' 58r/6

*mänzil ḳïl~lar* 'to settle down' 9v/3

*nis̱ār ḳïl~lar* 'to scatter small coins' K: f.68r/7[79]

*tapa ḳïl~lar* 'to lean to the side, go to the side' 52v/11

*yasamïšï ḳïl~lar* 'to set regulations, set things in order' 22r/10–11

*musaχχar ḳïl~lar* 'to subdue' 85r/4

*ḥāṣil ḳïl~lar* 'to result, accrue', 'to be obtained, be acquired' 27r/5

*ɣāfïl ḳïl~lar* 'to catch by surprise, catch at a weak moment' 54v/1

*muḳarrar ḳïl~lar* 'to establish, approve, assign' 56v/10

*muʿayyän ḳïl~lar* 'to define' 86v/11

**[N] ḳïl-ma~**

*ḳabūl ḳïl-ma~* 'not to agree, not to accept' 18r/9, 18v/2–3

*väfā ḳïl-ma~* 'not to fulfill the promised word' 35r/5

*māniʿ ḳïl-ma~* 'not to hinder, not to resist' 53v/2

*köŋül ḳïl-ma~* 'not to concentrate, not to maintain attention' 79v/9, 84r/8

*iltifāt ḳïl-ma~* 'not to treat with favor, not to show courtesy, not to take notice' 18r/11

**[N] ḳïl-ma~lar**

*ḳabūl ḳïl-ma~lar* 'not to agree, not to accept' 74r/11

**[N] ḳïl~m**

*ḳabūl ḳïl~m* 'to agree, accept' 19r/11, 19v/2

*istinbāṭ ḳïl~m* 'to gain, benefit' 91r/2

*iχtiyār ḳïl~m* 'to choose, elect' 92r/8

*hälāk ḳïl~m* 'to kill, cause to perish' 100v/10

*ḥamlä ḳïl~m* 'to make an attack' 101r/6, 101v/3

*šīrīn ḳïl~m* 'to sweeten, make sweet' 98v/4

*iḥtiāǰ ḳïl~m* 'to be needy' 98v/9

*ɣarɣarä ḳïl~m* 'to gargle' 101v/1

*yïraḵ ḳïl~m* 'to alienate, distance' 19r/6

**[N] ḳïl-ma~m**

*ṣoḥbät ḳïl-ma~m* 'not to talk, not to chat, not to speak' 19r/3

*intiz̧ār ḳïl-ma~m* 'not to wait' 101r/5

**[N] ḳïl-dur~**

*ḥisāb ḳïl-dur~* 'to make to count' 40v/6–7

*šarṭ ḳïl-dur~* 'to force to make conditions' 52v/5

*musaχχar ḳïl-dur~* 'to capture', lit. 'to cause to be subdued' 2v/7, 57r/7

*tābiʿ ḳïl-dur~* 'to capture', lit. 'to cause to be subdued' 2v/7–8

**[N] ḳïl~ḵ**

*muχtaṣar ḳïl~ḵ* 'to shorten' 11r/5

*hälāk ḳïl~ḵ* 'to kill, cause to perish' 94v/4

*yād ḳïl~ḵ* 'to remember, mention' 152r/11

**[N] ḳïl~ŋ**

*ʿarża ḳïl~ŋ* 'to submit a request', 'to report' 100r/1

**[N] ḳïl~m°z**

*inkār ḳïl~m°z* 'to retract' 20r/11

*bitimäklik ḳïl~m°z* 'to write (completed), compose' 77r/3

**[N] ḳïl-ïn~**

*taḵrīr ḳïl-ïn~* 'to be reported' 16v/3

*yād ḳïl-ïn~* 'to be remembered, be mentioned' 46v/6, 142r/6, 152r/7, 157v/10–11

*tärtīb ḳïl-ïn~* 'to be listed' 110r/10, 117v/8, 120r/3

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[79] StP: *nis̱ārlar ḳïldïlar* (f.155v/8).

*tafṣīl ḳïl-ïn~* 'to be illustrated in detail' 48v/10, 65v/11, 107r/4, 108r/6, 108v/2, 110v/5, 116r/8, 116v/9, 118r/2, 118r/9, 118v/4, 119r/1, 120v/8, 122r/2, 122r/5, 122v/9, 125r/11, 133v/10, 134v/7

*taʿyïn ḳïl-ïn~* 'to be appointed' 76v/3

*ḥādis̱ ḳïl-ïn~* 'to occur, come into existence' 25v/8

*mufaṣṣal ḳïl-ïn~* 'to be explained in detail' 114v/8, 117v/2, 119v/10

**[N] ḳïl-ïš~**

*χūṣūmat ḳïl-ïš~* 'to antagonize each other, feud with one another' 32v/1

*maṣāff ḳïl-ïš~lar* 'to fight each other on the battlefield' 146r/2

**[N] kel~**

*χoš kel~* 'to please, like' 65v/1

**[N] ḳoy~**

*ḳadam ḳoy~* 'to step, tread' 62r/10

*at ḳoy~* 'to name' 69r/4

*at ḳoy~lar* 'to name' 56v/9

**[N] ḳoy-ïl~**

*at ḳoy-ul~* 'to be named' 126r/7

**[N] tab~**

*ḳuwwät tab~* 'to gain strength' 49r/8

*šuhrät tab~* 'to become famous, earn fame' 10v/8

*väfāt tab~* 'to die' 44r/4, 45v/5–6, 45v/9, 47r/5, 47v/1, 47v/4, 55r/7, 63v/2, 67r/1, 78r/11, 127v/4, 130r/2, 130r/11, 131r/6–7, 131v/1, 132r/8, 139r/9, 139r/10–11, 142v/3, 149v/11, 152v/7–8, 152v/11, 151r/4, 151v/6

*ẓäfär tab~* 'to achieve victory, conquer the field' 98r/6

**[N] tab~lar**

*väfāt tab~lar* 'to die' 46r/3

**[N] yasa~lar**

*χān yasa~lar* 'to enthrone' 147r/9, 147v/11

***aǰ~*** 'to open' 111v/9

***ač-ïl~*** 'to be opened' 97v/3

***aɣr-ï~*** 'to be painful, suffer' 52v/10

*aɣr-ï~lar* 'to be painful, suffer' 20v/11

***al~*** 'to take' 18r/5, 18v/2, 21v/1, 32v/9, 45r/1, 45r/2, 45r/5, 45r/10, 51r/1, 55v/9, 57r/3, 58r/8, 58r/11, 59r/8, 60v/11, 61r/1, 61r/8, 61r/9, 61v/2, 61v/5, 62r/4, 62r/6, 62v/7, 62v/8, 72v/1, 72v/9, 76r/1, 99v/7, 103r/11, 111r/10, 111v/10, 127r/9, 128v/5, 129v/6, 130r/6, 134r/8(x2), 134v/4, 135r/3(x2), 135r/6, 135r/8, 135r/10, 135v/3, 137r/4, 137r/5, 137r/7, 137r/9, 138r/10, 138v/4, 138v/6, 139v/10, 140v/6, 140v/11, 141r/7, 141r/8, 145r/11

*al~lar* 'to take' 52v/9, 58v/9, 142r/3

***a[t]~lar*** 'to throw, shoot' 101r/6–7

***at-a~*** 'to call out (someone's name)', 'to nominate to a post', 'to betroth' 38r/10, 46v/2, 71v/2, 72r/2, 139r/4, 141r/7

*at-a~lar* 'to call out (someone's name)', 'to nominate to a post', 'to betroth' 13r/1, 16v/7–8, 18r/3, 25r/11, 32v/7, 37v/10, 42v/4, 52r/11, 54v/10, 55r/3–4, 55r/5, 72v/4, 130r/5, 132r/2, 134v/1, 136r/10, 136r/11, 136v/8, 139v/7

*at-a-n~* 'to be named, be called', 'to be famous' 2v/1, 10v/2, 10v/5, 11v/1, 38r/7, 131v/4

*at-a-n~lar* 'to be named, be called', 'to be famous' 31r/1

***aṭ-la-n~*** 'to march against, set out' 21r/6, 29v/3, 51v/5, 52r/11, 52v/5, 53r/4, 55v/2, 57r/1, 57r/6, 57v/1, 58r/1, 60v/2, 61v/11, 62v/4–5, 97v/1

*aṭ-la-n~ḳ* 'to march against, set out' 94v/2

***ay~*** 'to say, tell' 18r/6, 18r/9, 18v/2, 19r/1, 19r/11, 20v/7, 30r/4, 30v/6, 42r/9(x3), 46v/2, 56v/3, 65r/10, 88v/6, 94r/3, 97v/4, 100r/2(x2), 100r/3, 100r/6, 100r/9, 102r/1, 142v/7, 143v/7, 143v/8

***ay[t]~*** 'to say, tell' 25v/11

*ay~m* 'to say, tell' 136v/11, 139v/5

*ay[t]~m* 'to say, tell' 89r/8

*ay~lar* 'to say, tell' 15r/9, 34r/5, 74r/11, 94r/2, 126r/1, 128r/1, 128r/7

*ay-tur~* 'to arrange a match', lit. 'to force to say' 70r/5, 133r/6, 141r/8

**ayr-il-ma~** 'not to be separated, not to be parted' 40v/1

*ayr-il~lar* 'to be separated, be parted' 10v/2

**baɣ-la~** 'to tie, fasten' 132v/1

**bar~** 'to go' 36v/3–4, 36v/4(x2), 49v/5, 53v/9, 55v/7, 56r/9, 57v/4, 57v/5, 58r/8, 58v/7, 60v/9, 61r/6, 63r/5, 68r/7, 80r/3, 86v/1[80], 101r/7

*bar~lar* 'to go' 50v/9–10, 53r/5, 53v/10, 59v/7, 127v/1–2

*bar-ma~* 'not to go' 18v/4

**bas~** 'to press, crush, oppress' 50v/9, 51v/5, 54v/2, 57r/2

*bas~lar* 'to press, crush, oppress' 51r/10, 59v/11

*bas-tur~* 'to give order to crush' 30r/6

**baš-la~***lar* 'to begin, lead' 52v/11

**baš-la~***m* 'to begin, lead' 77r/2, 133v/8

**baḳ-tur~** 'to make obey 54v/9, 59r/11, 60r/9, 61r/8, 111v/5, 122v/6, 130r/1

**belgü-r~** 'to appear, became manifest' 63r/10

**bär~** 'to give' 4v/8, 16r/4, 21r/2, 21v/10, 30v/9, 31r/8, 35v/9, 39r/6, 43r/7, 43v1, 43v/3, 43v/5, 43v/6, 43v/8, 44r/5, 45r/3, 46r/5, 46r/6, 46r/8, 46r/9, 46r/10, 46v/4, 48r/6, 49v/5, 50r/9, 51v/1, 58r/2, 58v/6, 60r/6, 72r/10, 74v/1, 75r/8, 76r/3, 77v/8, 78r/8, 78v/4, 80v/5, 80v/11, 81r/3, 81v/1, 81v/4, 82r/5, 82v/9, 83r/9, 84r/11, 88r/3, 90v/6, 122r/11, 124v/5, 124v/9, 124v/10, 127v/9, 129v/2, 130v/7, 132r/1, 133r/1, 133r/2, 133r/3, 133r/4, 134r/3, 134r/5, 134r/7, 134r/10, 134v/4, 134v/6, 136r/9, 136r/3, 136v/5, 137v/4, 137v/5, 137v/7, 137v/8, 137v/10, 139r/5, 139r/7, 140r/10, 140r/11, 141v/7

*bär-il~* 'to be given' 73v/9, 84r/9–10, 85v/2, 87v/4, 108r/8, 112r/3, 141r/11

*bär-lär* 'to give' 21v/11, 40v/3–4, 86v/6, 88r/5, 88r/9, 101v/5, 127r/6, 136v/1

*ber-mä~* 'not to give' 19v/4, 80r/8

**bär~***m* 'to give' 82r/8, 100r/4

**bil~***m* 'to know' 5r/9

*bil-mä~lär* 'not to know' 27r/3

*bil~lär* 'to know' 95v/2

**biti~***m* 'to write' 119r/11, 133v/9

*biti~k* 'to write' 105r/11

*biti-l~* 'to be written' 66v/1, 77r/1, 82r/7, 157r/9, 157v/3

*biti-l-mä~* 'not to be written' 80v/3

*biti~lär* 'to write' 79r/2

**biy-lä~** 'to rule' 11v/2, 26v/7, 67r/1, 67r/2, 67r/3, 67v/8, 73v/7, 74v/4, 77v/1, 82v/11, 85v/10, 109v/5, 122v/2, 129r/1, 143r/3, 143r/4, 143r/6, 149v/7, 151r/2

*biy-lä-mä~* 'not to rule' 151r/3

**bir-ik~** 'to join' 36v/3, 67r/7, 80r/6, 94r/11

**bol~** 'to be(come)' 7r/1, 7r/3, 7r/5, 7r/11, 7v/3, 7v/6, 7v/6–7, 7v/9, 8r/1, 8r/4, 9r/11, 9v/1, 12v/10, 13v/3–4, 13v/10, 14r/4, 14r/5, 15v/5, 15v/7, 17v/5, 17v/7, 18r/3, 20v/2, 21v/1–2, 23v/9, 26v/6, 27v/7, 28v/3, 30v/11, 31v/4, 34r/9, 34v/7, 34v/8, 35r/2, 35r/11, 35v/11, 37v/3, 38v/7, 39v/1, 42r/3, 42v/7, 42v/9, 48v/1, 50r/9, 55r/7, 56v/11, 57r/5, 59v/4, 61v/3, 62v/5, 64v/6, 65v/9(x2), 65v/10, 66v/1, 66v/11, 67v/2, 69r/4, 69r/11, 69v/1, 69v/3, 69v/5, 70v/2, 71r/7, 72r/3, 72r/7, 72v/5, 76v/11(x2), 78r/10, 78v/3, 79r/10(x2), 79v/3, 81r/4, 81r/7(x2), 82r/7, 91r/3, 94r/5, 98r/7, 100v/9, 101r/11, 101v/3, 101v/11, 102r/3, 102r/7, 120v/10, 126v/9, 130v/11, 131r/11,

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[80] † بايردى ‹bʾyrdy›; K: *bar-dï* (f.35r/4).

133r/10, 133v/7, 135r/5, 136r/3, 136r/4, 136v/8, 141r/11, 143r/1(x2), 143r/3(x2), 143r/5, 143r/6, 143r/8, 144r/3, 145v/11, 146r/1, 149r/8, 152v/4, 150v/11, 151r/2

*bol-ma~* 'not to be(come)' 46r/3, 49v/5, 55r/4, 73r/11, 75v/6, 78v/4, 83r/1, 86v/6, 107v/8, 127r/9, 127v/5, 130r/1, 143r/6, 150v/3, 150v/9

*bol~m* 'to be(come)' 19v/3

*bol~ŋ* 'to be(come)' 56v/6

*bol~lar* 'to be(come)' 11v/3, 13v/9(x2), 15r/2, 15r/4, 19r/5, 32v/4, 33r/10, 46r/1, 49r/6, 59r/11, 82v/3–4, 87r/5, 87v/2, 90v/11, 95v/2, 136r/1, 141v/5, 142r/4, 150v/9

*bol-ub yüri~lär* 21v/6

*bol-ub yür~lär* 13r/4

**ayaḳ astï bol~** 'to be under the authority', 'to surrender' 4r/2

**böl-ün~** 'to be divided, split up' 31v/5

**buyur~** 'to order, command' 20r/3, 52v/9, 56r/10, 69r/3, 72r/7, 76r/2, 76r/4, 82r/8, 82v/2, 82v/8–9, 89r/6–7, 98r/11, 100r/5, 100r/8, 100v/3,100v/5, 141v/7, 141v/9

*buyur~m* 'to order, command' 98v/10

**čïḳ~** 'to go out' 13r/3, 14r/6, 18v/6, 18v/9, 19v/7, 37v/3, 39v/7, 40v/7, 40v/8, 40v/9, 50v/11, 71v/5, 84r/4

*čïḳ-ma~* 'not to go out' 81v/11

*čïḳ-ar~lar* 'to bring out' 86v/5

*čïḳ-ar-ma~lar* 'not to bring out' 86v/10

**čab~** 'to strike, cut off, slaughter' 50v/8

**ǰap~** 'to strike, cut off, slaughter' 29v/8

**ǰab~** 'to strike, cut off, slaughter' 50v/2

**čäk~** 'to pull, suffer (pain)' 153r/9

**er~** 'to be' 6r/6, 6r/10, 6r/m, 6v/2, 6v/5, 6v/8, 6v/11, 7r/3, 7r/5, 7r/8, 7r/11, 7v/3, 7v/4, 7v/6, 7v/7, 7v/9, 7v/11, 8r/3, 10v/7, 14r/1, 14r/2, 14r/8, 14r/11, 14v/10, 15r/1, 15r/2, 16r/3, 16r/11(x2), 16v/4, 16v/5, 17r/4, 17r/7, 17v/11, 18r/2, 18v/7, 20v7, 21r/1, 22r/4, 22r/5, 22v/1, 22v/3, 22v/9(x2), 22v/11, 23r/7, 23v/2, 23v/3, 23v/11, 24r/5, 24r/7, 24r/9, 24v/7, 24v/8, 24v/10, 25r/1, 25r/2, 25r/4, 27r/6, 27r/9, 27r/11, 27v/1, 27v/3, 27v/4, 28r/2, 28r/11, 28v/1–2, 28v/3, 28v/5, 28v/6, 28v/11, 29r/3, 29r/8, 29r/9, 29r/10, 29r/11, 30v/2, 30r/4, 31r/7, 31v/1, 31v/2, 31v/4, 31v/5, 31v/6, 31r/11, 32r/1, 32r/4, 32r/5, 32r/7(x2), 32r/8, 32r/10, 32v/2, 32v/3, 32v/11, 33r2(x2), 33v/4(x2), 33v/5(x2), 33v/6, 33v/9, 34r/1, 34r/8, 34r/10, 34r/11, 34v/6, 34v/9, 35r/3(x2), 35r/4, 35r/6(x2), 35r/8, 35r/9, 35r/10, 35v/1, 35v/3(x2), 35v/4, 35v/5, 35v/6, 35v/7(x2), 35v/8, 35v/9, 35v/10, 36r/1, 36r/5, 36r/6, 36r/9, 36v/1, 36v/2, 36v/7, 36v/10, 37r/4, 37r/5(x2), 37v/3, 37v/5, 37v/8, 37v/11, 38r/4, 38r/6, 38r/8, 38r/11(x2), 38v/1(x2), 38v/5, 39r/2, 39r/6, 39v/1, 39v/2, 39v/3(x2), 39v/5, 39v/8(x2), 40r/1–2, 40r/2, 40r/4, 40r/5, 40r/6(x2), 40r/7, 40r/8, 40r/9, 40r/11(x2), 40v/1, 40v/2, 40v/6, 40v/8, 40v/9, 41r/2, 41r/6, 41v/4, 41v/7, 41v/8, 41v/9, 41v/10, 41v/11, 41r/1, 42r/2, 42r/4, 42r/5, 42v/2, 42v/6, 42v/8, 42v10, 42v/11, 43r/8, 43v/1, 43v/2, 43v/3, 43v/4(x2), 43v/5, 43v/6, 43v/7, 43v/9, 43v/11, 44r/4, 44r/6, 44r/7(x2), 44r/10, 44r/11, 44v/1, 44v/5, 44v/6, 44v/11, 45r/1, 45r/2, 45r/7, 45r/8, 45v/3, 45v/6, 47r/6, 47v/6, 47v/10, 47v/11, 48v/4, 48v/6, 49r/1, 49r/7, 49r/10(x2), 49v/1, 49v/8, 50v/1, 50v/10, 51r/2, 51v/5, 52v/1, 53r/7, 53v/4, 53v/9, 54v/6, 54v7, 55r/1, 55r/6, 55r/10, 55v/4, 55v/11, 56r/2, 56r/5, 56r/6, 56r/9, 56r/11, 56v/6, 57r/11, 57v/11, 58r/2, 58r/4, 58r/6, 58v/10, 59r/2, 59r/6, 59v/7, 59r/8, 60v/4, 62r/3, 62r/5, 62v/3, 62v/10, 63v/1, 64v/11(x2), 65r/2, 65r/3, 65r/5, 65r/6(x2), 65r/7, 65v/8, 65v/11, 66r/2, 66r/4, 66r/6, 66r/7, 66r/8, 66r/10, 66r/11, 66v/7, 66v/8, 66v/9, 66v/10(x2), 67r/4, 67r/5, 67r/6, 67r/8, 67r/9, 67v/1, 67v/2, 67v/3, 67v/4, 67v/5, 67v/6, 68r/1, 68r/2, 68r/5, 68r/6, 68r/7, 68r/8, 68r/10, 68v/1, 68v/2(x2), 68v/3, 68v/4(x2), 68v/5, 68v/7, 68v/8, 69r/1, 69r/8, 69v/3, 69v/6, 69r/7, 69v/9, 69v/10, 69v/11, 70r/1, 70r/2, 70r/3(x2), 70r/7, 70r/8, 70r/9, 70r/10, 70v/1(x2), 70v/7, 70v/9(x2), 70v/10, 71r/6, 71r/8, 71r/9, 71r/11, 71v/7, 71v/8, 71v/11, 72r/5, 72r/9, 72r/11(x2), 72v/1, 72v/6, 72v/7(x2), 72v/10, 73r/2(x2), 73r/3, 73r/4, 73r/8(x2), 73r/9, 73v/2, 73v/3, 73v/8, 74r/1, 74r/3, 74r/4, 74r/5(x2), 74r/9, 74v/4, 74v/6,

74v/7, 74v/11, 75r/4, 75r/6, 75r/7, 75r/8, 75v/3, 75v/7, 75v/8(x2), 75v/11, 76r/7(x2), 76r/9, 76v/1, 76v/4, 76v/9, 77r/9, 77r/11, 77v/2, 77v/3(x2), 77v/5, 77v/6, 78r/5, 78r/6(x2), 78r/8, 78r/11, 78v/9, 78v/10, 79r/3, 79r/4, 79r/5, 79r/6, 79r/7, 79r/11, 79v/10, 80r/11, 80v/3, 80v/5, 80v/7, 80v/10, 81v/3, 81v/7, 81v/10, 82r/6, 82v/10, 83r/3, 83r/5, 83r/6, 83r/7, 84v/5, 84v/6, 85v/1, 85v/5, 86v/3, 88r/2, 94r/1, 94r/6, 97r/10, 97v/1, 97v/2, 97v/6, 98r/5(x2), 98r/9, 99v/5, 100v/3, 102r/6, 103r/4, 103r/9, 103v/3, 103v/5, 104r/3, 104v/2, 104v/3, 104v/6, 104v/7, 104v/8, 104v/11, 105r/1, 105r/4, 105r/6(x2), 105r/7, 105v/6, 105v/8, 105v/9, 106r/3(x2), 106r/4, 106r/5, 106r/5–6, 106r/7, 106v/3, 106v/4(x2), 106v/6(x2), 106v/10, 106v/11, 107r/1, 107v/1, 107v/4(x2), 107v/5, 107v/9, 108r/4, 108r/11, 108v/1, 108v/9, 109r/7, 109r/9(x2), 109r/10, 109v/11, 110r/1, 110r/2, 110r/5, 110r/9, 110v/10, 111r/2, 111r/11, 111v/6(x2), 112r/1, 112v/5, 112v/6, 112v/11, 113r/2, 113r/3, 113v/2, 113v/3, 113v/11, 114v/4, 115r/10, 115r/11, 117v/7, 117v/11, 118v/5, 119r/2, 119r/3, 120v/3, 120v/9, 121r/1(x2), 121v/11(x2), 122r/1, 122v/5, 123r/5, 123r/6, 123r/8, 123r/11, 123v/6(x2), 123v/10, 123v/11, 124r/3(x2), 124r/5(x2), 124r/8, 124r/10, 124r/11, 124v/1, 124v/6, 125r/3, 125r/8, 125r/10, 125v/3(x2), 125v/5, 125v/6, 126r/2, 126r/6(x2), 126r/8, 126v/3, 126v/5, 126v/10, 127r/8, 127r/9, 127r/11, 127v/11, 128r/3, 128r/4, 128r/6, 128r/11, 128v/2, 128v/3, 128v/4, 128v/11, 129r/5, 129r/6, 129r/7(x2), 129v/4, 129v/8(x2), 129v/9, 130r/1, 130r/9, 130v/1, 130v/6, 130v/11, 131r/3, 131r/4, 131r/9, 131r/10, 131v/9, 131v/10(x3), 132v/5, 132v/6, 132v/7(x2), 132v/8(x2), 133r/4, 133r/7(x2), 133r/8, 133v/4(x2), 134r/5, 134r/6, 134r/11(x2), 134v/11, 135r/2, 135r/4, 135r/6, 135r/8, 135r/9, 135r/11, 135v/2, 135v/3(x2), 135v/4, 135v/5(x2), 135v/6, 135v/7, 136r/2(x2), 136r/3, 136r/5, 136r/7, 136r/9, 136r/10, 136v/4, 136v/6, 137r/1, 137r/2, 137r/3(x2), 137r/4, 137r/5, 137r/6, 137r/7(x2), 137r/8, 137r/9, 137r/11(x2), 137v/1, 137v/3, 137v/9, 137v/11(x2), 138r/5, 138r/7, 138r/9, 138r/10, 138r/11, 138v/1(x2), 138v/2, 138v/3, 138v/8, 139r/1, 139r/3, 139v/6, 139v/8, 139v/9, 139v/11(x2), 140r/1, 140r/2, 140r/3, 140r/4(x2), 140r/6, 140r/7, 140r/8, 140r/9, 140r/10, 140r/11, 140v/1, 140v/7(x2), 140v/8(x2), 140v/9, 140v/10, 140v/11, 141r/1(x2), 141r/2(x2), 141r/9, 142v/2, 143r/7, 143r/11, 143v/4, 143v/5, 143v/6, 145r/5, 145r/6, 145r/11, 145v/1, 146r/9, 146v/1, 149r/1, 150r/2(x2), 150r/6, 150r/9(x2), 151r/6, 151v/3, 151v/4, 151v/5, 151v/8, 153v/2 (x2), 154v/9, 155r/4, 156v/1, 156v/11, 157r/5

*er~lär* 'to be' 6r/2 (x2), 6r/4, 10r/9(x2), 10v/10, 12v/3, 12v/7, 13v/11, 14r/2, 14r/11, 15v/5, 15v/9, 17r/5, 17r/6, 17v/2, 21v3, 21v/5, 26v/10, 32r/2, 32r/3, 33r/6, 33r/7, 37r/3, 57v/2, 69v/7, 72r/4, 72r/5, 72r/8, 73r/1–2, 74r/8, 75v/2, 83r/1–2, 84v/1, 84v/4, 84v/11, 85r/5, 85v/3, 86r/4, 86r/5, 87r/7, 87r/8, 87r/9, 87v/1, 87v/3, 87v/8, 88r/10, 90v/1, 97v/8, 100v/1, 105r/3, 111r/5, 113r/4, 152r/1, 154r/4, 154v/4, 155v/7

*e~* 'to be' 22v/3, 43r/7, 70v/2, 71v/8, 71v/9, 72v/2, 73r/9, 73v/10, 74v/9, 75r/7, 75v/4, 75v/5, 75v/8, 78v/11, 82r/1, 83r/10

*e~lär* 'to be' 11v/2, 11v/5, 19v/6, 20r/9, 69v/2, 71v/10, 72v/4, 73v/6, 75v/2, 75v/10, 75v/11, 76v/7

**bar er~** 'to exist' 11v/8, 11v/8–9, 17r/1, 18r/5, 18v/7, 21r/2, 21v/11, 24r/6, 24r/8, 24r/9, 24r/m, 24v/3, 24v/9, 24v/10, 24v/11, 25r/1, 28v/2, 29r/1, 30r/1, 30r/1–2, 30r/7, 30r/3, 30v/10, 31r/4, 31r/10, 31v/8–9, 32r/8, 32v/2, 33r/5, 33r/9, 33v/1, 33v/2, 33v/6, 34r/10, 34v/3, 34v/5, 36r/10, 37v/8, 38r/9, 38v/4, 38v/6, 38v/7, 38v/8, 38v/10–11, 39r/3(x2), 39r/7, 39r/8, 39r/10(x2), 40v/3, 40v/4(x2), 40v/10, 41v/2–3, 42r/6–7, 42v/3, 44r/1, 44r/3, 44r/6, 44v/9, 44v/11, 45v/5, 45v/8, 46v/3, 46v/8, 46v/9, 47v/7, 55v/8, 56r/9, 56v/3, 60v/6, 61v/4, 64v/3, 64v/8, 65r/1, 65v/7, 66v/5, 67r/4, 67r/10, 68r/4, 72v/, 73r/5, 75v/5, 76v/9, 79v/1, 79v/8, 79v/9, 84v/3, 85r/11, 85v/2, 86r/9, 86v/3(x2), 86v/5, 87r/6, 87r/9, 87v/5, 87v/9, 90v/5, 98r/8, 98v/10, 102r/9, 102r/10, 102v/1, 102v/2, 102v/4, 102v/5, 105v/6, 102v/7, 103r/1, 103r/6, 103r/9, 103v/4, 103v/5, 103v/7, 103v/10, 103v/11, 104r/4, 104r/5, 104r/6, 104r/7, 104r/10, 104v/5, 105r/9, 106r/2, 106v/2(x2), 106v/9, 107r/3, 107r/5–6, 107v/1, 108r/3, 108r/6, 108r/9–10, 108v/5, 108v/8, 109v/10, 110r/1, 110r/4, 110r/9, 110v/5, 111v/11, 112r/7, 112r/9, 112r/11, 112v/1, 112v/2, 112v/4, 112v/7, 113r/3, 113r/5, 113r/7, 113r/8, 113v/1, 113v/5, 113v/8, 114r/1, 114r/9(x2), 114r/10, 114v/1, 114v/4, 114v/9, 115r/1, 115r/2, 115r/4, 115r/5, 115r/6, 115r/8, 115v/1, 115v/3, 115v/4, 115v/6, 115v/7, 115v/9, 115v/10, 116r/2, 116r/3, 116r/4, 116r/8, 116r/11, 116v/1, 116v/2, 116v/4,

116v/7, 116v/10, 116v/11, 117r/2, 117r/3(x2), 117r/4, 117r/6, 117v/1, 117v/3, 117v/5, 117v/8, 118r/1, 118r/3, 118r/4, 118r/8, 118r/9, 118v/3, 118v/4, 118v/6, 118v/7, 118v/11, 119r/2, 119v/3, 119v/8, 119v/11, 120r/3, 120r/4, 120r/5, 120r/6, 120r/7, 120r/8(x2), 120r/9, 120r/10, 120r/11, 120v/2, 120v/3, 120v/4, 120v/7, 120v/8, 121r/2, 121r/3, 121r/5(x2), 121r/6–7, 121r/7, 121r/10, 121v/2(x2), 121v/3, 121v/5, 121v/10, 122r/10, 122v/9, 122v/10, 123r/1, 123r/l1, 123r/3, 123r/7–8, 123r/10, 123v/1, 123v/3, 123v/4, 124r/1, 124v/3, 124v/4, 124v/5, 124v/7, 124v/10, 125r/1, 125r/2, 125r/4, 125r/5, 125v/2, 125v/9, 125v/10, 126r/2, 126r/3, 126r/l1, 126r/5, 126r/8, 126r/8–9, 126v/1, 126v/10, 126v/11, 127r/4, 127r/5, 127v/4–5, 127v/7, 128r/8, 128v/7, 129r/5, 129v/2, 129v/3, 130r/5, 130r/7, 130v/1, 130v/3, 130v/4, 130v/6, 130v/9(x2), 131r/7, 131v/2, 131v/5, 132r/9, 132r/10, 132r/11, 132v/2(x2), 132v/4, 133r/1, 133r/9, 133r/10, 133v/6, 133v/10, 134v/1, 135v/10, 136r/1, 138r/6, 140r/5, 140r/6, 140v/2, 141r/6, 144v/2–3, 149r/7, 149r/10, 151r/7, 151v/9

*yoḳ er~* 'not to exist' 2v/1, 37v/7, 38v/9(x2), 39r/7, 44v/7–8, 46v/8, 46v/10, 67v/1, 90v/2, 102v/3, 105r/7, 105r/10, 109r/1, 109v/2, 109v/5, 109v/7, 112r/5, 113v/10, 114r/4, 114r/6, 116r/6, 117r/5, 117r/7, 117r/8, 117r/10, 118r/11, 118v/8, 118v/9, 119r/7, 119r/9, 122r/9, 122r/10, 124v/7

*yoḳ er~lär* 'not to exist' 9r/4

*e[t]~* 'to do, make' 42v/3, 60r/11, 90v/6

*et-ib yür-güz~* 90v/5–6

*em-mä~* 'not to suckle' 17r/9

*iktü-lä~* 'to bring up' 65v/1–2

*färmān-la~m* 'to issue a *firman*, order' 19v/1

*ǰar-la~* 'to call to, summon' 143v/7

*χān-la~* 'to enthrone' 144r/3[81]

*ḥisāb-la-t~* 'to cause to count' 40r/10

*in~* 'to go down' 90v/10

*ʿizzät-lä~* 'to treat with respect, honor' 22v/7

*ič~lär* 'to drink' 53v/10

*ič-ir~m* 'to let drink, give to drink' 98v/7

*ičḳi-n~* 'to escape' 86r/7

*ǰab~lar* 'to strike, cut off, slaughter' 69r/1

*keŋä-š~lär* 'to take counsel (together)' 17v/10

*käč~* 'to pass' 24v/1, 29v/8, 31r/4, 46v/12, 61r/6, 74r/7, 76r/10, 127r/9, 133r/10, 135r/7

*keǰ~* 'to pass' 7r/9

*käč~lär* 'to pass' 13v/11

*käǰ-ür~* 'to make pass, carry out, carry on', 'to pass' 47v/1

*ʿömr käč-ür~* 'to live' 47r/8, 47r/9, 132r/8

*ke[t]~* 'to leave, go away' 15r/1, 58v/8, 60v/8, 65v/6, 65v/7, 66r/2, 69r/11

*käl~* 'to come' 4v/9, 61v/8

*kel~* 'to come' 5r/6, 17v/11, 24v/2, 27r/6, 29v/10, 32v/6, 46v/1, 49v/6, 49v/8, 50r/4, 54r/8, 56v/2, 60v/7, 61r/10, 61v/7, 62v/11, 68r/10, 70v/3, 73v/11, 75r/10, 76r/10, 76r/11, 80r/4, 85r/1, 88r/11, 97v/4, 101v/2, 119v/6, 128v/8, 128v/11, 130v/1, 141v/9

*kel~lär* 'to come' 14v/1, 31r/3, 58r/6, 61r/1, 61v/5, 61v/7, 86v/7, 90v/3, 111v/3–4

*kel-mä~lär* 'not to come' 88r/8

*käl-iš~lär* 'to come to an agreement' 31r/9

*kel-tür~* 'to bring, make to come' 55v/9, 57r/9

*kel-tür~m* 'to bring, make to come' 98v/5–6

*kel-tür~lär* 'to bring, make to come' 64r/3–4, 72r/3, 142r/2

*ke[l]-tür~lär* 'to bring, make to come' 58v/10

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[81] StP: † *χānlandï*; K: *χānladï* (f.54v/5).

*ḳaläm-dä kel~* 'to be written on paper, be recorded' 133v/8, 152r/8
*ḥāmilä kel-tür~* 'to give birth' 39r/5
*īmān käl-tür~* 'to profess' 20v/2
*īmān kel-tür~* 'to profess' 17v/4, 141v/2–3
*īmān käl-tür~m* 'to profess' 19v/2
*īmān kel-tür-mä~* 'not to profess' 18v/3
*ḥarb kel-iš~* 'to be dragged into the battle with each other' 142v/4
*kez~m* 'to walk/travel around' 5r/8–9
*kir-mä~m°z* 'not to get involved with something, not to undertake' 20v/1
*ʿāḳïl-ɣa kir~* 'to be(come) aware' 18r/4
*köp-äl~* 'increase, become numerous' 85r/2
*köb-äl~* 'increase, become numerous' 77v/10
*köp-äl~lär* 'increase, become numerous' 78v/6
*köč~* 'to migrate' 54v/6
*köč~lär* 'to migrate' 31r/2
*kör~* 'to see' 18r/9, 18r/11, 18v/4, 18v/11, 30r/2, 39r/4, 65r/8, 72r/8, 101r/10
*kör~lär* 'to see' 5r/7, 83r/5, 94r/2, 94r/4
*kör~m* 'to see' 5r/10, 100r/4
*kör~m°z* 'to see' 94r/4
*kör-mä~lär* 'not to see' 5r/8
*kötär~lär* 'to lift' 59v/8, 155r/10
*kötär-il~* 'to be lifted' 4v/9
*ol~* 'to be(come)' 48v/1[82]
*oltur~* 'to sit down, sit' 38v/2, 38v/3, 68r/9, 74r/6
*oltur-t~* 'to seat' 20r/3, 21v/10, 141v/6–7
*oltur-ɣuz~* 'to seat' 44r/5, 135r/10, 135v/1, 138v/6–7, 141r/4, 141r/10
*χānlïḳ-ɣa oltur-* 'to take power' 155r/11
*χānlïḳ-ɣa oltur-ɣuz-lar* 'to enthrone' 154v/10–11
*pādišāhlïḳ-ɣa oltur-* 'to take power' 78v/11
*pādišāhlïḳ-ɣa oltur-ɣuz-* 'to enthrone' 79v/7
*ozdur-ma~lar* 'not to let to outstrip, not to let to overtake' 45v/4
*öl~* 'to die' 14v/10, 21r/7, 25v/1, 30r/6, 34v/3, 39r/1, 44r/9, 44v/4, 57v/3, 59v/11, 68v/9, 69r/7, 74v/4, 81v/11, 106v/8, 125v/4, 125v/8, 126v/9, 130v/4, 131v/7, 133r/11, 135r/6, 136r/11, 136v/3, 138r/7, 139r/8, 142v/9, 142v/10
*öl-tür~* 'to kill' 24v/4, 30r/11, 36r/1, 37v/10, 54v8–9, 55v/5, 56r/8, 57r/2, 67r/7, 81r/2, 97v/8, 144r/1, 144r/5, 144r/6, 145r/6, 156r/4–5, 118r/6, 131v/6, 132v/1
*öl-tür~k* 'to kill' 94v/3
*öl-dür~* 'to kill' 68v/6, 131r/8
*öl-tür~lär* 'to kill' 145v/5
*öt~* 'to pass' 24r/8, 24r/10, 24v/9, 64v/6, 142r/9, 149v/8
*ös~* 'to grow' 36r/4, 105r/8
*ot-ḳar~*[83] 'to pasture, graze (an animal)' 98v/8
*ḳač~* 'to run away, flee' 30r/7, 50v/11, 53v/9, 94r/10, 142v/6
*ḳaǰ~* 'to run away, flee' 51r/5
*ḳač~lar* 'to run away, flee' 50v/9
*ḳač-ur~* 'to put to flight, drive away' 52r/4, 56r/7, 145r/1
*ḳaǰ-ur~* 'to put to flight, drive away' 55v/4

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[82] K: *boldï* (f.19r/13).
[83] StP: † *otḳazdïm*; K: *otḳardïm* (f.40r/11).

*ḳal~* 'to stay, remain' 47r/7, 55r/6, 64v/4, 76v/11, 83r/6, 83r/11, 125v/8, 142r/10, 142v/4, 153r/8

*ḳal~lar* 'to stay, remain' 18r/1, 86v/7

*ḳal-ma~* 'not to stay, not to remain' 142v/11

*ʿaǰab-ḳa ḳal~* 'to be astonished' 27v/5–6

*köŋül ḳal-iš~* 'to be disappointed in each other' 43r/11

*ḳar-iš~lar* 'to mix with one another' 78r/2

*ḳart-ay~* 'to grow old, get old' 74r/5

*ḳay[t]~* 'to turn back, return, come back' 61v/4, 62r/10

*ḳayt-ar~* 'to get back, give back, bring back' 63r/4, 89v/4,

*ḳayt-ar~m* 'to get back, give back, bring back' 101v/2

*ḳïl~* 'to do, make' 16r/2, 20r/3, 21v/8, 59v/6, 60r/2, 60r/11, 60v/1, 64r/1–2, 90v/4, 98r/3, 102r/2, 102r/3, 143v/10, 156r/4, 156r/5

*ḳïl~lar* 'to do, make' 52r/9–10, 100v/9, 156r/3

*ḳul ḳïl-dur~* 'to make to serve' 2r/7

*mubār* *äk bād ḳïl~* 'to congratulate' 153v/10

*mubār* *äk bādlïḳ ḳïl~lar* 'to congratulate' 156r/1

*iẓhār-i vāḳïʿ ḳïl~* 'to announce what happened' 64r/4

*daʿvā-yi kärāmātlïḳ ḳïl~* 'to make a prediction, predict the future' 56r/11–56v/1, 56v/3

*ḳatl-i ʿām ḳïl~* 'kill everyone, exterminate all' 29v/8

*ḳïš-la~* 'to pass the winter, go into winter quarters' 54v/2, 62r/11

*ḳoruḳ~* 'to fear' 17v/2, 27v/6

*ḳoruḳ~lar* 'to fear' 101v/4

*ḳoš-ul~* 'to be joined, be united' 54r/5, 78v/7, 81r/3

*ḳoš-ul~m* 'to be joined, be united' 54r/9

*ḳoš-ul~lar* 'to be joined, be united' 49v/9

*ḳoš-ul-uš~lar* 'to be joined to each other, be united to each other' 78r/1

*ḳoy~* 'to put (down)' 58r/7, 100r/3, 100r/5

*ḳoy~lar* 'to put (down)' 100r/6,

*ḳoy-ma~* 'not to put (down)' 29v/9

*ḳoy-uš-tu[r]~* 'to be increased, appear' 32r/9–10

*ḳoy-uš-tur~* 'to be increased, appear' 49r/4

*ḳow~* 'to follow, pursue, chase' 49v/3

*ḳučaḳ-la-š~lar* 'to embrace one another' 89v/3

*ḳut-ul~* 'to be rescued, be saved' 29v/10

*ḳur~lar* 'to erect, set up, construct' 155r/6

*ḳuy~ŋ°z* 'to pour' 30v/7

*saǰ-ïl~* 'to be scattered, be sprinkled' 4r/4

*sal~* 'to put', 'to built' 145r/2, 145r/3(x2)

*sal-ïn~* 'to put on oneself' 131r/11, 133r/9, 135r/5

*sal-dur~* 'to order to build' 2v/3

*saḳ-la~* 'to watch over guard, protect' 39r/6

*saḳ-la-n~* 'to protect oneself' 27r/2

*saḳ-ïn~* 'to beware' 17v/3

*sat~* 'to sell' 24v/6

*sa[t]~lar* 'to sell' 27r/8

*semür-t~* 'to fatten' 60v/5

*sïyba~m* 'to stroke, pet' 101r/11

*sïn-dur~* 'to defeat, break' 50r/7, 51v/11, 52v/1, 142v/5–6

*sïγ-ïn~* 'to shelter, protect, take care of oneself, be cautious, be on one's guard against' 49v/2

*sor~* 'to ask' 65r/9, 85r/8, 99v/11, 100r/2

*tabš-ur~* 'to entrust, hand over' 42v/1, 73v/5, 76r/4

*tab*~ 'to find' 48r/10, 53r/1

*tab*~*lar* 'to find' 76r/3

*tab*~*m* 'to find' 91r/2

*tab-ma*~ 'not to find' 44v/3

*tab-ma*~*m* 'not to find' 54r/10

*tab-ïl*~ 'to be found' 13r/4, 14v/2

*at taḳ-ïl*~ 'to be called' 70r/8–9

*tarḵa*~ 'to disband' 47v/9

*tart*~ 'to pull (out)' 21r/4, 53v/8

*taš-la*~ 'to throw' 137r/8

*tay*~ 'to slip' 150r/1

*tay-ma*~ 'not to slip' 143r/9

*te*~ 'to say, speak' 17v/10, 18r/10(x2), 19r/11, 19v/2, 19v/3, 63r/3, 65v/1, 65v/2, 94r/3, 143v/7, 143v/8

*te*~*lär* 'to say, speak' 30r/10

*tä*~ 'to say, speak' 19r/10, 142v/8, 143v/9, 145v/10

*tä*~*lär* 'to say, speak' 145v/8

*teg*~ 'to reach' 21r/7, 21v/8, 24r/7, 49r/9, 49v/10, 64v/9, 79r/1, 85v/7, 90v/9, 91r/4, 101r/8, 148r/5, 148r/6, 148r/7(x2), 148r/8

*teg-mä*~ 'not to reach' 43r/10, 100v/10, 150v/8

*täg-mä*~ 'not to reach' 150r/2, 150r/4

*teg-ür*~*ŋ* 'to cause to reach' 100r/1

*täg-ür-mä*~ 'not to cause to reach' 79v/6

*teg-ür*~*lär* 'to cause to reach' 84v/3, 126v/8

*täbrä*~ 'to move' 59v/2, 60v/5, 61v/11, 98r/3

*tik*~ 'to plant, set up' 56r/10

*tilä*~ 'to wish' 18v/8, 20r/11, 24r/11, 51r/8, 63r8(x2), 74r/10, 85v/10–11, 102r/1, 132v/11, 138r/7, 138/r/8, 139v/8, 156r/10

*tilä*~*m* 'to wish' 19r/3

*tïŋ-la-ma*~ 'not to hear, not to listen' 19r/5

*tuɣ*~ 'to be born' 14v/11, 17r/8, 24r/7, 25r/2, 26r/8, 32v/10, 33r/8, 38v/5, 41v/10, 42v/2, 44r/2, 44r/8, 45v/5, 45v/8–9, 47r/4, 47r/7, 47r/11, 47v/2, 103v/1, 105v/8, 106r/8, 106v/5, 107r/7, 107r/8, 107r/9, 107r/11, 107v/5, 107v/7, 108v/1, 108v/3, 108v/4, 108v/10, 109r/6, 110r/10, 110r/11, 110v/1, 110v/1–2, 110v/2, 110v/3, 110v/4, 112r/1, 113v/3, 122r/7, 123r/6, 124v/1, 124v/11, 126v/6, 128r/6, 129v/9, 130r/3, 131v/11, 132r/2, 132r/6, 133v/5, 139r/10

*tuɣ-ma*~ 'not to be born' 17v/8

*tuɣ-ur*~ 'to give birth' 25r/9, 25v/5, 35r/9–10, 37v/6, 41v/11, 125r/11, 141r/5

*tuɣ-ur*~*m* 'to give birth' 27v/11

*tur*~ 'to stand (up)' 69v/4, 84r/9

*tur*~*lar* 'to stand (up)' 84r/5, 85r/9

*tur*~*m* 'to stand (up)' 101v/3

*tüš*~ 'to fall, come down' 27v/5, 51r/6, 54v/3, 91r/7, 143r/9, 150v/10

*tüš*~*lär* 'to fall, come down' 87v/3, 91r/1

*tüš-ür*~ 'to throw, shoot, waft' 51r/7

*ḳayta ḳol-ɣa tüš-ür*~ 'to return', lit. 'to seize back' 51r/11

*tut*~ 'to take, hold' 19v/4, 20v/3, 20v/4, 135r/4, 138v/3, 142v/7, 142v/8

*tut*~*lar* 'to take, hold' 51r/1, 64r/5

*tut-ma*~ 'not to take, not to hold' 18v/4

*tut-ma*~*m* 'not to take, not to hold' 19r/3

*ur-dur*~ 'to order to beat' 126v/9

*ur-uš*~ 'to fight, battle' 143v/10, 151r/1

*ur-ɣur*~*lar* 'to lead (the troops)', 'to take charge of', lit. 'to force to strike' 86r/10

*üw-gür~* 'to translate, turn' 157r/6

*ün-dä~* 'to urge, encourage, invite' 108r/1

*yaɣï-la-š~* 'to antagonize each other, feud with one another' 35r/4, 35r/5

*yara-t~* 'to approve', 'to create' 27r/11

*yara-t-ma~* 'not to approve', 'not to create' 145v/9

*yara-š~* 'to make peace', 'to agree', 'to be suitable, fit' 35r/4

*yara-š-ma~* 'not to make peace', 'not to agree', 'not to be suitable, not to fit' 55r/4

*yaraš-ma~lar* 'not to make peace', 'not to agree', 'not to be suitable, not to fit' 54r/3

*yara-š-tur~* 'to set in order, make ready' 63r/9

*yarlïḳa~* 'to issue orders, be gracious, be compassionate, forgive' 60r/2

*yasa~* 'to do, construct, arrange' 40v/5, 73v/5, 76v/6

*yasa-t~* 'to make someone to construct' 59v/4

*yaz~ḳ* 'to write' 112r/10

*yaz-ïl~* 'to be written' 122r/4, 123v/3

*yay-la~* 'to pass the summer' 62r/7

*yoḳ-al~* 'to be destroyed, perish, disappear' 48r/8

*yä[t]~* 'to reach, suffice', 'to join' 58v/3, 62r/11

*yät-iš~* 'to reach, overtake' 74r/6, 101r/10

*yuma-la-n~* 'to roll' 97v/2

*yüɣür-üš~lär* 'to run together' 32v/6

*yür-güz~m* 'to let ride, walk' 98v/6–7

*yüz-lä-n~* 'to face toward, turn towards' 89v/5

*yïɣ~* 'to gather' 20r/2, 20v/7, 80r/5

*yïɣ-ïl~* 'to assemble' 21r/5, 30v/5

*yïɣ-ïl~lar* 'to assemble' 80r/5, 111v/4

*yïḳ-ïl~* 'to collapse, fall down' 51r/1, 144r/1

*yïḳ-ïl~m* 'to collapse, fall down' 101r/9

*yibär~* 'to send' 11r/11, 16r/8, 21r/2, 42r/11, 51r/9, 51r/9–10, 54r/1, 54r/9, 55r/11, 57r/7, 57r/9, 57v/8(x2), 58v/5, 59r/7, 59r/8, 59r/10, 59v/3, 59v/6, 59v/9, 60r/5, 60r/8, 61r/6, 61r/7, 61v/3, 62r/4, 62r/5, 62r/8, 63r/6, 66v/4, 71v/1, 73v/11, 75r/9, 78r/9, 85r/7, 86r/2, 89v/4, 90v/8, 99v/7, 99v/7–8, 108r/2, 145v/3

*yibär~lär* 'to send' 86r/3, 86r/11, 87r/3, 127v/2

{**-GAy**} OPT

*[N] ay~* 92v/4

*[N] ayt-a al-ma~* 97r/4

*[N] bär-ä al-ma~* 95v/11–96r/1

*[N] bol~* 2v/11, 27v/10, 90r/8, 91r/8, 91r/9, 91v/10, 92v/9–10, 145v/7

*[N] bol~lar* 82v/6, 99r/7

*[N] et~* 18r/10, 94r/9, 95r/3, 95v/8, 96v/5, 96v/7

*[N] et~lär* 99r/7–8

*[N] e[t]-tür~* 95r/11

*[N] et-ä al-ma~* 96v/1

*[N] et-ä bil-mä~lär* 82v/5–6

*[N] ḳïl~* 25v/10, 85v/11, 91v/7–8, 91r/9–10, 91r/10, 92r/1, 92r/5, 92r/3, 92v/11, 93v/5

*[N] ḳïl~m°z* 20r/11

*[N] ḳïl~lar* 99r/10

*[N] tab~* 99r/6

*al~lar* 'to take' 95v/6

*aṭ-la-n~* 'to march against, set out' 99v/1

*at-ïïr~* 'to order to throw, order to shoot' 95r/10

***ayt-ma***~*lar* 'not to say, not to tell' 95v/6

*ay*~*m°z* 'to say, tell' 122v/3, 122v/7, 129r/2, 131r/1

***bar***~ 'to go' 24r/11

*bar*~*lar* 'to go' 53v/7

***bat-ur***~ 'to cause to sink' 96r/9–10

***bär***~ 'to give' 56v/2, 89r/4

*bär*~*lär* 'to give' 92r/3

*bär-mä*~ 'not to give' 90r/9

***bol***~ 'to be(come)' 1r/1, 1r/2, 9r/5(x2), 9r/7, 9r/8, 9r/10(x2), 9v/1, 16v/11, 17r/1, 17r/2, 17r/3, 17v/10, 22r/8, 23r/3, 23r/9, 23v/1–2, 23v/9, 24v/3, 25v/9, 27r/7, 27v/9, 32r/11, 36r/3, 48v/11, 50r/10, 50v/5, 52r/6, 53v/2, 55r/8, 55v/5, 56r/1, 56v/7, 57r/3, 57v/6, 57v/10, 58r/3, 58r/9, 58v/1, 59r/1, 59r/4–5, 59v/1, 60r/10, 60v/2, 61r/11, 62r/2, 62r/8, 62v/1, 62v/9, 63r/11, 71r/3[84], 74v/8, 76r/11, 82v/5, 86v/2, 87v/6, 87v/10, 88r/11, 88v/9, 88v/10, 91r/9, 91r/11(x2), 91v/4, 91v/9, 91v/10, 92r/2, 93v/7, 93v/9, 94v/9, 95r/3, 95r/11, 95v/1, 95v/11, 96v/8, 97r/6, 97r/7, 99r/10, 99v/3(x2), 99v/5, 127v/9, 146r/7, 148r/4, 153r/4

*bol*~*lar* 'to be(come)' 85r/10, 85v/9, 91v/3, 95r/9

*bol-ma*~ 'not to be(come)' 94v/6, 94v/7, 96r/5, 96r/6

*bar bol*~ 87v/7

*bol-**a al**-ma*~ 'not to be able to be(come)' 95r/1

*bol-ub yür*~*lär* 95v/1

***bil***~ 'to know' 74v/7, 93r/11, 94v/11, 99r/5

*bil-mä*~ 'not to know' 94v/8

*bil-dür*~ 'to bring to know' 95r/10

***buyur***~ 'to order, command' 84r/3

***čïḳ***~ 'to go out' 82v/7

*čïḳ-ar-ma*~ 'not to bring out' 91r/7

***biyük-kä čïḳ***~ 'to be exalted' 93v/5

***ǰap-tur***~ 'to make (a horse) gallop' 95r/10

***et***~ 'to do, make' 93v/4, 96r/6

*et*~*m°z* 'not to do, not to make' 74v/1

***ket***~ 'to leave, go (away)' 91v/7

***kel***~ 'to come' 91v/5, 93r/6

*kel*~*lär* 'to come' 91v/2, 91v/6

*kel-mä*~ 'not to come' 17v/9

*kel-tür-ä al-ma*~*lar* 'not be able to bring' 94v/11

***kiy***~*lär* 'to wear, put' 95v/4

***kör***~ 'to see' 93r/11, 99r/8

*kör*~*lär* 'to see' 93v/3

*kör-ä al-ma*~ 'not be able to see' 95v/9

***min***~*lär* 'to mount' 95v/5

*min-ä al-ma*~*lar* 'to be able to mount' 90r/11

***oltur***~*lar* 'to sit down, sit' 91r/5

*oltur-a al-ma*~ 'not to be able to sit' 91v/11, 96r/2–3

***öl***~ 'to die' 90v/1

*öl-tür*~ 'to kill' 17v/3

***öt***~ 'to pass' 89r/3

***ḳač***~*lar* 'to run away, flee' 94r/5

***ḳal***~ 'to stay, remain' 88v/11, 91v/9, 96r/4, 97r/2, 97r/3

***ḳïl***~ 'to do, make' 74r/11, 88v/2, 93v/2

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[84] StP: † *turur bolɣay* (f.71r/3); K: *bolɣay* (f.29r/20).

*ḳïl~lar* 51v/9
*ḳïl-a al~* 'to be able to make' 88v/2
*ḳow-ub kel~* 'to follow, pursue, chase' 94r/9
*ḳon~* 'to settle', 'to stop' (for the night)' 93v/3
*ḳonaḳ-la~* 'to entertain (a guest)' 93v/4
*saḳ-la-n~* 'to protect oneself' 91r/7
*ʿaḳlïn saḳla-* 'to be a very reasonable' 99r/7
*sïn-ma~* 'not to be broken' 59v/5
*söz-lä-mä~* 'to speak, say' 92v/3
*söz uzatmaḳlïḳ et-mä~* 'not to drag the conversation' 93r/8
*tab~* 'to find' 27v/10, 97r/10
*tap-a al-ma~lar* 'not to be able to find' 90r/10
*tala-b al-ïb ket-mä~* 'to start to pillage (for themselves)' 90r/9
*teg~* 'to reach' 96v/5
*til-ä~* 'to wish' 93r/2, 93r/3
*tïŋ-la~* 'to hear, listen' 91v/7
*tïŋ-la-ma~* 'not to hear, not to listen' 95v/10
*tol-dur~* 'to fill' 95v/3–4
*toŋ~* 'to freeze, be freezing cold' 145v/8
*tur~* 'to stand (up)' 93r/5
*tur~lar* 'to stand (up)' 90r/3
*tut~* 'to take, hold' 93r/4, 94r/10
*tut-ma~* 'not to take, not to hold' 91v/3
*yä~* 'to eat' 9r/10
*ye~lär* 'to eat' 95v/5
*yät~* 'to arrive, reach, overtake' 99r/11
*yät-mä~* 'not to arrive, not to reach, not to overtake' 96v/3
*yï[ɣ]~* 'to gather, collect, assembly' 95r/5
*yïɣ-ïl~* 'to assemble' 97r/5
*yoɣ-al~* 'to be destroyed, perish, disappear' 96r/8
*yoḳ-al-t~* 'to destroy, lose' 96r/8–9
*yür~* 'to walk' 95r/4
*yür-mä~* 'not to walk' 95r/4
*muʿayyän yür-güz~* 'to specify' 93r/1

**{-GIl} IMP**
*[N] et~*
*ḳiyās et~* 'to compare' 92r/11
*bär~* 'to give' 97v/11, 98r/1
*bol~* 'to be(come)' 19r/4, 19v/2, 46v/2, 63r/3, 65v/2, 143v/8
*et~* 'to do, make' 92r/10
*īmān kel-tür~* 'to give faith in God' 19r/4, 19v/1
*öl-tür-mä~* 'not to kill' 82r/10
*ḳïl~* 'to do, make' 11v/3
*ḳoy~* 'to put (down)' 100r/3
*yibär~* 'to send' 97v/11, 98r/1

**{-(I)ŋ-Iz} ~ {-(U)ŋ-uz} IMP**
*[N] bol~*
*dafʿ bol~* 'to ward off' 89r/1
*[N] bol-ma~*
*mäšɣūl bol-ma~* 'to be busy with something' 52v/6–7

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*[N] et~*

*naṣiḥat et~* 'to instruct' 99r/2

*keŋäš et~* 'to take counsel (together)' 82r/11

*yïraḳ et~* 'to alienate, distance' 98v/10

*[N] ḳïl~*

*tämäjämišī ḳïl~* 'to fight, struggle', 'to contest, contend' 89v/1

*[N] ḳïl-ma~*

*näwḥa ḳïl-ma~* 'not to wail and lament vociferously' 63v/5

*[N] tut-ma~*

*taʿziyat tut-ma~* 'not to mourn' 63v/5

*[N] ur~*

*yüz ur~* 'to face toward, turn towards' 63v/11

*al~* 'to take' 29v/6, 52v/9

*aŋ-la~* 'to understand' 88v/6

*bar~* 'to go' 89r/7

*bil~* 'to know' 26r/1

*belgü-r-t-mä~* 'not to make manifest, not to display' 63v/4

*bol~* 'to be' 89r/2, 89r/5–6, 89v/2

*buyur~* 'to order, command' 99r/6

*buz-ma~* 'not to destroy' 89r/10

*čïḳ-ar~* 'to bring out, send out, take out' 76r/2

*čïḳ-ar-ma~* 'not to bring out, not to send out, not to take out' 89r/10

*iktü-lä~* 'to bring up' 69r/3

*käč-ür~* 'to kill', 'lit. to force to pass' 63v/10

*käl~* 'to come' 29v/6

*ket-är~* 'to remove, send away' 98v/11

*kiz-lä~* 'to hide' 63v/4

*kör~* 'to see' 99r/3

*öl-dür~* 'to kill' 63v/7, 64r/1

*pādišāhlïḳ-ɣa oltur-t~* 'to enthrone' 89r/5

*ḳïl~* 'to do, make' 89r/4–5

*ḳoy~* 'to put (down)' 18r/1, 100r/9

*teg-ür~* 'to cause to reach, bring, convey' 89r/1–2, 89r/11

*til-ä~* 'to wish' 99r/3

*yaš-ur~* 'to hide' 63v/9

*yet-kür~* 'to deliver, get to a place' 82v/1

*yibär~* 'to send' 99r/4


**{-mA-s} NEG.AOR**

*[N] ḳïl~*

*iltifāt ḳïl~* 'to treat with favor, show courtesy, take notice' 20r/7

*ay~* 'to say, tell' 92v/9

*ayt~lar* 'to say, tell' 96v/11

*er~* 'to be' 12v/8, 28v/6, 28v/9, 39r/1, 41r/11, 45v7, 81v/8, 82r/5, 93r/10, 102v/8, 103r/3, 104r/8, 104r/9, 107r/9, 109r/3, 109r/5, 109v/3, 109v/7, 109v/9, 112r/9, 112r/11, 112v/2, 113v/8, 115r/m2–m3, 118v/2, 121r/4, 123r/9, 124r/6, 126r/9, 126v/1, 127v/4, 128r/5, 132v/3, 135v/11

*er~m°n* 'to be' 100r/4

*käč~* 'to pass' 145v/9

*bar~* 'to go' 145v/9

*eksi~* 'to grow less, be deficient' 3v/5, 5r/11

*kör~* 'to see' 96v/11

*kör-ä al~* 'can see' 4v/10

*tügä-n~* 'to come to an end, be exhausted' 3v/5, 5v/1

*tügä-n-ä al~* 'can come to an end, can be exhausted' 3v/3

*käm-i~* 'to diminish' 5v/1

*ökün~* 'to repent, express one's regret' 5v/2

*bil~lär* 'to know' 16r/10

*säw~* 'to love' 20r/5

*tïn~m°z* 'to breathe; to rest, be quiet' 30r/9

*til-ä~ m°n* 'to wish' 89r/8


**{-(°)r} AOR**

**[N] et~**

*χizmät et~* 'to serve, render service' 23v/5–6

*täfāwüt et~* 'to differ (one from other)' 47r/10

**[N] ḳïl~**

*ǰäwälān ḳïl~* 'to train, practise' 3v/11–4r/1

*ṣoḥbät ḳïl~* 'to talk, chat, speak' 20r/7

*rivāyät ḳïl~* 'to tell' 26v/2

*taḳrīr ḳïl~* 'to report' 27v/2

*taʿrīf ḳïl~* 'to describe', 'to define' 38r/3

*ḥisāb ḳïl~* 'to count' 47r/10–11

**[N] ḳïl~lar**

*taḳrīr ḳïl~lar* 'to report' 42r/2

*bäyān ḳïl~lar* 'to illuminate, explain' 46v/8–9

*rivāyät ḳïl~lar* 'to tell' 105r/8

**[N] ḳïl~m°n**

*ṭalab ḳïl~m°n* 'to request, require, expect' 97v/9

**[N] tur~**

*ḥayāt tur~* 'to live' 153r/5

**al~** 'to take' 111v/11

*al-ïb kel~lär* 95r/7

**aḳ~** 'to flow' 25r/4

**art~** 'to increase, multiply' 4v/11, 5r/1

**ayt~** 'to say, tell' 17r/11, 26r/4, 40r/1, 41r/4, 41r/5, 41r/6, 41r/8, 41r/9, 41r/10, 41v/1, 41v/2, 69r/4, 71r/5, 74v/10, 103v/5

*ayt~m°n* 'to say, tell' 18r/9–10

*ayt~lar* 'to say, tell' 9v/5(x2), 11r/3, 13v/2, 14r/7, 15r/6, 16r/10, 24v/2, 28r/8, 31r/4, 34r/8–9, 35v/5, 36r/6, 37r/2, 37r/8, 38r/1, 41r/3, 47v/1, 50v/8, 53r/5, 55r/2, 55v/7, 68r/4, 68v/10, 69v/11, 92v/7, 100v/4, 103v/6, 105r/9, 110v/10, 111r/10, 112r/8, 125v/6, 127v/8, 135v/5, 142r/10, 144v/3

*ay[t]~lar* 'to say, tell' 150v/1, 150v/5, 150v/11

*ayt~m°z* 'to say, tell' 122r/7

*ayt-ïl~* 'to be said' 70v/7, 72r/10, 81r/8, 81v/1

**mäšrūḥ ayt-ul~** 'to be explained' 75r/5

**bar~** 'to go' 28r/2, 28v/5, 31v/1, 31v/7, 34r/2

*bar~s°n* 'to go' 143v/7

*bar~m°n* 'to go' 143v/8

**bil~s°n** 'to know' 97v/4

*bil~ müs°n* 'to know' 19r/1

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***biy-l*** [85]~ 'to rule' 85v/9

*biy-l~lär* 'to rule' 84v/2

***buyur***~*s°z* 'to order, command' 83v/11

***bol***~ 'to be(come)' 31r/3

***čïḳ***~ 'to go out' 143v/2

***de***~ 'to say' 20v/10

*de~lär* 'to say' 39v/10

***er***~ 'to be' 78v/5, 87r/10, 148r/2(x2), 148r/4, 157v/6 (x2), 157v/7, 157v/8(x2), 157v/10, 157v/11

***kel***~ 'to come' 11r/5, 11v/3, 11v/7, 13v/4, 30r/2, 67v/9, 70r/6, 72v/2, 72v/11, 74v/5, 85r/10, 114r/7, 126r/11, 129r/2, 130v/3, 131r/1, 136r/6, 146r/8, 149v/8, 152v/7, 151v/2

*kel~lär* 'to come' 4v/3

***em***~*m°n* 'to suckle' 17v/1

***kör***~ 'to see' 17r/10

***küt***~*m°n* 'to wait' 65r/11

***oχša***~ 'to resemble (someone to something)' 1v/10, 1v/11, 2r/1(x2), 2r/2(x2), 3r/1, 3r/4, 3r/10, 3v/2

***ḳaz***~*s°z* 'to dig' 30r/5

***ḳal***~ 'to stay, remain' 39v/11

***ḳayt***-*ïb ket-ïp tur*~ 61v/8

***ḳïl***~ 'to do, make' 24r/1, 26r/4

*ḳïl~lar* 'to do, make' 26v/5, 96v/11

*ḳïl~m°n* 'to do, make' 18r/8

***säw***~ 'to love' 20r/6

***söz-lä***~*lär* 'to speak, say' 16r/9

***tart***~ 'to pull (out)' 5r/1

***teg***~ 'to reach' 3r/8, 3r/10, 3r/11, 3v/1

*tey~lär* 'to reach' 69v/5, 144v/4

***tur***~ 'to stand (up)' 2r/4, 2r/7, 2r/10, 2v/5, 2v/8, 2v/11, 3r/2, 3r/3 (x2), 3r/4, 3v/2(x2), 5v/5, 7r/8, 9v/8, 9v/10, 10r/1, 10r/6, 10r/7, 11r/1, 11r/4, 11r/9, 11r/10, 11v/4, 12v/9, 13v/1(x2), 13v/3, 13v/8, 14v/9, 15v/1, 15v/11, 16r/1, 16r/4, 16r/5, 16r/6(x2), 16r/7, 16v/2, 16v/5, 16v/8, 16v/9, 16v/10, 20r/5, 21v/4, 24r/2, 25r/8(x2), 25r/10, 25r/11, 25v/3, 25v/6, 26r/3, 26r/6, 26r/9, 26v/11, 27r/2, 27r/3, 27r/10, 27v/1, 28r/3, 28r/4, 28r/5, 28r/6, 28r/7, 28r/8, 28r/9, 28v/7, 28v/8(x2), 29v/1, 31r/5, 31v/10, 32r/3, 32v/8, 33r/8, 33r/11, 33v/3, 33v/7, 33v/10, 34r/3, 34r/4, 34r/5, 34v/4, 34v/5, 34v/7(x2), 34v/9, 34v/11(x2), 35r/1, 35r/5, 36r/2(x2), 36v/1, 36v/9, 36v/10, 37r/8, 39v/9(x2), 40v/10–11, 42v/9, 43r/2, 43r/3, 44v/8, 45v/10, 45v/11(x2), 46r/4, 47r/1, 47r/2, 48v/2, 48v/3, 53r/6, 54v/2, 54v/10, 62v/7, 62v/8, 65r/11, 65v/1, 66r/5, 67r/6, 67v/10, 67v/11, 68r/2, 68r/6, 68r/7, 68r/11, 69r/9, 70r/2, 71r/2, 71r/3, 71v/1, 71v/6, 73r/1, 73r/7, 73r/11, 73v/2, 74r/2, 74v/7, 74v/9, 75r/2, 75r/9, 75r/10, 76r/5, 77r/7, 77v/8, 77v/10, 77v/11, 78v/9, 78v/11, 79r/4, 79v/1, 79v/2, 79v/3, 80r/7, 80r/10, 80v/1, 80v/2, 80v/4, 80v/6, 82v/7, 84r/1, 85r/4, 85v/7, 87r/11, 88v/8, 88v/10, 89r/1, 89r/8, 91v/1, 93r/7, 93v/9, 95v/10, 97r/1, 97v/10, 98v/3, 99r/1, 101v/6, 102r/8, 102r/10, 102r/11, 102v/6, 103r/1, 103r/7, 103v/7, 104v/5, 105r/11, 107r/6, 112r/1, 112v/1, 112v/5, 113r/5, 114r/11, 114v/10, 115r/2, 115r/8, 116r/10, 116v/8, 118r/1, 118r/8, 119v/r, 119v/6, 121v/5, 125v/7(x2), 126r/1, 126r/11, 127r/1, 127v/8, 128v/1, 128v/2, 129r/11(x2), 132v/9, 135v/9, 136v/5, 139r/l, 139r/4, 139r/7, 141r/10, 143v/1, 144r/2, 144r/5, 144r/7, 144r/l, 144r/9, 144v/1(x2), 144v/6, 144v/7(x2), 144v/8(x2), 144v/9, 144v/11, 145r/8, 146v/3, 146v/11, 149r/11, 149v/1, 149v/4, 152r/10, 152v/2, 152v/4, 152v/7, 152v/8, 152v/9, 152v/10, 150r/3 (x2), 150r/8, 150r/10, 150r/11, 150v/3, 150v/4, 150v/5, 150v/10(x2), 151r/4,

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[85] The text exhibits a phonetic characteristic of vowel change in the verb *biy-le-* to *biyl-ür* بيلور.

151r/5, 151r/7,151v/5, 151v/10, 151v/11, 153r/1, 153r/2, 153r/3 (x2), 153v/11, 157r/3, 157v/9, 157v/10, 148r/9, 148r/10

*tur~lar* 'to stand (up)' 15r/7, 34r/2, 84v/8

*tur~s°n* 'to stand (up)' 19r/11

*tur~m°z* 'to stand (up)' 84r/2

**bar tur~** 'to exist' 16v/11, 53r/6, 138v/5

**oltur~** 'to sit down, sit' 10r/7, 69r/6

**tut~** 'to take, hold' 20r/6

*tut~ m°n* 'to take, hold' 18r/8

*yat~* 'to lie down, lie' 146r/4, 149r/8(x2), 149r/11

*yaɣ~* 'to rain, pour down' 3r/9

**yïɣ-la~** 'to weep' 69r/2

*yuw-ub yürü~lär* 18v/11

**yügür~** 'to run' 92v/6, 92v/7, 92v/8(x2)

**yürü~** 'to walk' 9v/11, 16v/6

*yürü~m°n* 'to walk' 89r/9

**ün-dä~** 'to call, urge, encourage, invite' 79v/4


**{-sUn} VOL 3P**

**[N] bol~**

*ziyādä bol~* 'to thrive' 4r/6

*paydā bol~* 'to appear' 152r/7

**[N] ḳïl-ma~**

*mädäd ḳïl-ma~* 'not to help' 55r/11

**[N] ḳïl~lar**

*ṣabr ḳïl~lar* 'to be patient' 63v/6

**aš-a~** 'to eat', 'to eat up, destroy', 'to enjoy, experience (something)' 2r/3

**bol~** 'to be(come)' 8r/7, 9r/3(x2), 98v/9, 128r/2, 157r/2

*bol~lar* 'to be(come)' 98v/1

**buz-ul-ma~** 'not to be destroyed, not to be damaged' 4r/6

**čïḳ-ma~** 'not to go out, not to come out' 64r/1

**kel~** 'to come' 62r/5

*käl-mä~* 'not to come' 63v/8

**kör~lär** 'to see' 98r/2

**ḳayt~** 'to turn back, return, come back' 61v/3

**tüš-mä~** 'not to fall' 63v/7

**yaš-a~** 'to live (for many years)' 2r/3

## APPENDIX 2. Index of viewpoint operators

**Intraterminals in the non-past**

**{-mA-s}** *DUr* negation of **{-(°)r}** *DUr*
*teg~* 'to reach' 4r/5

**{-mA-s}** *turur* negation of **{-(°)r}** *turur*
*er~* 'to be' 141v/11

**{-mA-y}** *s•n* negation of **{-A}** *s•n*
*al~* 'to take' 42r/9

**Intraterminals in the past**

**{-A}** *turur erdi*
*al-ïb kel~* 'to bring' 142v/8–9

**{-mA-s}** *edi* negation of **{-(°)r}** *edi*
*bar~* 'to go' 75r/2

**{-mA-s}** *erdi* negation of **{-(°)r}** *erdi*
*yibär~* 'to send' 18v/6
*ič~* 'to drink' 156r/11
*er~* 'to be' 13r/2 , 44r/11, 45v/8, 65r/3, 65r/4, 80r/1
*er~lär* 'to be' 12v/7
*bil~* 'to know' 29r/4
*bil~lär* 'to know' 19v/9
*čïḳ~lär* 'to go out' 111r/4
*kötär-ä al~* 'be able to lift' 106v/7
*tanï~* 'to be acquainted with (someone)' 68v/10

**{-(°)r}** *edi*
*ayt~lär* 'to say, tell' 56v/4
*biy-l~lär* 'to rule' 76v/8

**{-(°)r}** *erdi*
*[N] ḳïl~*
*ʿizzät [ḳïl~]* 'to respect, esteem, render honors' 44v/2
*ikrām ḳïl~* 'to respect' 44v/2
*istiʿānät ḳïl~* 'to ask for help' 156v/5–6[86]
*raḥīm [ḳïl~]* 'to show kindness, empathize' 156v/6
*šäfaḳat ḳïl~* 'to pity, show compassion, mercy' 156v/6
*ʿamäl ḳïl~* 'to manage affairs' 156v/7
*[N] bol~*
*rävān bol~* 'to go, flow' 23r/9–10
*[N] bol~m*

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[86] † استعانت قولار ايردى (StP: f.156v/5–156v/6; K: f.68v/5).

*el bol~m* 'to submit to, surrender to' 54r/11
*aḳ~* 'to flow' 29r/5–6, 29v/3
**ayt~** 'to say, tell' 42v/10, 43v/7, 64v/9, 68v/11, 71v/3
*ayt~lär* 'to say, tell' 10v/4, 14r/8, 19v/11–20r/1, 20r/1–2, 115r/10, 123r/7
*ayt-ur-lar erdi* 'to say, tell' 37v/5, 43r/1, 43r/5, 98r/9, 103v/2
**biy-l~** 'to rule' 28v/4, 70v/4, 74v/1, 75v/6, 76v/1, 76v/5, 77r/10, 77v/7, 105v/9, 105v/10, 105v/11, 110v/11
*biy-l~lär* 'to rule' 106r/1
*biy-l-ür-lär erdi* 'to rule' 14r/9
**baš-la~** 'to begin, lead' 11v/10, 35v/2
**bar~** 'to go' 93v/10–11, 93v/11
**ber~** 'to give' 76r/5
**bol**-*ub tur~lär* 70r/2–3
*bol-ub yürü~* 144r/4, 145r/1
**böl~** 'to divide (into shares), separate, distinguish' 38r/3
**ǰayna**-*y tur~lär* 'to shine' 98v/2
*inan~lär* 'to believe, trust' 28r/9
**oltur~** 'to sit down, sit' 29r/3–4, 29r/9, 73r/10, 78r/10
*oltur~lär* 'to sit down, sit' 85v/4
**kel~** 'to come' 101r/4–5
*kel~m* 'to come' 100v/7, 101r/3
**köǰ-ür~** 'to transfer' 131r/6
**küt**-*üb yürü~* 65r/7
**ḳïl~** 'to do, make' 151v/4, 156v/2
*ič~* 'to drink' 144v/3, 144v/4
**ur~** 'to strike' 156v/9–10
*ur-uš~* 'to fight, battle' 23r/5
**ülä-š-tür~** 'to make someone(s) to divide something among themselves' 65v/4
**titrä~** 'to shiver, shake' 2v/4
**tut~** 'to take, hold' 81r/5, 81v/9–10, 111r/3
**tur~** 'to stand (up)' 69v/8, 74v/2
**te~** 'to say, speak' 69r/5
**soyurɣa~** 'to show favor to (someone), reward' 38r/7
**ḳaz~** 'to dig' 30r/3
**ḳayt**-*ïb kel~* 18v/9
*yat~m* 'to lie (down)' 101r/11
**yay-la**-*b oltur~lär* 85v/4
**yürü~** 'to walk' 19v/6–7, 38r/2, 106v/7
*yürü-t~* 'to pronounce', lit. 'to cause to walk' 19v/8
*yïɣ~* 'to gather, collect, assemble' 29r/5, 29r/6
*tïn~* 'to breathe', 'to rest, quiet' 29r/7
**saḳ-la~** 'to watch over guard, protect' 75r/2
**sal~** 'to put', 'to built' 40r/3
**sew~** 'to love' 40r/4, 43v/10, 103r/5, 135v/3–4


## Postterminals in the non-past

**{-GAn}** *DUr*
**yaz-ïl~** 'to be written' 75r/4
**kel~** 'to come' 146v/8
*e~* 'to be' 147r/6

**{-GAn}** *erür*
*tu[ɣ]~* 'to be born' 152v/4–5, 152v/9

**{-GAn}-*POSS yoḳ***
*eši-t~* 'to hear (something)' 19r/8
*bil~* 'to know' 19r/8–9

**{-GAn}** *turur*
*bol~* 'to be(come)' 11r/8–9
*tu[ɣ]~* 'to be born' 102v/1, 109r/3, 109r/4

**{-(I)p}** *DUr*
*[N] ḳil~*
*šāhīd ḳil~* 'to martyr' 149r/6
*bär~* 'to give' 149v/3
*bol~* 'to be(come)' 149v/6
*al~* 'to take' 126v/8
*kel-tür~* 'to bring, make to come' 41v/7
*yibär~* 'to send' 149v/5

**{-(I)p}** *s•n*
*ḳil~* 'to do, make' 65r/10

**{-(I)p}** *turur*
*[N] bol~*
*tamām bol~* 'to be completed' 48r/11
*ḳol ḳow-uš-ur~* 'to cross the arms over [the chest] 153v/7
*aǰ~* 'to open' 94v/2
*ayt~* 'to say, tell' 91v/1, 91v/5, 91v/11, 92r/4, 92r/5, 92r/9, 92v/1, 92v/6, 92v/9, 93r/4, 93r/6, 93r/9, 93r/10, 93v/10, 94v/2, 94v/5, 95r/5, 95v/3, 95v/8, 97r/10, 98r/7, 98v/11, 99r/8, 99v/1, 99v/6, 100v/2, 101r/2, 101v/7
*bas~* 'to press, crush, oppress' 61v/10
*bol~* 'to be(come)' 20r/10, 100v/5
*buyur~* 'to order, command' 56v/6–7, 89v/7
*kel-tür~* 'to bring, make to come' 32v/8
*oltur~* 'to sit down, sit' 91v/8
*sanǰ~* 'to pierce, stab' 65r/9
*tey~* 'to reach' 88v/7
*tut~* 'to take, hold' 20r/9

**{-mA-y}** *dUr* negation of **{-(I)p}** *DUr*
*ur-uš~lar* 'to fight, battle' 53r/4

**{-mA-y}** *turur* negation of **{-(I)p}** *turur*
*tut~* 'to take, hold' 18v/1

**{-mIš}** PART. POST
*[N] bol~*
*paydā bol~* 'to appear' 90v/10
*ač-ïl~* 'to be open' 27v/4

*ay~lar* 'to say, tell' 144r/2, K: f.65r/9
*bol~* 'to be(come)' 59v/10, 94v/5
*kör-mä~im* 'not to see' 5r/11
*te~lar* 'to say, speak' K: f.60r/16, K: f.60v/17


## postterminals in the past

**{-DI}** *edi*
**kör-**üb kel~lär 'to see' 16v/9
**öl-tür-**di-lär edi-lär 'to kill' 30r/8–9

**{-DI}** *erdi*
*[N] ḳil~*
*vaṣiyyät ḳil~* 'to make a will, bequeath, make a testamentary arrangement' 63v/3
**bär~** 'to give' 67v/5
**bol~** 'to be(come)' 66r/2
**öl-tür-**di-lär erdi 'to kill' 74r/10
**üy-i-n-ä tüš-ür-mä~** 'not to marry' 18v/8

**{-GAn}** *erdi*
*[N] ḳil~*
*fitnälik ḳil~* 'to stir up trouble' 97v/5
*musaχχar ḳil~* 'to subdue' 47v/8
*[N] ḳil~lär*
*ǧamiʿ ḳil~lär* 'to compile, compose, collect' 95v/7
**al-ïb kel~** 'to bring' 65v/8
**baḳ-tur~** 'to make obey 43r/6
**bär~** 'to give' 80r/8, 80v/8
**bil~** 'to know' 19v/5
**biti~** 'to write' 82v/11
*biti-l-mä~* 'to be written' 78v/2
**bol~** 'to be(come)' 46r/10–11
**bol-**ub yürü~ 144v/5
**kel~** 'to come' 82r/3
**uḳ-un~** 'to treat like, perceive as' 42r/7
*tu[χ]~* 'to be born' 71v/11, 103v/10, 106v/1, 107v/3, 110v/9, 134r/11, 143r/2, 151r/9, 151r/10, 151v/1

**{-GAn}** *yoḳ erdi*
*biti-l~* 'to be written' 79r/9

**{-(I)p}** *edi*
*[N] ḳil~lär*
*äfsūs ḳil~lär* 'to grieve, be sad, regret' 29v/5–6
**kör~** 'to see' 17v/7
**kel~lär** 'to come' 27v/9
**teg~** 'to reach' 83v/9
*yïχ-ïl-ïb kel~lär* 27v/9

**{-(I)p}** *erdi*

*[N] bol~*
*väfāt bol~* 'to die' 29v/11
*ḥāmilä bol~* 'to become pregnant, get pregnant' 36r/7
*el bol~* 'to submit to, surrender to' 59v/10, 62v/5
*[N] ḳïl~*
*dušmānlïḳ ḳïl~* 'to be in enmity, feud' 32r/10[87]
*nikāḥ ḳïl~* 'to marry, take a wife, enter into marriage' 41v/4
*keŋäš ḳïl~* 'to take counsel (together)' 52r/1
*tähäyyüǰ ḳïl~* 'to encourage' 68v/5–6
*musaχχar ḳïl~* 'to subdue' 57r/5
*[N] ḳïl~lär*
*musaχχar ḳïl~lär* 'to subdue' 86r/3
*[N] ḳïl-ïn~*
*yād ḳïl-ïn~* 'to be mentioned' 152r/10
**al~** 'to take' 29r/2, 37v/4, 41v/3, 51r/11, 59r/10–11, 68r/3–4, 86r/6, 105r/4, 106r/6, 126v/4, 128r/11, 129r/9, 130r/3, 151v/8, 151v/8–9
**aṭ-la-n**-*ïb ket~* 111r/7
**ayt~** 'to say, tell' 56v/1, 63v/3, 83v/1
*ayt~lär* 'to say, tell' 36v/1
*ay-tur~* 'to arrange a match', lit. 'to force to say' 43r/9–10
**baɣ-la~** 'to tie, link' 20v/8
**bar~** 'to go' 106v/8
*bar-ïb käl~lär* 24r/2–3
**baḳ-ïn-dïr~** 'to subjugate, conquer' 60r/6
*baḳ-ïb oltur~lär* 82v/2–3
**bär~** 'to give' 50r/1, 50r/3, 84v/8, 88r/1, 126v/7, 126v/11, 127r/3, 130r/6
*bär~lär* 'to give' 87v/11–88r/1
**bol~** 'to be(come)' 50r/4, 60r/9
*bol-ub öt~lär* 'to be(come)' 88r/11
**buyur~** 'to order, command' 64r/6
**čïḳ~** 'to go out, come out' 20v/5
*čïḳ~lär* 'to go out, come out' 30r/10
**käč~** 'to pass' 54v/8
**kel-tür~** 'to bring, make to come' 54v/4, 141r/3
*kel-tür-üb bär~* 'to bring, make to come' 45r/11
**kät~** 'to leave, go (away)' 101v/2
**kör-ün**-*üb kät~* 'to be visible, appear' 36r/8–9
**öt~** 'to pass' 156v/5, 157v/3
**ḳal~** 'to stay, remain' 80r/6
*ḳal~lär* 'to stay, remain' 84v/10
**ḳon**-*ub oltur~* 57r/2
**ḳow-uš~** 'to pursue each other' 49r/11
**saḳ-la~** 'to watch over guard, protect' 104v/4
*sat*-*ïb al-ïb kel-tür~lär* 88r/7
**sïɣ-ïn~** 'to shelter' 50r/1–2
**til-ä~** 'to wish' 53r/8, 53r/9
**tuɣ~** 'to be born' 102v/5, 108v/6, 108v/7–8, 109r/8, 109v/1, 112r/5, 112v/8, 112v/9, 112v/10, 113v/4, 113v/6, 119v/7–8, 121r/2, 122v/2, 122v/4, 122v/8–9, 123v/9, 124r/2, 124r/4, 124r/9, 125v/2, 126r/4, 126r/l3, 126r/10, 126v/3, 127r/2–3, 127v/6, 128r/4, 128v/10, 129r/3, 129r/4, 129r/8–9, 129r/10, 129v/1, 129v/5, 129v/7, 129v/11, 130r/8, 130r/9, 130v/8, 130v/10, 131r/2–

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[87] StP: مردى قيليب ليق دوشمن K: ايردى قيليب ليق دوشمن (f.12v/9).

3, 132r/4, 132r/10, 133v/1–2, 133v/11, 134r/2, 134r/4, 134r/9, 134v/2, 134v/5, 135r/1, 136r/8, 136v/1, 136v/2, 137r/1, 136r/10, 137r/11, 137v/2, 137v/4, 137v/6, 137v/8, 138r/5, 138v/10, 138v/11, 139r/2, 139r/9, 139v/6–7, 140r/9, 140v/1–2
*yat~* 'to lie (down)' 145r/4
*yïɣ-ïl~* 'to assemble' 80r/2
*uyu-š~* 'to clot, curdle' 101v/2

**{-(I)p}** *turur erdi*
*al~* 'to take' 146r/3
*al~lär* 'to take' 101r/4
*aḳ-ar~* 'to turn white' 101v/8–9
*bus~* 'to lay an ambush, be in hiding' 94r/7–8

**{-mA-y}** *dUr erdi* 'negatition of {-(I)p} *dUr ėrdi*
*bol~* 'to be(come)' 46v/3
*teg~* 'to reach' 47v/10

**{-mIš}** *erdi*
*tuɣ~* 'to be born' 112v/11, 137v/9

**APPENDIX 3. Index of postverbial constructions**

‹A› *al-*
[N] *ayt~ma-ɣay* 97r/4
[N] *bär~ma-ɣay* 95v/11–96r/1
**bol~**ma-ɣay 95r/1
**čïdamïšī et~**ma-ɣay 96v/1
**tab~**ma-dï-lar 30r/11–30v/1
*tab~ma-ɣay-lar* 90r/10
**kör~**mas[88] 4v/10
**tügä-n~**mas 3v/3
**kötär~**ma-s er-di 106v/7
**oltur~**ma-ɣay 91v/11, 96r/2–3
**ḳïl~**ɣay 88v/2
**min~**ma-ɣay-lar 90r/11
**kel-tür~**ma-ɣay-lar 94v/11
**kör~**ma-ɣay 95v/9

‹A› *at-*
**käs~**tï 143v/11

‹A› *bašla~*
**em~**dï 17v/5
**teg-ür~**dï 48r/4

‹A› *bil-*
[N] *et~mä-gäy-lär* 82v/5–6
**käč~**mä-di 29v/4

‹A› *kel-*
**ɣārät ḳïl~**dilär 61v/4–5
**bol~**dilär 30v/9, 33r/3–4

‹A› *ke[t]-*
**al**-ïb käč~ti 60v/8

‹A› *ḳal-*
**kel-mä~**ma-s 92v/1

‹A› *tur-*
**ǰayna~**ur er-di-lär 98v/2

‹A› *yibär-*
**ḳïẓ tilä-t~**di 53v/5
**ḳow-dur~** 61r/4, 62r/1

‹B› *al-*

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[88] *Köre almas* 'to envy' is a secondary verb in Turkic. Structurally, it is a negative construction, literally meaning 'cannot see'.

*taṣarruf ḳïl~dï* 2r/11
*taṣarruf ḳïl~dï-lar* 10r/10
*musaχχar ḳïl~ïb er-di* 41v/5
*tala~ïb ket-mä-gäy* 90r/9
*kel~di* 60v/10
*ǰab~dï* 54r/7
*ǰab~ïb er-di* 50r/8
*yaš-ur~ïb ḳal-dïlar* 30v/1–2
*sat~ïb kel-tür-üb er-di-lär* 88r/7

**‹B› bar-**
*al~dï* 30v/4
*al~dï-lar* 42r/4, 42r/5–6, 97v/7
*öt~ur er-di* 143v/4

**‹B› bär-**
*böl~di* 58r/10, 64v/5, 77r/2, 77r/6, 142r/7
*sohurɣal ḳïl~di* 154r/2
*ḥïṣṣa ḳïl~di* 142r/7–8
*kel-tür~di* 44r/2
*kel-tür~üb er-di* 45r/11

**‹B› kel-**
*al~di* 50v/3, 50v/4, 51v/7, 52v/2, 61r/2
*al~ür-lär* 95r/7
*al~tür-dü-m* 101r/2
*al~gän erdi* 65v/8
*al~ä tur-ur er-di* 142v/8–9
*baḳ-tür~di* 62v/3–4
*bol~di-lär* 60r/4
*čïḳ~di* 63r/9, 94v/1, 108r/3
*čïḳ~di-lär* 14v/2
*ḳayt~ür er-di* 18v/9
*ayt~di* 62r/6, 99v/11
*ǰab~di* 29v/2
*sat-ïb al~tür-üb er-di-lär* 88r/7
*yïɣ-ïl~ib e-di-lär* 27v/9
*kör~di e-di-lär* 16v/9
*ḳow~gäy* 94r/9

**‹B› käl-**
*bar~ip er-di-lär* 24r/2–3

**‹B› keč-**
*al~ä ke[t]-ti* 60v/8

**‹B› käč-**
*bol~ti-lär* 10r/11, 119v/3, 134v/10, 146r/10

**‹B› ket-/‹B› kät-**

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**aṭ-la-n**~*ib er-di* 111r/7
**kör-ün**~*ib er-di* 36r/8–9
**ḳayt**~*ïp tur-ur* 61v/8
**tala**-*b al*~*mä-gäy* 90r/9

‹B› **ke[t]-**
**bol**~*ti* 14v/11–15r/1, 32v/11
*bol*~*ti-lär* 25v/2
**ḳač**~*ti* 61v/11–62r/1
**ḳayt**~*ti-lär* 111v/9
**sal**~*ti* 81r/6

‹B› **oltur-**
**baḳ**~*ub er-di-lär* 82v/2–3
**ḳon**~*ub er-di* 57r/2
**yay-la**~*ur er-di-lär* 85v/4

‹B› **öt-**
**bol**~*ti* 67r/11, 76v/4
*bol*~*ti-lär* 14r/10, 26r/11, 136v/11, 138r/3, 139v/5, 149v/9, 152r/1, 152v/1, 152v/3
*bol*~*üb er-di-lär* 88r/11

‹B› **ḳal-**
**yaš-ur**-*ub al*~*dï-lar* 30v/1–2

‹B› **tur-**
**mävḳūf bol**~*dï-lar* 154r/3
**ḳayt**-*ïb ket*~*ur* 61v/8
**bol**~*ur er-di-lär* 70r/2–3

‹B› **tüš-**
**kel**~*ti* 62v/2, 97v/3
*kel*~*di* 98r/9
*kel*~*di-lär* 154v/6

‹B› **yat-**
**zaχmlïḳ bol**~*ur er-di-m* 101r/10–11

‹B› **yibär-**
**ḳow**~*di* 49v/1
**ayt**~*di* 54r/2
**muʿayyän [et]**~*di-lär*[89] 87r/2

‹B› **yür-**
**bol**~*di-lär* 13r/4
*bol*~*gäy-lär* 95v/1
**et**~*güz-di* 90v/5–6

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[89] StP: † *muʿayyän [etib] yibärdilär*; K: *muʿayyän etib yibärdilär* (f.35r/11–12).

**‹B› yüri-**
*bol~di-lär* 21v/6

**‹B› yürü-**
*bol~gän er-di* 144v/5
*bol~r er-di* 144r/4, 145r/1
*küt~r er-di* 65r/7
*tut~r er-miš* 20v/8–9
*yuw~r-lär* 18v/11

## APPENDIX 4. Index of other devices of finite verb forms

**{+DUr}** COP PART
~ 4v/6, 12v/11, 76r/8, 76v/2, 76v/7,[90] 78v/1, 84r/3, 89r/11, 139r/6, 155v/1, K:65r/11, K:65r/12, K:69r/17

**{-GAn}** *bol-* PRO
*tey~ɣay* 'to reach' 96r/3
*öl~ɣay* 'to die' 96r/1–2

**{-GU}-***POSS turur* PRO
*[N] ḳïl ~*
*bäyān ḳïl~* 'to illuminate, explain' 1r/3
*ʿarża ḳïl~* 'to submit a request', 'to report' 83v/10–11

**{-(I)p}** *ermiš* EVID. COP PART with POST
*[N] bol~*
*bir bol~* 'to be united, rally' 53r/3
*ḳayt~* 20v/9

**{jI}** MOD PART
*bär~* 'to give' 68v/10

**{-mAk}** *käräk* NEC
*keŋäš~* 'to consult (someone DAT)', 'discuss (with someone)' 92r/9–10
*?~* 'to stroke' 92v/5

**{-(°)r}** *bol-* PRO
*yät~ɣay* 'to arrive, reach, overtake' 4r/3

**{-(°)r}** *ermiš* EVID. COP PART with INTRA
*tut-ub yürü~* 20v/8–9

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[90] K: *durur* (30v/17).