

## On Uigur {-gAll} bol-, {-gAll} boltuk-

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As is known, ability or capability is generally expressed in Old Turkic by the verb *u-* “to be able” used generally in combination with the vocalic or *-yU* gerund of the main verb, e.g. Orkh. *artat-ı u-* “to be able to destroy” (BK E 19), *itin-ü yaratur-u u-ma-* “not to be able to organize oneself” (KT E 10, BK E 9), *kamşa-yu u-matın* “without being able to move” (IB 16, etc.), *uç-a u-matın* “without being able to fly” (IB 61), etc.

In the verbal combination with *u-* the main verb may also be a gerund in *-galı/-gäli*: *[olur]galı turgalı umatın* “ohne [sitzen] und stehen zu können” (Zieme 1985: 3 67), *kanın akıtıp [o]l k[an] üzä nom[larıg] bititgäli us[ar]* “Wenn man sein Blut fließen läßt und mit [diese]m B[lut] Sūtra[s] schreiben zu lassen vermag” (Zieme 1985: 12, 01-02), *uuç-suz kızıg-sız ämgäk-tin ozgalı kutrul-galı kim ugay* “von grenzlosen (Hend.) Leiden, wer wird (uns) befreien (Hend.) können?” (Zieme 1985: 16,12), *azu ymä kltı birök äşgäk... käd uz oynayu yırlayu büdigäli uduk-ta...* “Oder auch wenn ein Esel... gut und geschickt zu musizieren, zu singen und tanzen vermag...” (Zieme 1996: 1114-1118).

Ability (and possibility) is also expressed in Uigur by the verb *bol-* used as an auxiliary after the gerundial form in {-gAll} of the main verb. Gabain (AGr. 240) gives the following examples for this usage: *ol kuwragıñ öñräsin kinin bil-gäli bol-madı* (Ht Y 5.2) “er konnte die Vergangenheit und Zukunft dieser Gemeinde nicht wissen”, *tüpkär-gäli bol-maz* (Gabain, Ht VII Anm. 1870) “man kann nicht ergründen”. In Briefe Ht. published by her there are many examples for the composition *-galı/-gäli bol-* “können”: *il uluş irakıña ädgü sawın äşidgäli bolmaz biz* “Wegen der Entfernung der Länder war es uns nicht möglich, gute nachricht zu vernehmen” (Gabain, Ht VII 1868-1870), *boltum ärdi yakın tapıngalı* “ich konnte von nahem verehren” (ibid. 1945), *yol irak üküş idgalı bolmadı* “der Weg ist lang; man

konnte nicht viel senden” (ibid. 2028), *tutguluk irak anupadat yuul suwt äriür siz, näh oğsatgali bolmaz* “ihr seid das fern zu erreichende wasser des Anupadat-Sees; man kann absolut (niemanden) mit Euch vergleichen” (ibid. 2104-2106), *yaruk yinçü monçug siz, näh mänzätgäli bolmaz sizin yarukuñuz-ka* “Ihr seid ein [leuchtendes] Juwel und kleinod; man kann absolut nichts Eurem Glanz vergleichen” (ibid. 2107-2109). For further information see Gabain’s note to 1870 *äşid-gäli bol-* in Briefe Ht., p. 398.

In BT I we find the following example in which the construction *-gal/gäli bol-* occurs twice: *inçip ujik itig kiñ yörüg üzä boşgunmak-tın bilgäli ukgalı bolsar ymä näh inçip kiñin täriñin tüpkärgäli arıtı ymä bolmaz* “Obwohl man durch das Lernen nach den Schriften und Erklärungen (einiges) verstehen (Hend.) kann, so kann man dennoch seine Tiefe (Hend.) ganz und gar nicht durchdringen” (BT I: A2 10-13).

In BT II published by Röhrborn, too, there are some examples for this usage: *tilägäli istägäli y(i)mä bolmaz* “Auch bitten (Hend.) kann man keinen” (Röhrborn 1971: 1012-1013), *anta kärgäk bolgay tip ädig t(a)varıg y(i)mä orunçak urgali bolmaz* “Man kann auch kein Gut (für ihn) hinterlegen in der Meinung, daß es dort nötig sein wird” (ibid. 1013-1015).

Examples of *[-gAll] bol-* are also found in the fragments of Hüen-tsang Biography: *[a]yig kulıñım üküşinjä burxan [t]lip atıg äşidgäli bolmadım* “Iz-za bol’sogo čisla grexovnyx dejaniј’ ja ne mog slušat’ takovo imeni -‘Budda’” (Tugusheva 1980: 10a 23-24), *amtı siz iduk tınl(ı)gnıñ ädgüsintä äşidgäli boltum* “Nyne, blagodarja Vašej - svjatego suščestva -milosti, ja imel vozmožnost’ uslyšat’” (ibid. 10a 25-26), ... *bu til üzä [tü]käl sözlägäli bolmaz* “... eto čto jazykom v polnoj mere opisat’ nevozmožno” (ibid. 11a 16-17).

Finally, in Altun Yaruk Sudur there are many examples for this verbal combination: *munça täñlig ılsuz tüp-süz yirtünçül[är]täki tag ıř tam suzak söğüt yıgaç yagız yir suv süit-tä ulatı-lar-ıg yomkı-nı yıgıp parmanu-ky-a-lar-ın sanap nätäg bilgäli bolmaz ärsär ançu-layu [o]k ymä...* “Gleichermaßen wie man Berge und Gebirgsweiden, Wände und Dörfer, Bäume (Hend.) braune Erde, Wasser und Milch und alles andere in den endlosen (Hend.) Welten nicht zusammenzuhäufen und deren Atömchen nicht zu zählen vermag, ebenso...” (Zieme, AYS V 61-67), *bo bir şlok nom ärdini-niñ bititmäk-niñ buyanın ülgüläp täñläp tükägäli bolmagay* “Man wird das Puñya des Abschreibenlassens dieses aus einem Śloka bestehenden Sūtra-Juwels gänzlich zu ermessen und abzuwägen nicht vermögen” (ibid. V 86-88), *bo*

*bir şlok özän nom ärdini-[ ] äşidmäk-niñ azuça ymä [ ] ukutmak-niñ bititmäk-niñ buyan ädgü kılınçı-niñ [ülgüsin] täñin [bi]lgäli bolmagay* “Das Maß (Hend.) des Puñya, der guten Tat, des Hörens dieses aus einem Šloka bestehenden Sūtra-Juwels oder auch dessen Lehrens oder Abschreibens zu wissen wird man nicht vermögen” (ibid. V 95-99), etc.

In Chagatay, too, the ability-possibility is expressed by *-galu/-gäli bol-*, *-p bol-* and *-sa bol-*: *kir-gäli bol-madı* “es war unmöglich, hineinzugehen” (Brockelmann, 249), *añla-p bol-mas edi* “it was impossible to understand”, *bu elni kişi män<sup>c</sup> kıl-ıp bol-mas* “no one is able to restrain these people”, *yolnı kulavuz bilä tap-sa bol-ur* “one can find the way with a guide”, etc. (Eckmann 1966: 150, 159).

In some modern languages, ability-possibility may still be expressed today by the auxiliary *bol-*: East.Trk. *anañ kessäl bolsa, öydin çıqip ketgäli bolmaydu(r)* “Wenn deine Mutter krank ist, kannst (darfst) du nicht von Hause fortgehen” (Raquette; after Gabain, Briefe Ht., p. 398), NUig. *oqi-yili bol-maydu* “nevozmožno čitat”, *oqu-p bol-maydu* id. (Nadžip 1960: p. 90), Tat. *Aşap bula mı?* “Kann man dies essen?”, *Ukip bulmadım* “Ja ne mog učit’sja”, *Yoklap bulmıy* “nevozmožno spat”, Bşk. *Kütärep bulmay -awır* “Podnjat’ nevozmožno - tjaželo”, Krç.-Blk. *Men sizge sorurga bollukma mı?* “Mogu li ja vas prosit?”, Tuv. *Añaa büzürep bolur* “Emu možno verit”, *Kirip bolur be?* “Možno vojti?”, *Indıg boop bolbas!* “Ne možet byt’!”, *Men silerniñe am barıp bolur men* “Ja mogu zajti k vam sejčas”, Khak. *taap polba-* “ne imet’ vozmožnisti najti” < *tapıp bolma-*, *par polba-* “ne imet’ vozmožnosti idti, exat” < *barıp bolma-*, *Ol çaxsı sarnap polar* “On možet’ xorošo pet”, *Sin kniga ayl polarzıñ ma?* “Ty možeš’ trinesti knigu?”, Alt. *Men slerdi surap bolorım ba?* “Mogu li ja vas prosit?”, etc.

In Chuvash, too, ability-possibility is expressed by a composition consisting of the infinitive form in {-mA} of the main verb plus *pultar-* “to be able, have the right”, i.e. the causative stem of *pul-*: *vulama pultar-* “to be able to read”, *Väl traktorpa eşleme pultara* “On možet’ rabotat’ na traktore”, *kayma pultarän* “tebe možno idti”, etc.

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Under the light of all these examples I think that the predicate *bulgali*

*bulmaz* in the clause *näçäkätägi tiläsär näñ idi bulgalı bulmaz* “Wie sehr man nun auch... erbittet, so [kann] man sie keineswegs erlangen” in Altun Yaruk Sudur (I. Buch 1074)<sup>1</sup> should be corrected to read *bulgalı bolmaz* and the square brackets around “kann” in the translation should be removed. In the same work, the auxiliary verb occurring in the following clauses, too, should be read *bol-*:

*birär şlok nom ärdinig äşidgäli bultı* “konnte er das aus je einem Śloka bestehende Dharma, Juwel hören” (V 101)

*kışkı tumluğ öd-lärdä anı kädgäli b[u]l[tuk-ta]* “Wenn man... diese in der winterlichen kalten Zeiten anzuziehen vermag” (I. Buch 1080).<sup>2</sup>

*t(ä)ñri yir-iñä agdıngalı bultuk-ta* “und wenn man... um in das Himmelsland zu gelangen” (I. Buch 1099-1100).<sup>3</sup>

*kuşatri köligälik itip yaratıp bütürgäli bulgu ärsär* “Wenn man... Schirme und Schattenspender machen und vollenden kann...” (I. Buch 1128-1129).<sup>4</sup>

*ol köligälik üzä yänä uluğ yil-ig yağmur-ug särgürgäli bultuk-ta* “und wenn man mit diesen Schirmen ferner den großen Wind und Regen aufzuhalten vermag” (I. Buch 1129-1131).<sup>5</sup>

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In Uigur, to express ability-possibility, the intransitive stem *boltuk-* may also be used instead of *bol-*. This verb is not found in AGr., EDPT and OTWF, for their authors obviously do not believe in the existence of such a verb.

As far as I know, *boltuk-* is first listed as the passive stem of *bol-* in DTS (p. 112) with two examples taken from Suv. The first sentence there reads as follows: *bu nom yöriğin bilgäli ukğalı boltukar* “opredelenie etogo zakona možno budet poznat´ i ujasnit´”(Suv. 389: 21).<sup>6</sup> This reading and translation is correct. But the predicate *boltukmagay* in the second sentence which reads *ol il uluş içintä... korkınç ayınç boltukmagay* “v tom

<sup>1</sup> In Kaya *bulga[lı unaz]* (UAY 77: 34f 10)

<sup>2</sup> In Kaya correctly *kedgeli boltukda* (ibid. 34f 13-34g 1).

<sup>3</sup> In Kaya correctly *agdıngalı boltukda* (ibid. 34g 19).

<sup>4</sup> In Kaya correctly *bütürgeli bolgu erser* (ibid. 78: 34h 1).

<sup>5</sup> In Kaya correctly *sergürgeli boltukda* (ibid. 78: 34h 3).

<sup>6</sup> In Kaya wrongly *bultukar* (ibid. 228: 389 21).

gosudarstve ne budet straxa i užasa” (Suv. 409 15), should be corrected to read *bultukmagay*.

To the best of my knowledge, Röhrborn (1971) was the first scholar who doubted about the correctness of *bultuk-* in its use as an auxiliary, for he cautiously transcribed the word spelt PWLTWQ- as *bUltuk-* in his Totenmesse in which it occurs three times. In the following example the verb transcribed as *bUltuk-* by Röhrborn should indeed be read *boltuk-*: ... *açığ tarka ämgäkin busuş[in art]ı ämlägäli boltukmaz* “Man kann nicht...und seinen bitteren (Hend.) Schmerz und Kummer absolut nicht lindern” (999-1001). In the other two instances, however, the verb is evidently *bultuk-* “to be found”: *aşı azuki bultukmaz* (997), *kördäçi kişi bultukmaz* (1011-1012).

The same cautiousness is seen in Ş. Tekin’s dissertation edited and published by K. Röhrborn and P. Schulz: *ol koklarnıñ sakışın sanagalı bUltukmaz* “dann kann man die Zahl jener Staubkörner nicht zählen” (1971: p 480 370 11-12), *inçip bo biş yapıglarığ sözlägäli bUltukmaz* “Nun kann man aber nicht sagen, daß diese fünf Bauten sind” (ibid. p. 51: 23-24), etc.

In his Xuanzang-Biographie VII published in 1991, however, Röhrborn read the the same auxiliary verb as *boltuk-*: [*yö*]läştürsär ädgüsin öñrä[ki] hanlarnıñ näcük ol [*bä*]gim(i)z kutı birlä tüzül[gä]y täñäşgäy tep tegäli [*bo*]ltukgay mu “Wenn man die Güte von früheren Kaisern [mit der Güte unseres Kaisers] vergleicht: wie wird man sagen können, daß [sie] mit der Majestät unseres Herrn gleichziehen wird?” (p. 55: 510-513).

The auxiliary *boltuk-* occurring after the gerund in {-gAlI} in the third book of Altun Yaruk has also been read correctly by Ölmez: *buyan edgü kılınç-ıg takı ülgülegeli teñlegeli boltukmaz* “iyi (iki.) davranışı da karşılaştırabilmek, kıyaslayabilmek mümkün değildir” (Ölmez 1991, p. 54: 167 7-8).

But in *Uyurca Altun Yaruk* and *Altun Yaruq Sudur: Vorworte und das erste Buch* published recently the auxiliary verb *boltuk-* occurring after the gerunds in {-gAlI} has always been read *bultuk-*. This reading cannot be correct. In my opinion, in all these cases it should be read *boltuk-*. Here I would like to draw attention especially to the predicate *bulgalı bultukmaz* (so read) occurring several times at the beginning of the IV. Tegzinç: *inçip yene ol bodı tigme tuyunmak köñülüg bo közüñür üdteki köñül üze yme bulgalı bultukmaz, kin keligme üdteki köñül üze yme bulgalı bultukmaz; bodı tigme tuyunmak köñülüg tuyunmakda öñi yme bulgalı bultukmaz; tnl(ı)glar yene anı yme bulgalı bultukmaz,..* (C. Kaya, UAY, p. 146).

Let it be said first of all that a verbal combination like *bulgalı bultuk-* is semantically obscure. Besides, it is very unlikely that a verb like *bultuk-* “to be found” might have been used as an auxiliary in Uigur to express ability. There is no doubt that the verb read *bultuk-* in the combination *-galıl-gäli PWLTWQ-* is actually nothing but *boltuk-*.

An irrefutable evidence for the existence of such a verb in Uigur is the following passage in which *boltuk-* is used instead of the expected *bol-*: *azu ymä kltı birök äşgäk irinin näçätä bimba atlg yimiş täg kısıl öñlüg boldukup...* “Oder auch wenn ein Esel an seinen Lippen rotfarben wie die *bimba* genannte Frucht wird...” (Zieme, AYS I. Buch 1114-1117).<sup>7</sup>

The same form occurring as an auxiliary but read *bultukup* in the clause *ol müyüzi kavşurup şatu itgeli bultukup* “und wenn man diese Hörner zusammenfügen und eine Leiter herstellen kann” (AYS I. Buch 1097-1098), too, should therefore be corrected to read *boltukup*.<sup>8</sup>

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The existence of an intransitive stem like *boltuk-* might seem doubtful to many, for its base, too, is intransitive. But it should be reminded that there are quite a many such intransitive (passive) stems derived from intransitive bases in Old and Middle Turkic texts, e.g. *akıl-* “to come flowing, flow about”, *barıl-* “to be arrived”, *oñul-* “to recover” < *oñ-* “to improve, thrive, prosper”, *öçül-* “to be extinguished”, etc. Similarly, the intransitive (passive or reflexive) suffix {-I)k-}, too, may be added to intransitive bases, e.g. *oñuk-* “to turn pale, fade, wilt” < *oñ-* id., *öçük-* “to fail (of breathing), be extinguished, die out” < *öç-* id., *usuk-* “to be thirsty” < *us-* id., etc.

The Uigur auxiliary *boltuk-* “to come true, come to be, be realized, happen” does not seem to have survived in any modern language today. But the passive or reflexive stems of *bol-* are found in some languages: Khak. *polıl-* “to become, happen”, Bşk. *bulın-* “to be, be present”, Uzb. *bolin-* “to be, become”, Trk. *olun-* id., Shor *polunmas* “yeteneksiz, kabiliyetsiz, beceriksiz”, Yak. *buolun-* “to consent, agree”, etc. In Tuvinian today the reflexive stem of *bol-* is *boldun-*, formed with the suffix {-IIn-}, i.e.

<sup>7</sup> In Kaya wrongly *bultukup* (ibid. 78: 34ğ 13).

<sup>8</sup> In Kaya wrongly *bultukup* (ibid. 77: 34g 17).

*boldun-* (< \**bollun-* < \**bol-ul-un-*), and it expresses possibility: *boldun-ar-ibile* “po možnosti”, *boldun-ar arga bile id*.

All these examples, especially Tuv. *boldun-* “to come true, come to be, be realized, happen” and Shor *polunmas* “unable, incapable” (< \**bolun-maz*) make it clear that in Uigur, apart from *bol-*, the verb *boltuk-* was also used after gerunds in {-gAlI} as an auxiliary expressing ability-possibility.

Before concluding this paper I would like to quote a couplet from Kutadgu Bilig in which the verbal combination *alıp bolun-* “to be able to get or obtain” occurs: *yüz utru kitärgü bu dünya salıp / anın bolsa ‘ukbi boluñgay alıp* “Bu dünyadan uzaklaşp, ondan vaz geçmek lazımdır; ancak böylelikle ukba elde edilebilir” (KB 4799, KB Tercüme, p. 346).

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