

ON *iKID*- IN THE KÜL TEGIN AND BILGÄ KAGAN INSCRIPTIONS*

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Many parts of the Kül Tegin and Bilgä Kagan inscriptions are almost identical with each other. Although most parts of these inscriptions are well understood, some parts like the letter group *iKIDmz* in the second sentence of KT S 6 and in the last sentence of BK N 4 are not so. The letter group *iKIDmz* has been read and interpreted in various ways. The author regards 𐰽𐰺𐰸𐰸𐰺𐰸 *iKIDmz* as a spelling error (or an alternative spelling) for 𐰽𐰺𐰸𐰸𐰺𐰸 *KIDmz* and suggests that it can be read as *akidmaz* ‘they do not become generous / openhanded’. As a *hapax legomenon*, the verb *akid-* ‘to become generous / openhanded’ is analysed as *akī* ‘generous, openhanded’ + *-d-* ‘a suffix making a denominal verb’.

Key words: alternative spelling, Bilgä Kagan Inscription, Kül Tegin Inscription, Orkhon inscriptions, Orkhon Turkic, spelling error, Tariat (Terkh) Inscription.

1. Introduction

Orkhon Turkic is the oldest Turkic dialect whose written records have come down to us (Tekin 1968: 7). It is known to us through the inscriptions found in present-day Outer Mongolia, mainly in the basin of the Orkhon River, thus being conveniently called ‘the Orkhon inscriptions’. These are the Kül Tegin, Bilgä Kagan, Tuñukuk, Išbara Tarkan (Ongi), and Küli Čor (Ikhe-Khüşhötü) inscriptions (Tekin 1968: 9).

The Kül Tegin and Bilgä Kagan inscriptions are located in the vicinity of the old course of the Orkhon River and the inland lake named Košo Čaydam (ca. 47°

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north latitude and 102° east longitude) (Tekin 1968: 9). They were about a kilometre away from each other. Severely damaged, these two inscriptions are now preserved in the museum. Their replicas are in their original places.

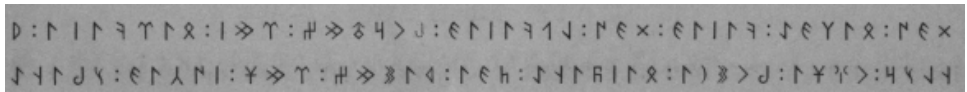
Many parts of these two inscriptions are almost identical with each other. The Bilgä Kagan Inscription is in a worse state of preservation than the Kül Tegin Inscription (Tekin 1968: 10). Although most parts of these inscriptions are well understood, some parts like the letter group *iKIDmz* in the second sentence of KT S 6 and in the last sentence of BK N 4¹ are not so.

2. Research up to Present

The sentence in question is as follows in the 6th line on the south side of the Kül Tegin Inscription:



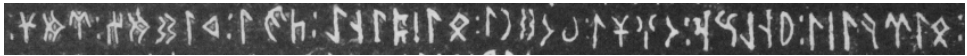
the picture in the Finnish edition (Société Finno-Ougrienne 1892: Tab. 9)²



typeset in the Finnish edition (Société Finno-Ougrienne 1892: 7)



the untouched rubbing in Radloff's edition (1893: Tafel XIX)



the touched rubbing in Radloff's edition (1893: Tafel XX)



typeset in Radloff's edition (1896: Tafel XCIX)

The same sentence is as follows in the 4th and 5th lines on the north side of the Bilgä Kagan Inscription:



the picture in the Finnish edition (Société Finno-Ougrienne 1892: Tab. 31, 34)

¹ The north side of this inscription is now severely damaged and illegible.

² The images of this paper were all scanned by the author at the Seoul National University Library.



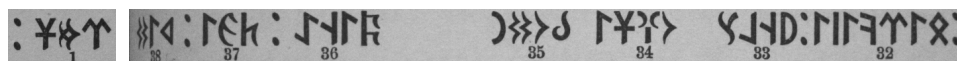
typeset in the Finnish edition (Société Finno-Ougrienne 1892: 23)



the untouched rubbing in Radloff's edition (1893: Tafel XXIV)

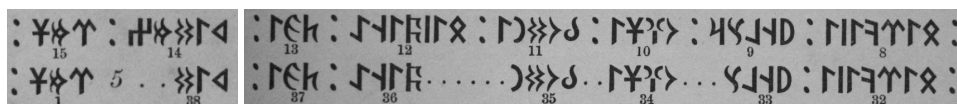


the touched rubbing in Radloff's edition (1893: Tafel XXV)



typeset in Radloff's edition (1896: Tafel CI)

The sentence in question is typeset in Radloff's edition (1896: Tafel CIV) for both inscriptions as follows:



It is transliterated in Latin script according to Radloff's edition (1896) as follows:
: bIrkIsI : YŋLSR : WGŠI : BWDNI : bIsŵkIŋA : tgI : iKIDmz : rmš :

This sentence has been read as follows:

(1) Radloff (1894)

бір кіші жаңылсар уғышы будуны бәсүкіңә тәгі кыдмаз әрміш (p. 33) (KT S 6)
 '(Selbst) der sich irrende Mensch wagt sich nicht an die Ehre (den Schmuck)
 ihrer Weisen und ihres Volkes' (p. 33).

бір кіші жаңылсар уғышы будуны бәсүкіңә тәгі кыдмаз әрміш (p. 75) (BK N 4–5)
 '(Selbst) der sich irrende Mensch wagt sich nicht an die Ehre (den Schmuck)
 ihrer Weisen und ihres Volkes' (p. 75).

бәсүк [бәзүк (Uig.)]

der Schmuck, Glanz; J J T T T T (Ka 6,12, Xb 4,36) бәсүкіңә тәгі кыдмаз 'er
 macht sich nicht an den Schmuck derselben' (p. 139b).

кыд (v) [кыт (Uig.), кыі (Alt.)]

'sich bis zu Etwas erstrecken, sich an Etwas heranmachen, Hand anlagen';
 J J J J T (Ka 6,14, Xb 4,38) бисүкіңә тәгі кыдмаз 'er macht sich nicht an seine
 Ehre' (p. 109b).

(2) Radloff (1895)

уғышы будуны бишүкіңә тәги кыдмаз ‘er macht sich nicht an die Erprobten (Tüchtigen) von seinem Volke und seinen Klienten’ (p. 227).

(3) Thomsen (1896)

bir kisi j^an^yls^ar, uγ^ysy bud^uny bisükiniä t^agi qydm^az ärmⁱš (KT S 6)

bir kisi j^an^yls[.....]jükinä t^agi qy[...] ärmⁱš (BK N 4–5)

‘Si un home tombait en faute, ils ne s’avançaient pas jusqu’à .. de sa race et de son people’ (p. 116).

qyd-, (*qydmaz*) *IS* 6, (*qytymyz*) *IN* 8 (p. 204b).

(4) Bang (1896)

bir kiši jañylsar, uγyš-y budun-y bäsük-inä tägi kydmaz ärmış (p. 9) (KT S 6)

‘... (ja, selbst) wenn ein Mann (d. h. ein unter Chinas Oberhoheit stehender Mann) sich verging (d. h. abfiel), zogen sie nicht bis zu der Wiege (d. h. Heimat) seines Geschlechts und seines Volkes’ (p. 19).

(5) Radloff (1897)

бір кіші жаңылсар уғыші будуні бишүкіңә тәги кыдмаз әрмиш (p. 151) (KT S 6; BK N 4–5)

‘... (denn) ihr schlechter Einfluss erstreckte sich nicht bis auf die Erprobten der Vasallen und des Volkes, bei denen ein Mann abgefallen war’ (p. 151).

кыд (v) ‘beschneiden, beeinträchtigen, einen schlechten Einfluss haben 109 b, 226 nicht richtig übersetzt, 410, 104’ (p. 169a).

(6) Radlov and Melioranskij (1897)

бір кіші жаңылсар уғыші будуні бишүкіңә тәги кыдмаз әрмиш (p. 38) (KT S 6; BK N 4–5)

‘... (ибо) ихъ дурное вліяніе не распространялось на опытныхъ (лицъ) изъ вассаловъ и народа, у котораго кто нибудь впадалъ въ ошибку (т. е. обнаруживалъ склонность къ китайцамъ)’ (p. 38).

(7) Vámbéry (1898)

bir kiši jañylsar oγuš³ buduni bišükiniä tägi kidmaz³ ärmış (p. 73) (KT S 6)

‘Wenn jemand sich jedoch irrt, so schon er selbst die Erfahrenen seines Volkes und seiner Nachkommen nicht’ (p. 73).

³ Correctly: kīdmaz.

(8) Melioranskij (1899)

бір кіші жаңылсар, уғышы будуны башүкіңә тәгі кыдмаз әрмиш (p. 61) (KT S 6)
 ‘... (но ужь) если одинъ кто-нибудь (изъ турокъ) соблазнялся (въ этомъ
 отношени), то они (китайцы и ихъ сторонники) не отпускали (?) его
 (болѣе) къ его челядинцамъ, къ его народу, къ себѣ на родину (?)’ (p. 61).

(9) Radloff (1899)

кыд (v) [ᠵᠢᠳ (AT.)] = **кыи**

Враждебно касаться чего-либо, губить – sich an Etwas in feindlichem Sinne machen, vernichten; **башүкіңә тәгі кыдмас** они не трогаютъ лучшихъ изъ нихъ – sie machen sich nicht an die Besten (die Erprobten) von ihnen (Ka 6, 14, Xb 4, 38) (col. 790) (KT S 6; BK N 4–5).

(10) Thomsen (1924)

‘... selbst wenn ein Mann (von uns) abfiel – die Besonnenen innerhalb seines Geschlechts oder seines Volkes auf Abwege zu bringen, haben sie doch nicht erreicht’ (p. 141) (KT S 6; BK N 4–5).

(11) Orkun (1936)

bir kiši y^an^ls^ar, ug^uşı bud^unı biş^ükine t^egi kıdm^az ^ermⁱş (p. 24) (KT S 6)

bir kiši y^an^ls^a ^ükine t^egi kⁱ . . . ^ermⁱş (p. 24) (BK N 4–5)

‘Bir kişi yanılса соу, kavmi bisükine (?) ilerlemez imiş [If a person makes a mistake, allegedly his lineage (and) his people would not move forward to their bisük (?)]’ (p. 25).

qïd- ‘ilerletmek [to cause to move forward]’

-maz I C [S] 6, II Ş [N] 4 (I, 24) (Orkun 1941: 88).

(12) Németh (1941)

bir kiši j^an^ls^ar, oγ^uşı bud^unı biş^ükine t^egi qïdm^az ^armⁱş (p. 36)

‘...; sogar wenn jemand sich gegen sie auflehnte, haben sie ihn und die Seinigen bis zu seiner Sippschaft, bis zu seinen Schwägern nicht ausgerottet’ (p. 38).

(13) Gabain (1941)

bir kiři yañılsar, oğuşı budunı bişükiñä tägi qıdmaz ärmış (p. 248) (KT S 6)⁴
qïd- ‘angreifen (?) || hücum etmek [to attack] (?)’ (p. 328b).

(14) Çagatay (1950)

bir kiři yangılsar, oğuşı budunı bişükingä tägi kıdmaz ärmış [bir kiři yañılsar, oğuşı
 budunı bişükiñä tägi qıdmaz ärmış] (p. 4) (KT S 6)⁵
kıd-, **kıy-**, ‘hücum etmek [to attack] (S 6)’ (p. 57a).

(15) Malov (1951)

бір кісі жаңылсар, оғушы будуны, бисүкиңә тәги кыдмаз әрмиш (p. 28) (KT S 6)
 ‘Но если (отдельные лица) из тюрков (и соблазнялись), то целые роды
 (даже) до свойственников (до брачного родства) не отклонялись’ (p. 34).
qyd- ‘отпускать’, KT, 48 ... (p. 416a).

(16) Nasilov (1960)

Бир киши йаңылсар, уғышы будуны бисүкиңә тәги қыдмаз әрмиш (БХ)⁶
 ‘Если какой-либо человек провинился, его потомство, его народ вплоть
 до его [последующих] поколений не прощал’ (p. 64) (KT S 6).
бир киши йаңылсар, оғушы будуны, бисүкиңә тәги қыдмаз әрмиш (КТМ) (p. 67)
 ‘Если отдельные люди соблазнялись, племена, народ вплоть до потомства
 (свойственников) не отклонялись’ (p. 68) (KT S 6).

(17) Tekin (1968)

bir kisī yañılsar, oğuşı bodunı bisükıñä tägi iqidmaz ärmış (p. 231) (KT S 6)
 ‘If a man commits an error, (the Chinese) do not give shelter to anybody (from
 his immediate family) to the families of his clan and tribe’ (p. 262).
iqid- (?) ‘to give shelter’
i.-maz ärmış KT S6 (p. 332b)
iqidmaz] ärmış BK N4-N5 (p. 333a).

⁴ ‘**Grab-Inschrift von Prinz Kül** (Aus V. THOMSEN, Inscriptions de l’Orkhon déchiffrées S. 97ff; mit Verbesserungen von demselben, ZDMG Bd. 78 S. 140ff. Türk. Runen-Schrift; ...’ (Gabain 1941: 247).

⁵ ‘**KÜL-TİĞİN ANITI KÜL TİĞİN ANITININ GÜNEY, BİLGE HAKAN ANITININ KUZEY TARAFI** [**Kül Tigin Monument** south side of Kül Tigin Monument and north side of Bilä Kaghan Monument], A. von Gabain; Alttürkische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1941, S: 247 [p. 247]’ (Çagatay 1950: 3).

⁶ Correctly: КТМ.

(18) Nadeljajev et al. (1969)

BISÜK [*< up. *vīsuka-?*] родственники (?): **bir kiři jañılsar oğuşı bodunı bisükiñä teğı qıdmaz ermiş**

‘если же кто-нибудь сбивался с пути, то [табгачи] не отпускали (?) ни [его самого], ни его род-племя вплоть до [всех] родственников (?) (КТМ₆)’ (р. 103a) (КТ S 6).

QİD- отпускать (?): **bir kiři jañılsar oğuşı bodunı bisükiñä teğı qıdmaz ermiş**

‘если же кто и соблазнялся (*букв.* ошибался), то они (*табгачи*) не отпускали (?) [его] к [своему] роду и свойственникам (КТМ₆); ...’ (р. 440a) (КТ S 6).

(19) Ergin (1970)

Bir kiři yañılsar oğuşı budunı bişükiñge teğı kıdmaz ermiş (p. 50) (КТ S 6)

‘Bir insan yanılса, kabilesi, milleti, akrabasına kadar barındırmazmış [If a person errs, allegedly they would not give shelter to his tribe, his nation, and his relatives]’ (p. 2).

Bir kiři yañıls[ar, oğuşı budunı biş]ükiñge teğı kı[dmaz] ermiş (p. 72) (BK N 4–5)

‘Bir insan yanılса, kabilesine, milletine, akrabasına kadar barındırmaz imiş [If a person errs, allegedly they would not give shelter to his tribe, his nation, and his relatives]’ (p. 32).

kıd- ‘kenar dikmek [to sew up the edges], kıyılamak [to sew up the edges]⁷, barındırmak [to give shelter to], himaye etmek [to protect], melce vermek [to give refuge to], müdafaa etmek [to defend]’ (p. 103).

(20) Ajdarov (1971)

Бір кісі йаңылсар оғушы будуны бісүкіңе тегі қыдмаз ерміс (р. 287a) (КТ S 6)

‘[A] если один человек ошибался, [то] целые роды, вплоть до свойственников, не отклонялись’ (р. 287b).

(21) Clauson (1972)

kıd- (?**kr:d**-) as such Hap. leg.⁸, but the original form of **kıy**- which s.i.a.m.l.g.⁹ with a rather wide range of meanings. In view of the similar wide range of meanings

⁷ Although Ergin presents *kıyılamak* as a synonym of *kenar yapmak*, it means ‘kıyı boyunca gitmek [to go along the shore]’ in Standard Turkish.

⁸ ‘A surprisingly large number of early words are *hapax legomena* (Hap. leg.), that is, occur only once, and have not so far been discovered elsewhere; they have, however, been included in the list because they seem to be genuine Turkish words and may later be discovered elsewhere; but the fact that they are Hap. leg. makes it impossible to determine whether they are correctly transcribed’ (Clauson 1972: vii).

⁹ ‘s.i.a.m.l.g.): survives in all modern languages (language groups)’ (Clauson 1972: xxxvi).

below, it is hard to determine the original meaning. **Türkü VIII** (if one man offended) **uğuşı: bodunı: béşükiçe: tegi: kıdmaz ermiş** ‘they did not spare(?) his clan and people right down to (infants in) the cradle’ *I S 6, II N 4*: ... (p. 595a).

uğuş ... Türkü VIII ... (if one man offended, they destroyed) **uğuşı: bodunı: béşükiçe: tegi:** ‘his family and people right down to (infants in) the cradle’ *I S 6, II N 4*; ... (p. 96a).

(22) Tekin (1988)

bir kişi : y(a)ñ(i)ls(a)r : ug(u)şu : bod(u)nı : bişükiñe : t(e)gi : kıdm(a)z : (e)rm(i)ş
(p. 4) (KT S 6)

‘(öte yandan) bir kişi suç işlese, onun boyu(na), halkı(na) (ve) hısım akrabasına kadar (herkesi) öldürmezler imiş [(on the other hand) if a person commits a crime, allegedly they would not kill (everyone) right down to his tribe, his people and his kinfolk]’ (p. 5).

bir kişi : y(a)ñ(i)ls[(a)r] ug(u)şu bod(u)n[ı biş]ükiñe : t(e)gi : kıd[m(a)z] (e)rm(i)ş
(pp. 20, 30) (BK N 4–5)

‘(öte yandan) bir kişi yanılıp suç işlese (onun) soyuna sopuna (ve) hısım akrabasına kadar (herkesi) öldürmezler imiş [(on the other hand) if a person errs and commits a crime, allegedly they would not kill (everyone) right down to his lineage (and) his kinfolk]’ (pp. 29, 31).

(23) Erdal (1991)

bir kişi y(a)ñ(i)ls(a)r, ug(u)şu bod(u)nı bişükiñä t(ä)gi kıd(i)m(a)z¹⁰ (ä)rm(i)ş ‘If a person errs, his clan and tribe do not fight (i.e. are unable to fight) all the way down to his grandchildren, they say’ (pp. 192–193).

(24) Ercilasun (1995)

Bir kişi yañılsar oğuşı bodunı ebi eşükiñe tegi kıdmaz ermiş (p. 87)

‘Bir kişi yanılrsa kabilesine, milletine, evine, eşğine¹¹ kadar kıyı yapmazmış’ [If a person errs, allegedly they would make no edge right down to his tribe, his nation, his house, his threshold].

(→ sınır, hudut tanımazmış [allegedly they would know no bounds])

→ ‘herhangi bir had, hudut tanımadan herkesi öldürmüş [without knowing any bounds, allegedly they would kill everyone]’ (p. 88).

¹⁰ ‘... *kıdt-* is attested in KT S 6, ETS 13,111 and Maitr 32 v4. Mongolian has a verb *kidu-* “to fight, combat, destroy”; this must be related to the Turkic verb, because it fits perfectly with the meaning *kıdt-* must be taken to have had in the Uighur instances: ...’ (Erdal 1991: 192).

¹¹ Ercilasun’s reading of *eşükiñe*, i.e. *äşükiñä*, is problematic and unacceptable, because the Turkic word for threshold is *eşik*, not *äşik*. See Clauson 1972: 260a.

(25) Tekin (1995)

bir kiři yanğılsar, uğışı, bodunı, bişükinge teđi kıdmaz ermiş (p. 36) (KT S 6)

‘(öte yandan) bir kiři suç işlese, onun boyu(na), halkı(na) (ve) hısım akrabasına kadar (herkesi) öldürmezler imiş [(on the other hand) if a person commits a crime, allegedly they would not kill (everyone) right down to his tribe, his people and his kinfolk]’ (p. 37).

bir kiři yanğıls[ar] uğışı bodun[ı biş]ükinge teđi kı[dmaz] ermiş (pp. 56, 58) (BK N 4–5)

‘(öte yandan) bir kiři yanılıp suç işlese (onun) soyuna sopuna (ve) hısım akrabasına kadar (herkesi) öldürmezler imiş [(on the other hand) if a person errs and commits a crime, allegedly they would not kill (everyone) right down to his lineage (and) his kinfolk]’ (pp. 57, 59).

kıd- ‘öldürmek [to kill]’ (p. 105a).

(26) Tekin (2000)

bir kiři yanğılsar uğışı bodunı bişükiñä tägi kıdmaz ärmış (pp. 188, 192, 219) (KT S 6)

‘(Öte yandan), bir kiři suç işlese, onun soyuna sopuna ve akrabalarına kadar (herkesi) öldürmez imiş [(on the other hand) if a person commits a crime, allegedly they would not kill (everyone) right down to his lineage and his kinfolk]’ (p. 188),

‘(Çinliler) bir kiři suç işlese, onun boyuna, halkına ve hısım akrabasına kadar (herkesi) öldürmezler imiş [if a person commits a crime, allegedly (the Chinese) would not kill (everyone) right down to his tribe, his people, and his kinfolk]’ (p. 192).

kıd- ‘kıymak [to murder], öldürmek [to kill] (KT G [S] 6, BK K [N] 4)’ (p. 247b).

(27) Geng (2002)

bir kiři yanğılsar, uyuşı bodunı bişükiñä tägi kıdmaz ärmış ‘when one person made error, they did not even take pity on his clan and people right down to (infants in) the cradle’ (p. 336).¹²

(28) Amanžolov (2010 [2003])

bir kiři j^añ^ls^ar oğ^uşı bod^unı biş^ükiñä t^ägi qıdm^az ärmış (p. 158) (KT S 6)

‘Если кто-нибудь и совершал ошибку, то его племя, его народ не жертвовали им окончательно (букв.: вплоть до его колыбели, ‘до свойственников’ у С. Е. Малова)’ (p. 165).

¹² Geng Shimin claims that there is no translation of this sentence in *Orhon Türkçesi Grameri*. However, there are two occurrences of this sentence with its translation in *Orhon Türkçesi Grameri* as in (26) Tekin (2000).

(29) Berta (2004)

bir kiři yañılsar uıwşı bodwnı beşwkiñä täyi qıđımaz ärmiş (pp. 128–129) (KT S 6)
 ‘Ha egy ember megtéved, törzsét és népét nem irtják ki a bölcsőig [If a person
 erred, they did not exterminate his tribe and people till the cradle]’¹³ (p. 190).

(30) İlhan (2004)

bir kiři yañılsar uguşı bodunu bişükiñe tegi kıdmaz ermiş (pp. 121, 124) (KT S 6;
 [BK N 4–5])
 ‘bir kiři ayrılmaya kalksa; kabilesi, milleti, beşiğine, beşikteki çocuğuna kadar canını
 bağışlamaz imiş [If a person attempts to leave, allegedly they would not spare
 his tribe, his nation right down to their cradles (and) their children in the
 cradle]’ (pp. 121, 127).

(31) Alyılmaz (2005)

bir kiři yangılsar oguşı bodunu bişükinge tegi kıdmaz ermiş ‘Bir kiři suç işlediğinde
 onun soyunu sopunu (eşiğinden) beşiğine kadar öldürürler imiş [When a per-
 son commits a crime, allegedly they would kill his lineage (from their thresh-
 olds) right down to their cradles]’ (p. 9) (KT S 6).

(32) User (2009)

bir kiři : y(a)ñ(ı)ls(a)r : og(u)ş(ı) : bod(u)nı : bişükiñä : t(ä)gi : kıdm(a)z : (ä)rm(i)ş (pp.
 203, 246, 248, 285, 292, 313, 351, 355, 445) (KT S 6)
 bir kiři : y(a)ñ(ı)ls[(a)r] : og(u)ş(ı) : bod(u)n[ı] : biş]ükiñä : t(ä)gi : kıd[m(a)z] : (ä)rm(i)ş
 (p. 453) (BK N 4–5)
kıd- ‘öldürmek [to kill]’ (pp. 351, 526a).

¹³ This English translation was made with the help of Dr. Mihály Dobrovits. He informed the author that *irtják ki* is an editorial error for *irtják ki* and *irtják ki* comes from *kiirt-* ‘to kill off, to exterminate, to purge out’ (*irt-* ‘to eliminate’) whereas *ír-* and *kiir-* mean ‘to write’ and ‘to write out’, respectively, in Hungarian. The author thanks Dr. Mihály Dobrovits for his help. Incidentally, this sentence is translated into Turkish as ‘Eğer bir kiři yanılrsa kavmini ve bodunu beşiğine kadar öldürmezmiş [If a person errs, allegedly they would not kill his people and his nation right down to his cradle]’ in Berta 2010: 190. However, *bodunu* should be in the form of *bodununu* (< *bodun-un-u*), i.e. with the 3rd person possessive suffix before the accusative suffix. Although *bodun* is the correct form, it is an error for *budun*, a synonym of *kavim*, in Standard Turkish. Incidentally, *budun* is an anachronistic neologism derived from Old Turkic *bodun*. See Clauson 1972: 306 and Antelava 1985: 40b.

(33) İnyet (2011)

bir kişi : y(a)ŋ(i)ls(a)r : og(u)şı : bod(u)nı : bişükiñä : t(ä)gi : kıdm(a)z : (ä)rm(i)ş
(pp. 451, 451–452) (KT S 6; BK N 4–5)

‘Bir kişi yanılrsa, kavmi, halkı ve nesillerini dahi bırakmazlarmış [If a person errs, allegedly they would not leave (alive) his nation, his people, and also their descendants]’ (p. 452).

(34) Aydın (2012)

bir kişi yanılrsar uguşı bodunı böşükiñe tegi kıdmaz ermiş (p. 41) (KT S 6)

‘Bir kişi yanıldığında soyu sopu, halkı (ve) akrabalarına varıncaya kadar sağ bırakmazmış [When a person errs, allegedly they would not leave alive his lineage, his people, (and) right down to his relatives]’ (p. 41).

bir kişi yanılrs[r] uguşı bodun[ı] böş[ü]kiñe tegi kıd[maz] ermiş (pp. 72–73) (BK N 4–5)

‘Bir kişi yanıldığında bütün kavmini, soyunu sopunu, akrabalarına kadar sağ yaşatmaz imiş [When a person errs, they would not keep alive all of his people and his lineage right down to his relatives]’ (pp. 72–73).

kıd- ‘kıymak [to kill]¹⁴, sağ bırakmak [to leave alive]’

k.-maz KT G [S] 6, BK K [N] 4 (p. 169b).

(35) Ölmez (2012)

bir kişi : yanılrsar : uguşı : bodunı : böşükiñe : tegi : kı'dmaz : ermiş (p. 78) (KT S 6)

‘Bir kişi suç işlerse bütün kavmini, halkını, akrabalarına varıncaya kadar öldürmezlermiş [If a person commits a crime, allegedly they would not kill all of his nation and his people right down to his relatives]’ (p. 91).

bir kişi yanılrs[ar] uguşı bodun[ı] biş[ü]kiñe : tegi : kı'd[maz] ermiş (p. 120) (BK N 4–5)

‘Bir kişi suç işlerse bütün kavmini, halkını, akrabalarına varıncaya kadar öldürmezlermiş [If a person commits a crime, allegedly they would not kill all of his nation and his people right down to his relatives]’ (p. 134).

kıd- ‘öldürmek [to kill], katletmek [to kill]’ (p. 315b).

(36) Özdemir (2013)

bir kişi yanılrsar uguşı bodunı ebi eşükiñe¹⁵ tegi kıdmaz ermiş (p. 131)

¹⁴ Correctly: *kıymamak*.

¹⁵ Özdemir’s reading of *ebi eşükiñe* is the same as Ercilasun’s reading. However, its Turkish translation is ‘hısım akrabasına’, i.e. ‘to his kith and kin’. So, *ebi eşükiñe* should be corrected as *bişükiñe*, i.e. *bişükiñä*. See Clauson 1972: 380b–381a.

‘Bir kişi suç işlese, boyu, milleti, hısım akrabasına kadar cezalandırmazlarmış [If a person commits a crime, they would not punish (everyone)¹⁶ right down to his tribe, his nation, and his kinfolk]’ (pp. 136, 138).

(37) Sertkaya (2014)

Bir kişi y(a)η(i)ls(a)r og(u)şı<ηa> bod(u)nu<ηa> (e)bi<ηe> (e)şükiñe t(e)gi (a)kid-m(a)z ermiş (pp. 9, 19) (KT S 6; BK N 4–5)

‘bir kişi yanılma (hata yapsa veya suç işlese), [Çinliler] âilesi(ne), halkı(na), evi(ne), eşğine (= soyuna sopuna)¹⁷ kadar bırakmaz (hepsini öldürür) imiş [If a person errs (makes a mistake or commits a crime), allegedly [the Chinese] would not leave (alive) and (kill all of them) right down to his family, his people, his house and threshold (= his lineage)]’ (pp. 19–20).

(38) Mirkamal (2016)

bir kişi : y(a)η(i)ls(a)r : uγ(u)şı : bod(u)nu : bişükiñä : t(ä)gi : qıdm(a)z : (ä)rm(i)ş (pp. 1, 6, 10)

‘if a man makes a mistake, (They) don’t end up (the case) until (punish) his direct tribal family, his people even his marital relatives’ (more literally, ‘if a man makes a mistake, the punishment would involve his direct tribal family, his people and even marital relatives. The rope indicating the end would not be cut until his marital relatives get punished’) (p. 10).

qid- ‘to cut’¹⁸ (p. 9).

3. Conclusion

As seen above, **𐰇𐰏** *mz* in the letter group **𐰇𐰏𐰢𐰣** *iKIDmz* is the negative aorist suffix *-maz*. The verb in question has been read and interpreted in various ways as follows:

- (1) *kid-* ‘to venture’ (Radloff 1894)
- ‘to impair’ (Radloff 1895)
- ‘to come forward’ (Thomsen 1896)
- ‘to go into battle’ (Bang 1896)
- ‘to have a bad influence’ (Radloff 1897; Radlov and Melioranskij 1897)

¹⁶ The object (everyone) was added by the author.

¹⁷ See footnotes 11 and 15.

¹⁸ *qid-* in *bir kişi : y(a)η(i)ls(a)r : uγ(u)şı : bod(u)nu : bişükiñä : t(ä)gi : qıdm(a)z : (ä)rm(i)ş* (Kültegin, S6; Bilge Kagan, N4–5) means “to cut”. It has connection with Kazakh custom of “rope-cutting judgement”. Therefore, it indicated that “the matter ends completely”, “final decision has been made”, “to accept the judgement without regret”. The author believes such custom is adapted to nomadic life, and is not invented in modern times. It has reserved since ancient time till nowadays. Some remaining relevant meanings in Yakut, Altay languages show its old Turkic background. We believe that this custom existed in ancient Turkic times. Its semantics did not expand in ancient Turkic Khanate except the meanings like “to judge” and “to terminate” (Mirkamal 2016: 9–10).

- ‘to spare’ (Vámbéry 1898; İlhan 2004)
 ‘to set free, to release’ (Melioranskij 1899; Nadeljajev et al. 1969¹⁹)
 ‘to set about doing something hostilely, to destroy’ (Radloff 1899)
 ‘to lead astray’ (Thomsen 1924)
 ‘to advance’ (Orkun 1936, 1941)
 ‘to eradicate’ (Németh 1941)
 ‘to attack’ (Gabain 1941²⁰; Çagatay 1950)
 ‘to deviate; to set free’ (Malov 1951)
 ‘to forgive; to deviate’ (Nasilov 1960)
 ‘to deviate’ (Ajdarov 1971)
 ‘to kill’ (Tekin 1988, 1995, 2000; User 2009; Ölmez 2012)
 ‘to take pity on’ (Geng 2002)
 ‘to sacrifice’ (Amanžolov 2010/2003)
 ‘to do not kill’ (Alyılmaz 2005; Aydın 2012)
 ‘to give shelter’ (Ergin 1970)
 ‘to make a border / an edge to anything’ (Ercilasun 1995)
 ‘to leave (alive)’ (İnayet 2011)
 ‘to punish’ (Özdemir 2013)
 ‘to cut’ (Mirkamal 2016)
- (2) *kīd*- ‘to spare; to do not destroy’ (Clauson 1972)
 (3) *kīdi*- ‘to fight’ (Erdal 1991)
 (4) *kīdi*- ‘to exterminate’ (Berta 2004)
 (5) *ikid*- (?) ‘to give shelter’ (Tekin 1968)
 (6) *akīd*- ‘to leave (alive)’ (Sertkaya 2014)

As Erdal (1991: 192) points out, this verb has till now been usually read as ‘*kīd*-’, due to a confusion with ‘*kīy*-’. This connection is impossible, as /d/ could not have become [y] either in Uighur or in Qarakhanid.

Incidentally, all/most of the researchers overlooked the following points:

- (1) The letter group $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \triangleleft \underline{\text{ikidmz}}$ may be a spelling error for $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \text{KIDmz}$;
- (2) There are two examples of *añig bilig* ‘ill will’ (‘evil knowledge’);
- (3) The verb after the postposition *tägi* is intransitive in all probability.

The letter group $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \triangleleft \underline{\text{ikidmz}}$ may be a spelling error for $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \text{KIDmz}$. The syllabic sign \triangleleft (~ \triangleright) *ik* is used to represent (1) the sound group *ik*, (2) the sound group *kī*, and (3) the initial consonant *k* before the vowel *i*.²¹

There are several occurrences of $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \text{YILiKA}$ instead of $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \text{YILKA}$ in the Tariat (Terkh) Inscription from the Uighur Empire, which should be read as *yilka*, not *yilika*:

- $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \downarrow$ *koñ yilka* ‘in the Year of the Sheep’ (E 9)
 $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \text{𐰉} \text{𐰉}$ *beçin yilka* ‘in the Year of the Monkey’ (S 1)
 $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \text{𐰉}$ *it yilka* ‘in the Year of the Dog’ (S 3)
 $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \text{𐰉} \text{𐰉}$ *küsgü yilka* ‘in the Year of the Mouse’ (S 5)
 $\text{𐰉𐰺𐰽𐰾} \text{𐰉} \text{𐰉}$ *ulu yilka* ‘in the Year of the Dragon’ (W 2).

¹⁹ With a question mark.

²⁰ With a question mark.

²¹ See Tekin 1968: 44–45; 2000: 35–36; and 2016: 38–39.

If ► *iK* is not a wrong letter instead of 𐰽 *K* in these examples, then we must accept that the syllabic sign ◀ (~ ►) *iK* can be used instead of 𐰽 *K* in the vicinity of the vowel *i* to denote the initial *ak* or the consonant *k* before the vowel *a*.

Two examples of *añig bilig* ‘ill will’ (‘evil knowledge’) are given right after that sentence in question: *Ädgü bilgä kişig, ädgü alp kişig yorütmaz ärmış* and *Bir kişi yañılsar, uguşi boduni bişükiñä tägi iKIDmz ärmış*. According to the parallelism, the verb *iKIDmz* should have a negative meaning. In other words, the letter group before *mz* has a positive meaning like *yorüt-*. Then almost all of the interpretations so far suggested are not acceptable. The subject of these two sentences is obviously the same. If that is the case, the interpretation of Erdal (1991) is not acceptable.

There is no object after the postposition *tägi*. So, the verb *iKIDmz* is an intransitive verb in all probability. Then almost all of the interpretations so far suggested are not acceptable.

If the letter group 𐰽𐰾𐰼𐰽𐰽𐰽𐰽𐰽 *iKIDmz* is a spelling error (or an alternative spelling) for 𐰽𐰾𐰼𐰽𐰽𐰽𐰽𐰽 *KIDmz*, it can be read as *akidmaz* ‘they do not become generous / openhanded’. As a *hapax legomenon*, the verb *akid-* ‘to become generous / openhanded’ is analysed as *aki* ‘generous, openhanded’²² + *-d-* ‘a suffix making a denominal verb’.²³ The verb *akid-* fits the context.

There are at least three examples for the generosity / openhandedness of the Chinese people in the Orkhon inscriptions as follows²⁴:

- (1) *Altun kümüş, eşgiti kotay buşsız anča berür* ‘They (i.e., the Chinese people) give (us) gold, silver and silk in abundance’ (KT S 5; BK N 3–4).
- (2) *Kaŋi lisün tay säñün başad[u] beş yüz ärän kälti kokilik öf[.....]*²⁵ *altun kümüş kärgäksiz kälürti* ‘under the presidency of Lisün (= Li ts’üan) Tay-Säjün, the father of, five hundred men came. They brought to produce scent (?), and gold and silver in abundance’ (BK S 11).
- (3) *Tabgaç kaganta işiyi likäñ kälti. Bir tümän agi altun kümüş kärgäksiz kälürti* ‘From the Chinese emperor, İşiyi Likäñ came. He brought an immeasurable quantity of treasures, gold and silver in abundance’ (KT N 12).

Abbreviations

Alt.	Altai Dialect (Radloff 1894)
AT	Old Turkic (Radloff 1899)
BK	Bilgä Kagan Inscription

²² **aki**: ‘generous, openhanded’ (Clauson 1972: 78b).

²³ Cf. **yaği**: (**d-**) ‘enemy; hostile’ (Clauson 1972: 898a) and **yağid-** (**d-**) Intrans. Den. V. fr. **yaği**: ‘to be, or become, hostile’ (Clauson 1972: 899b). For this suffix see Erdal 1991: 485–492, Tekin 1968: 108; 2000: 87; and 2016: 84.

²⁴ The English translations are according to Tekin 1968: 261, 279, 271–272, respectively.

²⁵ *kokilik öf[.....] altun kümüş kärgäksiz kälürti* was amended and read by the author as *k’okilik : ü[ç tört : tümän agi:] altun : kümüş : kärgäksiz : kälürti*: ‘They brought scent, [30,000 ~ 40,000 rolls of silk brocade], and gold and silver in abundance.’ See Li 2017: 476, 487, 492.

E	East Side
ETŞ	ARAT, Reşid Rahmeti 1965. <i>Eski Türk Şiiri</i> [Old Turkic Poetry]. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. (Erdal 1991)
I	Kül Tegin Inscription (Thomsen 1896; Orkun 1941; Clauson 1972)
II	Bilgä Kagan Inscription (Orkun 1941; Clauson 1972)
Ka	Kül Tegin Inscription (Radloff 1894, 1899)
KT	Kül Tegin Inscription
Maitr	the manuscript of Maitrisimit (Erdal 1991)
N	North Side
S	South Side
Uig.	Uighur (Radloff 1894)
W	West Side
Xb	Bilgä Kagan Inscription (Radloff 1894, 1899)
BX	Bilgä Kagan Inscription (Nasilov 1960)
KT	Kül Tegin Inscription (Malov 1951)
КТм	Kül Tegin Inscription (small inscription) [«Памятник в честь Кюль-Тегина» (малая надпись)] (Nasilov 1960; Nadeljajev et al. 1969)

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