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H. W. Bailey

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Indo-Turcica

By H. W. Bailey

I

In 1904 Dr. H. Stönner published as an appendix to a paper on *Zentralasiatische Sanskrittexte in Brāhmīschrift aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkistān*, i,[1] a short description of a fragment of Turkish in Brāhmī script containing forty lines of text with a Chinese text on the recto side. Its interest and importance for Turkish is evident. We have here a fully vocalized fragment of Turkish. It is therefore somewhat unexpected not to find more use made of it, after the references of Professor F. W. K. Müller in *Uigurica* [i], 1908, in the many recent publications of Turfan texts. In a brief note, *A Brāhmī Akṣara*, in the *JRAS*, 1936, 92–4, reference was made to this publication of Dr. Stönner owing to its interest for Iranian studies. Shortly after the publication of that note it was possible to reach clearer views. It had been, however, intended to await the complete publication of the fragment of forty lines. But, since inquiries have made it likely that the publication cannot be expected for a considerable time, and Iranian studies are affected, it has seemed profitable to publish a brief study of the fourteen lines (25–38) already available. They suffice to supplement and correct the earlier note.

II. Transcribed Text

In addition to the usual Brāhmī akṣaras employed for Sanskrit, we have here also *k̲*, *p̲*, *m̲*, *r̲*, *l̲*, *w*, *ṣ̲*, as used also in Agnean [2] and Kuchean, also 𑀚 *r̲r̲* and 𑀳 *g̲*.[3]

For Turkish *ä*, *ö*, *ü* the writer has used initially *e͡ya-*, *o͡ya-*, *u͡yu-*, medially *-ya-*, *-yo-*, *-yu-*. In *ī͡laṇi͡p* the *la* is subjunct to *ī-*.

A facsimile was given by Dr. Stönner, loc. cit., and it must suffice to refer to that here.

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xliv, 1904.

[2] There is now perhaps a possibility of Dialect A of the *Tocharische Grammatik* being recognized as the language of the kingdom of Agni, see Pelliot, T'oung Pao, 1936, *A propos du "tokharien"*, Sieg, *SBAW*, 1937, *Und dennoch "Tocharisch"*, Haloun, *ZDMG*, 1937, 257.

[3] The dash through the *g* in *g̲* is intended to range the akṣara with the other new Brāhmī akṣaras *k̲*, *p̲*, etc.

The Turkish glosses are set in italics. Clarendon type indicates restored akṣaras.

25. . . . about 12 akṣaras . . . *kkilmiślyarṇiṅ* | aṃte | *keṇendya* | paviddha | *kyamiśilmiṣ* | bhuja | *kkoḷ* | pāda | **āta-**
26. *kk* | śirovarāṇi | *.y.r*[1] | sāmyaṃ | *tyusyukmyakmyakkyā* | prayā *pariṛ*[2] nty uparatāni kaḍeparāṇi | *o͡yalmiś-kyowtyo.lya***r** *e͡yar-yu***r***lyar*[2] | **v**
27. vipro ghṛṇīva hī | *yarsihākk bramāṃ tyaq* | kula | *tyos-ūhūṣ* | śruta | *pośkkoṛ bliq* | rūpa | *kyork-myaṅis u͡yusyā* | dṛpta | *kyuwya-*
28. *ñcliq* | ścaṇḍāla eva ca | *ścaṇḍal tyāq ymyā* | jagat-parivarjanīya | *yerteñcyokya tarkkarkkulukk* | kāla-krameṇa | *o͡yalyomlyoq*
29. *kyasiq birlyā* | *āsu u͡yusyā* | sahito | *tutwiśtilaṛ* | śayitau | *yattīlaṛ* | citayāṃ | *tyoṅyorkya u͡yuqyuṃdhyā* | mevaṃvidhe | *mondaq*
30. *osohloqdhā*[3] | jagati | *yerteñcyodhyā* | kasya | *kimṇiṅ* | bhave**ta** | [**e͡yaryuṛ** ?] | darpa | *kyuwyāṃmyaki* | vi kiṃ | *ñyāqyulyuḳ* | karmaṇā |
31. *kkliñcyusyā* | daśavidhena | *oṃ tyorlyoq u͡yusyā* | śubhena | *āriq u͡yusyā* | *e͡yatkyu u͡yusyā* | labdhva *plūṗ* | kāyaṃ | *e͡yatyusyuq* | na | *ñyaṅ*
32. kārayasi | *pūyāṃ kkilmas-syāṃ* | kāmasukhe | *viṣailiq myaṅitya* | prasakta | *ī͡laṇiṗ* | anviṣyatāṃ | *tilyāqiḷ* | phala . . .
33. mita | *āwirtiṃ* | dasārā | *yeqses-yarpsistiṃ* | dvistirṇa-vetana | *keṅālkkiq e͡yat-twāryusyā* | bhṛtā | *tyarkyā* | *ālilmi***štiṃ** | ⏑ ⏑
34. kad ivā | *tyarkyatiṃ tyaq* | rthaṃ | *asihiṃ* vii yasmād a- | *iñciṗ* | medhya-naraka-pratimaṃ | *arihsisliq prekk-kka ohśati* | śarī**raṃ** |
35. *u͡yus* | garbhe | *hārṛindā* | śucau | *ariqsistā* | aśucinā tā rasena | *arihsisliq akkiṃ u͡yusyā* | puṣṭaṃ | *u͡yuklimiṣ* [. . ?] | **ta**
36. **smā**d a- | *aṇiṃ* | medhya-jala-jā**tam ivā** | *ārihsislig sūwtā u͡yu***n***igiq* | *āsu tuhmiśih-tyaq* | ravindaṃ | *leṃhwāq* | tyakta**vyam** [**eva** ?] |
37. *ti**t**kyulyuḳ o͡yaḳ e͡yaryuṛ* | ⏑ ⏑ — | . . *u͡yusyā* | vapuṣāpi | *kyoṛḳ myaṅisyusyā* | yuktaṃ | *tyukyālliqiq* | viii saṃrakṣito**p**i . . . .
38. *liṗ ymyā* | sutava | *ohol-tyāq* | paripālitopi | *kyolyoṗ ymyā* | snānāṃ | *yuṃkkukk* | barā | *toṃ ḳyatiṃ* | bharaṇa-bhuṣaṇa | . . .

III

The Sanskrit text consists of sixteen lines in the Vasantatilakā metre (— — ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ — ⏑ | ⏑ — ⏑ | — ⏑ —|) and reads as follows :—

[1] Two unclear akṣaras.
[2] Added below the line.
[3] A small blur before *dhā*, not an akṣara.

5. . . . .
. . . .
aṃtepaviddha-bhuja-pā**da**-śirovarāṇi
sāmyaṃ prayānty uparatāni kaḍeparāṇi [1] **v**

6. vipro ghṛṇīva hī [2] kula-śruta-rūpa-dṛpta
ścaṇḍāla eva ca jagat-parivarjanīya
kāla-krameṇa sahito [3] śayitau citayāṃ [4]
mevaṃvidhe jagati kasya bhave**ta** darpa vi

7. kiṃ karmaṇā daśavidhena śubhena labdhva [5]
kāyaṃ na kārayasi kāmasukhe prasakta
anviṣyatām phala**m** ⌣ — ⌣ mitad [6] asārād
vistirṇa [7]-vetana-bhṛtā**d bhṛta**kad [8] ivārthaṃ vii

8. yasmād amedhya-naraka-pratimaṃ śarī**raṃ**
garbheśucau aśucinā tā [9] rasena puṣṭaṃ
tasmād amedhya-jala-jā**tam ivā**ravindaṃ
tyakta**vyam** [**eva** ?] -i . [**-ā**] [10] vapuṣāpi yuktaṃ viii

9. saṃrakṣito**p**i sutava [11] paripālitopi
snānāṃbarābharaṇabhuṣaṇa [12] — ⌣ — —

IV. Glossary of Turkish Words

A glossary of the Turkish words with Sanskrit equivalents is justified by their linguistic importance. Words given by Dr. Stönner from the unpublished portion of the MS. are included, adapted to the present transcription, and also two words, *kyuclyuq* and *turti*, from the *Tocharische Sprachreste* of Professors Sieg and Siegling. Seven words, quoted by Professor F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* [i], but somewhat unfortunately only in an interpreted transcription without the Brāhmī akṣaras, are also noted. Turkish cognate words are for convenience quoted as far as possible from the *Analytischer Index* (AI.).

[1] *kaḍeparāṇi* = *kalevarāṇi*.
[2] *hi*.
[3] *sahitau*.
[4] *citāyām*.
[5] *labdhvā*.
[6] *-tād* (Turkish renders by ablative).
[7] *vistīrṇa*. I am indebted to M. de la Vallée Poussin for the reading *vetana*.
[8] *-kād* (Turkish renders by ablative).
[9] *tā* for *tu ?*
[10] Turkish renders by instrumental.
[11] *sutavat*.
[12] *bhūṣaṇa*.

Abbreviations

AI. = Bang and A. von Gabain, *Analytischer Index zu den fünf ersten Stücken der Türkischen Turfan-Texte*, SBAW, 1931.
TTT. = *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, i–vii.
Uig. = F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, i–iv.
Heilkunde = Rachmati, *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren*, i–ii.
Von le Coq, Manich. = Von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, i–iii.
Radlov = Radlov, *Opyt slovarya Tyurkskikh Naryečii*.
Biog. Hüen-Tsangs = A. von Gabain, *Die uigurische Übersetzung der Biographie Hüen-Tsangs*, SBAW, 1935.
Kāšγarī = C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvān luγāt at-Turk*, 1928.

akkiṃ 35 instr. ' liquid ', *rasena*. TTT. vii *aq* ' flow ', AI. *aqït-*, *caus.* ' fliessen lassen '.
aṇiṃ 36 instr. ' therefore ', tasmād. AI. *anïn* ' daher '.
arigsistā 35 loc. ' impure ', (*a*)*śucau*. AI. *arïγ* ' rein '.
arihsislig 34 ' impure ', *amedhya*, 35 *aśucinā*.
asihiṃ 34 ' advantage ', (*a*)*rthaṃ*. AI. *asïγ* ' Vorteil '.
āta**kk** 25 ' foot ', *pāda*. AI. *adaq*. With *-t-* rather than *-d-*, as in *kyatiṃ*.
ārig 31 ' pure ', *śubhena*. AI. *arïγ* ' rein '.
ārihsislig 36 ' impure '. See **arihsislig.**
ālilmiśtiṃ 33 passive, ' taken '. AI. *al-* ' nehmen '. **tyarkyā | ālilmi**śtiṃ renders Skt. *bhṛtād*.
āwirtiṃ 33 abl. — ? —, . . . *mitad* (read *mitād*). Cf. TTT. vi, *äwir-* ' drehen ', AI. *äwril-* pass. ' sich wenden '.
āsu 31, 36 ' or ' (introducing a second gloss). AI. *azu* ' oder '.
iñcip 34 ' because ', *yasmād*. AI. *inčip* ' aber, trotz '.
°**iñciṣ** 13 (Stönner) ' for ', *hi*. Read °*iñcip* ?
ïlaṇip 32 ' clinging to ', *prasakta*. AI. *ïlän-* ' herrschen, hängen an (?)'. TTT. vi, *ïlän-* ' herrschen '. Cf. Radlov, i, 1479, *ïlän* ' erregt sein, anflehen ' ; Uig. *'yl'n*, Čaghatai ايلانمك *'yl'nmk*.
uyuklimiṣ 35 ' nourished ', *puṣṭaṃ*. AI. *ökli-* ' sich vergrössern '.
uyugyuṃdhyā 29 loc., with poss. pron. 3rd pers. *-uṃ-* ' heap '. TTT. vi, *ügün* ' haufenweise '. Radlov, i, 1178, *ök* ' aufhäufen '. Čagh. اوكمك ' accumuler '. **tyoṅyorkya uyugyuṃdhyā** ' on the funeral pyre ', *citayāṃm* (read *citāyām*).

uyunigig 36 ' arising ', *-jātam.* AI. *ön-* ' sich erheben '.
uyus 35 ' body ', *śarīram.* AI. *öz* ' Körper '.
uyusyā 27, 29, 31 ter, 35, 37 ' by (instr.) ', Skt. instr. AI. *özä.* Cf. **°yusyā.**
°ūhūṣ 27 ' family ', *kula.* Hendiadys with *tyos°.* AI. *oγuš* ' Stamm '.
eyat- 33 ' possessions ', *vetana.* AI. *äd* ' Habe '. Hendiadys with **°twār-.**
eyatkyu 31 ' good ', *śubhena.* AI. *ädgü* ' good '.
eyatkyulyug 9 (Stönner) ' favourable ', *kuśala.* AI. *ädgülüg* ' günstig '.
eyattyus 39 (Stönner) ' body ', *kāyo.* AI. *ät-üz.*
eyattyusyug 17 (Stönner) acc. *kāya.*
eyatyus° 13 (Stönner) *kāyo.*
eyatyusyug 31 acc. *kāyaṃ.*
eyaryuṛ 37 ' is ', Skt. vacat. AI. *ärür.*
eyaryurlyar 26 plur. ' are ', Skt. vacat.
oṃ 31 ' ten ', *daśa.* AI. *on.*
oyaḳ 37 ' likewise '. Skt. deest. Uig. i, 7 ; Uig. iv, 8, *ök* ' ebenfalls '.
[**ög-ñöng** Uig. i, 51, **ög nöng** Uig. i, 50.]
oyalmiś° 26 ' dead ', *uparatāni.* AI. *öl-* ' sterben '.
oyalyomlyog 28 adj. ' death ', *kāla.* AI. *ölüm* ' Tod '. Cf. Uig. i, 51.
osohlogdhā 30 loc. ' manner ', *-vidhe.* AI. *osuγluγ* ' beschaffen sein wie ', Uig. iv, 54, *osuγluγ* ' wie, -artig '. Quoted Uig. i, 51.
ohol-tyāg 38 ' like a son ', *sutavat.* AI. *oγul.* Quoted Uig. i, 51.
ohśati 34 ' resembling ', *pratimaṃ.* AI. *oqša-, oγša-* ' ähneln ', Čagh. اوخشامق ' ressembler '.
kimṇiṅ 30 gen. ' whose ', *kasya.* Followed by poss. pron. 3rd sg. *-i.* AI. *kim* ' wer ', Heilkunde ii *kimning.*
keṅālkkig 33 ' large ', *vistīrṇa* (read *vistīrṇa*). AI. *king* ' weit '. Čagh. كينكالمك *kynk'lmk* ' être large '.
keṇendya 25 loc. (with poss. pron. 3rd sg. *-en-*) ' at the end ', *aṃte.* AI. *kin* ' danach '. Čagh. كين ,كيين *kyyn, kyn* ' partie postérieure '.
[**qang ning** Uig. i, 50. AI. *qang* ' Vater '.]
kkaṇṇi 2 (Stönner) ' blood ', *rudhiram.* AI. *qan* ' Blut '.
kkilmas-syāṃ 32, 2 sg. ' you do not make ', *kārayasi.* AI. *qīl-* ' machen '. *-syāṃ* 2 sing. pron., Uig. *sn.* Cf. **kkliñc-.**
kkilmiśiṃ 22, 40 (Stönner) ' made ', *kṛtam.*
kkilmiślyarṇiṅ 25 gen. plur. ' made '.
kkoḷ 25 ' arm ', *bhuja.* AI. *qol* ' Arm '.

kkliñc- 31 ' act ', *karmaṇā*. AI. *qïlïnč* ' Tat '.

kkliñcli 9 (Stönner) *kriyāsu*. For *-li*, cf. Von Le Coq, Manich. i, **54**, col. 2.

kyamiśilmiṣ 25 ' thrown away ', *(a)paviddha*. AI. *kämiš-* ' hinwerfen, aufgeben '.

kyasig 29 ' course ', *krameṇa*. AI. *käzik* ' Reihenfolge '.

kyuclyug ' mighty ', (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, no. 294, p. 218, note 17).

kyuwyāṃmyaki 30, (with poss. pron. 3rd pers. *-i*), ' pride ', *darpa*. Radlov ii, 1522, *küvän-* ' sich anvertrauen ', *küvänč* ' Vertrauen ', Uig. *kbn*, *kwwn*. Čagh. گوانمك ' se glorifier ', گوانج ' joie, action de se glorifier '.

kyuwyañclig 27 ' proud ', *dṛpta*.

[**köngöl-lög** Uig. i, 51. AI. *köngül* ' Herz, Sinn '.]

kyork- 27 ' form ', *rūpa*. AI. *körk* ' Gestalt '. Hendiadys with *myaṅis*.

kyorḵ 37 ' form ', *vapuṣā*.

kyolyoṗ 38 ' protected ', *paripālito*. Cf. *kölit-* ' ombrager ' (Pelliot, T'oung Pao, 15 (1914), 267 = 45 of tirage à part). Heilkunde i *kölikä-tä* ' im Schatten '.

°**kyowtyo . lyar** 26 plur. ' (dead) body ', *kaḍeparāṇi* (= *kalevarāṇi*).

ḵyatiṃ 38 ' garment ', *ambara*. Hendiadys with *toṃ*. AI. *kädim* ' Kleid ', *käd-* ' anziehen '. Čagh. كيمك *kymk*, Osmanli كييمك *kyymk* (*giymek*). Here with *-t-*.

ñyaṅ 31, (Stönner) 16 ' at all ' preceding a negative verb. Cf. Uig. i, 12, *näng nom ärmäz* ' es ist kein Dharma '. **ñyaṅ** glosses Skt. *na* ' not ', but the Turkish negative is expressed by the negative participle *-mas-*. AI. *näng* ' durchaus (nicht) '.

ñyāgyulyuḵ 30 ' why ', *kiṃ*. Uig. iv, 54, *nägülüg* ' wie, warum '.

tarkkarkkulukk 28 ' to be avoided ', *parivarjanīya*. AI. *tarqar-* ' entfernen '. *-kkulukk*, cf. *-kyulyuḵ* 37. Biog. Hüen-Tsangs, p. 7, ' In der supinalen Form auf *-γuluq* wird das *q* stets sorgfältig bezeichnet.'

titkyulyuḵ 37 ' to be abandoned ', *tyaktavyam*. AI. *tit-* ' aufgeben '.

tilyāgiḷ 32, imperative 2 sg. ' desire ', *anviṣyatāṃ* (pass. imperative 3 sg.). AI. *tilä-* ' wünschen ', *tiläk* ' Wünsch '. Osmanli دیلك ' desire '.

tutwiśtilaṛ 29, plur. ' supporting ', *sahito* (read *sahitau* dual nom.). Reciprocal *-wiś-*. AI. *tutuš-* ' sich gegenseitig fassen '.

turti ' stood ' (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, no. 394, p. 218, note 15). AI. *tur-* ' stehen '.

tuhmiśih-tyag 36 acc. ' born ', *-jātam*. AI. *toγ, toq-* ' geboren werden '.

toṃ 38 ' garment ', *aṃbara*. Hendiadys with *kyatiṃ*. AI. *ton* ' kleid '.

tyag 27, 34, 36, **tyāg** 28, 38, ' as, like,' *iva* ; 28 *eva*. AI. *täg* ' gleichwie '.

tyarkyatiṃ 34 abl., bhṛta*kad* (read *bhṛtakād*) ' servant '. Rendering of *bhṛtād* by **tyarkyā | ālilmi**śtiṃ indicates that the same Skt. verbal base was rendered also in this passage by **tyarkyatiṃ.**

tyarkyā 33 : **tyarkyā | ālilmi**śtiṃ, *bhṛtād*. Cf. AI. *trkä, tarqa*, TTT. vii, *tarqa* ' bitter, schwer '.

tyukyālligig 37 ' joined to ', *yuktaṃ*. AI. *tükällig* ' vollständig, ausgestattet mit '.

tyusyukmyakmyakkyā 26 (dittography of *kmya*), dat., ' sameness,' *sāmyaṃ*. AI. *tüz* ' eben '. Čagh. توز *twz* ' égal ', توزوك *twzwk* ' arrangé, arrangement '. Radlov, iii, 1583, *tüzük* ' Ordnung, wohlgeordnet ', Uig. *twyswk*.

tyoṅyorkya 29 dat., ' relatives (?).' **tyoṅyorkya ūyūgyuṃdhyā** ' on the funeral pyre ', *citayāṃ*. Cf. TTT. vi, p. 308, *tüngür* ' relative by marriage '.

[**törö** Uig. i, 51. AI. *törü* ' Gesetz '.]

tyorlyog 31 ' kind, sort ', *-vidhena*. AI. *türlüg* ' -artig, -fach '.

tyos- 27 ' family ', *kula*. Hendiadys with °**ūhūṣ.** AI. *töz* ' Wurzel '.

°**twār-** 33 ' possessions ', *vetana*. AI. *tawar, twar* ' Habe '. Hendiadys with **eyat-.**

nomlati 6 (Stönner) *iti* ' so '. AI. *nomla-* ' predigen '.

pariṛ 26 ' go ', *prayānty*. AI. *bar-* ' gehen '.

pūyāṃ 32 ' merit ', Skt. vacat. AI. *buyan* ' puṇya '.

pośkkoṛ 27 ' learning '. **pośkkoṛ blig** ' *śruta*, traditional learning '. Cf. AI. *bošγun-* ' lernen ', Uig. i, 56, *bošγur-* ' lehren '.

prekk-kka 34 dat., ' hell,' *naraka*.

plūṛ 31 ' gaining ', *labdhva* (read *labdhvā*). AI. *bul-* ' finden '.

birlyā 29 ' with ', Skt. instr. sing. AI. *birlä, bilän* ' mit '.

bramāṃ 27 ' Brahmin ', *vipro*. Cf. Agnean *brāmaṃ* (*Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 57), and Khotanese *brraṃmanä, brraṃmaṃ*.

blig 27 ' knowledge '. **pośkkoṛ blig** ' *śruta* '. AI. *bilig* ' Wissen '.

mondag 29 ' so ' *evaṃ-*. AI. *muntaγ* ' so, derartig '.

myaṅitya 32 loc., ' pleasure,' *-sukhe*. AI. *mängi* ' Freude '.

myaṅis- 37 ' form ', *vapuṣā*. Hendiadys with *kyorṛ*. TTT. vi, *mängiz* ' Aussehen '.

myaṅis 27 ' form ', *rūpa*. Hendiadys with *kyork-*.

yattīlaṛ 29 plur. ' lay ', *śayitau*. AI. *yat-* ' liegen '.

°**yarpsistiṃ** 33 abl., ' without essence,' *asāra*. Hendiadys with **yegses-**. Kāšγarī *yarp* ' fest '.

yarsihākk 27 ' vexatious ', *ghṛṇī*. Cf. AI. *yarsī-* ' sich ekeln ', *yarsīnčiγ* ' widerwartig '.

yuṃkkukk 38 (anusvāra perhaps doubtful) ' bathing ', *snāna*. Cf. Kāšγarī, *yunγuq* ' Waschmittel '.

°**yusyā** 31, 33, 37 ' by (instr.) ', see **ūyusyā.**

yegses- 33 ' without essence ', *asāra*. Hendiadys with °**yarpsis-**. Cf. AI. *yig* ' besser ', TTT. vii, *yig* ' Vorzug '.

yerteñcyokya 28 dat., ' world,' *jagat*. AI. *yirtinčü*, *yirtünčü* ' Welt '.

yerteñcyodhyā 30 loc. ' world ', *jagati*.

ymyā 28, 38 ' even, also ', *api*, *ca* ; (Stönner) 2 *api*.

. . . **lip** 38 Skt. deest.

leṃhwāg 36 ' lotus ', *aravindaṃ*. AI. *linχua*. Chin. 蓮 華 (Karlgren 551 *liän*, 94 $\gamma^{w}a$ ' flowery ', $\chi^{w}a$ ' flower '). $h = \chi$.

viṣailig 32 ' sensual ', *kāma*. AI. *fišailïγ*, *wišailïγ* ' zu den Sinnen gehörig '.

ścaṇḍal 28 ' Caṇḍāla '. With *śc-* from Skt. Sandhi-form *ścaṇḍāla*. AI. *čantal* ' caṇḍāla '.

sākkiṃmāsāṛ 16 (Stönner) ' thinks not ', *na cintayati*. AI. *saqïn-* ' denken '.

sūwtā 36 loc., ' water,' *jala*. AI. *suw* ' Wasser '.

°**syāṃ** 32 pron. 2 sing. Uig. *sn*.

hārrindā 35 loc. ' womb ', *garbhe*. AI. *qarïn* ' Leib '. $h = \chi$.

V. Inflexion and Suffixes

(1) *Nominal.*

Acc. *-ṛ* 36, *-iṛ* 34, 37, *-ih-* 36, *-yuṛ* 31.

Instr. *-iṃ* 34, 35, (Stönner) 22, 40.

Abl. *-tiṃ* 33 bis, 34.

Gen. *ṇiṅ* 25, 30, (Stönner) *ñyuṅ* 7 [Uig. i, 51, 50 *ñöng*, *nöng*].

Loc. *-tā* 35, 36, *-tya* 32, *-dya* 25, *-dhyā* 29, 30, *-dhā* 30, *-dā* 35.

Dat. *-kka* 34, *-kyā* 26, *-kya* 28, 29.

Plural *-lyar-* 25, *-lyar* 26, *-laṛ* 29 bis.

Pron. poss. 3 sing. *-en-* 25, *-uṃ-* 29.

(2) *Verbal.*

-āṛ (Stönner, *sākkiṃmāsāṛ*), *-yuṛ* 37, *-yur-* 26, *-iṛ* 26.

-ti 34, (Stönner) 6, *-ti-laṛ*, *-tī-laṛ* 29.

-mas- 32, *-mās-* (Stönner) *sākkiṃmāsāṛ*.

-kkulukk 28, *-kyulyuk* 37.
-miś- 25, 26, 33, (Stönner) 22, 40; *-miṣ* 25, 35.
-ip 32, 38, *-op* 27, *-yop* 38, *-ūp* 31.
-myak- 26, 30, infinitive.
-il- 25, 33, passive.
-wiś- 29 reciprocal.

Personal endings 2 sing. *kkilmas-syāṃ*, Uig. *sn.*
Imperative 2 sing. *tilyāgil*, Uig. *-gil, -γil.*

(3) *Suffixes.*

-iṃ 38	*-iñc* 31, (Stönner) 9
-yom- 28	*-ñclig* 28
-lig 28, 32, 34, 35, 36	*-hākk* 27
-lyug (Stönner) 9	*-ukk* 38
-la- (Stönner) 6 *nomlati*	*-sis-* 33, 34, 35, 36
-li (Stönner) 9 *kkliñcli*	*-ses-* 33

VI. Brāhmī Akṣaras representing Turkish Sounds

(1)	*-m*	Turkish	*-m*	*kyatim*
	-m-		*-m-*	*oyalyomlyog*
	-ṃ		*-n*	*toṃ, aṇiṃ*
	-s, -s-		*-z, -z-*	*eyatyus, uyusyā, kyasig*
	-w-		*b* (*w*)	*sūw-, kyuwyāṃ-*
	-l		*-l*	*kkol, tilyāgil*
	-r		*-r*	*eyaryur, -lar*
	-rr-		*-r-*	*hārrindā*

(2) Extrusion of vowel in *blig* 27, *ymyā* 28, 38, 2, *kkliñc-* 31, *plūp* 31, *-twār-* 33, and perhaps *prekk-kka* 34.

(3) Gutturals.

The Turkish system of gutturals is represented by :—

Back (velar) stop *q* Front (palatal) stop *k g*[1]
fricative *χ γ*

To represent these sounds the various scripts employed for Turkish differ widely, as follows :—

(*a*) Orkhon Turkish (the script in V. Thomsen, *Samlede Skrifter*, iii, 30–1, and conveniently exhibited in Hans Jensen, *Die Schrift*, 1935, p. 295)[2] :

[1] *g* may have been fricative.

[2] Thomsen, *Samlede Skrifter*, iii, 47, note 1, considered that both 𐰴 and 𐰍 were probably fricative.

Back ܩ *q* with *a* ܟ *k* with *ä, e, i*
ܩ *q* with *o, u* ܟ *k* with *ö, ü*
ܩ *q* with *ï* ܓ *g* with *ä, e, i, ö, ü*
ܓ *g* with *a, o, u, ï* [1]

(*b*) Manichean texts in Syriac script:

Back 𐫚 *q* Front 𐫛 *q* = *k*
𐫜 *χ* 𐫜 *k*
𐫝 *γ* 𐫝 *g*

(*c*) Sogdian script:

Back 𐼰 *q, χ, γ* Front 𐼴 *k, g*
𐼱 *q*

(*d*) Arabic script:

Back ق *q* Front ك *k, g*
خ *χ* ڪ *g*
غ *γ*

(*e*) In the present document in Brāhmī script the following words contain gutturals:—

k *keṇendya* 25, *tyusyukmyakmyakkyā* 26, *kimṇiṅ* 30, *keṅālkkiq̣* 33, *uyuklimiṣ* 35, *kyuclyuq̣*

k̲ *ñyāqyulyuk̲* 30, *titkyulyuk̲* 37, *oyak̲* 37, *kyork̲* 37, *k̲yatim̲* 38.

kk *kkilmiślyarṇiṅ* 25, *kkoḷ* 25, *ātakk* 25, *yarsihākk* 27, *pośkkop* 27, *tarkkarkkulukk* 28, *kkliñc-* 31, *kkilmas-syāṃ* 32, *keṅālkkiq̣* 33, *prekk-kka* 34, *yuṃkkukk* 38, (Stönner) *sākkiṃmāsār̲* 16.

ky *kyamiśilmiṣ* 25, *tyusyukmyakmyakkyā* 26, *yerteñcyokya* 28, *tyoṅyorkya* 29, *kyowtyo.lyar* 26, *kyork-* 27, *kyuwyañcliq̣* 27, *kyuwyāṃmyaki* 30, *eyatkyu* 31, *tyarkyā* 33, *tyarkyatiṃ* 34, *tyukyālliqiq̣* 37, *titkyulyuk̲* 37, *kyolyop* 38.

g *tyaq̣* 27, 34, 36, *tyāq̣* 28, 38, *bliq̣* 27, *kyuwyañcliq̣* 27, *oyalyomlyoq̣* 28, *kyasiq̣* 29, *uyuqyuṃdhyā* 29, *mondaq̣* 29, *osohloqdhā* 30, *ñyāqyulyuk̲* 30, *tyorlyoq̣* 31, *āriq̣* 31, *eyatyusyuq̣* 31, *viṣailiq̣* 32, *tilyāqil̲* 32, *yeqses-* 33, *keṅālkkiq̣* 33, *arihsisliq̣* 34, 35, *ariqsistā* 35, *uyunigiq̣* 36, *leṃhwāq̣* 36, *tyukyālliqiq̣* 37, *kyuclyuq̣*.

h *yarsihākk* 27, *tyos-ūhūṣ* 27, *osohloqdhā* 30, *asihiṃ* 34, *arihsisliq̣* 34, *ohśati* 34, *hār̲rindā* 35, *tuhmiśih-tyaq̣* 36, *ohol* 38.

[1] In Iranian loanwords used also for *χ*: ܓ𐫜 *mg* = Sogd. *m'γ* **māχ* 'moon'. Hence *q* was evidently not = *χ*. Von Le Coq gave two modified forms, *SBAW*, 1909.

[g Skt. *garbhe* 35, *jagat* 28, 30.]
[gh Skt. *ghṛṇī* 27.]

Hence the text presents the following gutturals in Turkish words :—

ki, ke, kya, kyā, kyu, kyo, kli
-k̲, k̲ya-
kka, kki, kku, -kk, kkli
q̲i, q̲yu, -q̲
hā, hi, hū, ho, hty, hm, hw, hl, hś, hs

Two gutturals need to be defined :

(1) *h* (i) = *γ*. *ohol* ' son ' = *oγul* (so AI.). Orkhon 𐰴𐰇𐰼 > *oglï* ' his son '. Osmanli اوغل *oγul* Čagh. اوغول *oγul* have *γ*. (ii) = *χ*. Probably *hārrin-* ' womb ', which has unvoiced (but non-fricative) *q* in Osmanli قارن *qarïn* and Čagh. قارِن *qarïn*. Similarly AI. *qarïn*. In *leṃhwāq̲* from Chinese (Karlgren 94 $\chi^{w}a$) ' flower ', probably *h* = *χ*. Perhaps also in *ohśati*. The existence of *χ* beside *q* is attested in Khotanese (unpublished) *khahaṃ:ni* ' χaγan ', and by the *hkh* (= *χ*) of Agnean *hkhātuṃ* ' χatun ' (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, xii) beside *q* in Orkhon $q^{a}\gamma^{a}n$, and Chinese 可 敦 (Karlgren 414 *k'â*, 1143 *tuən*) = **qatun*, Orkhon $q^{a}tun$.

(2) *-q̲-* = $g(g^{v})$: *ñyāq̲yulyuk̲* = *nägülüg*, *tilyāq̲il* = *tilägil*. Hence here we find a system :

Back *kk*[1] = *q*	Front *k*, *k̲* = *k*
h = *γ*, *χ*	*-q̲-* = *-g-*

But a further problem remains, since it will be noticed that *q̲* appears also in final position in both series velar and palatal. The use in the palatal series is to be expected beside the unvoiced *k̲*, as of *-h-* in *tuhmiśih-* (before *tyaq̲*) beside *-kk*. But beside the expected *arihsis-* we have *ariq̲sis-*, and similarly *osohloq̲dhā*, where it is in quasi-final position before suffixes. So in *āriq̲* and *mondaq̲* it is final in a velar series.

The system sets *h* (= back *γ*) over against *q̲* (= front *g*) intervocalically, so that we are sure of the equations *h* = *γ* and *q̲* = *g*. The solution of the problem of the employment of final *q̲* lies doubtless in a peculiarity of the use of the Brāhmī script, where *h* is not used in final position. In Sanskrit and the Prakrits final *h* does not occur. In

[1] The value *kk* of this akṣara has been adopted from its use in Sanskrit words, to avoid an interpreted transcription. It occurs in the Sanskrit word *savitarkkaṃ*, Pischel, *SBAW*, 1905, Tafel x, l. 4.

Khotanese texts a final foreign -γ, Chinese '-g' (see F. W. Thomas, *ZDMG*, 91 (1937), p. 4) and Turkish -γ (see *BSOS*, VIII, 918) is represented by *ha*: or *hi*: so that here a final vowel is present.[1] In Agnean also *sārthavāk* beside *sārthavāhe* with substitution of *k* for final *h* is to be noted (*Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 58). In consonance with this practice, the Turkish text avoids final -*h* for -γ (except when written conjunct with a following word, as in *tuhmiśih*-). They adopted instead the nearest voiced guttural, the palatal *g̱*. Hence in final, or before -*sis*- and -*dhā* in quasi-final, position, in this document the palatal *g̱* does service for both -*g* and -γ. In other positions the two sounds *g* and γ are distinguished by use of *g̱* and *h* respectively.

The fact that Brāhmī *g* is not used in these Turkish words probably implies a marked palatalization of the *g̱*.

(*f*) It may be useful to indicate how the Chinese in some cases represented the Turkish gutturals. A full study by a Sinologist would now be welcome. (The numbers refer to Karlgren's Analytic Dictionary. The syllables in parentheses represent Mandarin pronunciation.)

qu	in *qutluq* (*qutluγ*)	骨 427	*kuət* (*ku*).
qa	,, *qaγan*	可 414	*k'â* (*k'o*).
qa	,, *qarluq*	歌 413	*kâ* (*ko*).
qan	,, *tarqan*	干 296	*kân* (*kan*).
		and 官 447	*kuân* (*kuan*).

But in Syriac script *ṭrχ'n*, Greek ταρχάν. It is to be noted that Chinese can express the sound *χan*. Khot. *ttarkaṃna*.

γu	in *uiγur*	紇 332	*γuət* (*χo*).
kü	,, *kül*	闕 503	*k'i̯ʷɐt* (*k'üe*).
k	,, *türk-*	厥 504	*ki̯ʷɐt* (*küe*), or *ki̯uət*.
gä	,, *bilgä*	伽 342	*g'i̯a* (*kia*).
gi	,, *turgiš*	騎 337	*g'i̯ie̯* (*k'i*).

VII

At this point is reached the problem, which has led me to publish this excursion into Turcology, of the use of *g̱* in the Barčuq (Maralbashi) texts edited by Professor Sten Konow in *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, SBAW, 1935.

[1] It is now clear that *ha*: represents Turkish fricative γ, and initially also χ, as shown by an (unpublished) Khotanese *ha:haṃ:na*, *ha:haṃ:ni* 'χaγan', beside *khahaṃ:ni*. The conjecture, *BSOS*, VIII, 918, that *ha*: might also represent *q* is wrong. For *q*, *k* is used. A renewed consideration of the word *uha*: has shown that it is actually, as first suggested *BSOS*, VIII, 884, note 5, a title.

In this dialect a number of Brāhmī akṣaras are used which can have no employment in Turkish, Kuchean, and Agnean. Their origin is therefore obscure. Since they are, however, adapted only to suit Iranian sounds, for which Khotanese employed inadequate conjunct consonants, the origin must probably be sought among an Iranian people. Here, too, we find also *g̱*.[1] In Turkish, apart from its value as a substitute in final position, it represents the front (palatal) *g* (= g^{y}).[2] Now in Khotanese texts we find *gy* alternating with *j*, as Professor Konow has already noted in Saka Studies, 25. So too we may note *gyinaindraghoṣa* (Konow, *Zwölf Blätter einer Handschrift des Suvarṇabhāsasūtra in Khotan-Sakisch*, SBAW, 1935) with *gyina-* for Skt. *jina-*. In the same text *gyu* alternates with *ju*. The glossary to MS. E contains, pp. 425 ff., other examples. In the present stem of Old Iranian verbs in *-k* or *-g*, we have in Khotanese *-js-* and, especially in later texts, *j*[3]: *sūjsīndä* ' they burn ' (*sauk-*), *sājīndä* ' they learn ' (*sak-*), *haṃggūjsa-* ' fear ', *haṃgūjīṃde* ' they fear ' (*kauk-* ?), *padajsāñä* ' to be kindled ' (*dag-*), *pajsāka-* ' cooking ' (*pak-*). All other Iranian languages show the same palatalization of *-k* and *-g* in such verbs (Av. *pačaiti*, *dažaiti*), as does Sanskrit too (*pacanti*, *śocanti*, *dahanti*). Now in the Barčuq texts occurs *sug̱andi* ' they burn '. Its interpretation even with the Turkish value *g* (= g^{y}) would be **sug*^{y}*andi* with $g^{y} = j$ (palatalized *js*), rather than the *js*, of the Khotanese 3 plur. *-j-īndä*. Similarly *g̱u* (*$g^{y}u$) is Khotanese *gyu*, *ju*.[4] The word *pg̱ändi* (=**päg*^{y}*andi*) ' they cook ' corresponds to the *pajs-* of Khotanese *pajsāka-*, etc. (*BSOS*, VIII, 132).

That the language of the Barčuq Texts, like the Khotanese, did indeed have the palatalized forms of verbs in *-k*, *-g* before the *-andi* of the 3 plur., is shown by the form *tsawargyandi* (where the *rgya* is not indeed quite clear, but can hardly be anything else), in Khotanese *tcabalj-*. Here we have the unsatisfactory digraph *gy* as in Khotanese,

[1] If the Turks adopted *g̱* from another (presumably Iranian) language, it may have represented a *gy* = *ǰ* (*dž* or *dz'*) there and have been adapted to their nearest equivalent *g* (g^{y}) in the palatal series.

[2] Turkish *g* is interpreted by *gy* in Khot. *digyiṃna* ' tigin '.

[3] The replacement of *js* (= *dz*) by *j* (= *dz'*) is perhaps part of a larger problem—which can only be treated adequately when all texts are available—of palatalization in later Khotanese, where we find *ky-*, *py-*, *-ly-*, *sty-* (see the published lists of Khotanese words). The Barčuq dialect seems to have reached a similar stage.

[4] Henning has perhaps prematurely adopted the value velar *γ* for *g̱* in *ABAW*, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, 58, note 2 (as earlier *ZDMG*, 90 (1936)), in comparing *g̱i* with Sogd. *γy*. It is better to compare first the more closely related Khotanese, which has *ji*.

which the *ġ* was clearly intended to replace, as the other new Brāhmī akṣaras for *χš* and the rest had replaced digraphs retained in Khotan. The *gy* of *tsąwargyandi* is indeed to be considered as providing an indigenous interpretation of *ġ*.

Other etymological connections for words with *ġ* were suggested in *JRAS*, 1936, 94. The list of words is here repeated :—

suġandi	*dzāġyā*	*khoġana* [1]
pġändi	*ġa, ġā*	*ceġutki*
aphuġamnai	*ġi*	*tarġañi* [2]
buġā	*ġu*	*narġana*
biġed-	*ġudnā*	*bġuli*
ġed-	*maġi*	*yānāġaḍa*

If we may judge from a remark of Dr. Stönner (loc. cit., p. 7), the suggestion to interpret *ġ* by back (velar) *γ* is probably due to Professor F. W. K. Müller, whose interests were perhaps rather in realia than in linguistic problems. He had probably not then had an opportunity of examining the problem in detail. In Dr. Stönner's own transcriptions *γ* is even given in words of the palatal series. In *Uigurica* [i], 51, Professor Müller's readings *köngöl-lög* and *ölöm-lög* indicate that he knew that the *ġ* here was not *γ*, but represented the *g* of the palatal series. *γ* was adopted also in *Tocharische Sprachreste*, p. 218, note 17, which reads : Glosse : | *kyucluγ* (sprich : *küclüg* ; uigurisch = machtvoll, stark). The interpretation with *g* here equally indicates that the use of the value *γ* was unsatisfactory and in fact impossible. Professor Konow adopted the value *γ* for his transcription of the Barčuq texts, although from the linguistic side the palatal value was attested by the verbal forms.

CAMBRIDGE.
November, 1937.

[1] We may see in this the name of a people, perhaps the *Khoca* of E 16[9] (*māṃkuya rro īndä heinā khoca u huna ciṃgga supīya*), with the suffix *-ana*, which appears also in *suḍana*, if this is, as Henning has suggested, *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), 13, and as seems probable, 'Sogdians'. It is evidently an oversight, apart from the *ġ*, to compare Turkish *χaγan*. Chinese 可汗 *k'o-χan* < **k'â-γân* (Karlgren, 414 and 296) shows that the word did not have *o*. We know the word also in Tib. *kha-gan* (*JRAS*, 1927, 58), and, as noted above, in Khotanese *khahaṃ:ni* with *a*. In Arabic script we have خاقان *χāqān*, and in Orkhon script 𐰴𐰍𐰀𐰇 *q[a]γ[a]n* with the *q* used with *a*.

[2] If it is desired to see in this word a Turkish word, the *-ṭrk'n* of the Mahrnāma*γ* 34 is comparable, if *k* is not a mistake for *χ* (cf. 37), Kāšγarī *tärkän*—if a form **tärgän* existed.