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Which is the Oldest Manuscript of Rabghūzī's Qisas al-Anbiyā?

Rabgûzî'nin Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ'sının En Eski Nüshası Hangisidir?

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to try to determine which is the oldest and best manuscript copy of Rabghūzī's *Qisas al-Anbiyā*, also known as the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*. The *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* manuscript in the British Museum Library is considered the oldest and best copy since Szynkiewicz's work in 1926, and it is believed that a manuscript copy of the work from the 14th century has not survived. However, there is a manuscript copy in the Tehran University Library, much older than the one in the British Museum Library, whose linguistic value has not been recognised, although it has been discovered twice before. Both the linguistic and orthographic features of the Tehran manuscript, the date of which is unknown due to the absence of a colophon, prove that this manuscript was copied in the first half of the 14th century. The language of the manuscript is more archaic than any known Khwarezmian Turkish work. In many respects it is closer to Karakhanid. The main body of the article treats the linguistic and orthographic features of the Tehran manuscript. The present article also highlights the problems caused by the text editions based on the British Museum copy, and compares the Tehran manuscript with the British Museum manuscript and the earliest Middle Turkish sources. The results of my examination and study of the Tehran manuscript show that this manuscript is the oldest and best copy of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* and that the text it presents is very close to the original text. This means that we are dealing with a text that is even older and more important than the *Nahj al-Farādīs*, which is considered to be the most important source for Khwarezmian Turkish. In conclusion, it seems that a new edition of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* based on the Tehran manuscript is now necessary, and I hope to carry it out in the near future.
Keywords: Rabghūzī, Qisas al-Anbiyā, Stories of the prophets, Khwarezmian Turkish, Eastern Turkish

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ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Rabgûzî'nin *Kısas-ı Rabgûzî* adıyla da bilinen *Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ*'sının en eski ve en iyi nüshasını tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Szynkiewicz'in 1926 tarihli çalışmasından bu yana *Kısas-ı Rabgûzî*'nin Britanya Müzesi Kütüphanesindeki nüshası (Londra nüshası) en eski ve en iyi nüsha olarak kabul edilmekte olup eserin XIV. yüzyıla ait bir nüshasının günümüze ulaşmadığı düşünülmektedir. Ne var ki Tahran Üniversitesi Kütüphanesinde, Britanya Müzesi Kütüphanesindekinden çok daha eski ve daha önce iki kez keşfedilmesine rağmen lisani değeri henüz tam olarak anlaşılamamış bir nüsha bulunmaktadır. Ketebe kaydı bulunmadığından istinsah tarihi tam olarak bilinmeyen Tahran nüshasının hem dil hem de imla

özellikleri bu yazmanın XIV. yüzyılın ilk yarısında istinsah edildiğini göstermektedir. Nüshanın dili bilinen tüm Harezm Türkçesi eserlerinden daha arkaik özellikler göstermekte ve hatta pek çok noktada Karahanlı Türkçesine yaklaşmaktadır. Bu çalışmada ağırlıklı olarak Tahran nüshasının dil ve imla özellikleri üzerinde durulmakta, bunun yanı sıra Londra nüshasına dayanan metin neşirlerinin neden olduğu sorunlara dikkat çekilmekte ve Tahran nüshasının dil özellikleri Londra nüshasıyla ve en eski Orta Türkçe metinleriyle karşılaştırılmaktadır. Tahran nüshası üzerinde yaptığım incelemenin sonuçları, bu nüshanın *Kısas-ı Rabgûzî*'nin en eski ve en iyi nüshası olduğunu ve müellif nüshasına çok yakın olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu da Harezm Türkçesinin en önemli kaynağı sayılan *Nehcü'l-Ferâdîs*'ten bile daha eski ve önemli bir metinle karşı karşıya olduğumuz anlamına gelmektedir. Bu çerçevede oldukça gerekli olduğu anlaşılan *Kısas-ı Rabgûzî*'nin Tahran nüshasına dayalı yeni bir neşrini yakın gelecekte gerçekleştirmeyi planlıyorum.

Anahtar kelimeler: Rabgûzî, Kısas-ı Rabgûzî, Peygamber Kıssaları, Harezm Türkçesi, Doğu Türkçesi

Introduction

Qisas-i Rabghūzī, completed by Nāsir al-Dīn b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Rabghūzī in Turkestan in 1311 AD, is the earliest known example of Turkish literature in the genre of qisas al-anbiyā, 'stories of the prophets'. Rabghūzī was the judge of a caravanserai called Ribāt Oghuz, probably in Transoxiana, then under the hegemony of the Chagatai Khanate. He was invited by Toq Buqa, who was perhaps a Chingisid prince or commander, to write his own version of qisas al-anbiyā.[1] Although Islam had spread among the urban population of the Chagatai Khanate when the work was written, it is known that many nomadic Turks went on adhering to their traditional religion, while others who adopted Islam had little knowledge of their new religion. In spreading Islam in Turkestan and teaching it to the nomadic Turks, *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* played a significant role. In terms of content and style, the work was written to meet the needs of those who had just accepted Islam or were about to do so.[2] *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* remained popular among the Eastern Turks for centuries after it was written. So popular, in fact, that at the beginning of the 20th century it was still the best known, most read, and most copied work in East Turkestan.[3] Rabghūzī's work was also instrumental in the process of Islamization of the Golden Horde. In the first half of the 14th century, during the reign of the Uzbek Khan, Islam was adopted as the state religion in the Golden Horde Khanate.[4] In this process, *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*, brought to the Volga region by scholars from Turkestan, undertook the important task of teaching Islam to the nomadic Kipchak Turks, who spoke no language other than Turkish. *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* was taught for centuries in the madrasas of the Volga region and became a prestigious work that taught writers how to write. For example, Tājaddīn Yalchigul, in his work called *Risāla-i ʿAzīza*, written in Kazan in 1795, frequently refers to the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* and imitates Rabgūzī's sentences.[5] We also learn from the memoirs of Abdulkadir Inan, one of the most prominent Turkologists, that his mother told him stories from the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* during his childhood in Bashkortostan.[6] These examples clearly show how influential the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* was in a wide geographical area stretching from the Volga region to East Turkestan from the 14th to the 20th century.

Rabghūzī's *Qisas al-Anbiyā* has attracted the attention of many scholars and has been the subject of many studies[7] due to its important role in the spread of Islam in Turkestan and the Volga region, its linguistic features representing the transition from Karakhanid Turkish to

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1   Hendrik Erik Boeschoten, John O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015), 1: XVI–XVII.
2   Mehmed Fuat Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1980), 287.
3   Gunnar Jarring, *Return to Kashgar*, trans. Eva Claeson, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986), 198.
4   Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 281–282.
5   Samet Onur, *Harezm Türkçesi Fal Kitabı (Yıldızname - Dîvname - Kur'an falı - Kura falı - Tılsımlar)* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2022), 14.
6   Hadi Şenol, "Abdulkadir İnan", *DTFC'de Türkoloji'nin Öyküsü* (Ankara: DTFC Yayınları: 2006), 224.
7   Osman Kabadayı, "Yetmiş Yıl Önce Yayımlanan 'Rabgūzī Sentaksı' Adlı Eser Üzerine Düşünceler ve el-Rabgūzī'nin Kısasü'l-Enbiyâsı Üzerine Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi", *Journal of Old Turkic Studies* 1/1 (2017), 97–96.

Khwarezmian Turkish, being one of the first prose examples of Turkish literature developed under the influence of Islam, and being copied hundreds of times and distributed in almost all regions of the Turkish world. However, almost all of these studies and all editions are based on the London manuscript (hereafter ms.L), which is dubbed the oldest and best copy. It was first claimed by Jakub Szynkiewicz in 1926 that ms.L was the oldest and best copy, and this view was repeated in later studies.[8] As for the Tehran manuscript of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* (hereafter ms.T), which is the subject of this paper, it was first mentioned by Hofman[9], but it was not until Ali Cin's article, published in 2010, that this manuscript attracted attention.[10] According to Hofman, ms.T dates from the 15th or 16th century.[11] Cin argues that ms.T is at least as old as the ms.L.[12] Although she has used ms.T to fill in the gaps of ms.L in her new text edition, probably because there is no complete text edition based on ms.T., Aysu Ata still considers ms.L to be the oldest and best copy.[13] Hendrik Boeschoten's new text edition is also based on ms.L, and he also used ms.T only for filling the gaps of ms.L. He is sceptical about the antiquity of ms.T and says that although a large number of manuscripts of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* have survived, there are no ancient ones among them. He also says that ms.L was produced at least a century and a half after Rabgūzī completed his work, and that the only other manuscript of the same age or older is ms.T. According to him, the fact that ms.T contains many (mostly lexical) archaisms, should not lead to the conclusion that it is generally closer to the original of the *Stories* because in many passages it is also defective.[14] Whether or not this claim is true, I will discuss it in more detail below.

In this paper, based on my examination and study of ms.T, I will try to prove that it is the oldest and most reliable manuscript of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*. Before coming to this conclusion, I studied ms.T thoroughly and compared it very closely with ms.L, other manuscripts of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*, and the oldest Middle Turkish sources. The orthographic, phonological, morphophonological, morphological, and lexicological evidence obtained during my examination and will be presented in this paper clearly shows that ms.T is the oldest manuscript of Rabghūzī's *Qisas al-Anbiyā*. Let it be known that my aim is not to criticise anyone but to determine the oldest and best copy of this significant source of the Turkish literature. Now, before giving the results of my examination and study of ms.T, I find it necessary to say a few words about why ms.L cannot be the oldest manuscript of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* and about the problems resulting from the text editions based on this manuscript.

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8   Robert Dankoff, "Rabghuzi's Stories of the Prophets", *Journal of American Oriental Society* 117/1 (1997): 115.
9   Henry Franciscus Hofman, *Turkish Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (Utrecht: Brill, 1969), 3/1, 89.
10   Ali Cin, "Rabġûzî'nin Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ'sının Tahran nüshası", *Turkish Studies* 5/1(2010), 237–245.
11   Hofman, *Turkish Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, 3/1, 89.
12   Cin, "Rabġûzî'nin Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ'sının Tahran nüshası", 244.
13   Aysu Ata, *Rabġūzī Ḳışaşü'l-Enbiyā (Peygamber Kıssaları). Giriş-Metin-Dizin* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2019), 1: 7, 22.
14   Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: XI, XX, XXIII.

1. Is the London Manuscript the Oldest and Best Manuscript of Rabghūzī's Qisas al-Anbiyā?

It is not known when ms.L was copied, as the colophon was damaged. Scholars generally agree that it was copied in the 15th century.[15] It is a composite work, seven copyists worked on it and the influence of their dialectal background is clearly visible: copyist-1: 1r/01–3v/21; copyist-2: 4r/01–79v/17; copyist-3: 80r/01–206v/18; copyist-4: 206v/19–221r/21, copyist-5: 221v/01–246r/21, copyist-6: 246v/01–247r/21, copyist-7: 247v/01–249v/21.[16] Only one of the seven copyists, copyist-5, worked with rigorous precision. Boeschoeten rightly points out that the language used by the copyist-5 must be close to the language in which the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* was originally composed.[17] In sections written by other copyists, the text was badly corrupted during the copying process. Nevertheless, since the text editions of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* are based on ms.L, the linguistic features of the copyists are accepted as belonging to Rabghūzī. It is seen that these features are included as the characteristics of the period and the work in the studies prepared on Khwarezmian Turkish or the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*. This is undoubtedly a significant issue for linguistic and literary research. Although the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*, one of the oldest works of the Khwarezmian Turkish stage, was written in 1311 AD, analyses based on ms.L give the impression that the language of the work has much more recent features compared to other works of the stage. The corruption of the text by the copyists also leads to many false conclusions. For example, Imre Gyarmati concluded that Rabghūzī did not know the Turkish starry sky well, based on the fact that the word appears as *sevit* (سفيت) 'Venus' in the *Qutadgu Bilig* (hereafter QB) appears as *saḳıt* (سقيت) in the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*. Imre admits that this is a clerical error, however, he also claims that this clerical error arose probably with Rabghūzī, who does not have a thorough knowledge of the denominations of the Turkish starry sky.[18] This conclusion is certainly false, because in ms.T, which contains more archaic features than ms.L, this word always appears as *sevit*. So, it's not Rabghūzī who doesn't know the Turkish starry sky well, but ms.L's copyist (copyist-2):

saḳıt (ms.L 21v/16, 66v/07, 66v/11) ~ *sevit* (ms.T 29r/19, 90v/05, 90v/09)

Khwarezmian Turkish grammars also contain many errors caused by the text editions of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* based on ms.L. For example, Aysu Ata argues that the inconsistent spelling of word-final /ḳ/ and /ġ/ occurs only in the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* among Khwarezmian

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15   Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Order of the Trustees, 1888), 269.; Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: XXI.

16   Hendrik Erik Boeschoten, Marc Vandamme "The different copyists in the London ms. of the Qiṣaṣ-ı Rabghuzi." *Utrecht Papers on the Central Asia. Proceedings of the First European Seminar on the Central Asian Studies* (Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 1986), 177–183.

17   Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: XXI.

18   Imre Gyarmati, "An Enigmatic Turkic Planet Name", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 56/1 (2003), 81–86.

Turkish texts, except a single example in the *Nahj al-Farādīs*, and that the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* is therefore distinguished from other works of the stage by this feature, which is close to Chagatai.[19] However, there is no such inconsistent spelling in the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*, as the equivalents of these words in ms.T show. This is a phonetic change caused by the copyists of ms.L:

aġrıḳ (ms.L 121v/07) ~ *aġrıġ* (ms.T 190r/11), *tarıḳ* (ms.L 216v/04) ~ *tarıġ* (ms.T 350r/04), *uluḳ* (ms.L 68r/12) ~ *uluġ* (ms.T 92v/11), *asıġlıḳ* (ms.L 147r/03) ~ *asıġlıġ* (ms.T 231v/6), *muñġluḳ* (ms.L 237r/16) ~ *muñġluġ* (ms.T 379r/10) etc.

Similarly, on the basis of ms.L, it is assumed that the phonetic change /e/ > /ö/ is a feature of Khwarezmian Turkish,[20] but there is no such phonetic change in ms.T as expected:

öksük (ms.L 215r/16) ~ *eksük* (ms.T 348v/09), *ötük* (ms.L 150r/18) ~ *etük* (ms.T 236v/15), *ösrük* (ms.L 219v/10) ~ *esrük* (ms.T 353v/11), *tölük* (ms.L 140r/15) ~ *telük* (ms.T 220v/16), *öy* (ms.L 218v/21) ~ *ėv* (ms.T 352v/14), *töl-* (ms.L 176r/10) ~ *tel-* (ms.T 296r/08) etc.

We see a similar error in Esin Ağca's doctoral dissertation on the historical dialectology of the Turkish language. Ağca claims that the gerund suffix *{-GAç}*, a Kipchak element, is most common in the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* among the Khwarezmian Turkish texts.[21] There are, however, no instances of the gerund suffix *{-GAç}* in ms.T. That is, the examples in ms.L belong to the copyists of ms.L, not to Rabghūzī:

çıḳġaç (ms.L 85v/15) ~ *çıḳtı erse* (ms.T 116v/11), *bar ėgeç* (ms.L 104r/03) ~ *bar erken* (ms.T 141v/17), *körer ėgeç* (ms.L 86v/05) ~ *köre tururda* (ms.T 117v/10), *yėtgeç* (ms.L 63r/17) ~ *tegse* (ms.T 86r/18) etc.

Esin Ağca also claims that the initial consonant /t/ in the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* occasionally changes to /d/. She even claims that the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* is one of the unstable texts of Khwarezmian Turkish in terms of the word-initial consonant /t/.[22] In her view, this is evidence of the influence of the Oghuz dialect in the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*.[23] However, this phonetic change in ms.L has no examples in ms.T. In other words, the change of the initial /t/ to /d/ is a feature of the language of ms.L's copyists, not of Rabghuzi's language:

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19 Aysu Ata, *Harezm - Altın Ordu Türkçesi* (İstanbul: Kebikeç Yayınları, 2002), 57.
20 Ata, *Harezm - Altın Ordu Türkçesi*, 49.
21 Esin Ağca, "Türk Dilinin Tarihsel Diyalektolojisi-Harezm-Altın Ordu Sahasına Ait Türkçe Metinler Üzerine Bir İnceleme", (Yayımlanmamış doktora tezi, Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2020), 223, 231–232, 262.
22 Ağca, "Türk Dilinin Tarihsel Diyalektolojisi-Harezm-Altın Ordu Sahasına Ait Türkçe Metinler Üzerine Bir İnceleme", 136–138.
23 Ağca, "Türk Dilinin Tarihsel Diyalektolojisi-Harezm-Altın Ordu Sahasına Ait Türkçe Metinler Üzerine Bir İnceleme", 259.

kim-dür (ms.L 104r/11) ~ *kim turur* (ms.T 142r/08), *oġrı-dur* (ms.L 104r/16) ~ *oġrı turur* (ms.T 142r/14), *dėr-sėn* (ms.L 100v/12) ~ *tėyür-sen* (ms.T 137v/03), *dėp* (ms.L 132r/17) ~ *tėp* (ms.T 205v/03), *deg* (ms.L 83r/11) ~ *teg* (ms.T 112v/19) etc.

In the studies listing Mongolian loanwords in Khwarezmian Turkish, there are also errors caused by ms.L.[24] Among these words, *asru* 'very much', *çıda-* 'to be able, to bear', *cilav* 'rein', *ḫaçır ~ ḳaçır* 'mule', *ḳara-* 'to look at', *ḳaravul* 'watch, sentry, guard', *ḳarġavul* 'pheasant', *ös-* 'to grow' and *sora-* 'to inquire', which are mentioned as appearing only in the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*, do not appear in ms.T. In other words, these words are not Mongolian loanwords in Khwarezmian Turkish, but words added to the text by the copyists of ms.L:

asru (ms.L 216v/10) ~ *yavlaḳ* (ms.T 350r/11), *çıdama-* (ms.L 204v/16) ~ *uma-* (ms.T 334r/04), *cilav* (ms.L108v/12) ~ *tizgin* (ms.T 148v/07), *ḫaçır ~ ḳaçır* (ms.L 208v/08, 43r/02) ~ *ḳatır* (ms.T 339r/07, 58r/08), *ḳara-* (ms.L 81v/15) ~ *baḳ-* (ms.T 111r/05), *ḳaravul* (ms.L 240r/05) ~ *ḳızıl ḳul* (ms.T 383r/01), *ḳarġavul* (ms.L 14v/17) ~ *sülgün* (ms.T 20r/06), *ös-* (ms.L 193v/13) ~ *uza-* (ms.T 319r/19), *sora-* (ms.L 133r/18) ~ *sor-* (ms.T 207r/02)

In fact, these interpretations, which are correct according to the editions based on ms.L, are shown to be erroneous when compared with ms.T. In other words, the errors are not due to the scholars but to the fact that the text editions are based on ms.L. The examples given above show that many passages in ms.L were corrupted by copyists. Many others could be cited. It is also clear that the linguistic characteristics of the text have been considerably altered by the copyists. However, the critical editions of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* are based on ms.L and the methods of textual criticism are not properly applied in these editions. The purpose of textual criticism is primarily to produce a text as close as possible to the original.[25] However, we find linguistic heterogeneity in Ata's and Boeschoten's editions, even though they are the result of painstaking research. For example, in both editions, archaic linguistic features are found in the section taken from ms.T to close the gaps in ms.L and in the section written by copyist-5, while much more recent linguistic features are found in other sections. Undoubtedly, this linguistic heterogeneity does not belong to Rabghūzī. In his edition, Boeschoten clearly states that the criterion is not linguistic features, but the soundness of the narrative content, and that they do not attempt to present a reconstruction of the original text.[26] But how can a solid narrative context be obtained without using the method of textual criticism to free a text from all errors

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24 Harun Kaya, "Harezm-Altın Ordu sahası metinlerinde Moğolca söz varlığı I", *Türkoloji Dergisi* 22/1 (2018), 116–129.; Tümer Karaayak, "Harezm-Altın Ordu Türkçesinde Moğolca kelimeler", *Orta Türkçe Döneminin İlk Evresi: Sorunları ve Çözüm Önerileriyle Harezm Türkçesi*, ed. Yaşar Şimşek, (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2021), 351–372.

25 Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 1.

26 Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: XXIV, XXIX.

and corruptions? This does not seem possible. The copyists, who no longer fully understand the language of a text and corrupt it, inevitably also corrupt the narrative context. In ms.L, too, both the linguistic features and the narrative context have been severely corrupted by the copyists. In short, ms.L is neither the oldest and best copy of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*, nor is it suitable for the use as a base manuscript for a text edition.

2. The Oldest and Best Manuscript of the Qisas-i Rabghūzī: Tehran Manuscript

The manuscript is kept in the Tehran University Library (no. 2132). It includes 259 folios and measures 230 x 150 mm. The first eight folios and the last folio which had been lost were added later. The final page is lacking, so there is no colophon. It seems that only one copyist worked on it, except for the 9 folios added later. Although the Tehran manuscript was catalogued by Hofman, it was Ali Cin's article that brought it to the attention of scholars.[27] However, Cin's article is based only on the folios added to the manuscript at a later date. The value of the manuscript could therefore not be determined. The linguistic features of these folios, which were added later to the manuscript, are largely consistent with the rest of the manuscript. The copyist probably had folios that were lost. Nevertheless, we can see the influence of the copyist's own dialectal background in these folios. For example, the dative suffix *{+ḳa}* is much more common throughout the manuscript, while *{+ġa}* is more common in the folios added later: *yolġa* (ms.T 1v/05), *żaʿīf-larġa* (ms.T 1v/07), *ummat-ġa* (ms.T 1v/14), *ḫatunı-ġa* (ms.T 2v/04), *oġlanlarınġa* (ms.T 2v/05), *Mavlāsınġa* (ms.T 3r/05), *ḳışşa-larınġa* (ms.T 3r/06), *oḳımaḳġa* (ms.T 3r/10), *maġrıbġa* (ms.T 3v/13) etc. This is undoubtedly an influence of the copyist's dialectal background. Some words appear in a different form to the rest of the manuscript, e.g. *ḳuşan-* (ms.T 2r/15), *uḳu* (ms.T 2v/01), *ėr-* (ms.T 3v/05), *ḳaran͡gġu* (ms.T 7r/05) but in the rest of the manuscript *ḳurşan-*, *uḏḳu*, *er-*, *ḳaran͡gḳu*.

Cin states that the ms.T is at least as old as the ms.L, but he does not claim that the ms.T is the oldest copy. ms.T has been assessed by him as a copy that can be taken into account in the critical edition.[28] Boeschoten accepts that the language of ms.T contains several archaisms, mostly lexical. However, he notes that this should not lead to the conclusion that ms.T is generally closer to the original of the *Stories*. According to him in many passages ms.T is also defective, but it seemed reasonable to use ms.T to close most of the gaps of ms.L.[29] However, the claim that ms.T is defective in many passages seems to be based mostly on misreadings. For example, ms.T contains the following passage about the people of Sheba:

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27   Hofman, *Turkish Literature: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, 3/1, 89.; Cin, "Rabgûzî'nin Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ'sının Tahran nüshası", 244.
28   Cin, "Rabgûzî'nin Kısasü'l-Enbiyâ'sının Tahran nüshası", 244–245.
29   Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: XXIII.

Sabā ḫalḳı aydılar: "Eger Mavlā taʿ. bizin͡g bāġ borlaḳlarımıznı yana bizke bėrse andaġ ʿibādat ḳılġay-miz kim ʿālam-da andaġ ʿibādat kim erse ḳılumaġay." Mavlā taʿ. yarlıḳadı: "Ol būstān-ların yana yandurmaġay-miz ammā olarnın͡g arasında bereket-lig kendler, şahrlar yaratġay-miz." (ms.T 287r/18-287v/02)

Boeschoten claims that the last sentence of this passage was confused in ms.T and makes a textual correction based on the St. Petersburg manuscript (St. Petersburg, Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, no. C 245):

Ol būstān-ların yandur/ma/ġay-miz ammā [ol būstānlarnı bereket-lig şehr-ler arasında] yaratġay-miz.[30]

He then translates the passage as follows:[31]

The people of Sheba said: "If the Lord, He is exalted, returns to us our gardens and vineyards, we'll perform such worship as no one in the world will ever perform." The Lord, He is exalted, declared: "We will return to them those gardens of theirs. But We will create those gardens and locate them between the blessed cities."

However, it is narrated here that the request of the people of Sheba was refused. The conjunction *ammā* 'but' linking the two sentences clearly proves this. The confused sentence is therefore the one in the St. Petersburg manuscript. The sentence in ms.T must be correct:

Ol būstān-ların yana yandurmaġay-miz ammā olarnın͡g arasında bereket-lig kendler, şahrlar yaratġay-miz. 'We will not return to them those gardens of theirs. But We will place blessed cities among them.'

In another example, Boeschoten notes that a couplet in ms.T but not in ms.L does not look very smooth:[32] *Beg-lerin͡ge sarıġ altun aḳ kümüşdin kursī-lar / Saġ solında turġan erdi altı-şar yüz ḳorçı-lar.* The example given seems to be corrupted, because the second line has to end with /sı/ to fit the rhyme scheme. However, the word that Boeschoten reads as *ḳorçı-lar* appears in the manuscript as *ḳorçı-sı* (ms.T 214v/13). So the claim that this couplet in ms.T is not smooth is also based on a misreading.

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30 Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: 385.

31 Hendrik Erik Boeschoten, John O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2015), 2: 447.

32 Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: 287, footnote 46.

Boeschoten notes that a word that appears as *dāya-sı* 'her foster-mother' in the St. Petersburg manuscript appears illogically as *atası* 'her father' in the ms.T.[33] In the manuscript, however, we see *avurta anası* 'her foster-mother' (ms.T 224v/11).

In another passage explaining the meaning of the Arabic *ṣiddīḳ*, Boeschoten says that Dankoff's reconstruction makes sense: *yavlaq könügli köni sözlegli* 'Very rightly-guided and truthful.' He then claims that the copyists no longer understood the words and the phrase was corrupted.[34] In ms.L this phrase appears as *yavlaq köngli köni sözli* (ms.L 195r/02). However, the word *ṣiddīḳ* does not mean *yavlaq könügli* 'very rightly-guided' as in Dankoff's reconstruction, its meaning is 'strictly veracious, truthful'.[35] This phrase appears as *yavlaq köni sözlüg* 'strictly veracious' in ms.T by the meaning of the Arabic word. Therefore, it does not seem reasonable to say that this phrase was corrupted in ms.T.

Another mistake can be seen in the explanation of the word *buḍun*. Boeschoten claims that the view that *buḍun* is a copyist error for *yoḍun* 'null, annihilated' is untenable. According to him *buḍun* is an adjective derived from *buz-* 'to destroy' and *buḍ-* is a hypercorrect spelling for *buz-*, is attested in ms.L. He adds that the item *yoḍun* was already incomprehensible to the copyists, except for the one at work in ms.T.[36] However, as Talat Tekin points out,[37] while the word *yoḍun* appears as *yodun* in Old Uyghur texts and even survives as *juyın* in Tatar, the word *buḍun* does not appear in any Turkish dialect, old or new, except in a few Middle Turkish texts written in Arabic script, where the letters /y/ and /b/ are very similar. So there is no doubt that *buḍun* is a misspelling for *yoḍun*, and the fact that the word *yoḍun* was not understood by any copyists, except the one at work in ms.T, does not mean that ms.T is corrupted. On the contrary, it is further evidence ms.T is very close to the original text and is the most reliable copy.

The examples given so far, which can be multiplied, show that the claim that the ms.T is defective in many passages is not true. On the contrary, ms.T is a much more reliable manuscript than the others and all the evidence, such as the soundness of the narrative content and the orthographic and linguistic features, suggests that it is very close to the original text.

It is notorious that the other known old manuscripts of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*, i.e. St. Petersburg manuscripts (Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, no. C 245 and National Library of Russia, no. T.H.C. 71) and Baku manuscript (Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of

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33   Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: 300, footnote 72.

34   Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: 441, footnote 56.

35   Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, (New York: Spoken Language Services, 1979), 594.

36   Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: 631.

37   Talat Tekin, "On Middle Turkic budun/bodun 'null, annihilated'", *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* 5 (1998), 263–266.

Azerbaijan, no. B-1460), represent an even more recent linguistic stage than ms.L.[38] I therefore feel it necessary to discuss only one undated manuscript, kept in the Academy of Sciences in Tashkent (no. 5484), which Menges considers it possible that it dates from the end of the 14th century.[39] Boeschoten rightly says that although in principle this Tashkent manuscript may be older than ms.L and ms.T, its linguistic characteristics, such as the preference for the perfect participle *{-GAn}* over *{-mIş}* and the copula verb *er- > ėr-*, clearly are not.[40] In my opinion, too, the quotations from this Tashkent manuscript in Menges' article clearly show that it is certainly not older than ms.T and cannot even be dated to the 14th century. For example, the inconsistent spelling of word-final /ḳ/ and /ġ/, which is characteristic of Chagatai, is seen in this manuscript:[41] *haybatlıḳ* (but in ms.T *haybatlıġ* 325v/06), *ʿişratlıḳ* (but in ms.T *ʿişratlıġ* 325v/07). Again, the word *teg* 'like' appears as *dek*:[42] *tilegü dek* (but in ms.T *ḳolġu teg* 61r/08). Almost all of the features that represent a later linguistic stage, such as these, are also common in ms.L. On the other hand, as will be seen below, there is not a single linguistic feature in ms.T that can be dated later than the 14th century. There is therefore no doubt that ms.T is older than the Tashkent manuscript.

2.1. Orthographic features

In ms.T the letters *dāl*, *rā*, *ṣād*, and *ṭā* are frequently written with a dot underneath to distinguish them respectively from *ḏāl*, *zā*, *ḍād*, and *ẓā*. This orthographic peculiarity can be found in the Persian manuscripts which written in the first period when the Arabic script was adapted to the New Persian, e.g. a pharmacological tractate copied by Asadī Tūsī in 1055-56 AD,[43] the *Andarz Nāme* which copied by Shirzil Isfahbazī al-Tabarī in 1090 AD,[44] a collective Persian manuscript (Hikma 6M) which copied by ʿAbd al-Razzaq al-Signakhī, probably in Bukhara, in the 12th or 13th century[45] and a Persian document which was written in Bamyan in 1211 AD.[46]

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38   Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: XXI.

39   Karl Heinrich Menges "Report on the second excursion to Taškent for research in Čaɣataj manuscripts", *Central Asiatic Journal* 11 (1966), 94.

40   Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: XXI, footnote 9.

41   Menges "Report on the second excursion to Taškent for research in Čaɣataj manuscripts", 95.

42   Menges "Report on the second excursion to Taškent for research in Čaɣataj manuscripts", 96.

43   Paola Orsatti, "Persian Language in Arabic Script: The Formation of the Orthographic Standard and the Different Graphic Traditions of Iran in the First Centuries of the Islamic Era," *Creating Standards: Interactions with Arabic Script in 12 Manuscript Cultures (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 16)*, ed. Dmitry Bondarev, Alessandro Gori, and Lameen Souag , (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 50, 53.

44   Richard Nelson Frye, "The Manuscript of the Andarz Nāme in New Persian", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75/1 (1955), 24–25.

45   Paul Kraus, "Plotin Chez les Arabes: Remarques Sur un Nouveau Fragment de la Paraphrase Arabe des Ennéades", *Bulletin de l'institut d'Égypte* 23 (1940), 277, note 2.; Dimitri Gutas, "Notes and Texts From Cairo Manuscripts, II: Texts From Avicenna's Library in a Copy by Abd-ar-Razzaq as-Signahi", *Manuscripts of Middle East* 2 (1987), 8, 10.

46   Vladimir Minorsky, "Some Early Documents in Persian (II)", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1943), 86, 89.

As known, very few Eastern Turkish manuscripts that we know for sure were copied in the 14th century have survived. I have checked these manuscripts and found that there is no such orthographic feature: TIEM73 (1333 AD), AQR293 (1337 AD), KA[47] (1356 AD), HTFK (1362 AD), S2 (1363 AD), QBc (1367 AD) and KS (1385 AD).

I found this orthographic feature borrowed from the Persians in only 3 Turkish manuscripts apart from ms.T. One of them is the Fergana manuscript of QB, which is considered to be the oldest copy.[48] Bernhard Moritz, a specialist in Arabic script, dated it to the 13th century.[49] The linguistic features of the manuscript also support him. I also found this orthographic feature in the Turkish-Persian interlinear translation of the Qur'an, which is kept in the Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan with the archive number 2008. Based on the linguistic features of the Persian translations in this manuscript, Semenov dated it to the 13th century.[50] Finally, this orthographic feature can be seen in NF[51] copied in 1360.

It seems that this orthographic feature, which we first see in Persian texts from the 11th-13th centuries, was also used by the Eastern Turks in the 13th to mid-14th centuries, but later it was omitted. Considering that Rabgūzī completed his work in 1311 AD, it can be assumed that ms.T, which shows this orthographic feature, was copied very close to the time when the original text was written.

ḫāṣlarındın	aḳar
(ARB2008 10v/05)	(ARB2008 4v/01)
nuṣrat	ṭalāḳ
(ARB2008 270v/04)	(ARB2008 72v/02)

Figure 1. Examples of the under-dotted *dāl*, *rā*, *ṣād* and *ṭā* from ARB2008

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47   This orthographic feature does not appear in the interlinear Turkish translation, but it does appear in the original Arabic text written in Egypt in 1356 by Hamza ʿAbbās ibn Hamza as-Sabranī, probably a Turk from Sabran (a town near Isbījāb). Emin Eminoğlu, *Abbâs ibni Hamza es-Sabrânî, Kitâbü'l-Ef'âl - Kıpçakça Satır Arası Sözlük* (Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları, 2011), 18–19, 27.

48   Abdullah Mert, "Kutadgu Bilig Nüshalarının Eskicillik Açısından Karşılaştırılması", *Bilig* 80 (2017), 179–215.

49   Abdurauf Fitrat, "Qutadgu Bilig", trans. Reşit Rahmeti Arat, *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 6/1-2 (1926), 158, note 2.

50   Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semenov, *Sobraniye Vostochnykh Rukopisey Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoy SSR IV*, (Tashkent: Akademi Nauuk Uzbekskoy, 1957), 45–46.
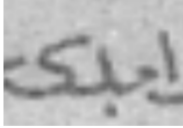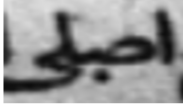
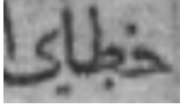51   It only appears on the first few pages.

Figure 2. Examples of the under-dotted *dāl*, *rā*, *ṣād* and *ṭā* from QBf

Figure 3. Examples of the under-dotted *dāl*, *rā*, *ṣād* and *ṭā* from NF
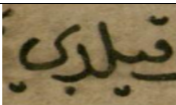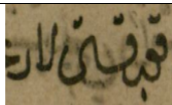
ḳıldı	ḳorḳtı-lar
(ms.T 16r/10)	(ms.T 11v/06)
aṣlı	Ḫıṭāy
(ms.T 316v/7)	(ms.T 93r/16)

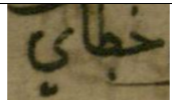**Figure 4.** Examples of the under-dotted *ḏāl*, *rā*, *ṣād* and *ṭā* from ms.T

2.2. Phonetic features

2.2.1. The shift /ḏ/ > /y/

The shift /ḏ/ > /y/ is seen with various frequencies in all Khwarezmian Turkish works. Kāshgarī says "The Yagma, Tuxsi, Qifcāq, Yabāqu, Tatār, Qāy, Cömül and Oguz all agree in changing every dotted *ḏāl* to *yā*. They never pronounce it *ḏāl*".[52] This explanation shows that the shift /ḏ/ > /y/ was already present in some vernaculars even during the Karakhanid period. This phonetic change is also seen in some words in ms.T, but the equivalents with /ḏ/ of these words are usually much more frequent:

ayġır × 1 'stallion', *ayaḳ* × 1 'foot' (but *aḏaḳ* × 206), *ayıġ* × 1 'bear', *ayır-* × 1 'to separate' (but *aḏır-* × 22), *ayrıḳ* × 1 'couch grass', *boyaġ* × 2 'dye' (but *boḏaġ* × 2), *boyaġçı* × 3 'dyer', *eygü* × 1 'good' (but *eḏgü* × 88), *ḳoy-* × 3 'to put down, abandon, give up' (but *ḳoḏ-* × 364), *ḳuy-* × 9 'to pour out (a liquid)', *ḳuyun-* × 2 'to pour (a liquid) on oneself', *küy-* × 3 'to wait' (but *küḏ-* × 12), *oyġan-* × 1 'to wake up' (but *oḏġan-* × 24), *tıyıġ* × 1 'hindrance' (but *tıḏıġ* × 1), *toy-* × 7 'be saturated' (but *toḏ-* × 3), *toydur-* × 3 'to satiate', *uy* × 2 'ox' (but *uḏ* × 43), *uy-* × 2 'to obey' (but *uḏ-* × 5), *uyluḳ* × 1 'thigh bone', *uyuz* × 1 'sick, weak', *yiber-* × 1 'to send' (but *ıḏa bėr-* × 1 and *ıḏu bėr-* × 6), *yoy-* × 2 'to destroy, to exterminate, to delete' (but *yoḏ-* × 5)

On the other hand, all examples of the words listed below in ms.T are with /ḏ/:

aḏıl- 'to recover consciousness, to sober up', *aḏın* 'other, another', *aḏna-* 'to become different', *aḏrıl-* 'to be separated', *beḏük* 'big', *boḏ* 'stature, the size of a man; body; clan,

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52 Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, *Mahmûd al-Kashgarî, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects-Dîwân Lugât at-Turk* (Harvard: University Printing Office, 1982), 1: 85.

tribe', *boḏdaş* 'of the same height', *boḏuġ* 'a bright colour', *boḏun* 'people, nation', *eḏer* 'saddle', *eḏer-* 'to pursue', *eḏgülük* 'goodness, benevolence', *eḏle-* 'to turn something into something useful, to process', *ıḏ-* 'to send', *ıḏtur-* 'to have (someone) send (something)', *iḏi* 'owner; the Lord (God)', *ḳaḏġu* 'sorrow, grief, anxiety', *ḳaḏġur-* 'to be grieved, to be anxious', *ḳaḏġuruş-* 'to be grieved together, to be anxious together', *ḳaḏış* 'strap', *keḏ-* 'to put on, or wear', *keḏdür-* 'to dress (someone) in (something)', *keḏgü* 'clothing', *keḏik* 'wild four-legged game animal; deer', *keḏim* 'garment', *keḏür-* 'to dress someone in something', *kiḏiz* 'felt', *ḳoḏdur-* 'to have (something) put (somewhere)', *ḳuḏı* 'down', *ḳuḏruḳ* 'tail', *ḳuḏuġ* 'well', *küḏegü* 'bridegroom', *kėḏin* 'afterwards', *mıḏıḳ* 'moustache', *oḏaġ* 'awake', *oḏġar-* 'to wake (someone)', *oḏuġ* 'awake', *öḏlek* 'noon, midday', *tıḏ-* 'to obstruct', *tıḏıl-* 'to be obstructed', *uḏçı* 'ox-herder', *uḏı-* 'to sleep', *uḏıġu* 'sleep', *uḏıt-* 'to put (someone) to sleep', *uḏḳu* 'sleep', *üḏür-* 'to choose', *yaḏ-* 'to spread out', *yaḏaġ* 'on foot; infantry', *yaḏaġla-* 'to be pedestrian', *yaḏıl-* 'to be spread out', *yıḏ* 'smell, scent', *yıḏı-* 'to smell rotten', *yıḏıġ* 'malodorous', *yıḏla-* 'to smell (transitive)', *yıḏlan-* 'to smell (intransitive)' *yoḏul-* 'to be erased', *yoḏun* 'perished'

In ms.T, 22 different words with the shift /ḏ/ > /y/ appears 48 times in total. On the other hand, we see 69 different words in which the /ḏ/ consonant is preserved, 3502 times in total, i.e. /ḏ/ is preserved in 98.64% of the examples in ms.T. This is the highest rate among the works written in Khwarezmian Turkish; e.g. only *ḳoy-* and *kėy-* 230 times in ms.L, 130 times in NF, 101 times in KS and 52 times in S2.[53]

2.2.2. Preservation of the vowel /e/

In Karakhanid Turkish, in the first syllable of words such as *beg* 'chief, ruler', *er* 'man', *er-* 'to be', *eşit-* 'to hear', *keç-* 'to pass away', *keḏ-* 'to put on, or wear', *kel-* 'to come', *kes-* 'to cut'-, *sev-* 'to love, to like', *teg* 'like', *yet-* 'to arrive, reach' etc., the vowel /e/ is preserved. In these words, the vowel /e/ was preserved until the middle of the 14th century, when the change from /e/ to /ė/ took place.[54] The change /e/ > /ė/ is very common in ms.L, KS and HTFK.[55] Even in NF, there is the change /e/ > /ė/ in some of the words listed above.[56] In ms.T, however, the vowel /e/ is preserved in all examples of words such as *beg*, *er*, *er-*, *eşit-*, *keç-*, *keḏ-*, *kel-*, *kes-*, *sev-*, *teg* and *yet-*. This phonetic feature also proves that ms.T was copied in the first half of the 14th century.

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53 Cihan Doğan, *XIV-XV. Yüzyıl Tarihî Türk Yazı Dillerinde Lehçe Karışmaları* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2022), 134.

54 János Eckmann, "İslâmi Orta Asya Türk Edebî Dilinin Özellikleri", *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi* 57 (1988), 195.

55 Ata, *Harezm - Altın Ordu Türkçesi*, 48.

56 Ali Fehmi Karamanlıoğlu, "Nehcü'l-Feradis'in Dil Hususiyetleri I", *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 16 (1968), 64.

2.2.3. The labialization

In Khwarezmian Turkish certain suffixes assimilate to stem-final labial consonants. This is a distinctive phonetic feature of this literary language. While the labialization is common in NF, it is rare in other Khwarezmian Turkish works copied after the 14th century. This is because in Chagatai proper the labialization is restricted to stems ending in /-v/ and loanwords containing /-Aw/.[57] The labialization, which is rare in ms.L, is common in ms.T as in NF. The frequent occurrence of this characteristic phonetic feature of Khwarezmian Turkish is further evidence of the archaicity of ms.T:

ʿaybımnı (ms.L 90v/18) ~ ʿaybumnı (ms.T 123v/16), cavābım (ms.L 99v/4) ~ cavābum (ms.T 135v/19), ṣabrım (ms.L 124r/7) ~ ṣabrum (ms.T 193v/10), ʿaẕābıng͡ (ms.L 163v/3) ~ ʿaẕābung͡ (ms.T 262r/16), nafsıng͡ (ms.L 122r/1) ~ nafsung͡ (ms.T 190v/9), kitābıng͡ (ms.L 173r/13) ~ kitābung͡ (ms.T 292r/14), ḳılıçımnıng͡ (ms.L 223r/13) ~ ḳılıçımnung͡ (ms.T 358r/18), Kaʿbnıng͡ (ms.L 227v/3) ~ Kaʿbnung͡ (ms.T 364v/8), ġarīblıḳġa (ms.L 104v/11) ~ ġarībluḳḳa (ms.T 142v/13), Şāmlıġlarġa (ms.L 162v/7) ~ Şāmluġlarḳa (ms.T 259r/11) etc.

2.3. Morphophonological features

2.3.1. The negative aorist suffix {-mAs}

Kāshgarī says "There is no divergence from this among the dialectal groups. The rule for the negation of aorist verbs is to add to imperative form mīm alif sīn".[58] This explanation shows that the negative aorist suffix in the Karakhanid period was {-mAs}. Although only {-mAz} is seen in Arat's edition[59] there are more {-mAs} in QBf, the oldest copy of QB.[60] In ms.T, all but 4 examples of the negative aorist suffix appear as {-mAs}. The language of ms.T is close to the Karakhanid language in this respect.

2.3.2. The dative suffix {+KA}

The dative suffix is {+KA} in Old Turkish and Karakhanid.[61] {+GA} is a secondary form, a new form. In ms.L the dative suffix is almost exclusively {+GA} except for a section written by the copyist-5. Copyist-5 spells {+ḳa} consistently and for this reason Boeschoten rightly

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57 János Eckmann, *Harezm, Kıpçak ve Çağatay Türkçesi Üzerine Araştırmalar*, ed. Osman Fikri Sertkaya, (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2017), 7.; Hendrik Erik Boeschoten, "Chaghatay", *The Turkic Languages*, ed. Lars Johanson and Éva Ágnes Csató Johanson, (London: Routledge, 2021), 163.

58 Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, *Mahmûd al-Kashgarî, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects-Dîwân Lugât at-Turk*, 1: 414.

59 Reşit Rahmeti Arat, *Kutadgu Bilig I: Metin* (İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1947).

60 Gyülcan Bayrami, "Kutadgu Bilig Fergana Nüshası Metin-Dil Bilgisi-Notlar-Çeviri", (Yayımlanmamış doktora tezi, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 2021), 1060.

61 Lars Johanson, "East Old Turkic", *The Turkic Languages*, ed. Lars Johanson and Éva Ágnes Csató Johanson, (London: Routledge, 2021), 135.

says Rabgūzī's language had *{+KA}*.[62] Since the Arabic script does not distinguish between /k/ and /g/, only the *{+ḳa}* and *{+ġa}* forms of the suffix can be distinguished. In ms.T *{+ḳa}* appears 4053 times and *{+ġa}* only 56 times. That is, 98.64% of the examples is *{+ḳa}*. This is the highest rate among the works written in Khwarezmian Turkish, e.g. approximately 80% in KS[63] and %73,24 in HTFK.[64] I also found 63 *{+ġa}* only in the first 20 folios of NF.

Even when we compare ms.T and the section of ms.L which written by copyist-5, we see that the archaic form is more common in ms.T. So the language of ms.T must be very close to Rabgūzī's language:

havāġa (ms.L 221v/12) ~ *havāḳa* (ms.T 356r/5), *olarġa* (ms.L 221v/17) ~ *olarḳa* (ms.T 356r/12), *Musulmānlarġa* (ms.L 222r/19) ~ *Musulmānlarḳa* (ms.T 357r/08), *saḳışġa* (ms.L 222v/9) ~ *saḳışḳa* (ms.T 357v/01), *ḳınġa* (ms.L 222v/18) ~ *ḳınḳa* (ms.T 357v/13), *sançışmaġanġa* (ms.L 223v/1) ~ *sançışmaġanḳa* (ms.T 358v/11), *taġġa* (ms.L 224r/4) ~ *taġḳa* (ms.T 359v/5), *ḳanġa* (ms.L 225r/2) ~ *ḳanḳa* (ms.T 361r/6), *sançışġa* (ms.L 225r/11) ~ *sançışḳa* (ms.T 361r/15), *ḳapuġġa* (ms.L 227v/12) ~ *ḳapuġḳa* (ms.T 365r/1), *Taṅrıġa* (ms.L 233r/14) ~ *Taṅrıḳa* (ms.T 373r/1), *sarāyġa* (ms.L 233v/6) ~ *sarāyḳa* (ms.T 373a /17), *ḳoldaşlarıġa* (ms.L 233v/10) *ḳoldaşlarıḳa* (ms.T 373b /2) etc.

2.3.3. The gerund suffix *{-GAlU}*

The gerund suffix *{-GAlU}* which we found in Rabgūzī's *Qisas al-Anbiyā* is not found in other Khwarezmian Turkish works. In ms.L, it is sometimes seen as *{-GAlU}*, but is usually changed to *{-GAlI}* by copyists. The original text of Rabgūzī's *Qisas al-Anbiyā* must have the suffix *{-GAlU}*, of which we see examples in ms.L. There is no *{-GAlI}* form in ms.T, all examples are *{-GAlU}*. This feature also shows that the language of ms.T is very close to the original text:

kirgeli (ms.L 6v/8) ~ *kirgelü* (ms.T 9r/11), *ḳopġalı* (ms.L 6v/17) ~ *ḳopġalu* (ms.T 9v/2), *ögrengeli* (ms.L 18v/19) ~ *ögrengelü* (ms.T 25v/5), *tutḳalı* (ms.L 111r/13) ~ *tutġalu* (ms.T 176r/9), *ayrılġalı* (ms.L 144v/2) ~ *aḍrılġalu* (ms.T 228r/3), *ḳılġalı* (ms.L 221v/10) ~ *ḳılġalu* (ms.T 356r/1), *kèsgeli* (ms.L 222r/11) ~ *kesgelü* (ms.T 356v/13), *keltürgeli* (ms.L 2382/10) ~ *keltürgelü* (ms.T 368v/3), *urġalı* (ms.L 233v/2) ~ *urġalu* (ms.T 373/13) etc.

62   Hendrik Erik Boeschoten, "The Leningrad Manuscripts of Rabghuzi's Qisas", *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* (1991), 72, footnote 32.

63   Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev ü Şirin'i ve Dil Hususiyetleri* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2000), 53.

64   Onur, *Harezm Türkçesi Fal Kitabı (Yıldızname - Dîvname - Kur'an falı - Kura falı - Tılsımlar)*, 44.

2.3.4. The gerund suffix *{-GInçA}*

The vowel of the first syllable of the gerund suffix, which was seen as *{-GInçA}* in Eastern Turkish before the 14th century, was rounded after the 14th century.[65] The rounded version *{-GUnçA}* is frequently seen in ms.L, but in ms.T all examples are *{-GInçA}*:

ėşitmegünçe (ms.L 7r/4) ~ *eşitmeginçe* (ms.T 9v/10), *açġunça* (ms.L 53r/7) ~ *açġınça* (ms.T 72v/3), *bolġunça* (ms.L 69v/4) ~ *bolġınça* (ms.T 94v/16), *aġdurġunça* (ms.L 118r/1) ~ *aġdurġınça* (ms.T 185/4) etc.

With two exceptions, we also find *{-GInçA}* in the section written by copyist-5 in ms.L: *almaġunça* (ms.L 229v/16) ~ *almaġınça* (ms.T 358r/4), *bolġunça* (ms.L 240r/13) ~ *bolġuça* (ms.T 383r/10). The second example is interesting because it shows that copyist-5 confuses the suffix *{-GUçA}* with the *{-GUnçA}* in his dialect.

2.3.5. The gerund suffix *{-mAdIn}*

This gerund suffix appears in QB as *{-mAdIn}*.[66] Although we see the form *{-mAyIn}* in two Uyghur texts, these were probably written in the 14th century. In the pre-classical and classical Uyghur texts this gerund suffix appears as *{-mAdIn}*.[67] In Chagatai texts, there is *{-mAyIn}* as a result of the the shift /d/ > /y/.[68] Thus, *{-mAyIn}* is secondary form. In ms.L, there are more *{-mAyIn}* than *{-mAdIn}*, but in the section written by copyist-5 there are 8 *{-mAdIn}* and only 1 *{-mAyIn}*. It seems that Rabġūzī's language had *{-mAdIn}* and, as expected, all the examples in ms.T are *{-mAdIn}*:

unutmayın (ms.L 89r/9) ~ *unutmadın* (ms.T 121r/18), *bolmayın* (ms.L 90v/6) ~ *bolmadın* (ms.T 123r/17), *sıyumayın* (ms.L 91r/10) ~ *sıyumadın* (ms.T 124r/14), *açmayın* (ms.L 136v/5) ~ *açmadın* (ms.T 212r/18), *kėçmeyin* (ms.L 194r/17) ~ *keçmedin* (ms.T 320r/10), *an͡glamayın* (ms.L 226v/21) ~ *an͡glamadın* (ms.T 363v/15) etc.

2.4. Morphological features

2.4.1. Auxiliary use of the verb *u-* and the negative potential suffix *{-UmA-}*

In Old Turkish, the verb *u-* 'to be able, to bear' is sometimes used as a lexical verb and more often expresses the subject's ability to carry out the action denoted by the base verb. Most instances of the verb *u-* have the negative form *uma-*. In its auxiliary use, *uma-* always

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65   János Eckmann, "Çağatay Dili Hakkında Notlar", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı-Belleten* 6 (1958), 124.
66   Marcel Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 317, footnote 517.
67   Ferruh Ağca, *Dillik Ölçütlere Göre Eski Uygurca Metinlerin Tarihlendirilmesi* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2021), 168–169.
68   Eckmann, "Çağatay Dili Hakkında Notlar", 125.

accompanies converb forms of verbs and it follows the vowel converb of the main verb. In the Karakhanid texts, the vowel converb of the main verb and *uma-* appear fused as *{-UmA-}*.[69] The new negative potential suffix *{-UmA-}*, which is very common in Karakhanid texts, is very rare in Khwarezmian Turkish texts.[70] For example it appears 7 times in the *Muʿīn al-Murīd*:[71] *ayumaz* (78/2), *bulumas* (376/3) etc., and only once in NF: *körümes-biz* (21/14). ms.L, in which *{-UmA-}* occurs 18 times, is known as the Khwarezmian Turkish text in which this suffix occurs most frequently. However, in ms.T it appears 150 times. Only in Karakhanid texts is there such frequent use of *{-UmA-}*, and it is not surprising that Rabgūzī, who lived in the second half of the 13th century, also used this suffix frequently.

Moreover, in ms.T, there are examples where the verb *u-* is used without fusion for ability or inability, and even where it is used as a lexical verb. These usages, which are not found in ms.L or other Khwarezmian Turkish texts and are very rare even in the Karakhanid texts[72] leave no doubt as to the antiquity of the ms.T:

Bahāmnı kim bėrü **uġay** *erdi?* (ms.T 99r/19) 'Who could pay my price?'

Sizlersiz **umadım** (ms.T 100v/10) 'I couldn't bear without you.'

İblīs, Ayyūb ṣabrıŋa **umadı** *erse kök-ke aġdı* (ms.T 159r/7) 'When Satan couldn't bear Job's patience, he ascended to heaven.'

Ayyūb bu sözke **umadı** (ms.T 162r/10) 'Job couldn't bear this word.'

Anı Ayyūb eşitti, **umadın** أَنِّي مَسَّنِيَ الضُّرُّ *tėdi.* (ms.T 162r/16) 'Job heard this, he couldn't bear it and said 'أَنِّي مَسَّنِيَ الضُّرُّ'

Ayyūb anı eşitip **umadı** (ms.T 162v/01) 'Job heard this, he couldn't bear.'

Ayyūb **umadı,** *faryād ḳıldı* (ms.T 162v/03) 'Job couldn't bear, he wailed.'

ınçıḳı-ḳa **umadın** ... (ms.T 204r/12) 'Unable to bear him crying...'

andaġ kursī ėte **uġay-mu-siz?** (ms.T 221v/16) 'Can you make a lectern like this?'

bir yaŋı kişi yaratu **uġay-mu?** (ms.T 280v/4) 'Can he create a new person?'

anası-nıŋ köŋli **umaġay** (ms.T 285v/2) 'Her mother's heart won't bear it.'

men anı körüp **umaġay-men** (ms.T 308v/1) 'When i see this i won't bear it.'

aġrıġı-ḳa **umadı** (ms.T 344r/3-4) 'He couldn't bear to its pain.'

ʿUmar ol sözke **umadı** (ms.T 363r/6) 'Umar couldn't bear that word.' etc.

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69   Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 258–259.

70   Zeynep Korkmaz, "Türkiye Türkçesinde 'İktidar' ve 'İmkân' Gösteren Yardımcı Fiiller ve Gelişmeleri", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten* 7 (1959), 112.

71   Recep Toparlı and Mustafa Argunşah, *İslâm - Muʿînüʾl-Mürîd* (Ankara: Türk Kurumu Yayınları, 2018), 81.

72   Korkmaz, "Türkiye Türkçesinde 'İktidar' ve 'İmkân' Gösteren Yardımcı Fiiller ve Gelişmeleri", 111.

2.4.2. *{-DXmIz}* for the 1st person plural of the simple past

For the 1st person plural of the simple past, *{-DXmIz}* is used in Old Turkish and Karakhanid Turkish, and *{-DUK}* is used in Khwarezmian Turkish.[73] However, the old form *{-DXmIz}* is rarely seen in Khwarezmian Turkish texts, e.g. 3 times in S2, 1 times in NF.[74] ms.L, where the suffix *{DXmIz}* is seen 40 times, is the text in which this suffix is seen most frequently among the Khwarezmian Turkish texts discovered so far. However, I found that this suffix is seen 144 times in ms.T. This frequent use of the suffix *{-DXmIz}* must also be a feature of Rabgūzī's language.

2.4.3. *{-mAdUK}* as the negative counterpart of the participle suffix *{-mIş}*

The negative counterpart of the participle suffix *{-mIş}* is *{-mAdUK}* in Old Turkish, *{-mAmIş}* comes up only in late Uyghur.[75] *{-mAdUK}* is also common in Karakhanid, but rare in Khwarezmian Turkish texts.[76] For example, this suffix does not appear in NF. *{-mAdUK}* was replaced by *{-mAGAn}* in Eastern Turkish from the 15th century onwards. The suffix *{-mAdUK}* occurs only 4 times in ms.L, but 22 times in ms.T. The suffix was often replaced by *{-mAGAn}* or other suffixes by copyists of ms.L:

ḳılmaġan (ms.L 4v/04) ~ *ḳılmaduḳ* (ms.T 5v/11), *ḳılmadın turup turur* (ms.L 9r/11) ~ *ḳılmaduḳ* (ms.T 12v/05), *körülmegen* (ms.L 10r/08) ~ *körmedük* (ms.T 13v/17), *körmegey* (ms.L 80r/17) ~ *körmedük* (ms.T 109r/09), *körmegen* (ms.L 147r/18) ~ *bilmedük* (ms.T 232r/11), *eylenmegen* (ms.L 154v/06) ~ *eḏlemedük* (ms.T 243v/01), *ḳılmaġan* (ms.L 157r/13) ~ *ḳılmaduḳ* (ms.T 247r/14), *çıḳmay* (ms.L 171r/09) ~ *çıḳmaduḳ* (ms.T 274r/19), *islenmey, sasımay turur* (ms.L 173v/21) ~ *yıḏımaduḳ, sasımaduḳ* (ms.T 293r/10), *yol azmamış* (ms.L 190v/21) ~ *yol azmaduḳ* (ms.T 315v/11), *ısıḳ* (ms.L 216v/19) ~ *soνumaduḳ* (ms.T 350v/01), *savumayın* (ms.L 218r/03) ~ *soνımaduḳ* (ms.T 351v/12), *kėlmedi* (ms.L 220v/01) ~ *eglemedük* (ms.T 354v/06), *ölmemiş* (ms.L 223v/18) ~ *ölmedük* (ms.T 359r/16)

2.4.4. The conditional suffix *{-sA}* and personal markers of the pronominal type

In Karakhanid, the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural of the conditional are usually expressed with *{-sA}* and personal markers of the pronominal type.[77] At the Khwarezmian Turkish stage the conditional begins to acquire possessive suffixes referring to agents, and hereafter

73 Eckmann, *Harezm, Kıpçak ve Çağatay Türkçesi Üzerine Araştırmalar*, 28.

74 Behiye Saygı, "Nehcü'l-Ferâdîs'te Fiiller", (Master's thesis, Erciyes University, 2004), 101.; Banu Durgunay, "Doğu Türkçesi İlk Kur'an Çevirilerinde Fiiller", (Master's thesis, Akdeniz University, 2016), 111.

75 Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 294.; Ferruh Ağca, *Dillik Ölçütlere Göre Eski Uygurca Metinlerin Tarihlendirilmesi*, 268.

76 Samet Onur, "Harezm Türkçesi Fal Kitabı'nda Oğuzca Unsurlar", *Oğuz Türkçesi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (2020), 7.

77 Şahap Bulak, "Tarihî ve Çağdaş Türk Yazı Dillerinde Şart Kipi." *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 30 (2011), 79, 81–82.

the conditional is usually expressed with *{-sA}* and personal markers of the possessive type (*{-sAK}* for 1ˢᵗ person plural). The conditional is also sometimes expressed in Khwarezmian Turkish with *{-sA}* and personal markers of the pronominal type, but these examples are quite rare.[78] There are 24 examples in ms.L, which is the text in which *{-sA}* and personal markers of the pronominal type occur most frequently in the Khwarezmian Turkish texts. In ms.T, as in other Khwarezmian Turkish texts, personal markers of the possessive type are of course common. However, personal markers of the pronominal type are much more common in this text than in any other Khwarezmian Turkish text. There are 58 examples of *{-sA}* and personal markers of the pronominal type in ms.T. This is undoubtedly a feature of Rabghūzī's language and another strong indication that ms.T is very close to the original text:

bėrseŋ (ms.L 204v/06) ~ *bėrse-sen* (ms.T 333v/12), *sorsam* (ms.L 110r/16) ~ *sorsa-men* (ms.T 150v/17), *alsam* (ms.L 185r/04) ~ *alsa-men* (ms.T 307r/04), *ayırsam* (ms.L 189r/02) ~ *aḏırsa-men* (ms.T 312v/19), *körsem* (ms.L 236r/08) ~ *körse-men* (ms.T 377v/13), *ḳılsaḳ* (ms.L 82r/08) ~ *ḳılsa-miz* (ms.T 111v/03), *ḳutulsaḳ* (ms.L 156r/11) ~ *ḳurtulsa-miz* (ms.T 245v/15) etc.

In addition, there are examples in ms.T where the conditional is not directly linked with the expression of person. It is a characteristic of Orkhon Turkish, where the suffix appears as *{-sAr}*.[79] It is also seen in Old Uyghur Turkish, although less frequently than in Orkhon Turkish. This usage is rare in Karakhanid texts. It seems that the copyists of ms.L did not understand and found this archaic usage in ms.T strange. In the equivalents of these verbs in ms.L, we can see that possessive suffixes are added to *{-sA}*. The fact that this usage, which can be considered archaic even for the Karakhanid period, appears in ms.T is another important indication that it is very close to the original text:

*Ne **ḳılsa** köŋül siziŋ* (ms.T 49r/07) 'Whatever you do, the wish is yours.' ~ *Nė **ḳılsaŋgız** siziŋ* (ms.L 36r/13) 'Whatever you do, it is yours.'

*neçe **tilese** alġıl* (ms.T 61r/09) 'Take as many as you want.' ~ *nėçe **tileseŋ** alġıl* (ms.L 45r/13) 'Take as many as you want.'

*ne taṣarruf **ḳılsa** ḳılġıl* (ms.T 126r/05) 'Do whatever you see fit.' ~ *ne iş taṣarruf **ḳılsaŋ** ḳılġıl* (ms.L 92v/03) 'Do any work you see fit.'

*Ne **ḳılsa** siz biliŋ* (ms.T 228r/09) 'Whatever you do, it's up to you.' ~ *Nė **ḳılsaŋgız** siz biliŋ* (ms.L 144v/07) 'Whatever you do, it's up to you.'

*ḫabar **sorsa** keligli-din sorġu* (ms.T 273v/03-04) 'If you want information, you have to ask the one who comes.' ~ *ḫabar **sorsaŋgız** mundın soruŋ* (ms.L 169v/12-13) 'If you want information, ask him.'

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78   Zeynep Korkmaz, "Eski Anadolu Türkçesindeki -van/-ven, vuz/-vüz Kişi ve Bildirme Eklerinin Anadolu Ağızlarındaki Kalıntıları", *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten* 12 (1965), 47.

79   Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 321.

2.4.5. *ol* as a copula

The 3rd person pronoun *ol* is also used as a copula in Old Turkish.[80] The use of *ol* as a copula is also common in Karakhanid Turkish. After the 13th century, *ol* is mostly used as an adjective and pronoun, and its use as a copula is rare.[81] In KS and *Muʿīn al-Murīd*, both written in the first half of the 14th century, we can see *ol* used as a copula.[82] In ms.L there are 13 instances where *ol* is used as a copula, but in ms.T the number of these instances is 32. In ms.L, copyists have replaced *ol* with *turur* in many instances:

kimler turur? (ms.L 10r/20) ~ *kimler ol?* (ms.L 14r/12), *kim?* (ms.L 11r/04) ~ *kim ol?* (ms.T 15r/05), *yalav̇açlar tururlar* (ms.L 19r/10) ~ *yalav̇açlar ol* (ms.T 25v/18), *kimler turur?* (ms.L 42v/02) ~ *kimler ol?* (ms.L 57v/01), *neteg turur?* (ms.L 175/06) ~ *neteg ol?* (ms.L 294v/09), *kim?* (ms.L 241v/13) ~ *kim ol?* (ms.T 385r/10) etc.

2.4.6. The gerund suffix *{-GUçAK}*

{-IcAk} is the most frequently used gerund suffix in Old Oghuz Turkish. Many different theories have been put forward on the origin of the suffix. Most scholars have argued that the *{-I}* in the first syllable of the suffix is a gerund suffix but some scholars have argued that it is a form originated from the participle suffix *{-GU}*. Scholars, who argue that the *{-I}* in the first syllable of the suffix originates from the participle suffix *{-GU}*, propose *{*-GUçAK}* as an etymology for the gerund suffix *{-InçA}*.[83] However, since there is no written example of the form *{*-GUçAK}*, this etymology has been hypothetical until now. But now I found an example of the *{-GUçAK}* in ms.T. In ms.L it is seen that this suffix was replaced with the *{-GAç}* by the copyist (52v/16). There is only one example of *{-GUçAK}* in ms.T, but this example is very important as it is evidence of both the origin of the gerund suffix *{-IcAk}* and of the fact that ms.T reflects Rabġūzī's language:

*Taş **kesilgüçek** Cibrīl İsmāʿīl-nı taş üze olturtur erdi* (ms.T 72r/5-6) 'When the stone was cut, Gabriel was making Ishmael sit on the stone.'

2.5. Personal pronouns

In ms.T, the nominative singular personal pronouns are always spelled as من '*men*' and سن '*sen*'. Their genitive forms are always spelled as منينك '*meni͡ng*' and سنينك '*seni͡ng*'. However, their accusative, locative and ablative forms are always spelled as مينى '*mini*', ميندا '*minde*', ميندين '*mindin*' and سينى '*sini*', سيندا '*sinde*', سيندين '*sindin*' respectively. These spellings are

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80   Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 205, 324.

81   Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 123.

82   Eckmann, "İslâmi Orta Asya Türk Edebî Dilinin Özellikleri", 198.

83   Erkan Salan, "{-IcAk} Zarf-fiil Eki ve Varyantları Üzerine", *Gazi Türkiyat* 21 (2017), 46–48.

almost identical in Old Turkish.[84] In QBf, the oldest copy of QB, we see the same spellings.[85] The spellings in NF are also identical, although the diacritics are sometimes different.[86] The same applies to HTFK. These speelings likely have a a phonetic significance. Marcel Erdal says "I have no doubt that the vowel in *bini*, *minte* etc., *sini*, *sinte* etc. is (pre)historically the same as that found in *biz* and *siz*".[87] In any case, we do not see these consistent spellings in Khwarezmian Turkish texts copied after the 14th century. In ms.L, the situation is even more complex: مين (ms.L 211v/10), سين (ms.L 102r/11), مينينك (ms.L 89v/18), سينينك (ms.L 155r/06), منى (ms.L 6v/05), سنى (ms.L 6v/16), مندا (ms.L 6r/19), سندا (ms.L 28r/20), مندين (ms.L 12v/01), سندين (ms.L 12v/01) etc. The fact that these spellings, which are found in Old Turkish, Karakhanid Turkish and Khwarezmian Turkish, are consistently found in ms.T is another important indication that it was copied in the 14th century.

As mentioned above, the genitive of the 1st person singular pronoun in Old Turkish and Karakhanid Turkish is *mening*.[88] The form *menim*, which first appears in *Codex Cumanicus*,[89] is a secondary new form. Since the second syllable of the form *benüm* in Old Oghuz Turkish has a rounded vowel, the form *menim* is probably a Kipchak element. The old form *mening* is rare in Khwarezmian Turkish texts, e.g. 6 times in NF, 3 times in KS, 1 times in HTFK. Only in ms.L is the form *mening* more common than *menim* and it appears 285 times.[90] However, *menim* appears 43 times even in ms.L, whereas it appears only once in ms.T (101v/6). In this respect, we see once again that the language of ms.T is close to the Karakhanid language.

In Old Uyghur Turkish the 3rd person plural is expressed with *olar*, which is actually a demonstrative pronoun. In QBf, all examples are in the form *olar*, with two exceptions in the form *anlar* (QBf 2v/02, 163v/11). The 3rd person plural pronouns *anlar* and *alar* secondary new forms. In ms.T, *olar* appears 667 times and *anlar* 7 times. In ms.L, however, *anlar* appears 17 times and *alar* 26 times.[91] The frequent use of the pronoun *olar* in ms.T must also be a feature of Rabghūzī's language.

84   Annemarie von Gabain, "Eski Türkçede Zamirler", trans. Berrin Akçalı, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten* 61 (2013), 132–134; Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 192.

85   Bayrami, "Kutadgu Bilig Fergana Nüshası Metin-Dil Bilgisi-Notlar-Çeviri", 86–87.

86   Ali Fehmi Karamanlıoğlu, "Nehcü'l-Feradis'in Dil Hususiyetleri II", *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 17 (1969), 38.

87   Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 192.

88   Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu, *Karahanlı Türkçesi Grameri* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1996), 34; Gabain, "Eski Türkçede Zamirler", 137.

89   Comes Gêza Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus: Bibliothecae ad Templum Divi Marci Venetiarum* (Budapestini: Editio Scient. Academiae Hung, 1880), 304.

90   Oğuz Ergene, *Sadî Gülistan [Şiraz 1257] Giriş - Dil İncelemesi - Metin - Çeviri - Dizinler - Tıpkıbaskı (Çeviren: Sibîcâbî)* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2017), 129.

91   Ata, *Rabġūzī Ḳışaşü'l-Enbiyā (Peygamber Kıssaları). Giriş-Metin-Dizin*, 1: 801–802.

2.6. Lexicological features

2.6.1. Conjunctions

The conjunctions *apang̑* 'if', *azu* 'or' and *ḳalı* 'how' are appear in ms.T, which do not appear in ms.L and other Khwarezmian Turkish texts. Only the conjunction *ḳalı* appears in *Kitāb Hilyat al-insān wa-Halbat al-lisān*, written in the 13th century by Ibn al-Muhannā.[92] However *apang̑*, *azu* and *ḳalı* appear frequently in Karakhanid texts.[93] In ms.T *apang̑* appears 15 times, *azu* 17 times and *ḳalı* 28 times. Undoubtedly, these conjunctions belong to Rabgūzī's literary language under Karakhanid influence.

2.6.2. The words in the form of V or CV

The words in the form of single vowel or consonant + vowel, although rare, are found in Old Turkish, Karakhanid and comparatively Khwarezmian Turkish.[94] After the Karakhanid period, almost all of these words were changed to the form of vowel + consonant and consonant + vowel + consonant. Some words in the form of V or CV, for example *sı-* 'to break', *u-* 'to be able, to bear', *ya* 'bow', *yu-* 'to wash', are also found in ms.L. However, most of them also appear in other Khwarezmian Turkish texts. On the other hand, words such as *ba-* 'to bind, tie', *ö-* 'to think; to remember', *si-* 'to urinate', *su-* 'to stretch out', *tu-* 'to close, block', which appear in ms.T, do not appear in ms.L and in almost all other Khwarezmian Turkish texts, with a few exceptions. There is no doubt that these archaic forms belong to Rabgūzī's language:

[ms.L: Lack] ~ *Ḳur'āndın bilmiş-lerini işke **badılar*** (ms.T 326v/06-07)
***Uḳmadın** Ṣāliḥ sözin hem uşbu in͡gen fitnasın* (ms.L 31r/21) ~ ***Ömedin** Ṣāliḥ sözin hem uşbu in͡gen fitnasın* (ms.T 42v/08)
*yēm üze **siydi*** (ms.L 118r/02) ~ *yēm üze **sidi*** (ms.T 185v/02)
*Ḳılıçḡa boyun **sundılar*** (ms.L 127v/09) ~ *Ḳılıçḳa boyun **sudılar*** (ms.T 198v/07)
*yēl çıḳḡan yolnı ēki ēligi birle **tutdı*** (ms.L 30v/20) ~ *yēl çıḳḡan ḳolnı ēki eligi birle **tudı*** (ms.T 41v/12-12)

2.6.3. Miscellaneous lexical items

When we compare ms.T and ms.L, it is seen that ms.L's copyists misunderstood archaic words or removed those words they no longer understood from the copy. For example, the following example shows that ms.L's copyist no longer understood the word *buḳ* 'the sound

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92 Aptullah Battal, *İbnü-Mühennâ Lûgati (İstanbul Nüshasının Türkçe Bölüğünün Endeksidir)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Devlet Matbaası, 1938), 36.

93 Necmettin Hacıeminoğlu, *Türk Dilinde Edatlar (En Eski Türkçe Metinlerden Zamanımıza Kadar) - Yazı Dilinde-* (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2015), 114, 121, 164.

94 Engin Çetin, "Eski Türkçede Ünlü ve Ünsüz + Ünlü Seslerden Oluşan Sözcükler", *Prof. Dr. Mine Mengi Adına Türkoloji Sempozyumu (20-22 Ekim 2011) Bildirileri*, (Adana: Çukurova Üniversitesi, 2012), 600.

of something hollow falling and splitting' and changed it to *tüf* 'spit'. The word *buķ* occurs in *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk* (hereafter DLT). Kāshgarī says "... when anything hollow falls on the ground and splits open, thay say: *buķ etti*. This is onomatopeic for the sound it makes.".[95] It seems that this onomatopoeic was obsolete at the time when ms.L was copied and the copyist did not understand the word:

*Kim ķatınġa kirse **tüf ķılıp** anı urdurur ėrdi* (ms.L 44v/14-15) 'Whoever came near him, he would make him spit on it and he would make him hit it.'
*Kim ķatın͡ga kirse **buķ ėtip** anı urdurur erdi* (ms.T 60v/07) 'Whoever came near him, he would make him hit it with a bang.'

In the following passage, wee can see that the word *ėçi* 'elder brother'[96] was also not no longer understood by ms.L's copyist and was changed to *ėki* 'two'. Thus the phrase was corrupted:

*Ėrninġ balāsı, **ėki** ʿālam balāsı ķurtķa* (ms.L 80v/11) 'The trouble of a man, the trouble of two worlds is the crone.'
*Erninġ balāsı **ėçi**, ʿālam balāsı ķurtķa* (ms.T 109v/13) 'The trouble of a man is his elder brother, the trouble of the world is the crone.'

The following passage tells us: "The Israelites transgressed because of their comfortable life". Apparently the copyist of ms.L did not understand the word *kudur-*,[97] which means 'to transgress, to go beyond the measure', and distorted the text:

*Şeker yėyü, söklünmiş ėt yėyü, anuķ ton kėyip bulut kölegesinde **turdılar**. Maṣala-da kėlmiş: Kimerse fāriġ ķalsa **ķayġurur*** (ms.L 118v/19-20) 'They ate sugars and fried meats, and wore ready-made clothes and they remained in the shadow of the clouds. Here comes the point: If a person remains idle, he/she gets worried.'
*Şeker yėyü, sökülmiş et yėyü, anuķ ton keḏe, bulut köligesinde **turu ķudurdılar**. Maṣal kelmiş: Kim fāriġ ķalsa **ķudurur*** (ms.T 186v/15-17) 'They ate sugars and fried meats, and wore ready-made clothes and they remained in the shadow of the clouds, so they transgressed. Here comes the proverb: If a person remains idle, he/she transgresses.'

Again, the word *ķom* 'wave'[98] appears to be confused with the word *ķum* 'sand' by the copyist of ms.L:

95   Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, *Mahmûd al-Kashgarî, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects-Dîwân Lugât at-Turk*, (Harvard: University Printing Office, 1984), 2: 214.
96   Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 20.
97   Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 605.
98   Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 625.

*Aydılar: "Ne yėrde ėv ḳılalıng?" ʿĪsā tengiz ḳırağıġa bardı, "Bu **ḳum** üze ḳılıng." tėdi.* (ms.L 172r/12-13) 'They said: Where shall we build a house? Jesus went to the seashore and said: Build on this sand.'

*"Ne yėrde ėv ḳılalıng?" tėdiler. Tengiz ḳırığınga bardı, "Suv **ḳom** urur yerde ėv ḳoparıng." tėdi.* (ms.T 276v/12-13) 'They said: Where shall we build a house? He went to the seashore and said: Build where the waves lash against.'

In the following sentence, we can see that the copyist of ms.L no longer understood the word *küre-* 'to run away',[99] and corrupted the sentence:

*Bir sāʿat bizdin **ġāfil boldı** ėrse balıḳ ataduḳ* (ms.L 156v/05) 'When he ignored us for a moment, we called him a fish.'
*Bir sāʿat bizdin **küredi** erse balıḳ birle ḳınadı-mız, balıḳ atı birle oḳıdı-mız* (ms.T 246r/13-14) 'When he ran away from us for a moment, we punished him with a fish and called him by the name of fish.'

In another sentence, the word *ul* 'building foundation'[100] appears to be confused with the word *ol* 'that' by the copyist of ms.L:

*Anda kėḏin **ol** taş tepesinde ruḫām taşı birle tam ḳopardılar* (ms.L 62v/07-08) 'Then they built a roof of marble stones on that stone.'
*Anda kėḏin **ul** tepesinde ruḫām taşı birle tam ḳopardılar* (ms.T 85r/15) 'Then they built a roof of marble stones on the foundation.'

In another sentence we see that the copyist of ms.L confused the verb *taplama-* 'to be displeased', which he no longer understood, with the verb *tileme-* 'to not ask', probably because of the spelling (تبلامادى for تيلامادى):

*Mavlā olardın ol sözni **tilemedi*** (ms.L 8v/7) 'God did not ask them for this word.'
*Mavlā ʿta. olardın ol sözni **taplamadı*** (ms.T 11v/14) 'God was displeased with their that word.'

There is another interesting example in which we can see that the verb *kör-* is used in ms.T with a rather archaic meaning. It is notorious that the verb *kör-* has several meanings in Old Turkish and one of them is 'to obey, work for someone, serve under someone'. The verb appears with this meaning in both Orkhon inscriptions and Old Uyghur texts. However, after

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99   Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 737.
100   Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 124.

the Old Uyghur period, *kör-* is no longer seen with this meaning.[101] In one sentence in ms.T, the verb *kör-* is used with this meaning. This is a further indication that the ms.T is very close to the original text. The correspondence of this sentence in ms.L shows that the copyist of ms.L did not understand this meaning and corrupted the sentence:

*Ol çerig-de Nacāşī-ḳa **körer** ʿAbdu'l-muṭṭalib-nu͡ṅ dōst-ları bar erdi* (ms.T 300v/15) 'In this army were Abd al-Muttalib's friends who served under Negus.'

ʿAbdu'l-muṭṭalib-nı͡ṅ ol çerigde bir nėçe dōst-ları bar ėrdi (ms.L 180r/03) 'There were some friends of Abd al-Muttalib in this army.'

There are many more archaic words in ms.T that the copyists of ms.L no longer understand. Moreover, many words in ms.T do not appear in ms.L or in any other Khwarezmian Turkish text, but appear in Karakhanid and Old Uyghur texts. Some of these words are listed below:

alsıḳ-[102] 'to be robbed of (something)' (ms.T 219v/02), ***alta-***[103] 'to deceive, trick, cheat (someone)' (ms.T 196r/15), ***amdı***[104] 'now' (ms.T 59v/02), ***anıġ***[105] 'extremely, excessively' (ms.T 2v/04), ***apa***[106] 'father' (ms.T 277v/03), ***artaḳ***[107] 'spoiled, wicked' (ms.T 283r/01), ***artaḳlıḳ*** 'wickedness' (ms.T 233v/02), ***azaḳ***[108] 'heretical, false' (ms.T 193r/04), ***baltu***[109] 'axe' (ms.T

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101 Aslıhan Dinçer, "Bakmak İtaat Etmektir", *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi - Semih TEZCAN'a Armağan* 13 (2013), 110.

102 In Old Uyghur Turkish, DLT and QB it appears with this meaning. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 152.; Jens Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2021), 36.

103 It appears as *alda-* even in Karakhanid Turkish. *alta-* is more archaic than *alda-*. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 133.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 36.

104 There are 15 examples of *amdı* in ms.T with the dative suffix as *{-ḳa}*, and 10 examples with *{-ke}*. This word had back vowels until the Karakhanid period. Then it is seen with front vowels. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 156–157. The fact that this word appears with more back vowels in ms.T is important because it reflects a feature of Karakhanid Turkish.

105 The word *anıġ* appears as *aṅıġ* in Old Turkish. In Karakhanid Turkish it appears as *ayıġ*. The word does not appear in other Khwarezmian Turkish sources. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 182.

106 It appears with this meaning in DLT. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 5.

107 It appears in Old Uyghur and Karakhanid texts. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 204.

108 In Old Uyghur Turkish, it appears with this meaning and in the forms *azaḳ ~ azaġ*. In DLT it means 'stray (arrow)'. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 282–283.

109 It appears as *baldu* even in Karakhanid Turkish. *Baltu* is earlier form. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 333.

253v/07), **batsıġ**[110] 'west' (ms.T 221v/04), **baya**[111] 'recently, just now' (ms.T 74v/06),) **bert-**[112] 'to injure' (ms.T 150v/03), **bilersük**[113] 'bracelet' (ms.T 181v/15), **bistik**[114] 'carded cotton' (ms.T 356r/17), **boḍuġ**[115] 'bright colour' (ms.T 340v/19), **çiçe**[116] (*ernek*) 'little (finger)' (ms.T 190r/05), **èrpek**[117] 'saw' (ms.T 77r/08), **eşün-**[118] 'to cover oneself' (ms.T 74r/17), **ımırḳa**[119] 'soft' (ms.T 247b/12), **kevil-**[120] 'to grow weak' (ms.T 135v/07), **ḳaznaḳ**[121] 'treasury' (ms.T 110r/16), **ḳonçı**[122] 'shepherd' (ms.T 188r/18), **kökürçgün**[123] 'pigeon, dove' (ms.T 33v/13), **köli-**[124] (ms.T 76v/05),

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110 It appears as *batsıḳ* in Old Turkish and as *batsıġ* in Karakhanid Turkish. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 309.

111 It did not appear in root form after the Karakhanid period. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 384; Hendrik Erik Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 77.

112 It appears in Old Turkish and Karakhanid texts. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 358.

113 It appears as *bilerzük* in Old Uyghur Turkish. Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 170. Talat Tekin derives it from a hypothetical **bilersük*. Talat Tekin, "Zetacism and Sigmatism in Proto-Turkic", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22 (1969), 75.

114 Kāshgarī states that it has this meaning in the Chigil dialect. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, *Mahmûd al-Kashgarî, Compendium of the Turkic Dialects-Dîwân Lugât at-Turk* (Harvard: University Printing Office, 1985), 3: 74.

115 The word does not appear in this archaic form after the Karakhanid period. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 302.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 88.

116 It occurs in Old Uyghur and QB. Arat claimed that the word means 'little, very little; small, small amount, in a short time' and associated the word *çıçalaḳ* 'little finger' in DLT with this word. *Çiçe ernek* 'little finger' in ms.T indicates his rightness. Reşit Rahmeti Arat, *Eski Türk Şiiri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1986), 382.

117 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish. Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 262.

118 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish and QB. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 133.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 264.

119 In Old Uyghur Turkish, it appears as *yımırġa* and means 'soft'. In DLT, *yımırtġa yaş* means 'any soft vegetable'. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 938.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 899.

120 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish and DLT in the form *kevil-*. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 689.

121 It appears in Old Uyghur and Karakhanid texts. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 684.

122 This word appears as *ḳoñçı* in Old Turkish and as *ḳoyçı* in Karakhanid and later periods. The word *ḳon* does not occur in ms.T, all examples are in the form *ḳoy* 'sheep'. However, all examples of *ḳonçı* 'shepherd' are in this form, *ḳoyçı* does not occur. The similarity with the Mongolian *ḳoniçi(n)* 'shepherd' is striking. It could be borrowed from Mongolian (but why doesn't it appear in any other text?), or it could be an archaic remnant of the n-dialect. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 684.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 399.

123 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish in the forms *kökürçgen* and *kökürçgün*. In DLT it is in the form *kökürçgün*. After the Karakhanid period, these archaic forms are no longer seen. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 713.; Talat Tekin, "Review of Al-Rabghūzī, The Stories of the Prophets: Qişaş al-Anbiyā', An Eastern Turkish Version, Critically edited by H. E. Boeschoten, M. Vandamme and S. Tezcan, Leiden 1995", *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 5 (1995), 262.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 170.

124 In Old Uyghur Turkish it means 'to shade' or 'to protect', and in Karakhanid Turkish it means 'to bury'. Its meaning in ms.T is the same as in Karakhanid Turkish. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 716.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 402.

körü[125] 'as compared to' (ms.T 154v/06), *ḳuṣḳılıḳ*[126] (sic.) 'humbleness' (ms.T 325v/18), *küşüş*[127] 'noble, almighty' (ms.T 26v/07), *oḏuġ*[128] 'awake, alert' (ms.T 208r/15), *orum*[129] 'segment, part' (ms.T 366v/15), *seksön*[130] 'eighty' (146v/03), *sèrker*[131] 'highwayman' (ms.T 287v/07), *sınzıḳ-*[132] (ms.T 274r/04), *sırınçḳa*[133] (228v/16), *sırla-*[134] 'to glaze' (ms.T 78v/19), *soġıḳ*[135] 'cold' (ms.T 246v/14), *süçi-*[136] 'to be sweet' (ms.T 190r/11), *şaşut*[137] 'pied colour' (ms.T 145v/04), *tapa*[138]

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125 It is a postposition that appears in Old Uyghur and Karakhanid texts. After the Karakhanid period, it appears in the form of *köre*. Yong-Song Li, "Kutadgu Bilig'de Gözden Kaçan İki Son Takı: körü ve sayu Üzerine." *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* 7 (1997), 234.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 177. The postposition, which is only used with the dative in Khwarezmian Turkish, is used with the ablative in ms.T: *Atam-dın körü rasūl ʿa.m. maṅga sevüg-rek* (ms.T 360v/11-12) 'Compared to my father, the Prophet (peace be upon him) is dearer to me.'

126 It is unusual to find a Turkish word that is spelled with the letter ث. This word is spelled as *kudḳı* in Old Uyghur, *ḳutıḳı* in Brahmi texts, and *ḳutḳı* in DLT. The spelling *ḳuşḳı* in ms.T occurs only in QBf. Bayrami, "Kutadgu Bilig Fergana Nüshası Metin-Dil Bilgisi-Notlar-Çeviri", 51. This is another strong indication that the two manuscripts were copied very close to each other, i.e. in the first half of the XIV century.

127 It appears in this form and meaning in TIEM73 and Rylands interlinear translation of the Qurʾān. Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 184.

128 It appears in Old Uyghur texts, *Anonymous Tafsīr*, DLT, and QB. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 47.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 502.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 207.

129 It appears in DLT with the meaning 'reaped at one time'. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 716.

130 This is a crase of *sekiz on*, which was the form used in Old Turkish. *Seksün* appears in Karakhanid Turkish. In Khwarezmian Turkish, it occurs only in AQR293. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 20.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 284.

131 Kāshgarī states that it has this meaning in the Karluk dialect. Clauson defined the word as hapax legomenon. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 850.

132 The form *sınsıḳ-* appears in Middle Turkish. *sınzıḳ-* is a hapax legomenon. Marcel Erdal notes a change of /z/ > /s/ in the suffix *{-sXK-}*. The form *sınzıḳ-* may be an archaic remnant. Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, 121.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 288.

133 In Old Uyghur Turkish and DLT, it appears in the form of *sırıçġa*. QB has the form *sırınçġa*. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 846.

134 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish and DLT. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 852.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 610.

135 This is the earliest form of the word. So far, this form has not been found in any Khwarezmian Turkish text. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 809.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 274.

136 It appears in DLT and QB. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 795.

137 It only appears in QB. Clauson claims that Arat has mistranscribed the word as *şaşut* and suggests the form *şeşüt* and translates it as 'dishevelled'. According to him, the word comes from *şeş-* 'to untie'. Tezcan shares this view. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 795.; Semih Tezcan, "Kutadgu Bilig Dizini Üzerine", *Belleten* 178 (1981), 61. However, the use of the word in ms.T proves that Arat is right: *Bir ḳızıl ʿalamı bar erdi. Ḳızıl altun birle yāḳūt birle şaşut-lar kavkab-lar ornatmış erdiler* (ms.T 145v/03-04) 'He had a red banner. They had embroidered pied colours and stars on it from pure gold and rubies.'

138 It appears in DLT and QB in the form of *tapı*. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 436.

(sic) 'satisfaction' (ms.T 318v/08), ***Tarsāk***[139] 'Christian' (ms.T 326v/03), ***tav̇raḳ***[140] 'quick' (ms.T 77v/04), ***tuyuġ***[141] 'hoof' (ms.T 184r/02), ***tüzü***[142] 'all' (ms.T 92r/13), ***uzatu***[143] 'always' (ms.T 109v/14), ***ürger-***[144] 'to become white' (ms.T 77r/01), ***yaḳrı***[145] 'fat, suet' (ms.T 336v/14), ***yan͡gluq***[146] 'a human being, man' (73r/18), ***yıldız***[147] 'root' (ms.T 75v/07), ***yind-***[148] 'to seek, to search' (ms.T 325v/10), ***yipgin***[149] 'violet-coloured, purple' (ms.T 93r/11) etc.

2.7. A comparison of ms.T and ms.L (copyist-5)

As I have already mentioned, a short section of ms.L (221v/01–246r/21) was written by the copyist-5 and this section contains much older linguistic features than the sections written by other copyists. Boeschoten rightly claims that a careful analysis of the internal linguistic variation of ms.L will lead to the conclusion that the language employed by the copyist-5 must be consistently close to the language in which the *Qisas* was originally composed.[150] However, a comparison of ms.T and the section written by copyist-5 shows that ms.T contains even older linguistic features than this section. Copyist-5 had a manuscript in front of him that was very close to ms.T. However, although he worked with rigorous precision, he changed the phonological, grammatical and lexical forms of the original text, at least sometimes, to the forms of his dialect. If there is a time gap between the dates when the original text was written and when it was copied,

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139 It is a loan-word from Middle Persian. It only appears in TIEM73. Shlomo Pines, "The Iranian Name for Christians and the 'God-fearers'", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (1967), 143.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 333.

140 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish, DLT, QB and *Oghuznāma* written in Uyghur script. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 443.

141 In Karakhanid Turkish and Khwarezmian Turkish, it is usually found in the form of *tuyaġ*, *tuynaḳ* and *tunyaḳ*. The form *tuyuġ* appears in Old Uyghur Turkish. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 519.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 767.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 352.

142 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish and QB. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 573.

143 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish with this meaning and in the form *uzatı*. Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 812.

144 It appears in Rylands interlinear translation of the Qurʾān. Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 381.

145 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish and DLT. Boeschoten reads the word *yaḳrı* in ms.L, but the manuscript clearly has the spelling باقرى (ms.L 206v/17). Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 905.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 397.

146 Metathesis of *yaln͡guḳ*. This form appears in Karakhanid translations of the Qurʾan. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 930.; Boeschoten, *A Dictionary of Early Middle Turkic*, 391.

147 It appears as *yıltız* in Old Uyghur Turkish and as *yıldız* in Karakhanid Turkish. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 922.

148 It appears in Old Uyghur Turkish as *yint-* and in DLT as *yin-*. Kāshgarī states that the word was originally *yind-* and later abbreviated to *yin-*. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 946.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 904.

149 The word appears in this form in Old Uyghur Turkish and DLT. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century*, 875-876.; Wilkens, *Handwörterbuch des Altuigurischen - Eski Uygurcanın El Sözlüğü*, 905.

150 Boeschoten and O'Kane, *Al-Rabghūzī. The Stories of the Prophets. Qişaş al-Anbiyāʾ: An Eastern Turkish Version (Second Edition)*, 1: XXI.

this is almost inevitable for any copyist. As we get closer to the time when the originals were written, the number of copyists' changes in the manuscripts decreases. Therefore, the fact that ms.T has even older linguistic features than the section written by copyist-5 shows not only that it is older than ms.L, but also that it is very close to the original text. Below is a comparison of some passages in ms.T and the section of ms.L written by copyist-5:

ms.T (359r/15-359v/07)	ms.L (223v/17-224r/05)
Atlanıp rasūl-ḳa keldiler, atıŋga **atḳardılar**. Kāfirlar kördiler kim Muḥammad ʿa.m. **ölmedük** tirig ermiş, ḳatıġ **tepindiler**. Simāk bin Ḥaraşa rasūl ʿa.m. ḳatındın üç ḳata **tepindi**, kāfirlarnı aḳın **teg** ḳavdı. Ol kün-de Ẕu'l-faḳārnı rasūl ʿa.m. aŋa bèrmişiŋe ḳadġurġanlar aydılar: "Ẕu'l-faḳārnı ol kün bizke bèrmiş bolsa bu iş bizdin kelmes erdi." Salmān-i Fārisī rażiya'llāhu ʿanh rasūl ʿa.m.-**nuŋ** artında turur erdi, **tegme** bir oḳ kelmişinçe özini rasūl-ḳa ḳalḳan ḳılıp "**Mening nafsum** saŋa yuluġ bolsun!" tèyür erdi. ʿAlī rażiya'llāhu ʿanh kāfirlarḳa **tepinür** erdi. ʿAbbās rażiya'llāhu ʿanh rasūl ʿa.m.-nuŋ tizginin tutup barur erdi. Cibrīl keldi, aydı: "Yā rasūlu'llāh! Artıŋdaḳı kim turur?" Aydı: "Salmān-i Fārisī turur." Aydı: "Uçmaḫ yètmiş ḳurla Salmān-nı küseyür." Yana "Bu kāfirlarḳa **tepingen** yigit kim turur?" Aydı: "ʿAlī rażiya'llāhu ʿanh." Cibrīl aydı: "Mavlā taʿ. firişte-lerke öge yarlıḳadı." Anda kèdin rasūl ʿa.m. birle taġ**ḳa** bardılar. Rasūl ʿa.m.-**nuŋ** atı taġ**ḳa** **aġumadı**. Adaḳı-nı ʿAlī-nıŋ **egninge** ḳoddı, taġ**ḳa** aġdı, olturdı. Ṣaḥāba **tegresinde** olturdılar.	Rasūl ʿalayhi's-salām keldi-ler, atıŋga **atġardılar**. Kāfirlar kördiler kim Muḥammad **ölmemiş**. Yıġılıp ḳatıġ **tepündi-ler**. Simāk bin Ḥaraşa rasūl ʿalayhi's-salām-ġa keldiler, yandılar. Kāfirlarġa üç ḳurla **tepündi**, kāfirlarnı aḳın **tèg** ḳavdı. Ol kün Ẕu'l-faḳārnı rasūl aŋa bèrmişinge ḳadġurġanlar aydılar "Ẕu'l-faḳārnı ol kün bizge bèrmiş bolsa bu iş bizdin kelmes erdi." tèp. Salmān-i Fārisī rażiya'llāhu ʿanh rasūl ʿalayhi's-salām-**nıŋ** artında turur erdi, **tègme** bir oḳ kelmişinçe özini rasūl-ḳa ḳalḳan ḳılur erdi. "**Menim nafsım** yuluġ bolsun!" tèyür erdi. ʿAlī rażiya'llāhu ʿanh kāfirlarḳa **tepünür** erdi. ʿAbbās rażiya'llāhu ʿanh rasūl ʿalayhi's-salām tizginin tutup turur erdi. Cabrā'il ʿalayhi's-salām keldi, aydı: "Yā rasūlu'llāh! Artıŋdaḳı kim turur?' Aydı: "Salmān-i Fārisī turur." Aydı: "Uçmaḫ tègme künde yètmiş katla Salmān-nı küseyür." Yana "Bu kāfirlarġa **tepüngan** yigit kim turur?" Aydı: "ʿAlī turur rażiya'llāhu ʿanh." Cabrā'il aydı: "Mavlā taʿ. ʿAlī-nı öge yarlıḳar." Anda kèdin rasūl birle taġ**ġa** bardılar. Rasūl ʿalayhi's-salām-**nıŋ** atı taġ**ġa** **aşa bilmedi**. ʿAlī-nıŋ **ègninge** ḳodup taġ**ġa** aşıp olturdı. Ṣaḥāba-lar **tègresinde** olturdılar.
ms.T (361r/03-13)	**ms.L (224v/21-225r/98)**
Ḳışşa-i Badru'ş-Şuġrā	Ḳışşa-i Badru'ş-Şuġrā
Ḳaçan rasūl ʿa.m. Uḥud ḥarbındın yandı **erse** kāfirlarḳa açlıḳ duʿāsın ḳıldı, aydı: "İḏiyā! Yūsuf yalavaç ḳavmıŋa bèrilgen açlıḳ-nı ḳaḥṭ-lıḳ-nı bularḳa bèrgil." Açlıḳ boldı; köymiş süŋük-lerni tögüp yèdiler, it-ni yèdiler, ḳan**ḳa** bulġanmış ḳoy yüŋi üçün **biri-birin** öldürdiler. Sançış kün-leri yavuştı **erse** kāfirlar aydılar, "Kerekmes kim bizing aramızda alalıḳ bolsa **çıḳumasa-miz**." tèp Nuʿaym bin Masʿūd aş-Şaḳafīnī on tèveke terke tuttı-lar. "Barġıl, **Muḥammadlıġ-larnı** ḳorḳutġıl. Yürek aldurup ala bolsun-lar." tèdi-ler. Keldi, ün ḳıldı. Aydı, "ʿArab-da er ataġ**lıġ** ḳalmadı, ḳamuġ çıḳtı. Siz olarnıŋ birle **çıḳumaġay-siz**. Burunḳı yıl olar kelip sizni öldürdiler, bu yıl siz barsaŋız ḥālıŋız neteg bolġay bilmes-men." tèdi. Olar ḳorḳtı, yürek aldurdılar. Rasūl ʿa.m. "Çıḳıŋ, atlanıŋ!" tèdi, çıḳmadı-lar.	Ḳaçan rasūl ʿalayhi's-salām Uḥud ḥarbındın yandı **èrse** kāfirlar**ġa** açlıḳ ḳaḥṭ-lıḳ duʿāsın ḳıldı, aydı, "İḏiyā! Yūsuf payġambar ḳavmıŋa bèrilgen açlıḳ ḳaḥṭ-lıḳ-nı bularḳa bèrgil." tèp. Açlıḳ boldı; köymiş süŋükni yèdiler, it-ni yèdiler, ḳan**ġa** bulġanmış yüŋni yèdiler, yèmek üçün **bir-birini** öltürdiler. Sançış kün-leri toḳuştı **èrse** kāfirlar aydı-lar, "Kerekmes kim bizing aramızda alalıḳ bolsa **çıḳa bilmese-miz**." tèp Nuʿaym bin Masʿūd aş-Şaḳafīnī on tèvege terke tutup aydılar, "Barġıl, **Muḥammadī-larnı** ḳorḳutġıl. Yürek aldurup ala bolsun-lar." tèdi-ler. Keldiler, ün ḳıldı. Aydı, "ʿArab-da er ataġ**lıḳ** kim **èrse** ḳalmadı, ḳamuġ çıḳtılar. Siz olarnıŋ birle **çıḳuşu bilmegey-siz**. Burunḳı yıl olar kelip bizni öltürdi-ler, bu yıl olarḳa barsaŋız ḥālıŋız neteg bolġay bilmes-men." tèdi. Olar ḳorḳtı-lar, yürek aldurdılar. Rasūl ʿalayhi's-salām "Çıḳıŋ, atlanıŋ!" tèdi, çıḳmadı-lar.

Conclusions

Qisas-i Rabghūzī is the first major prose work of Turkish-Islamic literature and is undoubtedly one of the most important sources for the history of the Eastern Turkish written language. Although it was written in the early 14th century, the fact that the language of the work essentially presents 13th century Turkish, about which we have very little information due to the paucity of sources, adds to its linguistic value. This work also played a significant role in the Islamization of Turkestan and the Golden Horde. All serious studies and text editions of this important work are based on ms.L, which is considered the oldest and the best copy. However, a close examination of ms.L reveals that many passages have often been corrupted by copyists who could no longer understand the many archaic words. Moreover, the language of the text has been modernised in various ways. The fact that new editions of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* are also based on the London manuscript shows that the linguistic value of ms.T, first cataloged by Hofman in 1969 and rediscovered by Cin in 2010, has gone unnoticed.

Very few Khwarezmian Turkish works from the 14th century have survived, making them extremely valuable. However, most of the works have been preserved in late manuscript copies, so they contain linguistic elements that belong to later periods, as ms.L. Eckmann states that the *Nahj al-Farādīs* is the most important source for Khwarezmian Turkish, since the absence of extant 14th century manuscripts of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*.[151] He was right in this view, for at that time the Tehran manuscript of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* was not yet known. Now, however, ms.T shows that this view needs to be modified. This manuscript represents an older linguistic stage than the *Nahj al-Farādīs*. Moreover, in terms of linguistic parameters, the language of ms.T is close to Karakhanid Turkish. The language of the manuscript contains many archaic features, such as the very high preservation of the consonant /ḏ/, the preservation of the /e/ vocal in the first syllable, the dative suffix appearing as {+KA}, the negative aorist suffix appearing as {-mAs}, {-mAdUK} as the negative counterpart of the participle suffix {-mIş}, the auxiliary use of the verb *u-*, the frequent use of the suffix {-DXmIz} for the 1st person plural of the simple past, the conjuncions such as *apaṅ*, *azu*, and *ḳalı*, and the archaic words which are found in Old Turkish and Karakhanid but not in any Khwarezmian Turkish source. In addition to archaic linguistic features, the letters *dāl*, *rā*, *ṣād*, and *ṭā* in ms.T are frequently written with a dot underneath and it is only from the 13th to the middle of the 14th century that this orthographic peculiarity appears in Turkish manuscripts. Moreover, a comparison of the section of ms.L written by copyist-5, which is thought to be very close to the original of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī*, with ms.T shows that ms.T has even older linguistic features than this section. All this proves that ms.T was copied in the first half of the 14th century, very close to the time when Rabghūzī composed his work, and that it is so close to the original of the *Qisas-i Rabghūzī* both in terms of language and content. In conclusion, a new edition of Rabghūzī's *Qisas al-Anbiyā*, which based on ms.T, is a desideratum and I hope to carry it out soon.

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151 János Eckmann, "Das Chwarezmtürkische", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ed.. Jean Deny, Kaare Grønbech et al., (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1959), 1: 116.

Kısaltmalar/Abbreviations

AQR293 = Turkish translation of the Qurʾān, Mashad, Central Library of Astan Quds Razavi, 293.

ARB2008 = Persian and Turkish translation of the Qurʾān, Tahkent, The Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences, 2008.

DLT = Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk

HTFK = Harezm Türkçesi Fal Kitabı 'Fālnāmah in Khwarezmian Turkish', İstanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Koğuşlar 1057, 71v–129r.

KA = Kitāb al-Afʿāl

KS = Khusraw u Shīrīn. Paris, National Library of France, Ancien fonds Turc, 312.

ms.L = British Museum Manuscript of the Qisas-i Rabghūzī

NF = Nahj al-Farādīs. İstanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Yenicami, 879.

ms.T = Tehran Manuscript of the Qisas-i Rabghūzī

QB = Qutadgu Bilig

QBc = Cairo Manuscrpit of the Qutadgu Bilig. Cairo, Egyptian National Library and Archives, 168.

QBf = Fargana Manuscrpit of the Qutadgu Bilig. (Türk Dil Kurumu. Kutadgu Bilig Tıpkıbasım II Fergana

Nüshası. İstanbul: Alâeddin Kıral Basımevi, 1942)

S2 = Turkish translation of the Qurʾān (see. Sağol-Yüksekkaya).

TIEM73 = Turkish translation of the Qurʾān. İstanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, 73.

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