A NOTE ON OLD TURKIC taylar-

1. The verb taylar- appears only once in Old Turkic texts, namely in the twenty-sixth paragraph of the “Book of omens” (Yrk bitig, ninth-tenth cent.), which reads:

\[
\text{:GMK:iDGoo:nH;:uDw:iDuRY:biy:uDw:iDRLiho:hhoLo:PgD:hilibaC:bitiLoB:qRY:az}\text{H}
\]

t'ë t'ë\text{jr}\text{rdy} udu jir j'\text{rdy} udu kün toqdy k'm'g üzä j'r'k bolty tir ndata biliq ñđgö ol

‘Dawn broke, then the earth lightened, then the sun rose. There became light over everything – it says. Thus know: It is good.’ (emphasis added)

It is obvious from the context that the verb in question means ‘to break (of dawn)’, and that it is derived, one way or another, from the noun tay ‘dawn’. Since the suffix -lar-, however, is unknown in Old Turkic (or any modern Turkic language, for that matter), it has been attempted to explain this form either as a compound one, or as a scribal error. Thus, Annemarie von Gabain notes in her grammar (1974, 128/§242): “W 38 [= Yrk bitig] Vì(a)hy(a)-rdì „es hatte (bereits) gedämmt“ und MIII 37,4 [= A. v. Le Coq, Türk. Manichaica aus Chotscho, III] ññl-m(a)çdì „es wurde nicht gehindert“ sind ganz vereinzelte Beispiele für die heute übliche Verschleifung des ärdì.” But it is exactly for this isolatedness that her interpretation seems unlikely. Moreover, in the “Yrk bitig” all verbs ending in a vowel have their aorist formed by means of the suffix -jur (jory-jur ‘to go’, tilä-jür ‘to seek, to want’, ñc.; altogether 11 verbs in 18 occurrences), with the single exception of te-r ‘to say’ (60 attestations). Consequently, one would expect *tanljurdy < *tanlajur ärdì, rather than tanlardy < *tanlar ärdì.

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if A. v. Gabain’s hypothesis were correct (cf. also the passage from “Kalyānaṃkara and Pāpanḍkara” quoted in footnote 1).

On the other hand, the editors of the “Old Turkic dictionary” (DTS, s.v. tanla- II) and Sir Gerard Clauson (1972, s.v. 1 tan) suspect here a mere corruption of a form found in “Kalyānaṃkara and Pāpanḍkara” (tenth cent.), namely tanla-‘to dawn, (of dawn) to break’—this, regretfully, being also a hapax legomenon.¹

2. Marcel Erdal (1977, 97) attempted to give an etymology to this verb, without however ruling out the possibility of a clerical error:


¹ So, at least, G. Clauson tries to imply (1972, s.v. 1 tanla-: “[noted] only a[s] b[ellow]?”), but in fact the verb is encountered in dialectal Turkish: “tanla’” (Clausen 1972), but this may be a later and independent formation, as the suffix -la- is very productive in Turkish, although tanla- is present in L. Budagov’s dictionary (1869, s.v. “طلا”)—as well, as: L. Budagov’s dictionary (1869, s.v. “طلا” = “claw, pincer”), as: L. Budagov’s dictionary (1869, s.v. “طلا” = “claw, pincer”). (emphasis added). M. Erdal’s remark: “1 tanla-: Hapax in KP [= Kalyānaṃkara and Pāpanḍkara] in the phrase tan tanlayur ârkân ‘while it was dawn’”, clear in the facsimile.” See the EDPT [= Clauson 1972].” (1991, 447 – emphasis added) should perhaps be understood as referring solely to the Old Turkic period.

² “Although CLAUSON in his dictionary regards the sentence tan tanlardı as an error, it is perhaps better to leave it as it stands. It is possible to consider the existence of a verb tanlar-,- derived from tanyl or *tanla by means of the suffix -Ar-, which forms verbs from non-verbal parts of speech. The former stems from tan in a way similar to kyz+yil and jašt+yil. Kâşgârê renders tanyl kâşık as ‘a deer with stripes on its legs’, and adds that the adjective tanyl is used for other things, too. This epithet is indeed to be derived from the stripes that we see at dawn in the sky. On the other hand, one may compare an adverb in the form of *tanla directly with tünlâ, ârtâlâ and tüncülâ.
Assuming a scribal blunder, and hence introducing the necessity of emendation, is certainly a bold solution and not always can it be sufficiently substantiated. Thus, in what follows only the form as it is attested in the text will be discussed, and the unique attempt to explain it has been suggested by M. Erdal. His etymology, or rather etymologies, can be summarized (with some amendments) as follows:

1. **_taylar- = ṭayyl_** ‘with stripes on forelegs, striped’3 (← ṭay ‘dawn’; cf. ṭaš-ṭyl ‘green’, ᵇzy-ṭyl ‘red’) + -(a)r- (cf. jūṯiṯ-ār- ‘to be white’, kūk-ār- ‘to be, or become, sky-coloured, blue, grey’, tūn-ār- ‘to be, or become, dark’)

2. **_taylar- = ṭayla_** ‘at dawn’ (← ṭay; cf. tūn-lā, tūn-čūl-lā ‘at night’, čyn-la ‘really, indeed’, ḫan-ya ‘anew’) + -(a)r- (as above).

The first explanation is little plausible because ṭayyl, whether really ṭayyl or ṭdyil, is clearly distinct in its structure (whatever it may be) from ṭajyl and ᵇzyyl (cf. Clauson 1972, s.vv. ṭajjil, ḵızj; Erdal 1991, 99-100, 331), and the semantic relationship seems rather far-fetched, too. The second one was later repeated in the same author’s “Old Turkic word formation” (Erdal 1991, 502):

\[ \text{taylər}+r- \] is a hapax in ḫrqB (= ḫr̝q bitig] XXVI in the phrase ṭay ṭayl-

ard ‘It dawned’. Need not be taken to be an error.113 Cf. tūn+ār- and tūn kara+r-di on the one hand, and tūn+lā, tūn+čūlā and Chuv. kān-

tārla (from kāntīz) on the other. There is also a verb ṭay+lə-, but it too is a hapax.

118 As the EDPT (= Clauson 1972) tacitly does s.v. ‘1 ṭayla:’.

This etymology will be a starting point for further considerations which should solve some of its weaknesses.

3. The main problem arising here is that of whether it is possible to derive an -(a)r- verb from an adverb in -la. The suffix -(a)r- seems to be used to create verbs only from nouns or adjectives, therefore it ought not prima facie to appear

Chuvash kāntārla also stems in the same manner from kāntīz. As for the structure [of ṭaylar-], it can be seen in kūk+ār-, jūṯiṯ+ār-, tūn+ār-, tūn kara+r-di and many other verbs. If, not contended with the above, one were to change the text, there are other possibilities than the one expressed by CLAUSON, too. For example, if ṭay was by mistake written twice, ṭay ṭaylardy.“ In that case, alar-

could be analysed as al+ar-, and the meaning of the sentence would be ‘Dawn reddened’.”

after *tanla*. It could, however, do so, had its adverbial nature been no longer felt. It is not possible to examine the linguistic consciousness of the ancient Turks, some evidence can nonetheless be collected. Two arguments which may be decisive here are the age of the formation *tanla* and its syntactical properties. M. Erdal writes (1991, 403-404):

> +1A is evidently a very old formation [...] +1A forms with local function are not too common [...] The most common use of +1A is to form temporal adverbs. [...] *tün+la* [...] *tün+çü+la* [...] When *tünlä* serves as kernel to an izafet construction, it appears in the locative case form: *tolun ay beş yegirmi tünlasinda kamagu bir gun bir orunda yıldırlar* (BT [= Berliner Turfantexte] III 60) ‘At full moon, on the night of the fifteenth, they should all gather at one place’. *tay+la* ‘at dawn’ is quoted in the *EDPT* [= Claüson 1972] only from the XIVth century on; it should, however, be the base of *tayla+r*, attested already in the IrfB [= Yrk bitig].

Indeed, *tanla* seems not to appear in texts before the fourteenth century (although other adverbs in *-la* do). But when it finally does so, it already exhibits peculiar syntactic properties, since it behaves both like an adverb (examples are numerous and need not be cited here) and like a regular noun. Two examples, from the Ottoman language, show the usage of *tanla* with case endings (TS, s.vv. *tanladan, tanlaya komak*):

> [...] *Taňladan* *tanla* sana Tanrı rızası için afv diler niçin affetmedin, şimdi beni gördünse elin fektin. (Muneb. XIV-XV. 142-2)

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4 All verbs in -(a)lc listed by M. Erdal (1991, 499-503) are formed either from nouns (simple or derived) or from adjectives (again, simple or derived). Not a single instance of an adverb serving as a base for this formation is quoted. (The verbs are named “intransitive denominals” on page 474.)

5 C. Brockelmann (1954, 182-183) analyses those derivatives as containing “ile, Gerundium] von il- „sich anschliessen“ [...] als Postposition mit” selten geworden bir öh ilä „mit einem Seufzer” [...] oft dagegen unter Verlust des anlautenden Vokals [...] in tiriklä „bei Lebzeiten” [...] *tanla* „morgens” [...] *tünlä* „über Nacht” [...]. He is followed by É. V. Sevortjan, who writes in his “Etymological dictionary” (1980, s.v. *daj*) that *tanla* is a “narczine, образованное с помощью аффикса -la (после глагола nEC)?” – emphasis added).

The remark in the Redhouse dictionary (s.v.: “*tanla*” *tanla* 3 *(tan ile)* archaic ‘at dawn, in the early morning’” – emphasis added) may be synchronic, not historical.
‘Why is it that you have not forgiven those who for God’s sake have been begging your pardon since the morning, but now that you have seen me, you do give in?’

Simdi olacak nesneyi sen taflaya koma 4 (Kadi. XIV. 377)

‘Do not defer until the morning what is fated for now.’

Even when used as an adverb of time, tanla was sometimes put into the locative case, which corroborates the view that it was also perceived as a noun. Compare the following passage from a Turkish commentary on the Koran (tasfīr):

Dahy ilârükilârûn sözçüklârî-durur, — dedilär. Jâzdy anî Muhamîdîn håbârdân, òl âsîrîm îmlâ olûnûr anînî uzârinâ taflâdâ dahy âhsânîmä.

(A. Zajączkowski 1937, 47:6 – emphasis added)

‘And they said: “These are words of the ancients. Muhammad has written them down from rumours, and the fables are dictated to him morning and evening.”’

A. Zajączkowski aptly renders tanla as ‘morning, dawn’ in his glossary (1937, 94: “tanla [...] ‘rano, swit’ matin, aube”), thus placing it among nouns.

One other instance, and a Chagatai one, can be quoted from W. Radloff’s dictionary (1905, s.v. ‘mayla), although the form in question is apparently absent in the early manuscripts of Rabgûzî’s “Qiṣṣu al-‘anbiyä” (AD 1310):


6 “[...] 26 chapitres de la traduction, en vieil-osmanli, du Qorân avec le commentaire intitulé jawahir-ul-asdâf, c.-à-d. »Les véritables perles« (textuellement »Les joyaux des coquillages perliers«) provenant de l’époque du règne d’Içfendiyär bin Bâyezid (1392-1440) dans la partie nord de l’Anatoîli, sur le territoire de l’ancienne Paphlagonie.” “[...] il faut rapporter le moment de la traduction à la fin du XIVe ou à la première moitié du XVe siècle (1385, évent. 1392 à 1440); selon toute probabilité ce sera plus ou moins l’an 1405.” (Zajączkowski 1937, v. xv).

7 The fifth verse of the twenty-fifth sura in the original version of the Koran.

8 Compare the manuscript of the fifteenth century (Rabgûzî, l. xix), 14r°9: “ [...] حوا باريم يدية باريم قویدی [Hurvâ yarm yedi, yarin koçek.]” (op. cit., l. 380, 20) [‘Eve ate one half and the other she put aside.’]
An intriguing parallel is furthermore provided by the Trakai dialect of Karaim, where *tan* ‘morning, dawn’ serves as the base for the derivation of *tanbyla* ‘dawn, daybreak’ (note the place of stress; Kowalski 1929, XXXII-XXXIII). The latter does contain the postposition *byla* (~*bal/-ba*) ‘with’, yet its meaning is no more adverbal but purely nominal, and in order to function as an adverb of time, it needs to be put into the locative case, i.e., to acquire the shape *tanbylada* ‘at dawn’ (*tanda* means ‘tomorrow’). Compare the following attestation in the Karaim translation of the Book of Job by ribbi Zagarja beň Migael Mic’kevič (Job 1:5):

\[
d{\text{da bo'}lure,di ņęčěł ištyrył’sejdyrlar of ički kunları, da ńjare,di lýov da ajoyyysy e’łare,di alarny, da ńča tu’rare,di tanbylada, da čya’ryre,di olarlar san’ycą barlayyn, ki sayış e’łare,di lýov: – ‘śenče jazyły bołdułar uvuňャłャrym da kuľur sayış ettilar uturu fеńрига sayышłャrynda; bulej kečинире,di lýov bar vaydларын (Kowalski 1929, 1:13-18 – emphasis added)

[‘And when it happened that the days of revelling accumulated, then Job used to send and sanctify them. And he would rise early at dawn and offer holocausts according to the number of them all. For Job would think: “Perhaps my sons have become sinful and have blasphemed against God in their thoughts.” Job used to do thus at all times.’]
\]

A similar process that led to the reinterpretation of *tatjla* (~*tarj*) as a noun must have worked upon *tanbyla* (~*tan*), although both changes were undoubtedly independent of each other and separated by a considerable lapse of time.\(^9\)

4. Examples like those cited above support M. Erdal’s etymology deriving *tatjlar-* from *tatjla*, as they eliminate the seeming incompatibility of an adverb and the suffix -(a)r-. Thus, if *tatjar-* is not a scribal error (a possibility that can never be ruled out), it parallels perfectly verbs like *tiin-ar-* (~*tün* ‘night’) ‘to be, or become, dark’ or *kiiz-ar-* (~*kiiz* ‘autumn’) ‘to turn to autumn, become autumnal’ (cf. Clauson 1972, s.vv.).

\(^9\) As pointed out by A. Zajączkowski (1932, 42-43), the postposition *byla* appears also in Karaim *er’tanbyla* ‘dawn, daybreak’, which again is a substantive (~*er’tań* (Instrumental) ~*erťa* ‘in the morning, early’), and one to be found in the same translation by Z. Mic’kevič (Job 3:9): *ko’rınnašejdr balkańłarynda er’lonbyłanyn ‘sie möge in den Strahlen der Morgenröte nicht erscheinen’ (Kowalski 1929, 3:31-32, 185). But *ky’labyla* ‘spider’ may not be related morphologically, although it must be a compound form, too, as indicated by the place of stress.
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Symbols

> < historical development
→ ← derivation
= morphological composition; etymological equivalence
- morphological boundary

Bibliography


