

A Grammar of Chagatay

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to
Elizabeth

If I relight the lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed since, as you, lords, full well know, through me the dying candle of the House of Chingis flares up again. I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Tīmūr goes out as I pass.

[Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān]

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Introduction

0. Socio- and geolinguistic data.

An acrolect of the Central Asian Turks from the fourteenth to the late nineteenth century, the Chagatay language was a multilayered literary idiom employed in Transoxiana, Khorasan, Fergana and East Turkistan, especially in cultural centers such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Herat, Khiva, Kokand and Kashghar. Chagatay was also used in India in the court of the Great Moguls, in Kazan, in the Crimea, and even in the Ottoman Empire. Today it is regarded as the Classical phase of Modern Uzbek although the extent of Chagatay, especially of its lexicon, was much broader than what the term Classical Uzbek would imply. It was also more detached from the modern idiom with much less dialectal variations, which follows from its standardizing role due to serving as a common literary idiom for a number of language communities.

0.1. Present status

The Chagatay language is not in active use. With the emergence of national languages in the region [Uzbek, Kazak, Kirghiz, Karakalpak, Tatar, and Bashkir] and the progress of literacy in the native tongues, along with the rise of national awareness among these peoples, it lost its significance as a common literary idiom of the Turks of Central Asia. Yet we cannot call Chagatay an extinct language. Its basic structure and most of its special grammatical traits continue to exist in the mentioned modern Turkic idioms. Since there were no purist or secularist language reforms to cut out Arabic and Persian elements from the vocabulary, Chagatay has remained very close to the modern dialects especially through its paremiologic content which constitutes an essential part of the cultural heritage of the Central Asian Turks.

Governments of the Newly Independent Republics recognize the cultural need to maintain awareness of the Chagatay heritage among their subjects. The Uzbeks, for example, made it a law to introduce the study of the Arabic writing system on high school level for the students to obtain direct access to the values of the classical [i.e., Chagatay] literary heritage preserved in the Arabic script. Other republics may soon follow the Uzbek example when they realize that it is in their national interest.

0.2. Relevance

Chagatay is the language in which a great variety of written records created between the Fourteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries have been preserved: chronicles, didactic [mostly Islamic] treatises, collected works of many poets, stories of the lives of the saints, glossaries, grammatical studies, extensive memoirs, translations of commentaries on the Qur'an and the Traditions reflecting the literary life of a region which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the scene of a remarkable historical-cultural phenomenon called the scene of Central Asian renaissance.

These works are indispensable sources for many areas of scholarship: religion, history, social history, literature, folklore, historical linguistics, lexicography and lexicology to mention but a few. They serve as direct evidence of the achievement of human intellect, effort, and resolve from a period of more than five hundred years. There is a vast amount of knowledge, data, and other valuable information in these faded, worn out manuscripts. Being familiar at least with some of them could be one's entry ticket to the study of Central Asia directly, on the basis of primary sources.

0.3. Availability

More than half of the existing Chagatay works are still in manuscript form available only in archives or in private collections. The majority of known Chagatay manuscripts are in excellent condition. Quite a few, however, are damaged and hard to read. Not all the archives are readily accommodating if you want to get access to manuscripts in their custody.

Published works vary from reproductions in facsimile to printed text editions. Early facsimile editions are sometimes difficult to work with due to less perfect production technology. Printed text editions come either in popular form or in carefully established texts with an *apparatus criticus*, essays, notes, translations and glossaries. Most early text editions were printed in the Arabic script. In the middle of the twentieth century, arguably for lower printing costs, texts started to appear in transcription or transliteration. Transliterations represented all characters and diacritical marks of the original. Transcriptions restored the phonemic shape of the text on the basis of historical-comparative principles.

No uniformity was achieved in transliteration or transcription. Modified versions of the Latin or the Cyrillic writing systems were employed with variations depending on the leading schools of Turkish Studies or the authority of individual scholars. During the Soviet period Uzbeks published Chagatay texts in their adapted Cyrillic system. After Turkey introduced a new alphabet for their literary idiom based on Latin, Chagatay texts also were published with the new Turkish alphabet. It does not differ much from the alphabet this book is using.

0.4. Chagatay Literacy

As a common idiom among the peoples of Central Asia Chagatay was not the only means of literary expression. Arabic and Persian were at times much in vogue especially in scholarly prose and court literature. Chagatay works emerged and flourished where there was a special need for them: in the court of Turkish dignitaries for high style literature and in teaching Islam to nomads and semisedentary peoples for popular style used in didactic works, translations or original compositions. Knowledge of the language was maintained and furthered by interlinear translations, grammars and lexicons. Behind the learned literature there was a rich and carefully preserved tradition of folk literature with unique examples of epic poetry. The paremiologic riches of Chagatay testifies to the existence of popular wisdom manifest in proverbs, idioms, and set expression.

The cultural content of the Chagatay literacy reflects an Islamic milieu which accounts for the abundance of Persian and Arabic elements in the language and in the literary expression. Arabic was in high rank because it was the language of the Qur'an while Persian was the idiom of a highly impressive literature. It was the vocabulary of Islam and its literary expression that was borrowed into Chagatay. As far as the lexicon is concerned the borrowed elements substantially enriched the Chagatay word stock and increased its expressiveness. Foreign genres widened the range of literary forms.

As can be expected in a region dominated by Islam, most of the surviving written records are works of religious literature. Treatises on Islamic topics and manuals to teach the essential duties of the believer. Most prominent among these are Islām's *Mu'īnu'l murīd*, the first known Central Asian Turkish manual for dervish novices, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān's *Risāla-i Ma'ārif*, a handbook designed for the subjects of the Mongolian prince's conceptual Uzbek Islamic Empire, *Risāla-i Vālidīya*, a treatise by Muḥammad Zāhīru'd-dīn Bābur on the emulation of the Prophet Muḥammad. Dervish literature is also widely represented. By way of examples the works of Gadā'ī, Luṭfī, Shāh Mashrab, and, from the early period, poets in Sayf-i Sarāyī's anthology can be mentioned. In court literature the lyrical *nāma* genre, a sequel of masnavīs interlaced with ghazals, was developed. At least four of such works have come down to us. Among them the *Dahnāma* of Yūsuf Amīrī excels both in intricacy of style and sophistication of content. The so-called contest poems (*munāzara*) have also a few fine representatives, such as Yūsuf Amīrī's *The Bhang and the Wine*, Yaqīnī's contest of the *Arrow and the Bow*, and Aḥmādī's *A Contest of the String Instruments*. Ghazals, verses of lyrical-panegyric inspiration on religious or secular themes, collected in *Dīvāns* are numerous. The collections of Mīr Alīshēr Navā'ī, Husayn Bayqara, Zāhīru'd-dīn Bābur, and, for its less sophisticated but informative content, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān should be mentioned among the many. Qaṣīdas, panegyric poems dedicated to the Supreme Being, to a patron or extolling the beauty of nature, occur mostly as integral part of other genres. Less frequently they are unattached in a collective works. Of the former Yūsuf Amīrī's *qaṣīda* to the Timurid Baysunghur, of the latter Shaybānī Khān's *Bahru'l-hudā* are typical examples. Epic poetry mostly deal with legends known from Persian literature. Mīr Alīshēr Navā'ī's *Khamsa*, a set of five epics produced in emulation (*naẓīra*) of Nizāmī's set of five epics is among the highlights of Chagatay literature. Memoirs and chronicles, for example Zāhīru'd-dīn Bābur's *Memoirs (Bābur-nāma)*, Muḥamad Sālīh's chronicle of Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān

(*Shaybani-nāma*), Abū'l-ġāzī Bahādur Khān's histories (*Shajara-i turk* and *Shajara-i Tarākima*) and many others are important sources of history and cultural heritage of Central Asia. We also have works on the lexicon (*farhang*) and grammar of the Chagatay language of which Mirza Mehdi Khan's *Sanglah*, a grammar and vocabulary of the Turkish language in Persian is the most famous.

0.5. Status of Research in Chagatay

Many manuscripts of works of major importance have survived from the Chagatay period. About sixty percent of the existing manuscripts have been researched, translated, and published. Although differing from one another in editorial objectives and textological principles, most major works have been made available to the scholarly or general public. The impact these works have made on various branches of scholarship or on different layers of the society, however, is rather modest. The recognition they obtained in the international arena is not in proportion with the significance they represent. Indeed, the potentials of literary works in the Central Asian cultural heritage have not been fully exploited, or even identified.

One of the reasons for this disproportional appreciation has been the purely philological interest in the surviving works. They were used as sources to supply materials for various branches and phases of historical linguistics. The philological trend, naturally, had its own values. It was instrumental in establishing solid principles in textual criticism and lexicography which led to precisely processed text editions, glossaries and lexicons. Comparatively much less attention was paid to the content.

In Turkish scholarship the twentieth century was the age of philology, the backbone of research and scholarly output. The first major centers of Turkic [including Chagatay] studies emerged outside Turkey [Russia, Finland, Hungary, Germany, France]. Since late thirties, however, this discipline became firmly established in Turkey itself and has made substantial headway since. The main concern in this period was about manuscripts, their discovery, identification, and exploitation mostly for lexicographic purposes. Many primary sources were published and quite a few research tools were created for the interested audience. The initially so obvious lack of interest in the content of classical works did not expand proportionately with the technical progress and conceptual refinement of text publications. Philology, originally a method of discipline in research and precision in presentation outgrew its bounds and became art per se. So facsimile editions, transcriptions, and glossaries of classical texts were prepared, often each in separate volumes. The

glossaries were beefed up with numbers indicating the place of occurrence of every single lexical element, including conjunctions, auxiliaries and other frequently used items. But, very often, no translation was prepared and no thorough content analysis was made. For example, from the *Nahcu'l-farādīs*, a book of *hadith* from the fourteenth century and one of the sources of religious learning of the Central Asian Turks we have a facsimile edition published in 1956, a transcription volume, with no date, but sometimes after 1976, and a bulky word index from 1998. It took two generations of scholars to create these fine volumes. But we still don't have a translation of *Nahcu'l-farādīs* into a modern language or a cultural-historical assessment of its content. Future research must expand in this direction and make the Turkish literary heritage directly accessible to a broader international audience.

There are sufficient basic research tools available for the study of the Chagatay language. Pavet de Courteille's Chagatay dictionary, Zenker's Turkish-Arabic-Persian dictionary, Budagov's comparative dictionary of Turkish and Tatar dialects, Kazemzade's four volume Turki dictionary and, specifically for Persian-Arabic loans, Steingass's Persian dictionary and a number of wordlists to text editions or glossaries prepared from the word materials of native vocabularies [*farhang*] help in researching the Chagatay lexicon. For a concise overview of Chagatay philology and grammar Eckmann's *Manual* is at the students' disposal which contains a reader with a Chagatay-Turkish glossary. For a morphological and etymological survey Brockelmann's Middle Turkic grammar does a good service.

The present grammar draws on a wider range of primary sources expanding the boundaries of Chagatay both horizontally and vertically. This follows from the author's intent to treat the Central Asian classical literary heritage as a homogeneous entity that allows for historical phases and territorial variations but does not admit of dissecting it into artificially delineated "languages" bound to historical periods or geographical areas. The question the author was faced with was whether to treat Khorazmian Turkish, the literary idiom of the fourteenth century, as a separate language, leave it out of consideration in this volume and do or leave it to others to create a grammar of Khorazmian Turkish. The difference, however, between the language of the fourteenth century Central Asian documents and of those from later centuries is so little, summed up by Eckmann in a few points of sound changes or case form variants, that does not warrant or even admit of establishing a separate grammar. Efforts to do so would result in illustrating the same phenomena with materials from primary sources from a different time period..

Among the skills to learning Chagatay familiarity with the Arabic writing system and its different styles and a fair knowledge of classical Persian and literary Arabic are the most important. To appreciate the Chagatay sources themselves, especially poetry, some level of erudition in Islam and, most of all, in Sufism is needed. Since these works were created in Central Asian cultural milieu, the more one knows about the Islamic heritage of Central Asia, the closer one gets to a full understanding of Chagatay works.

This is especially true in reading high style literature where the paremiotic content is often burdened with conventional elements of Arabic-Persian versification. This book will help the students also in this respect by giving illustrations with translations in full grammatical and prosodic segments and providing explanatory footnotes where it seemed necessary.

0.6. Chagatay and the Modern National Languages.

The four major nationalities in Central Asia--Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Turkmen--and the Tatars in the Russian Republic claim Chagatay as more or less part of their heritage. Insofar as Chagatay was an acrolect in the region, there is some entitlement to this claim. Linguistically and historically, however, Chagatay belongs to the Uzbeks. Although it would be going too far calling it "Old Uzbek", as it was attempted during the Soviet period, Chagatay, with all its essential features, has become an essential part of modern literary Uzbek. This was partly the result of Uzbek scholars' effort to integrate Chagatay grammatical and lexical elements into their modern idiom. An educated Uzbek today can easily read Chagatay works. The Uzbek government plans to keep it that way. The Supreme Council's decision to change the Cyrillic writing system into a new Latin-based alphabet mandated that in high schools the Arabic writing system be taught so that students can get direct access to Chagatay works, the oldest elements of their cultural heritage.

0.7. Literary Sources used in this Book.

Consistent with the principle to treat Chagatay as a cultural-historical entity embracing works from as early as the fourteenth century and covering all social levels of the language, source materials for this grammar have been selected from a broad area. With this we come closer in concept to Brockelmann's *Osttürkische Grammatik* although we do not include Karakhanide and Mamluk-Kipchak works into our survey due to their overwhelming linguistic and to some extent cultural differences. By this we will not exclude the works of Sayf-i Sarāyī, the author who,

although moved to Egypt, represented in his poems and in his Turkish translation of Sa' dī's *Gulistān* the language and culture of Central Asia.

Yes, there are dialectal differences in details, mostly in morphology, and traces of historical developments through centuries, mostly in the sound system. These are, however, not significant enough for us to speak of separate languages on their account. Brockelman's definition of the sources he used as those of 'the literary languages of Central Asia' does not refer to a multitude of languages but rather to cultural centers with some or substantial degree of literacy. This view is supported by the fact that he covered them all with one grammatical description. Eckmann in his *Chagatay Manual* set up very narrow boundaries for Chagatay. We have to consider, though, that his intent was to provide a handbook for students of high style Chagatay literature from the period of the Central Asian renaissance.

Primary sources for this book come from all layers of the language from different historical periods. The popular tone is represented by legends and didactic works (e.g., *The Story of Ibrāhīm*, *Baraq-nāma*, *Muqaddimatu 'ṣ-ṣalāt*), by dervish literature (e.g., the *Ḥikmats* of Aḥmad Yasavī and Ḥāliṣ), learned narrative prose by treatises, chronicles and memoirs (e.g., Yazdī's *Zafarnāma*, Shaybānī Khān's *Risāla-i Ma'ārif*, Muḥammad Salīḥ's *Ṣaybānī-nāma*, Muḥammad Zahīru'd-dīn Bābur's *Bābur-nāma*, Nava'ī's *Muḥākamatu'l-luḡatain*), learned poetry by *dīvāns* of religious or secular inspiration (such as the poems of Luṭfī, Gada'ī, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, Muḥammad Zahīru'd-dīn Bābur, Ḥusayn Bayqara, Mir 'Alīšer Nava'ī), court literature by romantic epics (e.g., Quṭb's *Ḥusrav u Šīrīn*, Nava'ī's *Ḥamsa*), lyrical genres (Khujandī's *Laṭāfat-nāma*, Amīrī's *Dah nāma*, Khorazmī's *Muḥabbat-nāma*), satirical works (e.g., Aḥmadī's *Contest of the String Instruments*, Amīrī's *Bang-u Čaḡīr*), grammar and lexicography (e.g., Muḥammad Mahdī Khān's *Sanglāḥ*, Ṭālī' Īmānī's *Badā'ī' al-luḡat*), translation literature (Nava'ī's *Nasa'imu'l-maḥabbat*). Preference was given to Sayf-i Sarāyī's works for lexical precision and grammatical correctness¹, Shaybānī Khān's *Dīvān* for its rich vocabulary, and Amīrī's *Dah nāma*, a disciplined, well-written and erudite work, which I consider above and beyond others, the best representative of high style Chagatay poetry.

¹ In translating Sa' dī's *Gulistān* he made only one mistake reading *barq-i caḥān* (53v:11) as *barq-i 'ālam*.

Abbreviations²

AC	Aḥmadī, <i>Contest of the String Instruments</i>
‘AtH	‘Atabatū’l-ḥaqā’iq MS
AY	Aḥmad Yasavī, <i>Dīvān-i Hikmat</i>
Bābur	Beveridge, <i>Baburnāma</i>
BC	<i>Bang-u Čağir</i> MS
BH	Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, <i>Bahru’l-hudā</i>
BN	Aḥmad, <i>Baraq-nāma</i>
Brock.	Brockelmann, <i>Osttürkische Grammatik</i>
Ccum	Gronbech, <i>Codex Cumanicus</i>
CPD	<i>Chagatay-Persian Dictionary</i>
Dasturn.	<i>Dasturnāma</i> MS
DN	Amīrī, <i>Dahnāma</i> MS
Eckm. Gr.	Eckmann, <i>Chagatay Manual</i>
FK	Navā’ī, <i>Favā’idu’l-kibār</i>
GD	Gadā’ī, <i>Dīvān</i>
Hac.	Hacieminoğlu, <i>Kutb’un Husrev u Şirin’i</i>
HBD	Husayn Bayqara, <i>Dīvān</i>
H	Ḥālīş, <i>Story of Ibrāhīm</i>
IM	Toparlı, <i>Irşādu’l-mulūk</i>
Kāşğ.	Mahmūd Kāşğarī, <i>Dīvān luğat at-turk</i>
KBV	<i>Kitāb Baytarat al-Vāziḥ</i>
LN	<i>Laṭāfat-nāma</i>
MA	<i>Muqaddimatu’l-adab</i>
Mab.L	Ross, E. Denison, <i>The Mabāni’l-Lughat</i>
MM	Islām, <i>Mu‘īnu’l-murīd</i>
MLU	<i>Modern Literary Uzbek</i>
MN	Khwarazmī, <i>Muḥabbat-nāma</i>
MQ	Navā’ī, <i>Maḥbūbu’l-qulūb</i>
MS	<i>Muqaddimatu’ş-şalāt</i>
MUGr	<i>Modern Uygur Grammar</i>
N	Navā’ī, <i>Mir ‘alī Sher</i>
N Dict.	Фазилов, Э. И. Алишер Навоний асарлари тилининг <i>ИЗОҲЛИ ЛУҒАТИ.</i>
N FK	Navā’ī, <i>Favā’idu’l-kibār</i>
NF	<i>Nahcu’l-faradis</i> MS
NM	Eraslan Navā’ī, <i>Nasā’īmu’l-maḥabba</i>
NTM	Bodrogligeti, <i>Nisāb-i Turki, Manchester</i>
PdC	Pavet de Courteille, <i>Dictionnaire turk-oriental</i>
Qutb	Qutb, <i>Husrāv u Şirin</i>

² Data in Bibliography

- Rabġ. Rabġūzī, *Qiṣaṣu'l-anbiyā*
 RB Babur Shah, *Risāla-i Validīya*
 RM Shaybanī Khān, *Risāla-i Ma'ārif*
 Sayf Sayf-i Sarāyī, *Gulistān bi't-turkī*
 Sang. Clauson, *Sanglah*
 ShD Shaybanī Khān, *Dīvān*
 Shayb.V Vámbéry, *Die Scheibaniade*
 Steingass Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*
 Vámb. Čsp. Vámbéry, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*
 Zaj. Zajaczkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Husrāv u Širīn*
Qutba. III, Słownik
 Zam. Yüce Nür, *Zamaḥṣarī, Muqaddimatu'l-adab*
 Zenker *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*
 ZN Yazdī, *Zafarnāma* (MS)

The Arabic-Persian Alphabet

آ	a, ā	آت	at	horse
ب	b	باب	bāb	door
پ	p	پاک	pāk	clean
ت	t	بات	bāt	fast
ث	s	ثالث	ṣāliṣ	third
ج	c	بورج	borc	debt
چ	č	ساج	sač	hair
ح	ḥ	سلاح	silāḥ	weapon
خ	ḫ	شاخ	šāḫ	horn
د	d	داد	dād	justice
ذ	z	ذکر	zīkr	recollection
ر	r	بار	bar	go
ز	z	راز	rāz	secret
ژ	ž	ژاله	žāla	dew
س	s	طاس	ṭās	bowl
ش	š	طاش	ṭaš	stone
ص	ṣ	خاص	ḥāṣṣ	particular

ض	ẓ	بِیاض	bayāz	white
ط	t	خط	ḥaṭṭ	writing
ظ	z	خِظ	ḥazz	pleasure
ع	ʿ	وَدَاع	vadāʿ	farewell
غ	ğ	دِمَاغ	damāğ	brain
ف	f	صَاف	ṣāf	pure
ق	q	طَاق	ṭāq	vault
ک	k	بَاک	bāk	fear
گ	g	بَرک	barg	leaf
ل	l	بَال	bāl	honey
م	l	دَام	dām	roof
ن	n	نَان	nan	bread
ه	h	رَاه	rāh	road
و	v	رَوَان	ravān	soul
ی	y	یَار	yār	friend

Numbers

۱	۲	۳	۴	۵	۶	۷	۸	۹	۱۰
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

1. ORTHOGRAPHY

Chagatay works were mostly written in a slightly modified version of the Arabic script. Arabic and Persian loan elements were spelled according to their Arabic or Persian orthography, differentiating between short and long vowels by the use of *matres lectionis*: [*alif*, *waw*, and *yod*]. In Turkish words, on the other hand, there was a tendency to mark all vowels by their equivalent Arabic characters, rather than diacritical marks, a criterion that makes Chagatay differ from Ottoman where diacritical marks were preferred in this role. The generous use of *matres lectionis* enables the reader to distinguish between rounded and unrounded vowels. There are no direct indicators for the reader to identify front and back vowels in Turkish graphemes where they play a distinctive role.

Many Chagatay works are available today in facsimile editions or in Arabic prints. Most Western Turcologists of the twentieth century would print their Chagatay texts in Latin or Cyrillic-lettered transcriptions or transliterations making the texts more transparent for the reader and less costly for the publisher. By the second half of the twentieth century in some countries transcription of Chagatay texts became a genre and had a cult of its own.

In this book the transcription developed by the Hungarian school of Turkic studies is used. On the basis of data provided by Turkish historical linguistics, this transcription gives full value to vowels and consonants not marked as such in the Arabic script.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Vowels

Chagatay has nine short and five long vowels. The short vowels are: a, ä, e, i, o, ö, u, ü two of which [o and ö] are of limited distribution.³ The long vowels are ā, ī, ū [in Arabic and Persian words] and ē and ō [in Persian words⁴].

Chagatay has no diphthongs as individual phonemes. The sequence of a vowel + w or y [e.g., in *mavki* 'place'] is regarded as the occurrence of a vowel with a consonant.

³ They do not occur in suffixes and case endings.

⁴ This reflects the early stage of Classical Persian. In New Persian these vowels changed into > ī and ū, in Modern Persian, into > i and u. Tajik retained the classical values of these phonemes, which also show in most Iranian loans in Modern Uzbek. This is one of the characteristic traits that keeps Chagatay closer to Uzbek.

2.1.1. Classification of Vowels

Chagatay vowels can be classified according to the point of articulation, [velar and palatal], the line of the lips [labial and illabial] and the opening of the mouth [open, medial, and close] during the articulation.

The velar [back] vowels are: **a, ĩ, o, u** **ā, ō, ū**
 The palatal [front] vowels are: **ä, e, i, ö, ü** **ē, ī**

The labial [rounded] vowels are: **o, ö, u, ü** **ū, ō**
 The illabial [unrounded] vowels are: **a, ä, e, i, ĩ** **ī, ē, ā**

The open vowels are: **a, ä** **ā**
 The medial vowels are: **e, o, ö** **ē, ō**
 The close vowels are: **ĩ, i, u, ü** **ū, ī**

2.1.2. The Distribution of Vowels

Some of the Chagatay vowels are restricted in their occurrence. The long vowels do not occur in words of Turkish origin. The vowels **ā, ū, ī** belong to Arabic and Persian words only. E.g., **āhū** (P) n. 'deer', **āfat** (Ar) n., 'misfortune, 'calamity', **ṭulū**⁵ n. 'rising [of the sun, moon, or the stars⁵]', The vowels **ō** and **ē**, occur only in Persian elements. E.g., **mēva** n. 'fruit', **rōza** n. 'fast [a religious duty]'. The medial vowels **o, ö** and **e** occur only in the first syllable of Turkish words: **etäk** n. 'skirt', **közü** n. 'mirror', **orun** n. 'place'.

Vowels are generally followed by a consonant, except in open syllables in final position. Two vowels occur adjacently only in Arabic words when a *hamza* between two vowels is not reflected in the pronunciation. E.g., **taammul** [< ta'ammul] n. 'hesitation, caution', **taassuf** [< ta'assuf] n. 'grieving'. If one of the vowels, separated by a *hamza*, is **i** or **ī**, the *hamza* is replaced by a *-y-*. E.g., **riyāsat** [< ri'asat] n. 'government'.

2.1.3. Vowel Harmony

A vowel in the first syllable dominates the vowels in the rest of the word making them conform to its characteristics. The result is a group pressure: a vowel of the labial group must be followed by syllables with vowels in the labial group. Vowels in the back vowel group must be followed by syllables with back vowels.

⁵ Or one's fortune.

There are two types of vowel harmony: palato-alveolar, and labial-illabial.

2.1.3.1. Palato-alveolar Harmony

The palato-alveolar harmony requires that a word contain either palatal or velar vowels. Derivative and possessive suffixes, the sign of the plural and inflectional endings must comply with this rule. It has to be noted, however, that the Arabic orthography does not directly reveal the nature of vowels in suffixes. [There are no special characters for back or front vowels. An *alif* can represent an *a* or *ā*, a *waw* can stand for an *u*, *ü*, *o*, or *ö*, and a *yod* for an *i* or *i*]. Only the consonants *ğ*, *q* and *g*, *k* in the suffix can give us a hint as to whether a vowel is palato-alveolar or velar. E.g., *cihān-da* 'in this world', *ev-dā* 'in the house', *sözlā-māk* 'to speak', *angla-maq* 'to understand', *tüš-tüng* 'you fell', *bağla-dī* 'he tied', *kit-gāli* 'since I left', *qil-ğan-lar* 'those who made', *kel-gän-lār* 'those who came'.

The palato-alveolar harmony is rather consistent in Chagatay, as far as the application of suffixes is concerned. With Arabic and Persian loans, however, words with disparate vowels joined the lexicon and created plenty of exceptions to the rule of vowel harmony in base words. E.g., *hicrān* 'separation, absence from home, or from the beloved', *bečāra* 'miserable', *muṭrib* 'entertainer', *miḥrāb* 'prayer-niche', *munāsib* 'appropriate'.

2.1.3.2. Labial-illabial Harmony

Labial-illabial harmony occurs in the Turkish word material in base words as well as in suffixes. It is not as widespread as the palatal-alveolar harmony: There are restrictions in both segments. In base words, if the initial syllable containing a round vowel is followed by a closed vowel, that closed vowel can only be a rounded close vowel [*u* or *ü*, depending on the palatal-alveolar harmony]. E.g., *orun* 'place', *oğul* 'son', *üsrük* 'drunk', *urun* 'patch', *yosun* 'method, manner', *uluğ* 'big, great', *uyqu* 'sleep', *tütün* 'smoke', *unut-* 'to forget', *üzüm* 'grape', *ordu* 'camp'. As far as suffixes are concerned, the labial harmony is not always operative: There are suffixes that comply with the vowel harmony. E.g., the first and second persons singular and plural of the definite past tense: *sordum* 'I asked', *sordung* 'you asked; kördük 'we saw', *kördüngüz* 'you saw', the first and second persons of the singular possessive suffixes: *közüm* 'my eye', *yüzüng* 'your face', *quşum* 'my bird', *qulung* 'your servant', the first syllable of the first and second persons of the plural possessive suffixes: *qolumiz* 'our hand', *qoşunungiz* 'your army'.

There are suffixes that do not comply with the labial-illabial harmony. E.g., the third person singular and plural of the definite past tense: **sordi** 'he asked', **kördi** 'he saw', **kördilər** 'they saw', **urdılar** 'they beat'; the accusative marker **-ni/-ni**: **gulni** 'rose' (accusative), **ölümni** 'death' (accusative); the ablative case marker **-din/-din**: **quldin** 'from the servant', **tütündin** 'from the smoke'; the third person possessive suffix. singular and plural: **uyqusı** 'his dream', **künləri** 'his days'.

There are suffixes with labial vowel only. E.g., The first person plural suffix of the definite past tense: **berdük** 'we gave', **qilduq** 'we made'; the interrogative particle **-mu/-mü**: **qaytti-mu** 'Did he return?', **kelgäy-mü** 'Will he come, I wonder'; the gerund [verbal adverb] **-ğunça/-güncä**: **qaytğunça** 'until returning', **yetgüncä** 'until arriving'.

2.2. Consonants

Chagatay has twenty seven consonants. The Arabic alphabet does not always indicate the exact value of some of the consonants. The value of such consonants is established on historical evidence, systemic constraint, and phonetic characteristics of modern Turkic languages, especially Kazak and Uzbek.

2.2.1. Classification of Consonants

The Chagatay consonants are divided into

stops:	p t k q b d g ʻ
spirants:	f s š ħ h v z ž ğ
affricates:	č c
liquids:	r l ʃ
nasals:	m n ŋ
semivowels:	u y

2.2.2. Distribution of Consonants

There is a restriction on the use of consonants especially in words of Turkish origin. The following rules apply:

- The phoneme **ŋ** may not occur in initial position.
- The phonemes **č ž** and **ʻ** do not occur in words of Turkish origin.
- The phonemes **f š ħ v z ž ğ c ʻ l** do not occur in initial position of words of Turkish origin.
- Initial **n-** is found only in the interrogative pronoun **ne** 'what' which often occurs with **et-**, **äylä-** 'to make' with its vowel dropped.
- Final **-d** and **-b** do not occur in words of Turkis origin.
- Long consonants are rare and occur only in medial position.
- Consonant clusters do not occur in initial position.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Nouns

Nouns constitute a rich, colorful and articulate category. They include the names of people, their social relationships, activities, tools, weapons, thoughts, ideas, and other cultural values, physical features of their habitat, the animal world, plants and natural phenomena. In relationship to verbs nouns are a more or less closed category due to the boundaries between nominal and verbal elements of the lexicon. They constitute, also, a most heterogeneous category because of the unrestrained lexical borrowing from languages of higher cultural prestige, such as Arabic and Persian. The boundaries between nouns and verbs are bridged over by methods of nominal or verbal derivation. There are only a few words common in both categories without nominal or verbal derivative elements. E.g., *küräš* 'fight', and *küräš-* 'to fight'. Word structure, phonemic make-up and prosodic potentials differ according to the source language. The presence of foreign elements upset the traditional vowel harmony, expanded the prosodic structure of lexical elements and changed the distribution of consonants.

By their structure Chagatay nouns are simple, derivative, compound, and hyphenated. E.g.,

Simple nouns	<i>tağ</i> 'mountain' <i>suw</i> 'water' <i>san</i> 'number' <i>elig</i> 'hand' <i>temür</i> 'iron'
Derivative nouns	<i>sevünc</i> 'joy' [<i>< sevün-</i> 'to rejoice'] <i>tiriglik</i> 'life' [<i>< tirig</i> 'alive'] <i>temürçi</i> 'blacksmith' [<i>temür</i> 'iron'] <i>baqış</i> 'glance' [<i>baq-</i> 'to look']
Compound nouns	<i>šāhibqirān</i> 'lord of the happy constellation' <i>čatabačča</i> 'a Mongolian girl' <i>gulčahra</i> 'a rose-cheeked beauty'
Hyphenated nouns	<i>el-ulus</i> 'people' <i>kečä-kündüz</i> 'night and day' <i>rusul-anbiyālar</i> '[all] the prophets' <i>hadīs-naşş</i> 'scripture' <i>oğul-qız</i> 'children'

3.1.1. Number

Singular and plural are no exclusive categories. A noun in the singular may refer to more than one objects [e.g., **on altun** ‘ten gold coins’; **köp yalğan** ‘many lies’]. Less frequently, a noun in the plural may refer to a single object [**avliya** ‘saint’, **hazratları** ‘His Majesty’]. A formal distinction between singular and plural is made by Turkish, or less frequently, by Arabic devices. There is no special marker for the singular.

A plural subject does not automatically take a verbal predicate in the plural form. Plural subjects may take singular predicates. E.g.,

Uzun tün qalmağa allingda ğamlar, yaruğay ‘ayş içindä subhdamlar. (DN248v:7) ‘Sorrows should not stay through long nights in your presence, mornings should shine on you while you are still in revelry.’

Also, a singular subject may take a plural predicate. E.g.

Ğamimni ol cama‘at kim yedilär, tariqingdin manga andaq dedilär. (DN254r:3) ‘Those people who felt sorry for me, spoke thus about your practices.’

3.1.1.1. Turkish Plural

The sign of the Turkish plural is **-lar/-lär**. It can be added to Turkish, Persian or Arabic bases. E.g., **quşlar** ‘birds’, **atlar** ‘horses’, **kafirilar** ‘infidels’, **gullar** ‘roses’, **ğamlar** ‘sorrows’, **gumanlar** ‘doubts’.

3.1.1.2. Arabic Plural

Arabic plural forms occur as individual lexical entries not as part of a paradigm. Often the Turkish **-lar/-lär** is attached to them. E.g., **ma‘anī** ‘meanings’, **maḥlūqāt** ‘creatures’, **anbiyālar** ‘prophets’, **mala‘ikalar** ‘angels’, **hayvānātlar** ‘animals’, **arkanlar** ‘tenets’.

3.1.2. Status

A Chagatay noun may occur in the sentence in a special status: particular, definite, indefinite, related, and determined. The status is indicated by morphological means.

3.1.2.1. The Suffix **-ē**: Nouns in Particular Status

The suffix **-ē** singles out and morphologically restricts a noun. Its distribution is limited: It is used only on Arabic and Persian words. A noun with the suffix **-ē** is a closed morpheme: It cannot take case endings, possessive suffixes or plural signs. It cannot have adjective modifiers. In the sentence it may occur as subject, nominal predicate, predicative

complement, direct object [with some limitations] and adverbial of time. Nouns in the particular status indicate that something is unique, exquisite, or the opposite: isolated and negligible.

3.1.2.1.1 Subject

Faraġat rūdīdin tegdi sadāyē, bašarat kökidin yetti navāyē. (DN249r:4) ‘From the river of leisure there came a voice. From the roots of good tidings there came a tune.’

Agar salsam nazarni köz yašina, ne bolġay qatraē daryā qašina? (DN250v:7) ‘Suppose I cast a glance at the tears: What is the value of a single tear drop against [the waters of] a river?’

Bäyiktin sāya körgüzür humāyē ki tā davlat tapar andin gadāyē. (DN258v:10) ‘From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.’

3.1.2.1.2. Nominal Predicate

Men emdi bir gadā sen pādšāhē, magar cān tartqay allingda āhe? (DN250v:8) ‘Now I am a beggar and you are a king: May a soul heave a sigh in your presence, I wonder?’

3.1.2.1.3. Predicate Complement

Manga yoq tur figarē sendin özgä, sanga yoq tur nigārē mendin özgä. (DN253v:5) ‘I do not have a sore wound, except you, you do not have a sweetheart, except me.’

Anga ol šir ara kim qaldī mahzūn, radīfē bar edi, maqbūl va mavzūn. (DN258r:9) ‘In that poem [the tone of] which remained somber she had a cowalker, pleasant and friendly.’

3.1.2.1.4. Direct Object

When used as direct objects nouns with -ē have no accusative marker. E.g.:

Bitidim şafhaē men cān tilidin, qiliban ‘arž hicrān muşkilidin. (DN243r:10) ‘I wrote a page [dictated by] the tongue of the soul. It reported of the hardships of separation.’

Çu qoysang ol ħarāb allida gāmē, bitigni tēz tegür bizdin salāmē. (DN246v5) ‘When you put your foot in front of that ruin [> when you come to the presence of that wretched person] give him the letter right away and convey my greetings.’

Taşavvur mantıqin çon qıldī taşdıq, bitidi nāmāē luţf ilā ta‘liq. (DN246v:1) ‘When she confirmed the logic of imagination, she wrote a letter in fine ta‘liq script.’

Bitidim nāmaē ‘unvāni ihlāṣ, bayānimni ma‘ānīğa etip hāṣṣ. (DN256r:1) ‘I composed a letter, its title was *Sincerity*. I applied my message specifically to the meaning [of this word].’

3.1.2.1.5. Adverbial of Time

Köngül bir sā‘atē arām tapdı, ki dildār ağzıdın ol kām taptı. (DN242v:10) ‘The heart found rest for a moment when it obtained gratification from the mouth of the beloved.’

3.1.2.2. The Suffix -ī: Nouns in Relative Status

The suffix -ī indicates that the noun is used as a referent. It is followed by a clause joined to it with the conjunctions **ki** or **kim**. E.g.,

Sanga ol zamzama bēhwāst ermiş, har āhangī ki qılding rāst ermiş. (DN247v:3) ‘For you that chant may have sounded spontaneous: Any tune that you produced was correct.’

Farāvān dard-i dil körgüzüp anda, qılıp şarhī kim ol siğmas gumānda. (DN243r:11) ‘It presented plenty of complaints at that time. He gave a description that did not leave place for doubts.’

İttisālī ki erür bēmani‘, bu maḥall ruḥqa bolğay vaqı‘. (RB6r:12) ‘Then the soul, now unhindered, will find itself in union with God.’

3.1.2.3. Definite Status

The definite status of a noun can be indicated by the suffix -i/-ī, the demonstrative pronouns **bu** and **ol**, or the cardinal number **bir**.

3.1.2.3.1. Definite Status Indicated by the Suffix -i/-i

A noun with this suffix is a closed morpheme. It cannot take case endings or other suffixes. Its function in the sentence is mostly adverbial [time or place]. Eg.,

Yaşı daryā bigin har yanī barıp, içidin ‘umr açiğini çiqarıp. (DN246v:9) ‘His tears, like a big river [that burst its banks], ran in all directions bringing forth from his heart the bitterness life.’

Har kim ṭama‘nī bir yanī qoysa, karīm daği baḥil anga bir körünür. (Sayf156r:7) ‘To him who puts expectation aside, the generous and the greedy will look alike.’

3.1.2.3.2. Definite Status Indicated by Articles

Chagatay has no definite or indefinite articles. The singular of the demonstrative pronouns are used in the function of definite articles:

3.1.2.3.2.1. The Demonstrative Pronoun bu [**< ‘this’**]. E.g.,
Barur bat husn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur amma irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2) ‘Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But what will remain with us are rude words and meanness.’

3.1.2.3.2.2 The Demonstrative Pronoun ol [**< ‘that’**]. E.g.,
Çu qoysang ol harab allida gāme, bitigni tēz tegür, bizdin salāme. (DN246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that wretched person⁶ give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.’
Ta’ammul qildi ersä nukta şarfin, qilip zīr-u zabar ol harf harfin. (DN251v:11) ‘When she contemplated how the points were expressed, she turned the characters upside down one by one.’⁷

3.1.2.3.3. Definite Status Indicated by the Cardinal Number bir
 In this use **bir** occurs in the function of an indefinite article. E.g.,
Men emdi bir gadā sen padšāhe, magar cān tartqay allingda āhe? (DN250v:8) ‘Now I am a beggar and you are a king: May a soul heave a sigh in your presence, I wonder?’

3.1.3. Gender

In Chagatay there is no grammatical gender. Among Arabic elements of the lexicon masculine and feminine forms could appear which may be recognized in Arabic structures. Natural gender may be expressed by lexical means. E.g., **er** ‘male’, **tiši** ‘female’; **oġlan** ‘boy’, **qiz** ‘girl’; **ayġir** ‘stallion’, **qisraq** ‘mare’.

3.1.4. Nominal Inflection

The inflectional form of a noun consists of the base and the inflectional ending. The base has no special marker. It coincides with the nominative case form.

3.1.4.1. Bases

We distinguish primary and secondary bases. The primary bases are simple nouns or their derivatives. E.g., **köz** ‘eye’, **köz-üm-gä** ‘into my eyes’. The secondary bases are syntactic structures of some kind. E.g., **havā va havas + kã** ‘[to submit] to desire and passion’.

⁶ Lit., ‘when you put your foot in front of that ruin’

⁷ I.e., putting kasra’s and fatha’s where they belonged

3.1.4.1.1. Primary Bases

Primary bases rarely change when case endings are added to them. The possessive suffixes, however, may cause some changes especially when applied to with weak nouns.

3.1.4.1.1.1. Simple nouns

Chagatay Turkish simple nouns are mostly monosyllabic or bisyllabic words. All weak nouns of group one [about twenty words] belong to this group. E.g.,

suw + dan	‘from water’
ev + dā	‘in the house’
orun + i > ornī	‘his place’
kent + gāčā	‘as far as the town’

3.1.4.1.1.2. Derivative Nouns

Derivative nouns are made through suffixation or composition. E.g.,

tiriglik + ni	‘life [accusative]’
parvardagar + ğa	‘for the Nourisher’
qarabaš + dan	‘from the servant’
almabaš + lar	‘ducks’

3.1.4.1.2. Secondary Bases

In Chagatay case endings may be attached to a group of coordinated nouns serving as bases. The case marker, placed at the end of the group, is valid for every coordinated member. E.g.,

[**Samarqand va Ĥurāsān**] + **da** (RM1v:7) ‘in Samarqand and Khorasan’

[**dunyā va aḥirat**] + **ta** (RM7r:1) ‘in this world and the next’

[**kečā va kündüz**] + **ni** (RM8r:6) ‘[he mentions] night and day’

If a possessive suffix is involved that refers to each member of the group it may also come after the last member before the case ending. E.g.,

[**mušk ilā ‘anbar**] + **i** (Sayf182r:4) ‘its musk and ambergris’

Ki kördüm men aning [nāz u ‘itab] + i + n (DN243r:8) ‘Because I anticipate [< I have experienced] her caprice and chiding.’

Bu beš türlük maḥlūqat Bar Ĥudāning [zīkr u tasbīh] + i + ğa mašġul tururlar. (RM28r:1) ‘These five kinds of beings have been mentioning and praising the Ever-existing God.’

Grammatical phrases [e.g., verbal nouns and their complements] can also be coordinated to form a secondary base. E.g.,

[Kafš keymāk va ayaq basmāk] + dā taqī ong bilān ibtidā qıl-maḡnī sevār. (RM11v:5-7) '[God] is also [best] pleased when one first puts on one's right shoe and takes one's first step with one's right foot.'

3.1.4.2. Case Forms

Chagatay has eleven cases: 1. Nominative. 2. Vocative. 3. Accusative. 4. Genitive. 5. Dative. 6. Locative. 7. Ablative. 8. Equative. 9. Comparative. 10. Instrumental. 11. Terminative.

3.1.4.2.1. The Nominative Case

The nominative case has no special case marker. It is the case of the subject of the sentence. E.g.,

Bir faqır bir körklü maḡamḡa yetti. (Sayf73v:5) 'A poor man reached a beautiful position.'

Yol üstündä bir esrük yigıt yatur edi. (Sayf76r:10) 'By the road an intoxicated person was lying.'

A noun in the function of a nominal predicate is also in the nominative case. E.g.,

Dilbarım zulfi tün yüzi kün dur. (Sayf115v:12) 'The hair of my beloved is the night,⁸ her face [is] the sun.⁹'

Dägül erlik aḡızḡa yumruḡ urmaḡ. (Sayf78r:1) 'Bravery is not to deliver a blow upon [someone's] mouth.'

A noun in the role of a predicate object is in the nominative case. E.g.,

Kim etip tur aḡḡ aḡunı tırvak, tiläp tur köknär içindä aflak. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into elixir, was looking for heaven inside the poppy-head.¹⁰

Kim ay burcida yulduznı tapıp tur, tikänni gul saḡinıp oḡsatıp tur. (DN257r:10) 'He who has found a star in the house of the Moon, has considered the thorn [to be] a rose and made himself to caress it.'

Nouns used as numeratives in numerative phrases are in the nominative case.¹¹ E.g.,

⁸ The exquisite qualities of a beloved's hair is black color, ambergris or musk scent and hyacinth-like curls.

⁹ The beloved's face shines like the sun, or is the sun itself.

¹⁰ He was looking for the pleasures of heavens by using opium.

¹¹ Numeratives in numerative phrases occur only in the singular.

Bulardan heç biri turup iki rak^{at} namāz qilmas. (Sayf53r:11) ‘None of these [people] gets up and performs a two-rak^{at} prayer of gratitude.’

yeti uluğ baş sarimsaq (KBV67v:5) ‘three large bulbs of garlic’
bir parça kağızpara (RM8v:1) ‘one piece of paper’

Nominative case forms may occur in adverbial use. E.g.,

(1) Adverbial of place:

Ĉin diyārī bitildi bu nāma. (MS17r:3) ‘This copy was written in the land of China.’

Bil Buhārā muvalladī nasabim, ham Hurāsān ‘ilm-i muktasabim (MS17r:2) ‘Know that Bukhara was the place where my lineage originated from and Khorasan where I obtained my education.’

(2) Adverbial of time:

Munga maşgulluq etgil bari vaqt: Hayf ğaflatta ötār akşarī vaqt. (RB8r:1) ‘Be occupied with this [thought] always. It is a pity when most of one’s time [on earth] passes in unawareness [of Him].’

Bolma bir lahza bu iştin ğafil: Bolur āsan bara bara muşkil. (RB5v:6) ‘Do not let yourself be distracted for even a moment. [Remember,] what is difficult will gradually become easy.’

Hamagi-i dil aning maşgūli bu mahall bolğay va ol maqbūli. (RB5v:10) ‘At this point his [< the believer’s] entire heart is occupied with Him and his heart is accepted by God.’

Keçā tā^{at} bilān uyğaq bolğil kim kündüz sanga barmaq va kelmāk uzun uzaq turur dunyaning işigā. (RM34r:9) ‘Remain awake at night and occupy yourself with act of obedience [to God] since during the day you are too busy with wordly things...’

(3) Adverbial of manner:

Bolğay ol nav^c atini deridā, qalmağay ol nafs hadīši yāridā. (RB5v:7) ‘This is how His name should be pronounced[, and then] the suggestions of the Carnal Soul will be completely eliminated.’

Bolğay aqvāl u kalāmīng bu sifať könglūngā ba^ciş-i nūranīyat. (RB3r:8) ‘If your utterances are of this nature, they will illuminate your heart.’

Note: After **bar-** ‘to go to’ the destination can be expressed by a noun in the nominative case. [See Uzbek **Борди Тошкент** ‘He went to Tashkent’ Cf. MUGr. 3.1.8.1.(7)]. E.g.,

Közin yaşin aqurdî bardî maktab. (H78v:3) 'He was [still] weeping when he arrived at the school.'

Ay şaba barsang Samarqand kelibän nä eltgä sen, furqat va hic-rän otindin elä yükläp kätgä sen. (ShD126r:6-7) 'O, Zephyr, if you go to Samarqand what will you bring when you return? From the fire of loneliness and separation you load up and be on your way.'

3.1.4.2.2. The Vocative Case

Nouns in vocative use are marked by the interjections **ay**, **ayā**, or **yā**. The Persian vocative marker **-ya**, [after a vowel], **-a** [after a consonant] affixed to mostly Arabic and Persian words is also used. A noun may also occur in vocative role without vocative markers. Vocative forms are restricted in syntactic use. They mostly serve as apostrophies and cannot fill in for other parts of the sentence. E.g., **Ay Musallī, kälip tahārat qil!** (MS2v:5) 'O Worshipper, come and perform the ablution!'

Baş üzä maş qılmaq, ay ^cÄqil! (MS4v:4) 'To rub the head, O Wise one!'

Qılma israf, ayā Şarīf-i zaman. (MS7v:2) 'Do not be wasteful, O Noble one!'

Köp ögüt bermägil manga, ay yār! (Sayf114r:3) 'Do not give much advice to me, O Friend!'

Ay Şabānī bulbul-i şorida sen. (ShD94v:1) 'O Shabānī, You are a confused nightingale.'

Ay dirēgā bu zamānda körmädim bir ahl-i dil! (ShD95v:12) 'Alas! I have not seen in this time another person of heart.'¹²

'Aql hayrān dur bu qudratlarda bilgil ^caqilā (BH 3r:8) 'The intellect is puzzled by these powers, be aware of that, O Wise One!'

Şabāniyā sanga Haqq nuşratı azaldin dur: Ravāc-i sunnat va şar^c-i payambari miraş. (ShD27r:3-4) '[Remember,] O Shabānī, the victory of the Truth has been assigned to you since eternity without beginning. [Your task is] to assert the *Sunna* and to enforce the *Shari'a*, your inheritance from the Prophet.'

Kardgarā qadira bu nafs-i dündin saqlağil. Fir^caün dek ğarq etibän taşlağil anı kanar. (ShD32r:10-11). 'O [God], Creator and Omnipotent! Protect us from the base Carnal Soul. Drown him as you drowned Pharaoh and cast [his body] ashore.'¹³

¹² *Ahl-i dil* 'a person of heart' comprises such qualities as generosity, bravery, faithfulness etc.

¹³ Qur. 10,90-92. [MA, Cf. fn. 1153].

3.1.4.2.3. Accusative Case

The accusative case is the case of the direct object. Nouns in the accusative case may be marked or unmarked. For the marked forms the suffix **-ni/-ni** is used which after the 3d person singular possessive suffix may interchange with **-n**. Nouns, especially nonspecific or indefinite, may also occur in accusative role without a case marker.

3.1.4.2.3.1. Direct Objects Marked by **-ni/-ni**

Definite direct objects are mostly marked with the suffix **-ni/-ni**. The direct object is definite under the following conditions: [Same as in Uzbek cf. MUGr. 3.1.6.4.3.2.2.]:

3.1.4.2.3.1.1. The direct object belongs to or is associated with a concrete situation. E.g.,

Ḥwaš ermäs cavrni ḥaddin ašurmaq, kelip oq atmaq va yanī yašurmaq. (DN244r:11) ‘It is not nice to increase cruelty beyond measures: to come forth, shoot the arrow, and then hide the bow.’

Barip men tā tišing fikridā özdin, salip men sihr ara gavharni közdin. (DN257r:8) ‘In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that, as if being under a spell, I have disregarded pearls.’

İssi tammūz künlärindā bir kün äylä issi edi kim boğazni qurutup ağizni qaynatur edi. (Sayf121v:11-12) ‘One day in the hot days of July it was so hot that [the heat] dried the throat and made the mouth boil.’

3.1.4.2.3.1.2. The direct object is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun. E.g.,

Camalimdin oquğay ol raqamni, ki avval başina qoyğay qadamni. (DN241v:7) ‘Only the person who first puts a foot upon his head [in perfect submission] will decipher the numbers from my beauty.’

Kemäci ravān ol yipni yigitning elindän üzdi dağı ketti. (Sayf 101v:1) ‘The boatsman suddenly yanked the rope from the hand of that youth and went away.’

3.1.4.2.3.1.3. The direct object has a predicate object. [The predicate object is always unmarked, see 4.3.3.2.3]. E.g.,

Qiliban mušknī ol ‘anbarin meng, cihan icrā qara tofraq bilän teng (DN243v:8) ‘That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced [the value of] the musk to [that of] ordinary clay in the [entire] world.’

Kim etip tur ačig̃ aḡuni tiryāk, tilāp tur kōknār ičindā aflāk. (DN257v:1) ‘He who turned bitter poison into elixir was looking for heaven inside the poppy-head.’

Kōngülñi qoymay ol ruhsār ḡālī, dimāḡina salip savdā ḡiyālī. (DN256v:1) ‘Those cheeks [of the Beloved] do not leave the heart empty. They put the phantoms of madness into its brain.’¹⁴

3.1.4.2.3.1.4. The direct object has a possessive suffix. E.g.,

Mavlana Ya‘qūb Čarḡining risalasida tahaccudñi on ikki rak‘at buyurup tur. (RM17v:6-7) ‘Mavlana Ya‘qūb Čarḡi in his treatise ordered that the night prayer should be twelve rak‘ats.’

Men ol kün kim ḡaming̃ sāzini tūzdüm, seni dedim kōngülñi cāndin üzdüm. (DN244v:8) ‘The day I tuned [my] saz [to play] the sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I tore the heart out of [my] life.’

Qatingda qand özini elgā satip, unutup özini sözünggā qatip. (DN250r:8) ‘In your presence the sugar sells itself to people.’¹⁵ Not aware of its own essence, it mixes with your words.’

3.1.4.2.3.2. Direct Objects Marked by -n

After a third person singular suffix the more frequently used direct object marker is -n. E.g.,

Tili ačiq̃ sözin šakargā qatip, kōzi ta‘riž oqin cān[im]ḡa atip. (DN243r:1) ‘Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar. Her eyes shot the arrow of reproach into my soul.’

Gulab idī ki kelsā yüz čevürmä. Aning ol hidmatin yüzigā urma. (DN244r:5) ‘When the scent of rose water wafts toward you, do not turn your face away. Do not refuse¹⁶ its services.’

Dušman sāni kōrübān äygü ‘amal ičindā, da‘vā qušun tuta almas qurup bahāna aḡin. (Sayf63v:3) ‘The enemy noticing that you are carrying out a good deed, is not able to capture the bird of claim even if he sets the trap of opportunity.’¹⁷

Labim nuqlin alur bolsang aḡizḡa, čiqarḡil baštın ol mayniḡ humarin. (DN254v:3) ‘If you take the sweetmeat of my lips into your mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of wine.’¹⁸

¹⁴ Into its innermost part.

¹⁵ It becomes a commodity so low in price that everyone can afford to buy it.

¹⁶ Lit., throw back into its face

¹⁷ As a Muslim you are protected from your enemies while you are engaged in doing good deeds. Even the Soultaker Angel (*Qābizu’l-arvāh*) is frustrated when he comes to pick up your soul. He may even complain to God or return without carrying out his mission.

¹⁸ The Beloved and all others [*nā sivā*] are mutually exclusive entities.

Qalam til učini ‘anbarğa bulğap, eligi muşknî kağidğa çolğap. (DN255r:11) ‘Dipping the point of the pen into ambergris, her hands wrote on the [white] paper with fragrant black ink.’

Bu risälada aytilğanning barisîn qıla alsä nūrun ‘alā nūrin.¹⁹ (RM8v:9-10). ‘If he could learn all [the Arabic passages] cited in this treatise, that would be the best.’

Ketür aqça kemägä kir, yoq esä taşqari oltur, on äarning quvvatın qoyğil bir erning aqçasın keltür. (Sayf100r:8-9) ‘Bring the money and climb into the boat, or else sit outside [on the shore]. Leave the force of ten persons, bring the money of one.’

Note: Nouns with third person singular possessive suffix can also take the suffix **-ni/-ni** in the accusative case. E.g.,

Du‘a vaqtin tazarru‘ning elini kötärip tangridan rahmat tilär sän. (Sayf93v:6) ‘In the time of prayer you raise your hands in supplication and ask God for alms.’

3.1.4.2.3.3. Direct Object Marked by zero

When the direct object is not definite, concrete, or specific it can be expressed without any case marker [by a zero suffix]. E.g.,

Tilädi kağid va çon boldi mavcüd, qalam tilini etti ‘anbar ālūd. (DN252v:8) ‘He asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was there, he covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.’

Sözüngni eşitip, ay cān hayātī, çiqarmay qand Hindustān nabātī. (DN256v:4) ‘Having heard your words²⁰, O, Life of the Soul, the plant of Hindustan stopped producing sugar.’

Çu kördi nāmanī mihr etti ihsās, qatışturdī eli qunduz ara ās. (DN258r:4) ‘When that sun saw the letter, she anticipated [what its message was]: Her hand added the white of the ermine[‘s fur] to the dark color of the beaver.’

Note: (a) Nouns in particular status do not take the accusative case ending when they are used as direct objects. E.g.,

Bitidim nāmae ‘unvānī ihlās, bayānimni ma‘anīğa etip ḥāṣṣ. (DN256r:1) ‘I have composed a letter, its title is perfect sincerity. I have formulated my message specifically to fit the sense of this [title].’

¹⁹ Ar. ‘light upon light’ Cf. the interjection *nūrun* ‘alā nūrin in RM 8v:10. See also Uzbek нур ало нур ‘better than that’.

²⁰ The Beloved’s words are sweet because they come from her lips. The word ‘sugar’ when pronounced by the Beloved, becomes *mukarrar* ‘double refined.’

Çu qoysang ol harāb allīda gāmē, bitigni tēz tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that wretched person give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.’

(b) Nouns with a possessive suffix may occur as direct objects with no accusative case ending. E.g.,

Vafasizliq haṭṭini tartma köp bitimäs çön firišta ol gunāhim. (DN257v:10) ‘Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.’

3.1.4.2.3.4. Direct Object Marked by -ti/-ti

The definite direct object in the third person singular sometimes is indicated by **-ti/-ti** as in Bashkir or Kazakh. E.g.,

Tengri ta‘alā alarğa marḥamat qilip ol hikmatti mansūh qildi (RM31r:8-9) ‘God the Most High had mercy upon them, abrogated that decree [and sent down the following verse].’

Yoqtı bar etmäkkä yätti qudrating. (BN90v:9) ‘Your power sufficed to make the nonexistent existing.’

Munung dek şafqatti heç kimgä qilmam. (H81v:3) ‘I do not show such kindness to anyone else.’

Ol daraḥtti beḥ bunyādi bilän keskän babam. (H81r:6) ‘Father, you have cut this tree [of lineage] at its very roots.’

3.1.4.2.3.5. Accusative Case Used with Passive Verbs

The passive third person singular, instead of the active first person singular, may occur with the marked accusative case when the speaker, out of modesty, does not want to make reference to himself. E.g.,

Basa Yunus Ḥannıng uluḡ qızini ṭalaq salıp singlining qızini alğanda bu baytnı aytıp yibārildi. (ShD121v:9) ‘Then divorcing the elder daughter of Yunus Khan and marrying the daughter of his younger sister, the following distich was recited [> I recited the following distich].’

Ol ki Şayṭanni aytildi nafsni aytildi ḥavaṭir ol bolur. (RM3v:1) ‘What has been referred to [above] as [the evil effects of] Satan and the Carnal Soul is what is really meant by [the term] thoughts about other than God’ [> ‘what I said above about...’].

Ol sababdın bu rişalanı Turkı [tili] bilän Muḥammad Tımür Bahādur üçün aytildi. (RM2r:3-6) ‘For that reason this treatise was composed in the Turki language for Muḥammad Tımür Bahādur’ [> ‘I composed this treatise...’].

3.1.4.2.3.6. Accusative -nī/-ni, or -n in Dative Function

The endings -nī/-ni and -n may indicate the dative case in analogy of Persian -rā which in classical Persian was used to mark the dative case.

E.g.,

Badr közgüsini kim şayqal bilän berür cilā? (BH3v:10) ‘Who with the whetstone, polishes that mirror -- the full moon?’

Ol karīmī kim tutulğan ayni berür incilā. (BH17r:3) ‘He is the Generous one who bestows brightness upon the moon after it has been in eclipse.’

Va muhlat ber alarni az buçuq, ya‘nī ölgünçä kim alarni sazā va cazasığa yetkürür Biz. (RM35v:7-8) ‘And grant them some time, that is, until the hour of their death, and then We will give them an appropriate punishment and retribution.’

Gar bağışlar sen meni fazlıng bilä ni‘ma’s-şavāb. (BH6v:3) ‘If, by manifesting Your boundless grace, you forgive me, that is the best reward.’

3.1.4.2.3.7. Verbs Governing the Accusative Case

Government of verbs does not always follow the same principles as in English. It is true, that transitive verbs mostly govern the accusative case, but there are noteworthy deviations from this rule. Below is a selective list of verbs that govern the accusative case:

de-	‘to call/name s.one s.thing; to choose’
ilin-	‘to preserve’
oğşa-	‘to resemble’
sağın-	‘to think about’
talaş-	‘to fight for’
ta’ammul qıl-	‘to contemplate’
tilä-	‘to desire’
tüş kör-	‘to dream of’
yığ-	‘to collect’

E.g.,

Meni desäng demä sen özgä cändin, közüngni yum barı cän u cihändin. (DN253v:6) ‘If you choose me, do not talk about others. Close your eyes to life and to this world entirely.’

Nigarin neçä gah ol kim **ilindi**, elig berdi murādī köngli tindi. (DN254v:10) ‘He who for a while protects the image [of his beloved], after a while he reaches his goal and his heart finds ease.’²¹

²¹ This distich refers to the process of achieving affinity with the beloved by constantly mentioning her

Ta'ammul qildi ersä nukta sarfin, qilip zīr-u zabar ol ħarf ħarfin. (DN251v:11) 'When she contemplated how the subtle points were expressed, she turned the characters upside down one by one.'²²

Māning nāmūs u nāmimni talašqin, alif teg kelgin va elgä ulašqin. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].'
Sen unutup maħabbat pešalarni, saġinip qandaġi andešalarni. (DN257r:4) 'You have forgotten the lovers, thinking about the concerns of old days.'

Tegär mü kirpükümdin cānina oq? Balāni tüš körär mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) 'Do arrows from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?'

3.1.4.2.4. Genitive Case

The genitive case in its primary use indicates the possessor in what is called a possessive structure. Characteristic of this structure is that the second part of the structure, the thing possessed, must be marked with a possessive suffix.

The genitive case is formed by the suffix **-ning/-ning**. A variant of this suffix, **-nung/-nüng**, may occur after nouns with rounded vowel or a labial consonant. The genitive case may also be indicated by **-ni/-ni** or **-n**. Sometimes the suffix **-ung/-üng**, or **-ing/-ing** occur. In many cases the genitive case does not have a special marker [zero suffix]

3.1.4.2.5.1. The Genitive Case Marked by **-ning/-ning**, **-nung/-nüng**

The most common form of the genitive case is made by the suffixes **-ning/-ning** and **-nung/-nüng**. E.g.

Ol ikki imānung sözi bolsa bir. (MM190r:14) 'If the two imam's words are the same.'

Közümning qiblası aning camāli, daġi 'umrumning ra's-māli aning vişali edi. (Sayf124v:10-11) 'Her beauty was the qibla of my eyes and union with her was the capital of my life.'

Nagah vucüdining avaġi acal balčiqına batti. (Sayf125r:2). 'The feet of her existence suddenly sank into the mud of death.'²³

Muruvvat körmädim bir faqirning cirāhati üzä tuz qoymaq ne öz könglümä. (Sayf142v:4) 'I thought it would be unkind to sprinkle salt upon the wound of a destitute or upon my own heart.'

name as described in Babur's *Risāla-i vālidīya*.

²² She put *kasra*'s and *fatha*'s where they belonged.

²³ I.e., He suddenly passed away.

3.1.4.2.5.2. The Genitive Case Marked by -nī/-ni

It is rather frequent in the popular style. There is a mandatory order of sequence in the use of this genitive: It always precedes the possessor and no other sentence element can come between them. E.g.,

Payğambarni yaşı boldi ravāna (H82r:2) '(All the while) the Prophet's tears poured forth.'

Payambar oğlını qolını tutti. (H76v:4) 'The Prophet took his son by the hand.'

Ham babamni ārzū bağında bitkän mēvasi. (81r:5) '[I am] also the fruit grown in the garden of my father's desire.'

Alip keldim, dedi Haqqni salāmi. (H73v:9) 'He said: I bring the greetings of the Lord.'

Garq bolğan işqni daryasığa. (BN85r:6) 'He was drowned in the ocean of love.'

Bu sözimni āhiri dur. (BN89r:1) 'This is my final word'.

3.1.4.2.5.3. The Genitive Case Marked by -n

After the third person singular possessive suffix the genitive case may be indicated by the suffix -n. This phenomenon occurs also in the popular layer of Chagatay. E.g.,

Qarindaşingizning oğlanin habarini ešitip siz kim bu türlüğ iztirāb qilur siz? (RM20v:7-9) 'Is it perchance because you have just heard news of your brother's death that you are so upset?'

İşq üçün Haqq bandasin atin qoyup tur avliya. (BH12r:3) 'Because of their love God's servants have been named saints.'

3.1.4.2.5.4. The Genitive Case Marked by -ing/-ing, -ung/-üng

Rarely the genitive case can also be indicated by the short version of the genitive markers: -ing/-ing and -ung/-üng. E.g.,

Bu qaşida şani ung şun'in aca'ib körsätür. (BH18v:7) 'This qaşida reveals the astonishing artistry of the Maker.'

Kündüzüng ruhsarini kün birlä qildi ba şafa. (BH4r:9) 'Who, with the sun, made the cheeks of the day bright?'

Kim qilip tur yulduzung ayinasin gitinama? (BN9r:9) 'Who made the mirrors of the stars bright enough to reflect the universe?'

3.1.4.2.5.5. The Genitive Case is not Marked

Quite often the genitive case is unmarked even if the base noun occurs in the role of the possessor. The base can be a single noun or an entire phrase, consisting, mostly, of coordinated nouns. The frequent occurrence of such examples is among the distinguishing features of Chagatay morphology. E.g.,

Ağaç körki yemiş ärning karam dur. (Sayf94r:11) ‘The beauty of a tree is the fruit, that of a man is [his] generosity.’

Karam eli, yaqin bil, kim qavı bāzūdan artuq dur. (Sayf81r:13). ‘A generous hand²⁴, know full well, is superior to a strong arm.’

Nazar anča ki bu sari dur, bil, kōngli közgüsi ğubari dur, bil. (RB 3v:12) ‘To the extent that his attention is directed to them [>to food and drink], they are dust that covers the mirror that his heart is, know full well.’

Alā ay husn u nāz u ševa kāni, tiriglik čašmasarining ravāni. (DN249v:10) ‘Hark ye, O Mine of Beauty, Amorous Glances, and Coquetry, the Bountiously Flowing River of the Source of Life!’

Nāvuki paykānidin yar ačti kōnglüm gulšanin lalazar bağrım qanidin rang alur alud emäs. (ShD64v:10-11) ‘With the points of her arrows my friend has taken possession²⁵ of the garden of my heart. The tulip patch is not stained red, it takes its color from the blood of my heart.’

3.1.4.2.5.6. The Genitive Case Used Alone

Marked genitive case forms in predicative function may occur alone. E.g.,

Biling awni kim tutsa bolur aning, ra’iyyat vazir beg kārak sul-fāning (MM190v:8) ‘Know that the game animal belongs to the person who catches it, be he a common citizen, a vazir, a beg or a sultan.’

3.1.4.2.5. Dative Case

Dative is the case of the indirect object and expresses the recipient of the action. It also expresses destination, direction, exchange value and other adverbial complements of the verb.

The dative case is formed mostly by the suffix **-qa/-ğa, -kä/-gä**. Less frequently, the suffix **-a/-ä** is also used.

3.1.4.2.5.1. Dative Case Marked by -qa/-ğa, -kä/-gä

The standard form of the dative case is made by the suffix **-qa/-ğa** after nouns with back vowels, and **-kä/-gä** after nouns with front vowels. After voiced consonants and after vowels **-ğa/-gä**, after voiceless consonants **-qa/-kä** are used. E.g.,

²⁴ Lit., ‘the hand of generosity’

²⁵ Turkish *aç-* for Arabic *fataha* 2. ‘to occupy a city or a fort’

Sän on altunnı alğil dađı bir özgä yergä bargül. (Sayf111v:10-11).
‘[Now] you take the ten dinars and go elsewhere.’

Va‘dağa yettim qilip män bandalik. (BN90r:2) ‘I have fulfilled my promise by proving myself a good servant.’

Baqtim kim nafasim oti yaş ağaçqa aşar qılmas. (Sayf55r:3).
‘I saw that the fire of my breath had no effect on wet wood.’

Ne bolsa käy dađı äygü ‘amal qıl, şaqavatnı sa‘adatkä badal qıl.
(Sayf51r:12) ‘Put on whatever you have and do good deeds. Trade misery for happiness.’

Sän ol dägül mi sän kim atam säni firanç qaydından on altunğa satın aldı? (Sayf68v:11) ‘Aren’t you the one whom my father bailed out from Frank captivity for ten dinars.’

Tagāful daftarın açmaq ne, ya‘nı? Salip ot evgä va qaçmaq ne, ya‘nı? (DN244v:1) ‘To open the book of feigned carelessness, what is it good for? To set the house on fire and [then] run away, what is it good for?’

Tili açiq sözün şakargä qatıp, közi ta‘rız oqın cān[üm]ğa atıp.
(DN243r:2) ‘Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar. Her eyes hurled the arrows of allusions into [my] soul.’

Yengillik qildim ersä [gar cafā]nı, sen ağır almağil könglünggä anı. (DN247r:8) ‘If I was off-handed in inflicting cruelty [upon you], do not take it too much to [your] heart.’

Biling kim ‘āşiq-i şadiq bu tün yastuqğa yastanmas, köngül kim ‘ışqğa yüzlänsä bu dunya köyün äylänmäs. (ShD65r:11-12) ‘Know that tonight the true lover does not rest on pillows. The heart that turns to passionate love, does not roam the streets of this world.’²⁶

3.1.4.2.5.2. Dative Case Marked by -a/-ä/

The marker of the dative case after possessive suffixes drops its consonant and appears as -a/-ä. This phenomenon occurs especially after third person singular possessive pronouns. E.g.,

Könglümä salğil mening yā Rabb qanā‘at rāhatı. (BH18r:6) ‘O Lord, send into my heart the peace of contentment.’

Közümä ol otdan çäkkil kim tavarlar közinä çäkär sän. (Sayf 147r:10) ‘Apply to my eyes from the ointment that you apply to the eyes of cattle.’

Ay Şabānı boldı muşkafşān damıng, har sözüng bir ‘ālama ‘attār emiš. (ShD71v:9-10) ‘O, Shaban, your breath scatters musk all around. Every single word of yours is a perfumer for the entire world.’

²⁶ These are hints at Central Asian Sufi practices. Cf. MM 197r:8, 199r:7a.

Qadding alifin **dardīna** tegti Šabānī cān ara, sen ay ṭabīb em-gānmāgil ‘išq dardīning darmanī yoq. (ShD75r:9-10) ‘In [his] soul Shabānī has come down in the pain caused by the alif-like body of yours. [Listen] you, doctor, do not exert yourself, there is no remedy for the pain of love.’

Ol ikisin luṭf qilgīl, **dardīma** sen sen dava. (BH2v:5) ‘Grant your grace to both, for you are the remedy for my pain.’

3.1.4.2.5.3. Dative Case with bar

With the particles **bar**, [yoq, dur, erür] the dative case form indicates the possessor. E.g.,

Bātinga aning köp martaba **bar**, mişl-i nafs u dil u sirr ğayr bular. (RB49r:9) ‘His interior consists of many levels, such as that of the [tranquil] soul, the heart, the innermost part of the heart, and so on.’

3.1.4.2.5.4. Dative to Express the Agent

The dative case may express the agent in passive sentences. E.g.,

Qalmas andeşa-i ğayri ol dam, unutulğay sanga maḥbūb atī ham. (RB7r:3) ‘Then no concern for anything other than Him remains. Even the name of the Beloved is forgotten.’²⁷

3.1.4.2.5.5. Dative Case with Arabic Participles

3.1.4.2.5.5.1. With intransitive verbs.

Used with intransitive verbs a few Arabic participles govern the dative case to express the actual agent of a passive sentence. E.g.,

Ṭalib er tiligā mazkur durur. Validiyya bilā maḥşūr durur. (RB 2r:9) ‘The tongue of the seekers [of the Truth] speaks about [his book]. It is known as the Spiritual Guide.’

Uşbular munda ki marqūm durur, zavq ilā barçağa ma‘lūm durur. (RB9v:7) ‘Everything that has been recorded here will be obvious²⁸ to everyone of perception.’

Yigit öz quvvatīna mağrūr edi. (Sayf101r:5) ‘The youth was very proud of his strength.’

3.1.4.2.5.5.2. With transitive verbs.

Used with transitive verbs a few Arabic participles govern the dative case to express the causative agent [i.e., the agent that is made to carry out an action]. E.g.,

²⁷ I.e., you will forget...

²⁸ Will be known by...

Qābil elgā sōzini maqbūl et, ʿāmil elgā özini maʿmūl et. (RB 11r:3) 'Make its words accepted by those who are willing to learn them. Make its precepts acted upon by those who are willing to put them into practice.'

Har yaman qavlni özdin dūr et, tilingä bir nemāni mazkur et. (RB3r:7) 'Strenuously avoid all evil utterances. Take upon your tongue only one thing [--God's words].'

3.1.4.2.5.6. Verbs Governing the Dative Case

This is a selective list of verbs that take their complements in the dative case:

bulğa-	'to dip into'
čolğa-	'to write on s.th.'
čolğaš-	'to move painfully, writhe, twist and turn'
ħašš bol-	'to become the owner of'
ħū qil-	'to get used to'
inan-	'to believe'
išin-	'to devote oneself to, to work assiduously on'
kir-	'to enter, get s.where'
kiril-	'to enter' [without one's volition]
körün-	'to be reflected'
qal-	'to remain for s.o.'
qat-	'to mix with'
rağbat et-	'to desire to do s.th.'
raħm et-	'to have mercy on'
sal-	'to put or cast s.th. s.where'
sat-	'to sell s.th. for; give in exchange of s.th.'
siğ-	'to fit in'
tol-	'to fill' [intransitive]
tolğan-	'to wreath, coil'
tüz-	'to establish oneself according to s.th.'
tüzät-	'to speed s.one on his way'
uçra-	'to meet'
ulan-	'to reach one's destination'
uy-	'to obey'
uyul-	'to be applied to'
üzül-	'to separate from'
yaraš-	'to be fitting, becoming'
yavut-	'to let s.th. come near'
yet-	'to fall to s.one's share; to respond; to arrive'
yibar-	'to send, direct s.where'

E.g.,

Qalam til uçini ‘**anbarğa** bulğap, eligi muşknî **kāğidğa** çolğap. (DN255r:11) ‘The pen dipped the tip of its tongue into ambergris. His hand, writhing [like a snake] spread musk over the paper.’²⁹

Zamane harf ‘**ilminä** isindi, içi küydi, valē qorqup qışindi. (DN 258r:6) ‘For a while she was busy with the science of the letters. She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.’

Hameşa uyqusizliqqa qilip hū, tüşidä kirmäyin ‘**umrida** uyqu. (DN253r:8) ‘He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.’

Qatıngda qand özini elgä satıp, unutup özini sözünggä qatıp. (DN250r:8) ‘In your presence the sugar sells itself to the people. Not aware of its own essence, it mixes with your words.’

Barı ay hirmänin bir cavğa satqan, elig tartıp ayağini uzatqan. (DN2477:3) ‘He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.’

Şakar ornına hanzal kim berip tur? Yaman söz yahşığa kim yibarip tur? (DN248v:2) ‘Who has ever given wild gourd in return for sugar? Who has ever sent bad words in response to good ones?’

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān şuhbat yarağın qıl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) ‘Tell him that we desire to come. Prepare for the meeting because we will be there in no time.’

El-ulus rasmina köküngni tüzgin, bu hāric nağmadin könglüngni üzgin. (DN260v:3) ‘Throw out your roots in the ways of the community³⁰; separate your heart from this discordant melody.’

Bu davlat nuri köründi közümgä, ki gardün muştari boldi sözümgä. (DN270v:4) ‘The splendor of this empire was reflected in my eyes: the celestial sphere was the customer of my words.’

Bu şifatlar birlä közlärgä tolup. (Sayf6v:4) ‘With these qualities it fills [> delights] the eyes.’

Ne kim çiqsa tilidin cān talaşur, ačiq söz tatliğ ağızğa yaraşur. (DN243r:6) ‘Whatever comes from her tongue, sends one into agony. Bitter words become the sweet lips.’³¹

Ötär köp çaşmadin şayyād-i mağbūn, ki tā māhī kirār elinā bir kün. (DN253v:8) ‘The foolish fisherman passes through many rivers until one day he catches a fish.’³²

²⁹ I.e., Dipping the point of the pen into ambergris, her hands wrote on the paper with fragrant black ink.’

³⁰ Establish yourself

³¹ Lit., mouth

³² Lit., a fish comes into his hands

Cihānī yaruğay cānī tirilgäy, tiriglär sanına atı kirilgäy. (DN 251v:7) ‘May his world light up, may his soul come to life, and may his name enter the list of those who are alive.’

Tanığa çölğäşip zahmat cunān teg, qoya berip özin ranc ičrä nūn teg. (DN245v:9) ‘The pain turns and twists inside his body like a fit of madness. Pain made him look [curled] like the letter *nūn*.’

Qalamlardīn durust ermäs rivāyat, ki siğmas tillärigä ol hikāyat. (DN248v:4) ‘It is not right for pens to produce a narrative [about this], because the story does not fit into their tongues.’

Könglüngä heç ta‘alluq qalmas, ğayr-i ihlāş ilä qulluq qalmas. (RB8r:13) ‘There will remain no attachment [to other than God³³] in your heart. There will remain no servitude other than intimacy [with Him].’

Ravān etti şabānī nāma birlān, tüzätti yolğa türtüp ħāma birlān. (DN252v:10) ‘She sent off the Morning Wind together with the letter. She impelled it on its way prodding it on with the pen.’

3.1.4.2.5.8. Adjectives Governing the Dative Case

A few Chagatay adjectives, mostly of Arabic and Persian origin, require their complement in the dative case. Some of them took on the role of postpositions:

ħursand	‘pleased, satisfied’
lā’iq	‘worthy of, deserving s.g.’
lāzim	‘in the need of’
oħşaş	‘resembling’
muħtāc	‘in the need of s.th.’
mulāzim	‘needed’ [> ‘being a close attendant’]
munāsib	‘proper, suitable’
musahħar	‘subdued, conquered’
muştāq	‘desiring s.th., longing for s.th.’
sazavar	‘worthy of’
yaraşa	‘appropriate’

E.g.,

Ayağingä qoyuban başını qand, labıngdın suyī bir sormaqqā ħursand. (DN256r:10) ‘The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.’

Hamēşa sāya teg küngä mulāzim bolup erişmäki boynına lāzim. (DM258v:1) ‘She is always in attendance to the sun, like a shadow. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].’

³³ I.e., *mā sivā’ llāh*

Firāqında keçār har keçā yel teg, tanīm bēlimgā oħsaš boldi qil teg. (DN259v:9) ‘Separated from me he strolls like a breeze every night. He became [thin] like a hair, resembling my body and my waist.’³⁴

3.1.4.2.5.9. Postpositions Governing the Dative Case [see 3.2.1.4.]

Quite a few postpositions govern the dative case. Most of them are Arabic participles or Persian adjectives that take their complements with the preposition **ba** or **tā**, with the dative suffix **-rā** or in an Izafat structure. E.g.,

Banafša boynin egdi gulgā qarši; açip ‘abhar közin sünbülgā qarši. (Sayf3v:5) ‘The violatē bowed to the rose; the jasmine opened its eyes to the hyacinth.’

3.1.4.2.6. Locative Case

The locative case is the adverbial form of place and time. It is marked with the suffix **-da/-dā** [after vowels or voiced consonants], or **-ta/-tā** [after voiceless consonants].

3.1.4.2.6.1. Locative Case Marked by -da/-dā

After vowels or voiced consonants the locative case marker has a voiced consonant. E.g.,

Kirištīm söz bezārgā hāma teg tund išimdā sarzanišdin bolmayin kund. (DN243r:9) ‘I set myself to decorate the words fast like the pen so that her reproaches will not make me tardy in my work.’

Yaşunup gul yüzüngdin bağlarda, qaçip lāla çiqiban tağlarda. (DN243v:9) ‘The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.’³⁵

Köngüldā ‘išqing otī saldī bulğaq, yana dağ üstinā sen qoymağil dağ. (DN244r:8) ‘It was the fire of passionate love for you that cast confusion into [my] heart. Now do not press the branding iron upon a wound caused by a branding iron.’

Bang eşitkāç bu söz könglindā tōkülüp özidin tōngülüp dedi. (BC336r:11) ‘As *bhang* listened, the meaning of these words trickled into his heart and, losing control over himself, he said.’

Çağir tedi meni sen sorma ay bal, ki el ağzida tüşüm bang elindin. (BC337r:7) ‘The wine replied, do not even ask about me, O, Honey, my situation is quite hopeless because, thanks to *Bang*, I have become the talk of the town.’

³⁴ The ideal shape of the Beloved was one with a waist as thin as a hair. Cf. *beli qil* (Sayf117v:12).

³⁵ Mountains [*tağlar*] symbolize wilderness as opposed to gardens [*bāğlar*].

Köp vaqt sözdä äygü yaman tüšär. (Sayf107r:1) ‘Many times good and bad occur in (one’s) words.’

Ol kişiğä aydi kim bargil ol ikki ‘avratni munda ündägil. (NF 195r:2) ‘He said to that person: Invite here those two women.’

Karam körgüz ‘azimat markabın sür, özüngni har neçük et anda yetkür. (DN249v:5) ‘Be gracious and drive on your mount and in whatever way get yourself there.’

3.1.4.2.6.2. Locative Case Marked by -ta/-tä

After voiceless consonants the marker of the locative case occurs with a voiceless -t. E.g.,

Yaman ‘adat tabi‘atta otursa, ol andan kitmäyisär ölmäyincä. (Sayf79r:7) ‘If a bad habit becomes deep-seated in one’s nature, it will not leave, until he dies.’

Bu hālatta ne külmäk yeri durur kim küldüng? (Sayf33v:2) ‘In this situation what reason is there for laughing given the fact that that you laughed.’

Note: This rule is not consistently observed. Often the suffix **-da/-dä** follows a noun with a final voiceless consonant. E.g.,

Quvvatda va şan‘atda män andan artuqraq män. (Sayf39r:3) ‘I am ahead of him in strength and skill.’

3.1.4.2.6.3. Locative Case Marked After Possessive Suffixes

The case marker can be attached to the noun with or without the use of a connective **-n-**. The phenomenon does not appear to be a simple dialectal characteristic..

3.1.4.2.6.3.1. With a connective [pronominal] -n-

Alnında ne bolsa yegäy ağzında ne kelsä degäy. (Sayf80v:5) ‘He eats whatever is in front of him, he says whatever comes to his mind.’³⁶

Ne dur hālī aning ğam laşkarında, yanī aĝrır mu miħnat bista-rında? (DN252v:6) ‘What is his condition in the army of sorrow? Is his side hurting in the sick-bed of misery?’

‘Alā’ş-şabah turup başımdan taħfifa bälımdän şaddım şeşip beş altun bilän ol muĝannī nazarında qoydum. (Sayf60v:7-8) ‘In the morning I got up, removed my cap from my head and the belt from my waist and put them in front of that singer.’

³⁶ Lit., comes into his mouth

3.1.4.2.6.3.2. Without a connective -n-

Cavābīda dedi ol qaşi ḥācib, kim anda parda açmaq bar munāsib. (DN258v:8) ‘In answer said that intimate friend whose eyebrow is the chamberlain: “It is now appropriate to open the curtain.”’

Er paşimān bolup, yığlap, Ḥazrat-i Rasūl, ‘alaihi’s-salām, maclisidā keldi. (RM24r:5-6) ‘The man was regretful, wept and came to the presence of the Noble Messenger, peace be upon him.’

Va camā‘at bilān oquğan bir namaznıng şavabın yana bir **pilla-sida** qoyğay. (RM29r:1-2) ‘And in the other pan He will place the reward for a prayer performed in congregation.’

3.1.4.2.6.4. Verbs Governing the Locative Case

Many verbs, among them those expressing motion of some kind govern the locative case which most of the time indicates the destination.. The following is a selective list:

āriş-	‘to reach s.where’
bar-	‘to go s.where’
elt-	‘to take s.where’
keç-	‘to pass over to’
kel-	‘to come’
keltür-	‘to bring’
kir-	‘to appear in, sit in’
sing-	‘to be absorbed’
qabil tüş-	‘to qualify, excel [in an area]’
qon-	‘to alight’
qoy-	‘to place s.where’
sal-	‘to throw’
tilä-	‘to summon’
tök-	‘to pour’
tüş-	‘to fall into’
ündä-	‘to invite’
yet-	‘to reach one’s destination’

E.g.,

Murid kirsä mascid yā **ḥanqāhda** ol burun sağ adaq qat, çiqar bolsa sol. (MM194v:11) ‘Disciple, when you enter a mosque or a monastery, step in with your right foot, and, as you leave, step out with your left.’

Hameşa uyqusizliqqa qilip ḥū, tüşidä kirmäyin ‘umrida uyqu. (DN253r:8) ‘He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.’

Tilādi allīda t̄inmay şabānī, bitigni berdi va t̄ez etti anī. (DN 246v:3) 'He summoned the Morning Breeze to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it fast on its way.'

Ĉaman şahnīda t̄öküŋ mevalarnī, tering saqī közidin şevalarnī. (DN268r:7) 'Pour fruits [of all kinds] upon the plate of the meadow and collect amorous glances from the cupbearer's eyes.'

Öz vatanından çiqiçaq peşakar haşil etār qanda erişsä diram. (Sayf98v:7) 'If a craftsman leaves his homeland, he will earn money no matter where he lands.'

Qayda barsam Hızir Babam boldi hamrah. (AY58r:1) 'Wherever I went, Hızir Baba was my companion.'

Ruḥ u zulfung sözi gulşanda barip, qararip gul valē sunbul qizarip. (DN237v:5) 'The word about your cheeks and your tresses reached the flower garden: The rose turned black and the hyacinth became red.'

3.1.4.2.7. Ablative Case

The ablative is the adverbial case indicating an origin, a separation from, a coming out of, a being made out of, a starting from. It may also express the cause, the reason, the means, or the agent. It is marked by the suffix **-d̄in/-din** [no labial variant] or, less frequently **-dan/-d̄än**. After voiceless consonants the dental consonant of the suffix may occur voiceless: **-tan/-t̄än, -tin/-tin**.

Note: The alternate use of **-dan/-d̄än** and **-d̄in/-din** is not a clear cut indicator of dialectal boundaries. Both may occur in the works of the same author [e.g., in the *Dīvān* of Muḥammad Shaybanī Khan].

3.1.4.2.7.1. The Ablative Case Marked by -d̄in/-din

Preferably after vowels or voiced consonants. E.g.,

r kitgäy āftāb māhd̄in, ḥukm birlā hazrat-i Allāhd̄in. (BN 91r:3) 'At the Almighty's command light will depart from the sun and the moon.'

Yaşunup gul yüzüŋdin bağlarda, qaçip lāla çiqiban tağlarda. (DN243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'³⁷

Ne boldi göy agar arz etti ḥālin, dedi sargaştalikdin öz malālin? (DN244v:2) 'What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?'

³⁷ See footnote to 3.1.4.2.6.1.

Bu kündän song bu işdin tavba etkil. (Sayf139r:2) ‘From this day on repent [and avoid] this practice.’

Agar könglüng manga küysä, ‘acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigäy riqqatımdın. (DN245r:7) ‘If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: The stone melts from having pity on me.’

Saçingda šana hayran muşkilidin, balalarğa ilinip öz tilidin. (DN244r:1) ‘In your hair the comb is amazed at the difficulties it faces. Because of its own tongue it becomes entangled in troubles.’

Boyung sarvi ki nang yer suhbatımdın, egilgäy ‘aqibat tüz niyyatımdın. (DN245r:4) ‘The [straight] cypress of your body scorns to be in my company but it bows down at the end when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.’

Kelip tur bağda guldin açılmaq, yaraşmas til tikän teg tiz qılmaq. (DN246r:6) ‘It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming[, however,] to make one’s tongue sharp like thorn.’

Bu ‘adat hwaş yiğaçlar şevasıdın, ki taş atsang berürlär mēvasıdın. (DN247v:8) ‘This observation was made on the nature of fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.’

Umēdim Tengridin ol dur ki gah gāh, yaruğay közlärım yüzüngdin, ay mah! (DN251r:6) ‘My hope from God is that now and then my eyes shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon!’

Ne boldi goy agar arz etti hālın, dedi sargaştalıkdın öz malālın? (DN244v:2) ‘What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?’

3.1.4.2.7.2. The Ablative Case Marked by -tin/-tin

Qašımğa yetti ol yār-i haqıqi, bolup rangi yügürmäktin ‘aqıqi. (DN255r:4) ‘That true friend came to my presence, its face turned red from running.’

Könglini cam^c etār ottin bu kişi, bolmağay aning ilä dōzah işi. (RB4r:7) ‘God will spare his heart [the fear of] Hellfire. Hell will no longer be a concern for him.’

Labım nuqlin alur bolsang ağızğa, çıqarğıl baştin ol mayning humārin. (DN254v:3) ‘If you take the sweet-meat of my lips in the mouth, drive out of your head the intoxication caused by wine.’

Lēk bolğay başariyattin, bil, köngligä yupqa hicabi haşil. (RB 6r:10) ‘Yet, because of [the weakness of] human nature, one’s heart can become covered with a thin veil.’

Baştin keçip qara qan içip qan yaşım saçıp, tapman köngül tilägini vā-ḥasratā köngül. (Sayf182v:9) ‘I risk my head, I drink black blood³⁸, I sprinkle blood-colored tears: [yet] I cannot obtain the desire of my heart, O Heart, What a pity!’

3.1.4.2.7.3. The Ablative Case Marked by -dan/-dän

Atası ol şadaf dur kim bahāli cavhari bolğay, şadafdan ayrılır bolsa tapar cavhar ağır qimat. (Sayf98r:10) ‘Her father is [like] a shell that hides a valuable pearl. That pearl obtains a great value [only] when it is separated from the shell.’

3.1.4.2.7.4. The Ablative Case Marked by -tan/-tän

Tiläsäng ma‘rifat nürin körärgä, içing ḥālī keräk bolsa yemäk-tän (Sayf62r:7-8) ‘If you wish to see the light of knowledge, your stomach must be empty of food.’

3.1.4.2.7.5. The Ablative Case After 3d Singular Possessive Suffixes

The third person singular possessive suffix can take the ablative case ending with or without a connective [pronominal] -n-.

3.1.4.2.7.5.1. With a connective [pronominal] -n-

Yaman iş kelmägäy hargiz qolundan. (Sayf80v:8) ‘Evil work would never come from his hand.’

Ol qadar ketti kim bularning nazarından ḡā^{ib} boldi. (Sayf 51v:10) ‘He walked so far that he disappeared from their sights.’

Ay şabā keltür Samarqand dilbarından muşkboy:‘Āšiq-i dilḥas-tanıng cāniğa ol ta’sir etär. (ShD46r:9) ‘O, Morning Breeze bring us the fragrance of musk from the Heart-ravisher of Samarqand. It has a [beneficial] effect on the soul of the lover with an aching heart.’

Takabbur idi buyruqından yığar. (MM180r7) ‘Pride diverts one from [obeying] the commands of God.’

3.1.4.2.7.5.2. Without a connective [pronominal] -n-

Keçär cānidin avval suda ḡavvaş, ki tā aḥar bolur bir durrğā ol ḥāşş. (DN253v:7) ‘First the diver risks his life in the water so that he could later be the exclusive owner of one [single] pearl.’

Sa‘adat maykabidin muşda berip, başaratliq ḥabarlarını yibarip. (DN259r:3) ‘Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, good tidings sent the news [about its being on the way].’

³⁸ I.e., I suffer a lot

Kelmädi uyqu közümgä ol moğul hacranidin. Nätavān könglüm-nüŋg ārzüsī bu kün bīdār dur. (ShD44v:9) ‘Sleep eludes my eyes because of the absense of that Mogul child. Today the desire of my helpless heart is wide awake.’

3.1.4.2.7.6. Verbs Governing the Ablative Case

This is a selective list of the most commonly used verbs that govern the ablative case:

ayrıl-	‘to be separated from’
ävür-	‘to turn away from, to ignore’
çiq-	‘to leave’
çiqar-	‘to remove from’
de-	‘to tell about’
fariğ bol-	‘to be through, to be done’
halaş tap-	‘to be rescued from’
keç-	‘to pass by, to give up’
kesil-	‘to separate from’
kir-	‘to enter through’
kör-	‘to experience s.th from s.o.’
körün-	‘to appear from’
mužda ber-	‘to bring good news (about)’
öt-	‘to pass through; to renounce’
qayt-	‘to return from’
qorq-	‘to fear’
qutqar-	‘to save’
qutul-	‘to escape’
saçra-	‘to jump up’
saqin-	‘to beware of’
yigil-	‘to abstain from’
tamannā körgüz-	‘to expect [s.th. from]’
yulun-	‘to escape’
yüz evür-	‘to turn away from, decline to do’
üz-	‘to separate from’
üzül-	‘to be separated from’

E.g.,

Sābiqu’l-an‘ām quldin ne haṭa kördi, ‘acab! (Sayf29v:5) ‘I wonder what impropriety did the former patron experience from the servant?’

Alardin öttüm oğlumdin ötar män, hameša ummatimdin köz tutar män. (H75v:4) ‘I gave them up, I will give up my son. I constantly keep my eyes on my community.’

Netük men ävüräyin öz **ğamimdin**, ki pulād erigäy otluğ **damimdin**. (DN256v:8) ‘How would I turn away from my own sorrow³⁹ since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.’

Ötär köp **časmadin** sayyād-i mağbūn, ki tā māhī kirār elinā bir kün (DN253v:8) ‘The dull fisherman⁴⁰ passes through many rivers until one day he catches a fish.’

El-ulus rasmina köküngni tüzgin bu **hāric nağmadin** könglüngni üzgin. (DN260v:3) ‘Throw out your roots⁴¹ in the ways of the community; separate⁴² your heart form this discordant melody.’

3.1.4.2.7.7. The Ablative Case with Postpositions [See 3.2.1.3.]

Bu **kündin** song bu işdin tavba etkil. (Sayf139r:1) ‘From this day on repent [and avoid] this practice.’

Andin bārū kim aldī uşol dilrubā köngül, küydī cafāda kör-mādi hargiz vafā köngül. (Abdu’l Macīd in Sayf182v:5) ‘Since that same heart-ravisher [Beauty] took [my] heart [with cunning and ruse] the heart suffered arrogance and cruel treatment and did not ever experience fairness.’

3.1.4.2.7.8. The Ablative Case to Express the Superlative Degree

With an adjective in the positive degree the ablative case is used to express the superlative [or absolute] degree of adjectives. E.g.,

Barčadin yahşi (MS2r:5) ‘the best of all’

Qatimda martabang **barčadan** ‘ala. (Sayf121r:10) ‘In my eyes your rank is the highest of all.’

Maclisda oturmaslar illā **barčadan** yuqari. (Sayf151r:13, P *bartar az hama*) ‘In an assembly they do not sit but higher than anyone else.’

3.1.4.2.7.9. The Ablative Case to Express the Comparative Degree

The adjective can be in the positive or in the comparative form with **-raq/-rāk**. The comparative suffix, however, in such cases, is adverbial and indicates a small degree of increase or decrease as in modern Uzbek.

Tā şanavbar sāya teg salğay ayaqing altida, cilva qilgil bağ için-dā sarvdin çalākrāk. (ShD89r:3-4) ‘Until the spruce throws itself like a shadow at your feet, may you show off in the garden more agil than the cypress.’

³⁹ I.e., how could I shake it off

⁴⁰ I.e., the one whose catch got away

⁴¹ I.e., establish yourself according to...

⁴² Lit., rend away

3.1.4.2.8. Instrumental Case

Rare in Chagatay. It is gradually replaced by the postpositions **bilä**, **bilän**, **birlä**, **birlän**. It is formed by **-n** [after a vowel] and **-un/-ün** or **-in/-in** after a consonant. The existig forms are mostly adverbs: **baş töbän** ‘head first’, **yüzüqoyun** ‘face down’, **arqan** ‘on the back’. Sporadically the suffix **-la** occurs as formant of the insturmental case.

3.1.4.2.8.1. The Instrumental Case Formed by **-un/-ün**, **-in/-in**, or **-n**

E.g.,

Musibat yä igdin ünün iğlamaq. (MM183v:17) ‘To cry aloud because of misery or sickness.’

Nätägliksizin räst inandim anga. (MM178r:11) ‘I believed in him directly without [asking for] signs.’

Munun tutsa bolur hıdayat quşı. (MM180r:10) ‘By this you can catch the bird of guidance.’

Ham arqan yaturup qoyup ot qurın. (MM188r:17) ‘Also, lay him on he back and pour ambers on him.’

Zuhr vaqtın uyumaq hattä ol zaman içindä halqnı azar qılmağay sän. (Sayf20v:2) ‘[The best service you, the king, can render is] sleeping at noon because at that time you do not hurt [your] subjects.’

Ol biligsiz kündüzün kim şam^c-i kâfūrī yaqar lācaram yağī çirağınım ravān bolur tamām. (Sayf21v:11-12) ‘That ignorant one who by day burns his camphorated candle, will for sure waste the oil of his lamp.’

Sol ayağ üzrā olturup tüzün, qiblağa räst barmaqıngnı sun. (MS13r:5) ‘Sit [on the ground] on your haunches with your left leg flat [under you] and point the toes of your right foot toward the Qibla.’

3.1.4.2.8.2. The Instrumental Case formed by **-la**

There are only a few examples which already have become part of the lexicon as adverbs. E.g.,

Bu kün huldē yasa sa^cy et yüz alvān ki tangla keltürür hūrini rizvān. (DN262r:2) ‘Today exert yourself and ornate in hundred ways a place of eternal bliss, because tomorrow the custodian of paradise will deliver you one of his virgins.’

Şay^g lillāh şakkarin erningdin, ay kan-i namak, kim nabāt-i Mişridin ming qatla artuq tur tuzi. (GD223,3) ‘Can you spare God from your sugar-sweet lips, O Mine of Elegance! The salt of them is a thousand times sweeter than the refined sugar of Egypt.’

Bir aytqanı̄ yana aytma mukarrar, ki ḥalvānī dađı̄ **bir qurla** yerlār. (Sayf108v:12) ‘Do not repeat what you have already said once on the ground that even sweetmeat people serve only once.’
Tāmūr tökkān bilāk ming qurla yaḥṣī ol eldān kim kögüsdä beg-gä qarṣi. (Sayf49v:7) ‘A fist that pounds on iron is a hundred times better than an arm which is on the chest facing the Beg [and ready to serve].’

3.1.4.2.9. Privative Case

The suffix **-süz/-siz -suz/-süz** is used to form the privative case. This suffix also participates in word formation creating adjectives from nouns [see 3.1.5.1.23]. E.g.,

Talı̄süz şayyād tāngizdä baliq tuta bilmäs, dađı̄ açalsüz baliq qurı yerdä ölmäs. (Sayf94v:10-11) ‘A fisherman without luck cannot catch fish in the sea; a fish the final hour of which has not arrived, will not die on dry land.’

Heç iş bu kalimasız muṭabar emäs. (RM4r:5) ‘No undertaking is valid without these words.’

Har kim bang-i namaz maḥallīda sözlägäy, anga ḥavf turur kim imānsüz ‘alamdīn barğay. (RM15v:6-8) ‘It is to be feared that anyone who talks during the call to prayer will depart this world without [the security that his] faith [would otherwise provide for him in the Hereafter].’

İnābatsız ärgä irādat yoq ol: irādat yoq ol ‘ışq bilä kälmasäng. (MM198v:7) ‘Submission is not granted to him who has not repented. Submission is impossible if you do not come with Love.’

Note: The expanded form in **-süzin/-sizin** makes adverbs: **ansüzin** ‘suddenly’, **cānsüzin** ‘without a soul.’ E.g.,

Camād cānsüzin ol ne işgä yarar? (MM197v:4) ‘Without life [the body] is like minerals: What can it accomplish?’

Nätäglük ravā yoq, nätäğ ermäs ol: nätägliksizin rāst inandīm, anga. (MM178r:11) ‘No similitude can be coined for Him, for He is unlike anything else. Say, I have come to believe in Him directly [as He is] without similitudes.’

3.1.4.2.10. Equative Case

The equative case expresses quantitative and qualitative comparisons. It may also indicate conformity or relation between the objects compared. The equative case is marked by the suffix **-ča/-čä**. In archaisms the suffix **-layin/-läyin** also occurs.

3.1.4.2.10.1. Equative Case Marked with -ča/-čä

E.g.,

Män varağimča dast u pā urdum. (MS4r:1) ‘I have done my utmost.’⁴³

Nečä lazzat esä mayl anča bolur, mayl lazzatni tağganča bolur. (RB6v:12) ‘The more pleasure [one receives], the greater will be one’s desire [for Him]: One’s desire is in [direct] proportion to the pleasure one receives.’

Åšnā ič sari taš bēgāna, bu ravišča raviš olmas yana. (RB6r:6) ‘The Friend [invited] in, the stranger [kept out]: There is no better [principle of] behavior than this.’

Bu šakk tüssä rak‘at saninča ötür. (MM184v:1) ‘If such a doubt occurs, perform the prayer according to the number of rak‘ats [you are sure that you have performed].’

Bu ikki qavlča. (MM185r:6c) ‘According to these two instructions.’

3.1.4.2.10.1.1. After the 3d person singular possessive suffix

The equative suffix is attached with or without a connective -n-. Here, too, the presence or absence of the pronominal -n- is not a solid criterion for dialectal boundaries.

3.1.4.2.10.1.1.1. Without pronominal -n-

Tün ortasidan sunnat vaqtiča aning vaqtı turur. (RM17v:2-3) ‘The time for the vitr prayer is between midnight and the time for the sunna rak‘ats of the mandatory prayers.’

Qiličtin qil učiča yoq anga vahm, yavutmas özigä hıwad oqdın vahm. (DN245v:10) ‘He has no fear of the sword, not even as much as the tip of a hair. He is not impressed even by the flying arrow.’

Pas Tengri ta‘alā ol kişigä kim namāznı beş vaqt Ka‘bağa yüzlänip namāz oqusa, bu beş tağning ağirliğiča şavāb berür. (RM 26v:2-4) ‘Consequently, if a person, with his face toward the Ka‘ba, says the prayers at the five designated times, God, the Most High will grant him as much recompense as the weight of those five mountains.’

3.1.4.2.10.1.1.2. With pronominal -n-

İnqita‘inča yenä mayl artar, maylča munqați‘ olmaqliq bar. (BH 10r:2) ‘The more you are separated [from other than God], the more will [your] desire [for God] increase. You are separated

⁴³ Lit., I hit my hand and foot according to my ability.

[from other than God] in the measure that your desire [for God] has increased.’

‘Arab tilinčä (KBV5v:1) ‘in Arabic’

3.1.4.2.10.2. The Equative Case Marked with -layin/-läyin

In a few instances the suffix -layin/-läyin marks the equative case.

E.g.,

Ärdäm ärning davlati dur bil yaqin, kim tükänmäş mäl erür matlablayin. (Sayf140r:6) ‘Skill is a blessing for a man, know full well. It is an inexhaustible wealth like a hidden treasure.’

3.1.4.2.11. Comparative Case

The comparative case is the adverbial case of comparison. It is formed by the particle **teg** which, generally, is spelled separately. E.g.,

Tavaqqu körgüzüp işidä taḥsın, erip su teg hava otına taskin. (DN261r:10) ‘Expectation showed approbation in his performance, as he, like water, extinguished the fire of passion.’

Manga berdi ki naçi dek açilgin, qarasin közlaringgä surma qilgin. (DN261v:2) ‘He gave it to me [and said] “Open like the ark of Noah [after it touched land] and apply earth, as antimony, to your eyes.’

Ki davlat tüşlaringni qildi ta bir, malāmat köz yaşing teg boldi bir bir. (DN261v:3) ‘Because good turn of fortune interpreted your dreams and blame dissipated one by one like your tears.’

Tilāgān teg sanga yüz qoydi maqsud tilāklaringni bir bir berdi ma būd. (DN262r:1) ‘The object of your desire turned toward you exactly as you had desired; God granted your wishes one by one.’

Özüngni ta yiraq salding nazar teg, közum dur su içindä niūfār teg. (DN262v:1) ‘Since you cast yourself far as [swiftly] as [you cast] a glance, my eyes float in water like waterlilies.’

Camāling šuhrati har yanı ketip, pari teg hūrlar uçmaqqa yetip. (DN262v:4) ‘The fame of your beauty spread in all directions. Virgin-like fairies reached the gardens of paradise.’

Çiqardi sarv ara qumri şağirin, samandar teg tüzüp otluq nafirin. (DN266r:9) ‘Among the cypress [branches] the ringdove sounded its laments playing her fiery flute in the mode the salamander does [running desperately in a ring of fire].’

Köngül kim tarta dur gam mātamini, qalam teg başidin alğil qarasin. (DN264r:2) ‘When the heart keeps wearing the livery of sorrow, remove melancholy from its head the way you remove ink from the tip of the pen.’

Muhammad Hwāca beg ol kim ‘**Ali teg** üküš cavlān qilur may-dān içindā. (MN295r:2) ‘Muhammad Hwaja Beg is he, who like ‘Alī, displays his skills quite often on the battle field.’

3.1.4.2.12. Terminative Case

Nouns with the case ending **-ğāča/-gāčā**, mostly with verbs of motion, state or process express a point of time or place up to which an action or a condition lasted. [Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in modern Uzbek]: **qiyāmatğāča** ‘until the day of resurrection’, **yarim kungāčā** ‘until the day of resurrection.’

E.g.,

Yol yürüp kečā şubh çagiğāča yettilār šaharning qirğagiğāča. Navai, Eckmann p. 202) ‘They travelled at night and by morning time they went as far as the borders of the town.’

Men öz atamdin taqī atam ata atasindin payğambarğāča (RM 6r:1) ‘I [have heard] from my father, who [heard it] from his father’s father [and so on] all the way back to the Prophet...’

Tün yarutusiğāča uyğaq bolup namaz qilgil. (RM30v:6) ‘Remain awake to the midpoint of the night and pray [during that period].’

Yā Sinni bölüp har rak‘atda oquğay ahiriğāča. (RM18r:2-3) ‘One should divide up the Yā Sīn [sura], reading one section with each rak‘at until one has read the whole sura through to the end.’

3.1.4.3. Inflection for Possession

Possession is expressed by suffixes added to the base of the noun, singular or plural.

3.1.4.3.1. Possessive suffixes

There are two sets of possessive suffixes: Short for nouns ending in a vowel, expanded for nouns ending in a consonant. The endings indicate person [first, second, third] and number [singular, plural].

3.1.4.3.1.1. Short Possessive Suffixes

Singular			
1st Person	-m	atam	‘my father’
2d Person	-ng	atang	‘your father’
3d Person	-si/-si	ataşi	‘his father’
Plural			
1st Person	-miz/-miz	atamiz	‘our father’
2d Person	-ngiz/-ngiz	atangiz	‘your father’
3d Person	-lari/-lari ⁴⁴	atalari	‘their father’

⁴⁴ The 3d person singular *-si/-si* may occur instead of *-lari/-lari*.

3.1.4.3.1.2. Expanded Possessive Suffixes

Singular			
1st Person	-im/-im -um/-üm	közüm	‘my eye’
2d Person	-ing/-ing -ung/-üng	közüng	‘your eye’
3d Person	-i/-i	közi	‘his eye’
Plural			
1st Person	-imiz/-imiz -ümüz/-ümüz ⁴⁵	közümüz	‘our eye’
2d Person	-ingiz/-ingiz -ungiz/-ungiz ⁴⁶	közüngiz	‘your eye’
3d Person	-lari/-läri ⁴⁷	közläri	‘their eye’

3.1.4.3.2. Case Forms of Possessed Nouns

Nouns with possessive suffixes can be inflected for cases. The noun with the possessive suffix serves as base for the case forms. E.g.,

Ğamimdın gar desä içimdäki dağ, bulut teg yığlağay ün tartıban dağ. (DN256v:10) ‘If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.’

Ol şanamning elgidin altun piyala içgäli. Can quşı can koyığä ‘Anqä bigin parvaz qıl. (ShD91r:8-9) ‘To drink from the golden cup from the hands of that Idol, Bird of my Life, take off and fly [steadily] like the Phoenix toward the Street of Life.’

Camalingdın munavvar qıl közümni. (DN257r:2) ‘Light up my eyes with your beauty.’

3.1.4.3.3. Nouns with First and Second Person Singular Possessive Suffixes

Added to a noun with a first or second person singular possessive suffix the dative case ending may drop its consonant [see 3.1.4.2.5.2.].

Singular		
Nominative	atam	atang
Accusative	atamni	atangni
Genitive	atamning	atangning
Dative	atamğa	atangğa
	atama	atanga
Locative	atamda	atangda
Ablative	atamdan	atangdan
Equative	atamča	atangča
Comparative	atamteg	atangteg
Terminative	atamğača	atangğača

⁴⁵ Rare variant -umuz/-ümüz

⁴⁶ Rare variant -unguz/-üngüz

⁴⁷ The 3d person singular -i/-i may occur instead of -lari/-läri.

Plural		
Nominative	atalarim̄	atalarim̄g
Accusative	atalarim̄ni	atalarim̄ngni
Genitive	atalarim̄ning	atalarim̄ngning
Dative	atalarim̄gga	atalarim̄ngga
	atalarima	atalarimga
Locative	atalarimda	atalarimgda
Ablative	atalarimdan	atalarimgdan
Equative	atalarimča	atalarimgča
Comparative	atalarimteg	atalarimgteg
Terminative	atalarimğaca	atalarimgğaca

E.g.,

Atama aytim̄, bulardan hēč biri turup ikki rak‘at namāz qilmas. (Sayf153r:10) ‘I said to my father, none of these [people] gets up and performs a two-rak‘at prayer.’

Ol oylan egāč yagrinima aḡir qamči indürdi. (Sayf45r:3) ‘When I was young, with a whip he delivered a heavy blow upon my shoulder.’

Körsäm ol gulčahraning cilvasinin gulzār ara, cānima yüz ming tikānlärni ura dur ḡar ara. (ShD13v:11-12) ‘When I observe the brilliance of that rose-cheeked beauty in the garden, it keeps driving a hundred thousand thorns into my soul [while I am] among thorns.’

3.1.4.3.4. Nouns with Third Person Singular Possessive Suffixes

Nouns with third person possessive suffixes take the case ending with or without a pronominal **-n-**. After the third person singular possessive suffix the accusative case marker often loses its vowel [**> -n-**]. [See 3.1.4.2.3.2.]

The dative ending often is **-a/-ä** after a connective [pronominal] **-n-**.

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	atasi	atalari
Accusative	atasini	atalarini
	atasin	atalarin
Genitive	atasining	atalarining
Dative	atasiğa	atalariğa
	atasina	atalarina
Locative	atasida	atalarida
Ablative	atasidan	atalaridan
Equative	atasiča	atalariča
Comparative	atasiteg	atalariteg
Terminative	atasiğaca	atalariğaca

E.g.,

Camālingdīn munavvar qil közümnj ešitmä el sözin ešit sözümnj. (DN257r:2) ‘Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.’

Bir oğlin bir malik maktabgä berdi. (Sayf142r:2) ‘A king put one of his sons to school.’

Du‘ā vaqtin tazarru‘ning elini kötärip Tangrīdan raḥmat tilär sän. (ShD93v:6) ‘When you pray you raise your supplicating hands and ask blessings form God.’

3.1.4.3.4.1. Without a Pronominal -n-

Most of the time there is no pronominal -n- between the third person possessive suffix and the case ending. E.g.,

Men öz atamdīn taqī atam atasidin payğambarğaçā. (RM6r:1) ‘I [have heard] from my father, who [heard it] from his father’s father [and so on] all the way back to the Prophet.’

İčindä ‘iŝq otidin bar mu sözi, tilär ağzımnj heç ol tangrōzi? (DN252r:11) ‘Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love? Does this pauper long for my lips?’

Ötär könglidä har dam bir diläräy, tilär közi ki körsä bir yangı ay. (DN254r:7) ‘Every moment a beloved comes to his mind. His eyes wish to behold a new moon [among them].’

Dedi, sizdin näçük aldın yoray män? Ḥudani aldida ‘aŝi bolur män. (Ḥ76v:10) ‘He said, “How can I, then, walk ahead of you? I will be a sinner in the sight of God.”’

3.1.4.3.4.2. With a Pronominal -n-

Less frequent. The dative -ğā/-gä often loses its consonant. E.g.,

Adib er madhina mağrūr bolma. (Sayf166r:3) ‘Do not fall for⁴⁸ a panegyrist’s praise.’

Aning hukmina rażi bolup taŝviŝimiz ketti. (Sayf157v:9) ‘We were pleased with his decision and our differences were gone.’

İ‘timadē nā qilur sen bu falakning mihrinä: Ay vafadar qil vafā ḥusn va kamāling barīda. (ShD13v:2) ‘Do not rely for a moment upon the love of the sky. O Faithful One, be faithful while you have beauty and perfection.’

Muḥtasib man‘ etmāgil ma‘ŝuq kōyindin har zamān. Kōz yaŝi bāda otindin har zaman ğamnākī dur. (ShD49v:7-8) ‘Inspector, do not keep me away from the street of the Beloved all the time. Tears that the fire of love brings to the eyes are saddening all the time.’

⁴⁸ Lit. Do not be proud of...

3.1.4.4. Persian Inflectional Elements

Sporadically inflectional elements from Classical Persian appear in the Chagatay Grammar. They are of a narrowly restricted distribution and occur most of the time with Arabic or Persian words.

3.1.4.4.1. The Izafat Marker -i/-ī

The izafat-marker creates structures of modification consisting of a head [mostly a noun] and a modifier [nouns, adjectives, or prepositional phrases]. [See 4.1.6.]. Its use is restricted to Arabic or Persian bases.

Izafat constructions may express possession. The second element indicates the possessor, the first, to which the Izafat marker is attached, expresses the possessed. For example, in **vaşf-i nabī** (RB5r:1) ‘the qualities of the prophet’ **nabī** ‘prophet’ is the possessor and **vaşf** ‘qualities’ is the possessed.

Izafat constructions may also express quality. The first element is the head and the second, the modifier. E.g., **ṭahārat-i zāhir** (MS2v:6) ‘external ablution.’⁴⁹

In most cases the Izafat -i is not marked. A *kasra* under the last character may signal the need for -i or -ī in the pronunciation. Length is decided by the meter in poetry. After an *alif* or a *wāw* the Izafat -ī is indicated by a *yod*, as in Persian. E.g.,

Erür sän navnihāl-i tāza ū tar. (H76v:6) ‘You are like a young tree, fresh and green.’

Āşitti cumla aṣḥāb-ī payambar, keliştirilär barisī cumla yaksar. (H81v:9) ‘All of the Prophet’s closest companions heard [what had happened] and at once came [to see him].’

Dedim, “Ay münis u yār-i sabukruh, ki sendin tāza boldi cān-i macruh!” (DN236v:8) ‘I said, “O, Light-spirited Companion and Friend. Through you the wounded soul is rejuvenated.”’⁵⁰

Note: Compound Izafat structures are rare in Chagatay.

3.1.4.4.2. The Vocative Marker -ā

One of the formants of the vocative case. It is used only on Persian or Arabic words [see 3.1.4.2.2.]. The interjection **ay** may appear before the vocative form with -ā. E.g.,

⁴⁹ I.e., The purification of the body, versus the purification of the inside by prayers while performing the ablution.

⁵⁰ Definite past tense in the function of aorist (see 3.6.5.4.).

Köngül bīmār boldi cānim afgār. Tabībā keçmāgil bu hastalar-din. (ShD122r:4) ‘The heart has become sick, my soul is wounded. O, Doctor, do not pass by these patients.’

‘Aql hayrān dur bu qudratlarda bilgil ‘**aqilā**. (BH3r:11) ‘The intellect is perplexed at the powers [that created them], know this well, O Man of Intellect!’

Keltürür uşbu maḥall istilā sanga Sulḫān-i maḥabbat, Yārā (RB 7r:4) ‘At that moment the King of Love, O Friend, will grant you your destination!’

Dedilār, al-vidā‘, **ay ham-nişinlār, ki körmäk emdi yoq, ay pāk-dinlār.** (H79r:11) ‘(Then İbrāhīm) continued, Farewell, O Class-mates! We will not meet again. O Adherents of the Pure Faith!’

3.1.4.4.3. The Prosodic Expletives -a, ā

The prosodic expletives -a, -ā have no semantic function. They appear at the end of prosodic lines to expand the meter with a long or short vowel. They are added only to Persian or Arabic words. E.g.,

Bir biringā kibr u tazvīr yana bağlar ḥasidā. (BH17v:10) ‘It combines pride and fraud and behaves in the manner of the envious.’

Bu sanga mīrāş qilip tur qalmağil sen ‘acabā. (BH18r:3) ‘Your father [in turn] made them your inheritance. Do not be astonished [to learn this].’

Bir küniğā ikki ay tutar rōza, aranī üzmāyin ki har rōz-a. (MS16r:5) ‘[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two months for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated his fast].’

‘İlm u ḥikmat birlā sen raḥmatnī bergil **nasibā.** (BH18r:5) ‘Give me as my share knowledge, wisdom, and [your] mercy.’

Bir mu’aşşir yaratip tur bilgil uşbu tavḥidā. (BH19r:1) ‘He created an effective formula, and that, mark well, is the *tavḥid* [i.e., the words “There is no god but God”].’

3.1.4.4.4. The Relative -ī

The relative -ī [yā-i iṣṣarat] is added to nouns and indicate the antecedent of a relative clause. It is usually followed by the conjunctions **ki**, **kim**. [See 3.1.2.2.]. E.g.,

İttisālī ki erür bēmāni‘, **bu maḥall rūḥqa bolğay vāqi**‘. (RB 6r:12). ‘Then the soul, now unhindered, will find itself in union with God.’

Har bahārī kim kelür bar dur ḥazāni kāynidā. (BH15v:9) ‘Every spring that comes has an autumn in its wake.’

Hātunī kim yitürsä ‘iddatnī (MS8v:1) ‘[It is obligatory for] a woman whose period ceases [earlier than is usual for her, so that there is no possibility that it will resume] if he seeks happiness.’

Ol **karimī** kim tutulğan aynī berür incilā. (BH17r:3) ‘He is the Generous One who bestows brightness upon the moon after it has been in eclipse.’

3.1.4.4.5. The Suffix *-rā* in Dative Function

The Persian *-rā* which in Classical Persian was the marker of the indirect object,⁵¹ may occur, rarely though, in dative function. E.g.,

Ay **karimā** lutf qıl sargašta-i **avararā**. (BH18v:2) ‘O Generous One, have mercy on me, [your] desperate and roaming [servant].’

Lutf qıl **ihsān-i tavfiq bu faqir becararā**. (BH18r:11) ‘Grant me, [your] poor and destitute [servant], the grace of your assistance.’

Közüm yaši bigin tofraققa tüštüm. Hudārā salmağil meni nazardin. (ShD122r:11-12) ‘I fell down into the dust like my tears. For God’s [mercy] do not take your eyes off me.’

3.1.4.4.6. The Indefinite Suffix *-ē*

The indefinite *-ē* puts the noun in a particular status [see 3.1.2.1.]. It is added only to Persian and Arabic words.

As indicated above, it creates a closed morpheme: Words in the particular status are indeclinable. They cannot take case endings or any other suffixes such as the comparative *-raq/-rāk*, the diminutive *-ğina/-ginā*. It can occur as head of an izafat structure but cannot take the izafat marker *-i*. E.g.,

Atası qılğan üçün taklife qıldı aning astığa ta’life. (RB2r:8) ‘Because his father proposed that he do so, he wrote a book and dedicated it to him.’

Hamagī-yi dil anī dōst tutar, bilgā sen bu söz ara farqē bar. (RB 9r:1) ‘With all his heart he will be in love with Him; But [realize that] there is a difference between these utterances.’

‘**Āqil kişining işi ermās, ki ‘aqil könglini har kimgā bermās, magar bir telbā yangliğ beqarare, pareşane pareşan rozgare.** (DN 239v:7) ‘This very thing is not the doing of a wise person, because the wise one does not give his heart to anyone, except the one who is restless like a fool, distraught and distressed.’

⁵¹ Cf. Cl. P. *urā guft* ‘he said to him’

Note: A noun with an indefinite \bar{e} may occur in adverbial use. It may even join the lexicon as an adverb. E.g.,

Bitigidä ta'ammul qıldım ersä, bitigi teg dame açıldım ersä...
(DN 242v:11) 'When I deliberated her letter, when I, like her letter, opened for a moment...'

3.1.5. Formation of Nouns

In Chagatay nouns are formed by suffixes, prefixes, and by composition.

3.1.5.1. Formation by Suffixes

Derivational suffixes are added to nouns [mostly singular], adjectives [preferably the base form] and verbal stems, positive or negative. This is a selective list of the most common formants.

3.1.5.1.1. The Suffix -ča/-čä

Originally a diminutive suffix. Some of the derivatives show that. In a few instances the suffix indicates relationship with the equative case ending. E.g.,

- biläkčä** 'handcuffs' (Sang. 149v:8)
- avunčä** 'comfort' (Rabğ. 98,19)
- äskinčä** 'gloating, malicious pleasure' (Rabğ. 175,12)
- zärdčä** 'yellowish' (Bābur133v:8)
- saruča** 'yellowish' (AH84r:23)
- alača** 'checkered' (PdC29)
- qarınča** 'ant' (PdC403)
- ağaçä** 'lady' (PdC24)

3.1.5.1.2. The Suffix -čağ/-čäk

It forms diminutives, names of tools, containers, and places. E.g.,

- alinčağ** 'forehead ornament of a horse' (Sang.17v:18)
- ämčäk** 'nipple' (Rabg. 240,20)
- bäkčäk** 'little prince' (Babur40r:12)
- bičağ** 'knife' (Sayf69r:1)
- bürčäk** 'lock [of hair]' (AH30a:3)
- örümčäk** 'spider' (Kāšg. Brock. 136)
- tüfürčäk** 'spittle' (PdC 238)
- qarınčağ** 'ant' (Kāšg. Brock. 148)
- alčağ** 'humble' (Sayf35r:7)
- kökčäk** 'good, beautiful' (PdC472)

3.1.5.1.3. The Suffix -či/-či

It forms, most of all, agent nouns and adjectives. E.g.,

tilānči 'beggar' (Sayf91v:3)
 čapqunči 'advance guard' (Babur66v:9)
 qavğunči 'pursuer, chaser' (Babur114r:12)
 du'ači 'he who prays [for others], humble servant' (Sayf184r:4)
 täväči 'camel driver' (Sayf167r:5)
 tapuğči 'servant' (Sayf77v:1)
 qaraqči 'robber' (Sayf183v:9)
 tämürči 'blacksmith' (NTM11r:11)
 qurči 'maker of weapons' (Babur120v:2)
 taqači 'farrier' (NTM15v:9)
 oynağučı 'player' (NTM15r:2)
 odači 'office-keeper' (NTM5r:6)
 kürägäči 'cup-bearer' (NTM1r:1)
 yurtči 'quarter master' (Babur197v:3)
 čalğučı 'musician' (NTM14v:9)
 culabči 'bowl' (NTM13v:2)
 ahtači 'master of the horse' (NTM10v:8)

3.1.5.1.4. The Suffix -čil/-čil

It indicates association of some kind with the base word.

tüšančil 'eagle' (PdC234)
 ağčil 'whitish' (PdC252)
 sičančil 'common buzzard' (PdC365)
 baliqčil 'common heron' (Desturn. 56,3)

3.1.5.1.5. The Suffix -čün/-čün

It forms, mostly, diminutives.

öpčin 'coat of mail' (Babur161r:8)
 qalçaqčün 'wild goat' (Zam. 406a)
 bildirčün 'quail' (AḤ36a:14)
 orčün 'district' (Babur25r:5)
 toqurčün 'a board game' (AḤ65a:11)

3.1.5.1.6. The Suffix -čuq/-čük

It forms diminutives, names of tools, adjectives.

bulğančuq 'dark, foggy' (PdC177)
 ağarčuq 'chess, or nard' (AḤ16v:2)
 qaburčuq 'box' (AḤ68r:19)
 tağarčuq 'sack, bag' (AḤ64v:11)
 bābāčük 'pupil of the eye' (AḤ195,3)
 munčuq 'glass beads' (Sayf158v:2)
 čağančuq 'small falcon' (AḤ105,3)

3.1.5.1.7. The Suffix -daš/-däš

It expresses a companion or a mate.

- yoldaš 'companion' (NTM6r:7)
- qarındaš 'brother' (Sayf45r:10)
- boydaš 'of the same height' (Vámb. Čsp. 133,8)
- kökältäš 'foster brother' (Babur26a:1)

3.1.5.1.8. The Suffix -laq/-läk

It indicates an area or a location. It also forms adjectives.

- avlaq 'hunting ground' (NTM9v:4)
- sinlağ 'graveyard' (IM175)
- otlağ 'pasture' (MM188v:15)
- azaqlaq 'a little' (Babur4r:18)
- yavlaq 'extremely [great]' (PdC540)
- yumalaq 'round' (PdC550)
- yapalaq 'owl' (Babur281r:11)
- qışlaq 'winter quarter' (Sang. 17r:13)
- yaylaq 'summer quarter' (Sang. 297v:25)

3.1.5.1.9. The Suffix -layin/-läyin

It is an equative suffix [see 3.1.4.2.10.2.] indicating exact comparison.

- bülbülläyin 'like a nightingale' (Jes.103,13)
- arсланlayin 'like a lion' (AH18,8)
- qumlayin 'like sand' (Ilm. 498,8)
- şuturlayin 'like a camel' (Jes.47,6)

3.1.5.1.10. The Suffix -li/-li

It creates adjectives often in replacement of derivatives in **-liğ/-lig**. Its variant is **-lu/-lü**. Added to verbal nouns in **-iğ/-ig** it forms [present] participles [see 3.6.8.3].

- biligli 'learning, knowing' (Sayf170v:5)
- käligli 'ready to come' ('AH39,13)
- baqiğli 'looking' ('AH31,6)
- oquğli 'reading' (MM197r:3)
- çiqiğli 'leaving' (MM197r:4)
- hör qiliğli 'humiliating' (MM144v:4)
- yürügli 'passing, walking' (MM179v:3)
- yazuqli 'sinful' (Sayf50r:4)
- bahali 'valuable' (Sayf98r:9)
- yüräkli 'brave' (AH93a:17)
- ärkli 'mighty' (Sayf176r:7)
- küçli 'strong' (Sayf156r:11)

atli 'named, called' (Sayf46v:13)
atli 'mounted on horseback' (Sayf167r:2)
yüklü 'pregnant' (Sayf145r:12)
körklü 'beautiful' (MM177v:9)
mihlü 'coined silver' (MM191v:14)
yazuqlu 'sinful' (MM194r:9)

Note: A special group of derivatives are based on modified nouns [adjective > noun such as **köp mal**, or noun > noun, such as **hamza yüräk**].⁵² E.g.,

köp malli 'rich' (Sayf59r:2)
aç közli 'greedy' (Sayf141r:5)
künäş yüzli (Sayf124v:12) 'sun-faced'
hamza yüräkli 'lion-hearted' (Sayf7r:5)
ağır bahäli 'precious' (Sayf105r:10)
fitna yüzli 'malicious' (Sayf9v:4)
qamar yüzli (Sayf61v:4) 'moon-faced'

3.1.5.1.11. The Suffix -liğ/-lig, -luğ/-lüg

It forms adjectives which indicate that a thing or a person is 'related to, belongs to', or 'is associated with' something.

atliğ 'named, called' (İM5v:3)
biliglig 'wise' (Qutb Zaj. 32)
bitiglig 'written' (MM197v:12)
bahaliğ 'valuable' (MM182v:)
borcluğ 'insolvent' (MM190 v:4)
mängizlig 'similar' (RM3r:1)
şifatliğ 'of [a certain] quality' (MM181v:2)
şubhalig 'doubtful' (MM196r:6)
takabburlüg 'proud' MM180r:6)
vafaliğ 'faithful' (MM180r:11)

Note: A special group of derivatives are based on modified nouns [adjective > noun or noun > noun, see above]. E.g.,

qaba yüzlüg 'with an ugly face' (Babur68r:1)
beş künlüg '[a] five-day [period]' (Babur50r:8)
buland boyluğ 'tall' (Babur18r:3)
şakar sözlüg 'sweet talking' (DN249v:11)

⁵² Some of the noun > noun bases are *bahuvrihi* compounds equal in meaning to the derivative forms, *arslan yüräk* 'lion-hearted'

3.1.5.1.12. The Suffix -liq/-lik, -luq/-lük

It forms most of all abstract nouns, names of occupations and professions.

- ağirliq** 'weight' (RM26v:4)
- ariqliq** 'purity' (MM180r:18)
- ašliq** 'crop' (MM192r:6)
- bandaliq** 'a person's service to God' (RM25r:1)
- başlamaqliq** 'a beginning' (182r:2)
- bayliq** 'greatness' (Sayf150v:11)
- beadablük** 'improper conduct' (MM194v:2)
- betabliq** 'weakness' (RM33v:7)
- činliq** 'truthfulness' (RM4v:1)
- ħabıblük** 'love of God' (MM199v:5)
- kāhillik** 'negligence' (RM41v:4)
- muqımluq** 'the legal status of a resident' (MM187r:16)
- namazliq** 'prayer carpet' (MM180v:6)
- netāglik** 'similitude' (MM178r:11)
- pākliq** 'purity' (RM20r:10)
- oğurluq** 'theft' (RM34v:9)
- qabülluq** 'acceptance' (MM196r:14)
- qulluq** 'service' (RM18v:1)
- rastliq** 'truthfulness' (RM4v:1)
- šādmanliq** 'happiness' (RM20r:9)
- tiriglik** 'life' (DN249v:10)
- uluğluq** 'height' (MM184v:5)
- uyaliq** 'brotherhood' (MM201v:2)
- uzaqliq** 'probation period' (MM102v:10b)
- yaqınliq** 'intercourse' (MM186v:12)
- yawuzluq** 'wickedness' (MM182v:6)
- ħudāyliq** 'lordship' (RM13v:7)
- parešanliq** 'misery, distraction' (DN252r:5)
- kişisizliq** 'loneliness' (DN252v:7)
- könilik** 'truthfulness' (Sayf25v:9)

3.1.5.1.13. The Suffix -m

It forms abstract nouns from verbal stems. It may indicate quantity. The abstract nouns are also used as adjectives.

- barım** 'wanderer' (MM187r:11)
- bolum** 'stability, firmness' (PdC178)
- igrim** 'whirlpool' (PdC122)
- bilim** 'knowledge' (Babur170r:9)
- atım** 'distance of an arrow shot' (Babur151r:9)
- küçüm** 'strong' (NTM13r:11)

yolum 'wading place' (Babur30v:3)
atlam 'step' (KBV12v:6)
ölüm 'death' (Sayf58r:11)
tälim 'much, many' (MM191v:5)
tolum 'a leather bag' (NTM10v:1)
ulam 'continuously' (MM167v:17)
yarim 'half' (Sayf122v1)

3.1.5.1.14. The Suffix **-ma/-mä**

It forms verbal nouns that can denote concrete objects. The derivatives may also occur as adjectives.

qavurma 'fried meat' (PC412)
toğma 'birth' (Rabğ. 182,15)
isitma 'fever' (NTM14r:6)
egmä 'curve, curvature' (Rabğ. 444,23)
çalma 'turban' (NTM14r:8)
salma 'snare, noose' (NTM6v:11)
süzmä 'filtered or strained wine' (PdC356)
tegmä 'all' (MM181v:4)
toğma 'a slave born of a slave girl' (NTM13r:5)
yarma 'groats' (NTM13v:7)

3.1.5.1.15. The Suffix **-mač/-mäč**

Rare. It occurs mostly in names of food items.

qurmač 'dried cheese' (PdC427)
qoğrīmač 'roasted barley' (Kāšğ. Brock. 158)
bulamač 'a kind of flour soup' (Sang. 141r:19)
tutmač 'vermicelli' (Kāšğ. Brock. 221)

3.1.5.1.15. The Suffix **-maq/-māk**

It forms nouns to express classes of people, animals, parts of the body, plants, clothes and tools.

čarčarmaq 'children' (Kāšğ. Brock. 20)
udmaq 'servants, hunters' (Kāšğ. Brock. 226)
arğumaq 'sumpter horse' (NTM9r:7)
bursumaq 'badger' (Kāšğ. Brock. 44)
barmaq 'finger' (PdC146)
bašmaq 'shoe' (NTM90r:2)
boğmaq 'choker' (PdC172)
čaqmaq 'flintstone' (Kāšğ. Brock. 50)
örmāk 'web' (Vámb. Csp. 188,11)
qarmaq 'fishing hook' (MQ172,7)

sirmaq 'donkey saddle' (Kašġ. Brock. 180)
tävmaq 'hammer' (AḤ40v:10)
yašmaq 'women's veil' (PdC527)
qaymaq 'cream' (Sayf78r:2)
toqmaq 'mallet' (NTM13r:6)
soqmaq 'a narrow street' (NTM13r:3)
kimäk 'clay' (NTM4r:9)
etmäk 'bread' (NTM10r:2)
bilmäk 'awareness' (MM186v:7)
yemäk 'food' (MM194v:6)
qasmaq 'thick broth, gravy' (PdC405)
türmäk 'sweet dish' (Kašġ. Brock. 225)
yarmaq 'money' (NTM4v:5)

3.1.5.1.16. The Suffix -man/-män

It forms concrete nouns the very essence of which is associated with the activity expressed by the base verb.

čäkmän 'mantle, cloak' (Sayf186v, A5,6.)
teğirmän 'mill' (NTM9v:10)
köçmän 'nomad' (PdC464)
čüçümän 'rather sweet' (Babur285r:13)

3.1.5.1.17. The Suffix -miši/-miši

The derivatives are nouns, abstract and concrete.

qamlamiši 'a treating of a disease' (PdC409)
yasamiši 'arrangement' (PdC52)
yağlamiši 'a smearing with grease' (PdC52)
täğišmiši 'the offering up of a gift and prostrating before a king'
 (PdC217)
tamačamiši 'a state of anguish' (PdC217)
sögdämiši 'desire to rest' (PdC358)
qurmiši 'installation [of a machine]' (PdC428)
tägämiši 'quickness, hurry, presentation' (PdC216)

3.1.5.1.17. The Suffix -mtul/-mtül, imtul/-imtül, -umtul/-ümtül

Diminutive formants used with names of colors.

qizimtul 'reddish' (Mab. 87,17)
yašimtul 'greenish' (Mab. 87,17)
qaramtul 'blackish' (NF 191)
sarimtul 'yellowish' (Sang. 332v:27)
ağimtul 'whitish' (Sang. 44r:20)

3.1.5.1.18. The Suffix -n, -an

The derivatives are abstract nouns based on verbs. They are also used in concrete meaning.

- san** ‘number’ (MM184v:1)
- ađin** ‘other’ (MM185v:12)
- aqin** ‘torrent’ (Sayf183r:13)
- äkin** ‘sown area’ (MM188v:4)
- bigin** ‘groin, kidney’ (KBV4v:5)
- igrin** ‘whirlpool’ (PdC122)
- bütun** ‘whole’ (PdC163)
- öngin** ‘other’ (MM177v:4)
- yağrin** ‘shoulder blade’ (Sayf45r:3)
- tügün** ‘knot’ (RM20r:7)
- tütün** ‘smoke’ (Sayf38r:9)
- uzun** ‘long’ (RM34r:10)
- čibin** ‘fly’ (Sayf118v:5)
- qıran** ‘destruction’ (PdC445)
- tikän** ‘thorn’ (Sayf65r:6)
- äkin** ‘sown area’ (MM188v:4)
- tikin** ‘planted areas’ (MM188v:5)
- qulan** ‘wild horse’ (DN232v:5)
- oğlan** ‘son, child, youth’ (Sayf10r:13)
- ärän** ‘male’ (MM177r:15)
- tolun** ‘full’ (Sayf15r:13)

3.1.5.1.19. The Suffix -nč, -anč, -inč/-inč, -unč/-ünč

- qorqunč** ‘fear, danger’ (KBV39r:9)
- ökünč** ‘regret’ (MM193r:9)
- sevünč** ‘joy’ (Sang. 80r:11)
- ürkünč** ‘fright’ (PdC57)
- sökünč** ‘reproach’ (MQ54,14)
- qilünč** ‘deed, action’ (MA9,1)
- umanč** ‘hope’ (MA85,6)
- küvanč** ‘pride’ (PdC461)
- urunč** ‘bribe’ (MA115,5)
- sağünč** ‘haven’ (IM3r:7)

3.1.5.1.20. The Suffix -ng

The derivatives are adjectives and nouns.

- yalang** ‘bare’ (Sayf58r:2)
- özdäng** ‘beautiful; a mistress’ (Sayf 77v:1)
- yasang** ‘broad, wide’ (PdC526)

örüng ‘white; white surface’ (MM196v:3)

qaling ‘thick’ (KBV5v:25)

tösäng ‘carpet’ (NTM13v:2)

3.1.5.1.21. The Suffix **-raq/-räk**

It is added to adjectives to change [increase or decrease] a little the quality it indicates. It is also the grammatical marker of the comparative degree of adjectives [see 3.3.2.1.2.2.].

asahhraq ‘the most correct’ (MM184v:1)

aşağaraq ‘a little below’ (KBV13v:2)

azraq ‘a little’ (KBV19v:21)

‘azizräk ‘more precious’ (MM177r:1)

ädizräk ‘higher’ (‘AtH26,23)

başqaraq ‘aside, apart’ (Babur 113r:13)

qavıraq ‘more important’ (MM185v:3)

qışqaraq ‘a short summary’ (KBV11r:21)

yağşıraq ‘better’ (KBV19v:3)

yägräk ‘best’ (MM191r:16)

3.1.5.1.21. The Suffix **-saq/-säk**

Etymologically the derivatives are adjectives from verbs in **-sa/-sä**.

aqsaq ‘lame’ (NTM9r:5)

sarimsaq ‘garlic’ (PdC226)

tirsäk ‘elbow’ (MM180v:13)

bağirsaq ‘intestine’ (LA60)

yüksäk ‘high’ (MA23,6)

qursaq ‘stomach’ (MA232,7)

3.1.5.1.22. The Suffix **-si/-si**

tütsi ‘smoke’ (PdC222)

artuqsi ‘more than usual’ (Sayf26r:2)

ayruqsi ‘different’ (Sang. 57v:4)

yansi ‘side’ (MA167,2)

3.1.5.1.23. The Suffix **-siz/-siz**

The privative case marker in the nominal inflection [see 3.1.4.2.9]. The derivatives are often used as adjectives or, rarely, as nouns.

tügsiz ‘hairless’ (KBV20v:15)

balsiz ‘without honey’ (KBV20r:6)

sa‘adatsiz ‘unhappy’ (Sayf143r:9)

sağışsiz ‘countless’ (Sayf3r:4)

sansiz ‘immense’ (Sayf3r:4)

šakksiz ‘doubtless’ (Sayf99r:11)
qanatsiz ‘wingless’ (Sayf173v:1)
bānisiz ‘without a builder’ (MM178r:12)
hičābsiz ‘evident [< without a veil]’ (MM178r:8)
hatnasiz ‘uncircumcized’ (MM191r:13)
inābatsiz ‘unrepented’ (MM198v:7)
‘ilmsiz ‘without knowledge’ (MM186r:1)
nišansiz ‘without a sign’ (MM192v:14)
qariğsiz ‘shoreless’ (MM179r:3)
hacatsiz ‘having his wish unfulfilled’ (IM2v:3)
tübsüz ‘bottomless’ (MM179r:3)

Note: When in adjectival role this suffix may have a labial variant after syllables with round vowels. E.g.,

ta‘allumsuz ‘without learning’ (MM195r:13)
adabsuz ‘improperly [rendered service]’ (MM194v:1)
köçgüsüz ‘with no need to set off’ (MM197r:6)
yunuğsuz ‘without being in the state of ritual purity’ (MM181v:12)

3.1.5.1.24. The Suffix **-sizin/-sizin**

Extension of **-siz/-siz** with the instrumental **-in/–in** [see 3.1.4.2.8.]. Mostly the derivatives occur in adverbial role.

suwsizin ‘without water’ (KBV20v:17)
cānsizin ‘without life’ (MM197v:4)
nātāgliksizin ‘without similitudes’ (Sayf178r:11)
niyyatsizin ‘without having declared one’s intention’ (MM186v:6)
otruşsuzun ‘without performing the internal sitting’ (MM187v:5)
qirā’atsizin ‘without the recitation from the Qur’an’ (MM185r:10)
qulavuzsuzun ‘without a guide’ (MM193v:17)
yönsüzün ‘in disregard of one of the alternatives [i.e., turning one’s left or right cheek to the ground]’ (MM194r:16)
zarūratsizin ‘without being compelled’ (MM186r:14)

3.1.5.1.25. The Suffix **-suq/-sük**

tangsuq ‘wonderful, rare’ (Sayf73v:7)
bağirsuq ‘entrails, intestines’ (Sayf145r:4)
yüksük ‘thimble’ (PdC547)

3.1.5.1.26. The Suffix **-š**

Very productive. Formant of verbal nouns indicating the action itself or the result of the action. In modern Uzbek it is also the means to form the second infinitive from all four stems (see MLU 3.1.9.2.1.2.5.).

baqış ‘glance’ (Sayf127r:11)
billiř ‘friend, acquaintance’ (Sayf128v:6)
bitiř ‘growth’ (Sayf14v:7)
čapqulař ‘hand-to-hand combat’ (NTM15v:7)
keliř ‘coming’ (Sayf114v:3)
külüř ‘smile’ (Qutb, Zaj., 107)
oqřař ‘alike, similar’ (CCum 178)
otruř ‘sitting position in the ritual prayer’ (MM185r:6a)
öpüř ‘kiss’ (Sayf129r:6)
saqış ‘thought, idea’ (Sayf73v:1)
söküř ‘abuse’ (CCum.223)
toquř ‘fight’ (MM182v:2)
tutuř ‘always’ (MM198r:15)
uquř ‘understanding’ (MM196r:17)
uruř ‘war’ (NTM4r:3)
üküř ‘much, many’ (MM179r:10)
ülüř ‘part, portion’ (MM189v:8)
üwüř ‘wet’ (MM182r:14)
yarař ‘peace’ (NTM4r:3)

3.1.5.1.27. The Suffix -ři/-ři [-řu/-řü]

qarři ‘the opposite side’ (Sayf3v:5)
qıřlayıři ‘winter quarters’ (PdC449)
qonğři ‘neighbor’ (Sayf82v:12)
yağři [< yaq- ‘to please, appeal to’] ‘good’ (Sayf45v:7)

Note: **ulařu** ‘always’ (MM176v:12) is a gerund form of **ulař-** ‘[see 3.6.7.7.2.]’; **tutři** ‘often’ (Qutb188) is a derivative from **tutuř** ‘always’ [see above].

3.1.5.1.28. The Suffix -t, -ut/-üt

In most cases the derivative indicates the result of the action of the base verb.

alğut ‘tribute, requisition’ (PdC32)
ört ‘flame’ (PdC52)
art ‘narrow muntain pass’ (PdC11)
ögüt ‘advice’ (Qutb121)
qurut ‘dried milk curd’ (NTM10r:11)
uyat ‘shame’ (NTM15r:10)
yanut ‘answer’ (Qutb67)
uwut ‘shame’ (MM182v:11)

3.1.5.1.29. The Suffix -z

It forms names of objects that occur in pairs. Also, it creates abstract nouns from verbs. Some of these abstract nouns are also used as adjectives.

- ağiz** 'mouth' (Sayfv:12)
- boğaz** 'throught'(MM191r:5)
- boğuz** 'throat' (Sang. 136v:12)
- ikiz** 'twins' (MA129)
- keyiz** 'felt' (Qutb Hac., 4533)
- kiçigöz** 'small' (KBV11v:6)
- mängiz** 'face' (MM188r:18)
- müngüz** 'horn' (NTM12v:9)
- omuz** 'shoulder' (PdC81)
- öz** 'self' (MM179v:6)
- sämiz** 'fat' (Sayf10v:6)
- söz** 'word' (Sayf43r:4)
- tiz** 'knee' (MM180v:18)
- uz** 'skillful' (Sayf105v:2)
- yätiz** 'perfectly correct' (MM191r:13)

3.1.5.1.30. The Suffix -vul, -avul

Mongolian suffix applied to Turkish bases.

- yangavul** 'flanker' (ML p.24)
- qaravul** 'guard' (ML p.24)
- çapavul** 'raid' (Sang. 271v:15)
- yortavul** 'raider' (Sang. 342v:8)
- yasavul** 'executive officer' (NTM5:6)
- çindavul** 'rear guard' (NTM14v:8)
- sözavul** 'herald' (ML p.24)

3.1.5.1.31. The Suffix -sa/-sä

- engsä** 'nape' (KBV6v:1)
- umsa** 'hope' (KB66v:10)
- böksä** 'waist' (PdC173)
- ölüksä** 'corpse' (Sang.86v:7)
- yälpisä** 'fan' (MA97,8)

3.1.5.2. Formation by Prefixes

Together with loan words from classical Persian elements of word formation were borrowed into Chagatay. Most of them were restricted to Persian materials, some, however, spread over to Turkish words.

3.1.5.2.1. The Prefix ham-

It indicates coexistence, joint agents, people sharing the same view.

- hamāvāz** 'speaking in the same tone' (DN262r:)
- hamdam** 'companion' (Sayf119v:9)
- hamdost** 'partner' (DN259v:2)
- hamdard** 'partner in sorrow' (NIV148)
- hamnafas** 'confidant' (GD91:2)
- hamnišin** 'companion' (GD111:4)
- hamrūh** 'an intimate friend' (GD49:2)
- hamzabān** 'of the same language' (NIV149)
- hamsāya** 'neighbor' (ShD135r:1)
- hamrah** 'fellow traveller' (ShD42r:1)
- hamraz** 'close friend' (ShD103v:8)
- hamshūbat** 'friend, companion' (ShD124r:13)

3.1.5.2.2. The Prefix sar-

It indicates top quality, highest rank, first position.

- sarab** 'fountainhead' (MM196r:11)
- sarāgāz** 'prelude' (NIII54)
- sarancām** 'conclusion' (ShD86r:2)
- sarbāz** 'soldier' (Sayf45v:9)
- sarḥwaš** 'drunk' (Sayf55r:13)
- sarfitna** 'ringleader' (GD37:1)
- sarmāya** 'capital' (ShD170v:12)
- sarmast** 'very drunk' (ShD145v:2)
- sarvaqt** 'bed' (Sayf12v:10)
- sarvar** 'preeminent' (MM176v:14)
- sarmanzil** 'the first station' (GD76:5)

3.1.5.2.3. The Prefix šāh-, šah

It indicates, excellence of kind, superiority in quality or rank, uniqueness.

- šāhbāz** 'royal falcon' (ShD128r:3)
- šāhpar** 'the longest feather in a bird's wing' (NIII517)
- šāhbait** 'the royal distich of a ghazal' (NIII544)
- šāhrah** 'main road' (ShD81v:9)
- šāhsuvar** 'an excellent horseman' (ShD26v:12)

3.1.5.3. Formation of Nouns by Composition

Nouns formed by composition generally consist of two elements. Depending on the relationship of these elements to one another and to the referent they relate to we distinguish two kinds of compound words.

3.1.5.3.1. Determinative Compounds

In compounds of this type one element, mostly the first, determines [specifies, describes] the other. The derivative includes the thing referred to. It is within the semantic boundary of the word. E.g.,

čašmašar 'fountain' (DN 249v:10)

dastgāh 'seat' (DN 257v:6)

gulbarg 'rose-leaf' (DN 270r:6)

šabnam 'dew' (GD41:3)

abroy n. 'honor, dignity' (DN253r:10)

3.1.5.3.2. Possessive [Bahuvrihi] Compounds

As in determinative compounds one element specifies the other. The derivative, however, refers to a thing outside the compound elements. Compounds of this group can be divided in three classes:

3.1.5.3.2.1. The first element is a noun, the second, and adjective. E.g.,

dilḥasta 'a broken-hearted person' (GD18,6)

diltang n. 'someone with a sad heart' (DN270r:5)

ḥātirparēšan n. 'one who is distressed in mind' (Ḥ81v:10)

3.1.5.3.2.2. Both elements are nouns. E.g.,

maḥabbapeša 'one whose profession is caring love' (DN257r:4)

'anbarsar n. 'ambergrishead' (DN262v:11)

gulandām n. 'a slender, delicate person' (DN 269r:11)

gulrang n. 'rose-colored' (GD110-5)

gul'izar n. 'rose-cheeked' (GD110:27:4)

gulruḥsar 'rose-faced' (GD173:4)

māhpaykar n. '[a beloved] whose face is like the moon' (258r:5)

sarvqāmat n. '[a beloved] straight like a cypress' (DN249v11)

sarvqadd n. 'cypress-bodied [beloved]' (Ḥ77v:4)

šabrang n. 'a dark bay horse [of the color of the night]' (DN270r:5)

šakarlab n. 'sweet-tongued' (Ḥ78v:3)

3.1.5.3.2.3. The first element is an adjective, the second, a noun. E.g.,

pakdīn n. 'adherent of the pure faith' (Ḥ79r:11)

parēšanrozgār n. 'one who is afflicted with troubles' (DN270r:5)

šafmašrab n. 'innocent' [< he whose drink is pure'] (DN258r:7)

šābitqadam n. 'steadfast' ['he who walks firmly'] (GD192:4)

tangrozi n. 'a person whose subsistence, allotted by Providence is scanty' (DN 252r:11)

farḥunda-sur 'one whose company is auspicious' (DN262r:10)

farḥunda-maqdam 'one whose arrival is auspicious' (DN248v:9)

Note: Many Persian derivative suffixes were borrowed into Chaga. Since they form, mostly, adjectives, [which then may occur as nouns], list them in the section on formation of adjectives. [see 3.3.]

3.2. Postpositions

Postpositions play a significant role in Chagatay literary expression. Their function is similar to the case forms. An important difference between two categories is that postpositions are expanding at the expense of case forms, overlapping with them or taking over their grammatical role.

3.2.1. Primary Postpositions

3.2.1.1. With the Nominative Case

Most postpositions take their complements in the nominative case. Their complement can take the plural marker, but in most cases, nothing comes between it and the postpositions.

3.2.1.1.1. The Postposition *ara* ‘into, with’

Çu aldî nāmanî elin uzatıp, alurda muşk ara şandalnî qa (DN251v:9) ‘When she took the letter reaching for it with her hand, she added sandal fragrance to the scent of musk.’

Kim alip tur ağızğa gök terin, bilip tur husn ara şakarnî ş (DN 257v: 2) ‘He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth appreciates in beauty the sweetness of sugar.’⁵³

Çu kördi nāmanî mihr etti ihsās, qatışturdi eli qunduz ar (DN258r:4) ‘When that sun set eyes on the letter, she anticipated [what its message was]. Her hand added the white of the ermine [fur] to the gray color of the beaver.’

3.2.1.1.2. The postposition *bigin* ‘like’

Közüm yaşı bigin tofraqqa tüştüm, Ĥudāra salmağil meni na *din.* (ShD122r:10-11) ‘Like the tears of my eyes I dropped the dust. For God’s sake, do not cast me away from your sight.’

Ki, nargisgā ol köz salğuçı dur, tili susan bigin söz salğuçı (DN254r:4) ‘The tongue of the person who has cast a glance at jasmine will speak like the water lily.’⁵⁴

⁵³ Allusion to the Sufi tenet: *Balā qađğu yutğu sazā bolğuğa. Tālim tatğu açığ maza bulğuğa.* (199r:14) ‘You must bear affliction and misery [just as you must bear the bitterness of medicine that you may be worthy [of His Love]. You will have to taste much bitterness to find a tasty medicine.’

⁵⁴ I.e., it will be silent.

Yaşı daryā bigin har yanı barip, içidin ‘umr açığını çıxarip. (DN 246v:9) ‘His tears like a big river [that burst its banks] ran in all directions bringing forth from his inside the bitterness of life.’

3.2.1.1.3. The postposition *bilā, bilān* ‘with, together with’

Labing tuttum ki bermās ihtiyārī, köngülñi asrağil til bilā bārī. (DN244v:3) ‘I understand⁵⁵ that your lips do not grant any options. Sooth the heart at least with words.’⁵⁶

Qiliban muşknī ol ‘anbarin meng, cihān içrā qara tofrağ bilān teng. (DN243v:8) ‘That ambergris-scented mole reduced [the value of] the musk to [that of] common clay in the [entire] world.’

Dedi, “Ol bēnava bulbul ne ištā, ki boldī ğam bilān canī sirišta. (DN252r:4) ‘What happened to that destitute nightingale that his life was molded with sorrow.’

Bāslānding aning süti bilā dağī ulğayding mānim qatimda. (Sayf 15v:5) ‘You were nourished with her milk, and grew up in my presence.’

3.2.1.1.4. The Postposition *birlā, birlān* ‘with, together with’

Bitidi nāma altun suyi birlān, vafā u mihr, rasm u hūyi birlān. (DN259r:2) ‘She wrote a letter with golden ink, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.’

Manga körgüzmasün Tengri ħwad ol kün, ki tofrağ birlā bir bolğay zalalim. (DN242r:7) ‘May God never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with common dust.’

Havā birlān havas rāyina bargān, zalālat makr va alindin qararğan. (DN239v:8) ‘With expectation he follows the judgment of passion. [His face] is turning black⁵⁷ as a result of tricks and ruses of aberration.’

Uşol damda yātiştilār ikāvlān, kirip bardī atasī birlā oğlan. (H 77r:1) ‘Soon they arrived. Father and son entered [by the gate].’

3.2.1.1.5. The Postposition *dek* ‘exactly like’

It is related to the suffix *-teg* of the comparative case [see 3.1.4.2.11]. Most of the time it is spelled separately from the word or phrase it belongs to. E.g.,

⁵⁵ Definite past tense indicates the result of a past action [see 3.6.4.3.].

⁵⁶ Lit., with the tongue

⁵⁷ Sign of disgrace.

Kim qazā yātkändä nādān dek bolurlar azkiyā. (BH16r:3) ‘For when the Divine Decree manifests itself, the wise will be ignorant.’

‘**İlm erür kündüz va cāhil dur qarangu keçā dek.** (BH20r:3) ‘Knowledge is [like] daylight, ignorance, like the dark of night.’

Kim zumurad dek emäs har neçā sabz olğay giya. (BH15r:9) ‘Just as grass will never be equal to emerald although it, too, is green.’⁵⁸

Şubḥ-i ‘ālam dek munavvar ham künāş dek bāşafā. (BH18v:8). ‘It illuminates the word like the dawn. [It is] also serene and pure like the sun.’

Qizil gul dek yüzüngüz za‘farān dek açilğanda bolup dur sän hazān dek. (H78v:5) ‘Your face like red rose now is like saffron. In the season of blooming you are like autumn.’

Va tağlar reg-i ravān dek bolğay, ya‘nī uşaq qumlar dek. (RM 36r-10-36v1) ‘When the mountains will become like shifting sand, that is fine grains of sand...’

Şafaq dek köz yaşidin bādapaymāy, tanidin körgüzüp har kün yāngi ay. (DN259r:9). ‘A wine-drinker consuming his tears red like the color of the dawn. [The One] who, through his body, shows the new moon every day.’

Note: A pronoun base must be in the genitive case:

Mening dek ay kök üstidä yoq tur, bu kün kör kim ne yergä yätti ḥalim. (DN242r:6) ‘There is no moon like me in the sky. Look today to what level my rank has risen.’

3.2.1.1.6. The Postposition *icrā* ‘in, within, into’

Qiliban muşknī ol ‘anbarīn meng, cihan icrā qara tofrağ bilān teng. (DN243v:8) ‘That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced the [the value of the] musk to [that of the] common clay in the [entire] world.’

Kim bu gulşan icrā tapti bulbul-i ṭab‘im navā. (BH22r:4) ‘When in this garden the nightingale--my inspiration--hit upon a melody.’

Har biri icrā fikr qilğay miz. (MS3r:5) ‘We will consider each one.’

Salip şahr icrā ‘işq āvāzasini, ačip yüzigā ğam darvāzasini. (DB 240r:1) ‘He spreads the rumor about [his] love all over the town. He opens the gate of sorrow before his face.’⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Lit., no matter how green it is

Sening kōyungdīn, ay kōrk icrā bāgim, bašim gar barsa barmağay ayağim (DN244v:5) ‘From your quarter, O, My Flowergarden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.’

Yüzüng hāli salip ot icrā filfil, fusūn qılmaqqā açip lablaring til. (DN244r:3) ‘The mole of your face sprinkles pepper upon the fire and your lips open the tongue to perform magic’

3.2.1.1.7. The Postpositions ilā, ilān ‘with, together with; and’

Šar^c ilā zāhiri arāsta dur, ğayrdīn bāfini pērāsta dur. (RB9v:3) ‘[Join the group of those] whose behavior is governed by the Law and whose heart is cleansed from other [than God].’

Husn ilā hālıq ara fašana durur, kim ki kōrsā anī dēvāna durur. (RB6v:3) ‘For his beauty he is a legend among the people. Whoever beholds him, becomes a madman.’

Haqq ta^calā sevār anī ki mudām kiši Haqq cānibīğa subh ilā šām. (RB3v:8) ‘God, the Most High, loves the person who always, morning and evening, has his face turned toward Him.’

Taşavvur mantıqin cōn qıldı taşdıq, bitidi nāmae lutf ilā ta^clıq. (DN246v:1) ‘When he verified [with his heart] the logic of [his] imagination, he wrote a letter with graceful characters.’

Gar sorar sen yazuğumni ‘adl ilā vā ḥasratā. (BH6v:4) ‘If, by exercising your harsh justice, you ask me to render account of my sins, woe is me.’

Bar durur kündüz bilān kečā sabah ilān masā. (BH15v:10) ‘Day is followed by night, morning by evening.’

Dōst birlān yağšiliq ḥwaş, duşman ilān yağširaq. (BH13v:9) ‘To treat a friend well is meritorious, to treat an enemy well is even better.’

Note: A pronoun base must be in the genitive case:

Aning ilā yoq qılır va aning ilā bar qılır. (BH13r:14) ‘With [that Power] He annihilates and creates.’

3.2.1.1.8. The Postpositions kebi, kābi, kābin ‘like’, ‘as’

Kečālār bīdār bol ancum kebi uyquni qoy. (BH16v:5) ‘At night be vigilant. Like the stars, refrain from sleep.’

⁵⁹ I.e., He surrenders to sorrow.

Yangi ayni kim qilur ay başida sayqal kebi. (BH3v:9) ‘Who, at the beginning of the month, makes the new moon [the shape of] a whetstone?’

Ay Şabānī, nay kābin har şubhdam qilgūl navā. (BH12r:11) O Shabānī, like a reed, sing [of the sorrow of separation] every morning.⁶⁰

3.2.1.1.9. The Postposition sarī ‘toward’

Yüzini qibla sarī qilip du^ā qilgay dep turlar. (RM45v:9-46r:1) ‘And it is recommended that he face the Qibla while he is praying.’
Andin song bir bir mangip masjid sarī bargay. (RM15r-5-6) ‘Then he should leave [his house] and[,with the other worshipers,] in a single file [at once] set off for the mosque.’

Hāssa ol kişigā bermāk yārī ki tavaccuh anga bar Haqq sarī. (RB3v:6) ‘You should help especially those people whose attention is directed to God.’

Tüzālmāsūn yüzüm dīn qiblasina, gar özgā sarī bolsa rōy u rāhīm. (DN257v:9) ‘My face should not turn to the Qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.’

Āşna i^ç sarī taş begāna bu ravişca raviş olmas yana. (RB6r:6) ‘The Friend [invited] in the stranger [kept] out: There is no better [principle of] behavior than this.’

Turup maktab sarī boldi ravāna, yürāklārī firāq otīga yana. (H 75v:8) ‘He got up and set out for the school, his heart burning in the fire of separation.’

Note: (1) A pronoun base must be in the genitive case:

Özüngni qilma asru bē sar-u barg, kim egilmās sening sarī nihālīm. (DN 242r:4) ‘Do not feel too upset just because my branches do not bend toward you.’

(2) Rarely, the pronoun base stays in the nominative case:

Nazar ança ki bu sarī dur, bil, köngli közgüsü ğubārī dur, bil. (RB3v:12) ‘To the extent that his attention is directed to them, they are dust that covers the mirror that his heart is, know full well.’

(3) Sarī may take the dative case ending:

İcāzat bar mu? dep Qābizgā aydī, uşal maktab sarīga barsa, dedi. (H78r11) ‘The Prophet asked Qabiz, the Soultaker, “Will you grant him permission to return to school.”’

⁶⁰ Reference to the opening lines of Rūmī’s *Maşnavī*.

3.2.1.1.10. The Postposition *şifat* ‘like’

Yā naḥl bigin saḥī kerāk er, yā sarv şifat hamēša āzād. (Sayf 177v:8) ‘A person must be either generous like the palmtree, or always uncommitted like the cypress.’⁶¹

Men yigirmi altı yaşda savda qıldım, Mansūr şifat dīdār üçün ğavġa qıldım. (AY p.72) ‘At the age of twenty-six I became mad in love. I was shouting like Mansūr⁶² for the vision [of God].’

Qulni körsäm hizmet qilip quli boldum, tofrağ şifat yol üstidä yoli boldum. (AY p.106) ‘When I saw a slave, I became his slave and served him, like dust I was his road upon the road.’

3.2.1.1.11. The Postposition *tapa* ‘facing; toward, in the direction of’

Qaçtı Ḥabaş çäriġi ‘adam qal‘asī tapa. (Sayf181r:11) ‘The army of Ethiopia fled toward the fortress of annihilation.’⁶³

Kişi kim kök tapa taş atsa. (Qutb p.167) ‘The person who throws stones toward the sky.’

Zikirdin zākırġa bu uns açlur ol, bu unsdin tafakkur tapa kăclür ol. (MM198v:12) ‘Recollection makes intimacy accessible to the Recollector. From intimacy he progresses to contemplation.’

Basa qabrġa yaqın kelġandä, kafşni yā sarmōzanī çiqarip ölüġnüng yüzi tapa, ḥurmat bilä andağ olturġay kim aning tirigligidä olturġan bolġay. (RM45r:9-45v:2). ‘And upon reaching the tomb, they should remove their shoes or overshoes and sit down facing the dead with the same respect that they used to demonstrate when these deceased were alive.’

3.2.1.1.12. The Postposition *teg* ‘like’

In Chagatay the combination of this postposition with the base noun was already on the way of becoming a case form [see3.1.4.2.11]. Cf., MLU 3.1.8.8.

Hameša saya teg küġgä mulāzim bolup erişmäki boynına lāzim. (DN258v:1) ‘She is always in attendace to the sun, like a shadow. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].’

Ĝamimdin gar desä içimdäki daġ, bulut teg yiġlaġay ün tartıban daġ. (DN256v:10) ‘If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.’

⁶¹ The cypress is “free” (*āzād*) because it does not bear fruit.

⁶² Mansur Hallaj (858-922)

⁶³ It was dawning.

Meni sen körmägäy sen özgä hargiz, **pari teg** közüngä uçqay camālim. (DN242r:2) ‘You will never see me in any other way. Like a fairy, my beauty will fly into your eyes.’⁶⁴

Muḥammad Ḥwāca beg ol kim ‘**Alī teg** üküš cavlān qılur may-dān içindä. (MN295r:2) ‘[He is] Muḥammad Ḥwāca Beg, the one, who like ‘Alī, displays his skills very often on the battle field.’

Sahrā yeli teg ‘umr baqāsı keçti. (Sayf41v:4) ‘The rest of [our] lives has past like the desert wind.’

Käyiklär teg kezip etip cıgar ḥün, ğamı tağ va qızıl yaşı ṭabar-ḥün. (DN259v:3) ‘He is strolling like a deer absorbed in thoughts. His sorrow is a mountain, his tears, the fruit of the jujube [tree].’⁶⁵

3.2.1.1.13. The Postposition *üçün* ‘for, for the sake of’

İs̄arat qıl samanğa kim açılsun, nis̄ar üçün diram yanglıĝ saçıl-sun. (DN266v:6) ‘Order the jasmine to open and spread like silver coins scattered in a feast.’

Biti tek emdi tariḥini k̄atib, erür tariḥi üçün zabṭı vācib. (DN 271v:5) ‘Mark right now the date, copyist: to preserve the date it is necessary to put it on record.’

Taqi Bizing qaşimızda muhayyā’ turur kafirilar üçün dardnāk ‘azablar. (RM36r:5-7) ‘And We have with Uş and ready harrowing tortures for the kāfirs.’

‘**İsq üçün** Ādam ata bir cav bahāna qıldı bil. (BH11v7) ‘Know that for the sake of love Adam, our father, disobeyed God on the matter of a grain of wheat.’

Qoy dāĝül çubān üçün ay zū-funūn, balki çubān qoylara ḥidmat üçün. (Sayf40r:11) ‘The sheep are not for the sake of the shepherd O, Master, but the shepherd is for serving the sheep.’

Note: A pronoun base must be in the genitive case:

Aning üçün barça mursallargä boldi pēšvā. (BH10r:10) ‘That is why he is the leader of all messengers.’

3.2.1.1.14. The Postposition *üzä* ‘on, upon’

Qurup çimgän üzä šāhāna ḥoş taht. (Quṭb p.204) ‘They put up a royal throne on the grass.’

⁶⁴ You cannot help noticing my beauty.

⁶⁵ I.e., red

Ur tofraq üzä iki elgin. (MS9r:1) ‘Touch [< hit upon] the soil with two hands.’

Habar bärdi Allāh kalāmī bizä: Tayammum qiling tep ariğ yer üzä. (MM183r:7) ‘God’s Words have informed us: “Perform the tayammum upon clean soil.”’

Halq-i cihān maskan üçün hāk erür. Yattim esä yer üzä ne bāk erür? (AC325v:2) ‘To obtain a dwelling place, the people of this world humiliate themselves to the ground. What harm, then, if I too lie on the ground?’

Küyäv egni üzä qizning ayağı. (Sayf138v:2) ‘The girl’s legs are upon the shoulders of the bridegroom.’

3.2.1.1.15. The Postposition üzrā ‘on, upon’

Tengri qudrat birlä bir kavkab yazar kök üzrā kim tört yüz ming yilda bir zahir bolur gardün ara. (BH9r:11) ‘God, with His Power, draws a star on the [surface of the] sky. Once every four hundred thousand years [such a star] appears on the heavenly sphere.’

Qanatin yaydi kök üzrā havāşil, firāğ-i bāl ulusqa boldi hāşil. (DN267v:3) ‘The pelican spread its wings in the sky and a time of leisure was granted to the people.’

Top-tola kördi malā’ik mavc üzrā favc favc. (BH9r-7) ‘He saw many angels in hosts above the waves.’

3.2.1.1.16. The Postposition yangliğ, yangliq ‘like, similar to’

Sanga tegmäs ki mihrimdin dam ursang, özüngni zarra yangliğ bar ham ursang. (DN240v:7) ‘It is not for you to brag about your love for me, to throw yourself around like a speck of dust.’

Çiqayın yer içidin nala yangliq, kafanni qanğa bulğap lala yangliq. (DN244v:11) ‘Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulips.’

Ravza yangliğ husn bağida yangağı nār erür. (Sayf180v:12) ‘In the garden of beauty which is like the garden of paradise, her cheeks are [reddish] like the pomegranate.’

İkki ruhsarı erdi mah yangliğ. (H73v:2) ‘His two cheeks were like the moon.’⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Split into two halves by the Prophet when he needed two witnesses to prove that he was the true messenger.

Körüp bir gulni yel yangliġ erišmä, savurmaġil köngülning röz-garin. (DN254v:6) ‘Beholding a rose do not rush there like the wind. Do not scatter the household of the of heart.’

Note: The pronoun base [only demonstratives occur] is in the nominative case when followed by **yangliġ**. E.g.,

Kim ki ešitsä bu yangliġ sözni, tapġusı dur anga mā^{il} özni. (RB 6v:5) ‘A person who hears such words about him will surely find himself attracted to him.’

Ušbu yangliġ tartibi ‘alamda ayġil kim qilur. (BH5v:11) ‘Tell me, who in this world can prepare such a compound?’

3.2.1.2. With the Genitive Case

Most of the postpositions that occur with nouns in the nominative case, take pronouns, demonstrative or personal, in the genitive case. See **dek**, **ilä**, **kebi**, **sarı**, **üçün** above.

3.2.1.3. With the Ablative Case [see 3.1.4.2.7.7.]

3.2.1.3.1. The Postposition **burna** ‘before’

huftan namazidin burna (MS15:3) ‘before the night prayer’
zavaldin burna ‘before noon’ (MS15r:3)

3.2.1.3.2. The Postposition **burun** ‘before’

Agar tang yaqin bolsa, vitr namazini tahaccuddin burun oqu-ğay. (RM17v:3-4) ‘If dawn arrives early, he should perform the witr before the tahajjud prayer.’

Haqq ta‘ala barca ašyani yaratmasdin burun. (BH5r:8) ‘Before God, the Most High created all things.’

Note: **Burun** may also occur as adverb in the sense of ‘earlier, before’ as in ShD64r:3 (together with **oza** ‘formerly’, known also in Khorazmī’s *Muḥabbat-nāma* 293v:9)

3.2.1.3.3. The Postposition **cudā** ‘separated from’

Ay Šabāni ol moġul hacring köngüldä saqlaġil, näyläsün andin cudā könglüm ara şabr va şikeb. (ShD22v:1) ‘O, Šabāni, keep in your heart your separation from that Moghul beauty. Without it why would I have tolerance and patience in my heart.?’

Ham ‘alā’iq ham ḥalā’iq dunyā sevmäkdin cudā. (BH3r:3)
‘Separated from family, people, and love for this world.’

3.2.1.3.4. The Postposition öng ‘before’

Barçadın öng qilmış erdi Muştafanın rūḥinī. (BH5r:6) ‘Before all else the Eminent and Excellent Lord created the Spirit of Mustafā.’

Yemäkdin öng äl yup taqı songra ham. (MM194v:8) ‘Wash your hands before eating and also after.’

Note: The postposition **öng** ‘before, prior to’ is also used with the locative case (see 3.2.1.6.2).

3.2.1.3.5. The Postposition öngin ‘other than; except’

Biling lä iläha temäk ne bolur: İdidin öngin yoq çığay bay qılır. (MM177v:3) ‘You must know what *lä iläha* means. [It means that] no one save the Lord makes one poor or rich.’

Tişilär ayası taqı yüzidin öngin bilgü ‘avrat tükäl özidin. (MM 180v:16) ‘Know that all parts of a woman’s body except the palms of her hand and her face are considered pudenda.’

Note: The phrase **ıdidin öngin** occurs also as the technical term for *mā sivā’llāh* ‘other than God’ and can take the ablative case ending. E.g.,

İdidin öngindin yüzün äwrübän, ıdı utru kullı äwürmäk yüzi. (MM179r:12) ‘One must turn away from everything other than God, and orient oneself entirely to Him.’

3.2.1.3.6. The Postposition özgä ‘other than’

Manga yoq tur figärē sendin özgä, sanga yoq tur nigärē mendin özgä. (DN253v:5) ‘I do not have a sore wound other than you, you do not have a sweetheart, other than me.’

Sendin özgä yoq turur ‘alamda Raḥmān u Raḥīm. (BH7r:2) ‘Other than you, there is in this world no Beneficent One, no Merciful One.’

Ol ḥatun kirdi ersä, tutup, öpüp, cimä’din özgä qılğanlarnı qıldı. (RM24r:2-3) ‘When the woman entered [his store], he took hold of her, kissed her, and did everything with her short of having intercourse.’

İlahi sendin özgä yoq panāhim, isinip həzratingda çıqtı āhim. (DN 271v:6) ‘My God, I have no refuge other than you, assiduous in your service I sigh.’

3.2.1.3.7. The Postposition song ‘after’

Uyğandin song, çön tüz olturğay, bu du‘anı oquğay. (RM11r:5) ‘After awakening, when he sits up, he should recite the following prayer.’

Basa vitr namāzini tahaccuddin song oquğay. (RM17v:1-2). ‘And he should perform the vitr prayer after the tahajjud prayer.’

Bu kündän song bu işdin tavba etkil, qilip eygü ‘amal cannatkä ketgil. (Sayf139r:2) ‘Starting today repent and give up this thing, do good deeds and go to Paradise.’

Musafirning ahvāli bilmäk sorup salām sufradin song erür olturup. (MM194v:3) ‘One must learn a traveler’s condition by asking him about it after the reception meal, while the company is still seated.’

Note: The postposition **song** ‘after’ is also used with the locative case (see 3.2.1.6.3).

3.2.1.3.8. The Postposition songra ‘after’

Ol hərāmilar mağribdän songra kelip qāfila urup māl va ni‘mat ketürdilər. (Sayf12v:6-7). ‘After sunset the highway robbers came, attacked the caravan and took away merchandise and goods.’

Nafydin songra ki bar illa’İlah, munda yetgädä eşit bu dur rāh. (RB7v:10) ‘After the negation comes [the phrase] but God. When you reach this point here is how [you should proceed]. Listen well!’

Bu kündin songra açıldı cihāning, savuq day çillasidin çıqtı cāning (DN266r:5) ‘From this day on your world is in bloom; your life is out of the fourty day cold.’

Bir neçä kündän songra kördi kim halq aning üstünä yığilip turur. (Sayf88v:2) ‘A few days later he saw that people were gathering around [the beggar].’

3.2.1.1.9. The Postposition taş ‘outside of’

Alta farzdur biling namāzdin taş. (MS10r:6) ‘There are six mandatory duties outside the prayer.’

3.2.1.4. With the Dative Case [see 3.1.4.2.5.9.]

3.2.1.4.1. The Postposition oħšař ‘like, similar to’

Va ba^çzining hay’atini namazda olturğan kiřilärgä oħšař ħalq qilip turur--tağlar va tařlar dek kim bir yerdä olturup tebrän-mäy tasbiħ ayturlar. (RM27v:5-8) ‘And the appearance of others --such as mountains and rocks, which stay in one place and do not move--He has created so that they resemble people who are performing the sitting in the prayer and are saying the tasbiħ.’
 Firäqında keçär har keçä yel teg tanim belimgä oħšař boldi qil teg. (DN259v:9) ‘Separated from me he strolls like breeze every night. He has become like a [single] hair, resembling my body and my waist.’

3.2.1.4.2. The Postposition qarřu, qarři ‘opposite to, facing; toward’

Ani ol aqar suwğa qarřu yüritgäy sän. (KBV63v:17) ‘Make it [the horse] walk against the current of that river.’
 Banafša boynin egdi gulğa qarři, açip ‘abhar közin sunbulgä qarři. (Sayf3v:5) ‘The violet bowed to the rose [and] the jasmine opened its eyes to the hyacinth.’

3.2.1.4.3. The postposition tegrü ‘until’

Neçägä tegrü sorar sen mendin emdi bu ħabar. (BH9v:8) ‘Now, how long will you keep asking me about this [journey]?’
Sahargä tegrü namazğa turur edi. (Sayf62r:4) ‘He was at his prayers until morning.’
Ançağa tegrü eygü ating ħayr üzä qalip sözlänsän el tilindä cihänning dilävari. (Sayf182v:3) ‘Until that time your name will survive with good attributes and you will be called the valiant hero of this world.’

3.2.1.5. With the Locative Case

3.2.1.6.1. The Postposition kedın ‘after’

Yarimi kim qalur ayağing yu. Anda kedın tamām bolur bu vüzü^ç. (MS7v:5) ‘With the half that remains, wash your feet. This done [< after this] the vüzü^ç is complete.’

Cihānī Ḥaqq yaratmışdın kedin. (Qutb294) ‘After God created this world.’

Yaqin bir temisdä ikinçin yätür, taqī anda kedin tašahhud kätür. (MM184r:14) ‘If you are sure about one do the second and than perform the tašahhud.’⁶⁷

Uš emdidän kedin bel bağlağayın. (Qutb153) ‘From now on we will make a great effort [in our service].’

3.2.1.6.2. The Postposition öng ‘before’ (see 3.2.1.3.4.)

Asiğ qılmas ol köp ökünç yesä song, är ol kim ongarsa için munda öng. (MM193r:9) ‘To have regrets when it is too late is of no avail. The [wise] man rectifies his condition while there is still time.’

Munung orta otrušta öng birisi, taqī bir songinça, ay šāhibhudā. (MM185r:6a) ‘One of these recitations should be performed before the internal sitting, the other one after it, O Well-guided One!’

3.2.1.6.3. The Postposition song [see 3.2.1.3.7.]

Song otrušta qadru’t-tašahhudda song ketür ikki sacda, cavāb uš, sa’il. (MM183v:4) ‘In the last sitting position after a time as long as is required to pronounce the testimony formula, make two prostrations.’

3.2.2. Secondary Postpositions

Secondary postpositions are nouns with a possessive suffix [mostly 3d person singular] in the nominative, locative, ablative or dative cases. The base noun is in the nominative, less frequently, in the genitive case. Pronoun bases, with a few exemption, are in the genitive case. No sentence elements can come between the base and the secondary postposition, irrespective whether the base is in the genitive or in the nominative case. Secondary postpositions are preferred in Chagatay. Some of them have already replaced traditional case forms.

3.2.2.1. The Postposition allıda ‘in front of, at the head of’

Banafša saçing allıda açılmay, uyattin başını yuqarı qılmay. (DN 250r:10) ‘The sweet violet does not bloom in the presence of your hair. Out of shame it does not raise its head.’

⁶⁷ I.e., pronounce the testimony formula

Čarignig allida Sultān ‘Alī bin Musā Riza erdilär. (RM 5v:6-7) ‘Sultan ‘Alī bin Musā Riza was at the head of the army.’

Maša’ih-i kibārdin köp kişi alarning allida kelip erdilär. (RM 5v:7-8) ‘Many distinguished sheikhs came up to him.’

Ču qoysang ol harāb allida gāmē bitigni tez tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN 246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that wretched [person] give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.’

Tilādi ašūğup allida šabrang, vidā‘ē körgüzüp atlandi diltang. (DN270r:5) ‘Wasting no time she asked for her dark bay horse, bade good-bye, and, with a sad heart, mounted [her horse].’

Note: (a) The pronoun head must be in the genitive case:

Mening allimda sāning amanatig bar bu kün. (RM8r:6-7). ‘Today [, the Day of Resurrection,] I have with me a letter of exemption concerning you.’

(b) Idiom: **allida tilā-** ‘to summon’

Tilādi allida tinnmay šabāni, bitigni berdi va tēz etti anī. (DN 246v:3) ‘She summoned the Morning Wind to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it off right away.’

3.2.2.2. The Postposition **allidin** ‘from, from the presence of’

Amiri allidin tā ötti ol zulf, nesimidin mušavvaš dur dimāği. (DN 239r:6) ‘Since those tresses swept by Amiri’s face, the breeze they generated perplexed his brain.’

3.2.2.3. The Postposition **arasi(n)da** ‘among; between’

Sacda ikki kaffing arasida qil. (MS13r:4) ‘Perform the prostration between the palms of your hands.’

Farz bilā sunnat arasida. (RM14v:9) ‘Between the farz and sunna [rak‘ats].’

Padšahlaring arasinda män oq tur män gadā. (BH11r:11) ‘Among kings, I alone am a beggar.’

Čahillär ara ‘alim oltursa anga oħšar, bir šam‘-i munavvar dur közsüzlär arasinda. (Sayf170v:9-10) ‘If a learned man sits among the ignorant, it is like lit candle among the blind.’

3.2.2.4. The Postposition **dargāhingā** ‘to the presence of’

Ikki ‘ālamda sāning dargāhīngā keldi bu qul. (BH2v:6) ‘[Seeking security] in the Two Worlds [I,] your slave, have come to your court.’

3.2.2.5. The Postposition dargāhīnda ‘in the presence of’

Qılmadim men hēç iş şāyista dargāhīnda män. (BH18:1) ‘I have not produced anything worthy [of presenting] at your court.’

3.2.2.6. The Postposition eli(n)din ‘because’ [Persian *az dast-i*]

Nafs elidin män za‘if män hirs elidin nātavān; ‘İşq atin tergä tutup har tünlä şabgīr etkä sen. (ShD125v:9-10) ‘I am weak because of the Carnal Soul, I am powerless because of my greed. Making the horse of love sweat you roam every night.’

Yürüp zulfung elidin keçälär tün, yaşunup haclatingdin äylär kün. (DN250r:7) ‘Because of your tresses evening becomes night. Hiding in shame because of you[r tresses] it lets the day appear.’

Zamanē ah elidin köngli tınmay fiğanlar tartıban nay teg erinmäy. (DN253r:3) ‘At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the read.’

Qilip ğam elidin hay’atni tağyīr etip ‘işq āyatın özīgä tafsīr. (DN 253v:4). ‘He changes [his] figure because of [his] sorrow and makes for himself a commentary on the verse of love.’

3.2.2.7. The Postposition haqqi ‘for he sake of’

Payğambar bilä qarındaşlığingning haqqi (RM5v:8-9) ‘For the sake of your descent from the line of the Prophet...’

3.2.2.8. The Postposition haqqi(n)da ‘in reference to, regarding’

‘Umar, razıya’llāhu ‘anhu, su’āl qıldı kim, Yā Rasūla’llāhi, bu āyat munung haqqida kelip turur yā barça mu’minlär haqqında? (RM24v:7-9) ‘The Emir of the Faithful, Omar, may God be pleased with him, asked, O Messenger of God, did this verse come down in reference only to his case or in reference to all believers?’

Muntazir turup men, yuqaridan sening haqqında ne ħukm bolğay. (RM24r:8-9) ‘I will wait and see what decision regarding you will come from on high.’

3.2.2.9. The Postposition *haqqina* ‘in the interest of, in relation to, toward’

Malikning šafaqati aning haqqina daği artuqraq boldi. (Sayf 21r:6) ‘The inclination of the King toward him increased even more.’

Ol zamān beglärindän bir beg bu ta’ifa haqqina ğayat i‘tiqād bağlap daği muhibb bolup idrār mu‘ayyan qildi. (Sayf28v:7). ‘One of the Begg of those days developed close ties with this group, became their friend and established an allowance for them.’

3.2.2.10. The Postposition *iči(n)dä* ‘in, within, inside’

Qaranġuluġ içindä tapilur āb-i ħayvān. (Sayf66r:3) ‘The water of life is to be found in the darkness.’

İši yoġ muhtasibning āv içindä. (Sayf49v:1) ‘The officer of weights and measures has nothing to do inside the house.’

Ol diyānatda šūfi va šāfi, šar^c içidä vafi va ham vafi. (MS10r:2) ‘In matters of religion he is wise and clear-sighted. In matters of the Law he is comprehensive and correct.’

Bahr içindä qatranı ki qildi durr-i bā bahā. (BH4r:7) ‘Who makes a drop [of water] in the sea a precious pearl?’

Uzun tün qalmaġa allingda ġamlar, yaruġay ayš içindä şubhdamlar. (DN248r:7) ‘May sorrow not stay in your presence for long nights. May mornings dawn upon in luxury and pleasure.’⁶⁸

Muvabbab tapti anda işq razin, mufassal içidä bir bir bayānin. (DN252r:1) ‘There he found the secrets of love laid down in chapters with statements disclosed in paragraphs.’

Idioms: **ol kün içindä** ‘that day’

tarfatu’l-‘aynē içindä ‘in the twinkling of an eye’

3.2.2.11. The Postposition *ħazratina* ‘to, to the presence of’

Kerāk qul dā’imā taqşiri uzrın kätürgay ħwācasining ħazratina. (Sayf3r:2) ‘It is necessary that the servant always bring to the presence of his master excuses for his indeficiencies.’

Hamın kim tapti yari ħazratina, tavāzu^c qildi va qoydi qatına. (DN243v:2) ‘As soon as it arrived to the presence of the Friend, it greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.’

⁶⁸ Lit., while you enjoy food and company

Bir köp yazuqlı qul Haqq ta^cālā hazratına kelip... (Sayf2r:12) ‘A very sinful servant came to the presence of God, the Most High.’

3.2.2.12. The Postposition hidmatī(n)da ‘in the presence/service of’

Vaqt bolur kim nadimlārgā sultān hidmatında kīs bilān altun tegār. (Sayf24r:9) ‘There are times when in the presence of the King a bagful of gold comes to the hands of the servants.’

Elig yup özidin su hidmatında, arıgılıq lāfin urmay hazratında. (DN244r:2) ‘The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.’

3.2.2.13. The Postposition kāyninā ‘after’

Kişi kün yoğra ham kirişsä bolmas, safahat kāyninā erişsä bolmas. (DN246r:1) ‘One cannot interfere in his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.’

3.2.2.14. The Postposition kāynidā ‘in the wake of’

Har bahārī kim kelür bar dur hazāni kāynidā. (BH15v:9) ‘Every spring that comes has an autumn in its wake.’

3.2.2.15. The Postposition ornīna, orningā ‘in the place of, for’

Agar ottuz altıgā tegsä tewā, maḥāz orningā āmdi bint labūn. (MM189r:16) ‘If the number of additional camels goes as high as thirty-six, give a *bint labūn* instead of a [*bint*]-*maḥāz*.’

Şakar ornīna ḥanzal kim berip tur? Yaman söz yaḥşığā kim yibarip tur? (DN248v:2) ‘Who has ever given wild gourd in return for sugar? Who has ever sent bad words in response to good ones?’

3.2.2.16. The Postposition qaşına, qaşığā ‘to the presence of, to, at’

Žiyāfat fikri çon tüşti başımğa, tapuğčılarni ündādim qaşımğa. (DN268r:2) ‘When the thought of the banquet occurred to me, I called the servants to my presence.’

Kirip keldi qaşımğa ol dilārāy, yüzi andağ ki muşkin pardada ay. (DN268v:8) ‘The beloved entered and came to my presence; her face was like the moon upon a black curtain.’

Birāv Šayh Hasan Basrī qašīğa barip aytti. (RM212r:8-9) ‘Someone went to Sheikh Hasan Basrī and said...’

Agar salsam nazarnı kōz yaşına, ne bolğay qatrac̄ daryā qašına? (DN250v:7) ‘Suppose I cast a glance at the tears, what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?’

3.2.2.17. The Postposition qašī(n)da ‘in the presence of, at’

Taqi Bizing qašimizda muhayyā’ turur kāfirlar üçün dardnāk ‘azablar. (RM36r:5-7) ‘And We have with Us and ready harrowing tortures for the kāfirs.’

Üç kişi Hazrat-i Payğambar, ‘alaihi’s-salām, qašida keldilər. (RM39V:4-6) ‘Three people came to the noble Prophet, peace be upon him.’

Yüzi gul sači sunbul sarv-qadd āzādalar qašida, közi bādām dahani ğunča dek sahzādalar qašida. (H77v:4) ‘[The goblet that comes round] to the rose-faced, hyacinth-haired, cypress-bodied noble ones, to the almond-eyed, bud-mouthed princes.’

3.2.2.18. The Postposition qašidin ‘from the presence of, from’

Yātišti Haqq qašidin Cibra’il bāz, māni aldımğa keldi qıldı parvāz. (H75r:7) ‘[Then] Gabriel again set out from the Divine Court and came flying to me.’

3.2.2.19. The Postposition qatına ‘to the side of, to’

Bir ahmaq kişining közi aĝrır edi. Baytār qatına barip aytti. (Sayf147r:10) ‘The eyes of a fool were hurting. He went to see a veterinarian and said to him.’

Hamın kim taptı yarı hazratına, tavāzu‘ qıldı va qoydı qatına. (DN243v:2) ‘As soon as he arrived to the presence of the Friend, he greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.’

Barçası munung qatına keldilər. (Sayf14v:13) ‘All of them came to see him.’

Da‘vāni qāzi qatına eltürlär. (Sayf33v:4) ‘[People] take their claims to the Judge.’

Ol qavm kim andan zulm körüp edilär barča munung qatına kelip taqviyat qıldılar. (Sayf17r:4) ‘All those people who had experienced ill treatment from him, came to this [sultan] and gave him support.’

3.2.2.20. The Postposition *qatinda* ‘at the side of, by, with’

Bir baqqālning sūfilar qatinda bir neçä ağçası borç yığildi. (Sayf 85r:11) ‘The sufis ran up an account of a few coins at the grocer.’

Bäsländing aning süti bilän dağı ulğayding mänim qatimda. (Sayf14v:6) ‘You were nurtured with their milk but grew up at my side.’

Sän tana ‘‘um içindä qayğung yoq, çön tapuğci **qatingda** özdäng çoq. (Sayf 77v:1) ‘You live in affluence and have no worries as there are many goodlooking servants at your side.’

Öydä bolsang bu ihtiyatlarnı qıl. Yoq dur israf arığ qatıda, bil. (MS8r:1) ‘When you are at home, take the measures enumerated above. Know that you should not waste [water even] at the side of a flowing source of water.’

Kelip iqbal baş qoyğay qatingda, buzulmaqliqğa yüz qoyğay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) ‘The name of sorrow will depart from the book of life. The numbers will draw to the total of the heart.’

3.2.2.21. The Postposition *qati(n)din, qati(n)dan* ‘from the presence of, from’

Qaçan sürsä qulun Tangri-qatından. (Sayf57r:13) ‘When God drives away his servant from His presence.’

Amiri asrağil sen köz yağı birlä, sen ol gulni ki barماسun qatim-din. (DN245r:10) ‘Amiri, nurture that rose with the oil of the eye so that it never leave us.’

İttifaq tüsti kim qatimizdan safar etti. (Sayf135v:8) ‘It so happened that he embarked on a journey from our circle.’

3.2.2.22. The Postposition *üsti(n)dä* ‘upon; over’

Pahtaliq töşäk bigin qar üstindä yattuq yaling, keçä kündüzi barabar üstümä tondı savuq. (ShD79v:3-4) ‘We were lying naked on the snow soft like a cotton matrasse. Night and day at a stretch cold froze me over.’

Mening dek ay kök üstidä yoq tur, bu kün kör kim ne yergä yätti hālim. (DN242r:6) ‘There is no moon like me in the sky. Look to day to what level my situation has risen.’

Va har kim yatqay kim şubh aning üstidä tulū^c qilğay. (RM 19v:8-9) ‘Anyone who goes to bed and [without getting up to pray] stays there until dawn rises over him.’

Mağar lāf urdī gul bilmāy nihānī, kim aġnatting tikān üstidā anī. (DN244r:6) ‘Did the rose, not knowing discretion, engage in idle talk that you rolled it around upon thorns.’

Idiom: **Ayaq üstidā tur-** ‘to rise’

Ya⁶⁹nī, ayaq üstidā turmaq namāz üçün (RM33v:10-34r:1) ‘That is to say, [during night hours] it is very difficult to rise for the prayer.’

3.2.2.23. The Postposition *üstinā* ‘onto, upon’

Köngüldä ‘ışqıng otı soldı bulğaq, yana dāğ üstinā sen qoymağıl dāğ. (DN244r:8) ‘The fire of your love cast confusion into [my] heart. Do not press again the branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.’

Parēšan köngligā aġir⁶⁹ sevār cān, siriški kahrubā üstinā marcān. (DN259r:10) ‘The precious life is very heavy for his distraught heart. His tear drops are like coral beads upon [his] amber[-colored face.]’

3.3. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives describe objects by their quality, quantity or relationship. They have no special word-class markers. We identify them more by their syntactic function than by their forms. Some derivative adjectives, however, can be identified as adjectives without grammatical context by their means of derivation.

3.3.1. Syntactic Function of Adjectives

Chagatay adjectives may occur in the following syntactic roles:

3.3.1.1. Adjectives in Attributive Position

Adjectives may occur in attributive position, i.e., they may modify nouns in Modifier > Head structures. E.g.,

sarbasta rāz ‘innermost secret’
ranglıġ guftar ‘colorful presentation’
altun varaq ‘a golden page’
bātil namāz ‘invalid prayer’
‘āqil er ‘a wise man’
qarangġu keçä ‘dark night’

⁶⁹ MS has ’ğyz

3.3.1.2. Adjectives in Predicative Position

Adjectives may occur in predicative position in the following roles:

(a) either as subject complements. E.g.,

Sen ol ündin pareşan bolma ay gul! (DN238r:10) ‘Do not be distraught by that voice, O Rose!’

Kimining sözləri mavzun u şirin. (Sayf185v:6) ‘The poems of some are well-proportioned and sweet.’

(b) or as object complement. E.g.,

Qilip şuhbatni hamdamlar dami garm. (DN234r:10) ‘The talk of people of the same conviction make the conversation warm.’

Ani sen cumlä şa’ir kamtari bil. (Sayf185v:10) ‘Know him the smallest of your servants.’

3.3.1.3. Adjectives Modified by Adverbs

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs. E.g.,

köp yazuqli qul ‘a very sinful servant’

engän billigsiz ‘very ignorant’

ğayat hwaş ‘very pleasant’

3.3.1.4. Adjectives Allow Formation of Degrees

Qualitative adjectives may have comparative, superlative, absolute or intensive forms created by inflection or by syntactic means, or both. E.g.,

sendän yahşirraq ‘better than you’

eng äksük qul ‘the lowliest servant’

müşükdän uluğraq ‘bigger than a cat’

andan yahşirraq ‘better than that’

3.3.1.5. Adjectives Occur as Appositions

Appositions immediately precede the nouns they refer to. They may also be attached to the noun by the Izafat marker *-i*. Less frequently, appositions directly follow the noun in juxtaposition. E.g.,

Telbä Şabānī furqatī otığa yansa nä ‘*acab?* (ShD145r:1) ‘If Shaybanī, the fool is consumed by the fire of separation, no one should wonder.’

Sarāyī Sayf-i beçāra ‘Sayf-i Sarāyī, the unfortunate one.’

Luqman-i haqīm ‘Luqman, the physician’

qul ‘*Imādī* ‘*Imādī*, the servant’

Haqq ta’alā ‘God, the Most High’

Sayf-i Sarāyī qul ‘Sayf-i Sarāyī, the servant’

3.3.1.6. Adjectives Occur as Modifiers in Izāfat Structures

In descriptive Izafat structures adjectives may occur as second elements.

E.g.

rah-i rāst 'straight path'
 ša'r-i nihānī 'hidden law'
 šayyād-i mağbūn 'unwise fisherman'
 yar-i haqiqī 'true friend'
 bitig-i 'ašiqana 'love letter'
 māh-i tabān 'shining moon'

3.3.1.7. Adjectives as Bases for Word Formation by Derivation

Adjectives can serve as bases for nominal as well as verbal derivation.

E.g.,

eygülük 'goodness'	< eygü 'good'
baħillīq 'greed'	< baħil 'greedy'
bayit- 'to enrich'	< bay 'rich'
ongal- 'to heal'	< ong 'right'
tiril- 'to come to life'	< tiri 'alive'
tüzāt- 'to establish'	< tüz 'plain'

3.3.1.8. Adjectives Substantivized [see 3.3.2.2.]

Adjectives can occur substantivized and have all the morphological and functional characteristics of a noun including inflection for cases and possession. E.g.,

Sağga sağlıgī yātār. (Sayf 177r:8). For the right one its being right suffices.'

Äygülärgä bu yamaning tegmäsün. (Sayf110v:2) 'This wickedness of yours should not reach the good ones.'

Bilišlär birlä ħwaš 'arifgä zindān ki yatlar birlä bolgīnča gulistān. (Sayf68r:10-11) 'For the enlightened to be in prison among acquaintances is better than to be in paradise with strangers.'

3.3.1.9. Adjectives Modified by Measures

Adjectives can be modified by expressions of measurements. The adjectival phrase as a whole may modify a noun. E.g.,

Yašimiz teng u bir ikki ay küçük ham. 'We are of the same age, he may be one or two months younger.'

yätmiš yaşar bir qarī er (Sayf133r:7) 'a seventy years old man'

Qatimizda yüz yaşar bir qarī er bar. (Sayf132r:10) 'There is a one hundred years old man in our presence.'

yaši yetmişdä yetkän bir qarī er (Sayf133r:7) 'a seventy years old man'

3.3.1.9. Adjectives with Complements in Case Forms

Adjectives may require their complements in case forms other than the nominative case. [See 4.4.2.]

tikānlārgā yavuq	‘close to the thorns’
qanīna sa‘ī	‘thirsty for his blood’
yüzümgā hayrān	‘admiring my face’
iştin fariğ	‘done, free from work’
kişigā dastgīr	‘helping someone’
otqa giriftar	‘captive in the fire’

3.3.1.10. Adjectives Used as Verbless Clauses

Adjectives can occur in absolute [unconnected] use as the realization of a verbless clause to express state, status, or attending circumstances. E.g.,

Yürüdüm ev sarī men zār u giryan, qilip parvāna teg özümni biryan. (DN235v:11) ‘I progressed toward the house, tearful and bitter. I scorched myself, as the moth [in the flame of the candle].’

3.3.2. Classification of Adjectives

3.3.2.1. Semantic Classification

By their meanings adjectives can be divided into qualitative and relative adjectives.

3.3.2.1.1. Qualitative Adjectives

Qualitative adjectives specify a noun by its quality [size, color, shape, consistency and temperature]. Since qualities occur in different degrees and can be compared, qualitative adjectives are gradable. E.g.,

şirīn ‘sweet’ > **şirīn söz** ‘sweet [pleasant] words’
az ‘small’ > **az ot** ‘small fire’
muşkil ‘difficult’ > **muşkil iş** ‘difficult work’
‘acā’ib hālat > ‘strange condition’
yahşi farzand > ‘good farzand’

3.3.2.1.2. Relative Adjectives

Relative adjectives specify a noun by its relationship to place or time. They are mostly derivative adjectives formed from nouns. Relative adjectives cannot be compared. E.g.,

qadīmī ‘old, ancient’ > **qadīmī dīvār** ‘old wall’,
qışlaqdaki ‘being in the winter quarter’ > **qışlaqdaki māl** ‘cattle in the winter quarter’
elindāki ‘being in his hand’ > **elindāki ekmāk** ‘bread in his hand’
eli altındaki ‘being in his service’ > **eli altındaki qavm** ‘his vassals.’

3.3.2.1.2. Gradable and Nongradable Adjectives

Chagatay adjectives can be divided into gradable and nongradable categories. Gradable adjectives indicate qualities of different degree or intensity. By definition only adjectives expressing qualities belong to this category.

Chagatay grammars distinguish three degrees of adjectives: positive, comparative and superlative.

3.3.2.1.2.1. The Positive Degree

There is no special grammatical marker for the positive degree. E.g.,

belgili faris (Sayf7r:8) ‘an outstanding horseman’

yaman temür (Sayf15r:6) ‘iron of bad quality’

yāngi qumaš (Sayf93v:10) ‘a new robe’

rah-i rast (DN258v:5) ‘a straight path’

3.3.2.1.2.2. The Comparative Degree

There are two ways to form the comparative degree in Chagatay.

(a) With the comparative marker **-raq/-rāk**:

Ġanirāk kim esā muhtācrāk tur. (Sayf19v:4) ‘He who is richer is more in need.’

Munung yałğan sözi sāning tođri sözüngdān yahširaq turur. (Sayf9v:1) ‘The false words of this [vazir] are better than your true words.’

Bu kağızpara kim [anda] Tengri ta[‘]alā atī bolğay alardīn ađir-raq kelğay. (RM8v:5-7) ‘The piece of paper with the name of God the Most High on it will be heavier.’

Mening heč kišim ölmäy dur, va lekin manga bir nemä väqi[‘] bolup turur kim yüz qatla qarındašlar ölgänidin yamanraq turur. (RM10v:9-21r:1) ‘None of my relatives has died, but something has happened to me that is a hundred times worse than the death of one’s brothers.’

Note: Adjectives with the suffix **-raq/-rāk** may indicate a little greater or a little smaller quality [as in modern Uzbek]. Often they occur as adverbs.

Qur’anni āhastaraq oqup, ħarf ħarfini bilgürtä tartīb bilān oquğil. (RM30v:8-9) ‘Recite the Qur’an quite slowly, enunciating each sound in proper sequence.’

Agar uzunraq sūra bilsä, oquğay. (RM17r:10-17v:1) ‘If he knows a longer verse, he should recite it.’

(b) The adjective with no marker occurs with the ablative case of the name of the thing to which something is compared. E.g.,

Körüp tur tā yangaqing sari dīda, bolup tur almadin könglüm guzida. (DN257r:7) ‘Ever since my eyes looked toward your face, my heart has been a preferable simile for the apple.’

Ne kim desäm yüzüing dur andin artuq, köngül allida la^ling cāndin artuq. (DN263r:4) ‘Whatever I call it, your face is more than that; in the presence of the heart, your ruby [lips] are [worth] more than life.’

Haşm sendän küçlü dur. (Sayf100v:7) ‘The enemy is stronger than you.’

3.3.2.1.2.3. The Superlative Degree

The superlative degree is expressed in several ways.

(a) With the particle **eng** ‘most’ and, rarely, **engän** ‘very much’ placed before the adjective. E.g.,

eng äksük qul (Sayf46r:12) ‘the lowliest servant’

engän qisqaçuq (MM187v:15) ‘very short’

(b) The adjective is substantivized and put in possessive relationship with the name of the group out of which an individual stands out. The possessor may be without the genitive case marker. E.g.,

Baylarning yahşiraqi ol durur kim faqirlär qayğusın yegäy dağı faqirlär yahşiraqi ol durur kim baylardan köz yumğay. (Sayf 158v:6) ‘The best of the rich is the one who cares about the poor and the best of the poor is the one who disregards the rich.’

Aning teg oqudi ši^r-i nihānī, ki toymay qaldı ol elning yamani. (DN258r:8) ‘She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.’

Va işning yahşisi ol dur kim kişi anı dā^{im} qila tura alğay, agarçı az bolsa. (RM32v:1-2) ‘Yet it would be the best for people to pray every night, even if only a little.’

‘İbadatlarning yahşiraqi Qur^{an} oqumaq turur. (RM9v:9-10r:1) ‘The best of services [to God] is to recite from the Qur’an.’

(c) The adjective follows a noun with the postposition **ara** ‘among’
bar payğambar ara uluğ (MS2r:6) ‘the greatest of all prophets’

3.3.2.1.2.4. Intensive Forms of Adjectives

The intensive or absolute form of the adjective indicates a high degree of a quality with no reference for comparison. It is very closely related to the superlative degree. The difference being that the superlative degree

indicates ‘the best among many’, the intensive, ‘the very best’. There are several ways to indicate intensive degree of adjectives.

(a) By adverbs of intensity such as **kāmil** ‘perfect’, **köp** ‘many’, **asru** ‘very much’. E.,g.,

bir kāmīl biliglī er (Sayf23v:5) ‘a most learned person’

bir köp yazuqlī qul (Sayf4r:11) ‘a most sinful servant’

asru badnām (ShD85r:13) ‘of very bad repute’

asru köp (ShD79v:2) ‘very much’

(b) By repetition. E.g.,

Daḥī bilgil uşbu yataq yahşī yahşī: uqlamasa çağdavul köpdin ozar. (ShD50r:12-13) ‘Know also that this bed is very comfortable. If the guard does not sleep, he gets ahead of many.’

Ḥakīmlār yemākni keĉ keĉ yerlār. (Sayf168v:10) ‘The wise eat very seldom.’

Taʿalluq dur ki sen ğam hamdamī sen, anī tark et ki hwaş hwaş ādamī sen. (DN241v:1) ‘Dependence is at work when you associate with sadness. Abandon it because you are a cheerful person.’

Ay köngül dunyā ğamīdin tolğanur sen peĉ peĉ, şāndin ayru kimsā bilmās bevafa dur heĉ heĉ. (ShD27v:4-5) ‘O, heart, you are suffering terribly because of the concern about this world. Besides you nobody knows that [this world] is most unfaithful.’

Kişi andak kārāk dur ʔalib-i yar. Uşol yar şavqī dur hwaş-hwaş zamanīm. (ShD104v:8) ‘This is how a person should be in search of his Beloved. The fervent desire for that Beloved is the very best of my time.’

(c) By reduplication of the first syllable:

ap-aq (MA p.91) ‘clear white’

beşbatar (ShD79v:2) ‘worse’

bom-boz (ML18) ‘very light blue’

bom-boş (Zenker229a) ‘entirely empty’

ĉup-ĉuqur (MLXIV-117) ‘very deep

köm-kök (PdC477) ‘entirely blue’

qap-qara (PdC392) ‘entirely black’

qip-qirmizi (PdC443) ‘entirely red’

qip-qizil (ShD105r:9-10) ‘very red’

sap-sağ (ML83:8) ‘quite healthy’

sap-sariğ⁷⁰ (MLXIV-117) 'very yellow'
sar-sabz (ShD86v:5) 'fresh green'
tip-tek (Sayf17v:10) 'quite upright'; 'motionless'
top-toğri (Babur107v:7) 'perfectly straight'
top-tola (ShD61v:7-8) 'completely filled'
tüp-tüz (Babur106v:5) 'perfectly flat'
yam-yaşil (ML18) 'very green'
yap-yaşil (MabL83:5) 'very green'
yus-yumri (Sang.343r:2) 'perfectly round'

E.g.,

Şūfī va zāhid va mavlā 'işqdin bēgāna dur, 'işq durdī **top-tola** dur bil bizing mayhānamiz. (ShD61v:8) 'The sufi, the abstinent, and the sheikh are strangers in the matter of love [whereas] our tavern is entirely filled with the dregs of love.'

Qip-qizil maynī körār mən cur'ada, ay la'l-i lab, da'imā cur'a labindin hadd-din aştī sormağim. (ShD105r:9-10) 'I see red red wine in my drinking vessel, O Ruby of the Lip. My constant pulling at the lips of the drinking vessel has gone beyond measure.'

Bil ki dōstlar yağ kebi cismimni tongdurdī savuq. Yağdin ham beş batar dur asru küydürdī savuq. (ShD79v:1-2) 'Know friends that cold froze my body like ice. Worse than the ice, cold burned me very much.'

Sunbul-i zulfin tararda bolsa köp der mən Allāh, tāza va sar-sabz bolsun sarv'i būstanim mānim. (ShD86v:4-5) 'When she is combing her tresses curly like hyacinths I keep saying "Allāh"⁷¹. May the cypress of my garden be fresh and green.'

3.3.2.2. Substantivization of Adjectives [see 3.3.1.7.]

Adjectives are very often used as nouns without any change in form. In this role they can take plural markers, possessive suffixes, and case endings, mostly in this order. They can be abstract or concrete nouns. When they constitute the second element of a possessive structure, the possessor should be, preferably, in the genitive case. E.g.,

Agar bağ içrā oltursang çalip çang, beyiklārdā tüzüp boyung teg āhang. (DN263r:11) 'If you sit in the garden playing the harp, creating tunes in high altitudes [harmonious] like your body.'

Bu savuqning šarhinī qilsa qalam yüz yil tamām, yüzdā birin qılmağay kim asru köp boldī savuq. (ShD79v:11) 'If the pen

⁷⁰ Variant *sapsari* 'very yellow' (PdC333)

⁷¹ To drive away thoughts of other than God, especially in an effort to ward of Satan's temptations.'

goes on describing the nature of cold for a hundred years, it would be [only] one hundredth [of the true story] so mighty was the cold.' **Ay muh̄ariflār begi bir kez yana ävgülärğä bu yamaning tegmä-sün.** (Sayf110v:2) 'O, Chief of Thieves! Your wickedness should not hurt the good, not even once.'

Note: Often the nouns **kiši** 'person' and **nämä** or **nä ärsä** 'thing' are used to substantivize adjectives. E.g.,

şadiq kiši (ShD86v:13) 'the truthful or the truthful one'

bay kiši (Sayf150r:3) 'the rich'

eski kiši (Sayf102v:5) 'the old'

3.3.2.3. A List of Most Commonly Used Adjectives

Adjectives constitute a rich category in Chagatay. Persian and Arabic loans contribute substantially to the abundance of items in this word class. The versatility of Arabic participles and the productivity of Persian derivative means, especially present stems, turned Chagatay into a useful tool for classical poets bent on describing nuances of feelings, colors, fragrances, natural phenomena, and subtleties of meanings. The following is a selective list of most commonly used Chagatay adjectives [native Turkish words and foreign loans]:

āsān	'easy'
ačiḡ	'bitter'
ağir	'heavy'
ariğ	'pure, purified; hallowed'
aq	'white'
aqsaq	'lame'
az	'little'
bari	'all'
berk	'strong'
boş	'soft; empty'
buzuq	'destroyed'
cānsiz	'lifeless'
čak	'split open'
čin	'last'
eski	'old'
farāvān	'overwhelming'
keč	'late'
muškil	'difficult'
ölüg	'dead'
qaranggu	'dark'
qari	'old'

qatığ	'hard'
qısqa	'short'
qızıq	'hot'
ranglıg	'colorful'
rōšan	'shining'
şadiq	'faithful'
sağ	'sound, healthy'
savuş	'cold'
sınuq	'broken'
şor	'bitter'
miskin	'miserable'
tar	'narrow'
telbä	'fool'
tıra	'dark'
tirig	'alive'
toq	'full'
uçuz	'cheap'
uluğ	'big'
yangi	'new; fresh' [wound]
yavuş	'close'
yıraq	'far'
zeba	'beautiful'

E. g.,

Maḥabbat sarvidin bar yegüsi dur közüng suyü bilär niyazıng. (DN261r:2) 'From the cypress of caring love your cleansed by your tears will enjoy the fruit.'

Yavuş tur kim kesäklär qılğay avaz, qılıp 'İsâ quşı teg parvaz. (DN266r:11) 'It is close [now] that the clods will sin like the bird of Jesus,⁷² they will take flight and soar in the sk Ača berdi anga **sarbasta** rāzin, dedi bir bir barı söz-u gu (DN258v:3) 'To her [the Beloved] disclosed her safely secret. He told her about all her pains and tribulations.'

Ĝami Farhād yanglıg körgüzür zör, ğami şirīn valekin tāli (DN259v:5) 'His sadness manifests the strength of a stone- His sadness is sweet, but his fortune is brackish.'⁷⁴

Ĝalq-i cihān barçası arām edi, tıra u tarik, 'acab şām ed 322v:2) 'The world's creatures were all still. It was a strange dark and gloomy.'

⁷² That He formed from clay and let go.

⁷³ Tied as you tie up the opening of a bag in which you keep your *hashish* or sealed [with wax] as you seal the mouth of the bottle in which you store your wine.

⁷⁴ The traditional epic figures Farhād [stone-cutter] and Şirīn [sweet] are referred to.

3.3.2.4. Formation of Adjectives

In discussing formation of adjectives we must keep in mind that there are no strict boundaries between nouns and adjectives on the one hand, and adjectives and adverbs on the other. Derivatives of adjective formation may occur also in the category of adverbs or nouns. Rarely though, adverbs may also turn up in the list of adjectives. Adjectives are formed by morphological and syntactic means. Of course, the storehouse of adjectives is also enriched by category change, lexicalization, and borrowings from Persian and Arabic.

3.3.2.4.1. Formation by Suffixes

It is useful to discuss derivative suffixes of Turkish and Persian-Arabic provenance separately. The reason for keeping them apart is that while most of the Turkish suffixes can be used with bases of any kind, Persian suffixes do not always accept Turkish bases for forming adjectives.

3.3.2.4.1.1. Turkish Suffixes

3.3.2.4.1.1.1. The Suffix *-daki/-däki*

The locative case ending *-da/-dä + -ğ/-gi, -qi/-ki* [velar form are receding, and the front forms are used instead as in Modern Uzbek, or Turkish] is used to indicate the location the object named by the noun. The base noun mostly has a possessive suffix. The plural ending turns them into nouns.

By nature derivatives created by this suffix are not gradable and cannot be modified by adverbs. They have no intensive forms.

könglündäki (DN260r:2) ‘that which is in your heart’

başındağ (Sayf15r:3) ‘those who are on the top of [the mountain]’

elingdäki (Sayf163v:5) ‘that which is in your hand’

yıraqdağlar (Sayf55v:5) ‘those who are far’

E.g.,

Mäning cänimda dur könglündäki ah, köngüldin bar köngül içinä çon rah. (DN260r:2) ‘The sighs of your heart are in my soul inasmuch as there is a pathway from one heart into another.’

Qaçan kim tükänsä elingdäki al, qılıç çeksäng ol dam qinından haläl. (Sayf163v:5) ‘When the ruse [you hold] in your hand runs out, it is proper to pull the sword from its sheath.’

Mäl va ni⁶mat alip ol tağ başındağ haramılar mağarasına kirip atası yerinä olturdi. (Sayf15r:3) ‘He took merchandise and goods, retired into the cave of the highway-robbers on the top of the mountain, and occupied his father’s place.’

Yiraqdağular böylä **huzūrda daği yaqındağular** başıratsız yiraqda. (Sayf55v:5) ‘Those who are far away are so close and those who are close, are fare away beyond visibility.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.2. The Suffix -liq/-lik (see 3.1.5.1.12)

Originally it forms abstract nouns. In Chagatay, however, many of the derivatives created by this suffix are adjectives.

atliq (DN250r:1) ‘having the name of’

bağliq (DN252r:5) ‘tied’

başaratliq (DN(259r:3) ‘auspicious’

çirayliq (NTM15r:5) ‘beautiful’

fahmliq (NTM15r:8) ‘intelligent’

ğamliq (DN253r:7) ‘sorrowful’

kayfliq (NTM12r:1) ‘drunk’

pahtaliq (ShD79v:3) ‘cotton [adj.]’

qariliq (ShD83r:12) ‘old age’

qilliq (NTM15v:1) ‘hairy’

uyatliq (DN250r:1) ‘ashamed’

E.g.,

Pahtaliq tōšāk bigin qar üstidä yattuq yaling, kečä kündüzi barabar üstümä tondi savuq. (ShD79v:3) ‘We lied naked on the snow as if on cotton mattresses. For one night and day at a stretch my body was frozen over.’

Saçingdin ‘anbar erür köp **uyatliq**, qara qul dur sanga bir ‘anbar atliq. (DN250r:2) ‘Because of your hair the ambergris is put to shame. What is called ambergris, is an unskilled servant of yours.’

Sa‘adat mavkabidin mužda berip, **başaratliq** habarlarni yibarip. (DN259r:3) ‘Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, sending good tidings [about its being on the way].’

Saçimda bar mu dur **bağliq** hiyali, neçük tur ol parēšanliqda hālī? (DN252r:5) ‘Is his imagination tied to my hair? How is his condition in being so distraught.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.3. The Suffix -liğ/-lig

ayliğ (D262v:2) ‘monthly’

egärlig (NTM6r:3) ‘saddled’

qutluğ (DN262r:3) ‘auspicious’

ranglig (DN271r:7) ‘colorful’

uyatliğ (DN268v:2) ‘ashamed’

yarağliğ (DN262v:3) ‘equipped’

yazliğ (DN267v:11) ‘summerly’

munluğ (H75r:3) ‘sorrowful’

E.g.,

Dedim, “Ay qutluğ ağızlıq qarīnim, tili širīn yarağlıq hamnišin-im.” (DN262r:3) ‘I said: O my companion of auspicious mouth, my associate blessed with a sweet tongue!’

Yüzüñ ħwarsēd ħusnīning zakatī, qamarğa beribān ayliğ barātī. (DN262v:2) ‘Your face is the alms tax levied on the beauty of the sun, it grants the monthly patents to the moon.’⁷⁵

Bu erdi söz çu qildim iħtiyatın, ki, yazliğ yerdā yay şuħbat bīsātīn. (DN267v:11) ‘This was the message, when I was able to pay heed: Spread the carpet of companionship in a summer place.’

Ĥabar qildi yetip bir ħwaca atliğ, eligi māya sarīdin uyatliğ. (DN 268v:2) ‘Along came a merchant on horseback: his hands were bashful on account of his wealth...’

Erür bu rangliğ guftār muškil, emās āsān ħiyālī bar muškil. (DN271r:7) ‘This colorful speech is difficult, it is not easy, because the thoughts [it contains] are ambiguous.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.4. The Suffix -lu/-lü, -li/-li [see 3.1.5.1.10]

cirāħatli (Sayf85v:7) ‘wounded’

ħaybatli (Sayf102r:2) ‘frightful, fearsome’

‘izzatli (Sayf29r:10) ‘respectable’

küçli (Sayf100v:7) ‘strong’

körklü (Sayf7r:11) ‘beautiful’

maşlahatli (Sayf9v:5) ‘well-meant’

yazuqlu (Sayf34v:7) ‘accused’

yüklü (Sayf145r:2) ‘pregnant’

E.g.,

Mu‘allim bolmasa ħaybatli, ay yār, saqalından tutup oğlanlar oynar. (Sayf102r:2) ‘If the teacher is not authoritative, O Friend, the boys will grab his beard and dance [around him].’

Ĥitna yüzli rast sözdān bol yīraq, maşlahatli yalğan andan yaħšīraq. (Sayf9v:4-5) ‘Keep away from the truth that has a cunning face. A well-meant lie is better than that.’

Bir faqīr ävdāši yüklü edi. (Sayf145r:2) ‘The wife of a pauper was pregnant.’

Note: The suffix -lu/-lü, -li/-li is often added not to a single word but to an adjective + noun structure of modification to characterize a person or an object as a possessor of something. E.g., [ač > köz] + li:

⁷⁵ To go through its phases.

āb-i ḥayāt māngizli (Sayf186r:14) ‘similar to the water of life’
aç közli (Sayf141r:5) ‘greedy [< open eyed]’
aç qarınli (Sayf23r:7) ‘hungry’ [< having a hungry stomach’]
aq saqalli (Sayf135r:1) ‘having a white beard’
hamza yürakli (Sayf182r:7) ‘lion-hearted’
ḥwaš sözlü (DN261r:9) ‘of beautiful speech’
keyik közli (Sayf70r:4) ‘of the eyes of a deer’
köp malli (Sayf59r:2) ‘rich’ [< having much merchandise]
pulad qolli (Sayf32v:12) ‘strong-handed’
yaman tirlikli (Sayf141r:5) ‘having a bad conduct’
yumşaq tanli (127v:4) ‘having a soft body’

E.g.,

Mufarrih şivali dilbār, tili tūṭi sözi şakkar, kāyik közli qamar-
manzar malāhat mulki sulṭāni. (Sayf197v:13) ‘She is a heart-
 ravisher with exhilarating glances, her tongue is a parrot, her
 words are sugar, she is a moon-faced beauty with the eyes of a
 deer, she is the sulṭān of the kingdom of beauty.’

Sevünüp yetti ol ḥwaš sözlü qāsid, ki qıldı mantıqi şarḥ-i maqā-
şid. (DN261r:9) ‘Happily the letter carrier of pleasant speech
 arrived and right then and there his eloquence expounded on [the
 object of] desires.’

Bir karıḥ ünli ḥatıb bar edi. (Sayf11v:11). ‘There was a preacher
 who had an unpleasant voice.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.5. The Suffix -māngiz ‘like’

From the noun **māngiz** ‘face’.

bulbul-māngiz (Quṭb199) ‘like a nightingale’
cannat-māngiz (Sayf181v:10) ‘like Paradise’
kül-māngiz (Sayf181v:13) ‘like ashes’
kün-māngiz (Quṭb34) ‘like the sun’
qav-māngiz (ShD182r:7) ‘like straw’
qu-māngiz (ShD182r:6) ‘like a swan’
şams-māngiz (Sayf167v:11) ‘like the sun’
musāfir-māngiz (MM179r:3) ‘like travellers’

E.g.,

Bu cumlä ḥalā’iq musāfir-māngiz. (MM179r:3). ‘All creations are
 like travellers.’

Cannat-māngiz bāzādīsā ol dam özin cihān. (Sayf181v:10) ‘The
 world decorated itself [to look] like paradise.’

Tili bulbul māngiz ham māngzi gulzār. (Quṭb199) ‘Her tongue is
 like a nightingale, her face, like a flower garden.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.6. The Suffix -şifat, -şifāt
gulşifāt (Sayf66r:1) ‘like flowers’
şabnamşifat ‘like dew’

E.g.,

Gah bolur ‘uryān ağačlar, **gah** kāyārlār **gulşifāt**. (Sayf66r:1).
 ‘Sometimes the trees are naked, sometimes they are dressed up like flowers.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.7. The Suffix -siz/-siz ‘without’

This suffix is also the formant of the privative case [see 3.1.4.2.9]. After syllables with a labial vowel the forms **-suz/-süz** occur.

amalsiz (MM186r:1) ‘without action’
ariğsiz (MM179r:5) ‘without action’
asiqsiz (DN 265v:6) ‘without benefit’
banısiz (MM178r:12) ‘without a builder’
gulğunasiz (DN265r:5) ‘without make-up’
haddsiz (Sayf11v:2) ‘immense’ [< without bounds]
hiçabsiz (MM179r:8) ‘evident’ [< without a veil]
köçgüsüz (MM197r:6) ‘with no need to set off’
nişansiz (MM192v:15) ‘without a sign’
rangsiz (NTM9v:7) ‘colorless’
hurufsuz (MM199v:2) ‘without sounds’
saçsiz (NTM4r:5) ‘hairless’
yamınsiz (DN254:7) ‘without an oath’

E.g.,

Ne hācat kim qasam kirgāy arağa, yamınsiz bilgil iŝingning yasārın. (DN254v:7) ‘What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without reference to the right.’⁷⁶

Yüzi gulğunasiz cānlarğa āfat, ayaqtın baş barı husn u lafāfat. (DN265r:5) ‘Her face without make-up is a disaster for the living: Her entire being, from head to foot, is [perfect] beauty and grace.’

Asiqsiz ‘umri savdā keçāsi teg, qara künlāri yaldā keçāsi teg. (DN 265v:6) ‘His useless life is like the night spent in melancholy: His dark days are long like the longest night of the winter.’

⁷⁶ The sinister side of a matter should be recognized not in reference to the right side but on its own merit. The opposite cannot be a prompter of good things. When Satan says “Do not say Allah”, you do not respond by pronouncing God’s name because your meritorious action would be prompted by Satan. The Tradition says “God Loves the right side in everything even in putting on one’s shoes or when one begins to chew.” (Muhammad Shaybanī Khan, RM1v:7-8). However, the position of the left side should not be the cause (*sabab*) of our beginning things on the right side.

3.3.2.4.1.2. Persian Suffixes

Adjectives with Persian derivational suffixes are mostly loan elements in Chagatay. Only in a few cases appear these suffixes with Turkish bases. Chagatay owes its lexical riches to adjectives and nouns with Persian suffixes.

The majority of these suffixes are stems of Persian verbs. Mostly the present stem is used for this purpose. Although the derivatives created by the present stem are adjectives, often they are used also as agent nouns. The past stem, that originally was the past participle of the verb, was also used, in a few cases, as means to form adjectives. The derivative indicated a state or condition which came about as a result of the accomplishment of the base verb of the suffix.

3.3.2.4.1.2.1. The Suffix *-ālūd* [old past participle of *ālūdan* 'to stain']

‘*anbar-ālūd* (DN 252v:8) ‘stained with ambergris’

‘*šitāb-ālūd* (Steingass733b) ‘hasty’

‘*ḥaṭa-ālūd* (Steingass95b) ‘stained with crimes’

E.g.,

Tilādi kāḡid va ĉon boldi mavcūd, qalam tilini etti ‘anbar-ālūd. (DN252v:8) ‘He. asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was there, he stained the tip of the pen with ambergris.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.2. The Suffix *-āna*

The suffix *-āna* in Persian forms adverbs to express the way how an action was carried out. Its meaning was expanded and applied to the agent as adjective. In Chagatay most of the derivatives with *-ana* can be used also as adverbs. [Cf., *Gar otursa bizing bilān qāzi, turuban ‘ašiq-āna raqş urur.* (Sayf59v:12) ‘If the qāzi were sitting with us, he would stand up and dance in an amorous way.’

‘*ašiqāna* (Sayf114r:13) ‘amorous’

‘*gustaḥāna* (H85v:2) ‘impudent’

‘*ḥwābālūd* (Steingass478b) ‘sleepy’

‘*masbūqāna* (MM182v:6) ‘in the manner prescribed for latecomers’

‘*turkāna* (DN269v:5) ‘Turkish’

E.g.,

Ayaḡ alip içip turkāna tilni, kōtārdi qızlar⁷⁷ ilān mu‘tadilni. (DN 269v:5) ‘She took a cup and absorbed the Turkish language; she exalted both the new wine and its tempered form.’

⁷⁷ Cf. P. *duḡtar-i raz* ‘grape, wine’

Äylär erdi sözni **gustāhāna** yād; bolur erdi **Ḥaqq** ta‘ālā anga **šād**. (BN85v:2) ‘He would utter impudent words, (yet) God the Most High took delight in him.’

Note: The derivative **šukrāna** [< given as a token of thanks] has become a noun meaning ‘gratitude’, specifically, a gift given in gratitude in response to a felicitous piece of news such as the Beloved’s arrival. E.g., **Šukrāna** dep bu cān u köngülni nişar etäy, sunbul sačing na-simin agar keltürür şabā. (GD11,3) ‘Calling them a gift for the good news I would sprinkle my life and my heart [as gold coins] if the Morning Breeze brings the scent of your hyacinth-like hair.’

The following derivatives produced by **-āna** have also become nouns:

dēvāna (BN85r:2) ‘madman’ [< **dēv** ‘demon’]

gustāhāna (BN91v:9) ‘insolently’

mardāna (Sayf11r:5) ‘valiant, brave’

E.g.,

Dedi, mardāna bol yağuz qulunum sanga kelgän dur. (Ḥ77v:7) ‘He said, Be brave my only foal⁷⁸, it is to see you that our guest has come.’

Bar ekän dur bir ‘acab dēvāna, ‘išq maydānida ol mardāna. (Ḥ85r:2) ‘There was a strange madman, a brave in the arena of love.’

Dedi Mūsā sän nečük dēvāna sän, ‘arž etip näčük ki gustāhāna sän. (BN91v:9) ‘(Then) Moses said (to Baraq), “What a madman you are to talk so insolently!”’

3.3.2.4.1.2.3. The Suffix **-in**

This suffix indicate a quality derived mostly from concrete nouns.

ātašin (ShD159r:10) ‘hot, fiery’

‘anbarin (DN268v:6) ‘ambergris-color’

čirkin (Sayf121r13) ‘ugly’

rangin (DN262r:11) ‘colorful’

muškin (DN268v:8) ‘musk-color’

širin (Ḥ80v:8) ‘sweet’ [< **šir** ‘milk’]

E.g.,

Boyi šimšad rangin ‘arizi gul, labi ‘unnāb muškin sači sunbul. (DN262r:11) ‘Her body is [straight] like the box-tree, her colored face is a rose, her lips are red like the jujube-tree, her black and fragrant hair is [curly] like hyacinth.’

⁷⁸ Endearing word for child.

Falak qoydī enginā ‘anbarīn ḥāl, ayaḡi ay bašidīn qıldi ḥalḥāl. (DN268v:6) ‘The sky put an ambergris-color beauty spot upon its cheek and made an ankle-ring from the new moon.’

Qılma Šabānī vaqt-i saḡar ah-i atašin, kim tüşmäsün bu ahl-i ‘Iraq ol šarārima. (DN159r:10) ‘Shabānī, do not heave a fiery sigh before dawn⁷⁹ lest the people of Iraq are caught up in the [shower of] sparks [I exhale].’

3.3.2.4.1.2.4. The Suffix -nāk

The suffix **-nāk** makes adjectives from nouns expressing a sensation, such as pain, sorrow, anger, and others.

dardnāk (RM36r:6) ‘harrowing, excruciating’

ḡamnāk (ShD90r:12) ‘said, sorrowful’

namnāk (ShD88v:11) ‘wet, filled with tears’

sōznāk (AC323v:2) ‘burning’

E.g.,

Bar Bizning qatimızda dardnāk ‘azāblar. (RM36r:6) ‘We have in Our presence harrowing tortures.’

Nalalarim ‘ud bigin sōznāk. (AC323v:2) ‘My sound burns like the blaze of the aloe-wood.’

Čiqdı fiḡan ol dil-i ḡamnāktin: Ötti bu nuh parda-i aflāktin. (AC322r:10) ‘Sobs of complaint burst from my sorrowful heart and flew beyond the nine veils of heaven.’

Könglüm oldi ḡunčaning açilḡanidīn čākrak: Aškī tolḡan sabzarlardīn közlārim namnākarak. (ShD88v:11) ‘My heart is torn open more than an unfolding rosebud. My eyes are filled with tears more than the grass covered with dew.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.5. The Suffix -vār

‘Iraqivār (DN269v:2) ‘from Northern Persia’

mardānavār (ShD159r:1) ‘as befits a man’

sazāvār (AC322v:) ‘worthy of’

E.g.,

İšarat qıldi čōn ol ḡusn zaynī, ‘Iraqivār men tuttum ḡusaynī. (DN269v:2) ‘When that ornament of beauty ordered me with a gesture [to recite a poem], as a poet from Northern Persia I chose the *ḡusaynī* mode.’

Bu Šabānī har saḡar yanmaq turur mardānavār. Hacir otidīn nā qilur taqi moḡulčinzadae. (ShD159r:1-2) ‘This Shabānī is burning

⁷⁹ After the *tahaccud* prayer.

every morning as befits a [valiant] man. What does just one Moghul child do through the state of separation.’⁸⁰

3.3.2.4.1.2.6. The Suffix *-arāy* [< *arāstan* ‘to ornate, decorate’]

dilarāy (DN268v:8) ‘beloved’

maclisaray (DN231r:3) ‘decorating the company’

E.g.,

Kavākib orda va ol ortada ay; muğannī zuhra va ol maclisarāy.
(DN231r:3) ‘Stars are there and he is the moon among the stars.

The musician is Venus and he is the gem of the company.’

Kirip keldi qašimğa ol dilarāy, yūzi andaq ki muškīn pardada ay. (DN268v:8) ‘The Beloved entered and came to my presence; her face was like the moon upon a black curtain.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.7. The Suffix *-āmēz* [< *āmīhtan* ‘to mix, mingle’]

rangamezliq (DN271r:3) ‘the art of mixing colors’

‘*uzrāmez* (DN249v:6) ‘inclined to forgive’

E.g.,

Bitidim nāma etip ḥamanī tēz, sarāsar dard ammā ‘uzrāmez.
(DN249v:6) ‘I wrote a letter, moving the pen fast. It was pain from beginning to end, but was mitigated by excuses.’

Qalamğa berdi zihning tēzliḡni, anga ögrätti rangamezliḡni. (DN 271r:3) ‘Your mind bestowed speed upon the pen and taught it the art of mixing colors.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.8. The Suffix *-angez* [< *angihtan* ‘to excite’]

dardangez (DN253r:2) ‘pitiable, pitiful, exciting sympathy’

nišaangez (DN248v:10) ‘causing cheerfulness, raising the spirit’

šū‘*laangez* (ShD131r:12) ‘producing flames’

šū‘*badaangez* (AC325r:11) ‘ juggler producing magic tricks’

E.g.,

Ḥirman-i‘aqlimī yaqtiḡ šū‘*laangez* äyläbän; körmädīm vašliḡi bir dam har saḥar-ḥēz äyläbän. (ShD131r:13) ‘You scorched the harvest of my brain making it flare up in flames. I was not in union with you not even once although I would rise up early every morning.’

Alā ay mihri dardangez qilğan, içindä nälalarnī tēz qilğan. (DN 253r:2) ‘Hark ye, whose love excites pity, who have sharpened the complaints in your heart.’

⁸⁰ Just by not being here.

Har nafasē šu^cbadaangēz men. Maclis-i sultānda šakarrez men. (AC325r:12) 'I can produce a (new) magic trick at any moment. I am eloquent in the company of kings.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.9. The Suffix -bār [**< bārīdan** 'to rain down']

ātašbār (ShD83r:1) 'showering fire'

guhārbār (Sayf29v:2) 'eloquent' [**< 'showering jewels'**]

šakarbār (HB137b) 'sweet talking' [**< 'spreading sugar'**]

E.g.,

Ayā 'aqlī tāngiz sözi guharbār! (Sayf29v:2) 'Listen you whose intellect is like the sea and whose words are eloquent.'⁸¹

Āh-i ātašbārdīn boldī qaranğu 'alame, ay köngül cahd äylä kim yätsün falakgä tozlarıng. (ShD83r:1) 'From the fire-showering sighs the world has become dark. O, Heart, exert yourself so that your dust may reach the sky.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.10. The Suffix -bāz [**< bāhtan** 'to play, risk']

huqqabāz (Navā'i, Dict.IV-208) 'magician'

sarbāz (Sayf45v:9) 'soldier'

'išqbāz (Navā'i, Dict.II-74) 'lover, addicted to love'

E.g.,

Küymāgān 'išq icrā ermās 'išqbāz, 'āšiq ermās ol ki ermās cān-gudāz. (Navā'i, LT-154-16) 'He who does not burn in passionate love is not addicted to love. He is not a lover who does not melt his soul in fire.'

Böylä şarf etti 'umrun ol sarbāz ne yegäy qış dađı be käygäy yaz. (Sayf45v:9) 'The soldier spent his life with these [concerns]: What will I eat in winter and what will I wear in summer?'

3.3.2.4.1.2.11. The Suffix -band [**< bastan** 'to tie']

cigarband (H75r:2) '[dearly loved] son'

payband ((Navā'i, Dict. II,578) 'encumbered, fettered'

zabānband (DN270v:11) 'mute in amazement'

E.g.,

Sanga söz fayzī bolmay bir zamān band, sözüng sihri qilip elni zabānband. (DN270v:11) 'For you the benefit of words never stops flowing, not even for a moment; the magic of your words renders people speechless.'⁸²

⁸¹ Lit., scatter jewels like raindrops

⁸² Lit., ties the tongues of people

Dedi bizni tanımay sän çigarband, erür sän, ay azîzim bizgä farzand. (H75r:2) '(Together) they answered, "Do you not recognize us, dear? You are our son, O Precious One!"'

3.3.2.4.1.2.12. The Suffix -bös [**< bösidan** 'to kiss']

hakbos-luğ (Navâ'î, Dict.III,406) 'kissing the dust, visiting'

paybös (DN269r:1) 'kissing someone's feet'

zamînbös (Navâ'î, Dict.614) 'kissing the ground' [a ritual act]

E.g.,

Yüzini açti ol davlat arüsi, elig berdi sa'adat paybösi. (DN 269r:1) 'The bride of happiness unveiled her face and the kissing of the feet⁸³ of felicity took place.'

Dayr ara isma' naqış äyläyin, but sucüdında zamînbös äyläyin. (Navâ'î, Dict.614) 'Let us do less maligning in the tavern. Let us kiss the ground when we prostrate in front of the idol.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.13. The Suffix -cöy [**< custan** 'to look for']

fitnacöy (AC323r:4) 'quarrelsome'

E.g.,

Tanbura-i ğamzagarî fitnacöy macma'-i ol sazğa keltürdi röy. (AC 323r:4) 'The coquettish and quarrelsome Tanbura turned to the assembled string instruments.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.14. The Suffix -dâr [**< dâstan** 'to hold']

This suffix expresses that the referent holds or works with the object or possesses the quality expressed by the base noun. Most of the derivatives are used as titles or qualifications.

âbdâr (DN269v:3) 'brilliant' [**< âb** 'lustre, splendor']

maş'aladâr (Sayf161r:6) 'torchbearer'

pardadâr (DN265r:1) 'doorkeeper' [> confidant]

kamandâr (DN326v:5) 'archer'⁸⁴

vafadâr (Sayf121r:8) 'faithful'

E.g.,

İçidâ pardadârî Zuhra bolsun, muhâlifni çiqarip uzr qolsun. (DN265r:1) 'Inside the planet Venus should be the doorkeeper; she should single out the opponents and ask them to leave.'

Oqudum la'li teg bir şî'r rangin, laţif va âbdâr va narhî sangin. (DN269v:3) 'I recited a poem colorful like a red and white flower: it was delicate, brilliant, and its price was heavy.'

⁸³ I.e., being in the presence

⁸⁴ Warrior or hunter with the most prestigious weapon.

Dedi Ğicak, “**Hurdak-i ‘ayyār men, s̄az içidā rind-i kamāndār men.** (AC326v:5) ‘Then Ghijak spoke: I am a smart mischiefmaker. Among string instruments I am an intoxicated archer.’

Saġindim m̄n sāni yār-i yafādār, valēkin bilmādım böylā cafākār. (Sayf121r:8) ‘I have considered you a faithful friend. I did not know that you were such a tyrant.’

Taqvāsiz ‘alim közsüz maş‘aladārğa oġsar. (Sayf161r:6) ‘A wise man without piety is like a blind torch-bearer.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.15. The Suffix -dōz [< dōhtan ‘to sew’] cāndoz (AC326v:6) ‘heartrending [< piercing the soul]’

E.g.,

Ğamzam oqı nāvak-i cāndōz erür, nālalarım barça cigarsöz erür. (AC326v:6) ‘The arrows of my amorous glances are lances that pierce the soul. My plaintive voice burns people’s livers.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.16. The Suffix -gīr [< giriftan ‘to take’] dāmangīr (Navā’ī, Dict., I, 499) ‘appealing for justice’ [< ‘holding on to s.o.’s skirt’] dastgīr (DN270v:5) ‘help, support’⁸⁵ diligīr (ShD122v:13) ‘annoyed, displeased, despondent’ şabgīr (ShD31r:4) ‘vigilant’

E.g.,

Bu Camşid oldi cānim dastgiri, ki boldum şı‘r mulkiniġ amiri. (DN270v:5) ‘This Jamshid was the supporter of my life, and I became the prince of the kingdom of poetry.’

Ay nasım-i şubh ol könglüm murādığa degil, bu Şabānini neçā hacrında dilgır etgā sen. (ShD122v:13) ‘O, Gentle Breeze of the morning, for the desire of my heart tell [me] how long will you keep Shabāni despondent in your absence.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.17. The Suffix -h̄wān [< h̄wāndan ‘to read’] ġazalh̄wān (DN266r:8) ‘reciter of amatory odes’ şabh̄wān (DN269r:8) ‘singing at night’ qışşah̄wān (Navā’ī Dict. IV, 56) ‘story-teller’

E.g.,

Bolup bulbul cāman içidā şabh̄wān, ünidin açılıp gullar yüz alvān. (DN269r:8) ‘In the orchard the nightingale was the singer of the night; from her voice a hundred sorts of flowers burst into bloom.’

⁸⁵ Lit., he who takes the hand of those who have fallen

Ğazalḥwān boldi bustān iĉrā durrāc, köngüldin şablarni qildi tarāc. (DN266r:8) 'In the garden the francolin became the reciter of amatory odes and robbed the heart of its patience.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.18. The Suffix -ḥwāh [< ḥwāstan 'to desire']
havaḥwāh (DN263v:5) 'adherent, devotee'
 'uzrḥwahim. (DN257v:8) 'apologist'

E.g.,

Qutulmay qayğudın gar furqatingda ğamingdın özgä bolsa 'uzrḥwāhim. (DN257v:8) 'I do not wish to rid myself of sadness in your absence if other than grief because of you is my apologist.'
**İcimdin ötrü ĉiqqay nāla va āh, yüzüng ḥwarşedinā bolup hava-
 ḥwāh.** (DN263v:5) 'From my inside complaints and sighs emerge, since I am an adherent of the sun of your face.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.19. The Suffix -navāz [< navāḥtan 'to caress']
dilnavaz (DN260v:7) 'mistress'
barbatnavoz (Nava'ī, Dict., I, 215) 'a harper'

E.g.,

**Sanga yüz qoyğusi dur dilnavāzing kelip baş tüzgüsi dur sarv-i
 nāzing.** (DN260v:7) 'Your mistress will for sure turn toward you. With head held high your sweetheart⁸⁶ will surely come.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.20. The Suffix -pāš [< pāšidan 'to scatter']
durrpāš (Nava'ī, Dict., I, 518) 'scattering pearls'
guharpāš (DN255v:1) 'scattering pearls'

E.g.,

**Közümning kirpüki boldi guharpāš, qalam teg har ḥaṭṭına qoyu-
 ban baş.** (DN255v:1) 'The eyelashes of my eyes were shedding gems. Like a pen I bowed to every character.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.21. The Suffix -paymā[y] [< paymūdan 'to measure']
bādapaymāy (DN259r:9) 'wine-drinker'
cahanpaymā (Nava'ī, Dict., I, 11) 'travelling all over the world'

E.g.,

**Şafaq dek köz yaşidın bādapaymāy, tanidın körgüzüp har kün
 yāngi ay.** (DN259r:9) 'He is a wine-drinker consuming his tears red like the color of the dawn. His body reminds one the new moon everyday.'

⁸⁶ Lit., your stately cypress

Yār erür cān içrā, sen ġafil valē istāp anī, kečā-kündüz el kibi bulmaq cahanpaymā nā sud. (Navā'ī, Dict., I,572) 'The Beloved is inside the heart. But unaware of this, what is the use of travelling all over the word night and day like the wind.'

- 3.3.2.4.1.2.22. The Suffix -pōš** [**< pōšidan** 'to put on, cover']
curmpōš (ShD73r:9) 'forgiving'⁸⁷
ħirqapōš (Navā'ī, Dict. III,400) 'dervish'
parniyanpōš (DN263r:7) 'wearing a garment of fine painted Chinese silk'
sabzapōš (Navā'ī, Dict. III,11) 'donning a green garment'

E.g.,

Damī kim bolsa [dar]yā parniyanpōš, tamadduħ qilsa ħāšāk etmāğāy cōš. (DN263r:7) 'The sea, when it dons its garment of fine colored Chinese silk, is not going to be agitated by the chaff's [self-serving] praise.'

Barča cismim ħacr otidin rēš u marhamliq mamuq, ittišālīdin men-i 'uryānnī derlār ħirqapōš. (Navā'ī, Dict. III,400) 'From the fire of separation my entire body is covered with wounds and elixir-soaked cotton-balls. For union with her they call me, the naked, the one covered with a dervish robe.'

Ne qorqa dur qāzī bilān muftī qadaħning curmidin? Aħmad šafā'atēi turur, sultān-i 'alam curmpōš. (ShD73r:11-12) 'Why are the Qazi and he Mufti afraid of the sin of the cup? [After all they should realize that] Aħmad is the intercessor and the Sultan of the World is the forgiver.'

- 3.3.2.4.1.2.23. The Suffix -ras** [**< rasīdan** 'to arrive']
firyādras (AC322r:7) 'he who answers a call for help'
dastras in dastraslik (DN242v:3) 'a having access to'

E.g.,

Ešikdin kirdi ol 'İsâ nafasliq ki tapti kün qašında dastraslik. (DN242v:3) 'Through the door entered the individual with Jesus's breath, who was granted access to the presence of the sun.'

Mūnisim ol Yār-i ħiyālī, va bas. Ol edi fiyādīma fiyādras. (AC 322r:7) 'The vision of my Friend was my comforter; there was no one else. It was He who responded to my call for help.'

- 3.3.2.4.1.2.24. The Suffix -rēz** [**< riħtan** 'to pour']
bargrēz (Navā'ī, Dict., I,218) 'fall, autumn'

⁸⁷ Lit., covering sins for Ar. *ğufrān*

gulrēz n. 'flowered silk material'
ḥunrēz (Navā'ī, Dict., III,218) 'killer'
šakarrez (AC325r:11) 'scattering sugar'

E.g.,

Har nafasē šu' badaangēz men, maclis-i sultānda šakarrēz men.
 (AC325r:11) 'I can produce a [new] magic trick at every moment.
 I am eloquent in the company of kings.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.25. The Suffix -afrōz [< afroḥtan 'to light up']
dilafrōz (Navā'ī, Dict., I,485) 'cheering up the heart'
maclisafroz (DN266v:2) 'one who brightens up the party'

E.g.,

Barīp bulbulnī qilgīn maclisafroz; degin, "Āhang tūz, kim boldī navroz."
 (DN266v:2) 'Go and bid the nightingale brighten up the party; tell him: Tune [your instrument], for the new year festival is here.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.26. The Suffix -sāz [< sāḥtan 'to make']
damsāz (DN263v:3) 'friend, confidant'
čarasāz (DN260v:10) 'provider of remedy'
fusunsāz (DN269r:4) 'conjurer, worker of spells'
kārsāz (Navā'ī, Dict., II,128) 'effective, creative'
suḥansāz (AC324v:8) 'liar'
qišsasāz (Navā'ī, Dict., IV,56) 'story-teller'

E.g.,

Va gar ev ičrā salsang masnad-i nāz, boluban 'ayš ara ne birlā dāmsaz.
 (DN263v:3) 'And if you establish your seat of affection in the house occupying yourself with anything during the feast...'
Muğanni sihr ara boldī fusunsaz, čiqardī har eligidin bir avāz.
 (DN269r:4) 'The singer, spellbound, worked magic: he pulled melodies from his sleeves⁸⁸ one after the other.'
Bašarat kelgūsi dur ḥidmatinga sa'adat bolgūsi dur čarasāzing.
 (DN260v:10) 'Good news will surely come to you.⁸⁹ Felicity will be your provider of remedy.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.27. The Suffix -sōz [< sōḥtan 'to burn']
cānsōz ((Navā'ī, Dict., I,592) 'heart-rending'
cigarsoz (AC326v:6) id.
dilsōz (Navā'ī, Dict., I,490) id.

⁸⁸ Lit., hands

⁸⁹ Lit., to your presence

E.g.,

Ġamzam oqı nāvak-i cāndōz erür, nālalarım barça cigarsoz erür.
(AC326v:6) ‘The arrows of my amorous glances are lances that pierce the soul. My plaintive voice burns people’s livers.’

3.3.2.4.2. Formation by Prefixes

In Chagatay only Persian prefixes are used for creating adjectives.

3.3.2.4.2.1. Formation by Persian Prefixes

A few nouns, adverbs, prepositions, and particles took on the role of prefixes already in classical Persian and became a favored means of Chagatay word formation. They most preferably occur on Persian and Arabic nouns. Some of them, such as **nā-**, spread over to Turkish word materials.

3.3.2.4.2.1.1. The Prefix **bā-** [< **bā** ‘with’]

bābahā (BH4r:7) ‘valuable’

bāsaḫā (BH17v:8) ‘pure’

bāḫabar (Navā’ī, Dict., I,319) ‘informed, knowledgeable’

bānām-u nišan (ShD62v:4) ‘famous’

E.g.,

Bu qaşıda şāni‘ung şun’in ‘acā’ib körsätür. Şubḫ-i ‘ālam dek munavvar. Ham künaş dek bāsaḫā. (BH17v:8) ‘This qaşıda reveals the astonishing artistry of the Maker. It illuminates the World exactly like the dawn. [It is] also serene and pure like the sun.’

3.3.2.4.2.1.2. The Prefix **ba-** [< **ba** ‘to, at, by’]

baḫā (Navā’ī, Dict., I,192) ‘appropriate, good’

baḫūş (ShD73r:10) ‘upon the shoulder’

baḫāyat (Navā’ī, Dict., I,192) ‘extremely’

başar (GD159,6) ‘to an end’

başām (Navā’ī, Dict., I,233) ‘until evening’

bataḫşış (Navā’ī, Dict., I,192) ‘especially’

batang (Navā’ī, Dict., I,229) ‘narrow’

bayak (GD93,1) ‘all at once’

E.g.,

Sirr bilmäyin qāzī neteg dayr-i muḫānni der ḫarāb? Gar bilsä erdi mastnī olḫay edi ani baḫūş. (ShD73r:10) ‘Without knowing the secrets, how come the Qazī calls the house of the magi ruins? Had he known the drunk, he would have lifted him upon his shoulder.’

3.3.2.4.2.1.3. The Prefix *bar-* [< *bar* ‘upon, on, over’]

barbād (H77v:2) ‘destroyed, ruined’⁹⁰

barcōš (DN234v:7) ‘agitated’

barṭaraf (RM31v:6) ‘at the side, aside’

barqarār (ShD2r:1) ‘established, existing’

E.g.,

Andīn oldī cumla ‘**alam barqarār**. (ShD2r:1) ‘Through him the entire word came into existence.’

Buzup barbād qildī nečā yārdā ḥānmanlarnī. (H77v:2) ‘He ruined and destroyed families in many places.’

Bašimdin eltibān may naš’asī hōš, berip yüz ši’r baḥri tund va barcōš. (DN234v:7) ‘The excitement caused by the wine took intellect from my head. The ocean of a hundred poems emerged, agitated and vehement.’

3.3.2.4.2.1.4. The Prefix *bē-* [< *bē* ‘without’]

beadab (AC325r:5) ‘ill-mannered’

bēcān (DN258r:2) ‘lifeless’

bēcāra (H77v:5) ‘helpless’

bēgumān (MM178r:6) ‘without doubt, certain’

bēkas (H77v:5) ‘destitute’

bēhaya (AC325r:3) ‘shameless, impudent’

bēhadd (DN265r:11) ‘endless’

bēhirad (AC326r:11) ‘fool’ [< without understanding]

bēmadār (BN91r:2) ‘ephemeral’

bēmihr (DN270v:6) ‘without the sun’

bēmurād (BN86r:8) ‘without intent’

benamāz (RM29r:9) ‘he who does not perform the five prayers’

bēqarār (RB324v:6) ‘restless’

bēqiyās (BN85v:7) ‘immense’

bērava (Sayf182v:11) ‘without splendor’

bēsabab (BN85v:9) ‘without motive’

betaḡayyur (DN247v:9) ‘unchanging’

betakalluf (DN264r:11) ‘unaffected, simple, frank’

bedard u ranc (DN271v:9) ‘without pain and trouble’

bēḡwast adj. (DN247v:3) ‘spontaneous’

bēmārliq n. (DN259v:10) ‘a being sick, ailing’

bēnavā adj. (Sayf187r:4) ‘destitute’

bē sar-u barg (DN242r:5) ‘destitute, confused’

bēvafā (Sayf180v:6) ‘faithless, deceitful’

⁹⁰ Lit., tossed to the winds

E.g.,

Oqur hālatda mīmi körgüzüp sīn, sevünüp bētakalluf qıldi taḥ-sīn. (DN264r:11) ‘As she was engaged in reading [the letter] her mīm-shape mouth displayed a sīn [> a wide smile]; she was happy and candidly expressed her approval.’

Dedi, “Yetkür anga kim yoq qarārī, yolunda bar bēhadd inti-zārī.” (DN265r:11) ‘She said: “Deliver it to the one who has no rest, who keeps an eye on my road with endless expectations.”’

Ḥudāya tā yaratur çarḥ bemihir, özin Zāḥḥāk körgüzür Minu-çihir. (DN270v:6) ‘O Lord, until the [time comes when the] sky illuminates without the sun and Minuchihr displays himself a Dahhak.’⁹¹

Nizāmī teg işin bēdard u ranc et, aning Dahnāmasīni panc gan-et. (271v:9) ‘Make his work [enjoyable] without pain and trouble like those of Nizāmī, make his Ten Letters [as valuable as] the Five Treasures.’⁹²

3.3.2.4.2.1.5. The Prefix *ğayr-* [< *ğayr* ‘without’]

Frequent in Classical Persian. In Chagatay it is mostly treated as a noun. It occurs either as a secondary preposition or takes the noun with possessive suffix.

ğayrdōst (ShD23v:4) ‘enemy, rival’

ğayрмақсуд (MQ21r:14) ‘not intended’

ğayr ahli (Sayf13r:7) ‘a lowly person’

E.g.,

Tarbiyat ğayr ahlina qılmaq gunbad üstündä qoz qoymaq tu (Sayf13r:7) ‘To educate a lowly person is like putting walnuts the tope of a dome.’

Yolnı yürümäy kirkän itär va ğayрмақсуд yergä yetär. (N 21r:14) ‘He who enters upon the path which he has not travel before, loses his way and arrives to a place he did not intend to g

3.3.2.4.2.1.6. The Prefix *ḥwaš-*

ḥwašāvaz (Sayf98r:11) ‘having a pleasant voice’

ḥwašalḥān (ShD161r:10) ‘having a pleasant tone of voice’

ḥwašbāda (ShD156r:10-11) ‘a tasty sort of wine’

ḥwasbū (ShD141v:11) ‘having a pleasant fragrance’

ḥwašguvar (ShD155r:5-6) ‘easy of digestion’

ḥwašmaqal (Sayf46v:2) ‘of agreeable speech’

⁹¹ I.e., for ever, because Minuchihr will never be remembered as a tyrant

⁹² I.e., the *khamisa*, the five epics of Nizāmī

ḥwašnām (ShD144v:11) ‘having a good repute’
ḥwašrāy (Sayf106v:6) ‘having good judgment’
ḥwašvaqt (Sayf59v:9) ‘happy; safe’

E.g.,

Hwašdilbar va **hwašsaqī**, **hwašbadae** **hwašbaqī** m̄an tašnalab va miskīn ol ḥurram va azada. (ShD156r:10-11) ‘A delightful heart-ravisher, an obliging cupbearer, tasty wines, and tasty leftovers: my lips are thirsty. I am miserable while she is happy and free from care.’

3.3.2.4.2.1.7. The Prefix nā- [< nā ‘no’]

nāahl (BH4v:5) ‘lowly, mean’
nācīns (Sayf120r:8) ‘ignoble, lowly’
nāḥalaf (Sayf161r:8) ‘worthless’
nāḥwaš (MM180r:9) ‘unpleasant’
nākas (Sayf87v:12) ‘base, worthless’
nāmavzūn (Sayf115r:7) displeasing, offensive’
nāmurād (ShD118r:7) ‘disappointed’⁹³
nāpāk (RM20v:2) ‘impure’
nārasīda (Ḥ81r:8) ‘child’ (< ‘not fully grown’)
nāravā (MM192r:7) ‘unjust’
nāsazā (Ḥ80v:9) ‘improper’

E.g.,

Bēvafalardīn umēd tutḡan kiši nāahl erūr. Ot va yel topraq va su tarkībidā bolmas baqa. (BH4v:5) ‘He who sets his hope on what is not constant is not worthy of being called a man, [for] there is no permanency in the compounds of fire and air, or earth and water.’
Sizā bārgāy ummatīngnī qādirim rōz-i caza, ham kečürgāy garčī ummatdin ötār köp nāsazā. (Ḥ80v:9) ‘My Omnipotent One will entrust you with the fate of the Community on the Day of Retribution. He will even forgive, (upon your intercession,) those members of the community whose service was unworthy.’

3.3.2.4.2.1.8. The Prefix šāhib- [šāhib-i ‘the owner of’]

Originally the first element of classical Persian izāfat-structures created on the pattern of Arabic status constructus of the same function. [The Persian **ḥudavand** for **šāhib** was rare in Chagatay.]

šāhibcamāl (Sayf10r:11) ‘beautiful’
šāhibdavlat (Sayf5v:13) ‘wealthy’
šāhibhudā (MM185r:6a) ‘wellguided’

⁹³ I.e., he who did not reach his goal

šāhibihsān (MM178r:5) ‘beneficient’
šāhibkaram (Sayf160v:2) ‘generous’
šāhibniyāz (MM184v:13) ‘needful’
šāhibvuqūf (RM45r:1) ‘aware’
šāhibrašād (MM190v:15) ‘faithful’
šāhibuquš (MM191r:1) ‘wise’
šāhibvaqt (Sayf62r:5) ‘pious’

E.g.,

İkkisi uzun boylu šāhibcamāl dađı biri qısqa boylı edi. (Sayf 10r:11) ‘Two of them were tall and handsome while one of them was short.’

Qanda kim šāhibkaram tiktı sađavat nađlinı, köklärä çıqtı butaqları anıng rif‘at bilän. (Sayf160v:2) ‘When a charitable person plants a tree of generosity its branches rise high and reach the sky.’

Kişi bu şıfat birlä bolsa qačan bolur šāhibihsān va ahl-i amān. (MM178r:5) ‘If a person possesses these qualities, he will become generous and secure.’

Agar yesä awnı tutup it ħarām, ħalāl yemäs ersä, ay šāhibuquš. (MM191r:1) ‘If the dog catches a game and eats from it, that game is not allowed. If it does not eat from the game, it is allowed, O, Wise One!’

3.4 Pronouns

There are twelve pronouns in Chagatay: personal, reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, deictic, interrogative, indefinite, universal, collective, assertive, negative, and relative.

3.4.1. Personal Pronouns

In Chagatay personal pronouns constitute a suppletive system: First and second persons in the singular and plural are original personal pronouns, while in the third person singular and plural the demonstrative pronouns **ol, olar** fill in for the missing grammatical entities.

	Singular	Plural
First Persons		
Nominative	men ‘I’	biz ‘we’
Accusative	meni ‘me’	bizni ‘us’
Genitive	mening ‘my’	bizning ‘our’
Dative	manga ‘to me’	bizgä ‘to us’
Locative	mendä ‘in me’	bizdä ‘in us’

Ablative	mendin ‘from me’ ~ mendän id.	bizdin ‘from us’ ~ bizdän id.
Comparative	mening teg ‘like me’	-
Equative	menčä ‘according to me’ ~ meningčä id.	-
Privative	mensiz ‘without me’	-
Second Persons		
Nominative	sen ‘you’	siz ‘you’
Accusative	seni ‘you’	sizni ‘you’
Genitive	sening ‘your’	sizing ‘your’
Dative	sanga ‘to you’	sizgä ‘to you’
Locative	sendä ‘in you’	sizdä ‘in you’
Ablative	sendin ‘from you’ ~ sendän id.	sizdin ‘from you’ ~ sizdän id.
Comparative	sening teg ‘like you’	-
Equative	senčä ‘according to you’ ~ seningčä id.	-
Instrumental	senin ‘with/through/by you’	-
Privative	sensiz ‘without you’ ~ sensizin id.	-

Third Persons:

Note: The forms of **ol**, **olar**, **alar**, filling in for the missing third person singular and plural, are identical with those of the demonstrative pronoun **ol** [see 3.4.5.].

	Singular		Plural	
Nominative	ol	‘he, she, it’	alar	‘they’
Accusative	anı	‘him, her, it’	alarnı	‘them’
Genitive	anıng	‘his, her, its’	alarnıng	‘theirs’
Dative	anga	‘to him, her, it’	alarğa	‘to them’
Locative	anda	‘in him, her, it’	alarda	‘in them’
Ablative	andın ~ andan	‘from him, her, it’ id.	alardın alardan	‘from them’ id.
Comparative	andaq	‘like him, her, it’	-	
Equative	añça	‘like him’ her, it’	alarça	‘like them’
Instrumental	anın	‘with him, her, it’	-	
Privative	ansiz ~ ansizin	‘without him, her, it’ id.	-	

E.g.,

Men emdi bir gadā **sen** pādšāhē, magar cān tartqay **allingda ahe?** (DN250v:8) ‘I now am a beggar and you are a king. May a soul heave a sigh in your presence, I wonder?’

Meni sen šam^c teg küydürmäging ne? **Cafa va cavr etäkin tür-mäking ne?** (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself⁹⁴ in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty [upon me]?’

Kördüm ävlä vaqt bir zälīm uyur, aytтім ol fitna uyusa yahšī-raq. (Sayf20v:6-7) ‘I saw a tyrant sleeping at noon-time. I said [to myself]: He is a manace, it is better if he sleeps.’

Yüzüñ bergäy manga, ay hūsn bāgī ‘ināyat körgüzüp yarlıg ni-šanī. (DN251r:10) ‘May your face, showing mercy, give me the sign of [your] command, O, Garden of Beauty.’

Notes: (1) For the first person singular, out of modesty, the words **banda** ‘servant’, **kamīna** ‘the lowliest person’, **bu faqīr-i haqīr** ‘this wretched poor’, **bu qul** ‘this servant’ are used. E.g.,

Mundağ aytur faqīr-i haqīr. (RM1v:4) ‘Thus spoke [I] the poor and wretched [Muhammad Shaybānī Khān].’

(2) The genitive case of the first and second persons and of the demonstrative pronouns **ol**, **alar** acting as personal pronouns for the third person, may occur as **meni**, **seni**, **bizi**, **sizni**, **anī**, and **alarnī** [short or apocopated forms of the genitive marker, see 3.1.4.2.5.2.]. E.g.,

Māni ‘aybimnī yaw gaffar-i sattar. (H81v:8) ‘Cover [> forgive] my sins, O Most Forgiving God, the Concealer of Sins!’

Biri aydi seni munluğ atang män. (H75r:3) ‘[Then one of them] continued, “I was your concerned father.”’

İçim küydi alarnī sözlärigä. (H75r:5) ‘When I heard their words [I suffered as if] my innards had caught fire.’

Anī kätidä yätmiş ming firištä. (H82v:1) ‘Behind him came seventy thousand angels.’

Tanur mu sän māni cān dilimni? (H76r:2) ‘Do you know, (my boy), the beloved of my soul and heart?’

(3) The first and the second person personal pronouns are used as predicative words in nominal sentences. E.g.,

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarçi yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a

⁹⁴ Lit., tying up your skirt to your waist

hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].’

Sen navgul-i ḥandān sen, mān bulbul-i nālān mān kim hacrīng ara iṣim faryād ilā afḡān dur. (ShD34r:11) ‘You are a beaming fresh rose, I am a supplicating nightingale: Separated from you I spend my time in moaning and lamenting.’

Mān ol ṣubḥ-i sa^cadat mān, ki Čingīs kökidin toḡdum: Qaçan kim tābrāsām yel teg Tīmūr šam^ci öcār mendin. (ShD120r:3-4) ‘I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Tīmūr goes out as I pass.’

(4) The predicative words **men** and **sen** may directly follow the subject pronoun or may be attached to them through the particle **ök** [see 3.9.2.1.] for emphasis. E.g.,

Sān ök sen yaratḡan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v:6) ‘You are the one who have created this earth, sky, sun and moon.’

Safar ḥacat ermās, sān ök sām ḥicab. (MM197r:6) There is no need to travel: You yourself are the veil.’

Sān sām ol laškarda šafflar üzgän er, er daminda erdāmin kör-güzgän er. (Sayf7r:9) ‘You are the man who breaks the lines of the [enemy’s] army, who shows his skill facing those who are [also] skilled.’

(5) The dative case with **yoq** or **bar** expresses possession (i.e., the subject’s having or not having something). E.g.,

Manga yoq tur figarē sendin özgä, sanga yoq tur nigarē mendin özgä. (DN253v:5) ‘I do not have a sore wound other than [what I inflicted upon] you, you do not have a sweetheart, other than me.’

(6) In the dative case sporadically the forms **sangar** ‘to you’, **angar** ‘to him’ may occur, especially in early manuscripts. E.g.,

Tewä, uy kārāk aṭ, qatir, ya ḥimār alur bergä mām ter yarīn kün sangar. (MM191v:1) ‘[Suppose] someone takes your camel, cow, horse, mule or donkey and says, “I will return it to you tomorrow.”’

Angar māngzägän yoq, qamuḡdīn arīḡ. (MM178r:14) ‘Nothing is like Him, he is unrelated to everything.’

(7) Instead of **sizlär** the form **silär** may occur, as in colloquial Uzbek today. E.g.,

Nä bā^cisdin silär otqa giriftār? (H75r:5) ‘Why are you captive in the fire?’

- (8) Personal pronouns may be subjects [agents] to gerunds in **-p**. E.g.,
Sen unutup maḥabbatpēšalarni, saġinip qandaġi andešalarni.
 (DN257r:4) ‘You have forgotten the lovers⁹⁵ anticipating the anxieties of those days.’
- (9) Personal pronouns may be used with imperatives for emphasis. E.g.,
Meni sen körmä ‘aciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat payasında dast-gāhīm. (DN257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’
- (10) The genitive case form may occur in substantival role. E.g.,
Ču men boldum sāning ġamni uzatma, bu savdāda meni ‘alam-ğa satma. (DN260r:7) ‘Since I became yours do not prolong the sorrow. In this transaction, do not sell me to the entire world.’

3.4.2. Reflexive Pronouns

3.4.2.1. The Pronoun *öz* ‘self’

The most frequently used reflexive pronoun in Chagatay consists of the noun *öz* ‘essence, self’ and the possessive suffixes to indicate person and number. In the first and second persons the suffixes conform to the rules of labial harmony [i > u; i > ü]. In the third person there is no labial harmony. E.g.,

Sing. 1. özüm	‘myself’	Plur. 1. özümüz	‘ourselves’
2. özüng	‘yourself’	2. özüngiz	‘yourselves’
3. özi	‘himself’	3. özlari	‘themselves’
	‘herself, itself’		

E.g.,

Agar alisa özümिंगni alsun. Har iş qilsa Hudaġim özi bilsün...
 (H74r:4) ‘But if He is determined to take [one of these three boys], let Him take mine. Whatever my Lord does, He should know that...’

Qatingda qand özini elġa satip, unutup özini sözünggä qatip.
 (DN250r:8) ‘In your presence the sugar sells itself to the people. Not aware of its own essence it mixes with your words.’

Üstadi taqi bildi kim özindän artuq dur. (Sayf39r:10) ‘His master also knew that [the young man] was stronger than him.’

Elig yup özidin su ħidmatında, ariġliq lâfin urmay ħazratingda.
 (DN244r:2) ‘The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.’

⁹⁵ I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God], i.e., sufis

Taniğa çolğaşıp zahmat cunūn teg, qoya berip özin ranc icrā nūn teg. (DN245v:9) ‘The pain turns and twists in his body like madness. Suffering made him look [curled] like the letter *nūn*.’
Öz özümä ayttım. (Sayf115v:4) ‘I said to myself.’

Note: (1) The reflexive pronouns can be inflected for cases. These are the forms of the dative case:

Sing. 1. özümgä ‘to myself’	Plur. 1. özümüzgä ‘to ourselves’
2. özünggä ‘to yourself’	2. özüngizgä ‘to yourselves’
3. özigä ‘to himself ‘to herself’ ‘to itself’	3. özlärigä ‘to themselves’

E.g.,

Qilip ğam elidin hay’atni tağyir, etip ‘işq āyatın özigä tafsir. (DN253v:4) ‘He changes [his] figure because of [his] sorrow and makes for himself a commentary of the verse of love.’

(2) In case form they are used to form reflexive verbs and verbal phrases:

özin bar ham ur- ‘to mess up oneself’
özigä kel- ‘to come to, regain consciousness’
özidin ket- ‘to be deeply moved’
öz özigä ta‘ammul qil- ‘to meditate to himself’

E.g.,

Saçim az bas ki özin urdı barham, sāning hāling bigin dur vaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) ‘My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].’

Aqar saylaba dek yaş közläridin, ketip qaldı şahāba özläridin. (H 82r:3) ‘The tears gushed from his eyes like torrents. (On beholding this) the companions were deeply moved.’

Ta‘ammul qildi bir dam öz özigä, qalam tilini açti söz yüzigä. (DN246r:11) ‘For a moment she meditated to herself [and then] opened the tongue of the pen in the face of the words.’⁹⁶

(3) **Öz** with no possessive suffix can precede a noun to express “own”. The possessive suffix on the noun that follows indicates the person. E.g.,

Cihan sultāni öz karamından yazuqin bağışlap āzad qilsa ne bolğay edi. (Sayf13r:4). ‘What difference would it make if the King out of his generosity forgave his sins and set him free?’

⁹⁶ I.e., he put to writing what he had formulated in her mind

Zāhid ōz maqāmīna kelip hādīmdān sufra tilādi. (Sayf52v:9).
‘The abstinent returned to his home and asked the servant to serve [him] food.’

3.4.2.2. The Pronoun **hwad** ‘self’

Persian **hwad** ‘self’ occurs in two functions: as a reflexive pronoun and as a pronoun of identity. It is a closed [indeclinable] morpheme: no personal or possessive suffixes can be added to it. Also, it does not form an Izafat construction with the pronoun or noun it relates to.

As a reflexive pronoun it occurs with personal pronouns or with finite verbs indicating the person of the agent. E.g.,

‘**Īnād etip anga bulğašmağaylar, valē inšaftin hwad ašmağaylar.** (DN271v:3) ‘They show no defiance and do not interfere; but they themselves do not go beyond what is just.’

Sān anī yüz aqçağa alıp sän, qudrat bilä hwad yaratmayıp sen. (Sayf148r:7) ‘You have purchased him for one hundred dinars. You did not create him yourself by [your creating] power.’

As pronoun of identity it is used for emphasis. In this role in the majority of cases it follows the noun it emphasizes. E.g.,

Kišining pāklaḡa köngli tartar, husn hwad pākdamanlıqtin artar. (ĤM307v:4) ‘A person’s heart is attracted to those who are pure. One’s beauty itself increases if one lives in purity.’

Manga körgüzmasün Tengri hwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay zulälīm. (DN242r:7) ‘May God Himself never make me see the day when my [source of lifegiving] water is equal in value with dust.’

Ay Ĥusaynī yetmäsä ol ay sening faryädīngğa, çarḥ u ancum hwad emäs dardīngğa darman qilğū dek. (ĤBXXI,7) ‘O Husaynī, if that moon does not answer your call for help, it is most likely that the firmament and the stars themselves are no remedy for your ailment.’

“**Qilīctin qil uçča yoq anga vahm, yavutmas özigä hwad oqđin vahm.** (DN245v:10) ‘He has no fear of the sword, not even as much as the tip of a hair. He does not let fear get to him even when he faces an arrow.’

3.4.2.3. The Pronoun **kändü**, **kändi**, **kändü özi** ‘self’

Rarely though, the pronoun **kändü** ‘self’ is also used. Sometimes it occurs together with **öz** + a possessive suffix: **kändü özi** or contracted, as **känd-**

özi. These pronouns are declinable: **kändüsi**, **kändüsini**, **kändüsindä**, **kändüläri**, **kändözindin**, and so on. E.g.,

Käräk bolsam anga män kändü kelsün. (Quṭb,94) ‘If he needs me, he himself should come.’

Ne tiläsäng sanga beräyin. Sen manga kendözüngni cüftländürgil. (NF76v:2) ‘Whatever you wish, I will give it to you. Agree to be my wife.’⁹⁷

Ahmaq ol kimärsä turur kim kendü özini barçadin artuq körsä. (NF74v:74v:7) ‘Fool is that person who regards himself more than anyone else.’

Kändünä raḥm qılmağan dā’im qurtula bilmäs ol maşaqatdan. (Sayf92r:5) ‘He who has no mercy on himself, will never be able to get rid of difficulties.’

Män turur män bu qın içrä mubtalā ‘āciz bolup, ol ulaşu tün va kün kendini zavqında tutar. (Sayf180r:9) ‘I am bogged down in this adversity incapacitated (while) she is having fun night and day all the time.’

3.4.3. Reciprocal Pronouns

The reciprocal pronouns are: **bir biri°**, **biri bir°**, **biri biri°**, **biri birisi°**. They are declinable. The case markers are attached to the second element. E.g.,

Hikāyatlar ulaşip bir birigä qulaq salmay yırlavçılar yirigä. (DN 234v:1) ‘Stories were going from one to the other. People did not pay attention to the songs of the singer.’

Firaqidin körüp cavr u sitamni, siğışturup biri birigä ğamni. (DN 236r:10). ‘I suffered abuse and oppression because of her absence, adding one sorrow to the other.’

Biri birgä bay‘i durust qabzi şart uşol maclis içrä, köngülgä kämiş. (MM191v:13) ‘The selling of one for the other is correct. Note [however,] that [the items purchased] must be taken into possession at the moment agreement on the transaction has been reached.’

Idioms: **biri biri songinča** (MM186r:8) ‘one after the other’
biri birisingä muḥalif (MM187v:2) ‘contradicting one another’
biri birgä mängzär (MM196v:14) ‘they resemble each other’
bir birigä yaqın (ShD80r:9) ‘close to one another’
bir birisidin sor- (GD138,6) ‘to question one another’

⁹⁷ Lit., Let yourself be married to me.

3.4.4. Possessive Pronouns

The genitive case forms of the personal pronouns constitute the possessive pronouns. They occur in adjectival ['my'] or substantival ['mine'] forms. They have full and short [apocopated] variants. The short forms are not used in substantival function.

The noun governed by a possessive pronoun most of the time carries a possessive suffix equivalent in person, and, with some limitations, also in number. Postpositions which follow a noun in the nominative case [see 3.2.1.1.] usually require possessive pronouns.

Full forms	
Singular	Plural
mening 'my'	bizning 'our'
sening 'your'	sizning 'your'
aning 'his, her, its'	alarning 'their'

Short [apocopated] forms	
Singular	Plural
meni 'my'	bizni 'our'
seni 'your'	sizni 'your'
ani 'his, her, its'	alarni 'their'

E.g.,

Mening işimgä oḡsar ol hikāyat, ki Hārūndin qilur^{lar} el rivāyat. (DN232r:6) 'The story that people narrate about Harun [ar-Rashid] resembles my case.'

Aning teg körgüzür söz rahnamūni ki tapti bir 'arab yazida suni. (DN232r:8) 'The roadguide of stories⁹⁸ thus represents: A Bedouin came upon [some] water in the desert.'

İşim işlägil ter bu kün sän mäning, yarın işlägil män işing ter **säning**. (MM191r:18) '[Let us suppose that] someone says to you, "Do my work today and I will do your work tomorrow."'

Biling awni kim tutsa bolur aning, ra'iyat, vazir, beg karäk **sulfanning**. (MM190v:8) 'Know that a game animal belongs to him who catches it, be he a [common] citizen, a vizier, a lord, or a sultan.'

Note: In the first person the forms **mänim** 'my, mine' **bizing**, **bizim** 'our, ours' **sizing** 'your, yours' are also used. E.g.,

⁹⁸ I.e., a narrator

Bizim cinsimizgä lä'iq dägül sultān hīdmatindä yalğan sözlämäk. (Sayf9r:9) 'It is not appropriate for people of our class to lie in the presence of the King.'

Gar otursa **bizing** bilän qāzī turuban 'āšiqāna raqş urur. (Sayf 59v:11) 'If the Judge were [here] sitting with us, he would jump up and dance like someone who is in love.'

Agar **sizing** cahingiz bilän bir cihat hāşil bolsa cam'ıyyat-i hātir ücün 'azīm minnat bolğay. (Sayf25r:10) 'If through your position an allowance could be worked out for a piece of mind it would be a big favor.'

3.4.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Chagatay distinguish the position of objects in relationship to the subject. Their values are relative and mutually exclusive: An object can be close or remote. Anything that is not close is remote and anything that is not remote, is close. A third option, close but not as close as, is present in popular literature [see 3.4.5.2].

Demonstrative pronouns can occur in adjectival [modifier] function. Only the singular forms participate in this role: **bu** **şimşad** 'this cypress', **bu** **şifatlar** 'these qualities'. Demonstrative pronouns in substantival role have plural forms in **-lar/-lär**: **Bular** **dağı** **čarik** **yasap** **qarşı** **yürüdlär**. (Sayf 110v:13) 'These also prepared an army and moved out against them.'

3.4.5.1. The Demonstrative Pronouns **bu** 'this' and **ol** 'that'

These demonstrative pronouns have full nominal inflection. The case forms do not have an equal distribution. Some of the adverbial forms are paralleled with postpositional forms. The latter gradually take over the functions of the cases.

Singular		
Nominative	bu 'this'	ol 'that'
Accusative	munī 'this [acc.]'	anı 'that [acc.]'
Genitive	munıng 'of this'	anıng 'of that'
Dative	munga 'to this'	anga 'to that'
Locative	munda 'here'	anda 'there'
Ablative	mundin 'from here' ~ mundan id.	andin 'from there' ~ andan id.
Equative	munča 'as [much as] this'	anča 'as [much as] that'
Terminative	munčağa 'up to this'	ančağa 'up to that'
Comparative	mundaq 'like this'	andaq 'like that'
Instrumental	munun 'by/with this'	anın 'by/with that'

Plural

Nominative	ular ‘these’	alar ‘those’
Accusative	ularni ‘these [acc.]’	alarni ‘those [acc.]’
Genitive	ularning ‘of these’	alarning ‘of those’
Dative	ularğa ‘to these’	alarga ‘to those’
Locative	ularda ‘among these’	alarda ‘among them’
Ablative	ulardan ‘from these’ ~ bulardan id.	alardan ‘from those’ ~ alardan id.

E.g.,

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarçi yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].’

Labim nuqlin alur bolsang ağızğa, çiqarğil baştin ol mayning humarin. (DN254v:3) ‘If you take the sweetmeat of my lips into your mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of that wine.’

Yüzüng közğü dur, ay husn icrä mahim, hazar qil kim anı tutmasun ahim. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O my Moon Among the Beauties. Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’

Ani ol halatta körüp könglüm agridi. (Sayf143v:4) ‘Beholding him in that condition, I felt compassion for him.’

Neçä tozutsa bād-i bahārī ‘abir u muşk, neçä çamanda bād-i hazān qilsa zargari, ançaga tegrü eygü ating hayr üzä qalip, sözlän-sän el tilindä cihanning dilavari. (Sayf182v:2-4) ‘As long as the spring gale scatters the dust of ambergris and musk, as long as the autumnal wind works as goldsmith in the meadow, so long will your good name remain with blessings and you will be called by people the hero of this world.’

Notes: (1) **Bu** ‘this’ (see 3.1.2.3.2.1.) and, less frequently, **ol** ‘that’ are used as definite articles especially with proper names. E.g.,

Rizq üçün cahd qil keräk qılma, berür ol bir va bar ‘azza va calla. (Sayf173r:1) ‘Whether or not you exert yourself to obtain your sustenance, God the One and Ever Existing, the Most High and the Most Majestic will grant it to you.’

Bu Harining daniş ahli har neçä ‘ayb etsängiz qayda kim bolsa Sabanī ol Samarqand arzular. (ShD42v:7-8) ‘[You] learned men of Herat it does not matter how much you blame me. Wherever Shaybanī may be, he is longing for Samarqand.’

Dedi, “Netsün kişi bu mubtalāğa, ki küç birlän özin saldı balā-ğa?” (DN245v:7) ‘She said, “What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition brings trouble upon himself?’

Bu Şabanining sevāri şar‘i dur, aning üçün közidin yaş aqturur. (ShD5r:9). ‘Shaybanī’s beloved is the Law. That is why he lets his tears flow from his eyes.’⁹⁹

(2) The locative case forms **munda** ‘here’ and **anda** ‘there’ may occur with verbs of motion to indicate destination [see 3.1.4.2.6.4.]. E.g.,

“Ne der sen munda gar keltürsäm anı, nihufta ündäsäm ol bēnāvāni?” (DN258v:7) ‘What would you say if I brought him here? If secretly I invited that miserable person?’

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān şuhbat yarağın qıl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) ‘Tell him that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will be there in no time.’

(3) Rarely, the locative case **anda** ‘there’ may also occur as an indirect object [see 3.1.4.2.5.8.]. E.g.,

Cavābida dedi ol qaşı hācib, kim anda parda açmaq bar mūnāsib. (DN258v:8) ‘In answer said [that intimate friend] whose eyebrow was like a chamberlain: It is now appropriate to open the the curtain.’

(4) Predicative compounds are, as a rule, preceded by the demonstrative pronouns **bu**, **ol**, or by the interjection **ay** (see 4.1.5.).

“Tişim lūlūsīdīn ol közi daryā, çıqarur mu falak yanglığ şurayyā?” (DN252v:2) ‘From the pearls of my teeth will that ocean-eyed [beauty] produce the Pleiades as the sky does?’

Vafāsiz dilrubā sän, ay beli qıl! (Sayf117v:12) ‘You are [surely] an unfaithful heart-ravisher, O [Beauty] with the waist [thin] like a hair.’

Ol yüzi ay kim cihānning cāni dur. (Sayf179r:10) ‘The moon-faced [beauty] who is the life of this world.’

(5) The pronoun **ol** is part of the relative conjunction **kim ol** [cf. Persian *ki ān*]. E.g.,

Faravan dard-i dil körgüzüp anda, qılıp şarhī kim ol siğmas gumānda. (DN243r:11) ‘In it I presented plenty of complaints about my situation the exposition of which did not leave place for doubts.’

⁹⁹ Touched by the majesty of God manifest in the perfection of the Law.

(6) **Mundağ** 'like this; such' and **andağ** 'like that; such' are equative forms used mostly in the popular style. E.g.,

Boldi İsmā'īl babam mīnāda qarabaşi, anbiyālarğa ħudāni mundağ erür ševasi. (H81r:4) 'Isma'īl was my Father's servant while my father was still [unborn] in the shell. Such is God's way with His Prophets.'

Tilāp alsun ki sizni bir ħudādīn, ötünsün sizni andağ ašnādīn. (H79r:5) '(Go and tell Muḥammad) to ask God to restore you to him, to implore Him to return you to him since He is such a good friend.'

(7) The privative forms **munsiz** 'without this' and **ansiz** 'without that' and their expanded versions **munsizīn** and **ansizīn** also occur mostly in adverbial function. E.g.,

Kingā kim inşaf yoq insān emäs, munsiz atvārīda cuz nuqşān emäs. (Navā'ī, Dict.,II,355) 'He who has no sense of justice, is not a real man. Without this there is nothing but deficiency in his manners.'

Mufarriḥ şevālī nāzuk dilārām, qıla bilmäs edi ansiz dil ārām. (Sayf70r:11). 'He is a delicate heartsoothing [beauty] with exhilarating coquettish glances without whom the heart would not be able to rest.'

3.4.5.2. The Demonstrative Pronouns **bol** 'this', **şol** 'this, that'

The pronouns **bol** 'this' [opposite of **ol** 'that'] and **şol** 'this', 'that' [not as close as **bol** and not an opposite of **ol**] are frequent in popular literature. They modify nouns in the majority of examples but occur also independently in predicative use. They have no plural form. E.g.,

Laşkar-i islāmni čäksām qızıl börk üstünä, bolğusı yāvar Madina kişvarīndīn şol Habīb. (ShD15r:10-11) 'When I bring the forces of Islam against the people of the red cap, the Friend from the land of Madina¹⁰⁰ will surely be my helper.'

Bol sözümnī qılmadıñ bol kün bacāy (BN90v:5) 'You did not grant my wish today.'

Bol işingä ol işing şadiq emäs. (BN90v:8) 'That act of yours is not consistent with this one.'

Şahlığgä bol işing lä'iq emäs. (BN89v:7) 'This act of yours is not becoming the status of a king.'

Yoq ersä ħalimiz bol dur parēşān. (H75r:4) 'But now we are in this pitiful state.'

¹⁰⁰ I.e., the Prophet Muḥammad

Idioms: **bol dam** ‘now’
bol kün ‘today’
bol damda ‘now’

3.4.6. Deictic Pronouns

Deictic pronouns are emphatic demonstrative pronouns. They point at specific referents [objects, facts, points] leaving no doubt about the identification: ‘this very’, ‘that very’, ‘this same’, ‘that same’. They often invite the listener to look at or carefully consider the referent. There are three sets of emphatic pronouns. They all are declinable, but in actual use none of them constitute a full paradigm.

3.4.6.1. The Pronouns **ušbu**, **ušol** or **ušal**

The deictic particle **uš** [see 3.9.3.] prefixed to the demonstrative pronouns **bu** and **ol** can occur both in adjectival and in substantival use. They are declinable although their paradigm is incomplete. The most frequently used forms are:

Singular				
Nominative	ušbu	‘this same’	ušol	‘that same’
Genitive	ušmunung	‘of this same’	-	
Dative	ušmunga	‘to this same’	-	
Locative	ušmunda	‘just here’	ušanda	‘just there’
Ablative	ušmundin	‘just from here’	ušandin	‘just from there’
Equative	ušmunča	‘quite this much’	ušanča	‘quite that much’
Comparative	ušmundaq	‘just this much’	ušandaq	‘just that much’

Plural

Nominative	ušbular	‘these same’	-
Accusative	ušbularni	‘these same’ [acc]	-
Genitive	ušbularning	‘of these same’	-
Ablative	ušbulardin	‘just from them’	-
Equative	-		-
Comparative	-		-

E.g.,

Vašl bağında hīrāmān tūn edim ƒā’us teg, ušbu kün čörgār māni čōn mār canān furqatī. (Sayf125v:5-6) ‘Yesterday, in the garden of our meeting, I walked pompously like a peacock. This very day the absence of the beloved makes me twist and turn like a snake.’

Tang atmazdin ušbu kārāk niyyatī. (MM186v:9) ‘One must state one’s intention [to fast] before dawn.’

Aşar qildi munga gulning camāli; yoq esā mān uşol topraq mān bil. (Sayf8r:9) ‘The beauty of the rose has affected me. Otherwise I am the same clay as I have been.’

Ay Şabānī uşbu makrūh dunyada şar‘inī qilsang dā‘im buldung calal. (ShD6v:8-9) ‘O, Shabanī in this frowned upon world if you do His Law, you will always find majesty.’

3.4.6.2. The Pronouns *in* ‘this’, *ān* ‘that’

The Persian demonstrative pronouns *in* ‘this’, *ān* ‘that’ are also used, especially to indicate exact opposites. The third option we have in Turkish is not available in Persian. E.g.,

Agar ol gavhar-i darya, talab qil, elinggā kirgāy. Yinā ol bolğay va in ham, valē nā ān nā in bolğay. (ShD176v:6-7) ‘If that is the pearl of the sea,¹⁰¹ search for it and it will come into your hands. Again, it will be that and also this, but it will be neither that nor this.’¹⁰²

3.4.6.3. The Pronouns *hamin* ‘this very’, *hamān* ‘that very’

The Persian pronouns *hamān* ‘that very, that same’ and, less frequently, *hamin* ‘this very, this same’ are also used as emphatic or assertive demonstrative pronouns. They are not declinable, have no plural form and occur rarely in substantival use. E.g.,

‘İsa āşakin Hicāza eltip kältürsā yana hamān āşak tur. (Sayf 139v:2) ‘If they take Jesus’ donkey [for a pilgrimage] to Hıjaz, it will be the very same donkey [when it returns].’

Ne bilgāy sen bu daryaning bapāyānī hamin bolğay: Buḥār ās-mān bolğay kaff-i darya zamin bolğay. (ShD176v:4-5) ‘How would you know that the dimensions of the sea are exactly these: The sky is fog, and the earth is the palm of [your] hand.’

3.4.6.4. The Pronouns with the Particles *oq/ök* ‘indeed, verily’

The demonstrative pronoun *ol* followed by the emphatic particle [see 3.9.3.] *oq* constitutes a deictic pronoun. The pronoun *bu* does not share this feature. E.g.,

Ol oq kitablardın çiqarip taşnif qıldim. (RM2r:8) ‘I drew upon those same books and composed [this manual].’

¹⁰¹ I.e., the object of your desire

¹⁰² The pearl desired and the pearl obtained are the same, but [in the market place] it has a price and that makes it different from what it was before: It is now a merchandise. Cf., Sayf *şadafdan ayrılur bolsa tapar cavhar ağır qimat.* (98r:10) ‘The pearl obtains a heavy price after it is separated from the shell.’

Note: The particle **ök** is also used with the second person singular personal pronoun **sen** ‘you, indeed you’ for the purpose of emphasis. E.g.,
Safar hācat ermäs sän ök sän hicāb. (MM197r:6) ‘There is no need to travel [in quest of Him], you yourself are the veil.’
Sän ök sän yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v:6) ‘It is you who created this earth, the sky, the sun and the moon.’
Avval va Āhir sen oq sen: barča ‘alamda ‘ayan. (ShD3r:3). ‘You are the first and you are the last: It is obvious all over the world.’

3.4.7. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns can be divided into three groups: (1) **Kim** ‘who’ and its case forms; (2) **Ne** ‘what’ and its derivatives; (3) Pronouns based on the root **qa-**.

3.4.7.1. The Pronoun kim ‘who’

The interrogative pronoun **kim** and its plural form **kimlār** occur only in substantival use. It is declinable and follows the paradigm of inflection of nouns. E.g.,

Kim habar berdi sanga kim sen bōri oğli sän? (Sayf14v:6) ‘Who told you that you are the cub of a wolf?’

Kim qilip tur bu falakni nuh řabaq bařtin ayaq? (BH3r:4) ‘Who made these heavens in nine layers from the highest point to the lowest?’

řab-i mi‘rac anı dōzařda kördüm: Bular kimlār bolur dep anda sordum. (H74v:10) ‘On the Night of the Ascension I beheld them in Hell. Who are these [creatures], I asked.

The following case forms of **kim** occur: **kimning** ‘whose?’ **kimgä** ‘to whom?’ **kimä** ‘to whom?’ **kimdä** ‘in whom?’ **kimdän** ‘from whom?’ E.g.,

Kimgä qilayim säning elingdän firyād? (Sayf33v:9) ‘Whom should I complain to about what you do to me?’

Yadgari qalsa kimning äygü at, ölmäs ol är kimdä bolsa bu řifat. (Sayf6v:11) ‘He who leaves behind a good name as a monument, will never die if he has these qualities in him.’

3.4.7.2. The Pronoun ne ‘what’

The pronoun **ne** ‘what’ occurs alone, in case forms, in derivatives, in grammatical phrases and in idioms. It is a frequently used morphological item. Without case ending it can be the subject or predicate of the sentence. In the role of a direct object it takes no case marker. Put before a noun it can serve as an emphasizer ‘what a...’ E.g.,

Ne vāqi ‘boldi?’ (RM21r:2) ‘What has happened?’

Körär men har kečä tüštä qara zulfingni zancir teg: ne keltürgäy bu başımğa ‘acab ol tüş parəşani. (Mavlana İshāq in Sayf179v:8) ‘I see every night in [my] dream your black tresses as chains: What [calamity] will, I wonder, the disheveled one of that dream bring upon my head?’

Ne debän men anı közdin salayin, köngül aldım, barip ham cän alayin. (DN246r:3) ‘By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?’

Meni, ay baht, ‘amdä tepmäking ne? Cirāhat üstidä tuz sepmäking ne? (DN244r:7) ‘O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt over my wounds?’

The following case forms of **ne** occur: **nečä** ‘how much?’; **nečägä** ‘to what extent?’; **negä** ‘why?’; **nedän, nädin** ‘why’; **nätäg** ‘how’ E.g.,

Haqiqatda Haqqa inangan kişi nätäg hali bolur üküš külgügä. (MM179r10) ‘[It also proves] how a person who truly believes in God will abstain from much laughter.’

Rāz-i ‘išqimni nätäg bilgäylär, ay arām-i cän, zāhid va mavlā va qāzi šayh mufti va haftib. (ShD17r:5-6) ‘O, Serenity of my Life! How would the abstinent, the master, the judge, the sheykh, the magistrate and the preacher know about the secrets of my life?’

Malāmat qiblasidin yüz evürmäs, hālā’iq nečä ta’n urşa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) ‘He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame, however much people criticize him, he does not say a word.’

Dilbarim nečägä tegrü men qulun qında tutar? Män qilič mu män, ‘acab kim meni ol qında tutar. (Sayf180r:7) ‘How long will my heart-ravisher keep me, her servant, in pain? Am I a sword, I wonder, that she keeps me in the sheath?’

The following derivatives of **ne** are in use: **nečük** ‘how?’ (< **nečä ök**); **nečün** ‘why?’ (< **ne üçün**); **netük** ‘how?’ (< **netä ök**); **nağu** ‘why?’

E.g.,

Hükamā qavlına nečük muhālafat qılayin? (Sayf99r:6) ‘How could I oppose the words of the wise?’

Nečün munča köp yalğan sözlär sözlägäy? (Sayf42r:11) ‘Why does he tell so many lies?’

Netük men ävüräyin öz gämimdin, ki pülād erigäy otluğ damimdin. (DN256v:8) ‘How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath..’

Basa ‘ulamā iḥtilāf qilip tur kim namāzning sanī beš vaqtin **naḡu** artuq äksük bolmadi. (RM25v:6-8) ‘But learned men differ as to why there are only five prayer times, not more or less.’

Hurāsān cāhilin bilip naḡu raḥm äylädim anga? **Dēvānalarḡa tizgāndim dēvāna emdi män dur män.** (ShD136v:12) ‘Why did I have mercy on the ignorant of Khurasan after learning about them? I resembled the madman and now I myself am a madman.’

The following phrases based on **ne** are in use: **ne türlüg** ‘in what way?’, ‘what kind of?’, **ne miqdār** ‘how much?’, **ne yüzün** ‘in what way?’, **ne yosunluq** ‘how?’, ‘by what method?’, **ne yoldan** ‘in what way?’, **ne yärdä** ‘where?’. E.g.,

Ne yerdä kim ganc bar, anda yilan bar. (Sayf158v:5) ‘Where there is treasure, there is snake.’

Māning cānimḡa ne otluḡ fiḡānlar, sāning könglüngdä ne türlüg gumānlar. (DN257r:5) ‘What fiery wailing for my soul. What kind of doubts in your heart!’

Idioms:

ne asiḡ ‘what is the use of’

ne ḡacat ‘what is the need of’

ne ḡašil ‘what is the outcome of’

netsün ‘what should he do?’ [with accusative case]

neyläyin ‘what could I do?’

ne ‘acab’ ‘no wonder’

ne debān ‘on what account’

E.g.,

Ne ḡacat kim qasam kirḡäy araḡa, yaminsiz bilgil išingning ya-sārın. (DN254v:7) ‘What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without a reference to the right.’

Note: **Ne** and some of its derivatives, in combination with the conjunction **kim** are often used to introduce a simple comparison or a hyperbola. E.g.,

Eligdä ḡatt sözi durr-i samīn teg, ne ḡatt kim ol nigārīstān-i cīn teg. (DN255r:5) ‘In the hand was the letter, its words were like costly pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.’

ḡatt icrā saldī köz ol tün cīrāḡi, netük kim tün içindä kün cīrā-ḡi. (DN245v:4) ‘When that Candle of the Night¹⁰³ glanced into that

¹⁰³ I.e., the moon

letter, it was like the lamp of the day¹⁰⁴ appearing in the [darkness of the] night.'

Tüzälip sarv boyung eşikimdin, kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä cānī. (DN251v:1) 'May Your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.'

3.4.7.3. The Pronouns Based on the Stem qa-

The following pronouns, based on the stem **qa-**, occur in Chagatay:

qačan 'when; whenever [i.e., never]'

qay, qayu 'which'

qaysi 'which'

qanda 'where'

qandağ 'how'

qayda 'where'

qanī 'where'

qayan 'where to'

qandīn 'where from'

qaydīn 'where from'

E.g.,

Erür dunyā fānī, bu māl, mamlakat, qanī māli Qārūn, qanī ol karam. (MM188r2) 'The world is transitory as are riches and possessions. Where [today] is the wealth of Qārūn? Where is that ditch [that swallowed him and his wealth? All are gone].'

Gahē kim qilsa yūzin kūn huvaydā, qačan h̄wad sāya bolğay anda paydā. (DN255v:9) 'Sometimes when the sun discloses its face, would ever a shadow make an appearance there.'

Fašilning öngindin songinča qayu şurat tüssä sacda-i sahvni kätür. (MM184v:2) 'Make propitiatory prostrations for any [of the omissions] enumerated anywhere in this chapter.'

Qanī 'aqlim, qanī fahmim, qanī fikrim, qanī nāmūs yangaqing alinī körgäç manga nāmūs uşandan dur. (ShD33r:12-13) 'Where is my mind, where is my understanding, where is my thought, where is my honor? My honor comes right then when I behold the vermilion color of your cheeks.'

Bağ va bustan icrā köp tur sarvlar, ay bāğbān! Lēk mundaq cilvagar sarv-i hīramān qayda dur. (ShD41v:5-6) 'In gardens and orchards there are many cypresses, O Gardener. But where is such a brilliant walking cypress?'

Kāfirilar qayda kirür. (IM4v:3) 'Where do the infidel go?'

¹⁰⁴ I.e., the sun

Ay faqir **qanda** kitär sän bu yol qattı yol durur. (Sayf58r:4) ‘Hey, poor man, where are you going? This is a difficult road.’

Heç bilmän bu ot mänim ävimä **qandan** tüšti. (Sayf38r:9) ‘I don’t know from where this fire got to my house.’

Qaysi davlat muning dek bolğay? (RM42r:2) ‘What happiness can be as great as this?’

Mihmaningiz **qaydin** dur, ay Šah? (H76v:2) ‘Where is your guest from, O King!’

Ki sizdin ayrilip **qandağ** bola miz, yaruğ dunyada **qandağ** kün körä miz. (H79r:3) ‘For how will we get along without you? What will our lives be like in this bright world?’

Qaçan qopsa va Tengrini yād qilsa bir tügün açilğay. (RM20r:6) ‘When he gets up [at night] and mentions God[’s name] one of the knots becomes undone.’

3.4.8. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns come from various segments of Chagatay. We present them in the following groups:

3.4.8.1. Nouns in the Function of Pronouns

Nouns used as indefinite pronouns are declinable. Most of the time, however, they occur as subjects of the sentence [i.e., in the nominative case].

(a) **kiši** ‘one, someone’; ‘no one’ [with negative verbs]

E.g.,

Tabarruk birlä cän ta^çvizi qıldım, **kiši** cön bilmädi özümni bildim. (DN242v:7) ‘I turned it into a sacred relic, a protective charm for [my] soul since I knew myself as no one [else] did.’

Dedi, “Netsün **kiši** bu mubtalğa, ki küç birlän özin saldı balāğa? (DN245v:7) ‘She said, “What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition, cast himself into trouble?”’

Kiši kün toğra ham kirışsä bolmas safahat käyninä erışsä bolmas. (DN246r:1) ‘One cannot interfere with his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.’

Bu ins pari qulluqindın yeg ol: İdî yığmıšındın yığilsa **kiši**. (MM 179r:6) ‘The best service men and fairies can render is to avoid what [our] Lord has forbidden.’

Qunut qalsa angsa ruku^çda **kiši** qayıtmasdın urğay sucüdğa baši. (MM185v:7) ‘If [the worshiper] has omitted the qunut supplication and remembers [this omission] during the bow, he should lower himself and put his head down in prostration without going back [to perform the qunūt].’

(b) **kimärsä, kim ersä, kimsä** ‘someone’; with negative verbs, ‘no one’.

E.g.,

Nāgah ešikdän bir kim ersä kirip bašarat kätürdi. (Sayf18v:10) ‘Suddenly someone came in through the door and brought some good news.’

Kim ersä ešigin dağı sufrasın açuq körmädi. (Sayf93r:13) ‘No one has ever seen his door or his table open.’

Tört kiši tört kim ärsädän qorqar. (Sayf25v:11) ‘Four people are afraid of four [types of] people.’

(c) **nemä, nemärsä, nemäginä** ‘something’

E.g.,

Baytarğa nemä kelmäs. (Sayf147r:13) ‘The veterinarian is not to blame.’¹⁰⁵

Agar munung dek nemärsälär köngüldä kečsä zikr ornıda bolur. (RM3r:10) ‘If such things occur in one’s mind, the *zikr* is still in place.’

(d) **ne kim** ‘whatever’

E.g.,

Ču mazmūni sarāsar boldi ma^člūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldi mafhūm. (DN255v:10) ‘When its content became entirely known, anything that was doubtful before now was completely understood.’

(e) **fulān** ‘someone, a certain, such and such’

E.g.,

Munga fulān kim ärsä sökti. (Sayf77v:9) ‘Someone cursed him.’

Fulān tağ başında. (Sayf12v:1) ‘On the top of such and such mountain.’

3.4.8.2. Adjectives in the Function of Pronouns

bašqa ‘other’

barča ‘all’

ba^čzī ‘some’

nečä ‘some’

öngin ‘other’

özgä ‘other’

yana ‘other’

¹⁰⁵ Lit., No [blame] comes to the veterinarian.

E.g.,

Barčani rāzi qıldim illā hasūdñi rāzi qıla bilmädim. (Sayf15v:8) 'I could please all, except the greedy whom I was not able to please.'

Va özgälär kim yer yüzidä yürürlär va safar qılurlar. (RM 38r:10) 'And others who move on the surface of the earth and make trips.'

Ol kim malikning haqqı edi ba^czisin adā qıldı. (Sayf35v:6) 'He paid back some of what he owed the king.'

3.4.8.3. Numerals in the Function of Pronouns

birär 'some, a certain'

biräv 'someone'

E.g.,

Bilig bilmiş üçün ^calimlär birär önginlär cāhil tep, takalluf qurar. (MM200v:10) 'Some learned men, just because they have acquired knowledge, engage in false display by calling others ignorant.'

Biräv kim cān bilän yoq tur niza^ci, neçük men bolayin qanina sā^ci? (DN246r:4) 'How could I be after the blood someone who has no quarrel with [his] soul?'

3.4.8.4. Pronouns with Possessive -i/-i

barisi 'all'

barčasi 'all'

biri 'someone'

E.g.,

Barčasi munung qatına keldilär. (Sayf14v:13) 'All came to join him.'

Tişi nārasida cunub hatnasiz boğuzlasa biri, ḥalāl ol, yätiz. (MM 191r:13) 'If a female, a preadolescent boy, an unclean or uncircumcised person slaughters an animal, the slaughter is lawful and fully acceptable.'

3.4.8.5. Pronominal Phrases with bir

bir kişi 'someone'

bir kim ärsä 'someone'

bir nemä 'something'

bir neçä 'some, a little, a few'

bir näng 'something'

bir šamma 'some, a little'

E.g.,

Tayammum netäg qilğu sorsang äšit, ayitğil taqı bir kiši bilmäsä. (MM182v17). 'If you want to learn how to perform the *tayammum*, listen and [then] instruct those who do not know how.'

Bir neçä šari‘atning aḥkamların kätürmäklik islām erür, bil yaqın. (MM178r:1) 'Know full well that by keeping [only] a few of the regulations of the Law one will achieve resignation to the Divine Will.'

Bu oğlanning körklü afšāfindan bir šamma vaşf qildi. (Sayf 14v:2) 'He described some of the beautiful traits of this youth.'

3.4.9. Universal Pronouns

Universal pronouns are formed by the particle **har** 'each, every, any' placed before indefinite pronouns:

- har kim** (ShD15v:6) 'whoever'
- har kim ki** (DN248v:3) 'whoever'
- har kimgä** (DN250v:11) 'to whomever'
- har kimsä** (ShD15v:12) 'whoever'
- har kiši** (RM21r:6) 'whoever'
- har qačan** (RM15v:8) 'whenever'
- har qanda** (DN234v:7) 'wherever'
- har qayan** (GD66,5) 'wherever'
- har qayda** (ShD19v:2) 'wherever'
- har qaysisi** (ShD183r:13) 'whichever'
- har ne** (DN7r:3) 'whatever'
- har neçä** (ShD7r:3) 'however much'
- har neçük** (ShD173r:6) 'however'
- har nemä** (RM44r:1) 'everything, anything'
- har nemärsä** (RM39r:8-39v:1) 'everything, anything'
- har sarı** (DN262v:5) 'everywhere'

E.g.,

Har nemärsä kim ilgäri yibärsängiz Qiyamatğa özingiz üçün fä‘atdin va yahšiliqidin. (RM39r:8-39v:1) '[You will find with God the reward] for any acts of obedience and good deeds that you send ahead of you for yourself for the [Day of] Resurrection.'

Sevär sevgüçini har kim ki bolsa, sözi har neçä kim ‘alamğa tolsa. (DN248r:3) 'To the loving lover whoever he may be [and] however much his repute may have filled this world...'

Väle ol martaba har kimgä yetmäs, bu savdāda tamannā asiq etmäs. (DN250v:11) 'But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction¹⁰⁶ is of no avail.'

¹⁰⁶ Consider the double meaning of *savdā* 'madness' and 'transaction'.

Barür tağ ādami karliğ nišāni, ki har ne desāng aytur ol ham ani. (DN248v:4) ‘The man of the mountain¹⁰⁷ displays the signs of deafness. Whatever you say, he keeps saying the same thing.’

Fiqh ahlī manˁ etār har qayda bolsa ˁāšiqē, kim bularning qašida ˁilm u hunar köp boldi ˁayb. (Sayf19v:3) ‘The jurists [of Islam] interfere wherever there is a lover because in their eyes learning and art are a major disgrace.’

3.4.10. Collective Pronouns

barča (RM41r:5) ‘all, everyone’

barča ˁalam (ShD12v:2) ‘all, everyone’

barī nemā (RM8v:9) ‘all’

hama (H77v:1) ‘all’

birgā (ShD114v:7) ‘together’

barī (MM176v:15) ‘all’

bütün ‘the whole’

bar ‘all there is’

cumla (Sayf3v:13) ‘all’

tegmā (MM181v:4) ‘all’

tegmā kiši (MM177v:13) ‘everyone’

tükäl (RM2r:2) ‘all’

E.g.,

Yügürür cumla sāning naf’ing üçün amr tutup. (Sayf3v:13) ‘All run around following the order [to work] for your benefit.’

Šukur qilğu tün kün tazarruˁ bilā aning ummati qilmışingā barī. (MM176v:15) ‘Night and day we all must give thanks in humble supplication for His creation of this Community.’

Barča ˁalam bolsa bolsun dušmanim sen bar bol. Dost sen boldung nā bolğay bolsa el dušman manga. (ShD12v:2) ‘Let the entire world be my enemy and you be the ever existig. Since you are a friend, what difference does it make that [all the] people are my enemies?’

Bolmasun hargiz hiyālīm balki maˁšūqdin cudā. Hwaš yarašur birgā bolsa dā’imā ol cān u tan. (ShD114v:6) ‘Perhaps my thoughts should never be separated from the Beloved. It is becoming for the soul and body to be always together.’

Tükäl dunya māli yığar, ne asiğ? Ölār özgälärgä qalur ol yana. (MM180r:2) ‘Of what benefit is it to him to accumulate he goods of he entire world? [In time] he will die and they will remain in the hands of others.’

¹⁰⁷ The echo.

Barçanı rāzi qıldım illā ḥasūdñi rāzi qıla bilmädım. (Sayf15v:8)
 ‘I could please all except for the greedy and jealous: I was not able to please them.’

3.4.11. Assertive Pronouns

There are two kinds of assertive pronouns: multal and paucal. These are relative terms. Multal pronouns indicate an amount or a quality somewhat more, paucal pronouns indicate an amount or a quality somewhat less than usual.’

3.4.11.1. Multal Assertive Pronouns

artuq (Sayf155v:3) ‘more’
artuqraq (Sayf28:11) ‘a little more’
köp (H80v:9) ‘more’
köpräk ‘more and more’
ança (MM189v:17) ‘that much’
munça (MM179r:14) ‘this much’
neçä köp (Sayf89r:11) ‘however much’
talay (PdC203) ‘much, numerous’

E.g.,

Cavr köp qılma qulğa, ay ḥwāca! (Sayf148r:13) ‘Do no inflict much cruelty upon the servant, O Master!’

Köp kelürlär mäni ziyārat qılmağa. (Sayf74v:2) ‘Many come to visit me.’

Maşlahat körmädım dağı artuqraq sözlämägä. (Sayf28r:11)
 ‘I did not see it reasonable to say more.’

3.4.11.2. Paucal Assertive Pronouns

az (Sayf171v1) ‘few’
az buçuq (RM35v:7) ‘some, a little’
azraq (RM37v:6) ‘less’
azraqça (RM14r:3) ‘a little less’
äksük (Sayf155v:3) ‘less’
kam (Nava’i, Dict.,II,93) ‘few’
kamtar (Sayf185v:10) ‘less’

E.g.,

Az az yığılsa ḥayli bolur. (Sayf171v1) ‘Little drops make an ocean.’

Muḥlat ber alarnı az buçuq. (RM35v:7) ‘Give them some respite.’
Meni emdi ḥaläk etti firāqing, şikēb az va farāvān iştiyaqing. (DN263v:6) ‘Now your absence drove me to destruction; patience is little, and the desire for you is overwhelming.’

3.4.12. Negative Pronouns

3.4.12.1. Based on *hēc*

hēc kim ‘no one’

hēc kiši ‘no one’

hēc nemä ‘nothing’

hēc närsä ‘nothing’

hēc qaysi ‘no one, none’

E.g.,

Zahidlärgä hēc nemä bermägil. (Sayf71v:1) ‘Do not give anything to the abstinent.’

Aning dardidin etmäy hēc kim yād, yätip dardina gah gah nälä firyād. (DN240r:2) ‘No one is mindful of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.’

Namāz buzmas ol ham väcib qılmas ol, taqi hēc närsä väcib qılmağay. (MM183v:11b) ‘[Such an omission] does not invalidate the prayer, impose a necessary duty, or require any other action.’

3.4.13. Relative Pronouns

Both the Persian *ki* and the Turkish *kim*, when used as relative pronouns, may require the suffix *-i* on the noun they refer to [see 3.1.2.2.]. Mostly Arabic and Persian words occur with this suffix.

ki ‘who, what, that’

kim ‘who, what’

E.g.,

Har bahāri kim kelür bar dur hazāni käynidä. (BH15v:9) ‘Every spring that comes, has an autumn in its wake.’

Yel ki der män bilingiz, şubḥ-i azalning yeli dur. (BH19r:9) ‘Know that the wind I speak of is the wind of the morning of eternity.’

Bu malā’ikdin ki bar dur törtni qıldi guzın. (BH20v:4) ‘From among the already existing angels he chose four [archangels].’

3.5. Numerals

Chagatay has a full set of Turkish numerals. Sporadically numbers from Persian and Arabic also occur, especially in numbering chapters of poems or counting the elements of the ritual prayers. Numerals share grammatical features with nouns and adjectives, and, to some extent also with adverbs.

3.5.1. Cardinal Numbers

The cardinal numbers are divided into two groups: simple and compound.

3.5.1.1. Simple numbers

1	bir	10	on
2	ikki [~ iki]	20	yigirmä [~ yigirmi]
3	üç	30	ottuz [~ otuz]
4	tört	40	qırq
5	beş	50	ellig
6	altı	60	altmıš
7	yetti [~ yeti]	70	yetmiš
8	säkkiz [~ sekiz]	80	seksän
9	toqquz [~ toquz]	90	toqsan
10	on	100	yüz
		1000	ming

E.g.,

Sän ol **dägül** mi sän kim atam säni firanç qaydıdan **on** altunğa satin aldı? (Sayf 68v:11) 'Aren't you the one whom my father has bailed out for ten gold coins from French captivity?'

Özi **bir** yerdä va **yüz** yerdä közi, tili **iki** va **yüz** ağızda sözi. (DN 254r:9) 'He himself is in one place but his eyes are in hundred places. His tongue is two¹⁰⁸ and his reputé is in thousand mouths.'

İki zidd **ikisi** birlä cam^c bolmas. (İM4v:6) 'Two opposing elements cannot be united.'

Bu toqsan toquz nāmaning allıda. (RM8v:1) 'As compared to [the weight of] those ninety-nine documents.'

Saçingdin 'anbar erür köp uyatlıq, qara qul dur sanga **bir** 'anbar atlıq. (250r:1) 'Because of your hair the ambergris is put to shame. What you call ambergris, is an unskilled servant of yours.'

3.5.1.2. Compound numbers

Compound numbers consist of coordinated entities either juxtaposed or, rarely, joined by the conjunctions **taqı**, **va** or **ham**. Their sequence is determined by their numerical values:

11	on bir	101	yüz bir
12	on ikki	212	ikki yüz on ikki
13	on üç	323	üç yüz yigirmä üç
14	on tört	434	tört yüz ottuz tört
15	on beş	545	beş yüz qırq beş
16	on altı	656	altı yüz ellig altı
17	on yetti	767	yetti yüz altmıš yetti
18	on sekkiz	878	sekkiz yüz yetmiš sekkiz
19	on toqquz	989	toqquz yüz seksän toqquz

¹⁰⁸ I.e., false

10000	on ming
100000	yüz ming

Examples with conjunctions:

sekkiz yüz va on üç (MS16v:6) ‘eight hundred and thirteen’
ming ikki yüz va yigirmä üç (MS17r:4) ‘one thousand two

hundred and twenty-three’

yüz taqı toqsan altı (MM189r:17) ‘one hundred and ninety six’

The following Persian numerals occur:

100	sad
1000	hazār
10000	tuman
100000	lāk

Cardinal numbers generally precede the noun they modify. The noun is preferably in the singular. E.g.,

yüz fitna (DN256r:11) ‘a hundred ruses’

on altun (Sayf68v:11) ‘ten dinars’

toqsan toquz nama (RM8v:1) ‘ninety-nine documents’

3.5.1.3. Approximate numbers are expressed by putting two numbers in sequence taking the lower number first. E.g.,

Tūli taḥmīnan on tört on beş qarī bolğay. (Babur 47r:11) ‘Its length is about fourteen or fifteen ells.’

3.5.1.4. In dates cardinal numbers are used starting with the higher figures. The last element may be in the locative case or followed by the postposition *icrā*. E.g.,

Bu daftar kim bolup tur Mişr qandī yeti yüz elli tört icrā tü-gändi. (MN312r:6) ‘This book that turned out to be as sweet as [double refined] Egyptian sugar, was finished in [the year of] seven hundred and fifty four.’

İdi berdi tavfiq bu bir qaç kalām, oruç ayı icrā bitildi tamām. Tārīḥ yetti yüz on üç erdi yīli salāmun ‘alaikum ‘alaikum salām. (MM201v:3-4) ‘The Lord granted me Divine Aid to compose these few words. This work was completed in the month of the Fast in the year seven hundred and thirteen. Peace be upon you, upon you be peace.’

Mundaq aytur faqīr-i ḥaqīr...Muḥammad aš-Şaybānī ibn Abī'l-Ḥayr Ḥan...kim [anga] bu tārīḥ toquz yüz on üçdā Ḥurasān

taḥṭī muyassar boldī. (RM1v:7) '[I] the humble beggar... Muḥammad ash-Shaybāni, son of Abū'l-Khayr Khān... who in [the year] 913 [1507-1508] of our era succeeded in obtaining the throne of Khurasan, say as follows.'

Note: If the date is introduced by **ta'riḥī** or **ta'riḥ-i hicrat**, the case ending or postposition after the cardinal number may be omitted. E.g.,

Čin diyārī bitildi bu nama. Faqrī Ṭāhir qolida bu ḥama. Ta'riḥī Hicrat erdi ming ikki yūz ham yigirmā üç. Erdi vaqtī küz. (MS 17r:3-4). 'This copy of the book was written in the land of China. The pen [that wrote it] was in the hand of Faqrī Ṭāhir. It was in [the year] one thousand two hundred and twenty three of the Hijra. It was in the autumn.'

3.5.1.5. In fractions cardinal numbers are used. The denominator is in the ablative or locative cases while the numerator takes the nominative case. E.g.,

mingdā bir 'one thousandth'

Nečā ögsām ayıtman mingdā birin. 'Much as I praise him, I cannot tell one thousandth of it.' (Eckm. Gr. p.107)

On ikki ming arşun erür bir yığaç. Munung üçdā biri açuq boldi qaç. (MM182v:14) 'One Turkish mile equals twelve thousand Turkish yards. It is obvious how much one-third of this is.'

Bir artmişda tana bahāsindin on ülüş barī törtü dā birini berür. (MM189v:8) 'On an additional one, the tax is one-fourth of the tenth part of the price of a calf in its third year.'

The word **ülüş** 'part' with cardinal numbers forms such fractions as **tört ülüş** 'one fourth', **üç ülüş** 'one third', **on ülüş** 'one tenth' [see above]. For one half **yartu** and **yarim** are used. E.g.,

Sening Tengring, ay Muḥammad, bilür kim sen köp qopar sen kečā namāzigā kečāning tört ülüşidin azraq, va kečāning yartu-sidin, va üç ülüşidin azraq. (RM37v:5-7) 'O Muhammad, indeed, your God knows that you frequently get up [at night] for the night prayer [and pray] during somewhat less than one quarter of the night, [sometimes] during half of it, and [sometimes] during somewhat less than a third of it.'

3.5.2. Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed from cardinal numbers by the suffixes **-inči/-inči** [after consonants] and **-nči/-nči** [after vowels]:

birinči	'first'
ikkinči, ikinči	'second'

üçüncü	‘third’
törtüncü	‘fourth’
beşinci	‘fifth’
altıncı	‘sixth’
yettinci, yetinci	‘seventh’
sekkizinci, sekizinci	‘eighth’
toquzuncü, toquzuncü	‘ninth’
onuncü	‘tenth’

Note: (1) “First” is also expressed by **avval**, **avvalgı**, **burungı**, **avvalın**, and **ilk**.

E.g.,

Keçar cānıdın avval suda ğavvās, ki tā āhar bolur bir durrgā ol ħaṣṣ. (DN253v:7) ‘First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single pearl.’

İkkinçi rak‘atda bu āyatnı oquğay. (RM17r:4) ‘In the second rak‘at he should recite the following verse.’

Ücünçi kün alar muħkam uruštı. (Sayf138r:8) ‘On the third day they had a big quarrel.’

Ay Şabānı dilbarına avvalın āšnā eding, muħtasib mastnı nā qılğay kim alastdın yar mān. (ShD111v:12) ‘O, Şabānı you have been the first acquaintance of your heart-ravisher. What can the inspector do about [me] the drunk person considering that I have been a friend since the beginning of times.’

(2) Signal words indicating sequence in a list come from ordinal or cardinal numbers, adverbs or conjunctions. E.g.,

Avvalgı āyatdın songı āyat kelgünçä on yıl keçti. (RM31:3-4) ‘Ten years passed between the [coming of] the first and the last verses.’

Biri ol kim māl yığdı dağı yemädi, ikinci ol kim ‘ilm oqıdı dağı ‘amal qılmadı. (Sayf160v:10) ‘The first is the one who collected wealth but did not enjoy it, the second is the one who studied but did not use his learning in his actions.’

Qavlisin bilgil. Avval istiftāh, anda kedin a‘üz birlä falāh. Ba‘dahu bi’smillāh ya amın. (MS12v:1-2) ‘Know what the recitations are: First is the opening orison, second is the supplication for protection, the third is the “in the name of God” and the Amen.’

Agar artuq äksük yaqın bilmäsäng, erür avval Ādam, Muħammad songı. (MM176v:11) ‘Even if you do not know them all by name, [know at least that] Adam was the first, and Muħammad, the last.’

Note: Parts of the ritual prayer, especially the prostrations are counted by Arabic numerals. E.g.,

Bu avval, bu şanı, bu şalış teyü, kārāk qılsa sacda bilü atayu.
(MM 185v:3) ‘This is the first, this is the second, this is the third:
One must carry out the prostrations knowingly and counting.’

A less frequently used set of ordinal numbers is formed by the suffix **-lanči/-lānci**:

birlānci	‘first’
ikilānci	‘second’
üçlānci	‘third’
törtlānci	‘fourth’
beşlānci	‘fifth’
altılānci	‘sixth’
yetilānci	‘seventh’
sekizlānci	‘eighth’
toquzlanči	‘ninth’
onlanči	‘tenth’

Note: The final cowel of the suffix **-lanči/-lānci** may be dropped. E.g.,

Biri yüzni yumaq, ikinci āling, tutuş tirsäki birlä yumaq, biling!
Üçinç başqa maş et taqi törtilānc adaqni topuq birlä yup räst
qiling. (MM180v:13-14) ‘The first is to wash your face, the second,
to wash your hands. Know that [by washing your hand we mean
that] you must wash all the way up to your elbows. The third is to
wipe your head, the fourth, to wash your feet, including hour heels.
[Carry on these duties and] you will be acting properly.’

3.5.3. Collective Numbers

The majority of the collective numbers in use are formed by the suffix **-av/-āv**. [The paradigm is incomplete. One of Muḥammad Shaybāni Khān’s ghazals [140r:12-140v:8] has the following forms:]

birāv	‘one altogether, someone’
ikāv	‘the two together’
üçāv	‘the three together’
törtāv	‘the four together’
beşāv	‘the five together’
altāv	‘the six together’
yetāv	‘the seven together’
sekizāv	‘the eight together’
toquzāv	‘the nine together’

E.g.,

Uşbu dam keldi birāv hān qatīga. (Shayb. V56-29) ‘At that very moment someone came to the presence of the Khan.’

Siz ikāv bir ataning oğli siz. (Shayb.V180:49) ‘The two of you are the sons of the same father.’

Agar havā va havasdīn bikullī desāng ötāy, šarābhāna töründā muğān birlā ikāv. (ShD140r:13) ‘If you say I wish to pass over desire and passion once and for all, you and the tavern-keeper, the two of you, will be on the seat of honor of the tavern.’

Šabāniyā sanga bas uşbu kōy-i pīr-i muğān; qalur ārānlār ayağında bilgil uş toğuzav. ‘O, Shabānī the quarter of the elder of the magi is sufficient for you. The [gifts of] nine remains at thee feet of the saints.’

Note: Rarely **-ağu/-ägü**, the archaic form of **-av/-äv** is also represented in Chagatay:

Ay köngül boldung bizā sen pur hunar, kel ikāgü baralī şubḥ saḥar. (ShD47v:8-9) ‘O, Heart, You have become full of virtues for us. Come, let us walk, the two of us, [joined like] morning and daybreak.’

Rarely the suffixes **-avla/-ävlā** or **-avlān/-ävlān** are used. [The series is not complete].

ikāvlā, ikāvlān ‘both, the two together’

üçāvlā, üçāvlān ‘the three together’

E.g.,

Uşol damda yātiştilār ikāvlān. (Ḥ77r:1) ‘At that moment they both arrived.’

Baqa baqa ikāvlān öygā keldi. (Ḥ76v:1) ‘Looking around they both entered the house.’

Üçāvlāni birin cānin alur mān. (Ḥ73v10) ‘I will take the soul of one of these three [boys].’

The suffixes **-la/-lā**, **-ala/-älā**, **-lasī/-läsi**, **-alası/-äläsi** also occur:

ikālā, ikālāsi ‘both, the two together’

üçälā, üçälāsi ‘the three together’

törtälā, törtälāsi ‘the four together’

E.g.,

‘Āşiq bilā ma^çşūq ara bir qıl bolsa, ol ikkilāsi hargiz anī üzmäs emiş. (ShD180r:6) ‘If there is one hair between the Lover and the Beloved [that ties them together], the two of them would never break it.’

3.5.4. Distributive Numbers

Distributive numbers are partly formed by suffixal derivation, partly by case forms or by repetition.

3.5.4.1. In suffixal derivation the suffixes **-ar/-är** (on consonantal bases) or **-šar/-šär** (on vowel bases) are used:

birär	‘one each’
ikkišär	‘two each’
üčär	‘three each’
törtär	‘four each’
bešär	‘five each’
altışär	‘six each’
yettišär	‘seven each’
säkkizär	‘eight each’
toqquzar	‘nine each’
onar	‘ten each’

E.g.,

Ay mu`minlär, cuftlaning ol kim sizkä hwaš kelgäy hatunlardin ekkišär taqī üčär cuftlaning taqī törtär cuftlaning. (NF96v:16-97r:1) ‘O Believers, marry two from women whom you like, marry three or merry four of them.’¹⁰⁹

3.5.4.2. The instrumental case forms of cardinal numbers also occur in the role of distributive numbers. E.g.,

Moğulning çapquncisi birin ikin çerigning keynidin kelip. (Babur 19v:1) ‘The Moghul raiders followed the army one by one or two by two.’

Vale bil, qiyamat künindä birin birin cumlasindin sorulğu turur. (MM193v:7) ‘But know that on the day of Resurrection you will be asked about all [of your indulgences] one by one.’

In idioms:

Bešin vaqt namāz (RM25r:6) ‘the five daily prayers’

3.5.4.3. Cardinal numbers repeated may serve as distributive numbers.

bir bir ‘one by one’

E.g.,

Šabānī yurti haqqında bašē emgäk körüp tün kün. Bu emgäkdin

¹⁰⁹ Qur. 4,3. Cf. Muhammad Ali’s translation “merry such women as seem good to you, two, or three, or four”

musulmānlar, tüşār bir bir bu dandānim. (ShD109v:11-12) ‘For his fatherland Shabānī labors a lot night and day. Because of this labor I shed my teeth one by one.’

Andin song bir bir mangip mascid sari barğay. (RM15r:5) ‘Then he should leave [his house] and [with other worshippers] set off for the mosque one by one.’

Muvabbab tapti anda ‘išq rāzin, mufaşsal içidā bir bir bayānin. (DN252r:1) ‘She found in it the secrets of love laid out in chapters with statements disclosed in paragraphs.’

3.5.5. Multiplicative Numbers

The following words are used to express multiplication: **anča** [equative of *ol*], **qurla** [< *qur* ‘weapon’], **qatla** [< *qat* ‘layer’], **martaba** [< Ar. ‘step’], **navbat** [< Ar. ‘turn’], **ta** [< P. ‘fold’], **vaqt** [< Ar. ‘time’]. E.g.,

Taqi qul ya ayyuha’l-kāfirūna-ni yāti qatla oquğay. (RM10v:7) ‘And he should [also] recite: Say, O kafirs...seven times.’

Qırc qatla bu tasbihni aytqay. (RM14v:2) ‘He should pronounce the following tasbih forty times.’

Necā navbat bu andişani qıldim. (Sayf24v:9) ‘Several times I entertained this thought.’

namāzni beş vaqt Ka‘bağa yüzlänip oqusa...(RM26v:2-4) ‘if he recites the prayer five times turning his face toward the Kaaba...’

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarçi yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].’

Bir aytqanni yana aytma mukarrar, ki halvāni daği bir qurla yerlär. (Sayf108v:9) ‘Do not repeat what you have already said once. Consider, people serve you halva only once.’

Yüz anča bolsang ärlikdä bilip köp türlü al ärdäm. (Sayf18v:3) ‘Even if you are a hundred times better in valor knowing many kinds of ruses and skills.’

Tämür töggän biläk ming qurla yahşi ol eldän kim kögüsdä beggä qarşi. (Sayf45v:7) ‘A fist that pounds on iron is a thousand times better than hands at the chest in the presence of a lord.’

Qavisi kündä üç navbat yemäk yer. (Sayf84r:7) ‘The stronger one ate his meal three times a day.’

Idiom: karrāt va marrāt ‘many times’, e.g.,

Karrāt va marrāt bu maşlahatni kim aytur sän fikr ettim. (Sayf 156r:7) ‘I have considered this matter that you are saying many times’

3.5.6. Indefinite Numbers

Some of the indefinite numbers are also used as adjectives [see 3.4.8.2.]
The most frequently used indefinite numbers are:

az	‘few’
barča	‘all’
bari	‘all’
farāvān	‘many’
köp	‘many’
neçä	‘few’
öküş	‘many’
bir neçä	‘a few’
camī^c	‘all’
cumla	‘all’
tamām	‘whole’
telim	‘much, many’
tükäl	‘entire’
tümän ming	‘a great many’

E.g.,

Kim avval şūrati qıldı padidār, bu işdä şurat u ma^cnī bari yār. (DN271r:5) ‘The former brought into view forms, but in this work of art [of yours] form and meaning, both, are [inseparably together like two] friends.’

Bu kün tuttum ^cUṭārid teg alamdīn, dam urğaylar bari lavḥ u qalamdīn. (DN271v:2) ‘Today I understood something from the pain like that of Mercury: All the people will be more concerned about the tablet and pen.’

Maḥabbat bābidīn tartip neçä faşl, uzun ṭumār ammā içidä vaşl. (DN261v:1) ‘From the chapter of caring love he pulled a few paragraphs; it was a long scroll but in it there was [a description of] union.’

Tümän ming rang berding bir qaradīn, kötārding Ćīn mişālini aradīn. (DN271r:2) ‘You presented endless number¹¹⁰ of colors from black [ink] and brought forth examples of Chinese [painting].’

Meni emdi halāk etti firaqīng, şikeb az va farāvān iştiyaqīng. (DN263v:6) ‘Now your absence drove me to destruction; patience is little, and the desire for you is overwhelming.’

Acun raḥtī tilār men tilā kirgäy, cihān şufi bari tafşila kirgäy. (DN264v:8) ‘I wish that the goods and chattels of this world be also brought up; that all the wool in the world be teaseded.’

¹¹⁰ Lit., ten thousand times thousand

3.5.7. Numeratives

Numeratives are counting words that specify an object through a common characteristic of the group of objects it belongs to. They are nouns with full meanings. In this role, however, they occur only in the singular.

The following is a selective list with illustrations of the most frequently used numeratives:

3.5.7.1. baş 'head'

üç baş sarımsaq (KBV62v:8) 'three bulbs of garlics'

yeti uluğ baş sarımsaq (KBV67v:5) 'seven large bulbs of garlics'

3.5.7.2. batman 'batman' [a measure of weight].

bir batman buğday (ShD121r:8) 'one batman of wheat'

3.5.7.3. p̄ara 'piece'

bir p̄ara 'anzarūt (KBV24r:6) 'a piece/dose of Persian balsam'

3.5.7.4. p̄arča 'piece'

bir p̄arča kağizp̄ara (RM8v:1) 'one piece of paper'

3.5.7.5. qırba 'waterbag'

bir qırba suw (KBV18v:20) 'a bag of water'

3.5.7.6. rak'at 'rak'at; prayer-unit'

ikki rak'at işraq namazı (RM16v:6) 'a two-rak'at sunrise prayer'

3.5.7.7. tiş 'clove'

üç tiş sarımsaq (KBV30r:1) 'three cloves of garlics'

3.5.7.8. zarr 'an atom'

bir zarr mihr (DN245v:6) 'an atom of love'

3.5.7.9. zarra 'an atom'

bir zarra şafa (ShD84r:1) 'an atom of purity'

3.6. Verbs

3.6.1. Morphological Elements of Verbs

Verbs occur in finite or nonfinite forms: **Qayttı** 'he returned' is finite because it tells us about concrete things: the agent [3d singular], the time [past], aspect [definite] and status [completed] of the action. **Qaytğan** is

nonfinite, because it does not reveal the agent or the concrete status or aspect of the action. What it says about time [sometime in the past] or status [hearsay] does not constitute a complete agent related expression. Finite verbs create verbal predicates in the sentence while nonfinite verbs mostly occur in nominal role, including the function of nominal predicates.

The finite verb consists of a stem, a tense and/or mood marker, and a personal ending. E.g., **qayt-ti-m** 'I returned'. The subject can be included for precision or emphasis: **Men qayttim** 'I returned'. The definiteness of the statement has been decided by the choice of tense [-**dī** forms].

The nonfinite verb consists of a stem and a nominal formant. E.g., **qayt-gan** 'a returning in the past'; **qayt-maq** 'to return; a returning.'

Negation of both verbs takes place on the stem: In case of finite verbs exclusively [**qayt-ma-dī** 'he did not return'], in case of nonfinite verbs, alternating with negative particles or negative auxiliaries [**qaytgan emäs, qaytmağan**].

More importantly, finite verbs, for a complete expression, are directly dependent on a subject, agental or grammatical. A nonfinite verb may have no subject or its subject may be expressed by syntactic structures [**qaytmaq** 'a returning', **amirning qaytmaği** 'the returning of the prince']. Both the finite and nonfinite verbs can have complements: adverbs, direct objects, indirect objects [**téz qaytmaq** 'a fast return, to return fast', **šahrgä qaytgan** 'having returned to the city'].

3.6.2. Verbal Stems

Verbs and nouns are closed categories: to enter from one category into the other can generally happen through nominal or verbal derivation. There are, however, a few cases where a noun, without derivative elements, is used as the equivalent verbal stem. E.g.,

ač-	(Sayf101v:8) 'to go hungry'	< ač 'hungry, hunger'
ağri-	(Sayf147r:10) 'to ache'	< ağri 'pain'
kengäš-	(MA122-7) 'to consult'	< kengäš 'consultation'
küräš-	(Sayf38v:12) 'to fight'	< küräš 'fight'
qari-	(Sayf81r:5) 'to grow old'	< qari 'old'
qorq-	(NTM7r:) 'to be afraid'	< qorq 'fear'
qol-	(MM192r:16) 'to ask for'	< qol 'hand'
toquš-	(PdC240) 'to meet'	< toquš 'clash'
tüz-	(Sayf136v:2) 'to arrange'	< tüz 'flat'

3.6.2.1. Basic Stems

Basic stems are original stems with no recognizable derivational element. They are, with a few exceptions, mono- or disyllabic stems mostly with a closed syllable at the end. The following is a review of Chagatay basic stems according to their phonemic make-up.

(a) V stems [complete list]

e-	'to be'
u-	'to know, be able to'

(b) CV stems [complete list]

qo-	'to disregard'
sa-	'to count'
te-	'to say, tell'
ye-	'to eat'
yu-	'to wash'

(c) VC stems [quite a few, selective list]

ač-	'to open'
al-	'to take'
aq-	'to flow'
ar-	'to grow weak'
ay-	'to tell, say'
az-	'to go astray'
ät-	'to make'
es-	'to blow [wind]'
ič-	'to drink'
in-	'to descend'
iy-	'to send'
öp-	'to kiss'
öt-	'to pierce'
uq-	'to understand'

(d) CVC stems [many, selective list]

baq-	'to look'
bar-	'to go'
bat-	'to sink'
ber-	'to give'
bil-	'to know'
bol-	'to be'
bul-	'to find'
čäk-	'to draw'

küy-	‘to burn’
kir-	‘to enter’
käs-	‘to cut’
min-	‘to ride’
sor-	‘to ask’
yut-	‘swallow’

(e) VCC stems (few)

elt-	‘to bring’
ört-	‘to cover’
ürk-	‘to start up’

(e) CVCC stems (few)

qorq-	‘to fear’
sanč-	‘to put on the spit’
tart-	‘to draw’
türt-	‘to cut through’
yanč-	‘to bore, pierce’
yänč-	‘to smash’
yirt-	‘to rend, tear to pieces’

(f) VCV stems (few)

aya-	‘to grudge’
oqi-	‘to recite’
öda-	‘to pay’
ula-	‘to join’
uyu-	‘to sleep’

(g) CVCV stems

bäzä-	‘to adorn’
büyü-	‘to grow’
qari-	‘to grow old’
fani-	‘to recognize’
tilä-	‘to wish’
toqi-	‘to weave’
töšä-	‘to spread, lay out’
yara-	‘to fit’
yüri-	‘to go, walk’

(h) VCVC stems (few)

äšit-	‘to hear’
ayir-	‘to split’

inan-	'to believe'
išit-	'to hear'
unut-	'to forget'

(i) CVCVC stems

buyur-	'to command'
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3.6.2.1.1. Improductive Derivations

There are a few verbs, mostly monosyllabic with a vowel base [see Brock. Ostt. Gr., p.188] that have recognizable derivational elements which, however, long have not been productive. There are very few data available and the nature of the derivation and the function of the isolated derivational means are not always easy to evaluate.

kö-r-	'to see'	cf. kö-z 'eye', kö-rk 'beauty'
to-d-/to-y-	'to eat one's fill'	cf. to-l- 'to be full'
yo-d-/yo-y-	'to annihilate'	cf. yo-q 'nonexistent'
ya-q-	'to burn'	cf. ya-n- 'to reduce to ashes'
ke-l-	'to come'	cf. ke-t- 'to go away'

3.6.2.1.2. Foreign Stems

Arabic and Persian words are introduced into the verbal system through means of verbal derivation, e.g., **āzārla-** 'to hurt' [< P. *āzār* 'injury'], **āzīzlā-** 'to respect' [< A. *āzīz* 'respected'], **farmanla-** 'to order' [< P. *farman* 'order']. In a few examples the foreign word, preferably a noun, is directly used as a verbal stem. E.g.,

ağaz-	'to begin' (Qutb63r:4) [< P. <i>āğāz</i> 'beginning']
naza-	'to take coquettish airs' (MA38,7) [< P. <i>nāz</i> 'coquetry']

3.6.2.1.3. Augmented Stems

Closed, mostly monosyllabic, verbs are often expanded by a vowel. Many of them survived in Modern Uzbek and are used parallel with the original verbs. E.g.,

sana-	'to count' (MM184r:12) [< san-]
sāmri-	'to grow fat' (Sayf71r:3) [< sāmīr-]
sora-	'to ask' (H76r:2) [< sor-]
sosa-	'to stretch' (Bay38r:1) [< sos-]
söyü-	'to love' (DN250r:5) [< söy-]
tälbärä-	'to act foolishly' (PdC265) [< tälbär-]
tutaš-	'to flare up' (BN87v:6) [< tut-]
tüzät-	'to arrange' (Sayf185v:8) [< tüz-]
yalqı-	'to be fed up with' (Sang336r:3) [< yalq-]
yiğra-	'to be angry with' (Sayf140r:11) [< yiğir-]

3.6.2.2. Grammatical Derivations

Grammatical derivations bring about forms that constitute structural elements in the verbal inflection. The derivatives are not part of the lexicon, although some of them may be listed as entry words or may be included in the word entry.

3.6.2.2.1. Negative Stems

Negative verbal stems are formed by the suffix **-ma/-mä** added directly to the positive stem. E.g.,

kelmä-	‘not to come’ [< kel-]
qaytma-	‘not to return’ [< qayt-]
tartma-	‘not to pull’ [< tart-]
sağınma-	‘not to think’ [sağın-]

3.6.2.2.2. Passive Stems

Passive stems are formed by means of the suffix **-l, -il/-il, -ul/-ül** added to the positive stem. Stems ending on an **-l** have the suffix **-n, -in/-in, -un/-ün** in the passive form.

3.6.2.2.2.1. Stems in **-l, -il/-il, -ul/-ül**

açıl-	‘to open, to be opened’ (DN246r:6)
ayıl-	‘to be related, told’ (MM195r:2)
ayrıl-	‘to be separated’ (DN248v:1)
aytil-	‘to be said’ (RM3v:8)
ägil-	‘to be bent’ (MM184v:5)
äwrül-	‘to revolve’ [< to be turned] (MM199v:8)
bitil-	‘to be written’ (ShD178v:10)
buzul-	‘to be invalidated’ (MM183v:9)
kesil-	‘to give up’ [lit. to be cut off] RM2v:3
kiril-	‘to be introduced’ (MM251v:7)
münül-	‘to be ridden’ (MM179v:5)
oqul-	‘to be recited’ (RM2v:3)
qutul-	‘to be spared’ (RM37r:3)
säçil-	‘to be separated out’ (MM198v:13)
tapıl-	‘to be worshipped’ (RM42v:2)
tapul-	‘to be found’ (Sayf105r:8)
tüyil-	‘to stop’ (MM181v:1)
tiril-	‘to live’ (MM193v:3)
tökül-	‘to spill’ (MM194v:10)
tutul-	‘to get stuck’ (MM176v:3)
tüzäl-	‘to rise’ (MM(251v:1)
urul-	‘to be cast’ (MM188v:16)

üzül-	‘to be separated from’ (MM192v:17)
yigil-	‘to accumulate’ (Sayf85r:11)
yiqil-	‘to collapse’ (Sayf26r:5)

E.g.,

Cihānī yaruğay cānī tirilğay, tiriglār sanīna atī kirilğay. (DN 251v:7) ‘May his world light up, may his soul come to life, and may his name enter the list of those who are alive.’

Kelip tur bağda guldin açılmaq, yaraşmas til tikān teg tēz qılmaq. (DN246r:6) ‘It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [, however,] to make one’s tongue as sharp as the thorn.’

Münülmās ma[‘]īṣat üçün iślāmās nişāb bilgü uşbu tewādā beşi. (MM188v:16) ‘Camels which are not ridden and do not work for their owner are subject to taxation if there are at least five of them.’

Ayriğay ğam atī cān daftarindin, köngül cam[‘]ina tartılğay raqamlar. (DN248v:1) ‘The name of sorrow will be deleted from the journal of life. The numbers will be drawn to the total of the heart.’

Bu fırsat barça vaqтта tapulmas. (Sayf 105r:8) ‘This opportunity is not to find every time.’

3.6.2.2.2.2. Stems in -n, -in/-in, -un/-ün

After stem final -l- and -r- and after a vowel in monosyllabic stems the mark of the passive voice is -n, -in/-in, -un/-ün.

alın-	‘be held back, be stemmed’ (MM181r:17)
arın-	‘to be cleansed’ (MM177v:2)
bilin-	‘to be known’ (ShD100r:3-4)
bulun-	‘to be found’ (MM182v:1)
körün-	‘to be seen’ (RM31v:10)
qilin-	‘to be made’ (MM188v:13)
yän-	‘to be eaten’ (MM190v:15)

E.g.,

Pista ağzi birlä lāfē tartsa bir mīm-i matin, qıl tabassum kim bilinsün ğunça ħandānim mänüm. (ShD100r:3-4). ‘If a solid *mīm* flashes a smile with its pistachio mouth, return the smile so that my laughing rose bud be revealed.’

Kāfir atī mu’min bulup tasmiyat qilip tegdi yenmās, ay şāhib-raşād. (MM190v:15) ‘If an unbeliever shoots his arrow, then becomes a believer and, pronouncing the name of God, touches [the animal which he has shot], the game animal cannot be eaten, O, Faithful One.’

Ayit lā ilāha, arinsun tiling. (MM177v:2) ‘Recite *lā ilāha* that your tongue may be cleansed.’

3.6.2.2.3. Reflexive Stems

Reflexive verbs express actions that the subject carries out on himself, or does for himself, in his own interest [= middle voice]. Reflexive stems are identical with passive stems formed with the same suffix. A few reflexive verbs have also passive meaning. E.g.,

ban-	‘to bind oneself’ (MM198v:2)
bāzān-	‘to adorn, ornate’ (NF306-11)
bölün-	‘to rid oneself of s.th.’ (MM179r:4)
tayan-	‘to lean on’ (NF16-11)
körün-	‘to seem, to appear’ (Sayf63r:10)
isın-	‘to be occupied with’ ¹¹¹ (DN258r:6)
qısın-	‘to restrain oneself’ (DN258r:6)
quyun-	‘to wash oneself’ (MM182r:9)
salın-	‘to sway’ (Sayf182r:1)
saqlan-	‘to hide [oneself]’ (Sayf18v:)
saqın-	‘to take care of oneself’ (Sayf14v:10)
sevün-	‘to rejoice’ (DN252r:3)
sığın-	‘to take refuge’ (Sayf33v:8)
tilän-	‘to beg’ (Sayf86v:9)
yun-	‘to wash oneself’ (MM181:1)

E.g.,

Taning ham tapınsun bir baš ayağni, til açip sözgä tındursun qulağni. (DN260v:2) ‘Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ears.’

Munung teg quyunğu kārāk üç yoli, taqī sürgü arqa, kögüz, baš qoli. (MM182r:9) ‘You must wash three times in this manner. Then you must scrub your back, chest, head, and arms.’

Sävünmāk yoq körüp duşman ölüsin: kälisär çön bizä ol davr ayağı. (Sayf46r:6-7) ‘There is nothing to rejoice about the death of [our] enemy since the cup that goes around in that circle will for sure come to us.’

Tängridän özgä sığınur yerim qalmadı. (Sayf33v:8) ‘I do not have left other place of refuge than God.’

Zamānē harf ‘ilminä isindi, içi küydi, valē qorqup qısindi. (DN 258r:6) ‘For a while she was busy with the science of characters. She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.’

¹¹¹ Lit., to warm himself up

3.6.2.2.4. Intensive Stems

A group of intensive stems are formed by the suffixes **-q/-k**, **-iq/-ik**. E.g.

azīq-	‘to roam aimlessly’ (Eckm. Gr. p.73)
birik-	‘to unite’ (MM177v:11)
ögrük-	‘to congregate’ (MA165-6)
qačiq-	‘to run for one’s life’ (Eckm. Gr. p. 73)
qīziq-	‘to heat up, become quite red’ (Zenker,728a)
sīniq-	‘to be utterly defeated’ (MA159-5)
sīziq-	‘to leak intensively’ (MA130-5)
turuq-	‘to stop and wait, halt’ (Sayf36r:2)
uq-	‘to understand’ (MM179v:14)

E.g.,

Qanā ‘at bilā är ulašu ‘**azīz**: Äšitgil bu sözni, ayā ‘**āqil**, **uq!** (MM 179v:14) ‘A man possessed of contentment is always beloved [of God]. Heed these words, O Wise One, and [seek to] understand them.’

Ĥwaca bu söznüing cavābina qorqup turuqtī. (Sayf36r:2) ‘The Khoja was afraid of giving a [positive] answer and waited a while.’

Bu üç birikibān bolur, bil, imān. (MM177v:11) ‘When these three are together, that is the faith, know full well!’

3.6.2.2.5. Frequentative Stems

A few frequentative verbs occur with the suffix **-ğula/-gülä**, **-qula/-külä**.

E.g.,

atqula-	‘to shower arrows upon the enemy’ [cf., atqulaš ‘fierce fight’ PdC 5]
čapqula-	‘to be engaged in a hand to hand fight’ [cf. NT capqulaš ‘hand to hand combat’ for Persian <i>cang-i šamšir</i> 15v:7]
tartqula-	‘to fight’ [cf. tartqulaš ‘to fight against one another’ Babur, 373v:4]

3.6.2.2.6. Reciprocal Stems

Reciprocal verbs presume at least two agents whose simultaneous actions are directed against one another. Formally they are the same as the cooperative stems [‘to do something together’].

basiš-	‘to defeat one another’ (MA198-2)
bozuš-	‘to destroy one another’ (MA144-4)
čakiš-	‘to pull one another’ (Sayf157v:8)
körüş-	‘to embrace one another’ (Sayf118v:1)
mängzäš-	‘to look alike’ (MA113-5)

öpüş-	'to kiss one another' (Sayf123v:13)
söküş-	'to quarrel, scold each other' (Sayf158v:8)
tutuş-	'to quarrel' (Sayf168v:1)
uruş-	'to fight, beat one another' (Sayf168r:9)

E.g.,

Ol manga mən anga tuttum çäkişip, yügürür artimizça halq külä. (Sayf157v:6) 'I grabbed him and he grabbed me and we pulled at each other. Behind us people were running [bursting] with laughter.'

Üçüncü kün alar muhkam uruşti. (Sayf138v:8) 'On the third day they had a bitter fight.'

Muni ayttım dağı yüz köz öpüşüp vidā^c ettim. (Sayf123v:13) 'I said this and kissing each other on the eye and the face, I said good bye.'

3.6.2.2.7. Cooperative Stems

Cooperative verbs indicate that two or more subjects are carrying out the same action directed not against one another but toward one common goal. Some of the cooperative stems are also used to express the middle tense.

barış-	'to go together' (MA118-7)
körüş-	'to embrace' (Sayf118v:1)
müngäş-	'to ride together' (MA104-7)
çöküş-	'to sit together' (MA124-8)
sığış-	'[for several] to go in' (Sayf12r:11)
sürüş-	'to rub together' (MM194r:6)
kiriş-	'to start, to set out to do s.th.' (DN243r:9)
turuş-	'to appear together' (Sayf138v:9)
yätiş-	'to reach' (Sayf91v :1)
yürüş-	'to go together' (MM194r:7)

E.g.,

Sığar bir hucrağa on ikki mihmān, bir iqlīma sığışmas ikki sul-tān. (Sayf12r:11-12) 'There is enough room for twelve guests in a cell, but there is not enough room for two kings in one country.'

Kiriştim söz bezärgä hāma teg tund, işimdä sarzanişdin bolma-yin kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] decorate words fast like the pen does, so that her reproaches may not make me tardy in my work.'

Şeşip belni andin körüşgü kārāk, körüşsä kögüzni sürüşgü kārāk. (MM194r:6) 'Before embracing one must untie one's belt. While embracing, both persons must rub their chests together.'

3.6.2.2.8. Similitive Stems

Similitive stems are formed by the suffixes **-si/-si**, **-sun/-sün**. The derivatives express incomplete, illusive or apparent actions. This formation was quite productive in the Karakhanid period. In Chagatay only a few examples exist:

umsun-	‘to despair’ (PdC81)
ulugsin-	‘to grow’ (MA170-4)

3.6.2.2.9. Desiderative Stems

Desiderative verbs indicate the subject’s desire to carry out the action. They are formed by the suffix **-sa/-sä**. E.g.,

körsä-t-	‘to show’ (BN87r:2)
külümsä-	‘to smile’ (PdC 476)
ögürsä-	‘to wish to have a mate’ (MA17-8)
qapsa-	‘to grasp’ (MM182r:14)
suwsa-	‘to be thirsty’ (MA99-10)
susa-	‘to be thirsty’ (Sayf153r:12)

E.g.,

Körür miskīn susamiš uyqusunda tamāmat yer yüzün tutmiš aqar su. (Sayf153r:12) ‘A thirsty poor person sees in his dream that running water covers the entire surface of the earth.’

Üwüş erkān ök yu, songinča beri taqī bašni qapsayu mash et ari. (MM182r:14) ‘Do the ablution while your limbs are wet. Grasp your head with both hands and rub it thoroughly.’

Qudratingni körsät, ay qudrat-numā! (BN82r:2) ‘Exercise your power, O Omnipotent One!’

3.6.2.2.10. Causative Stems

Formation of causative verbs constitutes a vital part of Chagatay verbal expression. There are more than a dozen derivative suffixes productive in the classical period. Many of them survived in modern Turkic languages, especially in modern Uzbek.

3.6.2.2.10.1. Causative Stems in **-ar/-är**

čiqar-	‘to produce, pull out’ (DN252v:2)
ketär-	‘to remove, eliminate (DN242r:9)
qaytar-	‘to return’ (Sayf124r:12)

E.g.,

Tazarru‘ birlä, ay h̄wāca muẓaffar, harāmī altunung qaytarma-yisar. (Sayf124r:12) ‘Just because you keep lamenting, O Glorious Master, the highway robber will not return your money.’

‘Uşur bergü ‘uşrı agar bolsa yer, ayaq onda batman çiqar nişfi ber. (MM188v:2) ‘One must pay a tithe if one’s land is subject to one. For every ten *ayaqs* pay half a *batman*.’

Zalālimdin ketār könglüng hūyini, körübān yutmağil hasrat suyini. (DN242r:9) ‘Remove the sweat of your heart from my pure and limpid drink. Beholding it, do not swallow the water of regret.’

3.6.2.2.10.2. Causative Stems in -dur/-dür

bildür-	‘to inform’ (RM29v:6)
īsindür-	‘to warm up’ (DN247v:6)
käydür-	‘to garb, to don’ (MM196v:4)
küydür-	‘to burn, to burn up’ (DN257v:3)
ozdur-	‘to go beyond a certain point’ (RM30v:7)
öldür-	‘to kill’ (MM180r:12)
qaldür-	‘to raise’ (MM194v:5)
sındür-	‘to break’ [transitive] (KBV41v:22)
soldür-	‘to make wither’ (MM199r:2)
söndür-	‘to extinguish, to put out’ (Sayf115v:9)
tındür-	‘to make listen’ (DN260v:2)
toldür-	‘to fill’ (NTM15r:5)
tongdur-	‘to freeze [transitive]’ (ShD79v:1)
urundür-	‘[for the horse] to toss up the head’ (KBV41v:22)
uyaldür-	‘to bring shame upon s.o.’ (DN247v:7)
yandür-	‘to turn around’ (ShD79v:5)

E.g.,

Bil ki dōstlar yağ kebi cismimni tongdurdı savuq. Yağdin ham beş batar dur asru küydürdi savuq. (ShD79v:1-2) ‘Know, friends that cold froze my body like ice. It is much worse than ice, because this cold burned [me] very much.’

Kötārgān sihr eligin söz yüzidin, uyaldurğan közümni öz yüzidin. (DN247r:7) ‘He has lifted the hands of magic from the face of the word. He put my eyes to shame by his own face.’

Meni sen şam^c teg küydürmäging ne? Cafā va cavr etākin türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?’

Tanıng ham tapınsun bir baş ayağni, til açip sözgā tındursun qulağni. (DN260v:2). ‘Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ear.’

Neçün sen meni körüp şam^cni söndürdüng? (Sayf115v:9) ‘Why did you put out the candle when you saw me?’

3.6.2.2.10.3. Causative Stems in -qar/-kär; -ğar/-gär

ötkär- ‘to carry out, fulfil’ (BN85v:10)
qutqar- ‘to save’ (Qutb p.146)
qutğar- ‘to save’ (NF85r:13)

E.g.,

Ötkärür erdi sözini mäh sāl, kelmäs erdi Haqq taalāğa malāl. (BN85v:10) ‘For months and years God carried out his requests; the most high never wearied of them.’

Taqi mäni Fir^caunnung ‘azābindan qutğarğil. (NF85r:13) ‘And save me from the cruelty of Pharaoh.’

3.6.2.2.10.4. Causative Stems in -ur/-ür

artur- ‘to increase’ (Sayf150v:8)
aşur- ‘to skip, pass by’ (Qutb, Zaj. 143)
bitür- ‘to finish’ (MM184r:15)
çömür- ‘to drown’ (Navā’ī, Dict., IV, 484)
içür- ‘to make someone drink’ (KBV42r:7)
itür- ‘to lose’ (RB8r:2)
käçür- ‘to lead’ (MM179r:7)
kätür- ‘to perform’ (MM181v:13)
öçür- ‘to put out, extinguish’ (PdC50)
tatur- ‘to make s.o. taste s.th. (Ḥ75v:6)
tegür- ‘to send, transmit’ (MM177r:2)
tüşür- ‘to knock down’ (Sayf11r:9)
yaşur- ‘to hide’ (Qutb, Zaj. 74)
yatur- ‘to lay down on the ground’ (MM188r:17)
yetür- ‘to bring, drive, reduce to’ (Ḥ75r:4)

E.g.,

Çu qoysang ol harāb allida gāmē, bitigni tēz tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that wretched [person] give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from me.’

Yüzin dağlağaylar qaburğaların ham arqan yaturup quyup ot qorin. (MM188r:17) ‘His face and his side will be marked with a branding [tool]. Also, he will be laid on the ground and the embers of Hellfire will be poured upon his back.’

Halakatgä yetürdi nar-i sozan. (Ḥ75r:4) ‘The Burning Fire¹¹² has reduced us to this condition.’

¹¹² I.e., hell

Munī ayt̄ti dađı duřman ĉarisinā kirip bir neĉā bahādur ārānlār-ni tūřurdı. (Sayf11r:9) ‘He said this and then drove into the hostile army and knocked down a few valiant soldiers.’

3.6.2.2.10.5. Causative Stems in -ğuz/-güz

- kirgüz-** ‘to make someone enter s.th.’ (DN248v:11)
körgüz- ‘show, demonstrate, display’ (Sayf164r:7)
tirgüz- ‘to bring to life’ (RM9v:7)
turgüz- ‘to place, set up’ (Bay41v:25)

Ee.,

Ĉu körgüzdi maĥabbatnī yüz alvān, tükätti nāmanī va qıldı ‘unvān. (DN246v:2) ‘Having manifested [her] love in a hundred ways she completed the letter and wrote the address on it.’
 Bitig berdi va cān kirgüzdi tangā, ĥabar berdi tirigликтin badan-gā. (DN248v:11) ‘It handed over the letter and made life enter the body. It brought news to the body about living.’

3.6.2.2.10.6. Causative Stems in -qur/-kür, -ğur/-gür

- turgur-** ‘to make stand up’ (Babur100r:16)
yatğur- ‘to let sleep’ (Rabg. 232.11)
yatkür- ‘to make reach’ (ShD104v:12)
yetkür- ‘to get s.th. s.where’ (DN249v:8)

E.g.,

Tikilip anda ĉon yetkürdi özin, elinā berdi va bařladı sözün. (DN-249v:8) ‘When he got himself over there, he stood straight, gave the letter in her hands and began his message.’
 ‘İřqing bilā řabānī ‘ālamda boldı mařĥur, yatkürdi dard-i hacring har yārgā dastānim. (ShD104v:2) ‘Because of your love Shabanī became renowned all over the world. The pain caused by your absence took my story everywhere.’

3.6.2.2.10.7. Causative Stems in -t

- arit-** ‘to clean’ (RM12r:10)
āksit- ‘to eliminate’ (MM180v:4)
bālgürt- ‘to manifest, show’ (MM179v:9)
iřlāt- ‘to make work’ (MM191v:2)
kāngit- ‘to extend [a row]’ (MM184v:9)
tuĥtat- ‘to stop’ (PdC 223)
körsāt- ‘to show’ (RB2r:1)
qarart- ‘to blacken’ (ShD83v:4)
qarat- ‘to turn one’s eyes to’ (Ĥ75r:11)
qaynat- ‘to boil’ (Sayf121v:12)

sürt-	‘to rub’ (MM182v:4)
üvşät-	‘to wet [one’s beard]’ (MM181r:7)
yarat-	‘to create’ (MM176v:2)
yığlat-	‘to make cry’ (H78r:3)
yürüt-	‘to carry out’ (H79r:9)

E.g.,

Bu Şabānī qaşınıñ mihrābīda taptī murād, yoqsa yüzüñni qarartur bu Banī Haşim mening. (ShD83v:3-4) ‘This Shabān has found his goal in the prayer-niche of her eyebrow. Had it not been like that, the Son from the House of Hashim would have blackened my face.’

Āsittim Cibra’ildin uşbu sözni, yumup qaratomadım alarğa közni. (H75r:11) ‘When I heard these words from Gabriel, I closed my eyes and put (my parents) out of my mind.’

Namazğa käligli şurū^c qılmadın şurū^c qılsa buzmaz bu şaff kengitip. (MM184v:9) ‘One should arrive for the prayer before it begins. If it has already begun, one will not cause a disturbance if one takes a position at the end of a row.’

3.6.2.2.10.8. Causative Stems in -tur/-tür

açtur-	‘to cause to open’ (Sang.31r:18)
barıştur-	‘to reconcile’ (BN87v:9)
ketür-	‘to bring’ (H75v:6)
keltür-	‘to bring; to produce’ (DN243v:6)
öltür-	‘to kill’ (Qutb, Zaj. p. 123)
qariştur-	‘to mix’ (KBV41v:18)
qatıştur-	‘to mix s.th. into or with s.th.’ (DN258r:4)
ulaştur-	‘to join s.th. with s.th.’ (Qutb, Zaj. p. 197)
üläştür-	‘to hand out, to distribute’ (Qutb, Zaj. p. 203)

E.g.,

Labıñg allıda el cān keltürürlär, közüñni körüp imān keltürür-lär. (DN243v:6) ‘People bring their lives to the presence of your lips. Upon seeing your eyes they bring forth the Faith [from a sincere heart].’

Çu kördi nāmanī mihr etti ihsās, qatışturdi eli qunduz ara ās. (DN258r:4) ‘When that sun saw the letter, she anticipated [what its message was]: Her hands added the white of the ermine[’s fur] to the gray color of the beaver.’

Ğaribni taş bilä öltürmä zinhār! ((Qutb, Zaj. p. 123) ‘Do not kill a stranger with a [piece of] stone.’

Manga icāzat bergil kim bu vazirni öltüräyim. (Sayf34v:9) ‘Give me permission to kill this vizier.’

3.6.3. Substantive verbs

Substantive verbs express the existence of the subject either without qualification or with some added aspects such as sudden, unexpected emergence, prevailing states, or circumstances.

3.6.3.1. The Substantive Verb *bol-* 'to be'

The full paradigm is used, even the necessitative in *-isar/-isār*, which is rather rare. It is also used as an auxiliary verb in many roles within the verbal inflection. E.g.,

Saçining savdasidin boldum za'if, başima tüšti 'acab nāzuk hiyāl. (ShD94r:10-11) 'From the fascination with her hair I was powerless.¹¹³ An unusually fine apparition occupied my mind.'¹¹⁴

Bu kün topraq bol andan burunraq kim ärtä gil täning topraq bolğay. (Sayf77r:6) 'Turn into dust today before tomorrow your clay body will become dust.'

3.6.3.2. The Substantive Verb *ol-* 'to be'

Oghuz variant of *bol-*. The full paradigm is not used: forms of the definite past, imperative [*olğil*] and gerunds [*olunča, olup*] occur. E.g.,

Zulf va yüzüngdin oldi har şubh va şām uyanmaq, bilmän nädin bolup tur riştasız otqa yanmaq. (ShD75r:12) 'It was because of your tresses and your face that one was awake every morning and every evening. I do not know why it happened: burning in fire without [being tied with] a rope.'

Nafs hamrahligidin sen kezär sän mast olup, mast oldung uşbu dunyā mayidin emdi ayil. (ShD95v:2-3) 'Accompanied by the carnal soul you roam the land intoxicated. You have become intoxicated from the wine of this world: now sober up.'

3.6.3.3. The Substantive Verb *yürü-* 'to walk'

In the sense of 'exist, lead a life, move around in a certain state, carry on' the verb *yürü-* 'to walk' are used. E.g.,

Yüzüm hvarşedidin hayrān yürür mü? Bolup bir zarra sargardan yürür mü? (DN252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'

Ta'avvuç boyun maşhī, bilgil, uya! Yawuzluqni ädgün yürügül, yuya. (MM182v:6) 'Know, brother, that wiping your neck is [also] a supererogatory act. Live righteously, washing away wickedness.'

¹¹³ Lit., weak

¹¹⁴ Lit., head

Neçä kim minmägä häzır teväm yoq yürür män şädman qarnim közüm toq. (Sayf58r:7) ‘Although I do not have camels ready to ride, I am happy, my stomach is full and my eyes satisfied [with what I have.]’

3.6.3.4. The Substantive Verb tüş- ‘to fall’

To express a sudden occurrence or a change of conditions the verb tüş- is employed.¹¹⁵ E.g.,

Ne kim vahm u hätir hayalğa tüşär, uşol cumladın pāk, munazzah, ariğ. (MM178r15) ‘He is independent of whatever may occur in fantasy, memory, or imagination.’

Köp vaqt sözdä äygü yaman tüşär. (Sayf107r:1) ‘Often good and bad occur in one’s words.’

Bolur bir ayğa har kün muqābil, tüşüp tur ol nazar ‘ilmidä qābil. (DN254r:6) ‘He is facing a moon every day and has become an expert in the skill of observation.’

3.6.3.5. The Substantive Verb kel- ‘to come’

An occasional emergence or accidental existence can be expressed by the verb kel- ‘to come.’¹¹⁶ E.g.,

Tewä yüz taqı qırq beşindä zakāt maḥāz ikki ḥiqqa kelür bu üç at. (MM189r13) ‘On one hundred and forty-five camels the tax is a single [*bint*]-*maḥāz* and two *ḥiqqas*, that makes a total of three [camels].’

Baytarga nemä kelmäs. (Sayf147r:13) ‘The veterinarian is not guilty.’

Kelip şarşar bigin ötti sitamlar, bi ḥamdi’llāh ki keçti barça ğamlar. (DN266r:4) ‘[The times of violence] came and passed like a wild howling wind, praise be to God, all the sorrows are gone’

Bu pilla kim namāznıng şavābı anda bolğay ağır kelğäy. (RM 29r:5) ‘The pan with the reward for one single prayer would be [still] heavier.’

3.6.4. Defective verbs

Chagatay has three defective verbs: er- ‘to be’, e- ‘to be’ [variant of er-], and dur- ‘to be’.

The existing inflectional forms of these verbs with illustrations will be listed later.

¹¹⁵ Cf., P. *ıftādan* ‘to fall’ [> ‘to occur, come about’]

¹¹⁶ Cf., P. *amadān* ‘to come’ [> ‘to be’]

3.6.5. Finite forms

Finite forms of verbs indicate the person [first, second, third] and the number [singular or plural] of the subject. A finite verb consists of a stem, a theme and the personal signs, e.g., **kel-gäy-män** 'I will come', **bar-dī-ng** 'you went', **qil-ay-in** 'let me do'.

3.6.5.1. The Voluntative Mood

The voluntative mood has one person, the first, two numbers, the singular and plural, and two aspects, the positive and the negative. It expresses that the agent intends, suggests, volunteers, prefers or desires to carry or not to carry out the action.

In the first person singular the mark of the voluntative base is **-ay** [after a consonant] or **-y** [after a vowel]. The signs of the first person are **-in/-in** or **-im/-im** which are often dropped. If that happens, the voluntative base is used as the form of the first person singular.

First Singular

Positive	
alayin	'let me take, I wish to take'
ävüräyin	'let me turn away, I wish to turn away'
bolayin	'let me become, I wish to become'
čiqayin	'let me emerge, I wish to emerge'
qolayin	'let me request, I wish to request'
salayin	'let me cast away, I wish to cast away'
aytayim	'let me tell, I wish to tell'
baqayim	'let me consider, I wish to consider'
keläyim	'let me come, I wish to come'
kätüräyim	'let me bring, I wish to bring'
olturayim	'let me sit, I wish to sit'
qilayim	'let me do, I wish to do'
etäy	'let me make, I wish to make'

E.g.,

Yā ešik aç ravān čiqip kitāyim (Sayf60r:1). 'Or open the door so that I may walk out and leave.'

Dārū içip za'if bolup barayim hattâ sultânning i'tiqādî manga artuqraq bolğay. (Sayf58v8). 'I intend to take drugs, look sick and [then] go so that the Sultan's compassion toward me be greater.'

Hinddän pūlād alip Halābgā kelāyim. (Sayf92v:8) ‘Transporting steel from India I intend to come to Aleppo.’

Çiqayin yer içidin nāla yangliq, kafanni qanğa bulğap lāla yangliq. (DN244v:11) ‘Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry¹¹⁷ and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulips.’

Ne debān men anī közdin salayin, köngül aldīm, barip ham cān alayin. (DN246r:3) ‘By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?’

Netük men āvürāyin öz ğamimdin, ki pūlād erigāy otluğ damimdin. (DN256v:8) ‘How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.’

Bu nazik tarhlar kelmās kişidin, netük men naql etāy Mānī işidin. (DN271r:4) ‘These fine designs do not come from common people: how could I talk about the work of Mani?’

Mān bir nārsā aytayim. (KBV2r:7) ‘I want to say something.’

Mān dağī nā degāningni qūlay, nā tilār bolsang sanga anī berāy. (BN86r:4) ‘I will also do whatever you say. Whatever you ask for, I will give it to you.’

b. Negative [rare]. It is built on the negative stem in **-ma/-mä:**

bolmayin ‘let me not be, I do not wish to be’

çiqmayin ‘let me not emerge, I do not wish to emerge’

qutulmay ‘let me not escape, I do not wish to escape’

qūlmayin ‘let me not do, I so not wish to do’

E.g.,

Neçük men qūlmayin emdi du^{ca} ‘arz, kim özgā elgā vācib tur manga farz. (DN270r:11) ‘Now how couldn’t I offer up my prayers since what is a necessary duty for others, for me is mandatory.’

Kiriştim söz bezārgā hāma teg tund işimdā sarzanişdin bolmayin kund. (DN243r:9) ‘I set myself to [choose] decorative words fast as the pen, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.’

Qutulmay qayğudin gar furqatingda ğamingdin özgā bolsa ‘uzrhwahim. (DN257v:8) ‘I do not wish to rid myself from sadness if in your absence other than grief because of you is my apologist.’

Ol husn gancina men vērāna bolmay nedāyin, laⁱ-i sērābing angip durrdāna bolmay nedāyin. (ShD123r:10-11) ‘I do not wish to be the ruin for the treasures of that beauty, I cannot help it.

¹¹⁷ The moaning of those suffering from the torment of the grave.

Remembering your thirstquenching lips I do not wish to be a unique pearl, I cannot help it.'

In the first person plural the mark of the voluntative mood is **-ali/-äli** [after a consonant], and **-li/-li** [after a vowel]. The personal signs are **-ng** or **-m**:

First plural

Positive

ičäling

'let us drink, we wish to drink'

tüşälim

'let us spend the night, we wish to spend the night'

kitälim

'let us go, we wish to go'

E.g.,

ičäling bādānī gullar solisar, tanīmiz 'āqibat topraq bolisar. (MN309r:7) 'Let us drink wine [for] roses will wither and at the end our bodies will turn into dust.'

Barip anda tüşälim kim sizgä savuq zaḥmat bermägäy. (Sayf 90:13). 'Let's go and spend the night there so that cold would not harm you.'

Ne yatur sän yatası yer dägül tur kitälim. (Sayf136V12). 'Why do you rest here? This is not the place to lie down. Let's go!'

Note: The personal ending may be omitted:

baralī

'let us go, we wish to go'

qılalī

'let us do, we wish to do'

sözlälī

'let us speak, we wish to speak'

uralī

'let us beat, we wish to beat'

E.g.,

Parda bilä sözlälī. (AC323r:6) 'Let us rather talk in melodies.'

Yamandın qılalī ihtirāz. (AC328v:8) 'Let us keep away from evil.'

Yā Muḥammad, ämdi barip uçmaqnı tafarruc qılalī. (MN30,15) 'O, Muhammad, let's go now and enjoy Paradise.'

Nāla va rindning kusun biz uralī bu ṭavr mayḥānağa qılsaq guzar. (ShD48v:10) 'Let us beat the drum of laments and debauch and in this fashion let us be on our way to the tavern.'¹¹⁸

Negative [rare]:

bilmäling 'let us not know, we do not wish to know'

¹¹⁸ The opposite of proper behavior prescribed for the true believer when he is on his way to the mosque.

E.g.,

Sen ve biz maydın içip mast olalı, bilmäling biz kufr va dîn va hayr va şarr. (ShD48v:11) ‘Let us, you and I, drink [some] wine so that we become intoxicated and not able to see the difference between unbelief and religion, good and evil.’

3.6.5.2. The Injunctive Mood

The Injunctive mood has one person, the second, and one number, the singular, and one aspect, the positive. The mark of the Injunctive mood is **-a/-ä**, [after a consonant] and **-ya/-yä**, [after a vowel]. They are directly added to the positive stem. The injunctive can be reinforced by the second personal pronoun or by the adverb **käd, ket** ‘very much’.

bilä	‘you should know’
käcä	‘you should pass’
qïla	‘you should do’

E.g.,

Ne tafarruc dir bilä sen dostum. [N70d] ‘You should know what a pleasant sight that will be, my friend.’

Sadra gäcä sen nāz ilä dostum. [N64d] ‘You will proudly proceed to the seat of honor, my friend.’

Äsiz qılğan ergä sän ädgü qïla, karamning başı bu erür, ket bilä. (AtH19v:3-4) ‘Do good to the man who does wrong to you. This is the highest act of generosity, know full well.’

Taqi bilgil anşari oğlanları ölüp bāz tirildi muni käd bilä. (MM 178v:7) ‘Know also that the sons of his companions died and rose again, mark this well!’

3.6.5.3. The Imperative Mood

The imperative expresses direct orders to the second person and indirect orders, injunctions, admonishments, or prohibitions to the third person. It has two persons, the second and the third, and two numbers, the singular and the plural, and two aspects, the positive and the negative.

The base of the imperative mood is the verbal stem, positive or negative. In the second person, especially in the singular, the stem itself is used as one of the imperative forms. Both the second and the third persons have personal endings to mark the person and number of the imperative.

3.6.5.3.1. The Second Person

There are several ways to form the second person of the imperative: basic stem + zero ending, and basic stem + the endings **-ing/-ing**, **-ingüz/-ingüz**, **-gïl/-gil**, **-gïn/-gin**.

The second person singular personal pronoun can be added for emphasis. It can be placed either before or after the verb. Sometimes the admonitory particle *-a/-ä* is attached to either the stem form or to the suffixed forms in *-ğil/-ğil*.

3.6.5.3.1.1. The Second Person Singular

3.6.5.3.1.1.1. The Stem Form

As in many modern Turkish idioms [Uzbek, Kazakh, Azeri, and others], stem forms express direct orders, or, in the negative, direct prohibitions. They contain no morphological means to indicate greater intensity or higher social level. Versified manuals often use this form in giving instructions to students. E.g.,

Positive:

üz	‘cut off’
keltür	‘bring’
ketür	‘bring’
oltur	‘sit’

E.g.,

Köngül käyninä bargandin uméd üz, ki hargiz egri eşi bolmağay tüz. (DN241r:11) ‘Cut your hope from following the heart because the crooked will never be a match to the straight.’

Quñ keltür qulağima qatayim. (Sayf60r:10) ‘Bring some cotton so that I may plug my ears.’

Ketür aqça kemägä kir yoq esä taşqari oltur. (Sayf100r:8). ‘Bring [your] money and sit in the boat or else sit outside (on the shores)’.

Dedi qābiz yoq ersä munda keltür, özüng ham aldida tärmülüp oltur. (H75v:5) ‘(Then) the Soul-taker spoke saying: “Since that is the case bring your son, and you yourself sit here in his presence and watch.’

Negative

[The negative is often prohibitive or adhortative: ‘you should not’, ‘you must never’, or ‘you better not’. In CPD negative imperatives are often translated by Persian prohibitives. E.g., **oynama** (15r:3) ‘do not play’ P. *mabāz*; **kitmä** (111r:8) ‘do not go’ P. *maraw*.]

uzatma	‘do not prolong’
salma	‘do not cast’
satma	‘do not sell’
bolma	‘do not be’
tutma	‘do not take’

E.g.,

Meni desāng demā sen özgä cāndin, közüngni yum bari cān u cihāndin. (DN253v:6) ‘If you choose me do not talk about others. Close your eyes to life and to this world entirely.’

Ču men boldum sāning ğamni uzatma, bu savdāda meni ‘alama satma. (DN260r:7) ‘Since I became yours do not prolong sadness, in this transaction do not sell me to the world.’

Ašiqqan er bilān yoldaš bolma. (Sayf78r:9). ‘Do not be a road companion to a person who is in a hurry.’

Yilanni quyruqindan tutma. (Sayf99v:1) ‘Do not grab the snake by the tail.’

Qoyma Bāburni bu ħirmān birlā, čāra qil dardīğa darmān birlā. (RB2r:3) ‘Do not leave Bābur in distress. Cure his pain with [your] remedy.’

Camālingdin munavvar qil közümnī, ešitmā el sözin, ešit sözümnī. (DN257r:2) ‘Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.’

Note: The particle **-či/-či** may be added to the base form of the 2d imperative for polite expression. [Cf. Modern Uzbek **-чи**]: E.g.,

İčmāğān bolsang Šabāni, bar-či ol mayhānağa, kim ušol gulgūna šurat camīdin bolğil ‘aqil. (ShD95v:4) ‘Shabanī, if you have not quenched your thirst yet, go to that tavern, so that you may be enlightened by the cup of that same rosecolor image.’

Bu köngülning közgüsīnā ur-či Ayyūb šayqalin, šabr-i Ayyūbğa munāsib bolmağay hargiz safal. (ShD96r:4-5) ‘Apply Job’s polisher to the mirror of your heart. The ignoble one [whose mirror is not polished to reflect God] is not suitable to the patience of Job.’

3.6.5.3.1.1.2. Forms in -ğil/-gil

Originally an emphatic form of the second person singular imperative. The suffix comes from **qil** ‘do it!’. E.g, **qayt + qil** ‘return for sure’, **bar + ğil** ‘do go away’. It occurs with both the positive and the negative stems: **qaytmağil** ‘do not return’, **barmağil** ‘do not go’.

Positive

ätkil	‘do, carry out’
beklägil	‘keep’
čiqargil	‘pull out’
ketkil	‘go’
išlägil	‘do (my) work’
tutgil	‘take’

E.g.,

Bu kündän song bu iştän tavba etkil, qılıp eygü ‘amal cannatkä ketkil. (Sayf139r:2) ‘Repent [and keep away] of this sin starting today. Do good deeds and go to heaven.’

İşim işlägil ter bu kün sän mäning. (MM191r:16) ‘Do this work for me today, you say.’

Adab beklägil, seni beklär adab. (MM194r:1) ‘Keep [the tenets] of good manners, and the good manners will keep you.’

Bir yarım fatmā¹¹⁹ birlä gūsl ätkil. (MS7v:4) ‘With half a batman water perform the major ablution.’

Çıqarğil mu‘ammā muşkilidin, ki yalıp tur qulağim el tilidin (DN260v:8) ‘Pull me out from the crux of this riddle because my ears are deafened by peoples’ tongues.’

With the admonitory suffix **-a/-ä**:

Vācib ol haqıqat vācib tutğıla. (MM183r:16). ‘It is a necessary duty, a real necessary duty, observe it!’

Bular gūslī sunnat bilip qilğıla. (MM182r:6) ‘The washing of these [parts of the body] is a traditional duty, perform it.’

Note (1): In MM183v:16 the phrase **kād bilä** is glossed by **bilgilä**.

(2) The positive imperative is often supported by adverbs such as **kād** ‘very much’, **köp** ‘excessively’, **muṭlaq** ‘surely’, **ravān** ‘without delay’:

Munī kād saqıngil inābat kätür. (MM193v:10) ‘Think well about this and be repentful.’

Ay hıwāca qulungga köp yigirmä. (Sayf148r:6) ‘O, Master, do not be too angry with your servant.’

Altınci namazdan çıqmaq. Farz bilgil bularni sen muṭlaq. (MS 10v:6) ‘The sixth is to conclude the prayer. Be sure to regard the above mentioned as mandatory duties.’

Negative

bermägil	‘do not give’
qılmağil	‘do not make’
bolmağil	‘do not be’
äylämägil	‘do not make’
baqmağil	‘do not pay attention’
qoymağil	‘do not put’
ötmägil	‘do not pass’

¹¹⁹ For *batman*

E.g.,

Köp ögüt bermägil manga, ay yār. (Sayf114r:3) ‘Do not give much advice to me, O Friend!’

Fazīhat qılmağil özüngni ‘umda, ki hargiz qılmadi sūdē bu savdā. (DN241v:2) ‘Do not make a disgrace of yourself on purpose, because this transaction never yielded profit.’

Bu aslı yoq havasqa qoyma bunyād, tükänmäs dard u ğamdin bolmağil šad. (DN241v:8) ‘Do not put your foundation upon passion without essence. Do not be glad about endless pain and sorrow.’

Mundaq olğaç muni tark äylämägil, hāşil olğay sanga tā lazzat-i dil. (RB5r:7) ‘Having reached [this stage], do not ever give it up so that the pleasure of heart may be your reward.’

Baqmağil sözlägüçining öziğä, özini qoy, nazar etgil sözigä. (RB 2v:4) ‘Pay no heed to the person who is speaking. Disregard him. Consider [only] what he says.’

Köngüldä ‘išqinq otı saldı bulğaq, yana dağ üstinä sen qoymağil dağ. (DN244r:8) ‘The fire of passion for you planted disturbance in the heart. Do not press the branding iron against the scar made by a branding iron.’

Gar desäm ay ahtar-i sa^cd ötmägil ta^ccil ilä, der ki öz sayrıda qılmas kavkab-i sayyār maqş. (HBD22,4) ‘When I say, O, Star of Felicity, do not pass in a haste! She says, the planets do not rest in their orbits.’

3.6.5.3.1.1.3. Forms in -ğin/-gin

The imperative forms in **-ğin/-gin** for the second person [mostly on positive stems] are rather frequent. Judging from its use in Modern Uzbek, it probably belonged to the popular level of Chagatay.

Positive

[Quite a few occurrences in CPD: **qoyğin** ‘leave [it alone]’ P. *biguzār* 7r:10; **keltürgin** ‘bring [it here]’ P. *biyār* (10r:10); **saçilgin** ‘scatter!’ P. *bipāş* (14r:1)].

degin	‘say’
talaşqin	‘fight’
tutqun	‘take, keep [the fast]’
tüzgin	‘arrange’
ulaşqin	‘meet’
unutqin	‘forget’
üzgin	‘separate from’

E.g.,

Kirsä gar boğzınga ki toğ tütün, yoq dur nuqşān. Rōzani tutqun. (MS15r:4) 'If dust or smoke gets in your throat, no harm is done. Carry on your fast.'

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān şuħbat yarağın qıl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Tilär bolsang yüzümning lälazārın, unuqtın özgä gulning ħārħārın. (DN254v:2) 'If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other flowers.'

Māning nāmūs u nāmimni talaşqın, alif teg kelgin va elgä ulaşqın. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].'

El-ulus rasmina köküngni tüzgin bu ħaric nağmadin könglüngni üzgin. (DN260v:3) 'Throw out your roots in the ways of the community; turn your heart away from this discordant melody.'

Negative: [rare]

yürümägin 'do not go [around]'

E.g.,

‘Aqling erür qısqa va boyning uzun. Lāf urup yürümägin kündüzün. (AC324v:4) 'Your brain is small and your neck is long, (everyone can see that). So do not go around bragging in broad daylight.'

3.6.5.3.1.1.4. Forms in -u/ü

Verbal stems in **-ar/-är** and those ending in a vowel sometimes use **-u/-ü** [after a consonant] or **-yu/-yü** [after a vowel] to form the second person imperative. E.g.,

Positive

baru

'go'

ahtar

'turn upside down, search thoroughly'

E.g.,

Ay şabā, āvāra könglüm istäyü ħar yan baru; vādī u tağ u biyābanlarni bir bir ahtar. (Navaī, *Örnäklär*XXIV,1) 'O Zephyr, go in all directions and look for my vagrant heart searching through valleys, mountains and deserts very thoroughly [< one by one.]'

Ay şabā baru ketür yaħşi ħabarlardın manga kim köngülni şād etibān taqi savundur qulaq. (ShD78r:9) 'O, Zephyr! Go and bring

me some from the good news, make my heart happy and my ears pleased.’

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.1.5. Forms in -dek

Positive

içdek ‘drink’

bititek ‘write’

E.g.,

İstägüncä bāda içdek zahr davrān bazmīda. (Navā’ī FK50r:7)
‘Rather than asking for wine, drink poison at the banquet of the Time.’

Bititek emdi tārīhini kātib erür tārīhi ücün zabtı vācib.
(DN271v:5) ‘Scribe, put down now the date [of completion of this work]. It is necessary to record it by its date.’

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.1.6. Forms in -i/-i

The personal pronoun **sen** may occur after this form for emphasis.

Positive

qolī ‘seek’

E.g.,

Ĝam yemā dardīnggä darmān qolī sen qilğay davā. (BH12r:7)
‘Do not be sorrowful [but] seek remedy for your ailments and He will heal them.’

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.2. The Second Person Plural

3.6.5.3.1.2.1. Forms in -ng, -iñg/-ing, -ung/-üñg

Positive

alīng ‘take’

biling ‘know, be aware’

ögrāning ‘learn’

soyung ‘strip off’

sürüñg ‘drive’

alip keling ‘bring’

E.g.,

Olar milki bersä halāl hōš alīng. (MM190v:9) ‘It is their property, it is appropriate for you to accept it.’

Ay oğlanlarım erdām ögrāning. (Sayf139v:4) ‘O my sons, learn some skills!’

Buyurdī kim tonun soyung dađı bu kentdān sürüng. (Sayf 110r:5) ‘He ordered them to strip off his clothes and drive him out of this village.’

Ol malik buyurdī kim Macnūnnī alip keling. (Sayf125v:11) ‘That king ordered: “Bring Majnun to my presence!”’

3.6.5.3.1.2.2. Forms in -ngiz/-ngiz, -ingiz/-ingiz, -ungiz/-üngiz, -unguz/-üngüz

Positive

[**kelingiz** (CPD3r:3) ‘come!’ P. *biyāid*; **kiringiz** (CPD3r:4) ‘come in!’ P. *dar āid*]

baqingiz ‘observe’

körüngüz ‘watch, behold’

tutunguz ‘hold’

qilingiz ‘do’

qoyunguz ‘place, put’

bilangiz ‘know’

E.g.,

Öfkā bilān ol qiya baqišin körüngüz. (Sayf127r:11) ‘Behold his angry look from the corner of his eyes.’

Ay musulmanlar çirāđi mänim yolumda tutunguz. (Sayf75v:4) ‘O Muslims, hold a lamp to [light up] my way.’

Dedi, ay İbrāhim canim kelingiz, māni kögsümgā başingiz qoyunguz. (H80r:10) ‘Then (the Prophet) addressed him (saying), “Come, İbrāhim, my dear and put your head on my shoulder!”’

Negative

[A connective -y- may be inserted between the negative stem and the imperative ending].

almangiz ‘do not take’

demāngiz ‘do not call him [a falcon]’

külmāngiz ‘do not laugh’

qomāngiz ‘do not bother’

qorqmayingiz ‘do not be afraid’

qoymāngiz ‘do not put’

sormāngiz ‘do not ask’

tegmāngiz ‘do not touch’

E.g.,

Ay qarındaşlar netāyin¹²⁰ **uşbu cāh u dunyāni tegmāngiz emdi manga asru za‘if men ulgārīp.** (ShD18r:11-12) ‘O, Brothers, there is nothing I can do about this rank and these world[ly values]. Do not touch me now, having grown old I am very weak.’

Qorqmayingiz kim bu ortada bir mān mān kim elli kişigā cavāb bergāymān. (Sayf102r:9, P. *andīša madārīd*) ‘Do no be afraid for in this group I alone would stand up against fifty people.’

Ay ša‘irlar, ‘anqāni köp qomangiz: quşlar içidā bolup tur qu māngiz. (ShD182r:6) ‘O, Poets, do not put down Phoenix all the time: Among birds she has become like a swan.’

Har ne dengiz, demāngiz šunqar anga, ‘anqā dur, šunqar bigin yandurmangiz. (ShD182r:4) ‘Whatever you call her, do not call her a falcon. He is a phoenix, do not make her return like a falcon.’

3.6.5.3.1.2.3. Forms in -nglar/–nglār, -inglar/-inglār, -unglar/–ünglār

Positive

bilanglār ‘know’

bitinglār ‘write’

oqunglar ‘read’

qalinglar ‘stay, remain’

soranglar¹²¹ ‘ask’

E.g.,

Dedi, ay ham-sabaqlar hwaş qalinglar, kitār mān fānī dunyādīn bilanglār. (H78v:7) ‘[Ibrahīm] answered, ‘O class-mates, farewell to you! Know that I am taking leave of this transitory world.’

Har zamān kelip soranglar ham anamni könglini. (H79v:7) ‘Any time you come, ask about my mother’s heart.’¹²²

3.6.5.3.1.2.4. Forms in -ngizlar/-ngizlār, -ingizlar/-ingizlār, -ungizlar/–üngizlār, -unguzlar/-ünguzlār

Positive

bilangizlār ‘know’

sorunguzlar ‘ask’

E.g.,

Halq-i ‘alam bilangizlār mān anī nabīrasi. (H81r:5) ‘People of this world, realize that I am [also] one of [Ismā’il’s] descendants.’

¹²⁰ *Netāyin* ‘there is nothing I can do about...’ takes the accusative case.

¹²¹ Expanded stem *sora-* interchanging with *sor-* as in Modern Uzbek [see 3.6.2.1.3.]

¹²² I.e., console my mother

3.6.5.3.2. The Third Person

3.6.5.3.2.1. The Third Person Singular

3.6.5.3.2.1.1. Forms in -sun/-sün

Positive

tutsun	‘should/may keep’
aysun	‘should/may say’
bolsun	‘should/may be’
quvansun	‘should/may rejoice’

E.g.,

İki eligni köksidä tutsun, ham adab birlä boyni tüz tutsun (MS13r:2) ‘[Women] should place their hands [one upon the other] across their chests. They should also stand with their bodies upright as they have been taught.’

Käräk oynap aysun käräk kärtülöp. (MM192v:7) ‘May he say it in jest, or in earnest.’

Sultan yaşı uzun bolsun. (Sayf9r:5) ‘Long live the King.’¹²³

Mäni aldımda yor könglüm quvansun, körüp qaddingi mihrim laħza qansun. (H76v:7) ‘Walk ahead of me that my heart may rejoice, that my love may be quenched for a moment by beholding your body.’

Negative

tegmäsün	‘should/may not befall’
bilmäsün	‘should/may not know’
körgümäsün	‘should/may not show’
barماسun	‘should/may not go’
körünmäsün	‘should/may not show’

E.g.,

Äygülärgä bu yamaning tegmäsün. (Sayf110v:2) ‘May your evil deeds not befall upon good people.’

Heç kim ärsä mänim yahşi yaman hālīmdan bilmäsün. (Sayf 24v:12) ‘No one should know about my good or bad situation.’

Manga körgüzümäsün Tengri ħwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay zalälīm. (DN242r:7) ‘May God Himself never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with dust.’

Amiri asrağil köz yağı birlä, sen ol gulni ki barماسun qatımdin. (DN245r:10) ‘Amiri, nurture that rose with the oil of [your] eyes¹²⁴ so that it never leave your presence.’

¹²³ Lit., may the king’s life be long

¹²⁴ I.e., with your tears

Yüzüñ közğü dur, ay husn içrâ mâhim, hâzar qıl kim anî tutmasun âhim. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’
Körünmäsün deyü bu mändäki ‘ayb. (Sayf63r:10) ‘So that the sin inside me may not show.’

Note: The apocopated form in **-su** is represented by **bolsu** ‘should/may be’ [only in the positive]. E.g.,

Ruh-i rayhân-i Cannat u Rizvân Haqqdîn aning sarîğa bolsu ravân. (MS2v:3) ‘May the breath of the sweet basil of Paradise waft toward him [carrying] God’s blessings.’

Sân ök sän yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay, bu küz qış kârâk yaz kârâk bolsu yay. (MM176v:6) ‘You, indeed, are the creator of the earth, the sky, the sun, the moon, the fall, the winter, as well as the spring and the summer.’

öküş bolsu az (MM183v:9) ‘be it many or few’

3.6.5.3.2.1.2. The form in -u/-ü is represented by **berü** ‘should/may give’ [negative is not attested]. E.g.,

Ki kördüm men aning nâz u ‘itâbin, keçiksâm anda kim berü cavâbin? (DN243r:8) ‘For I have witnessed her coquettish behavior as well as her expression of displeasure. If I am late, who is there to account for [my tardiness]?’

3.6.5.3.2.2. The Third Person Plural

3.6.5.3.2.2.1. Forms in -sunlar/-sünlär

Positive

oynasunlar ‘should/may risk’

qalsunlar ‘should/may stay’

E.g.,

Ayar bolsa çarigdân mâli sultân, neçük baş oynasunlar târk etip cân? (Sayf22v:6) ‘If the King begrudges his wealth from his soldiers, how would they risk their heads giving up their souls?’

Zâhidlârgä heç nemä bermâgil kim zâhid qalsunlar. (Sayf71v:1) ‘Do not give anything to the abstinent so that they stay abstinent.’

Negative

etmäsünlär ‘should/may not make’

tilämäsünlär ‘should/may not demand’

E.g.,

İhtiyât ettim kim manga qasd etmäsünlär. (Sayf 18r:13) ‘I took precautions so that they make no attempt on my life.’

‘**Ālimlārgā ol qadar ni‘mat bergil kim dađi tilāmāsūnlār**. (Sayf 71r:13) ‘Give as much means to the learned so that they do not ask for more.’

3.6.5.3.2.2.2. The form in **-ular/-ülār** is represented by **kelsülār** ‘should/may come’. [Negative is not attested]. E.g.,

Buyurdī šāh kim elning bilgälärin oqunguz kelsülār tep birgä barin. (Qutb, H.4100) ‘The king ordered [his men] to proclaim that the wise of the land, all of them, should get together.’

3.6.5.3.2.2.3. The form in **-deklār** is attested by **bitidäklār** ‘should/may write’.

[Negative is not used.] E.g.,

Cunünimdin parıroyumğa gar savdā aşar qılsa, bitideklār közi könglüm qoşidin töksä qan ta‘vız. (Nava‘i, *Örnäklār* 14,5) ‘If due to my madness melancholy assails my fairy-faced beloved, you should write an amulet when her eyes draws blood from the pair of cups of my heart.’

3.6.5.4. The Definite Past Tense

The definite past tense expresses a past completed action the occurrence of which is certain. The grammatical marker of the definite past is **-dı/-di**, **-du/-dü** after vowels or voiced consonants, or **-tı/-ti**, **-tu/-tü**, after voiceless consonants. The person is indicated by the possessive type personal signs. E.g.,

Positive

Sing.			
kördüm	‘I saw’	keldim	‘I came’
kördüng	‘you saw’	kelding	‘you came’
kördi	‘he saw’	keldi	‘he came’
Plur.			
kördük	‘we saw’	keldük	‘we came’
kördüngüz	‘you saw’	keldingiz	‘you came’
kördilär	‘they saw’	keldilär	‘they came’

Negative

Sing.			
körmädım	‘I did not see’	kelmädim	‘I did not come’
körmädıng	‘you did not see’	kelmäding	‘you did not come’
körmädi	‘he did not see’	kelmädi	‘he did not come’

Plur.

kürmädük	‘we did not see’	kelmädük	‘we did not come’
körmädingiz	‘you did not see’	kelmädingiz	‘you did not come’
körmädilär	‘they did not see’	kelmädilär	‘they did not come’

E.g.,

Yarudī **həttlarindin** **köz yüz alvān, qarangguluğda tapti āb-i hayvān.** (DN242v:8) ‘From her writing his eyes brightened: In the darkness he found the water of life.’

Yāngindān tutup bu ši‘rni oqudum. (Sayf 94r:5) ‘I grabbed him by his sleeves and recited this poem to him.’

Yana unuttum özümni bolup sanga maşgūl. (Sayf115r:5) ‘I forgot about myself because I was occupied with you.’

Bir orman yanında qondılar. (Sayf63v:9) ‘They camped by the side of a forest.’

Cihān sāning üzä ol qadar mi tar bolup edi kim oğriliq etmäding illā Tangri ävindän? (Sayf57r:4) ‘Is this world indeed so tight for you that you could not burglarize any other place but the house of God?’

Bitidi nāma altun suyi birlän, vafā u mihr, rasm u hūyi birlän. (DN259r:2) ‘He wrote the letter with golden ink, with the rite and custom of faith and love.’

Zamānē ħarf ‘ilminä isindī, içi küydi, valē qorqup qisindī. (DN258r:6) ‘[The Beloved] wrote a letter with golden ink, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.’

1. In the first person the personal pronoun placed after the verb may be used for emphasis. E.g.,

Ki kördüm men aning nāz u ‘itābin, keçiksām anda kim berü cavābin? (DN243r:8) ‘For I have witnessed her coquettish behavior as well as her expression of displeasure. If I am late, who is there to account for [my tardiness]?’

Note: Concerning examples from the **İrşādu’l-mulūk** we must remember that in interlinear translations words or word groups are individually translated and the data obtained are not always indicative of the usage in normal compositional style. E.g.,

Tilädim män kim ant içkäy. (İM7v:3) ‘I wanted him to take an oath.’

şart qıldıuq biz (İM4v:8) ‘we set the condition, we stipulated that’

ulašturduq biz (IM5r:7) 'we dispatched'

2. The definite past tense may occur in the same function as the aorist for a more forceful statement. E.g.,

Ravān qıldi falak cōn cām-i Camšed, ačıqlanip qızarıp çıqtı hwaršed. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky set in motion the cup of Jamshid, the sun came forth shiny and red.' or: 'When the sky sets in motion the cup of Jamshid, the sun comes forth shiny and red.'

3. The definite past tense may express dynamic future, az in Modern Uzbek [MLU 3.6.6.3.1.2.2.11.1.] E.g.,

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān şuħbat yarağın qıl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Harām ilāyngdā daği ħarāmī artıngda. Agar kitting yetting va agar qalding öldüng. (Sayf56r:3) The sanctuary is ahead of you, and the bandits are behind you. If you go you will reach there; if you stay [here] you will die.'

Ṭanbura dek yūzni qılay pāymāl, āylādi oğlanlar anī dastmāl. (RB324r:8) 'I will trample a face like Ṭanbura's under foot, so that servants will [be needed to] scoop it up with their hands.'

Ol kiši kim seni čalar bilgüčä qaldı balā dastida ol ölgüčä. (RB 327r:3) 'The person who learns to play you will be captive in the hands of misery until he dies.'

3. With a verb expressing a command the definite past tense is used to form pseudo-passive sentences. E.g.,

Ol oğrılar begi buyurdı tonun daği yüz aqça bilān bir farva berdilār. (Sayf110v:4) 'The chieftain of those thieves ordered that one hundred silver coins and a fur coat be given [to the poet] [< he ordered his treasurer to give the poet one hundred silver coins and a fur coat.]'

Buyurdı kim anlarning asbāb-i ma'āšini avvalki qa'ida üzä muhayya qıldılar. (Sayf29v:11) 'He ordered that their stipend be established according to the previous arrangement. [< He ordered (the treasurer) to establish the stipend of those (people) according to the former arrangement.]'

Buyurdı bir yaħši ħil'at bilān ol hamyān altunni faqirğa berdilār. (Sayf 21r:7) '[The king] ordered that a robe of honor with a bag [of money] be given to the poor man. [< The king ordered and [his treasurer] gave the poor man a robe of honor with a bag of money].'

4. The definite past tense may express the result of a past action existing in the present.' [It is equivalent to English present perfect tense]. E.g.,

Mening dek ay kök üstidä yoq tur, bu kün kör kim ne yergä yätti həlim. (DN242r:6) 'There is no moon like me in the sky. Look today to what level my rank has risen.'

Bu kün tuttum tamamı til bolayın, ne til birlän labıng 'uzrın qolayın. (DN250v:3) 'Today I realized that I must find the perfect tongue. With what tongue should I ask forgiveness from your lips?'

Yā Rabb közümdän al bu köngül dādini manga, kim boldi köz balası bilän mubtalā köngül. (Sayf83v:12) 'O Lord, take vengeance on my eyes on behalf of my heart, mind you, because it is due to the calamity brought about by the eye that the heart has become afflicted.'

Kiriştim söz bezärgä həma teg tund, işimdä sarzanışdın bolmayın kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] ornate words fast as the pen, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.'

Muhammad ol ki bu acrām-i vālā anıng üçün yarattı Haqq ta'ālā. (DN229v:7) 'He is Muhammad for the sake of whom God the Most High has created these heavenly bodies.'

5. The definite past tense occurs in idiomatic use.

(a) In suppositive role:

Cu tebrändi ol ikki çerik ravān, deding kim yiqilgusi dur bu cahān. (ZN25r:14-15) 'When the two armies suddenly marched out you most likely thought¹²⁵ that the world was about to collapse.'

Ne boldi göy agar arz etti həlin, dedi sargaştalıkdin öz malālin? (DN244v:2) 'What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?'

Ne boldi zavq üçün gar yolda turdum sāning birlän bir ikki harf urdum? (DN241r:5) 'For fun I stopped on the road and exchanged a few words with you. What about it?'

(b) With bolğay to express indefiniteness.

On ming evlük kişi çiqti bolğay, şahrlar şayad alardın tolğay. (ShN132:18) 'About ten thousand persons with families moved out. You probably could fill cities with them.'

¹²⁵ Lit., you could have said

(3) In emphatic role with **-dur/-durlar**.

[Rare, illustration from Eckm. Gr. p.157]

Az fursatda huṭūtni bitidi, kim ol fan ustādları ottuz yīlda anča bitimādi durlar. (M.Naf. 79v:12) 'In a short time he learned how to write calligraphy to such perfection that even masters of this art were not able to produce.'

3.6.5.5. The Conditional Mood

The conditional mood expresses a present or future action the occurrence of which is bound to a condition of different degrees.

3.6.5.5.1. The Present Conditional

The grammatical marker of the present conditional is **-sa/-sä**. The person is indicated by the possessive type personal signs. E.g.,

kör- 'to see'

bar- 'to go'

Positive

Sing.

körsäm

'if I see'

barsam

'if I go'

körsäng

'if you see'

barsang

'if you go'

körsä

'if he sees'

barsa

'if he goes'

Plur.

körsäk

'if we see'

barsaq

'if we go'

körsängiz

'if you see'

barsangiz

'if you go'

körsälär

'if they see'

barsalar

'if they go'

Negative

Sing.

körmäsäm

'if I don't see'

barmasam

'if I don't go'

körmäsäng

'if you don't see'

barmasang

'if you don't go'

körmäsä

'if he doesn't see'

barmasa

'if he doesn't go'

Plur.

körmäsäk

'if we don't see'

barmasaq

'if we don't go'

körmäsängiz

'if you don't see'

barmasangiz

'if you don't

körmäsälär

'they don't see'

barmasalar

'if they don't
go'

1. The present conditional can occur in conditional sentences without a conjunction or with the conjunctions **gar**, **agar**. E.g.,

Buyursa beš yumurtqanı alurğa küc bilä sulṭān, navkarları tutup sančar yigirmi qaznı bir šiṣgä. (Sayf 31r:9) ‘If the Sultan orders to take five eggs by force, his officials grab twenty geese and put them on one spit.’

Vali bir aqča izdäsäng berür cān, oqu alḥamd **desäng** yüz oqı-ğay. (Sayf 137v:10) ‘If you ask him for one coin, he would rather give up his life. If you ask him to say “praise be to God”, he would say it a hundred times.’

Agar tandin desäm bir ḥāksārē ne körüngäy eşikingdä ğubārē. (DN250v:5) ‘If I tell about a person that he is humble¹²⁶, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?’

Agar sen anda töksäng yergä žāla, men alur men közümdin munda lāla. (DN260v:4) ‘If you spill drops of dew on the ground there, here I get tulips from my eyes.’

Agar yazıdağı barča qumları inci **bolsa**, tilāncilärning közi tolmağay. (Sayf 156v:6) ‘[Even] if all the sand[grains] in the desert turn into pearls, the beggars would not be satisfied.’

Agar könglüng manga küysä, ‘acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigäy rıq-qatımdin. (DN245r:7) ‘If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.’

Yüzüm āyinasındin gar dam **ursang**, körüngäy közüngä gah gah ḥiyālīm. (DN242r:3) ‘If you talk about the mirror reflecting my face, my phantom image may appear to you¹²⁷ from time to time.’

2. The conditional form occurs also in temporal meaning. Instead of **agar** ‘if’ the conjunction **qačan** ‘when’ may be used in such sentences. E.g.,

Qaçan cān alğiči duşman ārişsä, acal bağlar yügürgänning ayağın. (Sayf95r:6) ‘When the Soultaker enemy¹²⁸ comes, death ties the ankles of those who run [away].’

Ol safardan kelsäm ‘umrumning bāqiyasin bir yerdä oturup keçürgäy män. (Sayf92v:2) ‘When I return from that voyage, I will settle down in one place and spend the rest of my life there.’

Qaçan kim tükänsä elingdäki al qılıč cäksäng ol dam qinından ḥalal. (Sayf163v:5) ‘When you are out of tricks, it is proper for you to draw [your] sword from the sheath’

¹²⁶ Lit., he is mixed with earth. A hint at the creation of Adam.

¹²⁷ According the Navā’ī’s presentation Farḥād and Shirin saw each other for the first time in their mirrors.

¹²⁸ I.e., *Qābiṣu’l-arvāḥ*, the epithet of the death angel ‘Izrā’īl

Bu ʿadat hwaš yığaclar ševasındin, ki taš atsang berürlär mēvasındin. (DN247v:8) ‘This observation was made on the nature of

fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.’

3. The conditional form is also used in concessive meaning. E.g.,

Yüz anča bolsang ärlikdä bilip köp türlü al ärdäm. (Sayf18v:3) ‘Even if in bravery you are a hundred times better, knowing many kinds of crafty skills.’

Tämürdän tağ bolsa yerindän qoparğaymān. (Sayf39r:9) ‘Even if it is a mountain of iron I will tear him up from its place.’

Sanga körgüzmägäy ruḥ zulf va ḥālīm agar yüz qatla bolsang pāymalīm. (DN242r:1) ‘My tresses and my beauty spot will not chance to appear to you even if you are trampled upon under my feet a hundred times.’

Yalğan sözlämäk ol zaḥm bigin durur kim cirāḥatī bitsä nişanı qalur. (Sayf174v:3) ‘To tell a lie is like inflicting a wound: Even if it heals its scar remains.’

4. With the predicative word **keräk** ‘necessary’ the conditional expresses a necessary [but not inevitable] action. E.g.,

Bu fasad ahlining nasli munqaṭiʿ bolsa keräk. (Sayf 13r:9) ‘This offspring of brigands must be terminated.’

Bu niʿmat şukrini qilsam keräk çoq. Kişi könglün yığarğa ādatim yoq. (Sayf 82r:11) ‘I must be most thankful for this grace. I don’t have the habit of destroying other people’s hearts.’

Qaçan kim maşvarat qılmaq keräk bolsa, ol evdä yigülür ärdilär. (NF10r:1) ‘When it was necessary to hold a meeting, they gathered in this house.’

5. The present conditional of **bol-** is used to form the conditional of the aorist [3.6.5.6.4.]. The inflected forms of **bol-** follow the aorist theme of the verb. E.g.,

Tilär bolsang yüzümning lälazārın, unuṭqın özgä gulning ḥār-ḥārın. (DN254v:2) ‘If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other roses.’

Kelür aḥmaq qulaqına oyunçaq oqur bolsang yüz elli bāb ḥikmat. (Sayf62r:1-2). ‘It will be a joke to the ears of a fool if you read for him one hundred and fifty chapters of wisdom.’

Kişi kim ʿişq lafini qılır bolsa keçar baştin. Ne ʿāşiq bolur ol kişi keçä parvana teg yanmas. (ShD65v:2-3) ‘The one who brags

about love, will lose his head. He is not a lover who at night does not burn like a moth.'

6. The present conditional *ersä* of the defective verb *er-* 'to be' [see 3.6.5.15.1.3.] placed unchanged after the inflected verb forms the conditional of the definite past. E.g.,
Yengillik qıldım ersä [gar cafa]ni, sen ağır almağil könglünggä ani. (DN247r:8) 'If I was off-handed in inflicting cruelty [upon you], do not take it too much to [your] heart.'

Note: The auxiliary *ersä* ~ *esä* may be attached to the definite past form in which case it loses the initial vowel: **bermädi + esä > bermädisä.** E.g.,

Çon el bermädisä¹²⁹ vaşlı ölar män uş cafa birlä. (Sayf183v:11) 'Since I had no chance of achieving union with her I will surely die as a result of that cruelty.'

Cannat mængiz bäzädisä ol däm özin cahän, raqş urdi 'aşıqana yürüp çarh çambari. (Sayf181v:10) 'Then the world adorned itself to look like paradise. The circle of heaven danced moving amorously.'

7. The inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging *bolur* constitute one of the possibilitive forms. E.g.,

Köngül közgül dur ani bilsä bolur, içindäkini paydä qılsa bolur. (DN247v:4) 'The heart is a mirror, it is possible to realize that. It is possible to find out what is in its inside.'

Bala miñnat ağu hayatğa sabab, munun tutsa bolur hıdayat quşı. (MM180r:10) 'Misfortune, misery, and bitter experiences are means to [the devout] life. Through them one can catch up with the bird of guidance.'

Hukum qılsa bolur, biling, muttafiq, 'amal qılsa bolur tutup qayısı. (MM190v:1) 'Know that when they make a legal decision they are in agreement. It is [only] in [certain] practices that they differ.'

8. The inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging *bolmas* 'is not [possible]' constitute one of the prohibitive-exhortative forms. E.g.,

¹²⁹ Cf., P. *dast dādan* 'to have a chance'

Kişi kün yoğra ham kirişsä bolmas, safāhat käyninä erişsä bolmas. (DN246r:1) ‘One cannot interfere in his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.’

Qizil altun ki vaşfin qilsa bolmas, anı küydürmāginčä bilsä bol-

mas. (DN247r:10) ‘The red gold the quality of which cannot be established by description, cannot be known until you burn it.’

Kişi desä sevür men ursa bolmas, bu yazuqdın anı öltürsä bolmas. (DN247v:11) ‘If a person says, “I love” he should not be beaten.¹³⁰ He should not be executed because of this sin.¹³¹’

9. The present conditional, often introduced by the conjunction **ki**, appears in subjunctive role. E.g.,

Ötär könglidä har dam bir dilārāy, tilār közi ki körsä bir yangi ay. (DN254r:7) ‘Every moment a beloved occurs to his mind. His eyes are eagerly waiting to behold a new moon.’¹³²

3.6.5.5.2. The Past Conditional

The past conditional expresses conditions that existed in the past with the implication that they did materialize or does not exist any more.

The past conditional has a compound form. It consists of the inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging **erdi**, the definite past tense of the auxiliary **er-** ‘to be’.

Positive Stem	körsä-
Sing.	
körsäm erdi	‘if I had seen’
körsäng erdi	‘if you had seen’
körsä erdi	‘if he had seen’
Plur.	
körsäk erdi	‘if we had seen’
körsängiz erdi	‘if you had seen’
körsälär erdi	‘if they had seen’

Positive Stem	barsa-
Sing.	

¹³⁰ Like fools are.

¹³¹ Like Mansür was.

¹³² Lit., so that he may behold

barsam erdi	‘if I had gone’
barsang erdi	‘if you had gone’
barsa erdi	‘if he had gone’

Plur.	
barsaq erdi	‘if we had gone’
barsangiz erdi	‘if you had gone’
barsalar erdi	‘if they had gone’

Negative Stem	körmäsä-
Sing.	
körmäsäm erdi	‘if I had not seen’
körmäsäng erdi	‘if you had not seen’
körmäsä erdi	‘if he had not seen’

Plur.	
körmäsäk erdi	‘if we had not seen’
körmäsängiz erdi	‘if you had not seen’
körmäsälär erdi	‘if they had not seen’

Negative Stem	barmasa-
Sing.	
barmasam erdi	‘if I had not gone’
barmasang erdi	‘if you had not gone’
barmasa erdi	‘if he had not gone’

Plur.	
barmasaq erdi	‘if we had not gone’
barmasangiz erdi	‘if you had not gone’
barmasalar erdi	‘if they had not gone’

Forms of the past conditional occur in conditional clauses of complex compound sentences to express an unreal, impossible, or unfulfilled condition. The verb in the main clause is mostly in the past optative tense. E.g.,

Ay camāling maclisində **ičsäm erdi** cām-i may, tā qiyāmatğa tegü ‘aqlimni hayrān qilğa män. (ShD113v:12-113) ‘Could I but drink up the cup of wine at the banquet of your moonlike beauty, I would make my intellect amazed to [the day of] resurrection.’

Bu kişining biligi **bolsa edi**, aħmaq bilān işi bu yergä yetmägäy edi. (Sayf108r:6) ‘Had this person possessed some wisdom, his case with this idiot would not have gone so far.’

Ayağing tofrağın gar **tapsam erdi**, anı elning közidin **vapsam erdi**, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anı, közidä asrağay erdi nihānī. (DN250v:9) ‘Had I but got hold of the dust your feet were walking on, had I but covered it from people’s eyes, my face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.’

The past conditional form can express unfulfilled desires. The conjunction **kāš-ki** introduces sentences of this type. E.g.,

Har gadālar teg ešikdä qılmağil sen dar ba-dar, bolsam erdi, kāsiki men ešikingdä ħākrāk. (ShD89r:9) ‘Like all the beggars at the threshold don’t make me wander door to door. Could I but be a most insignificant speck of dust at your doorstep?’

3.6.5.5. The Optative Mood

The optative forms express an action or a state the occurrence of which is desired, expected, guessed, suggested or ordered. They fall in two full paradigms with a variety of alternate forms and are very frequent. They have two tenses, the future and the past.

3.6.5.5.1. Future Tense of the Optative

It is formed from positive or negative stems by the thematic morphemes **-ğay/gäy** [after vowels or voiced consonants] or **-qay/-käy** [after voiceless consonants] and the personal pronouns to indicate person and number. In the third persons only the number is marked: **-lar/-lär** in the plural and its absence in the singular. There is a set of apocopated thematic morphemes in **-qa/-kä**, **-ğa/-gä** the use of which is quite common. The morpheme **-a/-ä** [**-qa/-kä**, **-ğa/-gä**] is less frequent and has special semantic features.

	Positive	
Sing.		
körgäy män ¹³³	‘I will see’	barğay män ‘I will go’
körgäy sän	‘you will see’	barğay sän ‘you will go’
körgäy	‘he will see’	barğay ‘he will go’
Plur.		
körgäy biz	‘we will see’	barğay biz ‘we will go’
körgäy siz	‘you will see’	barğay siz ‘you will go’
körgäylär	‘they will see’	barğaylar ‘they will go’
	Negative	
Sing.		

¹³³ The forms *män~men*, *sän~sen* are alternating. Popular works mostly have *-men*, *-sen*.

körmägäy män	‘I will not see’	barmağay män	‘I will not go’
körmägäy sän	‘you will not see’	barmağay sän	‘you will not go’
körmägäy	‘he will not see’	barmağay	‘he will not go’
Plur.			
körmägäy biz	‘we will not see’	barmağay biz	‘we will not go’
körmägäy siz	‘you will not see’	barmağay siz	‘you will not go’
körmägäylär	‘they will not see’	barmağaylar	‘they will not go’

The use of the future tense of the optative:

1. The future optative most of the time expresses a future action without indicating or implying necessity, inevitability, or intensity. E.g.,

Ay şabā barsang Samarqand kelibän nä eltgä sen? (ShD126r:6) ‘O, Zephyr, if you go to Samarqand, what will you bring on your return?’

Boyung sarvi ki nang yer şuhbatimdin, egilgäy ‘aqibat tüz niyatimdin. (DN245r:4) ‘The [straight] cypress of your body scorns to be in my companionship but it bows down at the end, when it realizes the straitforwardness of my intent.’

Gavvaşliq netäg qıla sen bolmayin fanā, şahr-i vucūd ara sen özüngni bečara qıl. (ShD97v:4-5) ‘How can you dive for pearls without annihilating your Self? In the city of existence¹³⁴ make your Self totally helpless.’

2. It very often occurs in admonishments, exhortations, or preachings. E.g.,

Qılmağil sen namazda taqşir, tā Qiyamatda bolğa sen dilgır. (MS3v:4) ‘Do not be remiss in your prayers or you will be filled with horror on the day of resurrection.’

Bu manzildin angru yürüp yätgä sän, ayıtmaq hācat yoq körüp netgä sän. (MM199r10) ‘You must go beyond this station in order to reach [your destination]. There is no need to tell you [the way]; just look and you will know what to do.’

3. It is used to express intent, resolve, or determination. E.g.,

¹³⁴ I.e., in this world

Bu masā'ilni zıkr qılğay mız, har biri içrā fıkr qılğay mız. (MS 3r:5) 'We will [now] take up these matters. We will consider each of them one by one.'

Tavba qıldım kim dağı hıtba oqusam arqun oquğay mən. (Sayf

111r:13). 'I made a vow that if I recite the Friday sermon again, I will recite it slowly.'

4. It is very frequent in expressing hope, desire, or wish. E.g.,

Umedim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetğay vaş bağidin manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'

Umedim Tengridin ol dur ki gah gāh, yaruğay közlərim yüzüngdin, Ay Māh! (DN251r:6) 'My hope from God is that now and then my eyes may shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon.'

Manga körgüzmäsün Tengri hıwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay zalälim. (DN242r:7) 'May God Himself never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with dust.'

Közüm Cayhünü üzä köprü bağladım qaşdin, bu ārzüda ki tüşkây bu köprükdin guzari. (ShD176r:4) 'Over the the Jayhun river I raised a bridge using an eyebrow in the desire that by chance she may cross that bridge.'

Oqup uqqanğa köp şavāb olğay, ham nivisandağa şavāb olğay. (MS16v:3) 'He who has read and mastered [this book] will obtain ample recompense. So will he who only copies it.'

Uzun tün qalmağa allingda ğamlar, yaruğay 'ayş içindä şubhdamlar. (DN248v:7) 'May sorrows not stay in your presence for long nights. May mornings dawn upon you in luxury and pleasure.'

Uzatqay sen saçingdin vaş tünin, ücürgay sen kelip hicrān tütünnin. (DN251r:7) 'That by your hair you prolong the night of union; that coming to me you dissipate the smoke of separation.'

5. It often conveys a command, an injunction, or an ordinance. E.g.,

Ol yağni sürtğay¹³⁵ keçä kündüz. (KBV19r:12) 'You [sic] should smear on that ointment night and day.'

Sen bu çağliq bilä bas qılmağa sen, tark qılmağni havas qılmağa sen. (RB8r:7) 'Do not be satisfied with this much. Never be willing to abandon the pronouncing of the zıkr.'

¹³⁵ The second person marker can be omitted in case the verb occurs as an imperative.

Boğaz yergä bolsa biçaq türtkä siz. (MM191r:14) 'If its [i.e., the animal's] throat is turned toward the ground, cut it with your knife.'
Meni sen körmägäy sen özgä hargiz, parī teg közüngä uĉqay camālim. (DN242r:2) 'You will never see me in any other way. My beauty will draw your attention like a fairy.'¹³⁶

Keräk andaq ki köngüldä muṭlaq qalmağay heĉ ta'alluq, cuz Ĥaqq. (RB5r:13) 'It is important that absolutely no attachment, but attachment to God remain in one's heart.'

6. It is used as a form of the gnomic future to express a generally recognized truth, or a periodically returning event. E.g.,

Har qaĉan muni mudām etgäy sen, yenä bir martabağa yetgäy sen. (RB8r:5) 'As long as you persist in this, you will reach a higher degree [of perfection].'

Eksängän ĥayr urluqini biĉkä sän, kuzagä ne qoysang anı iĉkä sän. (Sayf 5r:2-3) 'You will reap the ears of corn you have sown. You will drink what you have put in [your] jar.'

Kamal-i nafs kiši bilgäy ki mard-i rahbän bolğay. (ShD177r:4) 'Only the man with vision of the road knows what perfection of Self is.'

Har kim ĥiyānat bilän tirilgäy, ĥisāb vaqtında elläri titrägäy. (Sayf25v:7-8) 'Anyone who lives in treachery, will face the reckoning with trembling hands.'

7. It is used to express promises, vows, and pledges. E.g.,

Vişalim ĥwanidin ol ĥasta toyğay, ki canini elig üstidä tutğay. (DN241v:6) '[Only] the tired one will eat his fill at the spread table of union with me, who holds his soul in the palm of his hand.'

Camālimdin oquğay ol raqamni ki avval başına qoyğay qadamni. (DN241v:7) 'Only the person who first puts a foot upon his head will decipher the numbers from my beauty.'

8. Sometimes it expresses a habit. E.g.,

Alnında ne bolsa yeğäy ağzında ne kelsä degäy. (Sayf80v:5) 'He eats whatever is in front of him, he says whatever is in his smouth.'

Oqu alĥamd desäng yüz oqığay. (Sayf137v:10) 'If you tell him to recite a Thanks be to God, he would recite it one hundred times.'

Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gul-andām, ki bir dam bargsüz tapğay men āram. (244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Beloved

¹³⁶ Lit., my beauty will fly into your eyes

with a delicate body, that finds rest even for a moment without rose leaves.'

9. It is used in sentences expressing assessment, estimation or guess. E.g., **Qaysi ganc bolğay aning teg, avliyalar anda dur: Biri Siğnaq, biri Qilič, biri Türkistān sari.** (ShD174r:10) 'What treasure could be like that [in the ruins]: the saints reside there. One [of those cities] is Siğnaq, one is Qilič, and one is Turkistan.'

Qurğandīn daryā bir oq atimi bolğay. (Babur 4r:8) 'From the fortress the river is at about a bowshot distance.'

10. It is frequent in similes, hyperbolas, metaphors. E.g., **Netük men ävüräyin öz ğamimdīn, ki pūlād erigäy otluğ damīmdīn.** (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'
Atasi ol şadaf dur kim bahāli cavhari bolğay. Şadafdan ayrilur bolsa tapar cavhar ağır qimat. (Sayf98r:10) 'Her father is that shell that has a precious pearl. The pearl obtains a high value [only] after it is separated from the shell.'
Agar könglüng manga küysä, acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigäy riq-qatīmdīn. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

11. It also expresses a supposition. E.g., **Ne häcat kim qasam kirgäy arağa, yamīnsiz bilgil išingning yasārin.** (DN254v:7) 'What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without [a reference to] the right.'¹³⁷
Tüzälip ādamilār hōyin alġin, ne degäy el daġi āhir uyalġin. (DN260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Be ashamed at the end of what people say.'¹³⁸
Negä keräk kiši har çayi andaq, ne bar yegäy çu bolsa räyi andaq. (DN254r:8) 'What he is needed for, that is his position since his philosophy is to eat whatever there is.'

12. It occurs in the main clause of conditional complex sentences. E.g., **Sening köyungdīn, ay körk icrä baġim, bašim gar barsa barmağay ayaġim.** (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter, O, My Flowergarden

¹³⁷ You should know what the left side is without reference to the right side. The author suggests the value of absolute knowledge. God loves when we begin our actions on the left side. [M. Shaybāni Khān, *Risāla*].

¹³⁸ About how they knew you.

[in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.’

Ğamimdin gar desä içimdäki dāğ, bulut teg yığlağay ün tartıban dāğ. (DN256v:10) ‘If the pain I feel could talk about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.’

Agar tang yaqın bolsa, vitr namāzini tahaccuddin burun oquğay. (RM17v:4) ‘If dawn arrives early, he should perform the witr prayer before the tahajjud prayer.’

13. It may be used in the main clause of concessive complex sentences. E.g.,

Sanga körgüzmägäy ruğ zulf va ħälim, agar yüz qatla bolsang paymälim. (DN242r:1). ‘To you my tresses and my beauty spot do not show their faces even if you are trampled upon¹³⁹ under my feet a hundred times.’¹⁴⁰

Agar tandin desäm bir ħäksäre, ne körüngäy eşikingdä ğubäre. (DN250v:5) ‘Even if I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?’

14. We find it, rarely though, in final clauses:

Dārū içip za‘if bolup barayim ħattā sulṭānning i‘tiqādī manga artuqraq bolğay. (Sayf58v:7) ‘I take some medicine, become weak and then go [to the banquet of the Sultan] so that his good will toward me may increase.’

Murādīm ol durur har dam ki qılsam tün va kün qulluq, ki rāħat tapqa men aħar uşol ranc-i garān birlä. (ShD161v:3-4) ‘My intention is that I do service every moment night and day so that I find ease finally in this heavy pain.’

3.6.5.5.2. Past Tense of the Optative Mood

The past tense of the optative mood is created by the forms of the future optative and the definite past tense forms of the auxiliary e-, er- ‘to be’:

Positive

Sing.

körgäy erdim

‘I may have seen’

körgäy erding

‘you may have seen’

körgäy erdi

‘he may have seen’

Plur.

¹³⁹ One of the ways of execution by the Mongols of Hüläğü was to let the victim, wrapped in a rug, trampled upon by galloping horses.

¹⁴⁰ The Lover is warned not to build any hope on the principle that cruel treatment by the Beloved could be a sign that she takes an interest in him.

körgäy erdük	‘we may have seen’
körgäy erdingiz	‘you may have seen’
körgäy erdilär	‘they may have seen’

Sing.	
barğay erdim	‘I may have gone’
barğay erding	‘you may have gone’
barğay erdi	‘he may have gone’

Plur.	
barğay erdük	‘we may have gone’
barğay erdingiz	‘you may have gone’
barğay erdilär	‘they may have gone’

Negative

Sing.	
körmägäy erdim	‘I may not have seen’
körmägäy erding	‘you may not have seen’
körmägäy erdi	‘he may not have seen’

Plur.	
körmägäy erdük	‘we may not have seen’
körmägäy erdingiz	‘you may not have seen’
körmägäy erdilär	‘they may not have seen’

Sing.	
barmağay erdim	‘I may not have gone’
barmağay erding	‘you may not have gone’
barmağay erdi	‘he may not have gone’

Plur.	
barmağay erdük	‘we may not have gone’
barmağay erdingiz	‘you may not have gone’
barmağay erdilär	‘they may not have gone’

(1) It is used in the main clause of conditional complex sentences to express an action that did not materialize due to unfulfilled conditions. E.g.,

Emdi şanam firāğında mäning hālīmni kelip sorsang erdi ve taqi camal-i vişalingning haqq u hālina muṭala‘a qilsam erdi, mäning hālimdīn ḥabardar bolğay erding. (ShD153v:4) ‘O my Idol, if while you were away you had come to ask about my state and if I

had been able to observe the lines and the beauty spot of your face at the meeting, you could have learned about my situation.'

İcmägäy erdim tana¹⁴¹ **um davrida cäm-i vişal bilsäm erdi hicridin bolur bu davran özgäçä.** (HBD42,6) 'I would not have drunk from the cup of union in the time of enjoyment, had I known how time would change due to separation from her.'

Bu kişining biligi bolsa edi, ahmaq bilän işi bu yergä yetmägäy edi. (Sayf108r:6) 'Had this person possessed wisdom, his case with the fool would not have gotten as far.'

Ayağing tofrağın¹⁴¹ **gar tapsam erdi, anı elning közidin yapsam erdi, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anı, közidä asrağay erdi nihanı.** (DN250v:10) 'Had I but found the dust your feet were walking on, had I covered it from peoples' eyes, my face would have considered it as gold and would have preserved it secretly in its eyes.'

(2) It is also used to express a coveted but unfulfilled desire. Often the Persian desiderative particle **kāški** is used to support the desiderative meaning. E.g.,

Yetmäs elgim çön visäling etäkinä, kāški qılğay erdi gum meni yer yüzidin parvardigār. (Gadā'ī16r 2) 'Since my hand does not reach the skirt¹⁴² of union with you,¹⁴³ [I say:] O, had the Nourisher eliminated me from the surface of the earth.'

3.6.5.6. The Aorist

The action or state expressed by the aorist is not bound to a specific time or to a concrete location. Nor is it determined as to aspect, or status. This permits the speaker to use the aorist in a great variety of functions. The aorist is formed from verbal nouns in **-r**; **-ar/-är**, **-ur/-ür** [positive, see 3.6.5.6.] and **-mas/-mäs** [negative, see 3.6.5.7.] with the personal markers **-män**, **-sän**, **--**, **-biz**, **-siz**, **-lar/-lär**.

The aorist has present, past, indirect past tenses and conditional forms.

3.6.5.6.1. The Present Tense of the Aorist

The present tense of the aorist names the action related to an agent with no reference to a particular time. It provides no information as to aspect, status, or mood.

Positive

¹⁴¹ Variant of *topraq*.

¹⁴² Those who are in need reach for the skirt of the one they hope to get help from.

¹⁴³ I.e., I am not able to secure your help...

Sing.			
körär män	'I see'	barur män	'I go'
körär sän	'you see'	barur sän	'you go'
körär	'he sees'	barur	'he goes'

Plur.			
körär biz	'we see'	barur biz	'we go'
körär siz	'you see'	barur siz	'you go'
körärlär	'they see'	barurlar	'they go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäs män	'I don't see'	barmas män	'I don't go'
körmäs sän	'you don't see'	barmas sän	'you don't go'
körmäs	'he doesn't see'	barmas	'he doesn't go'

Plur.			
körmäs biz	'we don't see'	barmas biz	'we don't go'
körmäs siz	'you don't see'	barmas siz	'you don't go'
körmäslär	'they don't see'	barmaslar	'they don't go'

Since the aorist does not have a point of time or time frame specifically assigned to it and is devoid of aspects and status, in actual usage it may assume diverse time, mode, and status characteristics.

(1) Therefore the present tense of the aorist often expresses habitual actions. E.g.,

Sahargāhī barur men, bil, ḥarābāt. Ne der sen zāhid-i ṣāhib-ka-rāmāt? (ShD25v:4-5) 'Early mornings, be aware of this, I go to the tavern. What do you say, abstinent, possessor of [the ability to perform] miracles?'

Labing tabassum ilā äylä turgüzür ki Masih. Zahi tabassum-i širin, zahi kalām-i faših. (ShD29r:8) 'With a smile your lips bring one to life again, like the Messiah. What a sweet smile! What an eloquent speech!'

(2) The present aorist often indicates established unchanging facts. E.g.,
Ḥusrav u Sa'dī va Ḥafizğa nā aytur sen cavāb: Täng emäs tur šakkar va qand va asal birlä unnāb. (ShD21v:1-2-) 'How can you challenge Khusrav [Dihlavī], Sa'dī or Ḥafiz? The jujube is not equal to sugar, rock candy, or honey.'

**Özüngni qilma asru bē sar-u barg, kim egilmās sening sarī nihā-
lim.** (DN242v:4) ‘Do not feel too distressed just because my
branches do not bend in your direction.’

**Malāmat qiblasidīn yüz evürmās, hālā’iq nečā ta‘n ursa, dam
urmas.** (DN245v:8) ‘He does not turn his face away from the qibla
of blame, however much people criticise him, he does not say a
word.’

**Cihāngā qaysi cān keldi qulunum ölmäyīn qalmas. Açılğan lāla
gul yasmin tabassum solmayīn qalmas.** H77r:6) ‘My boy, every
soul that has entered this world will not stay here, will not escape

death. The tulip, the rose, the jasmine, and the smile, once they
have blossomed, will surely wither.’

(3) The present aorist is used to express a general truth. We often find it
in proverbs. E.g.,

**‘İşq otī saldı Şabānī könglidä ol qildi āh kim tütün paydā bolur
har yärdä kim küydi kabab.** (ShD23r:3) ‘The fire of love flared
up in Şabānī’s heart. He let out a sigh because smoke appears in
every place where kebab is burning.’

**Kişi desä sevür men ursa bolmas, bu yazuqdīn anī öltürsä bol-
mas.** (DN247v:11) ‘If a person says, “I love” he should not be
beaten.¹⁴⁴ He should not be executed because of this sin.’¹⁴⁵

Yaz faslıda quruğan kökärür. Zāhid va şūfī qalur taş dek qurup.
(ShD23r:12-13) ‘Whatever dries in summer, will green out [when
spring comes]. The abstinent and the mystic remain dry like stone.’

**Körär men ‘işq ara yüz miñnat u ranc, balē, ranc körmäyīn
tapmas kişi ganc.** (ShD28r:12-13) ‘Being in love I experience a
hundred sufferings and pains. But without experiencing pains one
cannot find the treasures.’

(4) It is used in conditional-temporal sense. The condition or time is
taken for granted. E.g.,

**Davlat tilär siz barčangiz davlat eşikkä kelingiz, andin burunraq
kim degäy davlat sizä hāzā firāq.** (ShD80v:12) ‘If you want
good fortune, come to the threshold of good fortune before good
fortune tells you, the time is here for separation.’

(5) It also expresses progressive or repeated present actions. E.g.,

¹⁴⁴ Lovers should not be treated as madmen who are chained and children would throw stones at them.
(See ‘Aynī, *Yoddoshtho*).

¹⁴⁵ As Mansür Hällāj was.

La‘ling bilä tişingning hacrında, ay moğulcın, har laħza kirpü-
kimdin marcan va durr saçar män. (ShD112v:11-12) ‘Being
away from your lips and from your teeth, O Moghul Beauty,
from my eyelashes I constantly scatter corals and pearls.’¹⁴⁶

Ol nārgis-i mastāna közümdä uçar har dam, könglüm quşin
avlarğa asru tēz va laçin sen. (ShD120r:9-10) ‘That intoxicated
narcissus¹⁴⁷ flies into my eyes¹⁴⁸ every moment. In hunting the bird
of my heart you are immensely fast and [skilled like] a falcon.’

‘Āşiq üçün män bilür men yār cafasī köp turur keçä kündüz
şukr etār men şol qadar iħsan üçün. (ShD121r:1-2) ‘I know that
the cruelty of the friend is excessive toward the lover. I say thanks
night and day for this much generosity.’

Agar davlat çirāğini yarutsam hēç tang ermäs, ki öçkän Çingizī
şam‘i biling beglār yanar mendin. (ShD120r:1-2) ‘If I relight the
lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed, since as you,
lords, full well know, through me he dying candle of the House of
Chingis flares up again.’

(6) For a vivid narration of past actions, the present aorist is used instead of the definite past.¹⁴⁹

Ulusnī başlap alur mulk va taht İskandar, ki himmat ilä tegār
tāc va sarvarī mirāş. (ShD17r:1-2) ‘Leading his people Alexander
took countries because it is through good efforts that leadership
becomes your legacy.’

(7) The present aorist is also used to express future actions. E.g.,

Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah āzar, men eşitip bolur men munda
afgar. (DN260r:3) ‘If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will
be wounded as soon as I hear about it.’

(9) Present progressive or continuous actions also are expressed by the present aorist. E.g.,

Ne dur hālī aning ğam laşkarında, yanī aĝrır mu miħnat bista-
rında? (DN252v:6) ‘What is his condition in the army of sorrows?
Is his side aching in the sick-bed of misery?’

Yüz tūmān ‘ūd teg yanar men nā sababdin dā‘imā: Čon moğul-
cın tarra-i tarrārini bir bir etār. (ShD31r:12-13) ‘I constantly
burn like a hundred times ten thousand [pieces of] aloe [wood]. For

¹⁴⁶ I.e., blood-stained tears

¹⁴⁷ I.e., beloved with beautiful eyes

¹⁴⁸ I.e., comes to my mind

¹⁴⁹ Historical aorist

what reason? Because the Moghul beauty unties her locks one by one.'

(10) The negative aorist often serves to convey an admonishment, or a reminder. E.g.,

Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gulandām, ki bir dam bargsüz tapğay men arām. (DN244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, who could find rest without [rose] leaves even for a moment.'

Qalamlardin durust ermäs rivāyat, ki sığmas tilläriğä ol hikāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.¹⁵⁰

Ki qalmas ādamī bir huyī birlän, arığ yoq tur hamēša suyī birlän. (DN254r:2) 'Because a human being does not prevail in one and the same habit. The irrigation canal does not keep its water¹⁵¹ for ever.'

Note: Chagatay verbal inflection contains a few Azerbaijani forms. The most striking grammatical loans occur in the paradigm of the Aorist:

(a) Azerbaijani form of the positive aorist in **-am/-äm**. E.g.,

Qişsanī qılma uzun zulf-i mu'anbardin yana, qorqaram andin uzunraq bolmağay afsānamiz. (ShD62r:1) 'Of the scented tresses do not make the story long. I fear that my narrative will not be longer than that.'

Ol Hūsaynī tili birlä ayturam bir neçä söz, bu Şabāniğa madadçi boldi Hwārizmim mänüm. (ShD100r:5-6) 'I say a few words with the tongue of Hūsaynī. My Khwarizmi has become the helper of Shabāni.'

(b) Azerbaijani form of the negative aorist in **-man/-män**. E.g.,

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarçi yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head¹⁵² although you turn away¹⁵³ yours.'

Özüm özümni bilmän, bu tünlä yārım bulman, vah zulfidin parēšan, yā rabb manga nādin dur? (ShD53v:11) 'I do not know

¹⁵⁰ I.e., the nib of the pen

¹⁵¹ I.e., the same water

¹⁵² A sign of disobedience.

¹⁵³ In disregard, or contempt.

myself, tonight I do not find my friend. Ah, distraught by her tresses, O God! Why does this happen to me?

Hec bilmän bu ot mänim ävimä qandan tüsti. (Sayf38r:8) ‘I have no idea from where this fire fell upon my house.’

3.6.5.6.2. The Past Tense of the Aorist

The past tense of the aorist consists of the aorist theme, positive or negative, followed by the inflected forms of the definite past tense of the auxiliary verb **er-**.

It expresses habitual, repeated, or continued past actions or states with no closer modal, status, or aspect characteristics.

Positive			
Sing.			
körär erdim	‘I saw’	barur erdim	‘I went’
körär erding	‘you saw’	barur erding	‘you went’
körär erdi	‘he saw’	barur erdi	‘he went’
Plur.			
körär erdük	‘we saw’	barur erdük	‘we went’
körär erdingiz	‘you saw’	barur erdingiz	‘you went’
körär erdilär	‘they saw’	barur erdilär	‘they went’
Negative			
Sing.			
körmäs erdim	‘I did not see’	barmas erdim	‘I did not go’
körmäs erding	‘you did not see’	barmas erding	‘you did not go’
körmäs erdi	‘he did not see’	barmas erdi	‘he did not go’
Plur.			
körmäs erdük	‘we did not see’	barmas erdük	‘we did not go’
körmäs erdingiz	‘you did not see’	barmas erdingiz	‘you did not go’
körmäs erdilär	‘they did not see’	barmas erdilär	‘they did not go’

E.g.,

Uşbu sirrni bilmäsün dep kizlär erdim dā'imā āškārā qıldı ahir dāna-i durdānamiz. (ShD61v:11) 'I always hid my secret so that she may not learn it. At the end, however, a grain of my unique pearl¹⁵⁴ disclosed it.'

Vah uzun tün dilbarim hicrānini tartar edim, şurat-i naqşin köngüldä çäkkāli zarzār edim. (ShD103v:6-7) 'Woe, long nights I suffered from the absence of my Beloved, I was desperate to paint the picture of her face in my heart.'

Har yıl ming yığaç safar qılur erdi, ayağ ve baş yalang, ve heç şahrda on künden artuq turmas erdi. (NF87v:23) 'Every year he would travel a thousand miles barefooted and bareheaded. And he would not stay in any city more than ten days.'

Bir kün bu sultān maclisindä Şāhnāma kitābin oqur edilär. (Sayf16r:7) 'One day in the company of the King they recited [from] the book [entitled] Shahname.'

(1) The past tense of the aorist sometimes indicates that the action was attempted, or intended but, in fact, was not carried out. E.g.,

İssi tammüz künlärindä bir kün äylä issi edi kim boğaznı qurutup ağıznı qaynatur edi. (Sayf121v11) 'One day in the hot [month of] July it was so hot that [the heat] dried out the throat and brought the mouth to boiling.'

Gar közümning yaşı bir dām aqmayin tinsa edi, küydürür erdi biling 'alamni bir ahim yaqıp. (ShD17r:12-13) 'If my tears had ceased to flow for a moment, one sigh of mine would have set fire to this world and burned it down.'

3.6.5.6.3. The Indirect Past Tense of the Aorist

The indirect past of the aorist handles indirect, unconfirmed information, either what the speaker heard from someone else, or what he himself discovered but could not obtain certainty about it.

This tense form consists of the aorist theme, positive or negative, followed by the inflected forms of the indirect past of the verb *er-* or *e-* 'to be.'

Positive

Sing.

körär ermiş män 'I guess I saw'

barur ermiş män 'I guess I went'

¹⁵⁴ I.e., my tears

körär ermiş sän	'I guess you saw'	barur ermiş sän	'I guess you went'
körär ermiş	'I guess he saw'	barur ermiş	'I guess he went'
Plur.			
körär ermiş biz	'I guess we saw'	barur ermiş biz	'I guess we went'
körär ermiş siz	'I guess you saw'	barur ermiş siz	'I guess you went'
körär ermişlär	'I guess they saw'	barur ermişlär	'I guess they went'

Negative

Sing.

körmäs ermiş män	'I guess I did not see'	barmas ermiş män	'I guess I did not go'
körmäs ermiş sän	'I guess you did not see'	barmas ermiş män	'I guess you did not go'
körmäs ermiş	'I guess he did not see'	barmas ermiş	'I guess he did not go'

Plur.

körmäs ermiş biz	'I guess we did not see'	barmas ermiş biz	'I guess we did not go'
körmäs ermiş siz	'I guess you did not see'	barmas ermiş siz	'I guess you did not go'
körmäs ermişlär	'I guess they did not see'	barmas ermişlär	'I guess they did not go'

E.g.,

‘**Āšiq olğanni der ermişlär basē nādān kiši, qaṭralar közüm yašidīn kelsä danā bolğa män.** (ShD134r:9) ‘Many would call ignorant those in love.¹⁵⁵ When my tears fall drop by drop, I wish I was a wise man.’

Nafsini sevgän kiši dur har zamān dunyāparast, ay dirēgā könglüngä tüšmäs emiş gör va kafan. (ShD119v:5-6) ‘The person who loves his self¹⁵⁶ always appreciates this world. Alas, the grave and the shroud apparently did not occur to his mind.’

Bu nukta sirrini hargiz kiši qayda bilür ermiş? Ača ber nukta sirrini mäning pīr-i muğanim sen. (ShD112r12-13) ‘Did ever

¹⁵⁵ Cf. MM200v:10-11

¹⁵⁶ I.e., his carnal soul

people anywhere know the secret of this point? Open the secrets of points, [after all] you are my elder of the magi.’

Sizing yunmaqingizni män kördüm ärsä bildim kim män haḫa qilur ärmış män. (NF86v:4) ‘I observed [the way you performed] your ablution and realized that I probably was in error.’

3.6.5.6.4. The Conditional of the Aorist

The conditional of the aorist is based on the aorist theme, positive [-r] or negative [-mas/-mäs], followed by the inflected forms of the conditional of the verbs **er-** or **bol-**.

It is used in conditional clauses of complex sentences to express present or future simple conditions.

Positive

Sing.			
körär ersäm/	‘if I see’	barur ersäm/	‘if I go’
bolsam		bolsam	
körär ersäng/	‘if you see’	barur ersäng/	‘if you go’
bolsang		bolsang	
körär ersä/	‘if he sees’	barur ersä/	‘if he goes’
bolsa		bolsa	
Plur.			
körär ersäk/	‘if we see’	barur ersäk/	‘if we go’
bolsaq		bolsaq	
körär ersängiz/	‘if you see’	barur ersängiz/	‘I you go’
bolsangiz		bolsangiz	
körär ersälär/	‘if they see’	barur ersälär/	‘if they go’
bolsalar		bolsalar	

Negative

Sing.			
körmäs ersäm/	‘if I do not see’	barmas ersäm/	‘if I do not go’
bolsam		bolsam	
körmäs ersäng/	‘if you do not see’	barmas ersäng/	‘if you do not go’
bolsang		bolsang	
körmäs ersä/	‘if he does not see’	barmas ersä/	‘if he does not go’
bolsa		bolsa	
Plur.			
körmäs ersäk/	‘if we do not see’	barmas ersäk/	‘if we do not go’
bolsaq		bolsaq	
körmäs ersängiz/	‘if you do not see’	barmas ersängiz/	‘if you do not go’
bolsangiz		bolsangiz	

körmäs ersälär/	'if they do not	barmas ersälär/	'if they do
bolsalar	see'	bolsalar	not go'

Note: The conditional of the aorist based on the positive stem has contracted forms. E.g.,

Positive

Sing.

körärsäm	'if I see'	barursam	'if I go'
körärsäng	'if you see'	barursang	'if you go'
körärsä	'if he sees'	barursa	'if he goes'

Plur.

körärsäk	'if we see'	barursaq	'if we go'
körärsängiz	'if you see'	barursangiz	'if you go'
körärsälär	'if they see'	barursalar	'if they go'

E.g.,

Luṭf duşmangä körgüzür bolsang, dōstluq şarṭın ol tamām qılır. (Sayf16r:7) 'If you show kindness to the enemy, he will carry out the necessities of friendship.'

Aning vaşfın sorarlar bolsa mändän, nişānsızdan ḥabarsız ne de-gäy raz. (Sayf5r:13-5v:1) 'If they ask me about His qualities, how could an ignorant report about one who has no characteristics.'

Ay tarsālar, agar bu kimärsälär birlä la^cnat qılışur bolsangiz, qiyāmatqa tägi yär yüzindä tärsä uruği qalmağay. (NF72v:9) 'O, Christians! If you go on cursing one another with this people, by the time the resurrection is at hand, no offspring of Christians will remain.'

(1) The second person of the conditional of the aorist is also used to express indirect commands. E.g.,

Sunnatı neçä dur bilür bolsang, keçä kündüz anı qılır bolsang. (MS13v:6) 'You must know how many sunna [rak'ats] are required in one day [and, having learned that] you must perform them.'

(2) The conditional of the aorist is used in temporal sentences. The conjunction **qaçan** 'when' may introduce the temporal clause. E.g.,

Oq qaçan yadan çiqar bolsa yana kelmäs. (Sayf169v:8) 'When the arrow is released from the bow, it does not come back.'

Farıza qalur bolsa buzluq namāz. (MM183v:9) 'When a mandatory prayer is left out, the prayer is invalidated.'

(3) The conditional of the aorist is also used in concessive sentences. The concessive clause uses the conjunction **gar** or may not need a conjunction at all. E.g.,

İnär bolsa qayadan bir ağır taş, keräk kim ketmägäy ‘arif yolundan. (Sayf80r:9) ‘Even if a heavy boulder rolls down from a rocky mountain, the mystic does not go out of its path.’

Tuz etmäkni unutmas kalb gar yüz qovar bolsang, yana qay-tarmas ol yüz. (Sayf 175r:1-2) ‘The dog does not forget the gratitude for sustenance¹⁵⁷ even if you chase him away a hundred times, it does not turn its face away [from you].’

3.6.5.6.5. The Optative of the Aorist

The optative of the aorist expresses an anticipated future action. It consists of the aorist base of the main verb followed by the inflected forms of the optative of the auxiliary **bol-** ‘to be’.

Positive

Sing.			
körär bolğay	‘I am to see’	barur bolğay	‘I am to go’
män		män	
körär bolğay	‘you are to see’	barur bolğay	‘you are to go’
sän		sän	
körär bolğay	‘he is to see’	barur bolğay	‘he is to go’
Plur.			
körär bolğay	‘we are to see’	barur bolğay	‘we are to go’
biz		biz	
körär bolğay	‘you are to see’	barur bolğay	‘you are to go’
siz		siz	
körär bolğay-lar	‘they are to see’	barur bolğay-lar	‘they are to go’

Negative

Sing.			
körmäs bolğay	‘I am not to see’	barmas bolğay	‘I am not to go’
män		män	
körmäs bolğay	‘you are not to see’	barmas bolğay	‘you are not to go’
sän		sän	
körmäs bolğay	‘he is not to see’	barmas bolğay	‘he is not to go’

¹⁵⁷ Lit., salt and bread

Plur.			
körmäs bolğay	‘we are not to see’	barmas bolğay	‘we are not to go’
biz		biz	
körmäs bolğay	‘you are not to see’	barmas bolğay	‘you are not to go’
siz		siz	
körmäs bolğay-lar	‘they are not to see’	barmas bolğay-lar	‘they are not to go’

E.g.,

Tariq-i ‘išqida ol kim özin **bilür bolğay**, **habarni saqı va dilbargä qılmamiş tamam.** (ShD107v:11-12) ‘He who is to know his Self in the path of love, apparently has not told the full story to the cupbearer and the heartravisher.’

(1) The optative of the aorist may express an eventual condition [that may arise, could occur, or chances are happens] in the conditional clause of a complex sentence. The clause may use the conjunction **agar**. E.g.,

Ya Muḥammad, agar čäriğdä namāz qilür bolsang, hala’iqni ekki (tā’ifa qilğil. (NF20v:9) ‘O, Muḥammad, should you lead the prayer in the armed forces, split the soldiers into two groups.’

3.6.5.7. The Indirect Past Tense

The indirect past tense expresses a completed action the result of which is present at the speaker’s time. There is, however, some lack of certainty about the agent or the action, or both. This can result from the clouded reliability of the source of our information We heard about an incident but we did not witness it [‘as I hear’]. Or we observed the result of an action but only guessed how it had come about [‘I gather’].

This is a fine distinction which is not always realized by individual authors who may use it in the role of definite past, or past perfect. It is comparatively rare and occurs mostly in poetry. E.g.,

	Positive		
Sing.			
körmiş män	‘I have seen’	barmiş män	‘I have gone’
körmiş sän	‘you have seen’	barmiş sän	‘you have gone’
körmiş	‘he has seen’	barmiş	‘he has gone’
Plur.			
körmiş biz	‘we have seen’	barmiş biz	‘we have gone’
körmiş siz	‘you have seen’	barmiş siz	‘you have

körmišlär	‘they have seen’	barmišlar	gone’ ‘they have gone’
Negative			
Sing.			
körmämiš män	‘I have not seen’	barmamiš män	‘I have not gone
körmämiš sän	‘you have not seen’	barmamiš sän	‘you have not gone
körmämiš	‘he has not seen’	barmamiš	‘he has not gone’
Plur.			
körmämiš biz	‘we have not seen’	barmamiš biz	‘we have not gone’
körmämiš siz	‘you have not seen’	barmamiš siz	‘you have not gone’
körmämišlär	‘they have not seen’	barmamišlar	‘they have not gone’

E.g.,

Ṭariq-i ‘išqida ol kim özin bilür bolğay, ḥabarni sāqī va dilbar-gä qilmamiš tamām. (ShD107v:11-12) ‘He who is to know his Self in the path of love, apparently has not told the full story to the cupbearer and the heartravisher.’

Nä aradan nä ulusdan nä umaqdan nä pari, şun‘-i Haqq yazmiš seni, ay körklü sulṭānim mänüm. (ShD99v:12-13). ‘Not from [our] neighborhood, not from [our] people, not from [our] race, not [even from the] fairies: The artistry of God has painted you, [I believe] O My Beautiful Emperor.’

Manga belğürdi emdi ittiḥādīng, bar ermiš zulfuma čin i‘tiqā-dīng. (DN247v:2) ‘Now your alliance has been revealed to me. Your faith in my tresses was apparently sincere.’

Sanga ol zamzama beḥwāst ermiš, har āhangī ki qıldīng rāst er-miš. (DN247v:3) ‘For you that chant may have sounded spontaneous: Any tune that you produced was correct.’

Közlärīngning fannidīn bildim, čin ermiš bu maşal: Har kişining kim kişigā rahmī yoq, imānī yoq. [GD124v:10] ‘From the art of your eyes I knew that the proverb was apparently true: He who has no mercy, has no faith.’

‘Umrida miskīn Gadā heč körmämiš ‘iṣrat yüzün; dard üçün goyā yaratmišlar men qallaşnī. (GD153r:6) ‘In his life poor Gadā

never saw the face of carefree enjoyment. Is it, I wonder, that I the worthless being, have been created for suffering [alone]?’

Māni laškarda asir etti Harīning dilbari, kim azal köyünda yazmış dur bu türlü taqririn. (ShD116r:2) ‘The heart-ravisher of Herāt made me a captive by her military forces. This confession was put in writing in the village of eternity without beginning.’

Avliyalar sarvari ol şah-i Turkistān emiş, yār yüzini nuri tutqan mäh-i Turkistān emiş. (ShD68v:12-3) ‘The leader of the saints [people say] was the King of Turkistan, the one whose light shines upon the face of the earth was the moon of Turkistan.’

Cannat-i ma‘vā degān bağ-i Samarqand emiş, Kavşar-i a‘lā degān ab-i Samarqand emiş. (ShD70v:6-7) ‘What is called the Blue

Paradise is the garden of Samarqand.¹⁵⁸ What is called the most exquisite Kauthar [river] is the waters of Samarqand.’

Hayr va şarr degil aning zulf va yüzün, biri nurafsān ve biri mār emiş. (ShD71v:1-2) ‘Call her tresses and her face Good and Evil: One is the radiant [sun], the other is a snake.’

Note: In the first and second person of the singular Azeri forms are also met with: E.g.,

Şahāna dur dilbarim yoq tur özümdä bir damim, āhim otin köp yaqmışam közdä yaşımdin nä ‘amim. (ShD100r:7-8) ‘My heart-ravisher is imperial, not a single breath is left in me. I let the fire of my sighs burn too long. What an ocean is in my eyes formed by my tears.’

Män ki zulfung dāmida asru ‘aciz bolmişam, ‘arizingning üstidä sunbullaringni tartma sen. (ShD116v:12). ‘Since I have become utterly helpless in the net of your tresses, do not pull your hyacinths over your face.’

Aning teg bolmişam hayrān sanga kim körünmäs közümä ‘alamda diyār. (GD119r:4) ‘I am so much amazed at you that I do not notice the [wonderful] lands in this world.’

3.6.5.7.1. The Conditional of the Indirect Past Tense

The conditional of the indirect past expresses eventual conditions in the past: ‘if something perchance happened,’ ‘if someone eventually did something.’

¹⁵⁸ Reference to the Blue Saray, a four-storey palace in Samarkand mentioned in Shaybāni’s *Divān*.

The forms of the conditional of the indirect past consist of the indirect past theme in **-m̄iř/-miř** followed by the present conditional of the verb **bol-** or **er-**.

Positive

Sing.

körm̄iř bolsam	‘if I saw’	barm̄iř bolsam	‘if I went’
körm̄iř bolsang	‘if you saw’	barm̄iř bolsang	‘if you went.’
körm̄iř bolsa	‘if he saw’	barm̄iř bolsa	‘if he went’

Plur.

körm̄iř bolsaq	‘if we saw’	barm̄iř bolsaq	‘if we went’
körm̄iř bolsanḡiz	‘if you saw’	barm̄iř bolsanḡiz	‘if you went’
körm̄iř bolsalar	‘if they saw’	barm̄iř bolsalar	‘if they went’

Negative

Sing.

körm̄äm̄iř bol-sam	‘if I did not see’	barm̄äm̄iř bol-sam	‘if I did not go’
körm̄äm̄iř bol-sang	‘if you did not see’	barm̄äm̄iř bol-sang	‘if you did not go’
körm̄äm̄iř bolsa	‘if he did not see’	barm̄äm̄iř bolsa	‘if he did not go’

Plur.

körm̄äm̄iř bol-saq	‘if we did not see’	barm̄äm̄iř bol-saq	‘if we did not go’
körm̄äm̄iř bol-sanḡiz	‘if you did not see’	barm̄äm̄iř bol-sanḡiz	‘if you did not go’
körm̄äm̄iř bol-salar	‘if they did not see’	barm̄äm̄iř bol-salar	‘if they did not go’

E.g.,

Kim ki körm̄iř bolsa bir kün ay yüzüngni duniyada, ölsä dađı, bil yaqın kim zarra’e arm̄ani yoq. (GD124v:9) ‘If someone saw your face one day in this world, even when he dies, know full well, he does not have a speck of sorrow.’

Emdi kim bilür bu dađı ođrılardan kelip öziñi ‘ayyārliq şuratına ta‘biya qilm̄iř bolsa, fursat vaqtında anlarğa habar qilsa. (Sayf 103r:8-10) ‘Now who knows, this also may be one of the thieves. Suppose he has [only] disguised himself and when the opportunity arises he will alert the rest.’

Qayu qulğa kim Haqq ta^ālā edgülik tilāmiş bolsa aning yazuqlarining ‘uqubatini dunyāda berür ahiratqa qoymas. (NF326,5) ‘If God the Most high wanted to do good to any of the servants, He would give retribution for his sins in this word and would not leave it to the hereafter.’

Tabi[‘]in ol kimärsägä ayturlar kim şahabağa satğašmiş bolsa, Payğambar yaranlarini körmiş bolsa. (NF187,10) ‘Tabi[‘]in are called those people who had met with the Companions, who had seen the friends of the Prophet.’

3.6.5.7.2. The Optative of the Indirect Past Tense

The optative of the indirect past tense expresses a future action that will be completed by a future point of time indicated either by another action or by adverbials of time. It consists of the indirect past theme followed by the inflected forms of the optative of the verb **bol-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körmiş bolğay män	‘I will have seen’	barmış bolğay män	‘I will have gone’
körmiş bolğay sän	‘you will have seen’	barmış bolğay sän	‘you will have gone’
körmiş bolğay	‘he will have seen’	barmış bolğay	‘he will have gone’
Plur.			
körmiş bolğay biz	‘we will have seen’	barmış bolğay biz	‘we will have gone’
körmiş bolğay siz	‘you will have seen’	barmış bolğay siz	‘you will have gone’
körmiş bolğay-lar	‘they will have seen’	barmış bolğay-lar	‘they will have gone’

Negative

Sing.			
körmämiş bolğay men	‘I will not have seen’	barmamış bolğay men	‘I will not have gone’
körmämiş bolğay sen	‘you will not have seen’	barmamış bolğay sen	‘you will not have gone’
körmämiş bolğay	‘he will not have seen’	barmamış bolğay	‘he will not have gone’

Plur.

körmämiş bol-ğay biz	‘we will not have seen’	barmamış bol-ğay biz	‘we will not have gone’
körmämiş bol-ğay siz	‘you will not have seen’	barmamış bol-ğay siz	‘you will not have gone’
körmämiş bol-ğaylar	‘they will not have seen’	barmamış bol-ğaylar	‘they will not have gone’

E.g.,

Tek otur kim säning atang ağır taş astından täbrängänčä keräk mänim atam cannatkä kirmış bolğay. (Sayf150r:11-12). ‘Just you wait! By the time your father crawls out from under heavy stones, my father will have entered heaven.’

Kim kim bu alti kim ärsä haqqında yaman söz aytur bolsa, özingä zulm qılmış bolğay. (NF61r:10) ‘Whoever says something bad about these six people, will bring great punishment upon himself.’

3.6.5.7.3. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense expresses a past action that was completed by a past point of time indicated by another verb or by an adverbial.

It consists of the indirect past theme followed by the inflected forms of the definite past of the verb *er-*. In relative clauses it may indicate the past time with emphasis on the result of the action present or effective at the time the statement is made.

Positive

Sing.

körmış erdim	‘I had seen’	barmış erdim	‘I had gone’
körmış erding	‘you had seen’	barmış erding	‘you had gone’
körmış erdi	‘he has seen’	barmış erdi	‘he had gone’

Plur.

körmış erdük	‘we had seen’	barmış erdük	‘we had gone’
körmış erdingiz	‘you had seen’	barmış erdingiz	‘you had gone’
körmış erdilär	‘they had seen’	barmış erdilär	‘they had gone’

Negative

Sing.

körmämiş erdim	‘I had not seen’	barmamış erdim	‘I had not gone’
körmämiş erding	‘you had not seen’	barmamış erding	‘you had not gone’
körmämiş erdi	‘he had not seen’	barmamış erdi	‘he had not gone’

Plur.			
körmämiş er-dük	‘we had not seen’	barmamiş er-dük	‘we had not gone’
körmämiş er-dingiz	‘you had not seen’	barmamiş er-dingiz	‘you had not gone’
körmämiş er-dilär	‘they had not seen’	barmamiş er-dilär	‘they had not gone’

E.g.,

Däg-i ‘işqing bermiş erdi ‘aql u huşumdin farāğ vah ki qoydi şu-‘la-i hicraning ol däg üzrā däg. (HB18-1) ‘The pain caused by your love made me lose my intellect and consciousness. Alas, the flames of your separation pressed a branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.’

Cumlası mu ‘allim ävindä erkän ol ävnüng saqfini täbrätmiş erdi. (NF330,5) ‘When all of them were in the teacher’s house, he shook the roof of the house.’

Bildir taqi män bu Madä ‘in šahringä kelmiş ärdim. (NF139,12) ‘Make it known that I had arrived to these two cities.’

Bir kün Abu Hanifa olturmiş erdi **Kavfaning** ‘älimlari birlä. (NF188,10) ‘One day Abu Hanifa was in session with the learned men of Kavfa.’

Qaçan kim Qaydüm atliğ yärgä yättilär ärsä bir taş aldī taqi bu oğul ‘ammīni ol taş birlä öltürmiş ärdi. (NF170r:13) ‘When they¹⁵⁹ reached the place called Qaydüm this boy took a stone and killed his uncle with that stone.’

3.6.5.8. The Progressive Mood

The progressive mood indicates the action in progress. It has two tenses: the present and the past. The basis for this paradigm is the locative case of the infinitive in **-maq/-mäk**. Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in modern literary Uzbek.

3.6.5.8.1. The Present Tense of the Progressive Mood

An action in progress in the present time may be indicated by the present tense of the progressive mood.

It consists of the Locative case of the infinitive, positive or negative, and personal endings of the pronominal type.

¹⁵⁹ I.e., the boy and his uncle

Positive

Sing.			
körmäktä män	‘I am seeing’	barmaqta män	‘I am going’
körmäktä sän	‘you are seeing’	barmaqta sän	‘you are going’
körmäktä dur	‘he is seeing’	barmaqta dur	‘he is going’
Plur.			
körmäktä biz	‘we are seeing’	barmaqta biz	‘we are going’
körmäktä siz	‘you are seeing’	barmaqta siz	‘you are going’
körmäktä durlar	‘they are seeing’	barmaqta durlar	‘they are going’

Negative

Sing.			
körmämäktä män	‘I am not seeing’	barmamaqta män	‘I am not going’
körmämäktä sän	‘you are not seeing’	barmamaqta sän	‘you are not going’
körmämäktä dur	‘he is not seeing’	barmamaqta dur	‘he is not going’
Plur.			
körmämäktä biz	‘we are not seeing’	barmamaqta biz	‘we are not going’
körmämäktä siz	‘you are not seeing’	barmamaqta siz	‘you are not going’
körmämäktä durlar	‘they are not seeing’	barmamaqta durlar	‘they are not going’

E.g.,

Men emdi Һasta va Һam artmaqda; Һiyäling allida cän tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) ‘Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing, facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.’

3.6.5.8.2. The Past Tense of the Progressive Mood

It consists of the locative case of the infinitive, positive or negative, followed by the full inflected forms of the definite past tense of the verb e-, or er-.

Positive

Sing.			
körmäktä edim	‘I was seeing’	barmaqta edim	‘I was going’
körmäktä eding	‘you were seeing’	barmaqta eding	‘you were going’
körmäktä edi	‘he was seeing’	barmaqta edi	‘he was going’
Plur.			
körmäktä edük	‘we were seeing’	barmaqta edük	‘we were going’
körmäktä edingiz	‘you were seeing’	barmaqta edingiz	‘you were going’
körmäktä edilär	‘they were seeing’	barmaqta edilär	‘they are going’

Negative

Sing.			
körmämäktä edim	‘I was not seeing’	barmamaqta edim	‘I was not going’
körmämäktä eding	‘you were not seeing’	barmamaqta eding	‘you were not going’
körmämäktä edi	‘he was not seeing’	barmamaqta edi	‘he was not going’
Plur.			
körmämäktä edük	‘we were not seeing’	barmamaqta edük	‘we were not going’
körmämäktä edingiz	‘you were not seeing’	barmamaqta edingiz	‘you were not going’
körmämäktä edilär	‘they were not seeing’	barmamaqta edilär	‘they were not going’

E.g.,

Atam ‘Umar Şayh Mīrzā ri‘āyat qīlip edi va hanüz ri‘āyat qīlmaqta edi. (BN52r:9-10) ‘My father ‘Umar Shayh Mīrzā had respected him and still was respecting him.’

3.6.5.9. The Perfective Mood

Tenses built on the participle in **-ğan/-gän** belong under this heading. They do not constitute a fully developed system and have no clearly defined position in the Chagatay verbal inflection. Some of the forms are quite rare and occur mostly in prose works. Using these forms authors

treat the action as accomplished and its result, as a fact. They put greater emphasis on the factual result than on the subject or agent of the verb that brought about the result. Whether or not the action was witnessed or simply communicated as a hearsay, is secondary and most often does not come into play. The truth of the action is warranted by the result to be observed in the present.

3.6.5.9.1. The Present Perfect Tense

The present perfect tense expresses a past action the result of which plays a role of some kind in the present, e.g., **sanga kelgän dur** 'he is here to pick you up' [< he has come for you], **rözi bergän** 'he is providing for' [the entire world] [< he has given provision to feed the entire world].

The present perfect tense consists of the past participle in **-ğan/-gän** followed by personal endings of the pronominal type. In the third person the predicative particles **dur**, **durlar** may occur. It has two negative forms: Negative I is formed from the negative participle created by the particle **-ma/-mä**, negative II, from the positive participle followed by the inflected negated forms of the verb **är-**, **er-**, or **e-**.

Note: The predicative particles **dur** and **durlar** in the third persons can be omitted.

Positive

Sing.

körgän män	'I have seen'	barğan män	'I have gone'
körgän sän	'you have seen'	barğan sän	'you have gone'
körgän dur	'he has seen'	barğan dur	'he has gone'

Plur.

körgän biz	'we have seen'	barğan biz	'we have gone'
körgän siz	'you have seen'	barğan siz	'you have gone'
körgän durlar	'they have seen'	barğanlar	'they have gone'

Negative I

Sing.

körmägän män	'I have not seen'	barmağan män	'I have not gone'
körmägän sän	'you have not seen'	barmağan sän	'you have not gone'
körmägän dur	'he has not seen'	barmağan dur	'he has not gone'

Plur.				
körmägän biz	‘we have not seen’	barmağan biz	‘we have not gone’	
körmägän siz	‘you have not seen’	barmağan siz	‘you have not gone’	
körmägän durlar	‘they have not seen’	barmağan durlar	‘they have not gone’	

Negative II

Sing.				
körgän ermäs män	‘I have not seen’	barğan ermäs män	‘I have not gone’	
körgän ermäs sän	‘you have not seen’	barğan ermäs sän	‘you have not gone’	
körgän ermäs dur	‘he has not seen’	barğan ermäs dur	‘he has not gone’	

Plur.				
körgän ermäs biz	‘we have not seen’	barğan ermäs biz	‘we have not gone’	
körgän ermäs siz	‘you have not seen’	barğan ermäs siz	‘you have not gone’	
körgän ermäs durlar	‘they have not seen’	barğan ermäs durlar	‘they have not gone’	

E.g.,

Ğusl sunnatları qamuğ beş ol. Yağşı bilmägän anı badkeş ol. (MS7r:2) ‘The total number of traditional practices to be observed during the *ğusl* is five. He who is not aware of all of them is an impious person.’

İki yaqtu guhar ‘alamğa bergän, maħabbat gancini ‘adamğa bergän. (MN290v:2) ‘He gave two shiny gems to the world. He gave man the treasure of love.’

Dedi, mardāna bol yalğuz qulunum sanga kelğan dur. Muni rōz-i azal parvardağarim sanga qilğan dur. (H77v:7) ‘The Prophet said, be brave my foal¹⁶⁰, it is to see you that our guest has come. My Provider had decreed this from before the beginning of time.’

Toquz aflākni tutğan mu‘allaq, yāti qat yärni ham qilğan mu‘tabbaq. (LN4) ‘He has suspended the nine layers of the sky. He has set up the seven layers of the earth.’

¹⁶⁰ Endearing word for ‘my boy’.

Män aydım, Vallāhī, män oqığan ermäs men. (NF8,1) ‘I said, “By God, I cannot read.”’¹⁶¹

3.6.5.9.2. The Indirect Present Perfect Tense

The indirect present perfect tense expresses a past action the result of which plays a role of some kind in the present, but of which the speaker has no direct knowledge, e.g., **kelgän ermiş** ‘he apparently is here.’

Positive

Sing.			
körgän ermiş	‘I may have	barğan ermiş	‘I may have
män	seen’	män	gone’
körgän ermiş	‘you may have	barğan ermiş	‘you may have
sän	seen’	sän	gone’
körgän ermiş	‘he may have	barğan ermiş	‘he may have
dur	seen’	dur	gone’
Plur.			
körgän ermiş	‘we may have	barğan ermiş	‘we may
biz	seen’	biz	have gone’
körgän ermiş	‘you may have	barğan ermiş	‘you may
siz	seen’	siz	have gone’
körgän ermiş	‘they may have	barğan ermiş	‘they may
durlar	seen’	durlar	have gone’

Negative

Sing.			
körmägän	‘I may not have	barmağan	‘I may not
ermiş män	seen’	ermiş män	have gone’
körmägän	‘you may not	barmağan	‘you may not
ermiş sän	have seen’	ermiş sän	have gone’
körmägän ermiş	‘he may not	barmağan	‘he may not
dur	have seen’	ermiş dur	have gone’
Plur.			
körmägän	‘we may not	barmağan	‘we may not
ermiş biz	have seen’	ermiş biz	have gone’
körmägän	‘you may not	barmağan	‘you may not
ermiş siz	have seen’	ermiş siz	have gone’
körmägän	‘they may not	barmağan	‘they may not
ermiş durlar	have seen’	ermiş durlar	have gone’

¹⁶¹ Lit., I have not learned how to read

E.g.,

Özi miñnatqa salğan ermiş sen, bu'l-‘acab ğamğa qalğan ermiş sen. (Navai, see Eckm. p.171) ‘You apparently have put yourself into misery. [As I see] you have bogged down in amazing sorrows.’

3.6.5.9.3. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense expresses an action that took place in the past before a given point of time. This may be indicated by an adverbial of time, by another action, or simply by a broader context. Here, too, it is the result of the action that is considered about which or about its agent the speaker has no direct knowledge.

Positive

Sing.			
körgän erdim	‘I had seen’	barğan erdim	‘I had gone’
körgän erding	‘you had seen’	barğan erding	‘you had gone’
körgän erdi	‘he had seen’	barğan erdi	‘he had gone’

Plur.			
körgän erdük	‘we had seen’	barğan erdük	‘we had gone’
körgän erdingiz	‘you had seen’	barğan erdingiz	‘you had gone’
körgän erdilär	‘they had seen’	barğan erdilär	‘they had gone’

Negative

Sing.			
körgän emäs erdim	‘I had not seen’	barğan emäs erdim	‘I had not gone’
körgän emäs erding	‘you had not seen’	barğan emäs erding	‘you had not gone’
körgän emäs erdi	‘he had not seen’	barğan emäs erdi	‘he had not gone’

Plur.			
körgän emäs erdük	‘we had not seen’	barğan emäs erdük	‘we had not gone’
körgän emäs erdingiz	‘you had not seen’	barğan emäs erdingiz	‘you had not gone’
körgän emäs erdilär	‘they had not seen’	barğan emäs erdilär	‘they had not gone’

E.g.,

İmām Gazālī İhyā’u’l-ulūm atliġ kitābında kältürmiş: Abū Ḥanifa üküş ‘ibādat qılġan ārdi. (NF186,1) ‘In his book entitled *İhyā’u’l-ulūm* İmām Gazālī reported: Abu Ḥanifa had carried out many acts of devotion.’

Tāngiz körmāġan daġi kemā zaḥmatin çäk māġan edi. (Sayf 17r:12) ‘He had never seen the sea and had not suffered the hardships of the boat.’

3.6.5.9.4. The Conditional of the Present Perfect Tense

The conditional of the present perfect tense expresses a real or eventual condition in the past the consequences of which in some way affect the present.

It consists of the participle in **-ġan/-gān**, positive or negative, followed by the positive inflected forms of the present conditional of the verb **bol-**, or, rarely, **ol-**.

Positive

Sing.

körgān bolsam	‘if I have seen’	barġan bolsam	‘if I have gone’
körgān bolsang	‘if you have seen’	barġan bolsang	‘if you have gone’
körgān bolsa	‘if he has seen’	barġan bolsa	‘if he has gone’

Plur.

körgān bolsaq	‘if we have seen’	barġan bolsaq	‘if we have gone’
körgān bol-sangiz	‘if you have seen’	barġan bol-sangiz	‘if you have gone’
körgān bolsalar	‘if they have seen’	barġan bolsalar	‘if they have gone’

Negative

Sing.

körmāġan bolsam	‘if I have not seen’	barmaġan bolsam	‘if I have not gone’
körmāġan bolsang	‘if you have not seen’	barmaġan bolsang	‘if you have not gone’
körmāġan bolsa	‘if he has not seen’	barmaġan bolsa	‘if he has not gone’

Plur.

körmägän	‘if we have not seen’	barmağan	‘if we have not gone’
bolsaq		bolsaq	
körmägän	‘if you have not seen’	barmağan	‘if you have not gone’
bolsangiz		bolsangiz	
körmägän	‘if they have not seen’	barmağan	‘if they have not gone’
bolsalar		bolsalar	

E.g.,

Bu cihatdin her kişini bu ƒa’ifadin zāhir yüzidin piri ma‘lūm bolmasa ve maša’ihdin birining rūhi anī tarbiyat qilğan bolsa, anī Uvaisi derlār. (NM p. 13) ‘For this reason they call Uvaisī all those people from this group whose spiritual leader is not known by their outward appearance but have been educated by the spirit of one of the sheykh’s.’

Tüsmägän bolsa camālingdin köngülgä šu‘la-ē, hacr ğavġāsın körüngüz Yūsuf-i Kan‘an ara. (ShD9r:7-8) ‘If a flame from the beauty of your face has not touched [your] heart, just observe the turmoil caused by separation in [the heart of] Joseph of Kanaan.’

3.6.5.9.5. The Future Perfect Tense

The future perfect tense expresses an action that will have taken place in the future before a point of time express or understood from the context. The tense suggests some degree of eventuality or uncertainty of the action. That, however, does not change the perfective aspect inherent in forms built on the verbal nouns in **-ğan/-gän**.

The future perfect tense consists of the participle in **-ğan/-gän**, positive or negative, carrying the inflectional [possessive] suffixes. It is followed by the third person singular of the present optative of the auxiliary **bol-** or, rarely, **ol-**.

Positive

Sing.

körgän bolġay	‘I may have seen’	barğan bolġay	‘I may have gone’
män		män	
körgän bolġay	‘you may have seen’	barğan bolġay	‘you may have gone’
sän		sän	
körgän bolġay	‘he may have seen’	barğan bolġay	‘he may have gone’

Plur.			
körgän bolğay biz	‘we may have seen’	barğan bolğay biz	‘we may have gone’
körgän bolğay siz	‘you may have seen’	barğan bolğay siz	‘you may have gone’
körgän bolğay-lar	‘they may have seen’	barğan bolğay-lar	‘they may have gone’

Negative

Sing.			
körmägän bolğay men	‘I may not have seen’	barmağan bolğay men	‘I may not have gone’
körmägän bolğay sen	‘you may not have seen’	barmağan bolğay sen	‘you may not have gone’
körmägän bolğay	‘he may not have seen’	barmağan bolğay	‘he may not have gone’

Plur.			
körmägän bolğay biz	‘we may not have seen’	barmağan bolğay biz	‘we may not have gone’
körmägän bolğay siz	‘you may not have seen’	barmağan bolğay siz	‘you may not have gone’
körmägän bolğaylar	‘they may not have seen’	barmağan bolğaylar	‘they may not have gone’

E.g.,

İhtimalı bar, ki öyümgä barğunça yolda kişi zarar tegürür dep qolumğa qılıç alğan bolğay men va mastlikdin özümning öyi ħayal qılıp taht üzä yatıp qalğan bolğay men. (Bahtiyarnama, see Eckm. Gr. p.171) ‘It is possible that I may have grabbed the sword thinking that while returning home someone might harm me on the road, and, also, I may have stayed lying on the throne imagining in my drunken state that the place was my own house.’

3.6.5.10. The Categorical Tenses

The categorical tenses are built on the verbal nouns in **-ğu/-gü** the major characteristic of which is to suggest that the action in question must be carried out for sure and without delay. They contain no reference to the aspect or mood of the action. Also, they occur mostly in the third persons, especially in the singular.

3.6.5.10.1. The Categorical Future

The categorical future is created from the positive or negative verbal stem by the verbal noun formant **-ğū/-gū**, the possessive suffix, and the predicative particle **dur**. The particle is spelled separately: [**kel-** + **gū-** + **si**] + **dur** = **kelgūsi dur** 'he will surely come'.

It is used to express a future action or state that will definitely and unconditionally take place. The relationship of the agent to the action is that of an obligation: the agent cannot but carry out the action.

Positive

Sing.			
körgūm dur	'I will surely see'	barğūm dur	'I will surely go'
körgūng dur	'you will surely see'	barğūng dur	'you will surely go'
körgūsi dur	'he will surely see'	barğūsi dur	'he will surely go'
Plur.			
körgūmiz dur	'we will surely see'	barğūmiz dur	'we will surely go'
körgūngiz dur	'you will surely see'	barğūngiz dur	'you will surely go'
körgūlari dur	'they will surely see'	barğūlari dur	'they will surely go'

Negative I

Sing.			
körmāgūm dur	'I will surely not see'	barmağūm dur	'I will surely not go'
körmāgūng dur	'you will surely not see'	barmağūng dur	'you will surely not go'
körmāgūsi dur	'he will surely not see'	barmağūsi dur	'he will surely not go'
Plur.			
körmāgūmiz dur	'we will surely not see'	barmağūmiz dur	'we will surely not go'
körmāgūngiz dur	'you will surely not see'	barmağūngiz dur	'you will surely not go'
körmāgūlari dur/durlar	'they will surely not see'	barmağūlari dur/durlar	'they will surely not go'

Negative II

Sing.			
körgüm yoq	‘I will surely not see’	barğum yoq	‘I will surely not go’
körgüng yoq	‘you will surely not see’	barğung yoq	‘you will surely not go’
körgüsi yoq	‘he will surely not see’	barğüsü yoq	‘he will surely not go’
Plur.			
körgümüz yoq	‘we will surely not see’	barğümüz yoq	‘we will surely not go’
körgüngiz yoq	‘you will surely not see’	barğüngiz yoq	‘you will surely not go’
körgüləri yoq	‘they will surely not see’	barğüləri yoq	‘they will surely not go’

E.g.,

Ki davlat **kelgüsi dur**, bolma ğāfil, sa^ċadat birlä **tüzgüng dur** maĥāfil. (DN260v:5) ‘Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: brighten up the meeting place with the bliss of paradise.’

Sanga yüz **qoqğüsü dur** dilnavāzīng kelip baş **tüzgüsü dur** sarv-i nāzīng. (DN260v:7) ‘Your mistress will for sure turn toward you; with head held high your sweetheart will surely come.’

‘Inayat şubĥidin **savulğüsü dur** damādam šam^ċ teg sōz u gudāzīng. (DN260v:8) ‘From the morning of grace your burning and melting woes will gradually reduce like a burning candle.’

Farāgat yelidin **aċilğüsü dur** köngüldä ğunċa teg sarbasta rāzīng. (DN260v:9) ‘From the wind of leisure your secret sealed in your heart will open like a bud.’

Başarat **kelgüsi dur** ĥidmatinga sa^ċadat bolğüsü dur ċarasāzīng (DN260v:10) ‘Good news will surely come to your¹⁶² presence; felicity will rise to your head [and] your abstinence will be gone.’

Başınga **ċıqqüsü dur** may ayaĝi eligtin **barğüsü dur** iĥtirazīng. (DN260v:11) ‘The cup of wine will rise to your head [and] your abstinence will be lost.’

¹⁶² Lit., to your presence

Niyāzıng qalmağusı dur kişigä, eliging yetğüsü dur vaşl işigä. (DN261r:4) 'There will be no need left for you in anyone else: you will for sure apply your hand to the task of achieving union.'

Qılmağan gunāhni bilmän ki ne qılğum dur. (NM p.32) 'I do not know what to do about the sins I did not commit.'

Bar erdi bar turur va bolğusı ham. (RB1v:7) 'He was, He is and He will [ever] be.'

Oı kün kim men dünyādın kitsem, malā'ika tofrağ savurğusı durlar. (NM p.53). 'The day I leave this world, the angels will scatter dust.'

Note: The particle **dur** may be omitted from the phrasal paradigm. E.g., **Pas ʔaharat iĉindä sunnat farz, barĉasın ʔizmatıngdä qılğum arz.** (MS3r:6) 'Then I will enumerate for you all the traditional practices and mandatory duties [that must be observed] during the *ʔaharat*.'

Oı ʔaharatnı ki bozğusı bilgil, bu tayammumnı ham qılır baʔil. (MS9r:3) '[Occurrences] that violate the [state of ritual purity achieved by means of the] *ʔaharat* [that is, the ablution performed with water,] will also violate it, if it has been achieved by means of the *tayammum*.'

Anda kedin qılıp bayān-i namāz, rōza bahşini qılğumuz āğāz. (MS3v:1) 'Then, after I have explained [the rules regarding] the prayer, I will take up the requirements of the fast.'

3.6.5.10.2. The Categorical Future in the Past

The categorical future in the past expresses an action that was planned in the past to be accomplished for sure at a later date, still in the past. Very rarely used.

It consists of the base of the categorical future followed by the definite past tense of the verb **er-/e-**. It has two negative forms: the basic negated by the auxiliary **ermäs erdi** and the emphatic, negated by the particle **yoq** and the auxiliary **erdi**.

Positive

Sing.			
körgüm erdi	'I was to see for sure'	barğüm erdi	'I was to go for sure'
körgüng erdi	'you were to see for sure'	barğung erdi	'you were to go for sure'
körgüsü erdi	'he was to see for sure'	barğüsü erdi	'he was to go for sure'

Plur.

körgümüz erdi	‘we were to see for sure’	barğumuz erdi	‘we were to go for sure’
körgüngiz erdi	‘you were to see for sure’	barğüngiz erdi	‘you were to go for sure’
körgüläri erdi	‘they were to see for sure’	barğulari erdi	‘they were to go for sure’

Negative I

Sing.

körgüm ermäs erdi	‘I was not to see for sure’	barğüm ermäs erdi	‘I was not to go for sure’
körgüng ermäs erdi	‘you were not to see for sure’	barğüng ermäs erdi	‘you were not to go for sure’
körgüsi ermäs erdi	‘he was not to see for sure’	barğüsi ermäs erdi	‘he was not to go for sure’

Plur.

körgümüz ermäs erdi	‘we were not to see for sure’	barğümüz ermäs erdi	‘we were not to go for sure’
körgüngiz ermäs erdi	‘you were not to see for sure’	barğüngiz ermäs erdi	‘you were not to go for sure’
körgüläri ermäs erdi	‘they were not to see for sure’	barğulari ermäs erdi	‘they were not to go for sure’

Negative II

Sing.

körgüm yoq erdi	‘I was not to see for sure’	barğüm yoq erdi	‘I was not to go for sure’
körgüng yoq erdi	‘you were not to see for sure’	barğüng yoq erdi	‘you were not to go for sure’
körgüsi yoq erdi	‘he was not to see for sure’	barğüsi yoq erdi	‘he was not to go for sure’

Plur.

körgümüz yoq erdi	‘we were not to see for sure’	barğümüz yoq erdi	‘we were not to go for sure’
körgüngiz yoq erdi	‘you were not to see for sure’	barğüngiz yoq erdi	‘you were not to go for sure’
körgüläri yoq erdi	‘they were not to see for sure’	barğulari yoq erdi	‘they were not to go for sure’

E.g.,

Yibarğum erdi (Navā'i, Kulliyāt S 83r:13, see Eckm. Gr. p. 173)
'I was to send'

3.6.5.10.3. The Conditional of the Categorical Future

The conditional of the categorical future expresses a simple open condition the fulfilment of which is mandatory for the action in the main clause to materialize. It consists of the base of the categorical future followed by the present conditional of the verb **bol-**. It has one negative form based on the negative stem.

Positive

Sing.				
körgüm bolsa	'if I will have to see'	barğum bolsa		'if I will have to go'
körgüng bolsa	'if you will have to see'	barğung bolsa		'if you will have to go'
körgüsi bolsa	'if he will have to see	barğusi bolsa		'if he will have to go'
Plur.				
körgümüz bolsa	'if we will have to see'	barğümüz bolsa		'if we will have to go'
körgüngiz bolsa	'if you will have to see'	barğüngiz bolsa		'if you will have to go'
körgüläri bolsa	'if they will have to see'	barğüläri bolsa		'if they will have to go'

Negative

Sing.				
körmägüm bolsa	'if I will not have to see'	barmağum bolsa		'if I will not have to go'
körmägüng bolsa	'if you will not have to see'	barmağung bolsa		'if you will not have to go'
körmägüsi bolsa	'if he will not have to see'	barmağusi bolsa		'if he will not have to go'
Plur.				
körmägümüz bolsa	'if we will not have to see'	barmağümüz bolsa		'if we will not have to go'
körmägüngiz bolsa	'if you will not have to see'	barmağüngiz bolsa		'if you will not have to go'
körmägüläri bolsa	'if they will not have to see'	barmağüläri bolsa		'if they will not have to go'

E.g.,

Mast u rusvā men, ḥarābāt iĉrā kördüng, ay rafiġ: bolmaġung bolsa mening dek rind-i durdāšam, ket. (Nava'ī FK26V:4; Eckm. Gr. p.174) 'I am drunk and of bad repute, you have noticed me in the tavern, O Friend. Leave, if you are not to become like me, a consumer of the very dregs.'

3.6.5.11. Necessitative Verbs

Necessitative verbs express strong recommendations in the positive, and explicit prohibitions in the negative status. They are defective in that they occur only in the third person singular. Most of the time, they are impersonal and convey instructions valid for everybody: 'one must, one should not,' and so on.

It consists of the verbal stem, positive or negative, and the marker **-ġu/-gü**.

3.6.5.11.1. Necessitative Verbs with a Mandatory Aspect

Necessitative verbs with mandatory aspect express commands in the positive, and outright prohibitions in the negative forms. In Islamic religious manuals this is the verb form that conveys God's commands (*amr*) and prohibitions (*nahy*). There is only one person, the third, and two aspects, the positive and the negative, and only one number, the singular.

		Positive	
Sing.			
	körgü	'he must see'	barġu 'he must go'
		Negative	
Sing.			
	körmäġü	'he must not see'	barmaġu 'he must not go'

E.g.,

Külüp az üküš yiglaġu bu kiši, musulmān boluġli kārāk yay qiši. (MM179r:13) 'A man [who meets the above requirements] should laugh little and weep much. He must be a Muslim under all circumstances.'¹⁶³

Ärän ärdin örtmiš teg ök ham tiši tišilärdin örtgü ham öz qizi-dün. (MM180v:17) 'Just as a man covers himself in the presence of

¹⁶³ Lit., both in summer and in winter

other men, a woman, too, must cover herself in the presence of other women, even in the presence of her own daughter.’

Buzulsa yunuğ yunğu həli ravān: yunuğ birlä turmaq ulašu amān. (MM181v:11). ‘One must wash oneself as soon as the state of ritual purity has been violated. The state of ritual purity is a permanent guarantee against falling into sin.’

Note: The predicative particle **keräk** is used to express the impersonal form of the necessitative ‘one must, one has to’.¹⁶⁴ E.g.,

Muvahhid ‘ibadat tilägu käräk, ‘ibadatqa quvvat ülägu käräk. (MM182r:16) ‘The Believer in the Oneness of God must be imbued with the desire to serve the Lord and must devote his energies to (His) service.’

Ne kim ol aydi anı qılğu käräk. Tā‘atini boyunğa alğu käräk. (MS2r:2) ‘One must do whatever He has commanded. One must willingly take upon one’s neck [the yoke of] obedience.’

3.6.5.11.2. Necessitative Verbs with Inevitability Aspect

An action that is absolutely inevitable as known from human experience is expressed by a special form of necessitative verbs. It occurs in elevated style conveying a commonly known or humanly perceivable element of truth.

It consists of the gerund in *-i/-i*, on positive stems, *-y*, on negative stems followed by the aorist of the verb *sa-* ‘to wish’. There is only one person, the third, two aspects, the positive and the negative, and one number, the singular.

Sing.

körisär ‘he will inevitably see’ **barisar** ‘he will inevitably go’

E.g.,

Har kim özinä suḡal ešigin açtı, ölgünçä ol er niyaz içindä bolisär. (Sayf106r:3) ‘He who has opened the door of beggary before himself, will live in need during the remaining part of his life.’¹⁶⁵

Sävünmək yoq körüp duşman ölüsün, kälisär çön bizä ol davr ayağı. (Sayf46r:6-7) ‘There is no use to rejoice over the death of the enemy: The cup that goes around in that circle will inevitably come to us.’

¹⁶⁴ MS Bodrogligeti, p.104

¹⁶⁵ Lit., until he dies

İčäling bādani gullar solisar, tanimiz ‘aqibat topraq bolisar. (MN309r:8) ‘Let us drink wine for roses will wilt away and our bodies will inevitably turn into dust.’

Tazarru‘ birlä ay Hwaca Mužaffar ħarämī altunung qaytarmayisar. (Sayf124r:12) ‘Just because you cry bitterly, O Glorious Master, the highway robber will not return your money.’

Yaraš bu bağri baş birlä Ay Yar, kim uš tün bardı bu kün qalmayisar. (Quṭb 3946) ‘Get along with the one of a wounded heart, O Friend: Because, look, the night has passed and the day of today will not stay for ever.’

3.6.5.11.2. Necessitative Verbs with Inevitability Aspect

The necessitative verb with desiderative aspect expresses an action that one would, by desire, carry out in the future. It is used only in the third person with an indefinite subject.

Sing.

köräsi ‘one would see’ **barası** ‘one would go’

E.g.,

Kim ol dēvāna ergä ne qilası, ne čāra birlä andin qurtulası? (Quṭb2496) ‘What would one do to this obsessed man? By what means would one save him from this [obsession]?’

Ažunda heč kišining yoq baqāsı, bu kün ħwaš bolğu tangğa ne baqası. (Quṭb3948) ‘No one in this world is granted an everlasting existence. One should be happy today. Why would one look for tomorrow?’

3.6.5.12. The Durative Tenses

The durative tenses express lasting or frequently repeated actions in the present-future, or in the past. The aspects of necessity, mandatoriness or appropriateness accompany the expression.

3.6.5.12.1. The Durative Present Tense

The durative present is the form of continued present actions or actions repeated in the present or in the future. It has full paradigms [three persons, and two numbers] both in the positive and in the negative series..

The forms of the durative present consist of the gerund in **-a/-ä** or **-y** + the auxiliary **dur** + the pronominal personal markers: There is no special marker for the third person.

Positive

Sing.			
körä dur män	‘I see’	bara dur män	‘I go’
körä dur sän	‘you see’	bara dur sän	‘you go’
körä dur	‘he sees’	bara dur	‘he goes’

Plur.			
körä dur biz	‘we see’	bara dur biz	‘we go’
körä dur siz	‘you see’	bara dur siz	‘you go’
körä durlar	‘they see’	bara durlar	‘they go’

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy dur män	‘I don’t see’	barmay dur män	‘I don’t go’
körmäy dur sän	‘you don’t see’	barmay dur sän	‘you don’t go’
körmäy dur	‘he doesn’t see’	barmay dur	‘he doesn’t go’

Plur.			
körmäy dur biz	‘we don’t see’	barmay dur biz	‘we don’t go’
körmäy dur siz	‘you don’t see’	barmay dur siz	‘you don’t go’
körmäy durlar	‘they don’t see’	barmay durlar	‘they don’t go’

E.g.,

Yamanlıq qılğan ergä äygülük qıl: qapar it ağzına luqma ata dur. (Sayf43v:9) ‘Do good to the man who has harmed [you]. One should throw a morsel to the dog that bites.’

Neçä kim ol sa[˘]adatsüz eşitmäs, anga sän etä dur pand u naşihat. (Sayf143r:9) ‘Even if that unfortunate one does not listen, you keeep on giving him caution and good advice.’

Ekip zulm urluqın hayr istägänlär cahannam otına özin yaqa dur. (Sayf19v:12) ‘Those who sow the seeds of injustice and expect [to harvest] blessings will burn for a long time in the fire of hell.’

Aning üçün mu qıla dur siz fiğän? (AC328r:2) ‘Is that why you are making this clamor?’

Yār hacrīdīn saharlar aqa dur yašim mānim; dīn yolida cānga minnat gar barur bašim māning. (ShD83r:8). 'Separated from the friend I shed tears every morning. On the path of religion it is a grace for the soul if I lose my head.'¹⁶⁶

Har nečā qadring buland olsa özüngni past qil, zarra-i davlatğa gar könglüng tilāy dur i'tila. (BH16v:7-8) 'No matter how high your station in life, humble yourself, if your heart desires to be raised [even] to a speck of happiness.'

Note: (1) The durative nature of the verb can be intensified by the adverb **dā'im** or by adverbials of time. E.g.,

Erdām bir čašma durur kim dā'im suyi tašip kelā durur. (Sayf 139r:9) 'Skill is like a source that gushes its water constantly.'

Ma'suq etā dur dā'im könglümni parakanda. Bil amn va amān[at]darī sarfitna-i gavğa dur. (ShD58v:7) 'The beloved makes my heart troubled all the time. Be aware that safety and trust are the very sources of trouble.'

Yigirmi yil dur ki ol kiši yiglay dur va hālā közining suyi qanğa mubaddal bolup tur. (NM p.219) 'It is twenty years that this person has been crying. Now his tears [< the water of his eyes] have turned into blood.'

Bu kün mihmān sāni qabzi qila dur, 'aziz cāninga ham panca sala dur! (H78r:4) Today our guest will seize you and snatch away your precious soul.'

(2) Removal of the **dur** element from the first and second persons of the singular decreases the durative aspect of this paradigm. The verb gets a broader application covering present and future actions. [Cf. Present-Future Tenses in Modern Literary Uzbek]. E.g.,

Bir qatla anga dedi ki bu işlārni qila sen ve āhir bu šahrdin sen meni čiqarğung dur. (NM p.217) 'Once he said: If you keep on doing these things, at the end you will surely chase me out of this town.'

Nā sorar sen bil ki mendin ayta men, ay dardmand. Gunča sari baqmağay men la'l-i ḥandan barīda. (ShD12v:12-13r:1) 'Why do you ask me, O Suffering One, mark well what I am going to tell you: In the presence of her smiling lips I will not [even] look in the direction of the rose bud.'

¹⁶⁶ It is meant in the concrete sense, 'If I die'. A curious coincidence: In the final battle against Shah Ismail (1510) Shaybānī Khan's head was cut off and sent to Sultan Bayazid of Turkey. His headless body is resting in the Shaybānī mausoleum in Samarkand.

Ğavvāşliq netäg qıla sen bolmayin fanā, šahr-i vucūd ara sen özüngni bečāra qil. (ShD97v:4) ‘How are you going to dive for pearls without [your carnal soul] being annihilated? In the city of existence make yourself totally resourceless.’

3.6.5.12.2. The Past Durative Tense

The past durative tense expresses lasting or repeated actions in the past often with the aspect of necessity, propriety, or habitude.

It consist of the base of the durative present, positive or negative, followed by the definite past positive of the verb er-.

Positive

Sing.			
körä dur erdim	‘I usually saw’	bara dur er-dim	‘I usually went’
körä dur erding	‘you usually saw’	bara dur er-ding	‘you usually went’
körä dur erdi	‘he usually saw’	bara dur erdi	‘he usually went’
Plur.			
körä dur er-dük	‘we usually saw’	bara dur er-dük	‘we usually went’
körä dur er-dingiz	‘you usually saw’	bara dur er-dingiz	‘you usually went’
körä dur er-dilär	‘they usually saw’	bara dur er-dilär	‘they usually went’

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy dur erdim	‘I usually did not see’	barmay dur erdim	‘I usually did not go’
körmäy dur erding	‘you usually did not see’	barmay dur erding	‘you usually did not go’
körmäy dur erdi	‘he usually did not see’	barmay dur erdi	‘he usually did not go’
Plur.			
körmäy dur erdük	‘we usually did not see’	barmay dur erdük	‘we usually did not go’
körmäy dur erdingiz	‘you usually did not see’	barmay dur erdingiz	‘you usually did not go’
körmäy dur erdilär	‘they usually did not see’	barmay dur erdilär	‘they usually did not go’

E.g.,

Göristända oturup elgin tizigä urup bir nemä dey dur erdi. (NM p.106) '[Majnun] was sitting in the graveyard and hitting his knee with his palm he kept repeating¹⁶⁷ something.'

3.6.5.13. The Perfect Tenses

The perfect tenses are based on the gerunds in **-p** or **-y** [rarely **-map/-mâp** and **-mayîn/-mäyin**] and retain the basic semantic characteristics of this form: The action is cut or comes to an end and is relevant to the present time. It is, however, not the material result that is emphasized but rather the accomplishment itself.

3.6.5.13.1. The Present Perfect Tenses

A typical representative of the perfect tenses is the present perfect tense. It expresses a past action the completion of which affected the present time.

It consists of the perfective gerund, positive or negative, followed by the theme particle **-tur** [~ **turur**] and the pronominal personal signs **mân**, **sân**, **biz**, **siz**.

Positive

Sing.				
körüp tur mân	'I have seen'	barip tur mân	'I have gone'	
körüp tur sän	'you have seen'	barip tur sän	'you have gone'	
körüp tur	'he has seen'	barip tur	'he has gone'	
Plur.				
körüp tur biz	'we have seen'	barip tur biz	'we have gone'	
körüp tur siz	'you have seen'	barip tur siz	'you have gone'	
körüp turlar	'they have seen'	barip turlar	'they have gone'	

Negative

Sing.				
körmäy tur men	'I have not seen'	barmay tur men	'I have not gone'	
körmäy tur sen	'you have not seen'	barmay tur sen	'you have not gone'	
körmäy tur	'he has not seen'	barmay tur	'he has not gone'	

¹⁶⁷ Lit., saying

Plur.

körmäy tur biz	‘we have not seen’	barmay tur	‘we hav gone’
körmäy tur siz	‘you have not seen’	barmay tur	‘you ha gone’
körmäy turlar	‘they have not seen’	barmay tur- lar	‘they h not go

E.g.,

Şabanī ḥusnunga ‘āšiq bolup tur; Bu ḥusnung ‘išqidiñ ḥabar qil. (ShD94v:11-12) ‘Shabanī has fallen in love w beauty. Let him know [more] about love for this beauty of y
Meni sindurma kim ğam sindurup tur, barip köngülni tındurup tur. (DM244r:10) ‘Do not break me, because sor already crushed me. Going away from me, you pacified my
Naşihat birlä ol kelmäs özigä, yüz evürmäy turup tur bir (DN245v:11) ‘He does not recover his senses when given a of advice. He does pay heed¹⁶⁸ to any of its [good] words.’
Kelip tur bağda guldin açılmaq, yaraşmas til tikän qılmaq. (DN246r:6) ‘It has become appropriate for the open in the garden. It is not becoming[, however,] to mak tongue as sharp as the thorn.’

Män bu ev ni‘mati bilän bäsänip turur men. (Sayf131r) was raised by the grace of this house.’

Tavbanı bu ḥālatda mī qilur sän kim giriftār bolup ḥalāk nā tüşüp turur sän. (Sayf130v:1-2) ‘Are you showing rep in this situation when you are a captive and gotten into a danger for your life.’

Kim etip tur açığ aġunı tiryāk, tiläp tur köknār içindi. (DN257v:1) ‘He who turned bitter poison into an elixir was for heaven inside a poppy-head.’

Kim alip tur aġızğa gök terin, bilip tur ḥusn ara şakarı (DN257v:2) ‘He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mou appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by l
Tikip mü dur közin ḥalimğa ol yār, agarçı ‘aynğa yod darkār. (DN252r:9). ‘Has that friend kept staring at my spot although the dot has no use for the eye.’¹⁶⁹

Note: Sometimes the negative form is based on the rare negative in **-map/-mäp**. E.g.,

¹⁶⁸ Lit., does not turn his face to

¹⁶⁹ The Arabic word for ‘eye’ has no dot on the first character.

Tüšüp tur tā ešiking gardi közgä, körünmäp tur közümgä surma özgä. (DN257r:6). ‘Since the dust at your threshold got into [my] eyes, nothing else is used as collyrium for my eyes.’

Note: Removal of the particle **tur** [~ **turur**] from the first and second persons of the paradigm deemphasizes the lasting or repetitive aspect of the verb. [Cf. the subjective past tense in Modern Literary Uzbek.]

Positive

Sing.

körüp män	‘I have seen’	barip män	‘I have gone’
körüp sän	‘you have seen’	barip sän	‘you have gone’
körüp tur	‘he has seen’	barip tur	‘he has gone’

Plur.

körüp biz	‘we have seen’	barip biz	‘we have gone’
körüp siz	‘you have seen’	barip siz	‘you have gone’
körüp turlar	‘they have seen’	barip turlar	‘they have gone’

Negative

Sing.

körmäy män	‘I have not seen’	barmay män	‘I have not gone’
körmäy sän	‘you have not seen’	barmay sän	‘you have not gone’
körmäy tur	‘he has not seen’	barmay tur	‘he has not gone’

Plur.

körmäy biz	‘we have not seen’	barmay biz	‘we have not gone’
körmäy siz	‘you have not seen’	barmay siz	‘you have not gone’
körmäy turlar	‘they have not seen’	barmay turlar	‘they have not gone’

E.g.,

Šaybāniyā kirip men mardānavār yolğa, alip qilič elimgä Tengrim yolın açar män. (ShD113r:3-4) ‘O Shaybanī, I have entered the road as brave people do. Taking a sword in my hands I clear¹⁷⁰ the road of my God.’

¹⁷⁰ Lit, open

Sen unutup maḥabbat pēšalarni, sağınip qandağī andēšalarni. (DN257r:4) ‘You have forgotten the lovers,¹⁷¹ thinking about concerns of old days.’

Barip men ta tişing fikridä özdin, salip men sihr ara gavharni közdin. (DN257r:8) ‘In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that, as if being under a spell, I have had no eyes for [genuine] pearls.’

Tapip men ta yüzüngdin cān navasın, çiqarip men köngüldin gul havasın. (DN257r:9) ‘Since through your face I have found the sound of life, I have removed from my heart the desire for the rose.’

Kim aning nāzuk nihālin qildi közüm parvaraş, köz yaşımdan suğarip mār sarv-i bustān qayda dur. (ShD41v:6) ‘Where is the cypress of the garden the tender plant of which my eyes nurtured and that I watered with the tears of my eyes?’

Barisi cāma-yī mātām kāyip tur, rasulu’llāh üçün ḥidmat ātip tur. (H82v:2) ‘All of them were in mourning and paid homage to the Prophet.’

3.6.5.13.2. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense consists of the perfective gerund, positive or negative, followed by the theme particle **-tur** [~ **turur**] and the inflected forms of the definite past tense of the auxiliary **er-**, **e-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körüp turur	‘I had seen’	barip turur	‘I had gone’
erdim		erdim	
körüp turur	‘you had seen’	barip turur	‘you had gone’
erding		erding	
körüp turur	‘he had seen’	barip turur	‘he had gone’
erdi		erdi	
Plur.			
körüp turur	‘we had seen’	barip turur	‘we had gone’
erdük		erdük	
körüp turur	‘you had seen’	barip turur	‘you had gone’
erdingiz		erdingiz	
körüp turur	‘they had seen’	barip turur	‘they had gone’
erdilär		erdilär	

¹⁷¹ I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God]

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy tur erdim	‘I had not seen’	barmay tur erdim	‘I had not gone’
körmäy tur erding	‘you had not seen’	barmay tur erding	‘you had not gone’
körmäy tur erdi	‘he had not seen’	barmay tur erdi	‘he had not gone’
Plur.			
körmäy tur erdük	‘we had not seen’	barmay tur erdük	‘we had not gone’
körmäy tur erdingiz	‘you had not seen’	barmay tur erdingiz	‘you had not gone’
körmäy tur erdilär	‘they had not seen’	barmay tur erdilär	‘they had not gone’

E.g.,

Kemä ketip turur edi. Yigit kemäçigä çağırıp ayttı.(Sayf100r:11) ‘The boat had left. The youth shouted to the boatsman.’

Ol yigit maḥabbat tängizinä äylä mustağraq bolup turur edi, kim sözlämägä macālī yoq edi. (Sayf114v:5). ‘That youth had been engulfed so much in the sea of love that he had no ability to talk.’

Yigitlik ayyāmında ḥāṭirim bir kim ärsä bilän muta‘alliq bolup turur edi. (Sayf117v:4) ‘In my young days my mind was occupied with someone.’

Tūṭī bilän ğurābnī bir qafaşqa qoyup tururlar edi. (Sayf119v:1) ‘They had placed the parrot and the crow into one and the same cage.’

Note: Removal of the **tur** element from the paradigm deemphasizes the lasting or repetitive aspect of the verb. E.g.,

Bir kim ärsä dōstini bir muddat körmäyin edi. Körüp ayttı: Qayda sän kim muştaq bolur biz. (Sayf116r:1-2) ‘Someone had not seen his friend for a while. When they met [again] he said to him: Where have you been? We missed you.’¹⁷²

¹⁷² Lit., Where are you? We desire [to see you].

Positive

Sing.			
körüp erdim	'I had seen'	barip erdim	'I had gone'
körüp erding	'you had seen'	barip erding	'you had gone'
körüp erdi	'he had seen'	barip erdi	'he had gone'
Plur.			
körüp erdük	'we had seen'	barip erdük	'we had gone'
körüp erdingiz	'you had seen'	barip erdingiz	'you had gone'
körüp erdilär	'they had seen'	barip erdilär	'they had gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy erdim	'I had not seen'	barmay erdim	'I had not gone'
körmäy erding	'you had not seen'	barmay erding	'you had not gone'
körmäy erdi	'he had not seen'	barmay erdi	'he had not gone'
Plur.			
körmäy erdük	'we had not seen'	barmay erdük	'we had not gone'
körmäy erdingiz	'you had not seen'	barmay erdingiz	'you had not gone'
körmäy erdilär	'they had not seen'	barmay erdilär	'they had not gone'

E.g.,

Bir yıl Basrada qaḥṭ tüštü. El istisqāğa çiqip erdilär. (NMP.62). 'One year hunger occurred in Basra. People had set out for water.'

Dedi kim Tengridin tiläp erdim kim agar sening qašingda qurbum bolsa, meni Tarsüsda ol 'alimğa elt. (NMP.67) 'He said "I had asked from God, when I am in your closeness, take me to Tarsus, to that wise man."'

Atamning Bağdād bazarıda bir dukkāni bar erdi. Men dukkān eşikidä olturup erdim. Nāgah biräv ötti. (NMP.68) 'My father had a store in the market place of Baghdad. I had been sitting at the door of the store. Suddenly somebody passed by.'

3.6.5.14. The Present Continuous Tense

Verbal nouns in **-maq/-māk + dur** serve to express continuous, long lasting actions. Only the 3d person singular is attested:

Subject + [V+ **-maq/-māk**] + **dur**

E.g.,

Har saħar Barlas ħiyālī birlä yanmaq dur Šabān, ol parīvaš ‘iṣ-
qīda ħum dāna bolmay nedäyin? (ShD123r:10) ‘Every morning
Shaban keeps burning [enthralled] by the vision of the [Beloved
from the] Barlas [tribe.] In love for that fairy-faced [beauty] the
wine-jar is not the bait. There is nothing I can do.’¹⁷³

3.6.5.15. The Inflection of the Defective Verbs

Two auxiliary verbs do not have a full set of inflectional forms. The existing forms are as follows:

3.6.5.15.1. The auxiliary **er- > e-** ‘to be’

The auxiliary **er- > e-** has one verbal noun: **erkän, ekän** ‘a being’ and one verbal adverb [gerund] **ergäč, egäč** ‘right after being, as soon as...is’ We find full paradigms in the aorist, the definite past, the indefinite past and the conditional.

3.6.5.15.1.1. Present tense of the Aorist

				Positive	
	Sing.			Plur.	
	erür män	‘I am’		erür biz	‘we are’
	erür sän	‘you are’		erür siz	‘you are’
	erür	‘he is’		erürlär	‘they are’
				Negative	
	Sing.			Plur.	
	ermäs män	‘I am not’		ermäs biz	‘we are not’
	ermäs sän	‘you are not’		ermäs siz	‘you are not’
	ermäs	‘he is not’		ermäslär	‘they are not’
				Negative	
	Sing.			Plur.	
	emäs män	‘I am not’		emäs biz	‘we are not’
	emäs sän	‘you are not’		emäs siz	‘you are not’
	emäs	‘he is not’		emäslär	‘they are not’

¹⁷³ Lit., What can I do?

3.6.5.15.1.2. The Definite Past Tense

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
erdim	'I was'	erdük	'we were'
erding	'you were'	erdingiz	'you were'
erdi	'he was'	erdilär	'they were'

Sing.		Plur.	
edim	'I was'	edük	'we were'
eding	'you were'	edingiz	'you were'
edi	'he was'	edilär	'they were'

3.6.5.15.1.3. The Indefinite Past Tense

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
ermiş män	'I was [I think]'	ermiş biz	'we were'
ermiş sän	'you were'	ermiş siz	'you were'
ermiş	'he was'	ermişlär	'they were'

Sing.		Plur.	
emiş män	'I was [I think]'	emiş biz	'we were'
emiş sän	'you were'	emiş siz	'you were'
emiş	'he was'	emişlär	'they were'

3.6.5.15.1.4. The Conditional Mood

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
ersäm	'if I am'	ersäk	'if we are'
ersäng	'if you are'	ersängiz	'if you are'
ersä	'if he is'	ersälär	'if they are'

Sing.		Plur.	
esäm	'if I am'	esäk	'if we are'
esäng	'if you are'	esängiz	'if you are'
esä	'if he is'	esälär	'if they are'

3.6.5.15.2. The Auxiliary *dur* ‘to stand, stay, stop’

Only the contracted aorist [*durur* > *dur*] form is used in the sense of ‘to be’. It may interchange with *tur*, *turur*. It occurs mostly in the present tense:

Sing.		Plur.	
dur mən	‘I am’	dur biz	‘we are’
dur sən	‘you are’	dur siz	‘you are’
dur	‘he is’	durlar	‘they are’

E.g.,

Dardī manga darmān dur cānim anga hayrān dur, rāhat kätibān mändin muhtac-i alam¹⁷⁴ dur mən. (ShD123v:3-4) ‘The pain

she causes is an elixir for me. My soul admires her. My tranquility left me and I am in the need of suffering.’

For negation the forms *emäs mən* etc. are used.

3.6.6. Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns constitute one sizable group of the nominal forms of verbs. They name the action with or without its aspectual, phasal, or temporal characteristics but carry no endings of verbal inflection.

3.6.6.1. Verbal Nouns in *-ma/-mä*

The suffix *-ma/-mä* forms abstract nouns which in context occur mostly as concrete nouns or adjectives. They are limited in number.

isitmä	‘fever’
egmä	‘bent’
yämä	‘food’
asma	‘suspended’
tägmä	‘all’
örmä	‘braid’
qarišma	‘hostility’
qavurma	‘fried meat’
čäkmä	‘riding boots’
toğma	‘birth’

¹⁷⁴ In the Arabic orthography *alam* ‘pain’ consists of an *alif* [symbol for the Beloved’s straight figure and unique character], *lām* [symbol for the Beloved’s hair curled up at the ends in the shape of a *lām*] and *nīm* [symbol for the Beloved’s mouth]. In essence this is what the Lover is in the need of.

E.g.,

Yüzügnüng ğuşsasidin kün isitip, falak isitma naqvîdin yititip. (DN250r:11) 'From the passion of your face the sun heats up. From the intensity of the heat the sky glows.'

Tütün teg egmä qaşı dusma qılğay, közi ħwad surmanî közigä ilmäy. (DN265r:4) '[Because she does not want] to change her curved eyebrows, black like smoke, into ashengray, her eyes have no regard to antimony.'

3.6.6.2. Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk

The suffix **-maq/-mäk** forms action nouns which serve also as one of the infinitives. E.g.,

Kelip badnämliq taḅlini çalmaq özini tegmä¹⁷⁵ el tiligä salmaq. (DN239v:10) 'He comes to sound the drum of disrepute, making himself to be the talk on everybody's tongue.'

Cavabida dedi ol qaşı ħacib, kim "Anda parda açmaq bar munäsib. (DN258v:8) 'In answer said that [intimate friend] whose eyebrow is the chamberlain: "It is now appropriate to open the curtain."'

Gahē šavq ilä şaftälüni üzmäk, gahē ābini nār üstinā tüzümäk. (DN269v:10) 'Now picking peaches with delight, now arranging quinces on the top of pomegranates.'

Ĥwaş ermäs cavnri ħaddin aşurmaq, kelip oq atmaq va yani yaşurmaq. (DN244r:11) 'It is not proper to increase cruelty beyond measures, to come forth, shoot the arrow and then hide the bow.'

Taşarruf kücidin sözni uzatmaq, bir oq yolida yüz ming qatla atmaq. (DN271r:8) 'By the force of poetic licence to stretch out the words, in the path of one arrow to shoot a hundred thousand times.'

Köngül taḅtina andin songra aştı, ki olturmäk anga anda yaraştı. (DN269r:2) 'After that she ascended the throne of the heart because it was appropriate for her to sit there.'

3.6.6.2.1. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk in Oblique Case Forms

3.6.6.2.1.1. In the Dative Case

Yüzüng ħali salip ot icrä filfil, fusün qılmaqqa açip lablaring til. (DN244r:3) 'The mole of your face sprinkles pepper upon the fire and your lips upon the tongue to perform an incantation.'

Ayağingä qoyuban başini qand, labingdin suyi bir sormaqqa ħursand. (DN256r:10) 'The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.'

¹⁷⁵ MS has *tkl*.'

Salām etmākkā ç̄n egildi qaşim, ayağığa yügürüp tüşti yaşim. (DN268v:11) ‘When my eyebrow arched to say peace, my tears dropped to the ground and rolled to her feet.’

3.6.6.2.1.2. In the Ablative Case

Qaşimğa yetti ol yār-i haqīqī, bolup rangi yügürmāktin ‘aqīqī. (DN255r:4) ‘That true friend came to my presence, his face turned red from running.’

Bu işning özgāçā varzişlāri bar, demāktin başqa aning işlāri bar. (DN271r:11) ‘This art has other practical exercises, beyond telling it has skills [of its own].’

Köngül ç̄n ‘arz berdi cān talāşin, bitimāktin qalam kötārdi başin. (DN262r:6) ‘When the heart finished presenting the struggle of the soul, the pen raised its head from writing.’

Ravan boldi alip gulbarginī yel, elig tişlāp aning barmağidin el. (DN270r:6) ‘She set out on her way [and] the wind carried off [its] rose petals; because of her departure, people bit their hands [in yearning for her].’

3.6.6.2.2. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-māk with Postpositions

Bu tirliging yemāk üçün dāgül durur yalğuz. (Sayf 84r:3) ‘[The objective of] your life is not that you eat [and do nothing else].’

Yumaq bilān kitār mi lavnī qara kömürdān. (Sayf15r:7) ‘Does washing eliminate the color of the coal?’¹⁷⁶

Çu körgüzdi köngül razin biligi, bitimāk saridin tindi eligi. (DN 265r:9) ‘When her wisdom disclosed the secret of her heart, her hand stopped writing the letter.’

3.6.6.2.3. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-māk with Possessive Suffixes

Bayquş külätgāsinā kişi kelmāki muhal. (Sayf12r:7) ‘No one ever would come under the shadow of the owl [to seek the good fortune of becoming a king].’

Ya kirişindān dāgül oq ötmāki. (Sayf37r:10) ‘The force of the arrow piercing the target¹⁷⁷ is not from the string of the bow.’

Köngül teg haţtlāri macmū‘-i şāfi, şafağa körmāki bar erdi kāfi. (DN255r:8) ‘The characters [of her letter] were, like [her] heart, collected and serene. It was enough [for the reader] to contemplate over [this] serenity.’

¹⁷⁶ Lit., Can you wash off the color of the coal?

¹⁷⁷ The Turkish phrase implies that the arrow passes through [öt-] a ring displayed as the target.

Meni sen šam^c teg küydürmäging ne? Cafa va cavr etakin türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?’

Hamēša sāya teg küngä mu^lāzim, bolup erišmäki boynina lāzim. (DN258v:1) ‘She is always in the need of the sun, like a shadow. It is necessary that it reaches her shoulders [all the time].’

Du^ca yanglīg anī boynina ildim, aning yetkürmägin boynina qildim. (DN249v:7) ‘I hung it around his neck as a good-bye blessing. I made it his obligation to take it to its destination.’

Bēvafā dunyāda cavlan qılmağing nä dur sāning, bil cudā bolur cihānda murğ-i cāndin uşbu tan. (ShD119v3-4) ‘What is this parading of yours in this unfaithful world good for? Know that in this world life, like a bird, will depart from this body.’¹⁷⁸

3.6.6.3. Verbal Nouns in -maqliq/-mäklik

The suffix **-maqliq/-mäklik** forms verbal nouns that name the action in its concrete realization associating it with an unnamed agent. E.g., **kelmäk** ‘a coming’ [unrelated until specified], **kelmäklik** ‘someone’s coming’ [related without specification]. It also serves as the second infinitive. E.g.,

‘Aqıqing ārzūsi qildi bağir qan, seni sevmäklik āsan ermäs, Ay Cān. (LN268) ‘The desire for your ruby lips made the liver bleed.’¹⁷⁹ It is not easy to be in love with you.’¹⁸⁰

Yaşsi bolmaqliq yağširaq turur. (KBV10v:2) ‘It is better, if it is flat.’

Tilāsäng anī bilmäklikkä (KBV12v:5) ‘If you want to know it...’

Ölüg başına tepmäklik hwaş ermäs, savuq su yüzigä sepmäk hwaş ermäs. (DN246r:5) ‘It is of no avail to kick the head of a dead person [to see whether he is alive].’¹⁸¹ It is of no avail to sprinkle water in his face.’

Dost tutmaqliq ilä, Ay Dānā, dōstning yādini tutmağliq ara. (RB9r:2) [There is no difference] between [the following phrases]: To love the Friend, O Learned One, and to recollect the Friend.’

¹⁷⁸ The bird suddenly and unexpectedly taking off is often used as a symbol for the departing soul. Cf., MM *Vucūdung dirāht teg, bu cāning quş ol ; Usal turmağil kim bu nāğah uçar.* (179v:1) ‘Your body is like a tree and your soul, like a bird. Do not be heedless of God for that bird takes flight unexpectedly.’

¹⁷⁹ The phrase is equal to ‘made the heart suffer’. *Kōngül* or *qalb* cannot be used for this expression because of their explicit sufi content.

¹⁸⁰ Because the Beloved does not heed the prayer *yasir la tu’assir* ‘make it easy, do not make it difficult’

¹⁸¹ For signs to indicate whether a wounded animal is alive or not see MM191r:9.

Bar zuhūriğa šarā'it hāšil ašl u sarmāya boşatmaqliq dil. (RB5v:3) 'To arrive in the Lord's presence one must fulfil several conditions: One must empty one's heart of [all attachments to] family and wealth.'¹⁸²

Kelip iqbal baš qoyğay qatingda, buzulmaqliqğa yüz qoyğay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) 'Prosperity comes and [as your] servant, salutes you.'¹⁸³ [Your] hardship faces complete annihilation.'

3.6.6.4. Verbal Nouns in -maqda/-mäkdä

The suffix **-maqda/-mäkdä** names an action that is in progress. It is rare.

E.g.,

Men emdi ħasta va ğam artmaqda ħiyāling allida cān tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) 'Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing, facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.'

Note: It is used as base of the Progressive Mood [3.6.5.8]. In this usage it is very frequent in modern literary Uzbek.

3.6.6.5. Verbal Nouns in -r

Verbal nouns in **-r** name the action with no aspectual or temporal implications. They display the activity itself irrespective of the time and circumstances in which it takes place. In context they occur either as action nouns [verbal nouns proper] or agent nouns [leaning toward participles].

The formation of the verbal nouns in **-r** has a few characteristics. Stems with a final vowel most of the time take **-r**: **sorar** [< sora-] 'asking', **bāzār** [< bāzā-] 'ornating', **bašlar** [< bašla-] 'beginning'. Sometimes stems in **-a/-ä** are expanded by a **-y** to which the suffix **-ur/ür** is added: **avlayur** [< avla-] 'hunting', **deyür** [< de-] 'saying', **sözläyür** [< sözlä-] 'speaking', **oynayur** [< oyna-] 'dancing'. Monosyllabic stems ending on a consonant take mostly **-ar/-är**: **ačar** 'opening', **angar** 'remembering'; **aqar** 'flowing', **artar** 'increasing', **baqar** 'looking', **čiqar** 'leaving', **äsär** 'blowing', **egär** 'bending', **etär** 'doing', **inär** 'descending', **kečär** 'passing'; **münär** 'riding'; **ögär** 'praising'; **qorqar** 'having fear'; **sanar** 'considering'; **tapar** 'finding'; **tökär** 'pouring'; **uçar** 'taking flight'. Some of the monosyllabic stems, especially those ending in an **-l** or **-r**, use the

¹⁸² Reference to the Sufi tenet according to which the believer must empty his heart entirely from other than God so that he be able to fill it with God. Cf., Islam, *Sivā 'llāh sözidin köngül ħāli qil, nūrullāh nūrüdün tolu bilä sän.* (MM196v:2) 'Empty your heart of all but God, so that His light may fill it.'

¹⁸³ Lit., 'prostrating in your presence touching the ground with the left or right cheek. Not with the forehead because you use your forehead only when you perform the *sacda* to God.

suffix **-ur/-ür**: **alur** ‘taking’; **bilür** ‘knowing’; **bolur** ‘being, becoming’; **çalur** ‘playing [a musical instrument]’; **kelür** ‘coming’; **qalur** ‘staying behind’; **qilür** ‘making, doing’; **salur** ‘putting aside’; **silür** ‘wiping’; **barur** ‘going’; **berür** ‘giving’. Consonantal stems with more than two syllables use **-ur/-ür**: **ačilur** ‘opening’; **azdurur** ‘leading astray’; **ävrülür** ‘turning’; **bıraqur** ‘leaving behind’; **buyurur** ‘decreeing’; **çiqarur** ‘taking out’. Note the variants: **turur** ~ **turar** ‘standing’.

3.6.6.5.1. Action Nouns

A great part of the verbal nouns in **-r** are action nouns. They are very rare in bare form. Most of the time they carry possessive suffixes or case endings or both. E.g.,

Burnung ağzığa min camī^c vucūh sol eligdä su alurung mak-rūh. (MS5v:4) ‘It is reprehensible for you to use your left hand in any way while you are taking up water into your nose and mouth.’
Ay dōst seni sevgāli özgä sevārim yoq. Tengrim haqqi kim sevgāli sendin guzarim yoq. (ShD183v:4) ‘O, Friend, since I am in love with you, I have no other beloved. I swear by my God, since I am in love, I cannot walk away from you.’¹⁸⁴

3.6.6.5.1.1. Action Nouns in -r in Oblique Case Forms

Action nouns in **-r** are more frequently used in oblique case forms, such as the dative, the locative, and the accusative.

3.6.6.5.1.1.1. Action Nouns in -r in the Dative Case

Kişi könglin yiqarğa ‘adatim yoq. (Sayf82r:12) ‘It is not a habit of mine to destroy people’s heart.’

Aytayin män ay yigitlar uşbu sirrni tinglängiz: Sarvar olurğa la’iq yer cah-i Turkistan emiş. (ShD69r:10) ‘I should say, young men, listen to this secret: To be an emperor, the proper place is the throne of Turkistan.’

Kiriştim söz bezärgä hāma teg tund, işimdä sarzanişdin bolmayin kund. (DN243r:9) ‘I set myself to [choose] decorate words fast like the pen does, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.’

3.6.6.5.1.1.2. Action nouns in -r in the Locative case

¹⁸⁴ The original is slightly different. The expression is based on *guzar* ‘ford, shallows’ and love is conceived as a vast bottomless sea. There is no shallows in the sea for me to walk away from the Beloved.

Olturup yarğu yararda qıl yarar. (Sayf7r:4) ‘He is most accurate when he sits down to render judgments.’¹⁸⁵

Bil ki oqurda du^{cā} va Qur^{cān} cidd u cahd äylägä sen kim ol ān. (RB3r:11) ‘Know that whenever you pronounce a prayer or recite from the Qur^{ān} you should do so with great devotion.’

Çu aldı namanı elin uzatıp, alurda muşk ara şandalnı qatıp. (DN251v:9) ‘When she took the letter reaching for it with her hands she added sandal¹⁸⁶ fragrance to the scent of musk.’¹⁸⁷

Nazar qılurda körünmäs bu düd-i ahimdın, fiğan va ahim ilä toldi gunbad-i aflāk. (ShD89v:7-8) ‘When I behold her, she does not show from the smoke of my sighs. The dome of the sky is filled with my woes and sighs.’

Salıp tur ot cānima ol cahān-i ātašnāk nā ğam dur emdi yüzini körärdä bolsa halāk. (ShD89v:1-2) ‘That blazing world has cast

fire upon my soul. What does it matter now, since it perishes [anyway] while viewing your face.’

3.6.6.5.1.1.3. Action Nouns in -r in the Accusative Case

Hirāmān kelürüngni tā eşittim, özümün şabr dek behwāst yettim. (DN263r:8) ‘When I heard your elegant walk I was lost like my patience.’

3.6.6.5.2. Agent nouns

Agent nouns mostly occur as adjectives. In this function they are close to participles. E.g.,

Yamanlıq qılğan ergä äygülük qıl! Qapar it ağzığa luqma ata dur. (Sayf 43v:9) ‘Do good to the person who treats you badly. People throw a morsel into the mouth of a biting dog.’

Ādamī könglin yıqar söz sözlämä. (Sayf163v:1) ‘Do not [ever] say words that hurts¹⁸⁸ people’s hearts.’

Arangızda ‘acam tilin bilür kişi bar mı? (Sayf132r:8) ‘Is there anyone among you who knows Persian?’

Yetmiş yaşar bir qarī er qız oğlan evlāndi. (Sayf133r:7) ‘A seventy year old man married a young girl.’

Dahl aqar su turur dağı ‘ayş yürür tögirmän. (Sayf142r:10) ‘Income is like running water and good life is like a turning mill.’

¹⁸⁵ T. *qıl yara-* lit., ‘to split hairs’ > to be accurate’

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *şandal* 1. ‘sandal wood’ > yellow color, like henna used to paint ladies’ hands; 2. ‘sandal fragrance’

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *muşk* 1. ‘black’ > writing of the letter; 2. ‘musk fragrance’ added to the letter.

¹⁸⁸ Lit., ‘destroy’

Ayā muṭrib, bu maclisdā ününg tinglār kişi yoq tur. (Sayf61r:4) 'O, Singer, in this company there is no one to listen to your voice.'

Qaçan kim 'ālim er 'ilmin ḥalā'iqqa yürüp sattı, ol er naqdin eli birlän yanar otqa billip attı. (Sayf161r:5). 'When a learned man goes to the people to sell his wisdom, with his hand he knowingly tosses his cash into the flaming fire.'

Tängridän özgä siğinur yerim qalmadı. (Sayf33v:8) 'Except God no other place of refuge has been left for me.'

Oqur ḥalatda mimi körgüzüp sin sevünüp bētaqalluf qıldı taḥ-sin. (DN264r:11) 'As she was engaged in reading [the letter] her *mim*-shape mouth displayed a *sin*¹⁸⁹; she was happy and frankly expressed her approval.'

3.6.6.5.3. Agent Nouns in -r in Passive Use

Parēsan köngligä ağır¹⁹⁰ sevār cān, siriški kahrubā üstinā mar-cān. (DN259r:10) 'The precious life is heavy for his heart. His tear drops are like coral beads upon [his] amber[-colored face].'

Aşuğup qıldı atlanur varağın, zamanē cilva berdi ḥusn bağın. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she showed off the beauty of the garden.'¹⁹¹

Tangridan özgä siğinur yerim qalmadı. (Sayf33v:8). 'Except for God, I have no other place of refuge left.'

Note: In the verbal inflection, see above [3.6.5.6.], it is used as the theme of the aorist

3.6.6.6. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs

Verbal nouns in -mas/-mäs [rarely also -maz/-mäz] name the action that does not take place, with no aspectual or temporal implications. In context they occur either as action nouns [verbal nouns proper] or agent nouns [leaning toward participles].

3.6.6.6.1. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs Used as Action Nouns

They occur only with case ending or possessive suffixes or with both. E.g.

May iç paymāna tolmasdın burunraq, bu sudın ur ḥırad közinä topraq. (DN233v:5) 'Drink wine before the measure is filled¹⁹². From this water throw dust into the eyes of reason.'¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ I.e., a wide smile

¹⁹⁰ MS has 'ğyz

¹⁹¹ I.e., she appeared in full splendor

¹⁹² I.e., Before your life is over. Cf., P. *paymānaş pur şud* 'his measure is full, his days are numbered' (Steingass, p.270a).

¹⁹³ I.e., satisfy your intellect with inebriating wine.

İcmäsimni çon bilürlär edi, taklif qılmadılar. (Babur 187r:13) ‘Since they knew about my not drinking wine, they did not offer me any.’

Bilmäsimdin yārdin asru bolup tur män¹⁹⁴ yıraq. Vah nä türlüq qilgusi dur uşbu dard ilā firaq. (ShD76r:11-12) ‘Because of my ignorance I am far away from my beloved. O, what will separation do with this pain.’

3.6.6.6.2. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs Used as Agent Nouns

Agent nouns in -mas/-mäs occur mostly in adjectival use as modifiers to a noun. With this quality this verbal noun is very close to participles. E.g.,

Elig elgä urup aytqay caza dur ögüt almas kişigä böylä mihnat. (Sayf143r:13) ‘Clapping his hands he would say: Such misery is a right punishment for a person who does not take a good [piece of] advice.’

Ol yazuqlı sultānğa sökti, yaramas sözlär sözlädi. (Sayf9r:11) ‘That convicted person, using indecent words, abused the Sultan.’

Künäş ança büyükligi birlän bir ayaça bulut körünmäs etär. (Sayf174v:1) ‘The sun with that great size can be covered by a cloud of the size of one’s palm.’

Ärdäm ärning davlati dur, bil yaqin, kim tükänmäs mäl erür matlablayin. (Sayf140r:6) ‘Valor is the riches of a man, know full well! It is an inexhaustible wealth, like the treasure people are in search of.’

Köngül bermä köngül bermäs kişigä. (Sayf78r:8) ‘Do not confide in a person who does not confide in you.’

3.6.6.7. Verbal Nouns in -miş/-miş

A verbal noun in -miş/-miş indicates an action not directly known [witnessed or experienced] by the speaker who realizes its occurrence by information provided by others or by his own judgment on the basis of its result, factual context, or attending circumstances. As action nouns they are rare. They occur more frequently as adjectives and in this function they share the characteristics of participles.

3.6.6.7.1. Verbal Nouns in -miş/-miş Used as Action Nouns

Ammä mutana‘‘im edi, kölgädä bäsänmiş, cihan körmägan... (Sayf148v:10) ‘But he was living in pleasure, raised in the shade, did not travel about in this world...’

¹⁹⁴ Present Perfect Tense [see3.6.5.13.1.]. The situation described is the result of a past action.

Bu o'g'lan 'umri bāğindan yemiš yemiši yoq. (Sayf13r:3) 'This youth, I gather, have not [yet] eaten any fruit from the garden of life.'

3.6.6.7.2. Verbal Nouns in -miš/-miš Used as Agent Nouns

They have a passive or medial meaning and mostly occur together with their specified subject: **susa-** 'to be thirsty' > **susamiš** 'he who has been thirsty' > **susamiš er** 'a thirsty person.' E.g.,

Ağir iškā sīnamiš er iya ber kim arslanni tutup keltürgäy ol er. (Sayf140v10) 'To handle a difficult matter send an experienced person who is able catch the lion and bring it in.'

Yetsā tatlī suğa susamiš er, qorqmas allında bolsa aždarihā. (Sayf 48r:13) 'When a thirsty man comes to [a source of] sweet water, he has no fear, even if there is a dragon facing him.'

Äylā saqindim kim qurmiš buğday turur. (Sayf89v:5) 'I thought it was fried wheat.'

Aç yarli tapip biši šalğam šislāmiš qaz eti bigin hwaš yer. (Sayf 90v:9) 'When a poor hungry man comes upon some cooked turnip, he eats it as if it was a goose roasted on the spit.'

Note: In the verbal inflection it is used as basis for indirect past tenses [see 3.6.5.5.5.].

3.6.6.8. Verbal Nouns in -š

Verbal nouns in -š which in modern literary Uzbek appear now as the second infinitives, name individual actions in their concrete realization. Cf., **baqmaq** 'a looking', **baqiš** 'the looking by someone, a glance.' Most verbal nouns in -š are concrete nouns in quite frequent use. Others serve as action nouns. There are no examples for their use as agent nouns or participles.

The suffix -š is added to light positive stems. Heavy stems with unrounded vowels take -iš/-iš, those with rounded vowels, -uš/-üš. Below is a list of most common verbal nouns belonging to this group:

aytiš	'saying' (ShD103r:2)
baqiš	'glance' (Sayf127r:11)
bariš	'going' (ShD102v:3)
bitiš	'growth' (Sayf14v:7)
kāliš	'coming' (ShD102v:7)
külüš	'smiling' (Sayf120v:9)
oħšaš	'resembling' (RM27r:10)
otruš	'sitting position [in the prayer]' (MM185r:5a)

öpüş	‘kiss’ (Sayf129r:6)
qalıš	‘remaining’ (ShD102v:13)
saqış	‘thought’ (Sayf73v:1)
tariš	‘writing’ [< sowing] (DN 229r:1)
tolğaş	‘a being curly’ (GD186,5)
uruš	‘fight’ (Sayf88v:5)
yağış	‘rain’ (NTM7v:6)
yanış	‘burning’ (ShD102v:13)

E.g.,

Öfkä bilän ol qiya baqišin körünüz. (Sayf127r:11) ‘Behold that black look of anger from the corner of his eye.’

Köngülgä bu saqiš kelür kim ärtä oğul qiz turup ne yegäy. (Sayf73v:1) ‘This thought comes to mind: What will the children eat when they get up in the morning?’

Ol qamar yüzli šakar sözli ħabīb bir öpüşkä cān alip minnat qilür. (Sayf129r:6) ‘That moon-faced sweet-spoken friend takes your life for a kiss and holds you indebted for this favor.’

Yibarip Muštarini ‘ilm işigä, tüzätip Tirni ħatt tarišida. (DN 229r:1) ‘He assigns Jupiter to the sciences. He commissions Mercury to writing.’

Zähiding sözi bilä tüz toğri yoldin çıqmasam, bar durur mayhāna yolunda kališim barišim. (ShD102v:6-7) ‘Although I do not leave the right straight path following the words of your ascetic, I have my comings and goings on the road leading to the tavern.’

Har qačan keldi ħiyali šadman oldi köngül, yoq turur cānā cāfāsī birlä köngül qališim. (ShD102v:12-13) ‘Whenever her vision appeared the heart became joyful. I was never disappointed by the cruelty of the beloved.’¹⁹⁵

3.6.6.9. Verbal Nouns in -ğū/-gü

Verbal nouns in -ğū/-gü express actions with modal [necessitative or imperative] and temporal [immediate future] characteristics. E.g.,

Tavakkul dalil Haqq činuoq bilgügä, inanmaq qiyamat taqi ölgügä. (MM179r:9) ‘Surrender to God is a proof that you truly know God, that you [truly] believe in Resurrection and Death.’

(1) The necessitative aspect in predication can be emphasized by the particle **keräk**. E.g.,

¹⁹⁵ The Beloved is testing us by her harsh treatment to see whether we are worthy of her love.

Muvahhid bu nafsnıng bařın kásğügä qahirning qılıçin biläğü keräk. (MM182r:17). ‘The Believer in the Oneness of God must sharpen the sword of wrath in order to behead his Carnal Soul.’
Ne kim ol aydı anı qılğü kāräk. Ta‘atini boyunğa alğü kāräk. (MS2r:2). ‘One must do whatever He has commanded. One must [willingly] take upon one’s neck [the yoke of] obedience to Him.’

Note: Verbal nouns in **-ğü/-gü** are used as bases of the Categorical Future Tense [3.6.5.11.1]. E.g.,

Ki davlat kelğüsi dur, bolma ğāfil, sa‘adat birlä tüzgüng dur maħafil. (DN260v:5). ‘Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: brighten up the meeting place with the felicity of paradise.’

Lařkar-i islāmni çäksäm qızıl börk üstinä, bolğusi yāvar Madina kiřvaridin řol Ĥabib. (ShD15r11) ‘When I lead the forces of Islam upon the red hats, the Friend from the land of Madina will surely be my helper.’

3.6.6.10. Verbal Nouns in **-ğüçü/-güçü**

Verbal Nouns in **-ğüçü/-güçü** are agent nouns expressing a subject’s profession, favorite or characteristic activity and moral quality suggested by his actions. E.g.,

Gazak berdi manga ağı labidin, dam urdı ičğüçilär mařrabidin. (DN269v:8) ‘She gave me some relish from the lips of her mouth. It betrayed [the taste of] the drink of the consumer.’

Tiläsäng äygü atıng mängü qalğay, ayaqdan tüškän elin tutquçı bol. (Sayf172v:6) ‘If you want that your name survive for ever, take the hand of those who have fallen.’

köngüllär āzar qılğüçü [for Persian *mardum āzār*] (Sayf141r:4) ‘a rude insulting person’

Ayā oq atquçı yahři saqıřlap ilk andan at. (Sayf169v:7) ‘Hark ye, Archer! Think well first and than release your arrow.’

Ki, bir nargisgä ol köz salğüçü dur, tili susan bigin söz salğüçü dur. (DN254r:4) ‘[People who understood my situation said to me:] He laid his eyes on a narcissus and [since then] his tongue speaks like a lily.¹⁹⁶

Ki kim dur bu raqamğa nuqtapardāz, maħabbat köyidin qılğüçü parvāz? (DN239v:3) ‘She said, “Who is the one who showered witty points in this letter¹⁹⁷ taking to wings from the lane of love?”’

¹⁹⁶ I.e., he is mute

¹⁹⁷ Meaning who wrote this letter.

Özini küç bilän **bergüci** ğamğa, yasanip ötrü **barğuci** alamğa. (DN239v:4) 'By force he gives himself over to sadness and is prepared to walk into the face of affliction.'

Maşaqqat elinä **salğuci** cānin, özi öz boynına **qilğuci** qanin. (DN239v:5) 'He willfully gives over his soul to troubles. He takes upon himself his own execution.'

Sevār **sevgücini** har kim ki bolsa, sözi har neçä kim 'ālamğa tolsa. (DN248r:3) 'To the loving lover, whoever he may be, however much his [ill] repute may have spread over this world...'

İçgüci rindlar bilä iç bada tır-i mah. Hargiz yavunmasun şūfilar bu diyārıma. (ShD159r:7) 'Drinker, drink wine with the rogues in the month of June. Never ever should the sufis come [even] close to my district.'

3.6.6.11. Verbal Nouns in -ğudek/-güdek

Verbal Nouns in **-ğudek/-güdek** express actions which are on the point of being carried out or which look like or are as if taking place. E.g.,

Singüdek dur 'arş-i a'la uşbu kün, **ingüdek** dur çarḥ-i ğabra uşbu kün. (BN88r:) 'This very day the Supreme Throne is on the point of tumbling down, this very day the dust colored sky is about caving in.'

Buzğudek har biri bir laşkarni, **algüdek** har biri bir kişvarni. (ShVāmb.94,21) 'Every one of them was ready to destroy an army [alone], every one of them was ready to take a country [alone].'

3.6.6.12. Verbal Nouns in -ğuluq/-gülük

This rather rare form of verbal nouns refers to things that are meant, or destined for some purpose or are doomed to be the object of an action. It occurs alone as a concrete noun or as an adjective either in predicative function or as modifier to a noun. E.g.,

Tüngä teġin ƒa'āam va şuḥbat edi, **yegülüklärgä zib u zinat edi**. (PdC556) 'Until nightfall there was food and intimate conversation. The dishes¹⁹⁸ were beautiful and decorated.'

Va har yıl iḥtiyāc ahlīğa **keygülük** yetkürgäylär. (PdC487) 'And every year they should send some clothes¹⁹⁹ to those in need.'

Şabr u qarār u ḥošni almaġliġing ne dur? Ay cānlar āfatı sanga cānim dur **alguluq**. (PdC32) 'Why do you deprive me of patience, rest, and intelligence? O, Disaster of Souls, my soul is here for you to take.'

¹⁹⁸ Lit., things to eat

¹⁹⁹ Lit., things to wear

Gar men öltürgülük men, öltürgil. (Babur, Eckm.Gr. p.137) ‘If I am doomed to death, kill me.’

3.6.6.13. Verbal Nouns in -ğusiz/-güsiz

These verbal nouns express actions that are, for reasons unknown, not possible to carry out. They are adjectives and occur mostly in predicative function.

E.g.,

Sanga sänliking, bil, hicāb käçgüsüz; kitār bolsa sän män bolur säçgüsüz. (MM197r:5) ‘Know that youness is your impenetrable veil. When it is eliminated, there is no longer any distinguishing between “me” and “you”.’

Safar hacat ermäs sän ök sän hicāb, qamuğ manzil uşbu, valē köçgüsüz. (MM197r:6) ‘There is no need to travel, your youness itself is the veil. All the stations are right here, there is no need to set off [for other parts].’

3.6.7. Gerunds

Gerunds are verbal adverbs that play a very important role in Chagatay linguistic expression. They may indicate status, aspect, tense, mood and relationship to other actions.

3.6.7.1. Gerund in -p

The suffix **-p** is added directly to light stems and through a closed connective vowel [i, i, ü, u] to heavy stems:

asrap ‘protecting, fostering, preserving’ < **asra-** ‘to protect’

tilāp ‘wishing, asking for’ < **tilā-** ‘to ask for’

dep ‘saying’ < **de-** ‘to say’

ağrip ‘hurting’ < **ağri-** ‘to hurt’

äylāp ‘going around’ < **äylā-** ‘to go around’

salip ‘putting, casting’ < **sal-** ‘to put’

ačip ‘opening’ < **ač-** ‘to open’

yaşunup ‘hiding’ < **yaşun-** ‘to hide’ [intransitive]

körüp ‘beholding’ < **kör-** ‘to see, behold’

qačip ‘escaping’ < **qač-** ‘to escape, flee’

körsätip ‘showing’ < **körsät-** ‘to demonstrate’

berip ‘giving’ < **ber-** ‘to give’

tutup ‘holding’ < **tut-** ‘to hold’

Note: The suffix **-p** is added generally to positive stems. With negative stems it occurs rarely: **turmap** (Babur105v:8) ‘not able to resist’

Gerunds in **-p** indicate that an action ceased, came to an end, or was interrupted or completed at a point of time established by adverbs, other actions or by a broader context. They occur in adverbial, copulative, or predicative functions.

3.6.7.1.1. Gerund in **-p** in Adverbial Function

The gerund in **-p** is quite common in adverbial function. The action it expresses either occurs parallel with another action [mostly by the same agent] or stops before the other action begins. E.g.,

Çu aldı nāmanī elin uzatıp, alurda muşk ara şandalnī qatıp. (DN251v:9) 'When she took the letter reaching for it with her hands she added sandal²⁰⁰ fragrance to the scent of musk.'²⁰¹

Barqğa dedi: Negā çäkting āhnī, tirā aylāp āftāb māhnī? (BN 86v:6) '[God] said to Barq: Why did you sigh, fogging [with your breath] the sun and the moon?'

Yuqarīdin inip yamğur tüşār pāk, ki tā andin tirilir hār hāşāk. (DN258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Bir vaqt tüz yazıda yol taş etip azuqum tükānip yürür edim. (Sayf 89v:3) 'Once I was walking in the plain desert: I lost my way and my provisions were exhausted.'

İzdāp nāmā tapmadī. (Sayf50v:10) 'He was searching but he did not find anything.'

Qalamğa su berip açtım tilini, anga āsān qilip söz muşkilini. (DN 255v:11) 'I put water into the pen and opened its tongue. I made the difficult task of composition easy for him.'²⁰²

3.6.7.1.2. Gerund in **-p** in Copulative Function

Çiqayın yer içidin nāla yanglıq, kafannī qanğa bulğap lāla yanglıq. (DN244v:11) 'Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulip.'

Yüzüm hwarşedidin hayrān yürür mü? Bolup bir zarra sargardan yürür mü? (DN252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'

Baştin keçip qara qan içip qan yaşım sacıp: tapman köngül tilāğini va-ħasratā köngül. (Sayf182) 'I give up my head, I drink

²⁰⁰ Cf. *şandal* 1. 'sandal wood' > yellow color, like henna used to paint ladies' hands; 2. 'sandal fragrance'

²⁰¹ Cf. *muşk* 1. 'black' > writing of the letter; 2. 'musk fragrance' added to the letter.

²⁰² Cf. the Arabic invocation *allāh yasir va lā tu'assir* 'Lord make it easy for me, do not make it difficult.'

black blood, and I shed blood-color tears. Alas, O Heart, I do [still] not find the desire of my heart’.

Yätip eldin ötüp şahra yeli teg yürüp köz yaşıda daryā eli teg. (DN253v:3) ‘He comes and passes by people like the desert wind. He wades in tears like maritime creatures.’

Ravān qıldı falak çon cām-i Camšed, açiqlanip qizarip çiqti ħwaršed. (DN242r:11) ‘When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.’

Yaşunup gul yüzüngdin bağlarda, qaçip lala çiqiban tağlarda. (DN243v:9) ‘The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.’

Körüp har dam qara bahtini tün teg, köngüldin tartip āhini tütün teg. (DN247v:1) ‘He always perceives his black fortune as [the darkness of] the night. He lets out sighs, like smoke, from his heart.’

Barip ‘arab qabilasında istāp tapup alip keldilər. (Sayf 126r:11) ‘They set out, searched the Bedouin tribes, found her and took her [to the Sultan’s] presence.’

3.6.7.1.3. Gerund in -p in Predicative Function

Salip šahr icrā ‘išq avazasını, açip yüzigā ğam darvāzasini. (DN 240r:1) ‘He spreads the rumor about [his] love all over the town. He opens the gate of sorrow to his face.’

Tili açiq sözün şakargā qatip, közi ta‘rız oqın can[im]ğa atip. (DN243r:2) Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar.²⁰³ Her eyes shot arrows of hints²⁰⁴ into [my] soul.’

Qalam til učini ‘anbarğa bulğap, eligi muşknī kāğidğa çolğap. (DN255r:11) ‘Dipping the point of the pen into ambergris, her hands wrote on the paper with fragrant black ink.’

Sāning üçün bir tüş körüp mən ħayr bolğay. (Sayf 11r:6) ‘I have seen a dream concerning you, maybe it bodes something good.’

Agar sen anda körsāng nāgah āzar, men eşitip bolur men munda afgar. (DN260r:3) ‘If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.’

Note: Gerunds in -p serve as bases of the Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.].

Meni sındurma kim ğam sındurup tur, barip köngülni mendin tındurup tur. (DN244r:10) ‘Do not break me, because sorrow has already done so. Going away from me you pacified my heart.’

²⁰³ I.e., He mixed the bitter words of chiding with the sweetness of coquetry.

²⁰⁴ Expressions with obscure meanings rebuking and encouraging the Lover at the same time.

3.6.7.2. Gerund in-ban/-bän

Formally this gerund is the expansion of the gerund in **-p**. In its use, however, there are significant restrictions that make it different from the gerunds in **-p**. First, it is a morphologically closed element: It cannot be followed by auxiliaries or personal markers, pronominal or possessive. Second, because of these qualities it cannot be part of an inflectional paradigm. Thirdly, it cannot be employed as head of a structure of modification. It preserved, however, most of its verbal privileges: It can have a subject, direct or indirect objects and other complements consisting of case forms of nouns postpositional phrases. In the sentence it occurs mostly as a nongradable adverb. Coordinated with other verbs it may have copulative function.

3.6.7.2.1. Gerund in-ban/-bän in Adverbial Function

Dedi, Ay Sözi Rangīnlärgä Artang, qalamdin körgüzübän sihr va nayrang. (DN270v:10) ‘He said. O, Mani [the painter] among those whose words are colorful,²⁰⁵ who produces magic and sorcery with the pen.’

Şabā elini öptüm qoyuban baş, anga ihlāş nūrīn etibän fāş. (DN 249v:1) ‘I kissed the hand of the Morning Breeze bowing my head and showing her the light of perfect sincerity.’

Men ol qul men ki bargīm yerdä qalmas, valī bir yel kelibän eltä almas. (DN240v:9) ‘I am the rose whose petals don’t stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot sweep them away.’²⁰⁶

Yaşunup gul yüzüngdin bağlarda, qaçip lāla çiqiban tağlarda. (DN243v:9) ‘The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.’

Gah söz aytip Ĥudādīn äşitip, yığlaban har laħza özīdīn ketip. (BN85r:11) ‘Sometimes he said words that he had heard from God, crying he lost his senses every moment.’²⁰⁷

Ki män ummat debän keçtim atadīn. (Ĥ74v:9) ‘Having chosen the community I gave up my father.’

Ozup keçti aşıqqan atlı erni yürübän bir kişi arqun tün va kün. (Sayf167r:2) ‘A person walking slowly night and day caught up with and passed by the hasty horseman.’

Nazar saldı salıban söz arağa, netük kim köz berür nūrīn qarağa. (DN264r:10) ‘She cast a glance [at the letter] and then became immersed in reading the text as her eyes lended its light to [dispel] the darkness [of the ink].’

²⁰⁵ I.e., who paint with their words

²⁰⁶ I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.

²⁰⁷ Intensity is expressed by showing a point-action verb in repetition.

3.6.7.2.2. Gerund in-ban/-bän in Copulative Function

Avçi çiqıban käyiklär avlar vaqtın arslan körübän tutup terisin yırtar. (Sayf105r:7) ‘The hunter goes out in the season of hunting deer. A lion spots him, grabs him, and tears his skin into shreds.’

Keçä qoy halqına qoydı bıçağın, tilädi kim soyuban alsa yağın. (Sayf69r:2-3) ‘At night he put his knife to the sheep’s throat and wanted to slaughter him and take his fat [tail].’

Yüzni yuban, eligdä su quyğil. Başqa mash tartıban, ayağni yuğil. (MS4v:3) ‘Having washed your face pour water over your hand [and wash them]. Having wiped your head [with moistened hands] wash your feet.’

Közümning kirpüki boldı guharpāš, qalam teg har hatına qoyuban baş. (DN255v:1) ‘The eyelashes of my eyes were shedding gems.²⁰⁸ Like the pen I bowed to each of her characters.’

Ğamimdın gar desä içimdäki dağ, bulut teg yığlağay ün tartıban dağ. (DN256v:10) ‘If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.’

Bu Şabāni bu fayā’if begläriñi qavlaban zulm u cavrın kötäribän elgä köp däd äylädük. (ShD82v:1-2) ‘We, Shabāni, routed the chiefs of these tribes. We have restored justice to the people [of this town] by rooting out injustice and oppression.’

3.6.7.2.3. Gerund in -ban/-bän in Predicative Function

Qılıban muškni ol ‘anbarın meng, cihān içrā qara tofrağ bilän feng. (DN243v:8) ‘That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced [the value of] musk to [the level of] common clay²⁰⁹ in the [entire] world.’

Bašina qoyuban hudhud bigin t̄ac, šaraf içrā alip Sımurğdın b̄ac. (DN267v:5) ‘He put a crown upon his head like a hoopoe; in dignity he levied a tax on Simurgh.’²¹⁰

Yüzüm birlän saçimni etibän yad, boluban keçälärdä aydın šād. (DN253r:9) ‘He talks about my face and my hair; at nights he associates with the moon.’

3.6.7.2.4. Gerund in-ban/-bän in Idioms

The gerund in -ban/-bän occurs in a few idioms. E.g., **ne debän** ‘by what right?’:

²⁰⁸ Tear drops of emotion.

²⁰⁹ Versus *gil-i hwašböy* ‘clay with fragrance’ (Sa’di) or *mufarrih gul gibi gil* ‘clay fragrant like an exhilarating rose’ (Sayfi Sarāyī).

²¹⁰ It possesses greater dignity than Simurgh.

Ne debān men anī közdin salayin, köngül aldīm, barip ham cān alayin. (DN246r:3) ‘By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?’

3.6.7.3. Gerund in -a/-ä

Gerunds in -a/-ä indicate actions that are not completed. These actions are either going on uninterrupted, or are being repeated without a time limit. The time of their occurrence is indicated by a concurrent action, by adverbs, or by the context itself. They are used as adverbs to finite verbs or verbal nouns to express manner, time, purpose, aim, or limit.

They may occur in doublets [with the same word repeated or with the gerund form of another verb] for emphasis.

3.6.7.3.1. Gerund in -a/-ä in Predicative Function

Very rare. This is related to the adverbial use of the gerunds in -a/-ä with the exception that the gerund has its own subject. E.g.,

Aftab otura tağqa yavuq yettim. (Babur 60r:8) ‘By sunset [$<$ as the sun was setting] I got close to the mountain.’

3.6.7.3.2. Gerund in -a/-ä in Adverbial Function

Seni kim sevdi, ay dilbar, közigä cān körünmäs tur. Qıya baq közüng uçidin barı ölügni tirgüzgän. (ShD128v:12) ‘No life is visible in the eyes of the one who has loved you. Cast a side glance from the corner of your eye because that is what brings the dead to life.’²¹¹

Neçä köp yädürsäng, sanga bir kün ol urur zaḥm, andan saqına yüri. (Sayf14v:10) ‘No matter how much you feed him [the wolf cub] one day will cause you harm. Beware of him.’

Bir kün uşbu yerdä ekändä Ḥwaca Abu’l-Makarim kim bizning dek calāy-i vaṭan bolup sargardān edi meni körä keldi. (Babur 60r:8) ‘One day during my state in that very place, Ḥwaca Abu’l-Makarim, an emigrant like ourselves, was aimlessly wandering and came to see me.’

Vah ki kelür yolğa qıldim köz durrafşanin nişar, telmürä har yol başında közlärim duçar dur. (ShD44v:4-5) ‘O, how I scattered the pearls of my eyes on the path she was to come! At every corner my eyes were eagerly looking for a sudden encounter.’

²¹¹ In royal receptions the sultan signaled the acceptance of gifts by casting a side glance at them.

3.6.7.3.3. Gerund in -a/-ä in Doublets

Bolur asan bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) ‘What is difficult, will gradually become easy.’

Uşbu sirrni ayta-ayta kaçtı Mansūr-i ğarīb; oğri va yalğançılar-din boldi ol dār özgäcä. (ShD150r:3) ‘Repeating this secret all over again Mansūr, the strange one, passed. The tree²¹² that was meant for him was different from others meant for thieves and liers.’

Bu säning hāling ol tülki hikāyatına oħsar kim kördilär yiqila tura kitär edi. (Sayf26r:5) ‘This situation of yours resembles that of the fox whom people saw running away in panic.’²¹³

Notes: (a) Gerunds in -a/-ä are used as bases for the Durative Present Tense [3.6.5.13.1.].

Köngül kim tarta dur ğam mātamini, qalam teg başidin alğil qarasin. (DN264r:2) ‘When the heart keeps wearing the livery of sorrow, remove melancholy from its head in the same way you remove ink from the tip of the pen.’

Tün kün saqlan ol erdin kim ol qorqa turur sändän. (Sayf18v:2) ‘Night and day beware of the man who is constantly afraid of you.’

(b) It is used to form descriptive verbs [3.6.9.].

Men ol gul men ki bargim yerdä qalmas, valı bir yel kelibän eltä almas. (DN240v:9) ‘I am the rose whose petals don’t stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot carry them away.’²¹⁴

Bu nukta sirrini hargiz kişi qayda bilür ermiş? Ača ber nukta sirrini mäning pır-i muğanim sen. (ShD112r:13) ‘How would one ever know the secret of this point? Open for me the secret of points: you are my elder of the magi.’²¹⁵

3.6.7.3.4. Gerund in -a/-ä in Idioms

Gerunds in -a/-ä occur quite often in set expressions and idioms. Here is a selective list of the most frequently used idioms.

bara bara (RB5v:6) ‘constantly’

ħaddin aša (Sayf164r:9) ‘excessively, beyond limits’

kün aša (Sayf57r:2) ‘every other day’

otura tura ket- (Sayf137r:1) ‘slowly, taking a rest’²¹⁶

²¹² I.e., the gallows

²¹³ Lit., falling to the ground and standing up again

²¹⁴ I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.

²¹⁵ Fig., innkeeper

²¹⁶ Lit., sitting and standing up

qīya baqmaq (ShD128v:12) ‘to cast a side glance’
 yaraşa (ShD137v:7) ‘accordingly’
 yiqıla tura (Sayf26r:5) ‘head over heels’²¹⁷
 bilä (MM195v:3) ‘knowingly’

E.g.,

Kün aša kelgil kim maħabbat ziyādat bolğay. (Sayf57r:2) ‘Come and see me every other day so that our attraction to one another may increase.’

Sen emdi ħavsalanga yaraşa talab qılğil, umeding üzmä ki āħir Ĥudā qilur sababın. (ShD127r:7-8-) ‘Now you seek according to your liking. Do not give up your hope because in the end God grants the means.’

3.6.7.4. Gerund in -ğanda/-gändä

The gerund in **-ğanda/-gändä** expresses an action in the course of which another action takes place. It may also express an action as a result of which another action is or is not carried out.

E.g.,

Ol hargiz qaranğuluq körmäy dur, ki elgä qaranğu bolğanda anga yaruq erkän dur. (NMP.55) ‘He never saw the darkness because during the time when darkness enveloped the ordinary folks for him there was daylight.’

Män kim qarī män qarī ħatunlar bilän ulfatım bolmağanda ol kim yigit turur mäning kibi qarī bilän ne qadar döstluq şuratın bağlağay. (Sayf138r:2) ‘I am an old man and cannot put up with old women, how could the one who is young achieve friendship with an old man like me?’

Bal bigin çahra sarığ bolmaq keräk ‘ışq ahlığa; arturur yapraq sarığ bolğanda afğan ‘andalib. (ShD22r:4) ‘For the people of love the face should be yellow like [the color of] honey. The nightingale increases its complaint when the leaves turn yellow.’

Saħini yad etip da’ım öğärlär bahil atin ešitkändä sökärilər. (Sayf94r:10) ‘People always remember and praise the generous. When they hear the name of the miserly, they pronounce a curse.’

Tarat alğanda sözlämä ‘amdä. (MS5v:6) ‘Do not speak while performing the ablution.’

Nafydin songra ki bar illä’līh munda yetgändä ešit bu dur rāh. (RB7v:10) ‘After the negation follows [the phrase] *but God*. When you reach this point, here is how [you should proceed], listen well!’

²¹⁷ Lit., falling and getting up again cf. P. *uñān u ħizān*

3.6.7.5. Gerund in -i/-i

Gerunds in **-i/-i** indicate imperfect actions in progress to characterize another action that is taking place. [In this function they are close to adverbs expressing attending circumstances]. This gerund is also used with the auxiliary **başla**-‘to begin’ to create a derivative verb [3.6.9.1.3].

E.g.,

Bu kün iyi tegäy c̄on keldi c̄inlik, ki Sımurğ içidä qılsun c̄ibinlik. (DN264v:10) ‘Today I wish to arrive fast because a reality has emerged in which Simurgh should play [only] the role of a fly.’

Karīh ün bilän öz boğazın yırtıp halq mağzın kitärmägä yırlay başladı. (Sayf60r:4) ‘In a repulsive voice²¹⁸ ripping his own throat and driving people crazy he began to caterwaul.’

Bu nafs müngü kölük temiş haqq rasul öz özinä kötrür müni köp fasiq. (MM179v:5). ‘The Carnal Soul wants to ride an animal, as the true Prophet said. Many sinners carry [that animal] as it commands them.’

3.6.7.6. Gerund in -içaq/-içäk

The gerund in **-içaq/-içäk** [-**uçaq/-üçäk** after syllables with rounded vowels] expresses an action that indicates a point of time when another action is taking place. The action expressed by the gerund can be the point of reference, time frame or occasion for the action of the main verb.

E.g.,

Toğan arslan bilän panca tutuşqan er dägül c̄aqil, anı bil c̄aqil er qahrī kelicäk sözlämäs bātil. (Sayf44r:11-12) ‘He who takes on a fierce lion in a hand-to-hand fight is not wise. Remember this: A wise man does not say idle words when anger overcomes him.’²¹⁹

Cān qačan bolğay gulistāndan malul c̄on körüçäk şadman bolur köngül. (Sayf6v:8) ‘How could the soul be weary of the rose garden? When one takes a look at it, the heart becomes joyful.’

Sāndan özgä heç ‘aybı yoq anıng, sän ölüçäk ol ming altunğa tegär. (Sayf110r:1-2) ‘Other than you there is nothing wrong with this [house]. When you die, it will be worth of a thousand dinars.’

Gabr agar yüz yıl ot yaqar bolsa, içinä tüşicäk küyär fi’l-hāl. (Sayf24r:8) ‘Even if the fire worshipper feeds the fire for one hundred years, the fire burns him in no time when he falls into it.’

Beş altı kün keçicäk ol bolur sukkar bigin şirin. (Sayf17v:7). ‘After five or six days it will be sweet like sugar.’

²¹⁸ Cf., *karīhu* ‘ş-şaut’ ‘of a harsh voice’

²¹⁹ Reference to Qur. 3,128.

Note: Qutb has no examples for this gerund. Hacıeminoğlu's **baruçaq**²²⁰ is an error for **barur çaq**.²²¹

3.6.7.7. Gerund in-u/-ü

The gerund in **-u/-ü** indicates incomplete actions. They occur mostly in adverbial role. E.g.,

Dälürmək, ağız tolu qusmaq kişi toluğ söz ayumaz tutup qusmıši. (MM181r:14) 'Becoming insane, throwing up a full mouthful, [one's mouth] is regarded as full when one's speech is impeded by a mouth filled with what one has regurgitated from one's stomach.'
Üwüş erkän ök yu, songinča beri taqı başnı qapsayu maş et ari. (MM182r:14) 'Do the ablution while your limbs are wet. Grasp your head with both hands and rub it thoroughly.'

3.6.7.7.1. Gerund in-u/-ü used in Doublets

sävünü quvanu (Qutb1140) 'happy and proud'
öpüşü oynaşu (Qutb4055) 'kissing and playing'
külä oynayu (Qutb770) 'laughing and playing'
qısa sıqayu (MM181v:9) 'pressing and squeezing'

E.g.,

Sevündüm bu habardın teyü bānū, yer öpti şahqa sevinü quvanu. (Qutb1140) 'I am glad to hear this piece of news, says the Lady. She kissed the ground in respect to the king, happy and proud.'

Öpüşü oynaşu olturdılar hwaş, qılı bir biringä tangqa tegi nōš. (Qutb4060) 'They set together cosily kissing and playing; drinking to one another until dawn.'

3.6.7.7.2. Gerund in-u/-ü Lexicalized as Adverbs or Postpositions

ulaşu (MM179v:14) 'constantly'
tegrü (BH9v:8) 'up to [but not including versus **tegi** 'up to and including']
yaşru (MA53-3) 'hidden, concealed'

E.g.,

Qanā 'at bilä är **ulaşu** 'aziz. (MM179v:14) 'A man possessed of contentment is always a beloved [of God].'

Dilbarim neçägä tegrü män qulun qında tutar. (Sayf180r:7) 'How long [**< until when**] will my beloved keep me in pain?'

²²⁰ (p.161)

²²¹ Zaj, Glossary, p. 94 s.v. *kertäk*

Note: It is used to form descriptive verbs [3.6.9.].

3.6.7.8. Gerund in -may/-mäy

The gerund in **-may/-mäy** is the negative equivalent to the gerunds in **-p** and **-a/-ä** and is used in the same--predicative, adverbial or copulative--functions.

3.6.7.8.1. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Predicative Use

Aning dardidın etmäy heç kim yad, yätip dardına gah gah nāla firyād. (DN240r:2) 'No one makes mention of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.'

Elig yup özidin su hıdmatında, ariqliq lafin ırmay hazratında. (DN244r:2) 'The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.'

Zamānē āh elidin köngli tinmay fiğanlar tartıban nay teg erinmäy. (DN253r:3) 'At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.'²²²

Tabassumda labing qılmay mudāra, guharni la'ling etip āškārā. (DN256v:5) 'In smiling your lips do not act with moderation. Your ruby lips lay open the gems.'²²³

Sözüngni ešitip, ay cān hayāti, çıqarmay qand Hindustān nabāti. (DN256v:4) 'Having heard your words, O Life of the Soul, the sugar plant of Hindustan stopped producing sugar.'

Bu qariliqda manga qılmay madad köp kirdāšim.²²⁴ **Tangri yār oldi bilingiz barça qardašim mening.** (ShD83r:12) 'In this old age many of my neighbors do not help me. Know, all brothers of mine, God has become my helper.'

3.6.7.8.2. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Adverbial Use

In adverbial use this gerund expresses manner, method, or attending circumstances.

E.g.,

Tilādi allida tinmay şabāni, bitigni berdi va tēz etti anı. (DN 246v:3). 'She summoned the Morning Breeze to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it off right away.'

Ayağing tozi bolğay surma közgä, ulaşqay men yetip tartınmay özgä. (DN251r:8) '[My hope is] that the dust your feet walk on be the collyrium for the eye. That I reach the Self without hesitation.'

²²² Reference to the opening line of Rumi's *Maşnavi*.

²²³ They show their teeth.

²²⁴ Cf. M. Kaşğ. in Nadelaev, p. 308.

Qoymay eldin munī qilsang takrār, iḥtiyārī sanga qalmas, ay Yār! (RB6v:13) ‘If you continue [to pronounce His name] and never cease to do so, it will no longer be a matter of choice, O Friend!’

Naṣīhat birlä ol kelmäs özigä, yüz **evürmäy** turup tur bir sözigä. (DN245v:11) ‘He does not recover his senses when given a piece of advice. He does pay heed²²⁵ to any of its [good] words.’

Külümsindi nişat ağzini **yiğmay**, sevünüp gul bigin tonına **siğmay**. (DN252r:3) ‘She was laughing without closing her cheerful mouth. She was rejoicing, like a rose bud, not able to fit in her robe.’²²⁶

3.6.7.8.3. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Copulative Function

Bolup qan köngli **tinmay** köz yašidin, keçip ot ortasında su başidin. (DN259v:4) ‘His heart is suffering from his constantly flowing tears. From a source of water he passes into the middle of fire.’

Yavuq kelding iraq **salmay** özüngni, açiqtin **bağlamay** širin sözüngni. (DN247v:7) ‘You came close, you did not keep away, you did not let your sweet words be bottled up by bitterness.’

Qoymay eldin munī qilsang takrār, iḥtiyārī sanga qalmas, Ay Yār. (RB6v:13) ‘If you continue [to pronounce His name] and never cease to do so, it will no longer be a matter of choice, O Friend!’

Note: The gerund in **-may/-mäy** is used to form the negative paradigm of the Present Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.1.].

3.6.7.9. Gerund in -mayin/-mäyin

The gerund in **-mayin/-mäyin** is the negative equivalent of gerunds in **-ban/-bän**. It is used in the same--predicative, adverbial and copulative--functions. E.g.,

Agar sab ‘a rivāyat birlä qur’ān oqusang bir **yangilmayin** sän, ay can. (Sayf114v:6) ‘Even if you recite the seven long chapters from the Qur’ān,²²⁷ you make not one mistake, O Sweetheart!’

Gar közümnüñg yaši bir dam **aqmayin** tinsa edi, küydürür erdi, biling, ‘alamni bir āhim yaqip. (ShD17r:12) ‘If one day my tears suddenly stopped and became depleted, one breath of mine would set this world on fire, know full well.’

²²⁵ Lit., does not turn his face to

²²⁶ Hint at the moment when the rosebud is opening.

²²⁷ From *al-baqara* to *at-tauba*.

Yetibān turmāyīn bir yerdä el teg, kezibān kečä tang atqinča yel teg. (DN253r:5) ‘When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like wind until dawn.’

Hameša uyqusizliqqa qılıp hū, tüšidä kirmāyīn ‘umrida uyqu. (DN253r:8) ‘He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.’

Qalam tartīnmayīn aytip zamīrin, qılıp söz qandīdin tilini širīn. (DN255v:5) ‘Without moving the pen he told the secret thoughts of the letter. With the sugar of the words he made his tongue sweet.’

Ani dā’im anga dur çon bilür sän unutmayīn berür rizqīng tün va kün. (Sayf144v:4) ‘One must remember Him all the time so that you know that He is not oblivious of you but provides you with sustenance night and day.’

3.6.7.10. Gerund in -qinča/-kinčä

The gerund in -qinča/-kinčä, -ğunča/-güncä, -ğuča/-güçä is formed from the verbal noun in -ğu/-gü by the equative case marker attached to the base with or without a pronominal -n-.

It is frequently used in three major functions: terminative, durative, and preferential.

3.6.7.10.1. The Terminative use of Gerund in -qinča/-kinčä

The gerund in -qinča/-kinčä indicates that an action must be completed before or at the same time when the action expressed by the finite verb takes place. E.g.,

‘İraqdan tiryāq kelginčä yılan zahmlī er ölär. (Sayf26r:11) ‘By the time the elixir gets here from ‘Iraq, the man wounded by the snake, will die.’

Sāning atang ağır taş astından täbrānginčä mänim atam cannat-kä kirmiş bolğay. (Sayf150r:12). ‘By the time your father crawls forth from under the heavy stone, my father will have entered heaven.’

Tilāp ay vaşlini evürmāgän yüz, sanağan kečä tang atqinča yulduz. (DN246v:11) ‘He desires union with the moon and does not turn his face away. At night he is counting the stars until dawn.’

Qulaq bolğu avval açilginčä til, açilsa ayitğil ‘amal aşnu qil (MM 194r:2) ‘You must listen carefully before you begin to speak. Once you have begun [to speak], say [what you want] and then act accordingly.’

3.6.7.10.2. The Durative Use of the Gerund in -qinča/-kinčä

The gerund in **-qinča/-kinčä** indicates a lasting action in the course of which another action takes place. E.g.,

Ol oğlanning atası bu balanı öz tiläp taptı, tüni kün bäsälädi quş teg keyik bigin bügürgünčä. (Sayf145v:13) ‘The father of this child obtained him upon his own wish. He nurtured him night and day like a bird while he was bleating like a deer.’

Nišanı nişansız bolu bilmäki, munı tökmäginčä anın tolmasa. (MM192v:15) ‘The sign [of a disciple who has reached his goal] is that he is without a sign. As long as he does not pour out [of his heart what is not God], he cannot be filled with [God].’

Özin kecmäginčä murid bolmas ol, murid bolmağınčä murād bulmas ol. (MM192v:14.) ‘One does not become a disciple until one has renounced self. One cannot attain his goal until one has become a disciple.’

Taba‘iyat anga bolmas häşil bilmägünčä ki ne iştä dur, bil. (RB 4r:12) ‘He cannot achieve [complete] emulation as long as he does not know in what matter he wants to emulate [him], know full well.’

3.6.7.10.3. The Preferential Use of the Gerund in -qinča/-kinčä

The Gerund in **-qinča/-kinčä** indicates an action that is preferable to another action. E.g.,

Mänim haläkligim yaşsıraq andan kim yazuqsuz qan tökülgünčä. (Sayf33v:13). ‘My demise is better than shedding the blood of an innocent person.’

Anası toquz ay on kün kötärdi, hayri bolğay, dep. Yılan tapsa edi yaşsi ol oğlanni toğurgünčä. (Sayf146r:3) ‘His mother carried him for nine months and ten days, saying “He will be a blessing!”’. It would have been better if she had had a snake rather than giving birth to that boy.’

Ne munča ʃarab ‘ayş tamaşā kārāk, tamuğdın nacāt bulmağınčä başi. (MM179r:14) ‘One should not engage in so much loud merrymaking, feasting and amusement, if one [seeks] to save himself from [the torments] of Hell.’

Toq bolup ölsä yaşsıraq aç bolup tiri yürügünčä. (Sayf84v:11) ‘It is better to die full than to stay alive and be hungry.’

3.6.7.10.4. Gerund in -qinča/-kinčä in Idioms

äftab batqunčä (Babur60v:9) ‘until sunset’

köz açıp yumğınčä (NF429-2) ‘in the twinkling of an eye’ [cf. Ar. *ʃurfatu*’l-‘ain]

köz yätgünčä (RM7v:9) ‘as far as the eye can see’

tang atqinča (DN253r:5) ‘until dawn’
toyğunča (Sayf172v:1) ‘as much as he pleases’

E.g.,

Yetibän turmayin bir yerdä el teg, kezibän kečä tang atqinča yel teg. (DN253r:5) ‘When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like wind until dawn.’
Har birining uzunluqı köz yätgünčä bolğay. (RM7v:9) ‘Each will have the length as far as the eye can see.’
Toyğunča yemäk yemädi. (Sayf172v:1) ‘He did not eat his fill.’

3.6.7.11. Gerund in -ğanča/-gänčä

The gerund in -ğanča/-gänčä indicates measurement, proportion, or extent. E.g.,

Nečä lazzat esä mayl anča bolur, mayl lazzatni tapğanča bolur. (RB6v:12) ‘The more pleasure [one receives], the greater will be one’s desire [for him:] One’s desire is in [direct] proportion to the pleasure one receives.’

3.6.7.11.1. The Gerund in -ğanča/-gänčä in Idioms

eligimdin kelgänčä (Babur 200v:5) ‘to the best of my ability; as much as I can’

3.6.7.12. Gerund in -ğaç/-gäč

The gerund in -ğaç/-gäč expresses an action that takes place immediately before the action of the main verb. Most of the time there is a connection between the two actions. The one expressed by the gerund often leads up to, triggers or is the condition for the other action. Very frequent in modern literary Uzbek [MLU 3.6.4.2.7.]. E.g.,

Ay yüzüng nūr-i İlahi közlaringdän kün qamar. Yā qaşing körgäç uşol ay eksilip özdin ketär. (ShD30r:4-5) ‘Your moon-face [shines like] Divine light. The sun is dazzled by your eyes. Looking at your bow-like eyebrow that same moon²²⁸ shrinks and vanishes.’
Zulfi dāmığa tüştüm ħalı dāniğa bolup, böylä muqayyad olğäç, muşkil emiş yaranmaq. (ShD75v:1-2) ‘I fell into the snare of her tresses when I was after the grain of her beauty spot. As soon as I was tied like that, it was difficult for me to render any service.’²²⁹
Harı ħublarini körgäç itürdüm ‘aql va hōşimni, māning teg bolmağay hargiz Cununning köyida la’iq. (ShD79r:8-9) ‘As soon as

²²⁸ I.e., the real moon in the sky

²²⁹ Reference to the Sufi view according to which our services have no value when we reach the level of being in the presence of God. Cf. MM195v:3-4.

I saw the beauties of Herat, I lost my mind and my senses. There has never been a person like me in the street of madness.'

Bu söz mazkür bolğaç şihhat āşari mizācida paydā boldi. (NM p.67) 'As soon as these words were pronounced, the signs of good health appeared in his being.'

Ay camāling burqa^cin alsang cihān tābān bolur. Āftāb ol yüzni körğaç özidin pinhan bolur. (ShD41v:1-11) 'If you remove the veil from your beautiful face²³⁰ the world becomes illuminated. The sun beholds that face and hides from itself.'

3.6.7.13. The Gerund in -ğali/-gāli

The gerund in -ğali/-gāli serves to specify the action of the verb used in association with it. It can indicate starting point, or purpose.

3.6.7.13.1. The Gerund in -ğali/-gāli Indicates the Purpose²³¹

E.g.,

Zulf-i rayhān sarvqaddni körğali men nāgahān gulistān bāğında tiktim köz yašimdin nar nar. (ShD30v:7-8) 'In order to see the cypress with the fragrant tresses, I suddenly planted pomegranate trees from the tears of my eyes.'²³²

Meni 'alam qayğusidin fariğu'l-bāl etgāli, bersā gar pīr-i muğān bir cām bali bas turur. (ShD43v:13-44r:1) 'In order to relieve me from worldly sorrows it is enough if the elder of the magi gives me a cup of his honey wine.'²³³

Yolunda baş oynap cān tarkin urup mān körğali dildār körkin. (Sayf113r:13) 'Upon your path I risk my head and give up my life in order to see the beauty of the beloved.'

Ka'bagā ziyarāt qilğali bardim ārdi. (NF188:3) 'I had set out to visit the Ka'ba.'

Bir kim ārsā Dāvud-i Tayī evingā kirdi ziyarāt qilğali. (NF 216v:15) 'Someone went to the house of Dāvud of Tay in order to pay him a visit.'

Zulf-i rayhān sarvqaddni körğali men nāgahān Gulistān bāğında tiktim köz yašimdin nar nar. (ShD36v:8-9) 'Since I unexpectedly caught a glimpse of that beauty with cypress body and sweet basil tresses, I have been planting pomegranate seeds from my tears in the rose garden.'

²³⁰ The face of the Beloved shines like the sun.

²³¹ It often translates by the phrase 'in order to'

²³² The red seeds that fill the fruit of the pomegranate tree look like drops of blood-colored tears.

²³³ In *Bhang u Çağır*, a contest poem by the author of the *Dahnāma*, honey wine appears as a moderator and the peace of justice between hashish and wine.'

3.6.7.13.2. The Gerund in -ğali/-gäli Indicates the Starting Point²³⁴

E.g.,

Körgäli Sayf-i Sarāyī qul anī Haqq ta^ʿalā^ʿ şun^ʿining hayrānī dur. (Sayf179v:2) ‘Since Sayf-i Sarāyī, the servant, saw her, he is admiring the perfect artistry of God the Most High.’²³⁵
Yār qatündin kitkālī yana ne yangliğ ħal men, kim firāqī birlä vah ne yangliğ däl men. (ShD153v:3) ‘Since I left the presence of the Beloved, what has been my condition like! Woe is me, how my body has assumed the shape of the letter *däl*.’

3.6.8. Participles [Verbal Adjectives]

In the Chagatay language participles are not a strictly confined category. Just as adjectives can very often be used as nouns, without any derivative element, so can participles in almost all nounal functions. Even when used as nouns participles retain some or all of their verbal characteristics.

3.6.8.1. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän

The definition above refers especially to participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän, which, when used as a noun, can not only have complements that

usually go with verbs, but can occur as the name of the action [action nouns] or that of the agent [agent nouns].

3.6.8.1.1. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän as Action Nouns

It is usually a completed past action or its result that these participles refer to in this use. Without an express subject it has a passive meaning as **buyurğan** [< buyur-] ‘that which has been commanded’, **ol buyurğan** or **buyurğanī** ‘that which he has commanded.’ E.g.,

Ol buyurğannī qılmasang, ay Yār, heç asiğ yoq, köp ziyānī bar. (MS2r:3) ‘If you do not carry out what He has commanded, O Friend, not only will you not benefit, you will suffer a great harm.’

Qullaring qilğan işgä nāzir sen. (MS4r:4) ‘You are the one who sees all that your servants do.’

Yüzüng şam^ʿ allida ol zulf tün teg, körünüp otqa tolğaşqan tütün teg. (DN243v:11) ‘Your face is the candle, the tresses by it²³⁶ are the night. The scene looks like smoke coiling above the fire.’

²³⁴ It often translates by the conjunction ‘since’.

²³⁵ When the clergy blamed Muhammad Shaybānī Khan for bringing in girls to a party in the Blue Saray, his excuse was that he did so in order to admire the perfection of the creator (*sun^ʿ-i Haqq*). See Archivum Ottomanicum XIII (1993-1994) pp. 85-100.

²³⁶ I.e., the tresses that frame the Beloved’s face

Közümni çon bitig yüzünä açtım, söyügändin guhar başına saçtım. (DN249r:5) ‘When I opened my eyes to look at the face²³⁷ of the letter, out of joy I sprinkled gems²³⁸ upon its top.’

Duřmangä asir bolmiři yoq, körmädi çärikdä yağğanin oq. (Sayf 149r:1). ‘He was never a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. He did not see arrows raining down upon the army.’

Keldi ketibän yana mäni öltürgän, öltürgäninä özi küyüp keldi magar. (Sayf114v:12) ‘The one who killed me left and came back again. Was she grieving because he had killed me, I wonder.’

3.6.8.1.2. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän as Agent Nouns

These participles name the agents of past, already completed actions. The verbs used are single action resultative verbs. Also, there is an implied relationship between the action and the agent. The latter assumes a characteristic, undergoes a change of some kind or gets somewhere as a result of his action. Positive participles are more frequent in this role,²³⁷ although negative ones also occur. E.g.,

‘İşqing cöşinä **tüşgän** kizläribän turalmas, bolğay mu tevä **min-gän** qoy içidä yaşunmaq. (ShD75v:5-6) ‘He who falls in the agitated waves of your passionate love, cannot stay hidden there. Is it possible for a person who rides a camel to hide among a flock of sheep?’

Oqup uqqanğa köp şavāb olğay. Ham nivisandağa şavāb olğay. (MS16v:3) ‘He who has read and mastered [this book] will obtain ample recompense. So will he who [only] copies it.’

Oquğanğa va ham **oqutğanda**, mas’alanı oqup ham **uqqanğa** yā ilahī ‘aṭalar äylä anga, qatıra andin naşib äylä manga. (MS 17r:5-6). ‘To the one who reads [this book] and also to the one who teaches from it, to the one who reads and masters these teachings O God, grant Your benefits, and let a drop of them be my share [too].’

Gusl sunnatları qamuğ beş ol. Yağşı bilmägän anı badkēş ol. (MM7r:2) ‘The total [number] of traditional practices [to be observed] during the *ğusl* is five. He who is not fully aware of this is an impious person.’

Alā ay dard āhangini tutqan, özini naqşlar birlän avutqan. (DN 246v:7) ‘Hark ye, who tuned on the melody of pain, who console yourself with [phantom] images.’

²³⁷ The *recto* side of the paper.

²³⁸ I.e., tear drops

Tilap ay vaşlini evürmägän yüz, sanağan keçä tang atqınça yulduz. (DN246v:11) 'He desires union with the moon and does not turn his face away.'²³⁹ At night he is counting the stars until dawn²⁴⁰.

Kötärgän sihr eligin söz yüzidin, uyaldurğan közümni öz yüzidin. (DN247r:7) 'He has lifted the hands of magic from the face of the word. He has put my eyes to shame by his own face.'

Yasarlar alma teg el eritip müm, bolur ol tişlägän ağızğa malüm. (DN247v:1) 'Melting wax people create [figures] exactly like apples. Only the mouth, that bites into them, will realize that.'²⁴¹

Ala ay mihri dardangez qılğan, içindä nälalarnı tüz qılğan. (DN 253r:2) 'Hark ye, whose love excites pity, who has sharpened the complaints in [your] heart.'²⁴²

Acal bağlar yügürgänning ayağın. (Sayf95r:7) 'Death ties together the legs of the one who runs.'

Bilgäni Qur'an oquğay. (RM3v:10) 'Those of them who know must recite from the Qur'an.'

3.6.8.1.3. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän with Passive Meaning

Başqa hatun su quyur bolsa, kim üyürgän saçını yarmasa... (MS 7r:5) 'If a woman [intends to] pour water on her head and does not undo her braided hair...'

Note: It is used as base for the gerund in **-ğanda/-gändä** [3.6.7.4.] and also for the gerund in **-ğança/-gäncä** [3.6.7.11.]. In verbal inflection the forms of the perfective mood [5.6.5.10] are based on it.

3.6.8.2. Participle in -ası/-äsi

The participles in **-ası/-äsi** are future participles. In adjectival function they indicate that the object named by the noun they modify is meant for the action they express, e.g., **käläsi mihnat** 'the misery that is bound to come', **yataşı yer** 'a place for resting'. In predicative function they occur as impersonal verbs indicating a future, necessary, or inevitable action.

They are not used as nouns. E.g.,

baqası (Qutb, H. p. 412) 'prompted to look'

bolası (LN143) 'is bound to be'

käläsi (Sayf 142v:4) 'bound to come'

qılası (Qutb, H. p. 326) 'appropriate to do'

²³⁹ I.e., does not give up

²⁴⁰ To calculate his chances.

²⁴¹ I.e., The person who bites into the apple figure will know that it is made of wax.

²⁴² Lit. inside. Cf. P. darün 'inside; heart'

qurtulası (Qutb, H. p. 326) ‘meant for saving’
yatası (Sayf136v:11) ‘made for resting’

3.6.8.2.1. The Participle in -asi/-äsi in Adjectival Function

Bu naqd-i rāhatnī kālāsī miḥnat täšviši bilān talaf qılmaq. (Sayf 142v:4). ‘To destroy the ease at hand with the anxiety of future misery.’

Ne yatur sän. Yatası yer degül tur ketälim. (Sayf136v:11) ‘Why are you resting? This is not a place for resting. Let’s move on!’

3.6.8.2.2. The Participle in -asi/-äsi in Predicative Use

Labıng la‘li erür dardım davāsı, bu dardımğa davā muškil bolāsı. (LN143) ‘The ruby of your lips is the cure for my pain. It will be difficult to find a cure for my pain.’

Kim ol dīvāna ergä ne qılası? Ne čāra birlä andin qurtulası? (Qutb, H. p. 326) ‘What can one do in regard to this madman? By what means can one save him?’

Azunda heč kişining yoq baqası, bu kün hoş bolğu tangğa ne baqası. (Qutb, H. p. 412). ‘No one has permanence in this world. One should be happy today, one should not look forward to what comes tomorrow.’

3.6.8.3. Participles in -igli/-igli

The derivatives in **-igli/-igli [-ig + -li]** are, in essence, present participles. Originally they indicate that the result of an action is associated with or characteristic of the agent which may occur with them as head nouns, e.g., **yürügli yol** ‘a path someone follows.’ In addition to their adjectival

role they may also occur as nouns expressing the agent, e.g., **namāzğa käligli.** (MM184v:9). ‘The one who has come for the communal prayer.’

3.6.8.3.1. Participles in -igli/-igli in Adjectival Use

Azıp yürügänlär tamuğqa çıqar, bolur säkkiz uştmaḥ yürügli yolun. (MM179v:3) ‘He who goes astray is destined for Hell. He who follows the [proper] path, reaches [one of] the Eight Heavens.’
Ḥaқиqat ḥaқиqat qoluğli ärän kārāk Ḥaqqqa qoysa qamuğ qolğunı. (MM 199v:1) ‘He who seeks the Supreme Reality must leave all desires to [the will of] God.’

3.6.8.3.2. Participles in -igli/-igli Used as Agent Nouns

Yoq erdük, yarattı, yana yoq qılır, biligli munı mu takabbur qurar. (MM180r:6) ‘[Remember that in the beginning] we did

not exist. Then He created us, and He will again return us to nothingness. How can one who is aware [of this] be possessed of pride?’

Namāzğa kälıgli şurū^c qılmadın şurū^c qılsa buzmas bu şaff kengitip. (MM184v:9) ‘One should arrive for the communal prayer before it begins. If it has already begun, one will not cause a disturbance if one takes a position at the end of a row.’

Yürügli şarı^cat bilä salık ol, vale bolsa maczüb qilumaz arām. (MM195r:6). ‘Traveler is the one who lives in accordance with the Law. But if he is attracted to the Path, he will not rest [until he gets to his destination].’

Valekin bu da^cvā qılıgli tälīm, kälıng ayting ämdi, qanı netälīm? (MM199v:3). ‘But all of you who have raised false claims, come and repent saying, “What can I do [to atone for my sins]?”’

İlim ‘alam içrā bilıgli tälīm, taqı da^cvā birlä kädıgli gılım. (MM 200v:14) ‘In this world there are many who have acquired knowledge. [There are] also many who have put on the woolen garment with pretension.’

Bu körügli ayttı: Yā Haccāc, aḥvālıng nā teg turur? (NF145-17). ‘This [person] who saw him [in his dream] said: O Hajjāj, How are you?’²⁴³

3.6.8.3.3. Participles in -ıgli/-igli with the Particle kārāk

The predicative particle **kārāk** adds emphasis to the meaning of the participle. It makes the predication mandatory. E.g.,

Bu ‘alam kitāb ol oqugli kārāk, açuq haṭṭ açip köz baqıgli kārāk. (MM197r:3) ‘The world is a book, one must read it. The writing [in it] is plain, one must open one’s eyes and look upon it.’

Külüp az üküş yığlaḡu bu kişi, musulmān boluqli kārāk yay qışı. (MM179r:13) ‘A man [who meets the above requirements] should laugh little and weep much. He must be a Muslim under all circumstances.’²⁴⁴

3.6.9. Descriptive Verbs

The descriptive verbs are phrasal verbs consisting of the gerunds in **-a/-ä, -u/-ü, -y** or **-p** of the main verb and the inflected forms of one of the auxiliary verbs. The following auxiliaries are used:

²⁴³ Lit., what is your condition alike?

²⁴⁴ Lit., in summer and in winter

With gerunds in -a/-ä, -u/-ü

al- 'to take'
 baq- 'to try'
 başla- 'to begin'
 ber- 'to give'
 bil- 'to know'
 bol- 'to be'
 kel- 'to come'
 kör- 'to see'
 qal- 'to remain'
 sal- 'to throw'
 tur- 'to stand'
 tüş- 'to fall'
 yavuş- 'to draw near'
 yaz- 'to miss'
 yibär- 'to send'

With gerunds in -p

al- 'to take'
 bar- 'to go'
 ber- 'to give'
 bol- 'to be'
 çıq- 'to leave'
 kel- 'to come'
 keltür- 'to bring'
 qal- 'to remain, stay'
 taşla- 'to throw away'
 tur- 'to stand'
 yibär- 'to send'
 yürü- 'to walk'

3.6.9.1. Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -a/-ä

The gerunds are mostly formed from the positive stem of the verb.

3.6.9.1.1. Al- 'to take' expresses ability of the agent to carry out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

Duşman säni körtübän äygü 'amal içindä, da'vâ quşun tuta almas qurup bahāna aġin. (Sayf63v:3-4) 'If the enemy sees you

occupied in good deeds, setting up the net of pretext he cannot trap the bird of claim.'²⁴⁵

Men ol gul men ki bargim yerdä qalmas, valı bir yel kelibän eltä almas. (DN240v:9) 'I am the rose whose petals don't stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot sweep them away.'²⁴⁶

Şaba özin qatingda sala almay, yügürüp köp damini ala almay. (DN250r:4) 'Zephyr, the Morning Breeze, cannot get itself into your presence [fast enough]. It runs a great deal not able to catch his breath.'

Bil ne täg kizläy alur män 'ışq sirrin el ara, ol cavāhir ħirmanin-din ança toldi maġzanim. (ShD106v:13-107r:1) 'Consider this: How can I hide the secret of [my] love among people. My treasure house is quite replete with the yield of those gems.'

²⁴⁵ This is a subtle reference to *Qābizu'l-arvāh*, the Angel of Death who is not able to claim the Believer's soul while he is engaged in good deeds.

²⁴⁶ I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.

Malsiz kişi ‘*uryānni örtä bilmäs yā bir asirni halās etä almas.* (Sayf153r:4) ‘A person without means cannot cover a naked nor can he bail out a prisoner.’

3.6.9.1.2. Baq- ‘to try, attempt’ indicates an effort to try to carry out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

Singä baqtım anga çon köz yaşı teg, qarağa mayl körgüzüp qaşı teg. (DN255v:2) ‘I tried to melt and flow²⁴⁷ to her like the tears of my eyes showing, like the eyebrows, a leaning toward the eye.’

3.6.9.1.3. Başla- ‘to begin’ marks the commencement of the action. E.g.,

Ta‘addi tilin uzatıp muhmal sözlây başladı. (Sayf157r:12) ‘He became impertinently arrogant and began to talk nonsense.’

Bir sultān öz ra‘iyyatı malına zulm elin uzatıp cavr etä başladı. (Sayf16r:2) ‘A king arrogantly seized the property of his own subjects and began to do oppressive acts.’

Ol maḥbūb olturup ‘itāb qıla başladı. (Sayf115v:8) ‘The beloved sat down and began to blame me.’

3.6.9.1.4. Ber- ‘to give’ indicates that the action is performed not for the subject, but for someone else. Sometimes it also implies that the action is carried out quickly. E.g.,

Aça berdi anga sarbasta rāzin, dedi bir bir barī sōz-u gudāzin. (DN258v:3) ‘To her [the Beloved] revealed her safely kept secret and told her about all her pains and tribulations one by one.’²⁴⁸

**Özin ḡam šaşdarına qoya bergān, farāḡat taḥtasindin muhra ter-
gān.** (DN246v:10) ‘He has resigned the six-door world²⁴⁹ of sorrow. He has cleared all the dice from the board of leisure.’

**Qoya bermā özünḡni su şifatlig, çu körsāng bir malaḥat çaşma-
sarın.** (DN254v:5) ‘Do not [melt and] flow like water when you see the fountains of beauty.’

Tuta berdi manga can tuḥfasini tegürdi ya‘nī cānān tuḥfasini. (DN255r:6) ‘He offered me the gift of life, he delivered the gift of the Beloved.’

²⁴⁷ Subtle hint at the Sufi experience on the Path to the Truth: At one point there will be no direction: The Sufi “melts” and flows and finds the way without being directed (MM196r:2).

²⁴⁸ Lit., removed the band from the bag in which his secrets were kept. Parallel meaning: opened the bag of hashish’.

²⁴⁹ The three dimensions expanded in opposite directions form a point of reference.

3.6.9.1.5. Bil- ‘to know’ with the negative stem is used to express the impossibility of the action. E.g.,

Ṭālī‘siz şayyād tāngizdā baliq tuta bilmās. (Sayf94v:19) ‘An unlucky fisherman cannot catch fish in the sea.’²⁵⁰

Erdämsizlār erdäm äyäsın körä bilmās. (Sayf168v:3) ‘Those who have no skills can’t stand those who have.’

Bir ölüni ming kim ärsä tirgizä bilmās. (Sayf169v:6) ‘A thousand persons are not able to bring to life one dead person.’²⁵¹

Azuqı yoq kişi ketä bilmās, gar belindä köp altunı bolsa. (Sayf 90r:8-9) ‘A person who has no provisions cannot progress even if he has much gold [tied in a bag] at his waist.’

3.6.9.1.6. Bol- ‘to be’ expresses the possibility or impossibility of the action. In the negative form it indicates that the action of the base verb is or was not supposed happen. E.g.,

Anamğa hıwad mumkin emäs edi, kim mundaq söz ayta bolğay. (Babur102r:3, Eckm.Gr.p.143). ‘Even my mother was not supposed to say words like that.’

Garci cān şirin erür ummat üçün boldum rızā tā ğina maḥşarda halā’ıq aldıda bolmang aza. (H80v:8) ‘As dear as [my] soul is to me, I have consented to yield it for the sake of the Community, so that on the day of Resurrection [which seems but a day away], you will not fail in the sight of the whole creation.’

3.6.9.1.7. Kel- ‘to come’ an action that takes place in the direction toward the speaker or an action that results in a change of position. E.g.,

Ev äyäsı bildi dağı tura keldi. (Sayf50v:2) ‘The owner of the house became aware [of the intruder] and got up.’

‘**Aziz ‘umr tükändi uşol umid bilän: Köngül tilägi eşikdän qa-çan kirä kelğay?** (Sayf19r:5) ‘The precious life has passed with this expectation: Would ever the heart’s desire walk in through the door?’

Sävüngänimdän fı’l-hāl tura kelip yengim tegip şam‘ söndi. (Sayf115v:3) ‘Overjoyed at once I jumped up. My sleeves touched the candle and it went out.’

3.6.9.1.8. Kör- ‘to see’ implies that the action of the base verb is being attempted. It may also imply that the subject should exert itself in carry out that action. E.g.,

²⁵⁰ The implication is that although the bounty of the sea is a source of good things [pearls, fish, gain on transporting merchandise] even a professional fisherman cannot catch fish there without luck.

²⁵¹ The author [Sa‘di > Sarayı] is sceptical about the belief that multitude is power. This of course was against the Islamic view of the benefits of being a member of the *camā‘at*.

Hucandī muhtaşar qilgīl sözüngni, ‘āşıqlarğa qata körgil özüngni. (LN303) ‘Make your story short, Khujandi! Try to join [the company of] lovers.’

Bu şuratdīn ne ayturlar baqa kör. (Quṭb H. 633) ‘Try to find out what do they say about this picture.’

Sala kördi yiraqdīn baqtī nāgah. (Quṭb H. 633) ‘He did his best in releasing [his falcon] suddenly and from a distance observed [its flight].’

Yoluqmasa madāyīn yolīnī sor, sürüp Şabdiz anga yel teg yetä kör. (Quṭb H. 734) ‘If you do not come upon the cities, ask about the way to them. Drive on your horse and try to get there as fast as the wind.’

3.6.9.1.9. Qal- ‘to remain’ expresses lasting, persistent actions. E.g.,

Anīng teg oqudı şī‘r-i nihānī, ki toymay qaldī ol elning yamanī. (DN258r:8) ‘She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.’

Har sarī telmürä qaldī Mirzā, yol başında tura qaldī Mirzā. (Shaybani, Vāmb. 68,27) ‘Mirza stared in all directions with expectation. Mirzā stood [for a while] at the head of the road.’

Gahī tanglap anīng qir teg qaraqin, baqa qalur körüp andāmī aqin. (Quṭb H. 4048) ‘Now he admires her pitch black eyes, now he stares at the white of her body.’

3.6.9.1.10. Tur- ‘to stand’ indicates continuous, prolonged actions. E.g.,

Boynīning terisi teprānā turğay. (KBV6v:14) ‘The hide on its body is constantly twitching.’

Botam mānī sora turğil bu subh yelindin, aning teg içä turur men hacr mayin payman. (ShD119r:7) ‘My child, keep on asking about me from the wind of the early morning, [because] as long as you do so, I will keep on drinking from the cup of the wine of separation.’²⁵²

Şanavbar qadd u qāmat hwaş yetürmiş, çiçäk ‘işqında köngläk yırtı turmış. (Quṭb H. 1425) ‘The fir tree has developed pleasant shape and form. [Yet] it keeps tearing on its shirt²⁵³ in love for blossoms.

Kündäki vazifa ‘aṭāsin käsmāyīn dā’im berä turur. (Sayf3r:7). ‘He continues to give you the gift of daily sustenance without cutting back.’

²⁵² I.e., the more you remember me the greater is my pain caused by separation.

²⁵³ Expression of regret and disappointment.

3.6.9.1.11. Tüş- 'to fall' expresses a sudden, unexpected movement. [Cf., *P. uftādan*] E.g.,

Eşitkänlär seskänä tüşär edi. (Sayf111v:6) 'Those who heard it suddenly became terrified.'

3.6.9.2. Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -p

3.6.9.2.1. Al- 'to take, to receive' indicates that the action takes place in the interest of the subject. E.g.,

Tilap alsun ki sizni bir **Hudādın**, **ötünsün sizni andag āšnādın**. (H79r:5) 'He should ask God to restore you to him. He should implore Him to return you to him since he is such a good friend.'

Va yā bizdin birāvni hwahlap alsun, **nācā kün bu cihanda sizni qoysun**. (H79r:6) 'Or else let Him be content to take one of us and permit you to remain in this world a few more days.'

3.6.9.2.2. Bar- 'to go' indicates that the action of the base verb is accompanied by an advancing movement in the direction away from the speaker. E.g.,

Uşol damda yātiştilär ikävlan, kirip bardı atası birlä oğlan. (H77r:1) 'Soon they arrived. Father and son entered by [the gate].'

Yätip bardı uşal dam haşş-i dargah, ki çıqtı aldığa bir baçça nāgah. (H76r:1) 'As soon as the Chosen One of the Divine Court arrived at the school, a boy came running to him.'

Apardı²⁵⁴ **könglümni bir hwaş qamar yüz cānfizā dilbar**. (Sayf 184a:1) 'A pleasant, moon-faced, life-giving heart-ravisher carried off my heart.'

3.6.9.2.3. Ber- 'to give' signals that the action is carried out in the interest of someone else.' E.g.,

Dedim Bābā zaman muhlat alip ber, barip köräy alarnı cumla bir bir. (H78r:9) 'He went on, Father, ask [the angels to give me] some time so that I may go back [to the school] and talk to them [= my classmates] one by one.'

Hamın kim tındı va aldı damini, çiqarip berdi ol cān marhamini. (DN267v:7) 'As soon as it rested and recovered its breath, it pulled out [from its wings] the elixir of life for me.'

3.6.9.2.4. Bol- 'to be' with negative forms, expresses the impossibility of carrying out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

²⁵⁴ Early Azerbaijani form for *alip berdi*, cf. Isf.An. apar- 'to take away' (MM195r9).

Qilip tavba qutulmaqqa bolur Tangri ‘azābindan, valēkin bu halā’iqning elindān **qurtulup bolmas**. (Sayf62v:6) ‘Repentance saves you from God’s punishment, but it does not save you from people’s hands.’

3.6.9.2.5. Čiq- ‘to go/come out, leave’ expresses an action associated with a movement out or up from somewhere. E.g.

Aqip čiqmağu teg agar bolsa ol, nečā kōp alinsa yunuğ ābzān. (MM181r:17) ‘If [these substances] do not flow out, the state of ritual purity is not violated no matter how great the quantity stemmed [by the dressing].’

3.6.9.2.6. Kel- ‘to come’ indicates an action associated with a movement in the direction toward the scene of the action, the agent or the narrator. E.g.,

Tüzālip sarv boyung ešikimdin, kirip kelgāy netük kim tangā canī. (DN251v:1) ‘May your cypress-like figure rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.’

Yibārdi Cibra’īlni bu zamīnğa, yātip keldi rasūl-i ‘ālamaingā. (H73v:8) ‘[And so] He sent Gabriel down to earth. [Soon that] angel reached the Prophet of the Two Worlds.’

Alip keldim, dedi, Haqqnī salāmī, āšitgil ham firištalar payāmī. (H73v:9) ‘He said, I bring you salutations from God, the Truth! Listen to the message I, God’s angel, have for you.’

3.6.9.2.7. Ket- ‘to go away’ indicates an action directed away from the scene of the action, the agent, or the narrator. E.g.,

Balıq şayyad elindān ağin alip ketti. (Sayf94v:3) ‘The fish took away the net from the hands of the fisherman and left.’

3.6.9.2.8. Qal- ‘to remain, stay’ indicate the lasting effect of a completed action. The negative gerund in **-mayin/-māyin** with the negated forms of **qal-** expresses a categorical or absolute negation. E.g.,

Külük atlar arıp qaldī tāväci sürār edi tāväsin arqun arqun. (Sayf167r:5) ‘Race horses got tired [and were falling back] but the camel driver [moved on] driving his camel real slow.’

Cihānğa qaysi can keldi qulunum ölmāyin qalmas. (H77r:6) ‘My boy, every soul that has entered this world will not remain here, will not escape death.’

Ṭaqat-i vas^c bariča aymaq tāk turup qalmaqədin avvalıraq. (MS 3v:6) ‘To speak in the measure of one’s ability is better than to remain silent.’

Ketip qaldı şahāba özləridin. (H82r:3) ‘The companions were deeply moved [and remained so for some time].’

3.6.9.2.9. Tur- ‘to stand’ expresses a permanent state or a long lasting action. E.g.,

Şa‘ab duşman andəşasına tüşüp turur mən. (Sayf19v:8). ‘I am occupied by concerns about a vicious enemy.’

Arslan bigin ärānlərni zərurat həkmi bilān teşiklərdä tutup topuqların yançip tururlar. (Sayf154r:3). ‘They capture lion-like valiant men in pitfalls, taking advantage of their needs and pierce their ankles [to hang them on hooks].’

3.6.9.2.10. Yüri- ‘to walk’ expresses a habitual, lasting or repeated, action. E.g.,

Azıp yürügānlär tamuğqa çıkar. Bolur säkkiz uştmağ yürügli yolun. (MM179v:3) ‘He who goes astray is destined for Hell. He who follows the [proper] path, reaches [one of] the Eight Heavens.’

3.6.10. Verb Formation

Verbs are formed by suffixes or by derivative auxiliaries. Suffixes are added to nominal bases, e.g., **qan** ‘blood’ + **-a-** = **qana-** ‘to bleed.’ Derivative auxiliaries can be added to single words, e.g., **ğam** + **ye-** ‘to grieve’ or to bases, consisting of coordinated nouns, e.g., [**navħa va zārī**] + **qil-** ‘to complain’.

3.6.10.1. Verb Formation by Suffixes

3.6.10.1.1. The Suffix **-a/-ä**

A narrow vowel in the second syllable of CVCVC or VCVC nouns is dropped. E.g.,

aşa- (Sayf 82v:3) ‘to eat’ < **aş** ‘food’

ata- (MM185v:3) ‘to name, call; count’ < **at** ‘name’

bāzä- (Sayf181v:10) ‘to ornate’ < **bāz** ‘linen’

boşa- (Sayf79v:7) ‘to divorce’ < **boş** ‘empty, free, liberated’

boya- (MA85-7) ‘to paint’ < **boy** ‘paint’ (cf. PdC179)

bulna (MA180-4) ‘to capture’ < **bulun** ‘prisoner’

elä- (NTM13v:8) ‘to sift’ < **el** ‘wind’

işä- (MA127-8) ‘to work’ < **iş** ‘work’

mengzä- (MM178r:14) ‘to resemble’ < **mengiz** ‘face’

oyna- (Sayf22v:6) ‘to play’ < **oyun** ‘play’

orna- (MA165-8) 'to settle in a place' < **orun** 'place'
örtä- (Sayf178r:3) 'to burn' < **ört** 'flame'
qına- (Sayf68v:6) 'to torment' < **qın** 'pain'
sana- (NTM7v:3) 'to count' < **san** 'number'
sava- (MA229-1) 'to produce a sound' < **sav** 'word'
tengä- (MA114-3) 'to compare, confront' < **teng** 'equal'
tona- (PdC427) 'to undress' < **ton** 'garment'
yaša- (181r:3) 'to live' < **yaš** 'age'
yana- (MA53-5) 'to draw near' < **yan** 'side'

3.6.10.1.2. The Suffix -i/-i

A narrow vowel in the second syllable of CVCVC or VCVC nouns is dropped. E.g.,

agri- (Sayf147r:10) 'to ache' < **ağir** 'heavy'
bayi- (PdC156) 'to become rich' < **bay** 'rich'
berki- (MA158-8) 'to become strong' < **berk** 'strong'
qari- (MM198v:1) 'to grow old' < **qar** 'snow'
taši- (PdC201) 'to carry' < **taš** 'outside'

3.6.10.1.3. The Suffix -u/-ü

ögü- (MA8-8) 'to praise' < **ög** 'praise'
ölüt- (PdC79) 'to moisten' < **öl** 'moist, humid'

3.6.10.1.4. The Suffix -ay/-äy

körkäy- (PdC466) 'to become beautiful' < **körk** 'beauty'
mungay- (PdC504) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
uluğay- (Sayf66v:8) 'to grow up' < **uluğ** 'big'

3.6.10.1.5. The Suffix -da/-dä

alda- (Sayf70r:9) 'to deceive' < **al** 'ruse'
indä- (Sayf57v:2) 'to call' < **ün** 'voice'
izdä- (Sayf42r:8) 'to search, seek, look for' < **iz** 'track'
qolda- (PdC435) 'to take by the arm' < **qol** 'arm'
ündä- (Sayf4v:2) 'to call' < **ün** 'voice'
yanda-š- (PdC537) 'to become adjacent' < **yan** 'side'

3.6.10.1.6. The Suffix -ğa/-gä

sayğa- (PdC346) 'to spend' < **say** 'number'
tergä- (MA76-1) 'to make sweat' < **ter** 'sweat'

3.6.10.1.7. The Suffix -qar/-ğar

başqar- (PdC150) 'to guide, lead' < **baş** 'head'
qutğar- (MA6-4) 'to save' < **qut** 'good luck'
suğar- (PdC356) 'to irrigate' < **su(v)** 'water'

3.6.10.1.8. The Suffix -l, -al/äl, -ul/-ül

azal- (PdC17) 'to diminish' < **az** 'little'
mungal- (Nava'i, F., II-352) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
ongal- (Sayf185v:12) 'to heal' < **ong** 'right'
qarşul- (ZN13r:17) 'to go to meet' < **qarşu** 'opposite'
sağal- (Sang231r:28) 'to be cured' < **sağ** 'healthy'
tiril- (Sayf94r:1) 'to come to life' < **tiri** 'alive'
yoğal- (Qutb H. 4526) 'to disappear' < **yoq** 'nonexistent'

3.6.10.1.9. The Suffix -la/-lä

açığla- (BN90r:10) 'to implore' < **açığ** 'bitter'
ağırla- (Sayf14v:10) 'to respect' < **ağır** 'heavy'
arala- (MM181r:7) 'to let water run between the toes' < **ara** 'middle'
arzula- (Qutb H2886) 'to desire' < **arzu** 'desire' [P. *ārzu*]
avla- (Sayf105r:6) 'to hunt' < **av** 'game animal'
bağla- (KBV42r:8) 'to tie' < **bağ** 'knot'
boğazla- (MM191r:11) 'to slaughter' < **boğaz** 'throat'
başla- (Sayf108r:1) 'to begin' < **baş** 'head'
birlä- (IM3v:1) 'to declare as one' < **bir** 'one'
dağla- (MM188r:17) 'to mark with the branding iron' < **dağ** 'branding iron'
işlä- (MM188v:16) 'to work' < **iş** 'work'
izlä- (MM190v:12) 'to follow an animal's tracks' < **iz** 'foot-print'
kärtülä- (MM192v:7) 'to pronounce in earnest' < **kärtü** 'true, truth'
közlä- (Sayf163v:2) 'to expect' < **köz** 'eye'
mihmäzla- (KBV45r:2) 'to spurn' < **mihmäz** 'spurn'
oğurla- (Qutb H) 'to steal' < **oğrı** 'thief'
otla- (ShD152v:12) 'to graze' < **ot** 'grass'
songla- (MM197v:16) 'to follow' < **song** 'end'
sözlä- (Sayf60r:11) 'to say' < **söz** 'word'
şışlä- (Sayf31r:1) 'to roast on the spit' < **şış** 'spit'
tişlä- (Sayf129v:13) 'to bite' < **tiş** 'tooth'
yazuqla- (Sayf32r:13) 'to accuse' < **yazuq** 'sin'
yırla- (Sayf60r:4) 'to sing' < **yır** 'song'
yüklä- (NTM12r:4) 'to load' < **yük** 'load'

3.6.10.1.10. The Suffix -/k, -iq/-ik, -uq/-ük

- açiq-** (Sayf106v:10) 'to be hungry' < **aç** 'hunger'
birik- (MM177v:11) 'to unite' < **bir** 'one'
tariq- (Sang.153v:1) 'to be dismayed' < **tar** 'narrow'
yoluq- (Sayf51r:1) 'to meet' < **yol** 'way'

3.6.10.1.11. The Suffix -r, -ar/-är

- aqar-** (MA163-5) 'to turn white' < **aq** 'white'
başar- (Qutb H2750) 'to accomplish' < **baş** 'head'
bälgür- (Sayf10v:10) 'to become clear' < **bälgü** 'sign'
eskir- (MA24-6) 'to become antiquated' < **eski** 'old'
ongar- (MM185v:10) 'to rectify' < **ong** 'right'
qarar- (KBV41v:2) 'to become black' < **qara** 'black'
qayğur- (Sayf4r:7) 'to grieve' < **qayğu** 'grief'
qizar- (DN237v:5) 'to turn red' < **qiz** 'fire'
sargar- (MA162-7) 'to become yellow' < **sariğ** 'yellow'
uyğar- (Sayf181v:13) 'to awaken' < **uyağ** 'awaken'
yaşar- (Sang.332r:19) 'to become wet' < **yaş** 'wet'

3.6.10.1.12. The Suffix -ra/-rä

- telbärä-** (BN91v:11) 'to talk nonsense' < **telbä** 'mad'
mungra- (Sang. 320r:7) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
ögrä-n- (MM196v:11) 'to learn' < **ög** 'reason'

3.6.10.1.13. The Suffix -rğa/-rgä, -irğa/-irgä, -urğa/-ürgä

- azirğa-** (Babur349r:1) 'to consider s. th. very little' < **az**
 'little'
mungurğa- (Sang.320r:8) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
tangirğa- (Sayf179v:5) 'to admire' < **tang** 'astonishing'
taşirğa- (Sang.157r:1) 'to founder' < **taş** 'stone'

3.6.10.1.14. The Suffix -şa/-şä

- oşşa-** (Sayf24r:4) 'to resemble' < **oq** 'like'
qaqşa-l- (Sang.274r:29) 'to dry' < **qaq** 'dry [fruit]'

3.6.10.2. Verb Formation by Derivative Auxiliaries

Verbs created by derivative auxiliaries are called phrasal or syntagmatic verbs. They consist of a nominal part--mostly nouns, rarely adjectives--and an auxiliary verb. E.g., **cavāb** 'question' + **ber-** 'to give' + **cavāb ber-** 'to answer'. The sequence of their constituents--nominal element +

auxiliary verb--is flexible. The order of constituents may be reversed. Also, other sentence elements may occur between them.

There are numerous phrasal verbs in Chagatay. Since they can take complements or modifiers separately or as a unit, they are very expressive and occur quite frequently. Below is a representative list of the most frequently used phrasal verbs:

3.6.10.2.1. Bas- 'to press'

ayaq bas- (DN260v:1) 'to enter'

E.g.,

Elig urma malāmat daftarina, ayağ başqın salāmat kişvarina. (DN260v:1) 'Keep your hands off the book of complaints.²⁵⁵ Walk boldly toward the land safety.'

3.6.10.2.2. Ber- 'to give' forms directional verbs.

başarat ber- (DN248v:8) 'to bring good news'

cilva ber- (DN265r:2) 'to display, show off'

dast ber- (DN250v:2) 'to drive one to; to be overcome by'

dastūr ber- (Sayf156r:12) 'to let in'

‘icāzat ber- (Sayf34v:8) 'to give permission'

ħabar ber- (Sayf14v:6) 'to inform'

mužda ber- (DN259v:2) 'to bring good news'

yüz ber- (DN168v:1) 'to come forth, emerge, appear' [< P.

ruħ dādan]

E.g.,

Yarudī yer közi tün Maryamīdin, başarat berdi ‘İsā hamdamīdin. (DN248v:8) 'The eye of the earth brightened beholding Mary of the Night²⁵⁶ and conveyed the good news about the arrival of Jesus.'²⁵⁷

Berip aħbāb savdasında ğam dast, ayağı sayr ara Macnūnğa hamdast. (DN259v:2) 'In his love for his friend grief has overcome him. In roaming [aimlessly] his legs are the companions of Majnun.'²⁵⁸

Eşiklärindä muta‘allıqlärindän büyük boyli küçli kişilär qoyarlar, hattā kelgān ‘azizlärğä dastūr bermägäylär. (Sayf156r:12) 'From among their dependents they post tall, strong people at their doors who would not let in even sainted people who come to visit.'

²⁵⁵ I.e., Stop whining.

²⁵⁶ Reference to mother Mary and her newborn child and to the star that indicated their whereabouts.

²⁵⁷ *Hamdam* lit., 'he who is breathing together with s.o.' like the newly born child with his mother.

²⁵⁸ He roams as much as the legendary Majnūn did when he was in love with Laylı

Sa'adat mavkibidin mužda berip, bašaratliq habarlarni yibarip. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, good tidings sent the news [about its being on the way]'

Aşuğup qildi atlanur yarağın, zamānē cilva berdi ḥusn bağın. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she showed off the beauty of the garden.'²⁵⁹

3.6.10.2.3. **Bol-** 'to be, become' creates passive and intransitive verbs.

afgar bol- (DN260r:3) 'to be wounded'

daḥil bol- (DN249r:2) 'to enter'

fariğ bol- (DN259r:4) 'to be through, to be done'

mā'il bol- (DN254r:11) 'to wish, desire'

mafhūm bol- (DN255v:10) 'to be understood'

ma'lūm bol- (DN255v:10) 'to be known'

mavcūd bol- (DN252v:8) 'to be present'

pamāl bol- (DN260r:5) 'to be engulfed in'

paydā bol- (DN255v:9) 'to appear'

qan bol- (DN259v:3) 'to be distressed'

razi bol- (Sayf157v:10) 'to be satisfied'

E.g.,

Ču mazmūni sarāsar boldi ma'lūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldi mafhūm. (DN255v:10) 'When its contents were entirely known, anything that was doubtful before, now was perfectly understood.'

Tilādi kāğid va čon boldi mavcūd, qalam tilini etti 'anbar ālūd. (DN252v:8) 'She asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was provided, she covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.'²⁶⁰

Agar sen anda holsang yaşqa pamāl, men özüm din barur men munda fi'l-ḥal. (DN260r:5) 'If over there you are engulfed in tears, here I lose my consciousness at once.'

Agar sen anda kōrsāng nāgah āzār, men ešitip bolur men munda afgar. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

Qalam tili čon fariğ boldi andin, davāt ağzini yaptı tarcumāndin. (DN259r:4) 'When the tongue of the pen was through, the inkholder that the interpreter was using closed its mouth.'

Kōngül boldi farah öyinā daḥil, kōzūmgā abruyi boldi ḥasil. (DN249r:2) '[My] heart entered the house of joy.'²⁶¹ Its dignity became manifest to my eyes.'

²⁵⁹ I.e., she appeared in full splendor

²⁶⁰ I.e., he dipped the tip of the pen into the inkwell. Reference is made to the fragrance of the ink.

²⁶¹ The implication is that 'from the house of sadness moved into the house of joy'

3.6.10.2.4. Ček- ‘to pull’ expresses that the subject endures discomfort or pain of some kind.

cafa ček- (LN170) ‘to suffer injustice’

cavr ček- (Sayf60:13) ‘to suffer’

dard ček- (Sayf126v:8) ‘to suffer [pain, or disease]’

el ček- (Sayf12r:3) ‘to reject, refuse’

ranc ček- (Sayf160v:8) ‘to suffer’

yol čak- (Sayf73v:10) ‘to endure the hardships of traveling’

zahmat čak- (Sayf17r:2) ‘to be exposed to discomfort’

E.g.,

Firaqingda cafa köp çektim, ay Yar. Valē har yiglamaqning kül-mäki bar. (LN170) ‘I have suffered much injustice while I was separated from you, O Friend. But [, as the saying goes], every crying is followed by a smiling.’

Ol qul cön tängiz körmägän dağı kemä zahmatin çekmägän edi, taħammul etä bilmädi. (Sayf17r:12) ‘Since that servant had no experience on the sea and was never exposed to the discomfort of [being in] a boat, was not able to endure [the trip].’

3.6.10.2.5. Et- to make, do’ forms transitive verbs. Most of them have a passive equivalent with **bol-**.

āškārā et- (DN256v:5) ‘to manifest, to make clear, disclose’

asiq et- (DN250v:11) ‘to be of use’

darc et- (DN249r:6) ‘to collect’

dirēg et- (Sayf23r:4) to refuse’

fāš et- (DN248v:6) ‘to disclose, lay open’

farq et- (Sayf157v:11) ‘to distinguish’

huvaydā et- (DN250v:2) ‘to divulge, disclose’

ħašš et- (DN256r:1) ‘to consecrate’

išarat et- (DN255v:4) ‘to nod’

ittifaq et- (Sayf102r:4) ‘to be united’

kasb et- (DN258v:9) ‘to obtain’

parešan et- (DN256v:6) ‘to disperse, destroy’

rahm et- (DN256v:11) ‘to have mercy on’

ravan et- (DM252v:10) ‘to release; to send forth’

ravana et- (DN253v:2) ‘to shed’ [tears]

sucūd et- (MM181r:13) ‘to make a prostration’

šūr u ğavġa et- (DN256r:11) ‘to stir up tumult and riot’

tarciħ et- (DN257r:11) ‘to prefer’

tēz et- (DN246v:3) ‘to dispatch in a haste’

vahm et- (DN247r:11) ‘to fear’

zikr et- (RM9r:3) ‘to mention’

E.g.,

Tabassumda labing qılmay mudārā, guharni la^ling etip āškārā. (DN256v:5) 'In smiling your lips do not act with moderation. Your ruby lips lay open the gems.'²⁶²

Vale ol martaba har kimgä yetmäs, bu savdāda tamannā asiğ et-mäs. (DN250v:11) 'But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction is of no avail.'

Ne körär men, ibāratlar qılıp harc, farāvān luḡf yaqūti etip darc. (DN249r:6) 'What do I see? She has spent [plenty of] expressions and has put together lots of gems of grace.'

Bitidim nāmaē ^unvāni ihlās, bayānimni ma^anīğa etip hās. (DN256r:1) 'I wrote a letter, its title was Sincerity. I formulated my message specifically to fit the meaning of [this word].'

Çu faş etti falak ma^suqası mihr, cihān örüng boldi va mihr gul-çih. (DN248v:6) 'When the Beloved of the Sky disclosed her Love, the world became white and the sun, [beautiful] like the Rose-face.'²⁶³

Qılıp ay teg yüzüng nūrini paydā, etip kün zarrağa mihrin hu-vaydā. (DN250v:2) 'Your moon-like face revealed its light. The sun manifested its love to a speck of dust.'²⁶⁴

Kim etip tur ^asalğa sirka tarcih, oqup tur muhtaşar ⁱlmini tal-vih. (DN257r:11) 'He who prefers vinegar to honey is like the one who reads the science of abridgments in allusions.'

3.6.10.2.6. Kel- 1. 'to come'; 2. 'to seem' [cf. P. *āmadan*] with the first meaning it expresses actions that move in the direction toward the narrator, the subject, or the scene of the action. With the second meaning it indicates that the meaning of the base word [mostly an adjective] is the speaker's perception.

acab kel- (MM189r:5) 'to seem strange'

durust kel- (Sayf26v:10) 'to come true'

ağir kel- (RM29r:5) 'to be heavier'

artuq kel- (RM29r:2) 'to be more'

muḡalif kel- (MM187v:2) 'to differ from'

qarşı kel- (Sayf 27v:5) 'to meet'

qatıg kel- (DN256v:7) 'to be startled, aggravated'

rast kel- (MM185v:2) 'to be correct'

yaqin kel- (Sayf92r:4) 'to approach'

²⁶² They show their teeth.

²⁶³ Gulçih, the mistress of Aurang.

²⁶⁴ The sunrays make the invisible particles in the air shine.

E.g.,

Yā bint maḥāz bu yā bint labūn, yā ḥiqqa yā caza‘a ‘**acab kelmāsūn**. (MM189r:5) ‘You should be familiar [with the terms] *bint maḥāz* or *bint labūn*, or *ḥiqqa* or *caza‘a*.’

Magar tegmä rak‘atda bir sacdası qalur bolsa niyyat bilä rāst kelür. (MM185v:2) ‘Let us assume that [the worshipper] has forgotten one prostration in each rak‘at of the prayer, he may still correct [his mistakes] by stating his intention [to make up for the omitted prostration].’

Şabā allingda barıp tartmay āh, ki qatıġ kelmāsūn könglüngä nāgah. (DN256v:7) ‘The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.’

Ḥukamā qavli durust keldi. (Sayf16v:10) ‘The words of the wise men came true.’

3.6.10.2.7. Kätür- ‘to perform, carry out’ expresses that the object indicated by the base word, mostly an abstract noun, is produced:

farah ketür- (Sayf2v:6) ‘to cheer up’

imān kätür- (MM177r:11) ‘to bring forth the faith’

inābat kätür- (MM193v:10) ‘to repent’

irādat kätür- (MM193v:10) ‘to exercise submission’

irtidād kätür- (MM190v:14) ‘to commit apostasy’

i‘tirāf ketür- (Sayf24r:2) ‘to acknowledge’

nadāmat kätür- (MM198r:3) ‘to produce repentance’

rak‘at ketür- (MM185r:15) ‘to perform the rak‘at’

sacda ketür- (MM183v:4) ‘to perform the prostration’

ṭaqat ketür- (Sayf62v:7) ‘to endure’

E.g.,

Fasādni tilāmişdā ammāra ol, nadāmat kätürmişdā lavvāma ol. (MM198r:3) ‘When [the Soul] drives to sin, it is commanding. When it produces repentance, it is blaming.’

Muni kāḍ saqinġil, inābat kätür, inābatdin aşġil, irādat kätür. (MM193v:10) ‘Think well about this and repent: [Indeed,] go beyond repentance and exercise submission.’

3.6.10.2.8. Kör- 1. ‘to consider, regard as’; 2. ‘to experience, perceive’ in the first meaning it expresses that the speaker considers an object to be what the base word means. In the second, in indicates that the subject is experiencing a hardship of some kind.

‘āciz kör- (DM257v:6) ‘to consider weak’

āzār kör- (DM260v:3) ‘to be injured’

dirēġ kör- (Sayf51r:5) ‘to grudge’

emgāk kör- (Sayf32:13) ‘to suffer a blow’

cavr kör- (Sayf36r:13) ‘to suffer from injustice’
ğanimat kör- (Sayf12v:8) ‘to regard s.th. as an oppor
rava kör- (Sayf155v:7) ‘to regard as lawful;

E.g.,

Meni sen körmä ‘acız kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasinc gāhīm. (DM257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’

Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah azar, men eşitip bolur men aftar. (DM260r:3) ‘If you suddenly suffer an injury there be wounded as soon as I hear about it.’

Ol erānlār vaqt saqlap furşatnī ḡanimat körüp çıqtılar 142v:9) ‘Those people waited, took advantage of the opp and moved out.’

3.6.10.2.9. Körgüz- ‘to show, demonstrate, manifest’ expresses subject a moral quality or a physical skill.

ārdām körgüz- (Sayf11r:6) ‘to display one’s skills’

‘inayat körgüz- (DN251r:10) ‘to show mercy’

karam körgüz- (Sayf16v:2) ‘to be generous to s.o.’

mayl körgüz- (DN255v:2) ‘to manifest inclination’

muruvvat körgüz- (Sayf50v:5) ‘to be humane’

sāya körgüz- (DN258v:10) ‘to cast a shadow’

talbīs körgüz- (DN259r:5) ‘to cheat’

tamanna körgüz- (DN255v:7) ‘to show expectation’

E.g.,

Yüzüng bergäy manga, Ay Hısn Bağı, ‘inayat körgüzü nişanı. (DN251r:10) ‘May your face, showing mercy, give sign of [your] command, O, Garden of Beauty.’

Singä baqtım anga çön köz yaşı teg, qarağa mayl ki qaşı teg. (DN255v:2) ‘I tried to melt and flow to her like tl of my eyes showing, like eyebrows, an inclination toward tl **Bäyiktin sāya körgüzür humāye, ki tā davlat tapar andir ye.** (DN258v:10) ‘From high above Phoenix casts his sha that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.’²⁶⁵

Sulaymān paykına tapşurdı Bilqīs, ki Ber bir mūrğa kö talbīs. (DN259r:5) ‘Bilqīs²⁶⁶ handed over [the letter] to the of Solomon²⁶⁷ and said: “Deliver it, do not defraud an ant | is its due share].”’

²⁶⁵ Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous casts its shadow will become a king.

²⁶⁶ Name of queen of Sheba who visited Solomon.

²⁶⁷ I.e., to the wind

- 3.6.10.2.10. Kötär-** 1. 'to raise'; 2. '[lift up and] carry'
 āvāz kötär- (Quṭb Zaj.104) 'to begin to sing'
 baš kötär- (DN259v:10) 1.'to rise'; 2. 'to raise the head'
 el kötär- (Quṭb Zaj.104) 'to give up, abandon' [cf. P *dast bar dāštan*]
 cavr kötär- (Sayf85v:4) 'to endure, to put up with' [harsh treatment]
 minnat kötär- (Sayf140r:1) 'to be under an obligation due to a favor received'
 minnat yūkin kötär- (Sayf139v:13) 'to be burdened with an obligation due to a favor received'

E.g.,

Közüm hacrīngda köp bīdarlıqdın kötärmäs başını bēmārlıqdın. (DN259v:10) 'In your absence my eyes, having been vigilant for so long, are ailing and do not rise [in the morning].'
Erdämsizlär luqma luqma tilänip minnat yūkin kötärıp yürür-lär. (Sayf139v:13) 'Those who have no skills go begging mouthful by mouthful carrying the load of obligation for favors received.'

3.6.10.2.11. Qil- 'to make, do' is used to form transitive phrasal verbs. The derivatives in the majority of cases have an intransitive variant with the auxiliary *bol-* 'to be'.

- arām qil- (MM195r:6) 'to rest'
 arzū qil- (MM200r:12) 'to desire'
 bay‘at qil- (DN255r:2) 'to promise loyalty'
 darḥwāst qil- (DN255r:2) 'to demand'
 fanā qil- (MM193v:12) 'to annihilate'
 fidā qil- (Sayf118r:8) 'to sacrifice'
 fikrini qil- (DN259v:11) 'to think about someone'
 ḥarc qil- (DN249r:6) 'to spend'
 ḥazar qil- (DN257v:5) 'to beware'
 huvaydā qil- (DN255v:9) 'to make apparent, show'
 israf qil- (Sayf22r:3) 'to waste'
 izhār qil- (DN245v:6) 'to manifest'
 malāmat qil- (Sayf 22v:7) 'to blame'
 minnat qil- (MM197r:14) 'to give [a donation] with the expectation of return'
 mudārā qil- (DN256v:5) 'to use dissimulation'
 munavvar qil- (DN257r:2) 'to make shine, cheer up'
 namāz qil- (MM184v:6) 'to pray' [ritual prayers]
 paydā qil- (DN250v:2) 'to show, display'
 ravan qil- (DN248v:7) 'to set in motion'

qaṭl qil- (Sayf114r:5) 'to kill'
 qurban qil- (Sayf137r:13) 'to sacrifice'
 satığ qil- (MM191v:12) 'to sell'
 ta'ammul qil- (DM242v:11) 'to reflect'
 taşdıq qil- (DN246v:1) 'to confirm'
 tavazu^c qil- (DN243v:2) 'to show courtesy'
 vida[>] qil- (Sayf19r:9) 'to take leave'
 ziyarat qil- (Sayf19v:1) 'to visit'

E.g.,

Qaşım çandān sāning fikringni qildi, ki qayğudin boyi ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'

Ne körār men, 'ibaratlar qilip harc, farāvān luṭf yaqūti etip darc. (DN249r:6) 'What do I see? She has spent [plenty of] expressions and has put together lots of gems of grace.'

Yüzüŋ közgü dur, ay husn iĉrā mahim, hazar qil kim anī tut-masun ahim. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'
 Camalīngdin munavvar qil közümnī, ešitmā el sözin ešit sözümnī. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'

Hamīn kim tapti yāri hazratina, tavāzu^c qildi va qoydı qatına. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as it arrived to the presence of the friend, it greeted her politely and put down the letter at her side.'

3.6.10.2.12. Qol- 'to ask for, to request'. The nominal part, most of the time a concrete noun, is the direct object of the verb.

amān qol- (NF6r:4) 'to ask for protection'
 dād qol- (Quṭb Zaj.p.139) 'to seek justice'
 darū qol- (Quṭb Zaj.p.139) 'to ask for remedy'
 du^ca qol- (ShD9v:10) 'to ask for a prayer'
 uğandin öngin qol- (MM201r:1) 'to seek other than God'
 'uzr qol- (DN249v:3) 'to dismiss'
 zinhār qol- (Quṭb Zaj.p.139) 'to ask for protection'

E.g.,

Qilayin surma tofraqingni közgä, ne türlüŋ qolayin 'uzringni öz-gä. (DN249v:3) 'I wish to make collyrium for [my] eyes from the dust you are treading on. How else could I let you go?'

Emdidān song himmatingni qayda barsang qoymağil! Ol Buḥārā Ḥafizidin, Ay Şabāni qol du^ca. (ShD9v:10) 'From now on do not

abandon your good efforts wherever you go! O, Shabānī, request a prayer [for you] from Hafiz of Bukhara.²⁶⁸

Bašin topraqqa qoydi qoldi zinhār. (Qutb Zaj.p.139) 'He put his head on the ground and asked for protection.'

Yā Rasūla'l-lah, bizgā nuşrat bermāzmu sän? Bizgā Tangridin amān qolmazmu sän. (NF6r:4) 'O, Prophet of God, are you not granting us victory? Are you not asking from God safety for us?'

Note: The noun part of this phrasal verb can occur in the plural. E.g.,

Qulum sizlārgā yaman iş qıldı, sizlār keçürüng tep öküs 'uzr-lar qoldi. (NF49r:14) 'My servant has done a bad thing to you, please forgive, he said making excuses profusely.'

3.6.10.2.13. Qoy- 1. 'to put down'; 2 'to turn in the direction of'

arqa qoy- (MM182v:10) 'to turn one's back to'

baş qoy- (DN248r:11) 'to greet someone'²⁶⁹

toquş qoy- (MM182v:2) 'to surrender'

yüz qoy- (DN248v:2) 'to face s.th.'

yādgār qoy- (Sayf6v:9) 'to leave behind as a souvenir'

E.g.,

Kelip iqbāl baş qoyğay qatıngda, buzulmaqlıqğa yüz qoyğay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) 'Prosperity comes and [as your] servant, salutes you. [Your] hardship faces complete annihilation.'

Toquş qoyma mu'min bu nafs birlä sän, 'ibādatni şaff tut, yunuğni silāh! (MM182v:2) 'Believer, do not surrender to your Carnal Soul. Employ service [to God] as a battle-array, the ablution, as a weapon.'²⁷⁰

3.6.10.2.14. Sal- 'to throw, cast' expresses that an action which involves the base noun is produced fast, suddenly, abruptly, unexpectedly, or, energetically.

köz sal- (GD143:4) 'to cast a glance'

nazar sal- (DN250v:7) 'to cast a glance at'

nidā sal- (MS14v:1) 'to declare'

qulaq sal- (H82r:6) 'to listen'

quş sal- (Qutb211) 'to set the falcon upon a game animal'

söz sal- (DN246v:8) 'to mention, talk about'

tarh sal- (Sayf32r:5) 'to lay the foundation of'

varaqa sal- (Sayf35v:9) 'to send a letter'

yaruğluq sal- (RM44r:8) 'to emanate light'

²⁶⁸ Shaybānī Khān's spiritual leader.

²⁶⁹ I.e., humbly and respectfully as a novice would greet his sheikh

²⁷⁰ A sword, or an arrow.

E.g.,

Agar salsam nazarni köz yaşına, ne bolğay qaṭrae daryā qašina? (DN250v:7) ‘Suppose I cast a glance at the tears,²⁷¹ what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?’²⁷²

Nä yemäkdin nä uyquḍin salıp söz, yemäktin toyup uyquḍin yumup köz. (DN246v:8) ‘He does not speak of food or sleep. He is fed up with food, he turns the blind eye to sleep.’

Aning kim bar äлиндä mansib u cah, salıp tarh ol qilur dä'im ticarat. (Sayf32r:5) ‘He who has rank and position makes plans and is always engaged in trading.’

Rözanı Tangrı özığä aldı. Anā uczi bihi nidā saldı. (MS14v:1) ‘God [has promised to] accept the believer’s fast. He has declared, “I shall reward him for keeping it!”’

Uşal dam turdı payğambar cavāba: Sanga aytay qulaq sal, ay sahāba!’ (H82r:6) ‘In response the Prophet answered: “Listen carefully to what I am going to tell you now, O, Companions!”’

3.6.10.2.15. Tap- ‘to find’ expresses that the object represented by the base word is obtained, found, deserved, or gained.

aram tap (DN242v:10) ‘to find peace’

bala tap- (Sayf145r:2) ‘to litter’

cavāb tap- (Sayf35v:11) ‘to find an answer’

davlat tap- (DN258v:10) ‘to obtain a kingdom’

furşat tap- (Sayf15r:1) ‘to find an opportunity’

infi‘al tap- (GD139,3) ‘to feel ashamed’

‘izzat tap- (Sayf35v:11) ‘to obtain dignity’

nacat tap- (GD331,4) ‘to be delivered’

tabdıl tap- (DN259r:8) ‘to experience a change’

tarbiyat tap- (Sayf13v:6) ‘to receive education’

yol tap- (Sayf90r:5) ‘to find a way’

zafar tap- (Sayf39v:9) ‘to gain victory’

zavāl tap- (GD135,4) ‘to decline’

E.g.,

Alā ay ğamda tapqan rangi tabdıl, ravān etkān közi şangarftin nıl. (DN259r:8) ‘Hark ye whose color has changed in grief, whose eyes make the Nile river flow with vermillion red [tears].’

Bäyiktin saya körgüzür humayē, ki ta davlat tapar andin gadāyē. (DN258v:10) ‘From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.’²⁷³

²⁷¹ If I take notice of or consider the value or significance of...

²⁷² Rivers and seas are considered infinite sources of wealth [fishing, pearls, transportation; symbol of the vast and the infinite].

Köngül bir sâ‘atē ārām tapdı, ki dildār ağzidin ol kām taptı.
(DN242v:10) ‘My heart found quiet for a moment when it obtained gratification from the mouth of the Beloved.’²⁷⁴

3.6.10.2.16. Tart- ‘to draw, drag’ expresses a sluggish, dragging action that often takes place to the detriment of the subject.

ah tart- (RM20v:5) ‘to heave a sigh’

cavr tart- (Sayf183r:7) ‘to suffer’

elig tart- (DN247r:3) ‘to give up’ [cf. P. *dast kaşidan az*]

ğam tart- (DN252r:6) ‘to suffer’

hañt tart- (DN254v:4) ‘to give up, cancel, cross out’²⁷⁵

ibarāt tart- (DN255v:4) ‘to employ metaphors’

E.g.,

Şabā allingda barip tartmay ah, ki qatığ kelmäsün könglüngä nagah. (DN256v:7) ‘The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.’

Bari ay ħirmanin bir cavğa satqan, elig tartıp ayağini uzatqan.
(DN247r:3) ‘He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.’²⁷⁶

Qaşimning yasidin tartar mu ğamni, körär mü göşalarda ol alamni? (DN252r:6) ‘Is he in distress because of the arch of my eyebrow? Does he experience that pain in [every] corner?’

Parilar ‘arizinä tartqil hañt, köngüldä tilämäs bolsang ğubarin.
(DN254v:4) ‘Cross out the faces of the fairies if you don’t want to have scruples in your heart’

Tili qanun bilän tartıp ‘ibarāt, közi har nuqtada etip işarāt.
(DN255v:4) ‘Her tongue employed metaphors according to the rules. Her eyes gave clues to every points.’

3.6.10.2.17. Tut- ‘to hold, keep’ expresses that the subject got hold of what is meant by the base word, made a pledge, acquired a habit or a new regime.

‘ar tut- (DN259v:7) ‘to be ashamed’

amr tut- (Sayf3v:13) ‘to obey an order’

älig tut- (MM176v:3) ‘to help’

baq tut- (MM195v:15) ‘to fear’

²⁷³ Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous bird *humā* cast its shadow will become a king.

²⁷⁴ Reference to Qur, 5,31.

²⁷⁵ It governs the dative case.

²⁷⁶ A sign of disregarding the rules of decent social behavior.

balıq tut- (Sayf94v:4) 'to fish'
gumān tut- (MM181v:14) 'to doubt'
mātām tut- (H82v:2) 'to mourn s.o.'
orun tut- (MM177v:7) 'to take place'
oruč tut- (Sayf84r:6) 'to fast'
panca tut- (Sayf32v:12) 'to fight'
qarār tut- (Sayf21r:9) 'to rest'
qulaq tut- (Sayf22v:12) 'to listen'
roza tut- (MM186v:7) 'to fast'
ṭama^c tut- (Sayf131r:2) 'to expect, desire'
tuhmat tut- (MM195v:14) 'to doubt'
umēd tut- (GD38,4) 'to hope'
uns tut- (Sayf67v:11) 'to associate'
yād tut- (Sayf93r:1) 'to learn, memorize'
yol tut- (MM193v:11) 'to take the path of'

E.g.,

Qılıp özığä āh u nālānī yār, **tutup** bir yoli nām u nangīdīn ṣār. (DN259v:7) 'He made friends with sighs and moanings and at once felt ashamed of his good repute and honor.'²⁷⁷

Ol yigit ayttı: Karam qılıp **qulaq tutsang** cavāb aytayım. (Sayf 22v:12) 'If you graciously listen, I will provide the answer.'

İcābat qılır Rabb, **gumān tutmağū**. İcābat anuq sän du^cānī yā-tür. (MM181v:14) '[Our] Lord answers prayers, of that there can be no doubt. His answer is in readiness, it only remains for you to perform the prayer.'

Yarın **tutğa mән roza** tep bilmäki, bu niyyat erür bil kişi öz özin. (MM186v:7) 'Express it thus with full awareness [of what you are saying] "I wish to fast tomorrow." O Believer, you should know [that the statement of your intention] is the very essence [of the rites].'

3.6.10.2.18. Ur- 'to beat' expresses, beyond the basic meaning, sudden, emphatic, or repeated actions.

āh ur- (GD12-3) 'to sigh, heave a sigh'

ağaç ur- (Sayf52r:1) 'to beat with a stick'

elig ur- (DN260v:1) 'to touch'²⁷⁸

barham ur- (DN259v:8) 'to destroy, annihilate'

²⁷⁷ This is a Sufi reference: On the path toward obtaining true knowledge of God there is a stage when all our services lose their values. Cf. MM "When true knowledge has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences. All your learning and acts of pious devotions and services will appear to you as sins.'

²⁷⁸ With the dative case.

dam ur- (DN246v:4) ‘to speak’
lāf ur- (GD45,4) ‘to boast, brag’
nafas ur- (DN259r:11) ‘to breathe’
qadam ur- (Sayf58r:10) ‘to go’
quš ur- (MM190v:10) ‘to set a falcon upon a game animal’
raqş ur- (Sayf59v:12) ‘to dance’
şayqal ur- (Sayf59r:12) ‘to polish’
ta[‘]n ur- (DN260v:1) ‘to criticize’
tark ur- (Sayf54r:1) ‘to leave’
yüz ur- (MM182v:10) ‘to turn one’s face to’
zaḥm ur- (Sayf14v:10) ‘to wound’

E.g.,

Elig urma malāmat daftarīna, ayağ basqin salāmat kişvarīna. (DN260v:1) ‘Keep your hands off the book of complaints.²⁷⁹ Walk boldly toward the land safety.’

Malamat qiblasidin yüz evürmäs, ḥalā[’]iq neçä ta[‘]n ursa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) ‘He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame,²⁸⁰ however much people criticize him, he does not say a word.’

Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarçi yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) ‘She said, “You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind,²⁸¹ you must turn around and come back [this time]”.’

Muni aytı dağı qadam yolğa urdı. (Sayf58r:10) ‘He said this and set out on the road.’

3.6.10.2.19. Ye- ‘to eat’ expresses that the subject has a share of what the base noun means. Unless it is used in concrete sense [e.g. **ta[‘]am ye-** ‘to eat, have a meal’ MM194v:5], the verbal phrase refers to a negative, unpleasant experience.

dunyā ye- (Sayf161r:3) ‘to enjoy the world’

ğam ye- (DN254r:3) ‘to worry [oneself], grieve, sorrow’

nang ye- (DN245r:4) ‘to be ashamed’

ḥaram ot ye- (MM191v:15) ‘to practice usury’²⁸²

infi[‘]al ye- (Sayf46v:5) ‘to be ashamed’

nadāmat ye- (Sayf147:1) ‘to repent’

ökünç ye- (MM193r:8) ‘to have regrets’

²⁷⁹ I.e., Stop whining.

²⁸⁰ He constantly exposes himself to people’s blame.

²⁸¹ That never returns.

²⁸² Lit., to graze your flock on a forbidden pasture

E.g.,

Küyär parvāna cāndin qayǵu yemās, kiši parvānadin ħwad ek-sük emās. (DN244v:7) ‘The moth goes up in flames and is not concerned about its life. [And] no one [among living beings] is smaller than the moth.’

Boyung sarvī ki nang yer şuĥbatımdin, egilǵay ʿāqibat tüz niyyatımdin. (DN245r:4) ‘The [straight] cypress of your body²⁸³ scorns to be in my companionship but it bows down at the end when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.’²⁸⁴

Ĝamımnī ol camaʿat kim yedilār, ʿariqingdin manga andaq dedilār. (DN254r:3) ‘People concerned about me had this to say about the way you act.’

Zulfi şamında yanar sen şamʿ bigi, ay Şabān, ğam yemāgil har kečā zibā moǵuling berida. (ShD13v:8-9) ‘You burn in the night of her tresses like a candle, O Shabān. Don’t be sad because every night you have a Moghul beauty in your presence.’

Köz yüzüngni har kiši körsä dili afgār dur. Yegān va içgān ğam va dard ilā fikr-i yār dur. (ShD44r:9-10) ‘Whoever beholds your eyes and your face, has scars in his heart. Thought about the Friend goes together with suffering from grief and pain.’

3.6.10.2.20. Yut- ‘to swallow’

ĥunāba yut- (DN259v:8) ‘to be bitter’²⁸⁵

qan yut- (ShD11r:1) ‘to be bitter’ [*<* ‘to swallow blood’]

qadǵu yut- (Quṭb Zaj. 152) ‘to grieve’²⁸⁶

E.g.,

Özin qoymay zamānē barham urmay, yutup ĥunāba va andin dam urmay. (DN259v:8) ‘He does not give up, he does not fall apart. He is bitter, but he is not talking about it.’

Ayaqdin qan yutar elgim şikast dur. Firāqdin qurudum qandim degändä. (ShD10v:11-12) ‘My hand that held the cup out of which I would drink blood is broken. If I say, “I am [a piece of] rock-candy”, it is because I dried out in your absence.’

3.7. Adverbs

Adverbs constitute a rich, diversified and very expressive category. They serve to indicate time, place, manner and other circumstances of an action. They have no special markers, grammatical or derivational. Among them there are many loan elements, especially from Persian.

²⁸³ I.e., your body which is straight like a cypress.

²⁸⁴ Intent [*niyyat*] is correct when it is properly stated in due time.

²⁸⁵ Lit., to swallow bloody tears

²⁸⁶ Lit., two swallow grief

The following is a morphological classification of adverbs:

3.7.1. Primary Adverbs

- asru** (RB2r:1) 'very much, excessively'
barī (DN244v:4) 'at least'
bat (RM10r:10) 'fast, quickly'
berk (RM43v:2) 'firm'
emdi (DN250v:8) 'now'
hargiz (H77r:9) 'never'
ilgāri (H76v:5) 'in front of, ahead'
köp (GD101,3) 'very much'
qatig (Quṭb Zaj.p.135) 'very much'
tašqari (Sayf100r:8) 'outside'

E. g.,

Men emdi bir gadā sen pādšahē, magar cān tartqay allingda ahē? (DN250v:8) 'I now am a beggar and you are a king. May a soul heave a sigh in your presence, I wonder?'

Özüngni qilma asru bē sar-u barg, kim egilmās sening sarī nihālim. (DN242r:4) 'Do not feel too distressed just because my branches do not bend in your direction.'

Dedi ol gul "Ču zā'ī' boldi avqāt, qalam birlān davātē keltürüng bat. (DN240r:8) 'The Rose said: "Now that [more than enough] time has been wasted, bring [me] a pen and an inkwell right away".'

Labing tuttum ki bermās iḥtiyāri, köngülni asrağil til bilā bari. (DN244v:4) 'I understood that your lips do not grant any options. Soothe [my] heart at least with your words.'²⁸⁷

Ketür aqča kemägā kir yoq esā tašqari oltur. (Sayf100r:8) 'Bring [your] money, get aboard the boat, or sit outside [on the shore].'

3.7.2. Adjectives in the Role of Adverbs

No category marker is used.

- ahir** (DN260r:11) 'later, after; finally'
basē (DN247v:5) 'often, quite a lot'
dā'im (AC324r:7) 'constantly'
hwaš (AC326r:5) 'gladly; thoroughly'
mudām (AC324r:6) 'always'
muttašil (AC3325v:9) 'all the while'
pāk (AC322v:19) 'completely'
ravān (AC327r:9) 'all of a sudden; suddenly, at once'

²⁸⁷ Lit., with the tongue. Cf. MM *silik söz* 'smooth words' (197r:4)

yaḥsī (RB5r:3) 'well'
 tār̄k (MM179r:17) 'quickly'
 fēz (DN243r:3) 'fast'
 tükāl (MM185r:13) 'entirely'

E.g.,

Tüzälip ādamilār ḥoyin algin, ne degäy el daḡi āhir uyalgin. (DN 260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Whatever people say, do not be ashamed after all.'

Bitigläringdä saldım men basē köz, tilādim köp sözüngdä tapmadım söz. (DN247v:5) 'I stared at your writing for a long time. Much as I wanted to I did not find words to express your message.'

3.7.3. Nouns in the Role of Adverbs

Nouns can occur in the role of adverbs without any special marker. They can only be recognized in that role in actual context.

3.7.3.1. Nouns in the Nominative Case

aqşam (Sayf72r:3) 'in the evening'
 ertā (Sayf72r:3) 'in the morning'
 kečā (Sayf69r:2) 'at night'
 kečälār (DN259v:6) 'at nights'
 kündüz (Sayf84r:6) 'by day'
 şabāḥ (Sayf51v:12) 'in the morning'
 saḡargah (Sayf50r:11) 'early in the morning'

E.g.,

Tüzätip kečälār egri teg ünin, açip tirnaqı birlän ğam tügünin. (DN259v:6) 'At nights he tunes his voice, as you tune a guitar. [Picking the guitar] with his fingernails he unties the knots of grief.'²⁸⁸

Za'if kündüz oruç tutar, kečā iftar etār. (Sayf84r:6) 'The weak one had the habit of fasting by day and breaking the fast at night.'

Ertā ketip aqşam kelip kīs bilän altunnı öpüp sulḡan ilāyinā qoyup turur. (Sayf72r:3) 'He left in the morning and returned in the evening. He kissed the bag that contained the gold and placed it in front of the king.'

Yetibän turmayın bir yerdä el teg, kezibän kečā tang atqınča yel teg. (DN253r:5) 'When he arrives, he does not stay in one

²⁸⁸ In Shaybāni's *Risāla-i Ma'arif* at night Satan ties knots [*tügün bağlar*] on the head of the believer while he is sleeping (20r:6). They are removed ["untied"] by the believer's mentioning God's name, carrying out the ablution and performing the morning prayer.

place as people do. At night he moves about like the wind until dawn.'

Neçä kelsä şabā yeli şahargāh, yüzüm yergä sürüp aytur män Allāh. (Sayf50r:11) 'Any time the morning breeze comes early in the morning I rub my face to the ground and say "Lord!"'

3.8.3.2. Nouns Specified by Pronouns, Quantifiers, Particles or by a Possessive Suffix

bir s̄a 'at (Sayf179v:4) 'for a moment'

bir yan (DN253v:10) 'to the side'

bir yolī (DN259v:7) 'suddenly'

har keçä (Sayf73r:7) 'every evening'

har lahza (DN247r:5) 'every moment'

har s̄a 'at (GD14:4) 'at every hour'

har sahar (GD5,5) 'every early morning'

har sarī (DN253r:5) 'everywhere'

har yanī (DN246v:9) 'in all directions'

köp zaman (Sayf7v:1) 'for a long time'

E,g,

Qilip öziğä āh u nālani yār, tutup bir yolī nām u nangīdin 'ār. (DN259v:7) 'He made friends with sighs and moanings and at once felt ashamed of [his] good repute and honor.'²⁸⁹

Yaşı daryā bigin har yanī barīp, içidin 'umr acīğini çiqarip. (DN 246v:9) 'His tears like a big river [that burst its banks] ran in all directions bringing forth from his heart the bitterness life.'

Basē taşlarnī bir yan taşlar āgāh, ki tā yüz körgüzür bir la¹ nāgah. (DN253v:10) 'How many pieces of stones tosses the expert lapidarist to the side until suddenly a piece of ruby shows its face to him.'

3.7.3.3. Nouns with Persian Indefinite -ē Used as Adverbs

The indefinite suffix -ē (3.1.2.1.) added to words expressing time creates forms that in adverbial use are equivalent to Turkish **bir** + noun phrasal adverbs, e.g., **bir muddat**, **bir vaqt**, **bir zaman**:

muddatē (GD17:2) 'for a while'

vaqtē (DN260r:1) 'for a while'

zamānē (DN259v:8) 'in a short time'

²⁸⁹ This is a Sufi reference: On the path toward obtaining true knowledge of God there is a stage when all our services lose their values. Cf. MM "When true knowledge has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences. All your learning and acts of pious devotions and services will appear to you as sins.'

E.g.,

Saçim az bas ki özin urdi barham, sāning ḥāling bigin dur yaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

Özin qoymay zamānē barham urmay, yutup ḥūnāba va andin dam urmay. (DN259v:8) 'He does not give up not even for a moment, he does not fall apart. He is bitter, but he is not talking about it.'

Aşuğup qildi atlanur yarağın, zamānē cilva berdi ḥusn bağın. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she displayed the beauty of the garden.'²⁹⁰

Qan yutup parvarda qildi muddatē köz yaşını, 'aqibat qildi bu könglüm sirr[i]ni 'alamda faš. (GD93,6) 'Suffering a lot'²⁹¹ the eye fostered its tears for some time. Finally [the blood-colored tears] disclosed the secrets of my heart for everyone in this world.'

3.7.3.4. Nouns in the Locative Case

- arada** (DN260r:6) 'in between'
- ḥazarda** (Sayf120v:3) 'in residence'
- ḥuzūrda** (Sayf55v:5) 'close by'
- kečälärdä** (DN229r:2) 'every night'
- kündä** (Sayf6v:1) 'in [a few] days'
- safarda** (Sayf120v:3) 'on a journey'
- tangda** (Sayf142v:10) 'tomorrow'
- yaqında** (Sayf143r:10) 'soon'
- yıraqda** (Sayf55v:5) 'far away'

E.g.,

Arada nečä bolğay miñnat u ğam, özünğni qayğudin qutqar, meni ham. (DN260r:6) 'However much misery and sorrow may arise, save yourself from sorrow, and also me.'

Yarutup Kün yüzidin čarḥ bağın yürütüp kečälärdä Ay čirağın. (DN229r:2) 'By the face of the Sun He illuminates the garden of the sky. Every night He sets that lantern, the Moon, in motion.'

Yıraqdağilar böylä ḥuzūrda dağı yaqındağilar başıratsız yıraqda. (Sayf55v:5) 'Those who are far are so close and those who are close are so far away that eye cannot see them.'

Ğanımat tut bu şadı fursatın kim bu kün tangda üçün 'aqil ye-mäs ğam. (Sayf142v:10) 'Take this opportunity of joy as a gift, The wise one is not worrying today about what happens tomorrow.'

²⁹⁰ I.e., she appeared in full splendor

²⁹¹ Lit., drinking blood

3.7.3.5. Nouns in the Dative Case

They are mostly terminative adverbs. Their adverbial role is restricted to certain verbs.

qarağa (Sayf 136r:9) '[to paint something] black'

şahilğa (Sayf181r:13) '[to land] on the shore'

E.g.,

Daryağa çökti Ay şadaf teg körünmäs ol. şahilğa tüşti Zuhra va tilädi Muştari. (Say181r:13) 'The Moon sank into the sea and like a shell it does not show. Venus landed on the shore and was looking for [customers like] Jupiter.'

Büzänip bir qarî hatun tişi az, boyap saçin qarağa köp qilur nâz. (Sayf136r:9) 'An old woman with missing teeth is decorating herself. She paints her hair black and behaves coquettishly.'

3.7.3.6. Nouns in the Ablative Case

biyiktin (DN261v:5) 'from high above'

qıraqdin (DN256r:3) 'from the side'

yıraqdin (DN256r:3) 'further away, at a distance'

E.g.,

Çu yätti anda kirdi bir qıraqdin, anga tapşurdi va turdi yıraqdin. (DN256r:3) 'When he got there he entered through one side, handed over the letter to her and stood by at a distance.'

Tulū^c etti biyiktin himmat ayi, tüzäldi bazm ara işrat sarāyi. (DN261v:5) 'From high above the moon of magnanimity appeared and the palace of entertainment was prepared for the banquet.'

3.7.3.7. Nouns in the Equative Case

künäs teg (Sayf143r:2) 'like the sun'

pari teg (DN262v:4) 'like fairies'

şadaf teg (Sayf181r:13) 'like a shell'

şakar teg (DN262v:9) 'like sugar'

E.g.,

Camāling şuhrati har yanî ketip, pari teg hūrlar uçmaqqa yetip. (DN262v:4) 'The fame of your beauty spread in all directions. Virgin-like fairies reached the gardens of paradise.'

Şakar teg erning va yoq anda qili,²⁹² çibin teg har sarî yüz ming qatili. (DN262v:9) 'Your lips are [sweet] like sugar and there is no hair around them. In all directions there are a hundred thousand murder victims [lying around] like [dead] flies.'

Şahrā yeli teg umr baqāsi keçti. (Sayf41v:4) 'Like desert wind the time span of [our lives] has passed.'

²⁹² The phrase is from the description of young male beauties.

3.7.3.8. Nouns in the Terminative Case

aḥiriğaçā (RM18r:3) ‘to the end’

qiyāmatqaçā (MS2v:1b) ‘until the day of resurrection’

tangğaçā (ShD142v:2) ‘until dawn’

E.g.,

Falak keygān yaşil tonni zamīn māhīsī dağladī; küyār ol tangğaçā, bilgil, ki bağlar bağrıda lülū. (ShD142v:2) ‘The sky donned a green garment and branded the fish²⁹³ of the earth. It is ablaze until dawn, know full well, until inside it the ruby is set.’

3.7.3.9. Nouns in the Instrumental Case

With both forms of the instrumental case, i.e., in **-la/-lä** and **-n**.

3.7.3.9.1. With Suffix **-la/-lä**

bir tünlä (Sayf169r:3) ‘one night’

ikinci qatla (Quṭb Zaj. p.135) ‘a second time’

kündüzlä (Quṭb H.4058) ‘by day’

ming qurla (Sayf45v:7) ‘a thousand times’

teglä (DN241r:8) ‘all’

tümān qurla (MM187v:12) ‘ten thousand times’

tünlä (ShD124r:3-4) ‘at night’

har tünlä (ShD125v:7-8) ‘every night’

E.g.,

Çiqıban tolun ay tünlä bulut icrā bolur pinhān. Magar kim ay yūzin körgäç hiçab äylār camālindin. (ShD124r:3-4) ‘The full moon appears at night but hides in the clouds. Maybe it glanced at the moon face of [my Beloved] and [now] hides its face from her beauty.’

Vah firaqī otidin har tünlä män otqa yanıp, uşbu otdin qalmadı işq ahlığa nā bergä sen. (ShD125v:7-8) ‘Alas! Every night I was scorched by the fire of separation. Nothing has remained from that fire. What can you give now to the lovers?’

Eşittim anda yığlap āh urur sen, özüngni teglä elgä küldürür sen. (DN241r:8) ‘I hear there you are crying and sighing. You make a laughing stock of yourself in the eyes of everyone.’

Tämür töggän biläk ming qurla yaşsi ol eldān kim kögüsdä beggä qarşı. (Sayf45v:7) ‘A wrist that pounds on iron is a thousand times better than hands folded on the chest in front of the Beg.’²⁹⁴

²⁹³ The fish that carries the globe on its back.

²⁹⁴ Ready to serve.

3.7.3.9.2. With the Suffix -n, -un/-ün, -in/-in

açin (Quṭb H. 4331) '[die] of hunger'
arqan (MM188r:17) '[flat] on the back'
arqun (Sayf111r:13) 'slowly'
azin azin (Sayf171v:7) 'little by little'
ädgün (MM182v:6) 'righteously'
çinin (MM190v:13) 'firmly, convincingly'
küçün (Quṭb H.1129) 'by force'
kündüzün (AC324v:8) 'in broad daylight'
öz iligin (Quṭb H.1872) 'by his own hand'
ünün (MM183v:17) 'aloud'
yalğuzun (Sayf52r:5) 'alone'

E.g.,

Tag̃ içindä olturur sän yalğuzun lay-u nahār. (Sayf52r:5) 'You stay in the mountains alone night and day.'

İzin izlāmäkdä usal qılmadin yarın yätsä yenür çinin sözägü. (MM190v:13) 'He should not delay in following the animal's track's and should keep in mind that, if he reaches it next day, it can still be eaten.'

Muṣibat yā igdin ünün iğlamaq buzār, ḥavf-i ḥaqqdın buzulmas, bilä. (MM183v:17) 'Loud weeping because of misfortune or [pain caused by] disease invalidate the prayer, [but] know that when it arises from fear of God it does not.'

Ham arqan yaturup qoyup ot qurın. (MM188r:17) 'Also, lay him flat on the back and pour embers on him.'

3.7.3.10. Nouns in the Privative Case

The expanded form of the privative suffix **-siz/-siz** is used to create adverbs:

cānsizin (MM197v:4) 'without life'
kābinsizin (Quṭb H.3766) 'without a marriage-portion'
nätägliksizin (MM178r:11) 'without [asking for] signs'
niyyatsizin (MM186v:6) 'without [having stated one's] intention'
otruşsuzun (MM187v:5) 'without [performing the internal] sitting'
qira'atsizin (MM18r:10e) 'without recitation from the Qur'an'
qulavuzsuzun (MM193v:17) 'without a guide'
zarüratsizin (MM186r:14) 'without being compelled'

E.g.,

Tariqat yolında qulavuz adab, qulavuzsuzun yolğa kirmäk 'acab. (MM193v:17) 'On the [Süfi] Path proper conduct is the guide. It would be contrary to common practice to enter upon the path without a guide.'

Camād cānsizīn ol, ne işgā yarar? Qulaq mu āšitür, bu köz mü körär? (MM197v:4) ‘Without life [the body] is like minerals: What can it accomplish? [Without life] can the ear hear or the eye see?’

Nätägliksizīn rāst inandīm anga. (MM178r:11) ‘I believed in him directly without [asking for] signs.’

İkinçi hācatīm sendin erür ol, manga kabinsizīn šāh sumasun qol. (Quṭb H.3766) ‘My second need from you is this: The king should not reach for me without a marriage-portion.’

3.7.4. Gerunds Lexicalized as Adverbs

Gerunds--verbal adverbs--by their nature appear in adverbial function. They are the results of morphological word formation. Some of them, however, have entered the lexicon as adverbs.

3.7.4.1. Gerunds in -a/-ä

bara bara (RB5v:6) ‘gradually’

otura tura (Sayf137r:1) ‘resting and moving on’²⁹⁵

oynay külä (Sayf149r:2) ‘playing and laughing’

yiqila tura ‘head over heels’ [< ‘falling and rising’ cf. P. *uftān u hīzān*]

E.g.,

Bolur āsān bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) ‘What is difficult will gradually become easy.’²⁹⁶

Ol pahlavān yigit bilān oynay külä kelür edük. (Sayf149r:2) ‘With that valiant youth we proceeded playing and laughing.’

Otura tura kitmäk yahširaq andan ki tark yürüp qalğay sän. (Sayf137r:1) ‘To move on taking rest [now and then] is better than to walk fast and stay behind.’

3.7.4.2. Gerunds in -may/-mäy

dam urmay (DN246v:4) ‘without taking a break’

tīnmay (DN253r:3) ‘without resting’

E.g.,

Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarçi yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) ‘She said, “You must be on your way without taking a break. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time].”’

²⁹⁵ Lit., sitting down and rising [again]

²⁹⁶ A Central Asian proverb.

Zamānē āh elidin köngli tınmay fiğānlar tartıban nay teg erinmäy. (DN253r:3) ‘At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.’²⁹⁷

3.7.4.3. Gerunds in -p [3.6.7.2.1.]

aşuğup (DN262r:7) ‘in a haste’

kärtülöp (MM192v:7) ‘in earnest’

monup (Sayf13r:13) ‘aged, old’

oynap (MM192v:7) ‘in jest’

oynap külöp (H82r:2) ‘playing and laughing’

tapşurup (AC326v:2) ‘in trust’

E.g.,

Tilädi aşuğup allida şabrang, vidā^cē körgüzüp atlandı diltang. (DN270r:5) ‘Waisting no time she asked for her dark bay horse, bade good-bye, and, with a sad heart, mounted [her horse].’

Eligini uzattı ol hamāvaz, aşuğup aldı va körgüzdi parvāz. (DN 262r:7) ‘That understanding and kind person held out his hand, accepted the letter in a haste and took to flight.’

Käräk oynap aysun, käräk **kärtülöp**, tüşär ant qıl āzād, haram ittifaq. (MM192v:7) ‘Whether the divorce was stated in jest or in earnest, the oath is no longer binding, one must set the woman at liberty. Union with her is henceforward forbidden.’

Künni kaç qilip kelür alar öygä oynap külöp tapmağay mändin nişān ham ata ana yügürüp. (H80r:2) ‘[And], having spent the day [in such amusements], running and laughing, they return home, my father and mother will not see me among them.’

3.7.4.4. Gerunds in -ban/-bān

intikibān (AC322v:1) ‘driven by a strong desire’

külübān (Sayf116r:12) ‘smiling’

qorquban (Sayf142v:7) ‘afraid’

E.g.,

İntiqibān, taşqarē çıqtım ravān. Tün yarimi ötüp edi ol zamān. (AC322v:1) ‘Driven by a strong desire, I rushed out into the street. It was already past midnight.’

Külübān ayttı ki mān cam^c şam^cī mān, Sa^cdī! Manga ne qayğū özin küydürürsä parvāna. (Sayf116r:12) ‘Smiling she said, I am the candle of the assembly, Sa^cdī! What do I care, if a moth burns itself?’

²⁹⁷ Reference to the opening lines of Rumī’s Maşnavi.

3.7.4.5. Gerund in-u/-ü [3.6.7.7.2.]

ulaşu (MM179v:14) ‘constantly’

yaşru (MA53-3) ‘hidden, concealed’

E.g.,

Bu ilhām-i Rabbānīdin yorğuçi malak teg ulaşu oyağ turğuçi. (MM200r:15) ‘The interpreter of the Divine revelation was, like an angel, always awake.’

3.7.5. Coordinated Nouns

Nouns can be coordinated by juxtaposition or by the conjunctions **u**, **va** or, rarely **ma**, **-i/-i**, **-a** and [in a few Persian words] **ba** or **a**.

dam ba-dam (Sayf56v:3) ‘every moment, constantly’

ertä keçä (Sayf97v:5) ‘night and day’

keçä kündüz (MS4v:2) ‘night and day’

layl u nahār (Sayf76r:4) ‘night and day’

māl sāl (BN185v:10) ‘for months and years’

şām sahar (AC324v:10) ‘from evening to dawn’

hwar u zār (AC322r:6) ‘in a depressed and dejected state’

damadam (DN260v:8) ‘gradually, progressively’

payapay (DN236v:1) ‘continuously, incessantly’

tün kün (MS3v:2) ‘night and day’

tün va kün (Sayf59v:12-13) ‘night and day’²⁹⁸

tün mä kün (Quṭb Zaj. p.109) ‘night and day’

tün mä kündüz (Quṭb Zaj. p.109) ‘night and day’

tüni kün (Sayf146r:1) ‘night and day’

E.g.,

**‘Ināyat şubhīdin savulğusī dur damadam şām^c teg sōz u gudā-
zing.** (DN260v:8) ‘From the morning of grace your burning and
melting woes will gradually reduce like a burning candle.’

**Payapay tanda öksüp hward u hwābīm, damadam yel teg artip
iztirabīm.** (DN236v:1) ‘Gradually my appetite subsided and my
sleep decreased. Progressively my anxiety increased like [rising]
wind.’

Keçä kündüz şahārat icrā farz tört nārsä erür. Qılayīn ‘arz. (MS
4v:2) ‘Night and day, there are four mandatory duties [that must be
observed] during the şahārat.’

Ötkārür erdi sözini māh sāl, kelmäs erdi Haqq ta‘ālāğa malāl.
(BN85v:10) ‘For months and years God carried out his requests; the
Most High never wearied of them.’

²⁹⁸ In this coordinated pair of words ‘night’ is mentioned first following the practice in the Qur’an.

3.7.5. Repetition of Adjectives or Nouns

Repetition suggests emphasis or increased quality often equivalent to the superlative or absolute degree of adjectives.

bat bat (DN259r:11) ‘very fast’

bir bir (DN266r:10) ‘in detail, one by one’

gah gah (DN251r:6) ‘now and then’

gah gah (DN252v:7) ‘now and then’

hwaş hwaş (ShD36v:11) ‘very god’

lahza lahza (RV3v:9) ‘from moment to moment’

qoş qoş (ShD9v:5) ‘in pairs’

rang rang (ShD155r:3) ‘in colors’

şaff şaff (ShD7v:8) ‘in rows’

zar zar (AC328r:3) ‘sobbing bitterly’

zarra zarra (ShD139r:2) ‘little by little’

E.g.,

Zarra zarra sendin öndi könglümüzä ‘ışq oti, uşbu mi ‘râcning tünindä şahib-i asrar sen. (ShD130r:2-3) ‘Because of you the fire of love grew little by little in my heart. In the night of this very ascent to heaven you are the possessor of secrets.’

Umëdim Tengridin ol dur ki gah gah, yaruğay közârim yüzüng-din, ay mâh! (DN251r:6) ‘My hope from God is that now and then my eyes may shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon.’

Aça berdi anga sarbasta râzin, dedi bir bir barî sôz-u gudâzin. (DN258v:3) ‘To her [the Beloved] disclosed her safely kept secrets²⁹⁹ and told her about all her pains and tribulations one by one.’

Rayahin rangi bir bir boldi mahbûs, çaman teg cilvasin körgüzdi fâvus. (DN266r:10) ‘The colors of the sweet basil, one by one, became prisoners; the peacock displayed its splendor exactly as the flowergarden did.’

Tiriglik saridin urmay nefas heç, çiqip bat bat dami ammâ kelip heç. (DN 259r: 11) ‘He does not breathe at all to give a sign of being alive. He is panting³⁰⁰ fast but no word comes out of [his mouth].’

Canâ bu ‘ışq yolida ‘aql özidin ketâr, zulfung salur kamandini hwaş hwaş mağal bolur. (ShD36v:12-13) ‘Sweetheart, on the path of this love reason is beside itself. This is a very good opportunity for your tresses to throw their lassos.’

²⁹⁹ Lit., removed the band from the bag in which his secrets were kept. Parallel meaning: opened the bag of hashish.

³⁰⁰ Lit., he exhales fast

3.7.6. Arabic Accusative Case Forms Used as Adverbs

'**amdā** (DN244r:7) 'deliberately'
cahṛan (RM2v:3) 'aloud'
ḥaṣṣa (Sayf140v:3) 'especially'
ḥaṣṣatan (Sayf98v:2) 'particularly'
ḥufyatan (RM2v:2) 'silently'
maṣalā (RB6r:13) 'for example'
muqīmāta (MM187r:16) 'according to the duties of a resident'
qaṣdan (MM183v:9) 'by intention'
sahvan (MM183v:3) 'through inadvertence'

E.g.,

Meni, ay baht, 'amdā tepmäking ne? Cirāḥat üstidä, tuz sepmäking ne? (DN244r:7) 'O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt on the top of my wounds?'

Muqimluqda bolsa namāz qalmişi, muqīmāta qilğay safarda kişi. (MM187r:16) 'The person who has missed a prayer while a resident, must compensate for it according to the obligation of such a resident, even if he is on a journey.'

Ḥwaş kelür avāz-i tar bolsa ḥazīn ḥaṣṣatan 'aşıqlara vaqt-i şabūh. (Sayf98v:2) 'It is pleasant to listen to soft music if it sounds sad, especially for lovers at dawn.'

Farıza qalur bolsa buzlur namāz, kārāk sahvan qaṣdan, üküş bolsu az. (MM183v:9) 'The omission of a mandatory duty surely invalidates the prayer whether that omission occurs through inadvertence or by intention.'

3.7.7. Arabic Verbal Nouns

Arabic verbal nouns in -at are often used as adjectives or adverbs.

'**aqibat** (DN245r:4) 'finally, at the end'
hazīmat (Sayf181v:7) 'destroyed'
kifayat (MS11v:5) 'sufficient, enough'
qanā'at (Sayf82v:3) 'satisfied'
salāmat (Sayf104r:3) 'healthy'
tamāmat (Sayf 153r:12) 'completely'
ḥalvat (Sayf72v:12) 'alone'
tamāmat (Sayf153r:12) 'completely'

E.g.,

Qurī etmäk aşap ḥırqa kāyārgä çon qanā'at män. (Sayf 82v:3) 'Because I am contented with living on dry bread and wearing tattered clothes.'

İkki sacda anga kifayat tur. (MS11v:5) 'Two propitiatory prostrations suffice [to atone] for them.'

Boyung sarvi ki nang yer şuhbatımdın, egilgäy ‘aqibat tüz niyatımdın. (DN245r:4) ‘The [straight] cypress of your body³⁰¹ scorns to be in my companionship but it bows at the end, when it realizes the straitforwardness of my intent.’³⁰²

3.7.8. Arabic Phrases Used as Adverbs

abadu’l-abad (MM196:7) ‘eternally’
‘alā’t-tamam (MS14r:2) ‘totally’
al-maqşūd (Sayf91v:13) ‘in short’
al-qışşa (Sayf14v:11) ‘to sum up’
‘aqıbatu’l-qışşa (AC327v:8) ‘finally, at the end of the story’
bi’t-tafşıl (MS5r:3) ‘thoroughly’
bi’t-taqşır (MS11v:6) ‘through neglect’
fāriğü’l-bāl (DN243v:1) ‘free from care, at ease’
fı’l-cumla (Sayf28r:2) ‘in short’
fı’l-hāl (DN249r:3) ‘at once’
fı’l-haqıqa (RB4v:13) ‘in fact’
min camı^c vucuh (MS5v:4) ‘in any way’

E.g.,

Fiğānim tındı va firyād uctı, tarab keldi va ğam fı’l-hāl köctı. (DN249r:3) ‘My sobbing has ceased, and the cry for help has gone. Celebration has arrived and grief at once has moved away.’³⁰³

Agar sen anda bolsang yaşqa pāmāl, men özümđin barur men munda fı’l-hāl. (DN260r:5) ‘If over there you are engulfed in tears, here I lose my consciousness at once.’

Burnung ağzınga min camı^c vucuh sol eligdä su alurung mak-rüh. (MS5v:4) ‘It is reprehensible for you to use your left hand in any way for taking water up into your nose and mouth.’

Anga tapşurdum va ol uctı darhāl, etip sa’y anda yätti fāriğü’l-bāl. (DN243v:1) ‘I handed it over to [the Morning Wind] and it took to wings right away. Exerting itself, it arrived there free from care.’

3.7.9. Persian Phrases Used as Adverbs

ba davām (RB9v:12) ‘always’
ba ğayat (H82r:9) ‘very much’
ba kamāl (RB4r:13) ‘fully’
ba nāğah (H76r:3) ‘suddenly’
ba taħqiq (RM33r:3) ‘surely’

³⁰¹ I.e., your body which is straight like a cypress

³⁰² Intent [*niyyat*] is correct when it is properly stated in due time.

³⁰³ Like a nomad caravan Sorrow packed up its chattels and left [*köçtü*].

ba tamām (RB8r:9) ‘completely’
bar ḥasb-i kamāl (RB5r:12) ‘best’
ba qadr-i nisbat (RB4v:7) ‘in the measure of [one’s] share’
bē māni^c (RB6r:8) ‘without hindrance’
bē šakk (RB5r:11) ‘without doubt’
bē šakk u gumān (RB4v:6) ‘without doubt and hesitation’
ḥwah u naḥwah (RB7r:1) ‘inevitably’

E.g.,

Nisbatī nafs ne birlā ol ān nafsīnga bolgusi bē šakk u gumān.
 (RB4v:6) ‘Then without doubt or hesitation it will become obvious
 for what [your] soul has developed an inclination and readiness.’
Šifat-i nafsīdīn ušbu furšat cazb etār nafs ba qadr-i nisbat. (RB
 4v:7) ‘On such occasions [your] soul draws from the qualities of
 [your master’s] in the measure of [your] readiness.’

3.7.10. Semantic Classification

By their meanings adverbs are divided into four groups: adverbs of time, manner, quantity, and place.

3.7.10.1. Adverbs of Time

‘aḳibat (ShD79v:8) ‘finally’
avval (Sayf11r:2) ‘first’
basa (RM2r:6) ‘then, thereupon’
biltur (NTM5v:8) ‘last year’
bir küni (BN86r:2) ‘one day’
bu zamān (BN90r:8) ‘now, at this time’
dā’imā (Sayf6v:1) ‘always’
darḥāl (NF5r:17) ‘at once, right away’
basa (RM2r:6) ‘then; furthermore’
burun (ShD171r:12) ‘formerly’
emdi (Ḥ77v:8) ‘now’
hameša (DN253r:8) ‘always’
har dam (DN247v:1) ‘always, incessantly, invariably’
hargiz (DN242r:2) ‘never’ [with negative predicate]
har kün (DN259r:9) ‘every day’
har laḥza (DN247v:5) ‘always, constantly’
keč (Quṭb H253) ‘late’
kečqurun (PdC482) ‘late, in the evening’
kündüz (GD92,2) ‘by day’
naḡah (Sayf124r:9) ‘suddenly’
naḡahan (MM193r:10) ‘suddenly’
nihayat (NF82v:16) ‘finally’

oza (MM181r:6) ‘before’
ol zaman (MM184v:15)
öngin (Qutb H40) ‘before’
songgida (RM30v:4) ‘later’
songra (Sayf6v:10) ‘afterward’
tangla (BN91r:2) ‘tomorrow’
tanglası (RM32r:9) ‘next morning’
tutşu (Qutb H2742) ‘always’
tüni kün (Sayf146r:1) ‘night and day’
tün qata (Sayf63v:8) ‘all night, through the night’
tünlä (RM32r:2) ‘at night’
tünlä kündüz (Qutb H559) ‘night and day’
ulaşu (MM176v:12) ‘always’
uşol zaman (RM12r:10) ‘then, at that time’

E.g.,

Anga tapşurdum va ol uçti darhāl, etip sa‘y anda yätti fāriğu‘l-bāl. (DN243v:1) ‘I handed it over to [the Morning Breeze] and right then it took to wings. Exerting itself it arrived and completed its mission.’³⁰⁴

Hameşa uyqusizliqqa qilip hū, tüşidä kirmäyin ‘umrıda uyqu. (DN253r:8) ‘He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.’³⁰⁵

Meni sen körmägäy sen özgä hargiz, parī teg közüngä uçqay camālīm. (DN242r:2) ‘You will never see me in any other way. My beauty will draw your attention like a fairy.’³⁰⁶

Körüp har dam qara bahtini tün teg, köngüldin tartip āhini tütün teg. (DN247r:1) ‘He always perceives his black fortune as [the darkness of] the night. He lets out sighs, like smoke, from his heart.’

3.7.10.2. Adverbials of Manner

āhasta (RM31r:1) ‘slowly’
āsān (RM10v:6) ‘easily’
arqan (MM188r:17) ‘upon his back’
arqun arqun (Sayf167r:5) ‘slowly’
asru (RM14v:8) ‘very much’
aşuğup (RM45r:8) ‘in a hurry’
az (Sayf86v:5) ‘a little’

³⁰⁴ Lit., its wings were disengaged. *Fāriğu‘l-bāl* is also the person who is free from care.

³⁰⁵ It is understood that being constantly awake is also the characteristic of angels and highranking saints. The author Islām attributes this quality also to his father, Baba Islām.

³⁰⁶ Lit., my beauty will fly into your eyes

äylä (Sayf114v:4) 'so much'
 bat (NTM13v:3) 'fast'
 ba taḥqīq (RM33r:3) 'surely'
 bār̄k (SHD38R:7) 'strongly, steadfastly'
 birgä (ShD114v:7) 'together'
 bu türlüg (RM20v:8) 'this kind of'
 cahran (RM2v:3) 'aloud'
 činīn (MM19v:13) 'firmly, convincingly'
 ḥufyatan (RM2v:2) 'silently'
 'iyan (RM46vv:4) 'clearly'
 kād (MM178v:7) 'very much, for sure'
 maṣbūqāna (MM184v:12) 'as prescribed for latecomers'
 nāgāh (DN253v:10) 'suddenly, inadvertently'
 nāgāh (DN258r:2) 'suddenly'
 nihānī (DN250v:10) 'secretly'
 nihufta (DN258v:7) 'in secret'
 qaṣdan (MM183v:9) 'by intention'
 qatīg (MM181r:15) 'very much'
 ravan (DN259r:6) 'at once'
 ḡa'ibāna (DN253v:2) 'invisibly'

E.g.,

Baṣe taṣlarnī bir yan taṣlar āgāh, ki tā yüz körgüzür bir la¹ nāgāh. (DN253v:10) 'How many pieces of stones tosses the expert lapidarist to the side until suddenly a piece of ruby shows its face to him.'

Ne der sen munda gar keltürsäm anī, nihufta ündäsäm ol bēnavānī? (DN258v:7) 'What would you say if I brought him here? If I secretly invited that miserable person?'

Degin anda kelürgä raḡbat ettük, ravan ṣuḥbat yaraḡin qil ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Ruḡina köz yaṣin etip ravāna, ḥiyālim birlä oynap ḡa'ibāna. (DN 253v:2) 'He lets his tears run down on his cheeks. In secret he is dallying with my phantom image'

Ṣabr etär bolsa kiṣi Ayyüb bigi har işdä bār̄k, dunyâ va 'uqbâ aning dur, ḡuṣṣa va ḡamdin ketär. (ShD38r:7-8) 'If a person exercises patience in all matters steadfastly like Job, the world and the hereafter are his and he walks out of [the realm of] sadness and grief.'

Kim asru bēvafā dur bu zamāna, cahān qalmas kišigā cavidāna. (MN295r:11) 'Because the times are most unfaithful. This world does not stay with anyone for ever.'

3.7.10.3. Adverbials of Quantity

anča (MM89v:17) 'as much'
az (RM10r:9) 'a little'
bağayat (Quṭb2990) 'very much'
barča (Quṭb2349) 'entirely'
bas (Sayf18v:3) 'enough, sufficient'
bek (NTM14r:2) 'very much'
biraz (NF12r:7) 'a little'
bu munča (RM32v:8) 'so much'
bu qadar (RM20v:8) 'this much'
čandan (DN259v:11) 'so much'
engān (MM194v:10) 'very much'
faravan (DN243r:10) 'numerous, abundant'
köp (DN247v:5) 'very much'
munča (GD19,7) 'as much'
üküş (MM179r:10) 'very much'
tālim (MM191v:5) 'much, many'
sarāsar (DN249v:6) 'entirely'

E. g.,

Ču mazmūni sarāsar boldi ma^lum, ne kim [er]di mubham boldi mafhūm. (DN255v:10) 'When its content became entirely known, anything that was doubtful before now was completely understood.'
Vafasizliq haṭṭini tartma köp bitimäs čon firišta ol gunāhim. (DN257v:10) 'Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.'

Qašim čandan sāning fikringni qildi, ki qayğudin boyi ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'

Bitidim nāma etip hāmani tez, sarāsar dard amma^luzrāmēz. (DN 249v:6) 'I finished writing the letter, moving the pen fast. It was pain in its entirety, but was mitigated by excuses.'

3.7.10.4. Adverbials of Place

anda (DN252v:3) 'there, then'
andin (H75r:10) 'from there'
ari bāri (Sayf181r:12) 'here and there'
artinča (Sayf34r:9) 'behind, after [him]'
bu maqamda (RM39r:5) 'here'

bu yärdä (H84v:4) 'here'
munda (DN260v:3) 'here'
mundin (MM193r:12) 'from here'
bäri (Sayf125v:12) 'here'
ilgäri (RM39r:9) 'forward'
qoyi (RM36r:5) 'down, downward'
taşqari (BN85v:3) 'outside, beyond'
taşra (Quṭb, Zaj. p.162) 'out, outward'
tört yaru (Quṭb Zaj. p.72) 'in four directions'
utru (Quṭb Zaj. p.201) 'before'
yaqin (Sayf55r:9) 'close'
yıraq (Sayf9v:4) 'far'
yuqari (Sayf155r:13) 'upward'

E.g.,

Agar sen anda körsäng nägah āzār, men eşitip bolur men munda afgār. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

Ketü aqça kemägä kir yoq esä taşqari oltur. (Sayf100r:8) 'Bring money and board the boat or else sit outside.'

Artinča barip tutup ketürdilär. (Sayf34r:9) 'They went after him and brought him back.'

Ma^çāni har yanındin körgüzüp zōr, salip har laḥza söz bāzārına şōr. (DN247v:5) 'Charms manifest their power from all directions. Every moment they cause devaluation in the market of words'

3.8. CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are divided into two groups: coordinating and subordinating. Coordinating conjunctions connect sentences that are not depending on one another to make a full sense. Subordinating conjunctions connect one or more subordinate sentences to a main sentence.

3.8.1. Coordinating Conjunctions

ammā (DN 246r:2) 'but'
balki (DN258r:10) 'nay [more], in fact'
basa (RW2r:6) 'and then'
birlä (DN246r:2) 'with'
birlän (DN253r:9) 'with'
daği (DN260r:11) 'and'
gah...gah (53v:13) 'now...now'
ham (Sayf181v:3) 'also'
ilä (Sayf182r:4) 'and'
ne...ne (Sayf78r:4) 'neither nor'

va (DN258r:10) 'and'
 vale (H74v:11) 'but'
 valēkin (H75v:9) 'but'
 yā (DN252v:1) 'or'
 yaḥu (Sayf154v:9) 'or else'
 yaḥud (RM30v:7) 'or'
 yoq esā (Sayf8r:9) 'otherwise'

E.g.,

Barur bat ḥusn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur ammā irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2) 'Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But [what] will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness.'

Ne bolsa käy daḡi äygü 'amal qil. (Sayf51r:12) 'Put on whatever you have and do good.'

Tüzälip ādamilār ḥöyün alḡin, ne degäy el daḡi āhir uyalḡin. (DN 260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Whatever people say, do not be ashamed after all.'

Ol qarındaš kim nafs asiri turur ne qarındaš bolur ne yaqin. (Sayf78r:4) 'A brother who is captive of the carnal soul is neither a brother nor a relative.'

Zarif va sarkaš va ziba va cammāš, qarın erdi anga balki qarındaš. (DN258r:10) 'She was witty, obstinate, elegant, and jolly. She was a close friend, nay, she was more, she was a close relative.'

Tegär mü kirpükümdin cānina oq? Balāni tüš körär mü közi yā yoq? (252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see affliction in his dream or not?'

3.8.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

agar (DN245r:7) 'if'³⁰⁷

agarçi (DN246v:4) 'even if, although'

az bas ki (DN260v:1) 'inasmuch as'

çön (DN242r:11) 'since, because; when'

çu (DN246v:5) 'when; since'

gar (DM242r:3) 'if'

garçi (DN256r:8) 'even if, although'

göya kim (GD68:7) 'as if'

magar (DN256v:6) 'by chance, may be, perhaps; except'

ki (DN244v:6) 'which'

kim (DN244v:7) 'which'

kim andin (DN247v:11) 'from whom'

kim anı (DN257v:5) 'whom'

³⁰⁷ With or without conditional in -sa.

ki ta (DN258v:10) ‘because’
ne kim (DN255v:10) ‘whatever’
neçük kim (DN258r:11) [‘in the same way] as’
qačan kim (Sayf162v:1) ‘when’
tā (DN243v:5) ‘since, until; ever since’
tā ki (Sayf152r:7) ‘in ordere that’
ya‘nī (DN251v:10) ‘which means’

E.g.,

Agar könglüng manga küysä, ‘**acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigäy rıq-qatımdın.** (DN245r:7) ‘If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.’

Ayağıña qoyayın zulf teg baş, agar tolğanmasang bu hidmatımdın. (DN245r:9) ‘I will put my head upon your feet like tresses if you do not move away from my service.’³⁰⁸

Sahv agar bir agar on ayat dur, ikki sacda anga kifayat dur. (MS11v:5) ‘No matter whether [the number of] Qur’an verses omitted [from the Qur’an recitation] is one or as many as ten, two propitiatory prostrations suffice [to atone] for them.’

Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarçı yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) ‘She said, “You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time].’

Saçim az baş ki özin urdı barham, sāning hāling bigin dur vaqte darham. (DN260r:1) ‘My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].’

Keçär canıdın avval suda ğavvās, ki ta ahar bolur bir durrgä ol haşş. (DN253v:7) ‘First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single³⁰⁹ pearl.’

Yafe ol martaba har kimgä yetmäs, bu savdada tamannā asiq etmäs. (DN250v:11) ‘But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction is of no avail.’

Men ol kün kim ğamıng sāzını tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülni cāndın üzdüm. (DN244v:8) The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul.’

Qılmağil sen namazda taqşır, ta³¹⁰ qiyāmta bolğa sen dilğir. (MS3v:4) ‘[So] do not be remiss in your prayers. Have a care or you will be filled with horror on that Day.’

³⁰⁸ Lit., from this presence of mine

³⁰⁹ In the sense of ‘unique’.

³¹⁰ *Tā-i zinhāriya* ‘the admonishing tā’

3.9. PARTICLES

Particles are modifying grammatical elements mostly without a lexical meaning. Their role emerges from the context. We distinguish seven groups of particles according to the manner how they influence the sentence.

3.9.1. Particles of Specification

Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in Modern Uzbek.

nāk (ShD121v:4-5) ‘exactly’³¹¹

E.g.,

Ay **qāzī rišvagarī ay muftī ḥašyagarī, ġam ġam otin nāk söndürür** ‘išqđin ḥabar anglamayin. (ShD121v:5) ‘O, the Bribe-taking Judge! O, the Fear-inspiring Mufti! They promptly extinguish the fire of many sorrows without understanding what love is.’

Közümdä nāk nihān sen könglümdä dur vişāling; Közüm uyalttı vaşling könglümdä sen ‘ayan sen. (ShD129r:8-9) ‘You are hidden from my eyes: union with you is in my heart. My eyes made you bashful of our union [but] in my heart you are clearly visible.’

3.9.2. Particles of Intensification

There are five groups of intensifying particles.

3.9.2.1. The Corroborative Particle oq/ ök

ök (MM176v6) ‘indeed, exactly’

oq (ShD5v:1) id.

E.g.,

Sān ök sän yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v6) ‘You are indeed the one who created the earth, the sky, the sun, and the moon.’

Sen oq sen manga pīr va šayḥ va murīd, sen oq sen manga muršīd va bu’l-vafa. (ShD5v:1) ‘You, indeed, are for me the elder, the sheikh, the novice; you, indeed, are for me the teacher and the faithful one.’

3.9.3. Deictic Particles

Very frequently used for precise pointing:

uš (MM177v:12) ‘look!’

ušal (Ḥ74v:2) ‘that same, that very’

ušol (MM177r:3) ‘that same, that very’

ušbu (ShD6v:8) ‘this same, this very’

³¹¹ Cf. Modern Uzbek **naх**,

mana (AYp.48) 'lo!, behold!'
şol (ShD15r:11) 'this same, this very'

E.g.,

‘Amaldin riya ham tilingdin nifaq köngüldin kitär kena **uş boldi cān.** (MM177v:12) ‘Cast ostentation from your heart and then [a proper] soul is there.’

Ay Şabāni **uşbu makrūh dunyāda şar‘inī qilsang dā‘im boldung calāl.** (ShD6v:6) ‘O, Shabāni, if you act according to His law in this detestable world, you will always be majestic.’

Laşkar-i islāmni çaksām qizil bōrk üstinā, bolğusī yāvar Madīna kişvaridin şol Habīb. (ShD15r:11) ‘When I lead the forces of Islam against the people of the red hat, that friend from the land of Madina will be my helper.’

Bi’smillāh dep bayān āylāy hikmat aytip, tāliblārgā durr u guhar saçtım, mana. (AYp.48) ‘I pronounced the name of God and stated my intention to declare the words of wisdom. Lo, I have sprinkled pearls and gems in front of the seekers.’

3.9.4. Interrogative Particles

-mu/-mü (DN252r:11) ‘is it?’
heç (DN252r:11) ‘at all?’

E.g.,

İçindā ‘ışq otidīn bar **mu** sōzī, tilār ağzīmni **heç** ol tangrōzī? (DN252r:11) ‘Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love [for me]? Does this pauper long for my lips?’

İtim firyādina **gah gah yetār mü? Kişisizliğina ol raḥm etār mü?** (DN252v:7) ‘Does he respond now and then to the howling of my dog? Does he take pity on its loneliness?’

3.9.5. Subjective [Modal] Particles

-ā (ShD146r:3) [prosodic expletive]
-a (MS16r:5) [prosodic expletive]
kü (ShD131r:2) ‘maybe’
-çi (ShD95v:4-5) ‘well’

E.g.,

Piyāla toldurup keltür, ay şālih, bu dunyā bizdin olsun pīr-i Zāl-a. (ShD146r:3) ‘I say, Traveler [on the Path]! Fill the cup and bring it to me. As far as we are concerned, let this world stay [nothing else but] an old man.’

Nā üçün tinmas közüngnüng yaşı dā‘im keçälār suğarur sen kü yana ol bağ va bustāningni sen. (ShD131r:2) ‘Why are the tears

from your eyes unceasingly pouring always at nights? Are you, maybe, watering your gardens again?’

İcmāgān bolsang Šabanī bar-čī ol mayhānağa. Kim uşol gulgūna şurat camidin bolğil ‘aqil. (ShD95v:4-5). ‘Šabanī, if you have not quenched your thirst yet, go to that tavern, so that you may be enlightened by the cup of that same rose-color image.’

Bir künigä ikki ay tutar rōza, aranı üzmäyin ki har rōza. (MS 16r:5) ‘[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two moths for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated the fast].’

3.9.6. Morphologic-Syntactic Particles

Particles of this group are permanent parts of set expressions with lexical status. All of them are of Persian origin and occur only with Arabic-Persian elements.

3.9.6.1. Coordinative Particles

-ü: **nām-ü nişan** (ShD35v:2) ‘name and sign’³¹²
şulh-u şalah (MM182v:1) ‘peace and reconciliation’
rōz-u şab (ShD44v:11-12) ‘day and night’³¹³
keçä u kündüz (ShD20r:12) ‘night and day’

ba-: **dam ba-dam** (ShD35v:2) ‘constantly, every moment’³¹⁴
dar ba-dar (ShD48v:13) ‘from door to door’³¹⁵
sar ba-sar (ShD49r:2) ‘from beginning to end’

ma-: **tün ma-kündüz** (Qutb H1148) ‘night and day’

tā-: **sar tā-qadam** (ShD130r:5) ‘from head to toe’

-ā: **dam-ā dam** (ShD145r:8) ‘always, every moment’
sar-ā sar (Navā’ī, Dict. III, 54) ‘from head to toe’³¹⁶
bar-ā bar (ShD149v:11) ‘together’³¹⁷

³¹² It expresses the total absence of any trace of a deceased person in the community he has left as opposed to *Ānūshīrvān*, the Just, whose good name and the effects of his good deeds survive for ever.

³¹³ This Persian phrase does not follow the Islamic practice of mentioning ‘night’ first.

³¹⁴ It often refers to permanent or lasting state of a person who enjoys the pleasures of Paradise [which renews every moment so that one does not get satiated or fed up with them].

³¹⁵ It is also used as a noun meaning ‘vagrant, vagabond’.

³¹⁶ Lit., from this end to that end

³¹⁷ Lit., from breast to breast’

E.g.,

Bu Gulistānga tamāšā qilğan er, dam ba-dam ma‘nī yemišin tā-za yer. (Sayf6v:7) ‘The one who walks around in this Rose Garden,³¹⁸ will enjoy the fresh fruit of meanings every moment.’

Kel bu yol savdāsini biz oynali: yürisün mavlā va şufi dar ba-dar. (ShD48v:13) ‘Come and play the madness of this path. Let the shaykh and the sufi go [begging] door to door.’

Ay basā emdi biling uşbu zaman, sarguzaştım ayğali yoq sar ba-sar. (ShD49r:1-2) ‘O, this world is just too much now, mark well! I do not feel like telling my story from beginning to end.’

3.9.6.2. Additive Particles

ham (H74r:1) ‘and even’

ham taqī (MM190r:16) ‘and also’

kārāk ham (MM190v:10) ‘or even’

taqī (RM5r:10) ‘and, and also, in addition’

yana (MM177r:6) ‘and, and also’

E.g.,

Bir oq birlä atsa, quş ursa neçä, kädik bir ya ikki kārāk ham üçä. (MM190r:6) ‘[Let us suppose that] a believer shoots one arrow or [releases] one falcon and [the arrow or falcon] wound several--one, two, or even three--game animals...’

Yana dört muqarrab şahāba üzä tümän ming bu ğufrān va rizvān saza. (MM177r:6) ‘And as to the four companions, who were the closest [followers of] Muhammad, let ten thousand thousand remissions and blessings be [their] share.’

Yunuğ icrā niyyat erür mustahabb taqī başlamaqlıq buyurmışça Rabb. (MM182r:13) ‘In the ablution the [statement of one’s] intent is praiseworthy. It is also [praiseworthy] to begin [and carry out] the ablution [in the manner that our Lord has decreed].’

3.9.6.3. Restrictive Particles

-ğina (ShD127v:4-5) ‘a bit’ [diminutive]; ‘at all’ [emphatic]

E.g.,

Furqat mayidin içtim bir cur‘anı pur şör män. Man‘ etmä meni zāhid andak ginä maḥmūr män. (ShD121r:10-11) ‘I drank a gulp from the wine of separation and I am full of bitterness. Ascetic do not stop me, I am a bit intoxicated.’

Qāzi bilä mavlalar Şaybānini ne bilsün; tegmä kişi bilmäs tur mastak ginä maṣūr män. (ShD127v:4-5) ‘How would the judge

³¹⁸ I.e., the one reads the book “Rosegarden” [of Sayf-i Sarāyī]

and the sheikh know Shaybanī? Not all the people know that I am victorious because I am a bit intoxicated.'

Könglüngä kelsä sora turğil birärdä, ay moğul, sendin özgä bu Şabänning heç ginä iħrami yoq. (ShD77v:10) 'If it occurs to you keep asking someone, O Moghul. Shabānī has no other refuge but you.'

3.9.6.4. Particles of Negation

dägül (Sayf13r:10) 'is not'

ğayr- (ShD130v:8) 'no'

heç (H81v:3) 'at all'

nä (DN254r:11) 'not'

ne (Sayf143v:5) 'nor'

ne...ne (Sayf164v:1) 'neither...nor'

E.g.,

Muruvvat körmädim bir faqırning cirāhatı üstünä tuz qoymaq ne öz könglümä. (Sayf143v:5) 'I did not regard it compatible with magnanimity to sprinkle salt upon the wound of a poor man or upon my heart.'

Yılan öltürüp balasın bäsänip çäqillar işi dägül. (Sayf13r:10) 'To kill the snake and bring up its young ones is not the work of the wise.'

Ne qattı bol kim el sändän üşängäy ne yumşaq qadrınga nuqşan ketürgäy. (Sayf164v:1) 'Don't be so hard as to break people who get in touch with you. Nor be so soft as to cause damage to your dignity.'

3.9.6.5. Particles of Affirmation

arı (H76r:3) 'yes'

balı (Sayf26r:12) 'yes'³¹⁹

arı balı (LN84) 'yes, sure'³²⁰

E.g.,

Oğlı ayttı: Ay ata, balı, ranc çäkmäyin ganc haşil bolmas. (Sayf 104v:13) 'His son said: O Father, yes, you are right, without taking pains, you will not find the treasure.'³²¹

Beğim ağzıngda söz arı balı dur, sözüngüzgä cavab arı balı dur. (LN84) 'My Lord, the words in your mouth are [sweet] like honey. The answer to your words is "yes, sure".'³²²

³¹⁹ I.e., you are right

³²⁰ I.e., yes sir!

³²¹ Cf., English 'No pain, no gain.'

³²² Also, answer to the question 'Am I not thy Lord?'

Dedi, arī tanur mən, ay şahīnšāh! Kirip başlarığa ağrığ banāgāh. (H76r:3) '[The boy] answered: Yes, I know him, O King! He has just come down with a head-ache.'

3.9.6.6. Particles of Comparison

māngiz (Sayf167v:1) 'similar'

mişal (Sayf37r:11) 'similar'

şifat (ShD160v:6) 'like'

şifat (Sayf66r:1) 'like'

E.g.,

Bu cumla halā'iq musāfir mengiz, taqī dünya tüpsüz qarığsüz tengiz. (MM179r:3) 'All creatures are like seafarers and this world is like a bottomless and shoreless sea.'

Gah bolur 'uryān ağaçlar, gah bolurlar gul şifat. (Sayf66r:1) 'The trees are sometimes naked, sometimes covered with flowers.'

3.9.7. Emphatic Particles

bas (H73v:4) 'very much'

basē (H80v:4) 'very'

eng (Sayf46v:12) 'very much'

engän (MM187v:15) 'very much'

köp (DN250r:1) 'much'

-la/-lä (MS16r:6) 'for sure'

ma (MM178v6) 'and how'

E.g.,

Bārgäy altmış faqīrlarğa ta'am yāhūd āzād äylägäy-lä gūlām. (MS16r:6) '[Or] he must feed sixty of the poor or set free one slave.'

Bu cān bermäk basē duşvār ekän dur, bu yärdä kim manga ğam-ħwār ekän dur? (H80v:4) 'How very difficult it is to give up one's soul! Who is there to take pity on me?'

Saçıngdın 'anbar erür köp uyatlıq, qara qul dur sanga bir 'anbar atlıq. (DN250r:2) 'By your hair³²³ the ambergris is put to shame. What you call³²⁴ ambergris, is [but] an unskilled servant of yours.'

3.9.8. Quasi Particles

This is a mixed category consisting of adverbs, adjectives and predicative words, verbal or nominal.

³²³ The fragrance of the Beloved's hair is meant.

³²⁴ Lit., what is called

3.9.8.1. Sentence Modifiers

They influence the meaning of the entire sentence.

ahir (Sayf120v:4) ‘at last, finally’

albatta (Sayf140v:8) ‘certainly, for sure’

haşsa (Sayf140v:3) ‘especially’

haşşatan (Sayf98v:2) ‘particularly’

E.g.,

Ahir bir kün az naf^c üçün **hatirim azarın rava** kördi. (Sayf 120v:4) ‘Finally, one day for a small gain he saw it fit to hurt my feelings.’

3.9.8.2. Predicative Particles

bar (DN252r:11) ‘is, exists’

dur (DN257v:5) ‘is’

keräk (DN246v:4) ‘it is necessary’

keräkmäs (Sayf163v:3) ‘it is not necessary, one should not’

käräkmäz (MM177v:11) ‘it is not necessary, it is not needed’

tur (DN246r:7) ‘is’

yoq (Sayf128v:5) ‘is not, it does not exist’

E.g.,

Dedi, “**Dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen**, agarçi yel sen **yanmaq keräk sen**. (DN246v:4) ‘She said, “You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time].”

Yüzüng közgü dur, ay husn içrä mähim, **hazar qıl kim anı tutmasun ahim**. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’

Meni sen körmä ‘aciz kim qavî dur maħabbat pāyasında dastgāhim. (DN257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’

Bu üç birikibän bolur, bil, imān. Valē boldi şūrat, käräkmäz mü cān? (MM177v:11) ‘Know that these three elements together constitute the Faith. But after the form had been created, is it not in need of a soul?’

3.10. INTERJECTIONS

Very frequent in the colloquial style.

al-amān (GD2:9) ‘Mercy!’

allāh akbar (GD114r:1) ‘God is Most Great’³²⁵

alā ay (DN259r:8) ‘Hark ye!’³²⁶

³²⁵ Used when the speaker expresses his admiration of God the Creator’s mastery.

ay (DN244r:7) ‘O’³²⁷
 biḥamdillāh (AYV,5d) ‘Praise be God!’³²⁸
 direḡā (Sayf132v:2) ‘What a pity!’
 fiḡān (GD145:7) ‘What a pity!’
 hay ḡay (AYIII,3b) ‘Quick Quick!’
 hayḡat hayḡat (AYXVII,4a) ‘Alas!’
 ḡayfā (AYXVI,9a) ‘Alas!’
 ḡudāra (ShD122r:10-11) ‘For God’s sake!’
 ilāhī (ShD86v:4 ‘O my Lord!’
 ta‘alā’illāh (ShD59v:3) ‘the most high God’³²⁹
 va direḡā (AYV,11) ‘It is a pity!’
 va ḡasrafā (Sayf182v:9) ‘Alas!’
 va’llāh bi’llāh (AYXXVII,6b) ‘verily’
 va’s-salām GD150:7) ‘That’s all!’
 vāvaylā (GD1:7) ‘Alas!’
 vā vaylata (AYI,250) ‘Alas!’
 vāy (GD75:1) ‘Alas!’
 vāy ne ḡasrat (AYII,230) ‘O, what a pity!’
 zahī (ShD29r:8-9) ‘What a...!, How excellent!’

E.g.,

Allāhu akbar uṣbu ne zēbā camāl erür kim ḡusn içindā mazḡar-i luf u kamāl erür. (GD114r:1) ‘God is most great.’³³⁰ What an exquisite beauty this is! As far as beauty is concerned, she is the place where elegance and perfection manifest themselves.’

Alā ay ḡamda tapḡan rangī tabdīl ravān etkān közi ṡangarfīn nīl. (DN259r:8) ‘Hark ye whose color has changed in grief, whose eyes make the Nile river flow with vermillion red [tears].’

Alā ay dard āhangīnī tutḡan, özini naḡşlar birlān avutḡan. (DN 246v:7) ‘Hark ye, who tuned on the melody of pain, who console yourself with [phantom] images.’

Biḡamdillāh iki nafsīm öldi, döşlar. (AYV,5d) ‘Praise be to God, Two of my souls³³¹ have died, O Friends!’

Zahī ṡāni‘ ki cān berdi, köngül ham berip, davlat ayaḡi ḡildi mulham. (DN228v: 4) ‘What an Artisan, who gave [us] soul and heart and inspired the cup of happiness.’

Labīḡ tabassum ilā āylā tirḡüzür ki masīḡ, zahī tabassum-i ṡīrin

³²⁶ Followed by a quality expressed mostly by a metaphor introduces an admonishment or a strong suggestion.

³²⁷ Used to address someone by some salient qualities, or by a proper name.

³²⁸ The first word of the Qur’an.

³²⁹ Meaning ‘what a masterpiece of the Creator this is!’

³³⁰ In beauty we admire the artistry of the Creator. Observing one we call His name.

³³¹ I.e., the commanding and the blaming

zahī kalām-i faṣīḥ. (ShD29r:8-9) ‘Your lips with a smile bring one alive like [Jesus] the Messiah. What a sweet smile! What eloquent words.’

Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gul-andām, ki bir dam bargsız tap-ğay men arām. (DN244v:6) ‘I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, who could find rest without [rose] leaves even for a moment.’

Yüzüñg közğü dur, ay ḥusn iĉrā māhim, ḥazar qıl kim anı tut-masun ahim. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’
On altımda barĉa arvāḥ ülüš berdi, ḥay ḥay sizğā mubarak dep Ādam keldi. (AYIII,3b) ‘When I was sixteen all the spirits gave me their shares. Quick Quick! Adam had come and said: Blessings for you!’

Közüm yaši bigin tofrağqa tüštüm, Hudārā salmağil meni nazardin. (ShD122r:10-11) ‘Like the tear drops of my eyes I fell into the dust. For God’s sake do not cast me away from your sight.’

Ta’ālā’llāḥ bu nā yüz dur yangaqı šu’lası cavhar, uşol cavharni saqlap tur iki saçı bolup aźdar. (ShD59v:3) ‘God the Most High! What a face is this? The flames of her cheeks are jewels. To guard those jewels, the two tresses turned into dragons.’

Ḥwāca men dep yolda qalsang, vāy ne hasrat. (AYII,23c) ‘You say you are a teacher and [then] get stuck on the road. Oh! What a pity!’

Vā vaylatā nadāmatni vaqtı yetti. (AYI,25c) ‘What a pity! The time of repentance has arrived.’

Pir-i Ḥafiz ötti uşbu duniyadin, ay direğā qalmadi ahl-i hunar. (ShD49r:3) ‘Shaikh Hafiz departed this world. O, what a pity! No man of skills has been left behind.’

3.11. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are foreign [Arabic or Persian] elements in Chagatay. Their use is restricted to lexical elements borrowed from these languages. Since these prepositions rarely occur with Turkish elements, they probably were borrowed into Chagatay together with the phrases they occur in. We distinguish primary and secondary prepositions and prepositional phrases.

3.11.1. Primary Prepositions

3.11.1.1. The Preposition *bā* ‘with’

bā bahā (BH4r:7) ‘precious’

bā ḥabar (Nava’ī, Gr. I,319) ‘informed’

bāmiqdār ((Nava’ī, Gr. I,319) ‘valuable’

bā nām u nišān (ShD63v:11) ‘without name and sign’³³²
bā şafā (ShD151r:13) ‘clean’

E.g.,

Bahr içindä qatranı ki qıldı durr-i bā bahā? (BH4r:7) ‘Who makes a drop [of water] in the sea a precious pearl?’
Ay Şabānı bil ki mihrāb-i du^cā dur qaşları. Tā^cat äylä kim tapıp sen bā şafā saccādaē. (ShD150r:12-13) ‘O, Shabānı, know that her eyebrows are the prayer-niche. Carry out acts of devotion because you have found a pure prayer carpet.’

3.11.1.2. The Preposition *ba* ‘to’

ba kamāl yātiş- (RB4v:11) ‘to reach perfection’
ba davām (RB9v:12) ‘constantly’
ba ğayat (H82r:9) ‘very much’
ba naĝah (H76r:3) ‘suddenly’
ba düş al- (ShD73r:9-10) ‘to shoulder’

E.g.,

Taba^cıyat çu yātişsä ba kamāl, dōst tutqay anı Hayy-i Muta^cāl. (RB4v:11) ‘When a person’s submission reaches such perfection, God, the Living and Most High will love him.’
Sirr bilmäyin qazı ne teg dayr-i muĝännı der ħarāb? Gar bilsä erdi mastnı alĝay edi anı badoş. (ShD73r:9-10) ‘Without knowing the secret, why does the Qadi call the house of the magi ruins? Had he known the drunk, he would have carried him on his shoulders.’

3.11.1.3. The Preposition *bar* ‘upon’

bar bād qıl- (H77v:2) ‘to destroy’
bar davām ol- (RB6v:11) ‘to continue’
bar guzın (BH12r:2) ‘select, chosen’
bar bār (ShD103v:11) ‘loaded’
bar qarār (ShD2v:1) ‘fixed, established’

E.g.,

Bar davām olsa sanga mayl artar, mayldın ħaşıl olur lazzatlar. (RB6v:1) ‘If you continue to [pronounce His name], your desire for Him will increase. From this desire you will receive pleasures.’

3.11.1.4. The Preposition *bē* ‘without’

bēqarār bol- (H81r:8) ‘to be agitated’
bē raf^c-i ħicāb (RB5r:7) ‘without lifting the curtain’
bē ĝiş u gil (RB5r:7) ‘without flow’

³³² I.e., totally unknown

bē daf^c-i niqāb (RB7r:13) ‘without throwing back the veil’
bē miṣāl (GD131:1) ‘peerless’
bē šakk (RB8v:8) ‘without doubt’

E.g.,

Qurb tapmas kiši bē raf^c-i hicāb, čahra körmäs kiši bē daf^c-i niqāb. (RB7r:13) ‘Without lifting the curtain one cannot draw near [to the Beloved]. Without throwing back the veil one cannot behold the Beloved’s face.’

Vahm-i cāndin nārasīda boldi ol dam beqarār. (H81r:8) ‘Fearing for the fate of his soul, the child became agitated.’

3.11.1.3. The Preposition *cuz* ‘other’

cuz haqq (RB7v:9) ‘other than God’

E.g.,

Kerāk andaq ki köngüldä muṭlaq qalmağay hēç ta‘alluq, cuz Haqq. (RB5r:13) ‘It is important that absolutely no attachment but attachment to God remain in one’s heart.’

3.11.2. Secondary Prepositions

Secondary prepositions are nouns that form an izafat construction with the noun they govern.

3.11.2.1. The Preposition ‘ayn-i ‘exactly like, same’

E.g.,

Bil ki bu yerdä durur bu muşkil: ‘Ayn-i Mazkūr bolur zākir, bil. (RB9r:8) ‘Know that it is here that the enigma is revealed. Know that (it is here that) the recollector becomes one with the Recollected.’

3.11.2.2. The Preposition ‘azm-i ‘setting out to’

E.g.,

Uşbu yaz faşlida ‘azm-i Astarābād äylädük. ‘Adl va dād ilä bu elni asru ābād äylädük. (ShD82r:2) ‘This very summer we set out for [the town of] Astarābād. With equity and justice we made the people [of this town] prosper in many ways.’
Äh u vāvaylā³³³ ki dilbar äylämiş ‘azm-i ‘İraq; qoyğusī dur bizni zār ü ħasta dar band-i firāq. (GD111,1) ‘O, dear me! [I hear] the heart-ravisher has set out for ‘Iraq. For sure she is going to put me, the desperate and miserable one, into the chains of separation.’

³³³ After this interjection a clause of cause follows.

3.11.2.3. The Preposition *ğayr-i* ‘other than, nothing but; without’

E.g.,

Könglüngä heç ta^calluq qalmas. Ğayr-i ihlās ilā qulluq qalmas. (RB8r:13) ‘There will remain no attachment (to other than God) in your heart. There will remain nothing but intimacy (with Him) and service (to Him).’³³⁴

3.11.2.4. The Preposition *hilāf-i* ‘contrary to’

hilāf-i ^cadat (Sayf60v:10) ‘contrary to habit’

hilāf-i ^cšar (Sayf131r:6) ‘contrary to the law’

hilāf-i ^ctab (Sayf119r:9) ‘contrary to nature’

E.g.,

Muḥāl-i ^caql dağī hilāf-i ^cšar durur kim sän bu kün mänim ^cuqūbatim elindän bu fazl va balāğat bilän qutulğay sän. (Sayf 131r:6) ‘It is incompatible with [good] reason and against the law that you, by means of this eloquence and witticism be saved from my punishment.’

3.11.2.5. The Preposition *maḥz-i* ‘only because of’

E.g.,

Bil ki bar dur bu degänlär barī maḥz-i fazl u karam-i Cabbārī. (RB5r:2) ‘Know (too,) that all that I have explained (to you so far) is possible only because of the Almighty’s grace and generosity.’

3.11.2.6. The Preposition *mišl-i* ‘such as; like, exactly as’

E.g.,

Bātingā köp aning martaba bar, mišl-i nafs u dil u sirr, ğayr bular. (RB4r:9) ‘His interior has many levels, such as that of the tranquil soul, the heart, the innermost part of the heart, and so on.’
Šun^c-i İlāh yazmıš yüzüng näyläsün ol ḥur u parī? Cannat içindä qayda dur mišl-i qadding şanavbarī? (ShD171v:3) ‘God drew up your face with His artistry. The houris and the fairies are at a loss. Where in Paradise is a cypress so straight as your body?’

3.11.2.7. The Preposition *qadr-i* ‘to the extent of’

E.g.,

Qil qiyās uş munga sen özgälärin qadr-i nisbat bilä bahra taparın. (RB4v:10) ‘By analogy to this (situation with the wick) note how other people obtain their share (of perfection) to the extent of their affinity.’

³³⁴ Intimacy with God and attachment to other than God are mutually exclusive states.

3.11.3. Prepositional phrases

Chagatay prefers the use of prepositional phrases. They are of Persian origin. They consist of a preposition and a noun and are joined to the noun they govern by the *izafat* -ī. They occur with Persian or Arabic nouns only.

3.11.3.1. The Prepositional Phrase *ba qadr-i* ‘in the measure of’

E.g.,

Şifat-i nafsdin uşbu furşat cazb etär nafs ba qadr-i nisbat. (RB 4v:7) ‘On such occasions [your] soul draws from the qualities of [your master’s] soul in the measure of your readiness.’

3.11.3.2. The Prepositional Phrase *ba cuz* ‘except’

E.g.,

Ol nämärsä biling ğizā ermäs, yesä väcib ba cuz qazā ermäs. (MS16r:2) ‘Know that if a person swallows something that is not [considered] food, he need only make up for that fast day [later]. There is no other obligation [incumbent upon him.]’

3.11.3.3. The Prepositional Phrase *bar ħasb-i* ‘according to’

E.g.,

Taba‘iyat anga bar ħasb-i kamāl qayda dur men sanga aytay, yād al. (RB5r:12) ‘Now I will tell you how best to emulate him. Impress what I will say upon your mind.’

3.12. ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS

hū-hū (ShD142r:7) [moaning of nursing mares]

kū-kū (ShD142r:6) [call of doves]

qu-qu (ShD142r:2) [calling home falcons]

qul-qul (ShD183v:8) [noise made by wine when poured from a long-necked bottle called *şurāhī*]

şu-şu (ShD142r13) [sound of running water on a steep slope]

hū hū (AY Eraslan p.438) [Sufi’s ejaculation < huwa huwa]

ū ū (ShD124v:3-4) [sound of the frog]

E.g.,

Män ölsäm sän but-i şangul şurāhī äylämä qulqul. Nā qulqul? Qulqul-i bada. Nā bada? Bada-i aħmar. (Sayf184r:7) ‘When I die, [O] Beautiful Idol, do not make the long-necked bottle gurgle. What gurgle? The gurgle of wine. What wine? The wine of natural red color.’³³⁵

³³⁵ Strong intoxicating wine

Čölökkän körmäy inanmas nečä bar desälär su su. ‘Acā’ib söyünür şunqarçı anga desälär **qu qu**. (ShD142r:1-2) ‘The one who is parched [in the desert] does not believe without seeing when they tell him water, water!. It is strange, however, that the falconist is happy³³⁶ when he hears the call coo coo.’

‘**Āşıqlar tavbasin dā’im buzār ol tūr-ra-i muškīn. Közi ğamzasidīn töklür alarnıng yaşları şu şu**. (ShD142r:13) ‘The musk scented black ringlet always upsets the lovers’ vow not to sin again. Their tear-drops go “shoo-shoo” in response to the coquettish glances [of the Beloved].’

‘**Āşıqlar askidīn ğarq ol uşol daryā-yi ‘irfānda. Durr üçün keci-bān baştın qıla kör anda sen ū ū**. (ShD142v:3-4) ‘From the tears of the lovers drown in the sea of gnosis. Losing your head in the quest of pearls go “oo oo” [like frogs].’

4. SYNTAX

4.1. SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

In carrying out their functions words in a sentence appear in relationships identifiable, both formally and semantically, as syntactic structures. The construction and application of these forms follow certain conventions which are part of the rules governing Chagatay syntax. There are seven kinds of syntactic structures:

4.1.1. Nouns Connected by Juxtaposition

Characteristic of this group is that the elements of the structure are semantically related.

ğam-ğuşsa (ShD45r:8-9) ‘sorrow and grief’
hadīs-naşş (MM194v:3) ‘the Traditions and the Qur’an’
hār-haşāk (DN258v:11) ‘thorn and rubbish’
ism-laqab (ShD45r:2-3) ‘names and their attributes’
nāla-firyād (DN240r:2) ‘complaint and call for help’
nafs-şayfān (RM2r:9) ‘the Carnal Soul and Satan’

E.g.,

Sen emdi fālib ersāng pīr-i muġāna bargül, mayhānadīn may içkil, ism-laqab barābar. (ShD45r:2-3) ‘Now, if you are the seeker [of their rank], go to the elder of the magi. Drink wine in the tavern, where names and their attributes are the same.’³³⁷

³³⁶ Without seeing the bird

³³⁷ Referring to simple and straightforward people. Cf. Cl.P. *yakrang*

Ol kōydaki kišilār ğam-ğussadin qutulğay. Ol vādining içindä šād va ta‘ab barabar. (ShD45r:8-9) ‘The folks of that street are exempt from sorrow and grief. In that valley joy and weariness have an equal status.’

Yuqaridin inip yamğur tüşār pāk, ki tā andin tirilir hār-hašak. (DN258v:11) ‘Descending from above the rain falls evenly³³⁸ so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.’

Aning dardidin etmäy heč kim yād, yätip dardina gah gah nala-firyād. (DN240r:2) ‘No one is mindful of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.’

4.1.2. Coordinated Words

Coordinated words consist of two nouns with related meanings joined by the conjunction *u* ‘and’ which metrically belongs to the word before it. As in modern Uzbek, this conjunction is never stressed and, in prosody, it is short. No other sentence elements can come between the coordinated words. They take modifiers and suffixes as one indivisible entity. E.g., {Māning + [nāmūs u nām] + im} + nī ‘my good repute and honor.’

āh u nālān (DN259v:7) ‘sighs and complaints’

‘ayš u tarab (AC324r:3) ‘feasts and merriments’

cān u cihān (DN251v:5) ‘the soul and the transitory world’

cafa u cavr (DN257v:3) ‘harm and cruelty’

dard u ğam (DN249r:1) ‘pain and grief’

guft u goy (DN253r:10) ‘conversation’

ħurd u kalān (AC328v:3) ‘small and great’

ranc u miħnat (DN251v:3) ‘pain and misery’

nām u nang (DN259v:7) ‘good name and honor’

nāmūs u nang (ShD45r:1) ‘good repute and honor’

nāmūs u nām (DN260v:9) ‘honor and good name’

nang u ‘ār (AC328r:6) ‘shame and disgrace’

rasm u ħoy (DN259r:2) ‘formality and disposition’

rūħ u ravān (DN251r:11) ‘soul and heart’

rüy u rāh (DN257v:9) ‘face and road’

söz u gudaz (DN258v:2) ‘burning and sizzling’

vafa u mihr (DN259r:2) ‘faith and love’

E.g.,

Māning nāmūs u nāmimni talašqin, alif teg kelgin va elgā ulašqin. (DN260r:9) ‘Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].’

³³⁸ The Creator bestows His grace upon everyone without distinction. Cf. Sa‘dī *Aning sansiz sağıšsiz raħmatining yağmuri barčağa yätip turur*. ‘The rain of His countless and boundless grace reaches everyone.’

Meni sen šam^c teg küydürmäging ne? Caḡa ū cavr etäkin türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?’

Bitidi nāma altun suyī birlän, yafa u mihr, rasm u hüvi birlän. (DN259r:2) ‘[The Beloved] wrote a letter with golden ink³³⁹, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.’

Tüzälmasün yüzüm dīn qiblasına gar özgä sarī bolsa rōy u rāhīm. (DN257v:9) ‘My face should not turn to the qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.³⁴⁰’

Açıldım ol ‘ināyat-nāmasidīn, qutuldu dard u ġam hangāmasidīn. (DN249r:1) ‘The deed of exemption cheered me up. Now I was saved from the multitude of pains and sorrows.’

Camāling nūr salġay tofraġimġa söyüngäy qālibim rūh u ravānī. (DN251r:11) ‘May the beauty of your face throw light upon my grave so that the soul and spirit of my body could rejoice.’

4.1.3. Nouns Modified by Other Nouns

Nouns are often used to modify other nouns. Such structures can be marked, or unmarked depending on whether the modification relationship is indicated by morphological means.

4.1.3.1. Nouns Without Markers [noun adjuncts]

4.1.3.1.1. Attributive Relationship

In these structures the first element modifies the second. The order of elements is unchangeable.

- ay yüz (Sayf117r:13) ‘moon-faced’
- altun qanat (Sayf181v:6) ‘golden wing’
- er oġlan (IM6v:2) ‘boy’
- erkäk at (KBV3r:18) ‘stallion’
- külük at (Sayf167r:5) ‘race horse’
- orta otruš (MM185r:6a) ‘internal sitting [in the prayer]’
- qisraq at (KBV3r:17) ‘mare’
- sarv boy (DN251v:1) ‘cypress like stature’
- song otruš (MM183r:16’) ‘final sitting’
- tämür qazuq (KBV10r:17) ‘iron stake’
- tämür mih (Sayf59v:2) ‘iron nail’

³³⁹ See the use of *altun suyī* in Sayf’s *Gulistān* (96r:3).

³⁴⁰ The Sufī notion of *mā siva’llāh* ‘other than God’ is used in this distich. The heart should be emptied from all other than God and only then can it be filled with God.

E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung eşikimdin, kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä cāni. (DN251v:1) ‘May Your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.’

Altun qanaṭin aṭi esä şubḥ şunqarı, kök kölgä batti cumlä kavakib kabutarı. (Sayf181v:6) ‘When the falcon of the morning spread its golden wings, the doves of all the stars went down in the blue lake [of the sky].’

4.1.3.1.2. Possessive Relationship.

In these structures the first element is the possessor, the second element is the possessed. Their sequence is unchangeable.

aş nūkar (MM190v:9) ‘servant in charge of providing food’

baş ağriq (NTM14r:7) ‘headache’

bel bağ (NTM14r:9) ‘belt’

eşik ağa (NTM5r:5) ‘doorkeeper of the king’

iç ağriq (NTM14r:7) ‘stomachache’

qiyamat kün (MM178r:8) ‘the Day of Resurrection’

quduq su (NTM13r:9) ‘well water’

tamuğ ot (MM199r:18) ‘hellfire’

E.g.,

Basip yüzün otğa qarartıp mängiz, basurğay başına tamuğ ot qirin. (MM199r:18) ‘His face will be pressed into fire in order to blacken it and the pitch of hellfire will be poured upon his head.’

Hiyanat makrdin köngül ḥalī qil, qiyamat kün artuq kün aydin yüzüng. (MM178r:8) ‘Free your heart from fraud and malice and [then] on the Day of Resurrection, your face will be more radiant than the sun or the moon.’

4.1.3.2. With Possessive Suffix on the Head [Reference Structures]

The circumstance that the second element is dependent on the first is indicated by a suffix. The order of the elements is unchangeable. No other element can come between the two parts.

ay başı (NTM12r:8) ‘the beginning of the month’

farah şafası (Sayf41v:4-5) ‘the serenity of joy’

Haqq rizası (Sayf25v:9) ‘God’s satisfaction’

iş atı (NTM9r:8) ‘work horse’

iş igiti (NTM9r:8) ‘warrior’

köz yaşı (DN251v:4) ‘tears’

maşaqqat eli (DN239v:1) ‘the grip³⁴¹ of difficulty’

mihnat tüni (DN257r:1) ‘night of misery’³⁴²

³⁴¹ Lit., the hand

musulmān laškari (Sayf 174v:8) ‘the armed forces of Islam’
navrōz küni (IM5v:4) ‘New Year’s Day’
ṣahrā yeli (DN253v:3) ‘desert wind’

E.g.,

Uzun boldi ğamim miḥnat tūni teg, tulū^c etkil manga davlat kūni teg. (DN257r:1) ‘My sorrow became long like the night of misery. Rise for me, like the sun of happiness.’

Mašaqqat elinā salġuči cānin. Ōzi öz boynina qilġuči qanin. (DN 239v:5) ‘He willfully gives over his soul to troubles.³⁴³ He takes upon himself to carry out his own execution.’

Ṣahrā yeli teg ‘umr baqāsi keçti, ğam cavri daġi farah ṣafāsi keçti. (Sayf41v:4-5) ‘Like a desert wind the time span of our lives has passed. The tyranny of sadness and the serenity of joy have passed.’

4.1.3.3. Oblique Case Forms of Nouns Used as Modifiers

Case forms other than the nominative can also modify nouns, not as widely, though, than in Modern Uzbek. Even the genitive case, which is the standard element of possessive structures in Turkic occurs less frequently in this role.

4.1.3.3.1. Nouns in the Genitive Case

āḥiratning davlati (ShD15r:7) ‘the wealth of the hereafter’
elning köngli (ShD82r:7) ‘the heart of the people’
gulning ḥarḥari (DN254r:2) ‘restlessness caused by the rose’
künāšning nuri (Sayf118r:4) ‘sunlight’
mayning ḥumari ((DN254v:3) ‘intoxication caused by wine’
sultānning i‘tiqādi (Sayf58v:8) ‘the confidence of the Sultān’
šaharning sirri (ShD46r:10) ‘the secret of the city’
tasavvufning ḥaqiqati (Sayf72v:5) ‘the essence of sufizm’
yüzümning lalazari (DN254r:2) ‘the tulip patch of my face’

E.g.,

Tilār bolsang yüzümning lalazarin, unuqtin özgā gulning ḥarḥarin. (DN254v:2) ‘If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other roses.’

Labim nuqlin alur bolsang aġizġa, čiqarġil baštın ol mayning ḥumarin. (DN254v:3) ‘If you take the sweet-meat of my lips in the mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of wine.’

³⁴² I.e., a night spent in misery [which is deemed very long]

³⁴³ Lit., tosses his soul into the grips of difficulties

Körüp bir gulni yel yangliğ erişmä, savurmağil köngülning röz-gärin. (DN254v:6) ‘Beholding a rose do not rush there like the wind. Do not scatter the household³⁴⁴ of the heart.’

Note: (1) Members of this structure can be separated from one another by other sentence elements. The second element, therefore, cannot have a modifier of its own. Also, the sequence of the members cannot be reversed: E.g.,

Cāhil er qilsa cafa bolma mukaddar, ay ḥakīm! Ne bilür közsüz kim ärsä qadrini naqqāşning. (Sayf170r:2) ‘If an ignorant man does an act of cruelty, do not be sad, O Wise Man. How would a blind man appreciate the rank of a painter?’

Bir vazirning aning bilän ğarazi bar edi. (Sayf34r:8) ‘One vazir harbored a grudge against him.’

(2) Possessive structures can contain more than one noun in the genitive case. It must be remembered, however, that even such complex structures consist of two parts one or both of which can further break down into two constituents. E.g., {[Zavzan šahri + ning maliki] + ning bir ḥwācasī} ‘one merchant of the king of the city of Zavzan’ or {[qullar + ning ‘amali] + ning cazāsī} ‘punishment for the deeds of the servants.’

4.1.3.3.2. Nouns in the Dative Case

‘arifğa qulavuz (MM198v:9) ‘a guide for the mystic’

balāğa şabr (MM195r:16) ‘patience in misfortune’

balāğa riza (MM195r:17) ‘satisfaction in misfortune’

bu ‘alamğa qal‘a (MM200r:1) ‘a fortress for this world’

laḥafatğa ma‘din (MM200r:4) ‘in eloquence a deposit of precious stones’

qazāğa riza (MM195r:16) ‘acquiescence in Divine Judgment’

E.g.,

Laḥafatğa ma‘din, karam kāni ol, özi birlä mavcūd, biling, erdi cud. (MM200r:4) ‘In subtleties of expression he was a deposit of precious stones, in kindness he was a mine. Know that generosity existed with his [very] self.’

4.1.3.3.3. Nouns in the Locative Case

haqīqatda Ḥaqq (MM177v:5) ‘the Real Truth’

haqīqatda ‘irfan (MM195v:3) ‘true knowledge of God’

qiliqlarda körklüg (MM200v:8) ‘the beauty among virtues’

³⁴⁴ Do not destroy the heart.

E.g.,

Haqiqatda ʿirfan ačilsa sanga baqa bilmägäy sän käräk öng songa. (MM195v:3) ‘When the true knowledge of [the Lord] has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences.’³⁴⁵

4.1.3.3.4. Nouns with the Equative Case

ay teg yüz (DN250v:2) ‘moon-like face’

künäs teg äygü at (Sayf143r:2) ‘good name [so well known everywhere] as the sun’

malak teg vucüd (MM200r:1) ‘an angel-like being’

lala teg ruhsār (ShD55v:8) ‘tulip-like cheeks’

E.g.,

Halāʾiqlar ara malak teg vucüd; ğizāsī qiyām u rukūʿ u sucüd. (MM200r:3) ‘Among creatures he was an angel-like being. His sustenance was standings, bows and prostrations.’³⁴⁶

4.1.4. Bahuvrihi Compounds

A bahuvrihi compound names an object or a person by one of his salient characteristics. It consists of two elements one of which can be a noun or an adjective. E.g., **šāf** ‘pure, unmixed’, **mašrab** ‘drink’ in composition yield **šāfmašrab** ‘the one whose drink is pure’, i.e., a person who is innocent, naive, or unsophisticated. This typically Persian [< Indo-European] phenomenon is represented in Chagatay only by Persian loans.

ʿalicanab (Ḥ326r:2) ‘eminent, honorable’

badafʿāl (Sayf79r:2) ‘wicked’

badʿalaf (AC326r:10) ‘a renegade’

gülbadan (Sayf125r:5) ‘slender, delicate’

māhpaykar (DM258r:5) ‘a moon-faced beauty’

maḥabbat-peša (DN257r:4) ‘lover [in the Sufi sense]’

parešan rozgar (DN239v:7) ‘one who is afflicted with troubles’

farḥunda-maqdam (DN248v:9) ‘one whose arrival brings joy’

gulruḥ (Ḥ77v:2) ‘rose-faced’

ḥaṭirparešan (Ḥ81v:10) ‘distressed in mind’

pakdīn (Ḥ79r:11) ‘adherent of the Pure Faith’

šāfmašrab (DN258r:7) ‘naive, innocent, unsophisticated’

sarvqāmat (DM249v:11) ‘straight and erect like a cypress’

sarvqadd (Ḥ77v:4) ‘cypress-bodied’

šakarlab (Ḥ78v:3) ‘sweet-tongued’

³⁴⁵ The duality of the creator and the created disappears.

³⁴⁶ Elements of the daily prayers. Sainted people are like angels, they are not in the need of food.

šīrīnkālām (H224r:6) ‘eloquent’
tangrōzī (DN252r:11) ‘a pauper’

E.g.

İčindä ‘išq otidīn bar mu sōzī, tilār ağzīmni hēç ol **tangrōzī?** (DN 252r:11) ‘Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love [for me]? Does this pauper long for my lips?’

Sen unutup **mahabbat-peşalarni**, saġinip qandaġi andeşalarni. (DN257r:4) ‘You have forgotten the lovers³⁴⁷, thinking about concerns of old days.’

Şakar sözlüg niġar-i **sarvqāmat**, ki sen olturdung va qopti qiyāmat. (DN249v:11) ‘A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.’³⁴⁸

4.1.5. Predicative Compounds

Predicative compounds are the Turkish equivalents to Iranian *bahuvrihi* compounds. They are preceded by the demonstrative pronouns **bu**, **ol**, or **by** at the interjections **ay**, **ayā**. E.g.,

Vafāsiz dilruba sän, ay beli qil. (Sayf117v:12) ‘You are an unfaithful heart ravisher, O slender-waisted [Beauty].’

Bu asli yog havasqa qoyma bunyād, tükänmäş dard u ġamdin bolmaġil şād. (DN241v:8) ‘Do not set up your foundation³⁴⁹ upon passion without essence. Derive no gladness from unending pain and sorrow.’

Ol yüzi ay kim cihānning cāni dur. (Sayf179r:10) ‘That moon-faced beauty who is the soul of this world.’

Tişim lülüsidiñ ol közi daryā, çiqarur mu falak yangliġ surayyā? (DN252v:2) ‘From the pearls of my teeth does this ocean-eyed [beauty] bring forth the pleiades as the sky does?’

Cavābida dedi ol qaşi häcib, kim anda parda açmaq bar munāsib. (DN258v:8) ‘In answer said that [intimate friend] whose eyebrow was the chamberlain: “It is now appropriate to open the curtain.”’

4.1.6. Izafat Structures

In izafat structures the head [notion to be modified] occupies the first position and is followed through a connective syllable [izafat -i] by the modifier. The izafat structure is Iranian by origin and occurs mostly with Persian and Arabic constituents. There are simple and complex izafat structures. Extra long izafat structures are called izafat chains.

³⁴⁷ I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God].

³⁴⁸ For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistān* 12r:10

³⁴⁹ I.e., do not build on. The phrase refers to any enterprise we may consider to undertake.

In the Chagatay language simple izafat structures occur in abundance. Complex structures are favored only in prose works.

There are two types of izafat structures: Adjectival and Possessive.

4.1.6.1. Adjectival Izafat structures

The second element in adjectival izafat structures is a Persian or Arabic adjective. Turkish words are rare in this function.

- ‘**ā**šiq-i **b**ecān (DN258r:2) ‘a lifeless lover’³⁵⁰
durr-i šamīn (DN255r:5) ‘a valuable pearl’
macmū‘-i **šāfi** (DN255r:8) ‘a pure collection’
rah-i rāst (DN258v:5) ‘a straight path’
ša‘r-i **nihānī** (DN258r:8) ‘a hidden law’
šayyād-i mağbūn (DN258r:8) ‘a dull fisherman’
yār-i haqīqī (DN255r:4) ‘a true friend’
bitig-i ‘āšiqāna (DN256r:2) ‘a love letter’

E.g.,

Eligdä **haṭṭ** sözi **durr-i šamīn** teg, ne **haṭṭ** kim ol **nigāristān-i ċīn** teg. (DN255r:5) ‘In the hand was the letter, its words were like precious pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.’
Köngül teg **haṭṭlarī macmū**‘-i **šāfi** **šafağa** körmäki bar erdi **kāfi**. (DN255r:8) ‘The characters [of her letter] were, like [her] heart, serene and collected. It was enough [for the reader] to contemplate over [this] serenity.’

Ötär köp **čašmadīn šayyād-i mağbūn**, ki **tā māhī** kirār elinā bir **kün**. (DN253v:8) ‘The dull fisherman³⁵¹ passes through many rivers until one day a fish comes into his hands.’

Qašimğa yetti ol **yār-i haqīqī**, **bolup rangi** yügürmäktin ‘**aqīqī**. (DN255r:4) ‘That true friend³⁵² came to my presence, its face

4.1.6.2. Possessive Izafat Structures

In possessive izafat structures both elements are nouns. The first expresses the possessed, the second, the possessor: **āb** ‘water’, **hayvān** ‘life’> **āb-i hayvān** (DN242v:8) ‘the water of life’

- ahl-i dil** (ShD55r:13) ‘people of heart’³⁵³
cam-i Camšed (DN242r:11) ‘the cup of Jamshīd’

³⁵⁰ A Sufi who “died before he died”.

³⁵¹ The fisherman’s ability to catch fish is the symbole of one who is able to recognize and make appropriate use of any given opportunity [*ğānīmat tutmaq*]. A dull [*mağbūn*], weak [*za’if*], or unlucky [*tālī ‘sīz*] fisherman could be one who, because of weakness (Gul. 94v:2), or lack of luck (Gul. 173r:5), or not being ready for the moment (Gul. 168v:9) misses the opportunity.

³⁵² I.e., the Morning Wind.

³⁵³ A Muslim with a perfect heart (*haqīqat köngül*).

dard-i dil (DN243r:10) ‘pain of the heart’
nafir-i cang (DN247v:4) ‘battle trumpet’
nigār-i sarvqamat (DN249v:11) ‘a cypress-bodied beauty’
nigāristān-i Ćin (DN255r:5) ‘a Chinese picture-gallery’
pīr-i muḡān (ShD112r:13) ‘the elder of the magi’
sarv-i saman bar (DN245r:2) ‘a jasmine-bosomed cypress’
šam-i daycūr (DN259v:1) ‘a very dark night’
šoḡ-i šakarḡand (DN243v:5) ‘a mischief-maker with a sweet smile’

E.g.,

Ravān qildi falak ĉon cām-i Camšed, aĉiqlanip qizarip ĉiqtī ḡwarsēd. (DN242r:11) ‘When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.’

Farāvān dard-i dil körgüzüp anda, qilip šarḡi kim ol siḡmas gumānda. (DN243r:10) ‘In it I presented plenty of complaints about my situation the exposition of which did not leave place for doubts.’

Nafir-i cang teg har yerdä ĉalip, fiḡāni yirlap aḡi ötkān alip. (DN247r:4) ‘Like a battle trumpet he blares everywhere. His lament sounds like wailing, his sigh carries one away.’

Šakar sözlüg nigār-i sarvqamat, ki sen olturdung va qopti qiyāmat. (DN249v:11) ‘A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.’³⁵⁴

Eligdä ḡatt sözi durr-i samīn teg, ne ḡatt kim ol nigāristān-i ĉīn teg. (DN255r:5) ‘In the hand was the letter, its words were like valuable pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.’

Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgäy vašl bāḡidīn manga bar. (DN245r:2) ‘My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.’

4.1.7. Arabic Izafat Structures

Arabic izafat structures occur as isolated elements of the vocabulary [set expressions, idioms, titles]. Turkish words do not participate in their formation.

Amīru’l-mu’minīn (RM28r:4) ‘the Commander of the faithful’

fariḡu’l-bāl (DN243v:1) ‘free from care’

laylatu’l-qadr ‘the darkest of the night’³⁵⁵

muizzu’s-salṡanat (RM2r:5) ‘who brings honor to the Sultanate’³⁵⁶

rūḡu’l-quḡūs (ShD176r:3) ‘Gabriel, the Holy Soul’

³⁵⁴ For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistān* 12r:10

³⁵⁵ Lit., the night of power

³⁵⁶ Title of the son of Muḡammad Shaybānī Khān.

qābīzu'l-arvāh (H74v:3) 'Izrā'il, the Soul-taker angel'
sarī'u's-sayr (DN256r:2) 'quick in passing'³⁵⁷
rahmatu'l-lāhi (ShD166v:6) 'the mercy of God'
tarfatu'l-ʿayn (RB8r:1)) 'twingling of an eye'

E.g.,

Közi Čolpan munavvar ʿarizi badr, yangi ay qaši, sači laylatu'l-qadr. (DN256r:6) 'Her eyes are the planet Venus, her shining face, the full moon. Her eyebrows are the new moon and her hair, the darkest of the night.'

Anga tapšurdum va ol ucti darḥāl, etip saʿy anda yatti fariḡu'l-bāl. (DN243r:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Wind] and it took to wings right away. Exerting itself, it arrived there free from care.'

Sarī'u'sayr bitig-i ʿašiḡāna, elimdin aldī va boldī ravāna. (DN 256r:2) 'The One Who is Quick in Passing'³⁵⁸ took the love letter from my hand and set out on its way.'

4.2. GOVERNMENT

Verbs and to some extent adjectives require that their nominal complements be in certain case forms. This phenomenon is called government. It is similar to what we find in Indo-European languages. Individual Turkish verbs, however, often deviate from the conventions of their Indo-European equivalents, e.g., English '*enter the house*' Chagatay **ḡanaga kirmäk** [complement in the dative case] '*left for Margilan*' Chagatay **Margilanḡa bardī** [complement in the dative case] or **bardī Margilan** [complement in the unmarked accusative case]. In discussing the case forms of nouns above we gave an extensive list of verbs and adjectives and provided ample examples for their usage. Here we discuss and illustrate the syntactic implications of government.

4.2.1. Government by Verbs

Verbs may govern the accusative, dative, locative, and ablative cases of nouns, i.e., they may require that the complement be in one of these case forms if it occurs with these verbs.

4.2.1.1. Accusative Case

Many verbs govern the accusative case [for a representative list see 3.1.4.2.3.7.] Most of them are transitive verbs with a direct object in the accusative case like their English equivalents. Sometimes, however, they

³⁵⁷ Epithet of the Morning Breeze often personified.

³⁵⁸ The Morning Breeze.

translate into English by prepositional phrases or idioms. E.g., **de-** ‘to call someone something; choose’, **ilin-** ‘to be caught up in something’; **sağın-** ‘to think about’; **talaş-** ‘to compete’: **şir̄nlik talaş-** ‘to compete in sweetness’; **cān talaş-** ‘to be in the throes of death’ (< to fight for one’s life); **yığ-** ‘to gather, collect’: **ağiz yığ-** ‘to close one’s lips.’

4.2.1.1.1. Verbs Governing the Accusative Case

oğša- (GD215:4) ‘to resemble, look like’
sağın- (DN257r:4) ‘to think of or about’
talaş- (GD3:2) ‘to compete, contest’
fāq yürü- (DN255v:8) ‘[for the sun] to sail in the sky’
ta’ammul qil- (DN242v:11) ‘to contemplate’
tilä- (GD54r5) ‘to desire’
tüş kör- (DN252r:7) ‘to dream of something’
yetür- (Sayf131r:5) ‘to deliver a point’
yığ- (DN252r:3) ‘to collect’

4.2.1.1.1.2. With Marked Accusative Case Forms

For grammatical and semantic reasons the noun in direct object role is marked by the accusative case ending. E.g.,

Bu latıfani tangsuq yetürdüng. (Sayf131r:5) ‘You delivered this point amazingly.’³⁵⁹

Tegär mü kirpükümdin cānina oq? Balāni түş körär mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) ‘Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?’³⁶⁰

Men ol kün kim ğamıng sazını tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülni cāndin üzdüm. (DN244v:8) ‘The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul’.

4.2.1.1.1.2. With Unmarked Accusative Case Form

A nonspecific direct object may occur in the nominative case. E.g.,

Tutup Sayf-i Sarayı qız erini, latıfa sözladi közlöp yerini. (Sayf 138v:11) ‘Sayf of Saray grabbed the husband of the girl, noticing his situation he told him an anecdote.’

Sa’adat birlä hwarşedi yürüp fāq, qilip har zarradın darh̄wāst muştaq. (DN255v:8) ‘By her felicity she is like the sun sailing in the sky and demanding homage from every speck of dust.’³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Note that D.O. is modified by *bu*.

³⁶⁰ The D.O. is specific.

³⁶¹ Intransitive verbs with direct objects.

4.2.1.2. Dative Case

A group of verbs [3.1.4.2.5.6] and adjectives [3.1.4.2.5.8] take their complements in the dative case. Most of the time the complement is the indirect object of the sentence. Depending on the semantic content of the verb the dative case complement may indicate the destination, reason, exchange value and other relations, e.g., **küy-** ‘to burn’ > ‘to suffer’, **manga küysä** ‘if he suffers because of me’; **sat-** ‘to sell’, **bir cavğa sat-** ‘to sell for or exchange with a grain of barley.’ Here are a few examples for the special uses of the dative case with verbs or adjectives.

4.2.1.2.1. Verbs Governing the Dative Case

- inan-** (MM177r:17) ‘to believe in’
- küy-** (DN245r:7) ‘to suffer because of s.o.’
- oħša-** (ShD1v:13) ‘to look like, to resemble’
- qoy-** (DN243v:2) ‘to put down s.where’
- sal-** (DN245v:7) ‘to put or cast s.th. s.where’
- sat-** (DN247r:3) ‘to sell s.th. for; give in exchange of s.th.’
- sep-** (DN246r:5) ‘to sprinkle’
- yet-** (DN245r:2) ‘to come to s.o.’

E.g.,

Agar könglüng manga küysä, ‘*acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigäy rıq-qatımdın.* (DN245r:7) ‘If If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.’

Dedi, Netsün kişi bu muhtalağa, ki küç birlän özin saldı balāğa? (DN245v:7) ‘She said, “What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition, brings trouble upon himself?”’

Barı ay ħırmanın bir cavğa satqan, elig tartıp ayağın ı uzatqan. (DN247r:3) ‘He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.’³⁶²

Umedim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgäy vaşl bağidın manga bar. (DN245r:2) ‘My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.’

Hamın kim taptı yarı ħazratına, tavazü qıldı va qoydı qatına. (DN243v:2) ‘As soon as it arrived to the presence of the friend, it greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.’

Olüg başına tepmäklik ħwaş ermäs, savuq su yüzigä sepmäk ħwaş ermäs. (DN246r:5) ‘It is not fair to kick the head of a dead person [to see whether he is alive]. It is of no avail to sprinkle water in his face.’

³⁶² A sign of disregarding the rules of decent social behavior.

4.2.1.2.2. Adjectives Governing the Dative Case

hayrān (DN247v:1) ‘amazed at’
hursand (DN256r:10) ‘pleased, satisfied with’
lā’iq (Sayf50r:8) ‘worthy of, deserving s.th.’
lāzim (Sayf173r:11) ‘necessary’
mağrūr (Sayf101r:5) ‘proud of s.th.’
mulāzim (DM258v:1) ‘needed’
munāsib (RM30r:4) ‘appropriate for’
musallam (Sayf97r:12) ‘granted to’
muštaq (GD141:5) ‘longing for, desirous of’
muta‘alliq (RB4r:8) ‘dependent on’
sā‘ī (DN246r:4) ‘thirsty’
sazā (GD11:7) ‘deserved’
sazāvar (Nava’ī Dict.III, 26) ‘worthy of’
yaraša (GD114:5) ‘appropriate for’
yavuq (DN246r:7) ‘close to’

E.g.,

Ayağingā qoyuban başini qand, labingdin suyī bir sormaqqa hursand. (DN256r:10) ‘The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.’

Hamēša sāya teg künğā mulāzim bolup erišmäki boynına lāzim. (DM258v:1) ‘She is always in attendance to the sun, like a shadow³⁶³. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].’

Körüp tur gul yüzin bulbul hamēša tikānlārgā yavuq tur gul hamēša. (DN246r:7) ‘The nightingale keeps her eyes on the face of the rose all the time. All the time roses are close to thorns.’

Birāv kim cān bilān yoq tur niza‘i, nečük men bolayin qanına sā‘i? (DN246r:4) ‘How could I be after the blood someone who has no quarrel with [his] soul?’

4.2.1.3. Locative Case

Nouns in the locative case generally occur as adverbs with no intrinsic relationship with the verb of the sentence. A few verbs, however, specifically require their components in the locative case in order to convey the intended meaning:

āriš- (Sayf99v:9) ‘to reach s.where’
čiq- (DH243v:9) ‘to go out s.where’
kel- (DN243v:10) ‘to come to a place’
sal- (DN244r:8) ‘to throw s.where’
tap- ((DN247v:5) ‘to find s.th., s.where’

³⁶³ Shadow cannot exist without a source of light.

yaşun- (DH243v:9) ‘to hide s.where’
 yät- (DN243r:1) ‘to arrive, to get to s.where’

E.g.,

Har mun^cam öz sarāyına aḥşam turup kelür. Aḥşam ġarib qanda ärişsä sarāyi ol. (Sayf99v:9) ‘In the evening every well-to-do person returns to his home. The stranger’s home is where he arrives in the evening.’

Yaşunup gul yüzüngdin bağlarda, qaçip lala çiqiban tağlarda. (DH243v:9) ‘The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.’³⁶⁴

Anga tapşurdum va ol uçti darḥāl, etip sa^cy anda yätti fariġu’l-bāl. (DN243v:1) ‘I handed it over to [the Morning Wind]. It took to wings right away. Exerting itself it arrived there and was free from care.’

Köngüldä ‘işqıng oti saldı bulġaq, yana daġ üstinä sen qoymaġil daġ. (DN244r:8) ‘The fire of your love cast confusion into [my] heart. Do not press again the branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.’

Kelip tur bağda guldin açılmaq, yaraşmas til tikän teg tēz qılmaq. (DN246r:6) ‘It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [,however,] to make one’s tongue as sharp as the thorn.’

Bitiġläringdä saldım men base köz, tilädim köp sözüngdä tapmadım söz. (DN247v:5) ‘I stared at your writing for a long time. Much as I wanted to I did not find words to express your message.’

4.2.1.4. Ablative case

A group of verbs [3.1.4.2.7.6.] and a few adjectives govern the ablative case.

4.2.1.4.1. Verbs Governing the Ablative Case

bar- (DN245r:10) ‘to leave, go away from’

eri- (DN245r:7) ‘to melt [because of...]

köç- (MM196r:17) ‘to depart from’

qol- (MM192r:16) ‘to ask s.th. from s.o.’

qorq- (GD121:5) ‘to be afraid of, to fear from’

qutul- (DN245r:8) ‘to escape’

saqın- (Sayf14:10) ‘to beware’

üz- (DN244v:7) ‘to tear off or away’

üzül- (MM172v:17) ‘to be separated from’

³⁶⁴ The tulip gives up the garden and flees to the wilderness.

vahm et- (DN247r:11) 'to suspect'
 yigil- (MM179r:6) 'to avoid, refrain from'

E.g.,

Men ol kün kim ğamıng sızını tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülñi cāndin üzdüm. (DN244v:8) 'The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul.'

Agar könglüng manga küysä, 'acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigay riq-qatımdin. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

Tanımdin cān körüp ra'cāna qaddingni, ravān boldi qutuldi min-natımdin. (DN245r:8) 'The soul saw your graceful stature and left my body to escape my gratitude.'

Amiri asrağil köz yağı birlä, sen ol gulñi ki barmasun qatımdin. (DN245r:10) 'Amiri, norture that rose with the oil of [your] eyes so that it never leave your presence.'

4.2.1.4.2. Adjectives Governing the Ablative Case

fariğ (DN251r:4) 'free from'

hālī (Sayf14v:13) 'free from, empty of'

mahrūm (GD219:5) 'debarred from'

malul (GD130:5) 'depressed'

munazzah (MM178r:6) 'independent [of everything]'

E.g.,

Munazzah cumladin ol Hāy-i Bāqī, yürür amri bilān ol davr ayaqı. (Sayf80r:2) '[God,] the Everliving One is exempted of everything. The cup of that circle goes around by His command.'

Hıyanat makirdin köngül hālī qıl, qiyamat kün artuq kün aydin yüzüñg. (MM178r:8) 'Free your heart from fraud and malice and [then] on the Day of Resurrection, your face will be more radiant than the sun or the moon.'

Tüşüp tofraq teg fariğ işidin, ne yel teg kim kelip ötkay kişidin. (DN251r:4) 'When free from his task he settles like dust unlike the wind that comes and passes on.'

4.3. THE SENTENCE

Sentences are grammatically organized syntactic entities expressing complete thoughts. By content they are positive or negative statements, questions, expressions of a will, wish, desire, or command. Accordingly, we distinguish: affirmative, negative, interrogative, exclamatory, desiderative, imperative and prohibitive sentences.

By their structure sentences can be simple [bare, expanded, elliptical], compound or complex.

4.3.1. Classification According to Function

4.3.1.1. Declarative Sentences

A declarative sentence is a positive or negative statement about a subject's action or state. The verb can introduce different aspects in the predication. E.g.,

Qamar p̄ara boldi iṣ̄arat bilā. (MM178v:6) 'The moon split at [his] sign.'

Rasulğa idi berdi ming mu^cciza. (MM178v:9) 'God granted [our] Prophet a thousand miracles.'

Miṣ̄rda bir begning ikki oğli qaldı. (Sayf81v:10) 'In Egypt a merchant was survived by two sons.'

Ṣ̄ab-i mi^rrac anı dōzaḥda kördüm. (Ḥ74v:10) 'On the Night of the Ascension I saw him in Hell.'

Busağadın Kingira qoptı ravān. (AC327r:9) 'All of a sudden Kingira³⁶⁵ jumped up from the threshold.'

Ḥudāğa yaqmadi bu mihribānliq. (Ḥ74v:2) 'God did not approve of [his prophet's] attachment [to his son].'

Amanatgā qılalmas m̄an ḥiyanat. (Ḥ74r:5) 'I cannot violate the trust of those who have entrusted something to me.'

Cabra^{il} keltürdi Mūsāğa ḥabar. (BN88r:8) 'Gabriel forwarded the message to Moses.'

4.3.1.2. Interrogative Sentences

An interrogative sentence expresses a question and is construed in various ways:

4.3.1.2.1. By the yes-or-no particle mu/mü

Tanur mu s̄an māni c̄ān dilimni? (Ḥ76r:2) 'Do you know [my son], the beloved of my soul and heart?'

Tegār mü kirpükümdin c̄ānina oq? Balāni tüş körār mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?'

Ne dur ḥālī aning ğam laṣkarında, yanı aḡrır mu mihnat bista-rında? (DM252v:6)? 'What is his condition in the army of sorrows? Is his side hurting in the sickbed of misery?'

³⁶⁵ Name of a string instrument.

Yüzüm h̄wars̄edidin h̄ayrān yūrūr mü? Bolup bir zarra sargar-dān yūrūr mü? (DM252r:8) ‘Doesn’t he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn’t he move perplexed?’³⁶⁶

4.3.1.2. By Interrogative Pronouns

Ne h̄aʿis̄din silār³⁶⁷ **otqa giriftār?** (H̄75r:1) ‘Why are you captive in the fire?’

Nečük **kečār s̄ān bu h̄ālatta?** (Sayf68r:3) ‘How do you fare in this situation?’

Köngül qačan **h̄waš bolğay?** (NSMp.108) ‘When is the heart good?’

Mening teg qanj **bir p̄ir kār?** (AC324v:6) ‘Where [in the world] is there another experienced person like me?’

4.3.1.3. Imperative Sentences

In an imperative sentence the speaker expresses a command or a prohibition. E.g.,

Camālingd̄in cihānni čhravar q̄il, uzatmağil h̄ikāyat muhtašar q̄il. (ShD96v:10-11) ‘Make this world attractive by your beauty. Do not make the story long. Make it concise.’

Māning nāmūs u nāmimni talašq̄in, alif teg kelgin va elgā ulašq̄in. (DN260r:9) ‘Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].

Taning ham tap̄insun **bir baš ayağni, til ačip sözgā t̄indursun qulağni.** (DN260v:2) ‘Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ear.’

Cunūn sarh̄wašluğidin özüngā kel, dimāgingda havād̄in salmağil yel. (DN260v:4) ‘Sober up from the intoxication of madness; out of passion do not occupy your mind with things of naught.’³⁶⁸

Camālingd̄in munavvar q̄il közümni, ešitmā el sözin ešit sözümni. (DN257r:2) ‘Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.’

4.3.1.4. Exclamatory Sentences

In an exclamatory sentence the speaker expresses surprise, admiration, disapproval, or indignation about something irregular or out of the ordinary. It is often used in didactic works. E.g.

³⁶⁶ The image is: Whirling like a speck of dust made visible by the sunray.

³⁶⁷ Cf. Uzbek сўлап in the Tashkent dialect.

³⁶⁸ Lit., do not put wind in your brain

**Meni sen šam^c teg küydürmāging ne!? Cafā va cavr etākin tür-
mäking ne!?** (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like
[you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing
harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?’³⁶⁹

**Meni, ay baht, ‘amdā tepmäking ne? Cirāhat üstidā, tuz sepmā-
king ne?** (DN244r:7) ‘O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking
me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt on my
wounds?’³⁷⁰

Ne ḥacat bašinga tāc-i mašā’ih! (Sayf57v:12) ‘What need is there
to put the crown of sheikhs upon your head?’³⁷¹

Qanī māli Qārūn, qanī ol qaram! (MM188r:4) ‘Where [today] is
the wealth of Qārūn? Where is that ditch [that swallowed him and
his wealth].’³⁷²

Cān qačan bolğay gulistāndan malūl? (Sayf6v:8) ‘When would
the spirit be tired of the rose garden?’³⁷³

Bu ne fitna u ğavğā erür? (AC323r:5) ‘What is this uproar and
racket?’³⁷⁴

4.3.2. Classification According to Status

4.3.2.1. Affirmative Sentences

An affirmative sentence contains a positive statement. E.g.,

Uşal damda yātiştilār ikāvlān. (Ḥ77r:1) ‘At that moment they
both arrived.’

Taqvāsiz ‘alim közsüz maš‘aladārğā oḥşar. (Sayf161r:6) ‘A
wise man without piety resembles a torchbearer who has no eyes.’

Ka‘badīn afzal erür könglüm māning. (BN90v:3) ‘My heart is of
greater value than the Ka‘ba.’

4.3.2.2. Negative Sentences

A negative sentence conveys a negative statement. It is construed in
various ways.

4.3.2.2.1. By Negative Verbs

İkāvini atasī mān emās mān. (Ḥ74r:3) ‘I am not the father of
either one of them.’

Manga ögrāt mādi bu yolni ustād. (Ḥ76v:8) ‘The master did not
teach us this way.’³⁷⁵

³⁶⁹ I.e., What is the meaning of...

³⁷⁰ I.e., It does not make sense. It is of no avail.

³⁷¹ I.e., No need whatsoever.

³⁷² I.e., All are gone.

³⁷³ I.e., Never! How could it!

³⁷⁴ I.e., Stop it!

³⁷⁵ I.e., What you have just said does not agree with the teachings of my master.

Hudāğa yaqmadi bu mihribānliq. (H74v:2) ‘God did not approve of this attachment.’

4.3.2.2.2. By the Negative Particle *yoq*

Dedilār al-vida^c ay hamnišīnlār ki kōrmāk emdi yoq, ay pākdi-nlār. (H79r:11) ‘[Then Ibrahīm] continued, Farewell, O Class-mates! We will no meet again, O Adherents of the Pure Faith.’

Čarasī yoq tur. (H79v:8) ‘There is nothing to be done about this.’

Bu mašalni ešitkāning yoq mu? (Sayf17r:13) ‘Have you not heard this anecdote?’

4.3.2.2.3. By the Negative Conjunction *ne...ne, nē...nē* ‘neither...nor’

Nē qatti bol ki el sändān üšāngāy nē yumšaq qadrīnga nuqšan ketürgäy. (Sayf164v:1) ‘Don’t be so hard that people shatter when you touch them. Nor be so soft that they bring damage to your authority.’

4.3.2.2.4. By the Negative Particles *dägül* and *emäs*

Har quši ‘anqa degül dur, har bašar insan emäs. (GD74-3) ‘Not every bird is a phoenix. Not every man is human.’

Bu išning songi ma^clūm dägül. (Sayf42r:4) ‘The outcome of this matter is not known.’

Hwaš ermäs cavnri haddin ašurmaq kelip oq atmaq va yani yašurmaq. (DN244r:11) ‘It is not proper to increase cruelty beyond limits, to come and shoot the arrow and hide the bow.’

4.3.2.3. Conditional Sentences

A conditional sentence indicates the condition of an action, expressed or implied. E.g.,

Šam^c hācat dägül künäs togsa. (Sayf115v:11) ‘There is no need for candles if the sun is risen.’

Agar also özümingni alsun. (H74r:4) ‘But if he is determined to take [one of these three boys] let Him take mine.’

Öydä bolsang bu ihtiyātlarni qil. (MŞ8r:1) ‘If you are at home take these options.’

4.3.2.4. Possibilitive Sentences

A possibilitive sentence expresses the feasibility of an action. E.g.,

Munun tutsa bolur hidayat quši. (MM180r:10) ‘Through them one can catch up with the bird of guidance [at the destination].’

Bu kün sorsa bolur. (MM194v:4) ‘Today it is possible to ask.’

4.3.2.5. Impossibilitive Sentences

An impossibilitive sentence indicates that an action cannot or should not be carried out. E.g.,

Binā bānīsiz bolmaqı, bil, muhāl. (MM178r:12). ‘Know that a building cannot come into existence without a builder.’

Uruğ āksā bolmas, kirür yergä tong. (MM193r:10) ‘It is not possible to sow the seeds [for] frost penetrates the soil.’

Bir iqlimā siğışmas ikki sultān. (Sayf12r:12) ‘Two kings do not fit into one country.’

4.3.2.6. Desiderative Sentences

A desiderative sentence indicates the desirability of an action. E.g.,

İting ay kaş ki bolsa qarınım, özin etsä bu yerdä hamnişinim. (DN251r:1) ‘If only your dog would be my associate. If only it would make itself my companion in this [very] place!’

Har gadālar teg eşikdä qılmağıl sen dar ba-dar, bolsam erdi kaş-ki men eşikingdä hākrāk. (ShD89r:7-8) ‘Don’t make yourself a vagabond at the threshold like all the beggars do. If only I could be at your threshold lowlier [in rank] than dust.’

4.3.3. Classification According to Structure

4.3.3.1. Simple Sentences

Simple sentences consist of a subject and a verbal or nominal predicate. These are the two main constituents of a sentence.

4.3.3.1.1. Bare Sentences

In bare sentences the subject and predicate occur without any modifiers or complements. E.g.,

Sözi şakkar. (Sayf70r:8) ‘His words are [sweet, like] sugar.’

Qalmadı h̄waca fulān. (Sayf10r:9) ‘Merchant so-and-so passed away.’

4.3.3.1.2. Elliptical Sentences

In elliptical sentences one of the main elements, mostly the subject, is not directly expressed. E.g.,

Bağdādlıq tur. Faşih erkān dur. (NMp.108) ‘He was from Baghdad. He was eloquent.’³⁷⁶

³⁷⁶ Person and number of the subject are indicated by the verb. Actual subject is provided by the context.

Ne miqdār? Qaç ayğa? Bahāsī neçä? (MM192r:1) ‘How much? For how many months? What is its price?’

Nä ‘İsrat? ‘İsrat-i cannat. Nä cannat? Cannat-i Kavşar. (Sayf 184r:13) ‘What pleasure? The pleasure of paradise. What paradise? The paradise of Kawşar.’

4.3.3.1.3. Expanded Sentences

In addition to a subject and a verbal or nominal predicate expanded sentences have other members, such as direct object, indirect object, and various adverbials. These are called secondary elements of the sentence. E.g.,

Yetti gardündin aşurdī nālasīn miskīn gadā. (GD162,6) ‘Poor Gadā made his complaint rise above the seven heavens.’³⁷⁷

Diyār Bakr elindā bir aq saqallī h̄wāca mānī evinā qonaq ältti. (Sayf135r:1) ‘In the town of Diyar Bakr a white bearded Khoja took me to his home as [his] guest.’³⁷⁸

4.3.3.2. Secondary Elements of the Sentence

The secondary elements relate to one particular member or to the sentence as a whole.

4.3.3.2.1. Subject Complements

Bustān içindā qaddīng sarv-i ravān körünür. (Sayf184v:5) ‘In the garden your stature appears to be a walking cypress.’

Şakar sözüngdān kelür mukarrar. (Sayf185r:5) ‘Sugar becomes double refined from your words.’

Yuqaridīn inip yamğur tüşār pāk, ki tā andīn tirilür h̄ār h̄aşāk. (DN258v:11) ‘Descending from above the rain falls evenly so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.’

Giyāhīm çıqsa nāgah cān teg, ay dōst! Körüngäy ‘āşiq-i bēcān teg, ay dōst! (DN258r:2) ‘My grass comes up unexpected as the soul[’s leaving the body], O Friend. It will show like a lover without a soul, O Friend.’

Anga ol şī‘r ara kim qaldī mahzūn, radīfe bar edi, maqbūl va mavzūn. (DN258r:9) ‘In that poem which remained somber she had a cowalker’³⁷⁹, very pleasant and wellshaped.’

³⁷⁷ The subject *Gadā* has an adjective modifier, *miskīn*. The verb *aşurdī* has a direct object, *nālasīn* and an adverbial phrase *yetti gardündin*.

³⁷⁸ The subject *h̄wāca* is modified by the adjective *aq-saqallī* and specified by the numeral *bir*. The verb *ältti* in the predicate has a direct object *mānī* and a predicative object *qonaq*, and an adverbial phrase of place *Diyār Bakr elindā*.

³⁷⁹ Ar. *radīf* ‘one who rides behind another on the same horse’. Also: ‘a word following the rhyme’

Saʿādat birlä h̄waršedi yürüp faq, qilip har zarradin darh̄wast mušfaq. (DN255v:8) ‘By her felicity she is like the sun sailing in the sky and demanding homage from every speck of dust.’

4.3.3.2.2. Direct Objects

Direct objects can be marked and unmarked depending on morphological and semantic considerations.

E.g.,

Meni sen körmä ʿaciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasında dastgāhim. (DN257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’

Tilādi kaḡid va cōn boldi mavcūd, qalam tilini etti ʿanbar ālūd. (DN252v:8) ‘She asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was provided, she covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.’³⁸⁰

Qoyuban bašini ḥattinggā ḥama, sözüng etip šabanī girdnāma. (DN250v:1) ‘The pen buried its head into your letter. Your words made Zephir to serve as a magic medium.’³⁸¹

4.3.3.2.3. Predicate Complements

The complement can be a single noun, or adjective or a nominal phrase. It has no accusative case marker. The direct object to which the predicate object belongs is always marked by the accusative case ending. E.g.,

Yollaringning gardini qildim közümdä tūtiva: Közlärinning yašidin nāzuk nihāling saqladim. (ShD100v10-11) ‘I made the dust of your paths collyrium of my eyes. By the tears of my eyes I nurtured your delicate branches.’

Kelip tur baḡda guldin açilmaq, yarašmas til tikān teg tēz qilmaq. (DN246r:6) ‘It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [,however,] to make one’s tongue as sharp as the thorn.’

Nečük men dōstni dušman qilayin, elig bersā ayaḡini silayin. (DN248r:1) ‘How could I treat a friend like an enemy?’³⁸² If he gives his hand, I will rub [my face to] his feet.’³⁸³

Meni sen körmä ʿaciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasında dastgāhim. (DN257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’

(Steingass, p.573)

³⁸⁰ I.e., he dipped the tip of the pen into the inkwell. Reference is made to the fragrance of the ink.

³⁸¹ *Girdnāma*, an amulet that makes the escaping slave return.

³⁸² Friendship has been highly valued in Uzbek tradition.

³⁸³ In humble respect and repentance. The image is taken from Sufi practices: When coming to the presence of the sheih the novice [*murīd*] prostrates and places his left or right cheek [depending on whether he is sinful or forgiven] upon the sheikh’s feet

Qiliban muşknī ol ‘anbarīn meng, cihān iĉrā qara tofraq bilān teng. (DN243v:8) ‘That ambergris scented beauty spot reduced [the value of the] musk to [the level of the] common clay in the [entire] world.’

Etip ḥaṣāknī gavhar bilān teng, qīlīp tofraqnī ‘anbar bilān teng. (DN249r:10) ‘She made a mote equal to a jewel. She made the dust equal to ambergris.’

Kim alīp tur aġizġa gōk terin, bilīp tur ḥusn ara ṣakarnī šīrīn. (DN257v:2) ‘He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth will appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by beauty.’

4.3.3.2.4. Indirect Objects

Indirect objects are generally indicated by the dative case. After verbs expressing motion the locative [-*da/-dā*] or accusative [without case ending] can occur to mark the indirect object. In this usage the finite verb generally precedes the unmarked accusative case. E.g.,

Aṭīnīn tilingā köp mazkūr et.(RB6v:9) ‘Make your tongue always mention His name.’

Yüzüm altungā tutġay erdi ani, közidā asraġay erdi nihānī. (DN 250v:10) ‘My face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.’³⁸⁴

Mundīn ol vergā taraqqī qīlur ol, ‘aql ol vergā ešit tapmas yol. (RB9r:5) ‘Listen well, from here he will proceed to that place to which reason can never find a way.’

Kōzīn yašin aqurdi bardī maġtab. (H78v:3) ‘He was shedding his tears when arrived at the school.’³⁸⁵

Degin anda kelürgā raġbat ettük, ravān ṣuḥbat yaraġīn qīl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) ‘Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time’

Asīlur dārgā nā üçün Maṣūr, biling? Cānīnī ma‘ṣuq üçün isār etār. (ShD46r:6-7) ‘Maṣūr is hanged on the gallows, do you know why? He sacrifices his life for the beloved.

4.3.3.2.5. Adverbials

Adverbials can be single words (adverbs, adjectives and nouns in adverbial role, case forms of nouns, pronouns, numbers, postpositional

³⁸⁴ For *kōzidā* cf. P. *ba-čašm*.

³⁸⁵ Cf. Modern Uzbek Мен сизнинг Марғилон келганингизни бугун отамдан эшитдим ‘I heard today from my father about your arrival to Marghilan.’

and prepositional phrases). We distinguish adverbials of place, time, and manner.

4.3.3.2.5.1. Adverbials of Place

An adverbial of place expresses the location where an action takes place or where someone or something is.

Alarning bişāti qirağida olturdī. (Nava’ī, NMP.159) ‘He sat down at the edge of their carpet.’

Muvabbab tapti anda ‘išq rāzin, mufaşşal içidā bir bir bayānin. (DN252r:1) ‘She found in it the secrets of love laid out in chapters with statements disclosed one by one in paragraphs.’

Yol üstündā bir esrük kişi yatur edi. (Sayf76r:10) ‘On the road a drunk person was lying.’

Mān safardā tüni küni ta^cbān, tegmā şagird elindā sargardān. (Sayf77r:12) ‘Night and day I tire out when the army is on the move. My head turns in every servant’s hands.’³⁸⁶

Şab-i mi^crāc anī dozahda kördüm. Bular kimlār bolur dep anda sordum. (H74v:10) ‘On the night of the Ascension I beheld them in Hell. “Who are these [creatures]?” I asked.’

4.3.3.2.5.2. Adverbials of Time

An adverbial of time expresses the time before, during, after or in the duration of an action takes place or a situation exists.

Har namāz-i şamdin songra kelür erdi. (Nava’ī, NMP.158) ‘He would come after every evening prayer.’

Üç kün Şirāzda erdi. (Nava’ī, NMP.158) ‘He was in Shiraz for three days.’

Bu kün topraq bol andan burunraq kim ertā gil taning topraq bolğay. (Sayf77r:6-7) ‘Turn into dust today, before your clay body turns into dust tomorrow.’

4.3.3.2.5.3. Adverbials of Manner

An adverbial of manner expresses how, in what way, or by what means an action is performed.

Aytılıp aynıng başında bu ğazal, ay va yıl ‘anqā bigin közdin uçar. (ShD50v:1-2) This ghazal was recited at the beginning of the month. Months and years fly out of [our] vision like a phoenix.’³⁸⁷

On ikki yığaç yayağ kelip tur. (Nava’ī, NMP. 159) ‘He came walking twelve miles.’

³⁸⁶ Said about a banner.

³⁸⁷ A phoenix never dies. When her lifespan is over, she disappears.

Bolur āsān bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) ‘Step by step what is difficult will become easy.’

Tävā arqun yürür āsān tün va kün. (Sayf137r:4) ‘The camel walks slow, without stopping, night and day.’

4.3.3.3. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences consists of two or more independent clauses. By the nature of the relationship of these clauses to one another we distinguish copulative, adversative, disjunctive, conclusive, and explicative compound sentences.

4.3.3.3.1. Copulative Sentences

In copulative compound sentences independent clauses are joined or listed in a coordinated series. The clauses may be connected by the simple conjunctions **va**, **u**, **ham**, **daği**, by the serial conjunctions **ham ... ham**, **gah ...gah** [~ **gah...gah**, **gahi...gahi**], or without the use of conjunctions.

4.3.3.3.1.1. Copulative Sentences with a Conjunction

Fiğānim tindī va firyād uçti, şarab keldi va ğam fi'l-ḥāl köçti. (DN249r:3) ‘My sobbing has ceased, and the cry for help has gone. Celebration has come and grief at once has moved away’.³⁸⁸

Barur bat ḥusn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur ammā irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2) ‘Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But [what] will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness.’

Şakar sözlüg niğar-i sarvqamat, ki sen olturdung va qopti qiyamat. (DN249v:11) A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.³⁸⁹

Men emdi ḥasta va ğam artmaqda; ḥiyāling allida cān tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) ‘Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing. Facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.’

Gah bolur ‘uryān ağaçlar, gah bolurlar gul şifat. (Sayf66r:1). ‘Trees sometimes are naked, sometimes are [dressed] like flowers.’

4.3.3.3.1.2. Copulative Sentences without Conjunction

İşqing yolında banda män, sen kün sen va män zarra män, Yading bilä män zinda män iki cihānda nām-i cān. (ShD11r:6-7) ‘On the path of [my] love for you I am your servant, you are the sun and I am a speck of dust. Recollecting you I am alive. In the two worlds you are the name of the soul.’

³⁸⁸ Like a nomad caravan Sorrow packed up its chattels and left [köçti].

³⁸⁹ For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistān* (12r:10)

Közi Çolpan, munavvar ^çarizi badr, yangi ay qaşi, saçi laylatu'l-qadr. (DN256r:6) 'Her eyes are the planet Venus, her shining face, the full moon. Her eyebrows are the new moon and her hair, the darkest of the night.'³⁹⁰

Karam körgüz 'azimat markabın sür, özünni har neçük et anda yetkür. (DN249v:5) 'Be gracious, drive on [your] mount'³⁹¹ and in whatever way, get yourself there.'

Cihani yaruğay canı tirilgây, tiriglär sanına atı kirilgây. (DN 251v:7) 'May his world light up, may his soul come to life, and may his name enter the list of those who are alive.'

Körüp bir sarvni barur özidin, yürür cöyän va su turmas közidin. (DN254r:5) 'Noticing one cypress'³⁹² he is besides himself. He walks as if in search and the stream of tears running from his eyes never stops.'

Käyiklär teg kezip etip cigar hün, ğamı tağ va qızıl yaşı tabarhün. (DN259v:3) 'He is strolling like a deer absorbed in [tormenting] thoughts. His sorrow is a mountain, his tears, the fruit of the jujube [tree].'

4.3.3.3.2. Adversative Compound Sentences

Adversative compound sentences contain contrasted clauses. The second clause, by means of adversative conjunctions contradicts the first clause. The adversative conjunctions are: **ki** 'but', **ammā** 'but, however', **vale**, **valek**, **valekin** 'but, yet, however', **lek**, **lekin** 'but, yet, however', **balki** 'on the contrary, but', **va** 'but'. E.g.,

Özi bir yerdä va yüz yerdä közi, tili iki va yüz ağızda sözi. (DN 254r:9) 'He himself is in one place but his eyes are in hundred places. He has two tongues'³⁹³ but his reputation is in a hundred mouths.'³⁹⁴

Oq tāmüri cirāhatdın çiqar vale nişāni qalur. (Sayf101r:9) 'The iron point of the arrow comes out of the wound but its mark stays.'

Barur bat husn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur ammā irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2;) 'Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But what will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness'

Cihānda köp muğannılar valekin bu eşi yoq tur. (Sayf61r:7) 'There are many singers in this world, but this one has no equal.'

³⁹⁰ There are four nominal sentences in this couplet.

³⁹¹ 'Azimat markabi' 'mount of travel', i.e., not a pack animal.

³⁹² I.e., a cypress-shaped beauty.

³⁹³ I.e., he is a dissembler. Cf. P. *duzabān* 'having two tongues'

³⁹⁴ He is the talk of the community for his strange behavior.

Zamānē ḥarf ‘ilminā isindī, iči küydi, **vālē** qorqup qisindī. (DN 258r:6) ‘For a while she was busy with the science of characters.³⁹⁵ She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.’

Tiriglik sarīdin urmay nafas hēč, čiqip bat bat damī **ammā** kelip hēč. (DN259r:11) ‘He does not breathe at all to give a sign of being alive. He is panting fast but no word comes out of [his mouth].’

Ĝami Farhād yangliĝ körgüzür zör, ĝami širīn **vālēkin** fāli‘i šör. (DN259v:5) ‘His sadness manifests the strength of a stone-cutter.³⁹⁶ His sadness is sweet³⁹⁷ but his fortune is brackish.’

Zarīf va sarkaš va zībā va cammās, qarīn erdi anga **balki** qarindaš. (258r:10) ‘She was witty, obstinate, elegant, and jolly. She was a close friend, nay, she was more, she was like a close relative.’

Bu kün tilāgim erišti **vālē** ne fā‘ida? (Sayf19r:67) ‘Today [the object] of my desire has come, but what is the benefit?’

Notes: (1) The conjunctions **vālē**, **vālēkin** may indicate the beginning of a new scene in the narration or a transition to a new topic. E.g.,

Vālēkin İbrāhīmdin sözni angla, aning caning qulaqi birlā tinglä. (H75v:9) ‘Now hear these words about İbrāhīm; listen to them with the ear of your soul.’

Vālē payĝambar oĝliĝa baqardī, közini yaši marcān dek aqardī. (H74r:8) ‘(And now) whenever the Prophet looked at his son, tears of coral pears would flow from his eyes.’

(2) The phrase **ammā ba‘d** ‘and now to our topic’ is a technical term to indicate the title or topic of a work after the conventional introductory elements [*Bismillāh*, praise of God by His creation and some of His Most Beautiful Names, praise of the Prophet by his Sublime Morals and his miracles, mention of the Prophet’s companions]. E.g.,

Ammā ba‘d. Mundaq aytur faqir-i ḥaqir, al-mutavakkilu ‘alā‘l-maliki‘l-musta‘an, Muḥammad aš-Şaybanī ibn Abī‘l-Ḥayr Ḥan, raḥimahu‘llahu ar-Rahmān. (RM1v:4) ‘Now to begin. The humble beggar, who puts trust in God, whose aid is implored, Muhammad ash-Shaybanī, son of Abu‘-Khayr Khan, may the mercy of God the Merciful be upon him, says as follows.’

³⁹⁵ She was reading the letter.

³⁹⁶ Consider *farhād* ‘stone cutter’ and *Farhād* prop.n. the lover of Širīn.

³⁹⁷ Consider *širīn* adj. ‘sweet’ and *Širīn* prop.n. the Beloved of Farhad.

4.3.3.3. Disjunctive Compound Sentences

Disjunctive sentences offer a choice of two or more alternatives. The following conjunctions are used: *yā*, *vayā* 'or', *yā...yā* 'either, or', *yoqsa*, *yoq ersā* 'or else', *ḥwāh...ḥwāh*, *ḥwāhī...ḥwāhī* 'either...or' *ne...ne*, *nē...nē* 'neither...nor'. E.g.,

Cihān sāvgān kišining közlärini qanā 'at toldurur **yā** ölsä topraq. (Sayf93r:5) 'The eyes of the one who loves this world are either filled³⁹⁸ with contentment or with dust after he dies.'

Tiriglik nišani adaq yigmaq ol, yā köz yümmäk ol, yā ağız qismaq ol. (MM191r:9) 'One can tell that an animal is alive if he puts his feet together, or closes his eyes or presses his teeth together.'

Oğlan ayttı, ay äranlär yat çäriğä ot urung, yā barip 'avrat qu-mašin käyip ävdä oturung. (Sayf11v:4-5) 'The youth said, O brave people, shoot fire into the hostile army or put on women's garments and sit at home.'

Tegär mü kirpükümdin cänina oq? Balāni tüš körär mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) "Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or [do they] not?'

Yā naḥl bigin saḥi keräk är, yā sarv şifat hamiša äzäd. (Sayf 177v:8) 'A person must be either generous like a palm tree³⁹⁹, or free⁴⁰⁰ like a cypress.'

Yā anga sözlägil tek oltursun, yā esik aç ravān çiqip ketäyim. (Sayf60r:11) 'Either tell him, to be silent or open the door and let me go away.'

Erlük ol iş dägül köngül yiqqay, yā kişi 'aybinī körüp çaqquy. (Sayf146v:11-12) 'It is incompatible with manly virtues to destroy a heart or to witness other people's faults and disclose them.'

Ḥwāh öltür ḥwāh tırgüz, iḥtiyār elgingdä dur. (GD102r:7) 'Either kill me, or let me live, the choice is in your hands.'

Ol qarındaş kim nafs asiri turur ol kişiğä ne qarındaş bolur ne yaqin. (Sayf78r:7) 'The brother who is captive of his Carnal Soul is neither a brother to one nor a relative.'

4.3.3.3.4. Conclusive Compound Sentences

In conclusive compound sentences the cause and result relationship⁴⁰¹ is expressed by independent sentences. By content they are related to complex sentences with consecutive clauses. E.g.,

³⁹⁸ Meaning 'satisfied'

³⁹⁹ Bearing fruit

⁴⁰⁰ From the change of seasons [being always green], from people's expectations [bearing no fruit], from care [not providing for anyone]

⁴⁰¹ Cause leads to a result.

Ba-nāgāh kōrdi mihmān közlārini, unuttı İbrāhīm ham özlārini. (H77r:3) ‘Suddenly [he] caught the guest’s glance and [as a consequence] was besides himself [with fear].’

Ölüp tavbasız köp ökünçlär yedi. (MM193r:8) ‘They died impenitent, [therefore] they suffered [the pangs of] deep regret.’

Ki davlat kelgüsi dur, bolma ğafil! Sa‘adat birlä tüzgüng dur maḥafil. (DN260v:5) ‘Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: Brighten up the meeting place with the felicity of paradise.’

4.3.3.3.5. Explicative Compound Sentences

In explicative compound sentences the result and cause relationship⁴⁰² is shown by independent sentences. By content they are related to complex sentences with cause clauses.

E.g.,

Uruğ äksä bolmas, kirür yergä tong. (MM193r 10) ‘One cannot sow the seeds, [for] frost penetrates the soil.’

Māning cānimda dur könglüngdäki āh, köngüldin bar köngül içinä çon rah. (DN260r:2) ‘The sighs of your heart are in my soul, inasmuch as there is a pathway from one heart into another.’

Tuta berdi manga cān tuḥfasinı tegürdi ya‘nī cānān tuḥfasinı. (DN255r:6) ‘He offered me the gift of life; he delivered to me the gift of the Beloved.’

Meni sen körmä ‘aciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasında dast-ğāhīm. (DN257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’

4.3.3.4. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause expresses a basic [subject, predicate] or a secondary member [direct object, indirect object, or adverbials] missing in the main clause. It is connected to the main clause by means of a conjunction or joined to it asyndetically. In the main sentence an adverb or an adverbial phrase may anticipate the presence and the nature of a subordinate clause.

4.3.3.4.1. Complex Sentences with a Subject Clause

In complex sentences of this group the subject is expanded into a clause. They use the conjunctions **ki, kim, har kim, har kim ki, har qaysı, har**

⁴⁰² Result is explained by a cause.

kiši, har kimsä ‘who, whoever, he who’, **ne kim, har ne ki, har ne** ‘that, that which’. E.g.,

Ol biligli kim ešitip iŝ etär, lācaram maqšūdina āsan yetär. (Sayf 178r:8) ‘The wise one who acts listening [to good advice] will definitely reach his objectives.’⁴⁰³

Kim ay burcida yulduznī tapip tur, tikänni gul saġinip oħsatip tur. (DN257r:10) ‘He who has found a star in the house of the moon, has considered the thorn [to be] a rose and made himself to caress it.’

Kim etip tur ‘asalġa sirka tarcih, oqup tur muħtaŝar ‘ilmini tal-vih. (DN257r:11) ‘He who prefers vinegar to honey is like the one who reads an abridged work in marginal notes.’

Kim etip tur ačig aġunī tiryak, tilap tur koknar içindä aflak. (DN257v:1) ‘He who turned bitter poison into an elixir, was looking for heaven inside a poppy-head.’

Nigarin nečä gah ol kim ilindi, elig berdi murādī köngli tündi. (DN254v:10) ‘He who protects the image [of the Beloved], after a while he reaches his goal and his heart will be at ease.’

Kim alip tur aġizġa gök terin, bilip tur ħusn ara ŝakarnī ŝirin. (DN257v:2) ‘He who takes the secretion⁴⁰⁴ of a toad into his mouth will appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by beauty.’

Ču mazmūnī sarāsar boldi ma‘lūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldi mafhūm. (DN255v:10) ‘When its contents were entirely known, anything that was doubtful, now was completely understood.’

Zaqan čahida kim ġamdin qutulmas, nečük tur anda ol köngli tutulmas. (DN252v:3) ‘He who cannot escape sorrow in the dimple⁴⁰⁵ of the chin, how come is not despondent there?’

Ol yüzi ay kim cihānning cāni dur, bu zamāna ħublarining ħāni dur. (Sayf179r:10) ‘That moon-faced [beauty] who is the soul of this world, is the ruler of the beauties of our times.’

4.3.3.4.2. Complex Sentences with a Predicate Clause

A predicate clause is the expansion of the nominal predicate or the nominal part of the nominal-verbal predicate into a subordinate clause. The conjunctions used are **ki, kim**. E.g.,

⁴⁰³ Ch. *ešit-* is also used to mean ‘to take, or listen to a good advice’. Cf., *Bir naŝihat ŝarfin uŝ ġil-duq bayān: Kim ešitmäs bolsa bizgä nā ziyān?* (Sayf178r:7) ‘We have just reported what there was to say in giving a piece of good advice. If there is someone who does not listen, it is of no concern to us.’

⁴⁰⁴ Lit., sweat

⁴⁰⁵ Ch. *čah* ‘well’, reference to a Joseph story episode: Joseph was thrown into a well by his brothers. [See Qur. 12,15].

Um̄edim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, **ki** yetgäy vaşl bāğid̄in manga bar. (DN245r:2) ‘My hope is, O Jasmin-Bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.’

Bu gulistān bāğbāni ol adīb **kim** Sarayī Sayf erür nazm-i ğarib. (Sayf7v:2) ‘The gardener of this rose garden is the poet Sayf of Saray whose poems are extraordinary.’

Abū Ḥanīfa ol kimärsä ärdi **kim** otuz yil yatsiğ namāziniñ yunuğı birlä ärtä namāzini qıldi. (NF191,7) ‘Abu Ḥanīfa was the person who for thirty years would perform the morning prayer with the ablution he had made before the night prayer.’

Män ol şubḥ-i sa‘adat män **ki** Ćingiz kökidin toğdum. (ShD 120r:3) ‘I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis.’

4.3.3.4.3. Complex Sentences with an Object Clause

In complex sentences of this type the direct object is expressed by a subordinate clause. The conjunctions used are: **ki, kim, har kim, har kim ki, har kişi** whom; **ne, ne kim, nemä kim, har ne kim, har ne** ‘what, that’. Rarely, though, the object clause can be attached to the main clause without a conjunction.

E.g.,

Ötär könglidä har dam bir dilārāy, tilär közi **ki** körsä bir yangi ay. (DN254r:7) ‘Every moment a sweetheart occurs to his mind. His eyes are eagerly waiting to behold a new moon.’⁴⁰⁶

Ne sağind̄ing manga mundin ğam erdi? Köngül zaḥmına bu bir marham erdi. (DN243r:5) ‘Why did you imagine that her tone bothers me? [Remember that blame] is a salve for the wounds of the heart!’⁴⁰⁷

Gar tiläsäng **kim** ğara‘iblar tamaşa etkä sän, tegmä bir kün bir yangi yergä keräk kim yetkä sän. (Sayf97r:7) ‘If you wish to admire strange and wonderful things, you must arrive every day to a new place.’

Kečä qoy ḥalqına qoydı biçäğın, tilädi **kim** soyuban alsa yağın. (Sayf69r:3) ‘In the evening he put his knife to the throat of the sheep, wanted to slaughter it and take its fat [tail].’

Sän saqınma **kim** yeğäy män qayğı ol dam cän üçün. (Sayf 56v:6) ‘Do not imagine that at that moment I would worry about my soul.’

⁴⁰⁶ A hint at the Muslim practice of waiting for the new moon that signals the beginning of the holy month of Ramazan.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf., MM *Malāmat nuḥibb köngli tiryāqi ol*. (195v:16) ‘Blame is a remedy for the lover’s heart.’

Sağındım ādam-i ḥāṣṣī sāni m̄n. Bōrining ṣa‘brāki s̄n emiṣ s̄n.
(Sayf69r:4) ‘I thought you were a special person. It turns out that you are the most ferocious of wolves.’

Note: Direct quotes are considered object clauses. E.g.,

Atasī aytti: Ay oğlum, safarnıng bu ʔarīqa faʔidalari köp.
(Sayf97r:11) ‘His father said, “O son, going on a journey has many benefits of this nature.”’

Rasuluʔ1-lāh soradı İbrāhīmni, tanur mu s̄n māni c̄n dilimni?
(Ḥ76r:2) ‘The Prophet inquired after İbrāhīm, asking, “Do you know [my boy] the beloved of my soul and heart?”’

Dedi, bar kim közi dur yolda anıng, qulağı üngä dur ol bēnāvāning.
(DN252v:11) ‘She said, “Go now, because his eyes are fixed on the road.⁴⁰⁸ The ears of that destitute are listening for the sounds [of approaching footsteps].’

Mān ewdāki ḥadimlaridın sorar ārdim kim özi kečä yatmas mu?
(NF190,15) ‘I asked from his servants in the house: “Does’nt he ever lie down at night?”’

4.3.3.4.4. Complex Sentences with an Attributive Clause

An attributive clause modifies [expands, restricts or specifies] the meaning of a noun in the main sentence. This noun is mostly part of the subject, less frequently, of the predicate. As conjunctions **ki** and **kim** ‘who, that, which’ are used. The noun modified can be specified by **ol**, **uṣol**, **bu**, or **uṣbu**. E.g.,

Bu madḥi ol qaṣıdağa qıldim cavāb **kim** tün zulfini kesärdä tutup ṣubḥ ḥancari. (Sayf182v:1) ‘I have created this panegyric poem in answer to the ode [the author of which] took the sword to cut the tresses of the night.⁴⁰⁹

Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gul-andām, **ki** bir dam bargsız tapğay men arām. (DN244v:6) ‘I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, that could find rest without rose leaves even for a moment.’

Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i saman bar, **ki** yetgäy vaṣl bāğidın manga bar. (DN245r:2) ‘My hope is, O Jasmin-Bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.’

Qızıl altun **ki** vaṣfın qılsa bolmas, ani küydürmāğincä bilsä bolmas. (DN247r:10) ‘The red gold the quality of which cannot be

⁴⁰⁸ In expectation

⁴⁰⁹ The author of the *qaṣıda* this line refers to was Khwārizmī, who also wrote the *Mahabbatnāma*.

established by description, cannot be recognized until you burn it.⁴¹⁰

Nä bulbul teg ki bolmas šarmī hā'il, bolur bir nečä kün bir gulgä mā'il. (DN254r:11) 'Unlike the nightingale that is not restrained by shame and in every few days it desires another rose.'

4.3.3.4.5. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Time

[Temporal Clauses]

A temporal clause gives the time frame of the action contained in the main sentence by producing another action which occurs before, after, or simultaneously with the main action.

4.3.3.4.5.1. Simultaneous Actions

In such sentences the action of the temporal clause occurs at the same time [during or parallel with] as the action of the main sentence. (Case of simultaneity). The conjunctions are not mandatory but **qačan, qačan kim, har qačan, çon** may be used. E.g.,

Altun qanatın açti esä şubḥ sonqari, kök kölgä batti cumla kavākib kabūtari. (Sayf 181v:6) 'When the falcon of the dawn spread her wings, all the doves of the stars went down in the blue lake.'

Män ol şubḥ-i sa'adat män ki Cingiz kökidin toğdum, qačan kim täbräsäm yel teg Timür şam'i uçar mändin. (ShD120r:3-4) 'I am the dawn of felicity born from the roots of Chingiz: 'When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Timür goes out as I pass.'

Çon köngülär ölgäy, aning köngli ölmägäy. (NNMp.111) 'When hearts [of others] die, his heart will not die.'

Çu qoysang ol ḥarab allida gämē, bitigni fēz tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN246v:5) 'When you put your foot in front of that ruin,⁴¹¹ give him the letter right away and convey to him a greeting from us.'

Ravān qıldı falak çon cām-i Camšed, açiqlanip qizarip çıqtı ḥwaršed. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.'

Çu körgüzdi maḥabbatni yüz alvān, tükätti namanī va qıldı 'unvān. (DN246v:2) 'Having shown [her] love in a hundred ways she completed the letter and wrote the address on it.'

⁴¹⁰ Probing it with *aqua regia*.

⁴¹¹ I.e., when you come to the presence of that wretched person

Qalam tili c̄on f̄ariḡ boldi andin, davāt aḡzini yapti tarcumān-din. (DN259r:4) ‘When the tip of the pen was through [writing], the inkholder that the interpreter was using closed its mouth.’

Note: The main clause and the subordinate clause can also be connected asyndetically, especially if the verb of the subordinate clause is in the temporal-conditional form. The temporal clause can be dependent on more than one sentences. E.g.,

Gulāb idi ki kelsä yüz c̄evürmä. Aning ol h̄idmatin yüzigä urma. (DN244r:5) ‘When the scent of rose water wafts toward you, do not turn your face away, do not refuse⁴¹² its services.’

4.3.3.4.5.2. The Action of the Subordinate Clause Occurs Before the Action of the Main Clause. (Case of Anteriority).

The following conjunctions introduce the subordinate clause: **andin b̄arü kim, ki tā, tā** ‘since, ever since’.

Andin b̄arü kim aldī ušol dilrubā köngül, küydi cafāda körmädi hargiz vafā kongül. (AM 192v:5) ‘Since that heartravisher took [my] heart, the heart suffered cruelty and did not ever experience any mercy.’

Yüz alvān ševalig šōḡ-i šakarḡand, ki tā kördi labingni eridi qand. (DN243v:5) ‘You are a mischiefmaker with a sweet smile and with a hundred feats of coquetry. Since the rock candy saw your lips, it began to melt.’⁴¹³

Tüşüp tur tā ešiking gardi közgä, körünmāp tur közümgä surma özgä. (DN257r:6) ‘Since the dust at your threshold got into [my] eyes, nothing else is used as collyrium for my eyes.’

Körüp tur tā yangaqing sari dida, bolup tur almadin könglüm guzida. (DN257r:7) ‘Ever since the eye⁴¹⁴ looked toward your face, my heart has been a more preferred simile [to express joy and sadness] than the apple.’⁴¹⁵

4.3.3.4.5.3. The Action of the Subordinate Clause Occurs After the Action of the Main Clause. (Case of Posteriority).

The conjunctions used are **andin burun kim, ol qadar kim, tā, avval ki** ‘before, ere.’ E.g.,

⁴¹² Lit., Do not throw it back into its face.

⁴¹³ The candy was so overwhelmed by the sweetness of your lips.

⁴¹⁴ The first person singular and plural possessive suffixes are often omitted

⁴¹⁵ The apple has two colors, the sincere heart has only one. Cf. Sayf *dōst vidā ‘i n qilip turur magar alma? Bir taraḡi za farān biri ḡamra.* ‘Maybe the apple is saying good-bye to a friend: one of its sides is saffron, the other is wine[-colored].’

**Ḥayr qıl, ay ni‘mati köp ḥwāca sän andin burun, kim yürüp de-
gäy munādī qalmadī ḥwāca fulān.** (Sayf19r:8-9) ‘Be generous,⁴¹⁶
O Wealthy Lord, before the street-crier goes around saying: “Lord
So-and-so passed away.”’

Kämäçi ol qadar şabr etti kim yigit kämä yipin elinä çörgädi.
(Sayf101r12) ‘The boatman waited until the youth reeled the rope
of the boat around his hand.’

4.3.3.4.6. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Place

[Local Clause]

In sentences of this group the place of the action of the main sentence is expressed by a clause. The conjunctions used are **qanda kim, ne yergä kim, har qayda kim, ne yerdä kim** ‘wherever’, **qayda, ne yerdä, ne yergä** ‘where’.

E.g.,

Qanda kim tatlı su aqar bolsa, qurt va quş baliq andan eksilmäs.
(Sayf22r:11) ‘Wherever sweet water flows, there is no shortage of
wolves, birds and fish.’

Qayda barsa ol sa‘adat aḥtarī hamrāhī män. (HBD204:1)
‘Wherever that star of felicity goes I am his companion.’

Ne yergä kim ärişsä ‘ālim anda bilürlär qīmatin ari guhar teg.
(Sayf97v:9) ‘Wherever a wise man goes, people would know his
value exactly as they know the value of a real pearl.’

Ne yerdä gul bar anda tikän bar. (Sayf158r:3) ‘Where there are
roses, there are [also] thorns.’

**Ay gul ḥaddingni bil daği lāf urma, çön seni har qayda kim yo-
luqsa şaba ḥwaş tutar quçar.** (GD48-4) ‘O, Rose, be aware of
your limits and do not brag because no matter where it meets you,
the morning wind keeps you happy and embraces you.’

**Ne yerdä kim qadimī dīvar körsä biläk quvvatī bilän yiqip ke-
çär.** (Sayf149r3) ‘Where he sees an ancient wall he demolishes it
with the force of his arm.’

4.3.3.4.7. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Manner

[Modal Clause]

The modal clause expresses the manner by which the action of the main sentence is executed. The following conjunctions are used: **kim, ki, andağ kim**. The adverb **andağ** may join the main sentence to anticipate the modal clause. Its usual place is before the verb. E.g.,

⁴¹⁶ I.e., do good deeds

Payğambar sunnatini andağ terğüzgäy sän kim sändin oza ham bir kim ärsä andağ terğüzmiş bolmağay. (NF192,5) ‘You will arrange the traditions of the Prophet so that no one else before you has ever arranged them in that fashion.’

Törtinç kün qatığ uruštılar andağ kim payğambar ekindü namāzi taqı aħşam namāzi qılu bilmädi. (NF30,15). ‘For four days they fought so hard that the Prophet was not able to carry out his afternoon prayer and his evening prayer.’

Män taqı ağzımni açtım ärsä ağzımda tüfkürdi, andağ kim mu-barak todaqı mänim ağzımğa tegdi. (NF202,12-13). ‘When I opened my mouth, he spat into my mouth in such a way that his blessed lips touched my mouth.’

Män taqı oyğandım taqı engän säwündüm şad boldım andağ kim sävüngänimni heç şifat qılu bilmäz män. (NF271,15) ‘I also woke up and rejoiced very much and was so happy that I am not able to characterize my happiness.’

Note: Adverbials of manner are preferably expressed by verbal adverbs [gerunds]. E.g.,

Aħvāli qatığ boldi, zār zār yiğlayu Haqq ta‘alāqa munācāt qılu cān berdi. (NF95,17) ‘His situation was very grave, crying bitterly, reciting a soliloqui to God the Most High, he gave up his soul.’

4.3.3.4.8. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Degree

The clause of degree indicates the extent or measure of the action of the main verb. The conjunction used is **kim**. In the main sentence the phrases **ol qadar** and **az bas ki** may anticipate the clause. E.g.,

Ol qadar muħmalatdan sözlädi kim dağı sözlämägä macāli qalmadı. (Sayf92v:12) ‘He produced so much idle talk that he had no power left to talk.’

Saçım az bas ki özin urdı barham, säning ħāling bigin dur vaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) ‘My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].’

Dostqa ol qadar yarı qilğil kim duşman bolsa sanga zafar tapmağay. (Sayf39v:9) ‘Help your friend [only] to the extent that if he becomes your enemy he will not overcome you.’

Ol qadar qattılıq etmägil kim sändän toyğaylar. (Sayf164r:11) ‘Do not be so harsh that people get fed up with you.’

Ol qadar yumşaq bolmağil kim seni ayaq altında qoyğaylar. (Sayf164r:12) ‘Do not be so soft that people squash you under their feet.’

4.3.3.4.9. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Cause

[Causal Clause]

The causal complex sentence consists of a main clause and a causal clause. The causal clause expresses the cause, reason, or motive for the action of the main clause. Conjunctions used in the causal clause are: **ç̄on** [short, in poetry **ç̄u**], **kim**, **ki** [Persian], **and̄in kim**, **ned̄in kim**, **neḡā kim**, **ne üç̄ün kim**, **neç̄ün kim**, **mundaq kim** 'because' [real, actual, objective cause], for, since [the speaker's subjective view], owing to.'

E.g.,

Vaf̄asizliq haṭṭin̄i tartma k̄öp bitim̄äs ç̄on fir̄iṣṭa ol gun̄āhim. (DN257v:10) 'Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful⁴¹⁷, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.'

Säv̄ünm̄äk yoq kör̄üp duṣman ölüsin, k̄älis̄är ç̄on biz̄ä ol davr ayaq̄i. (Sayf46r:6-7) 'There is no use to rejoice upon seeing the demise of [our] enemy, because the very cup that goes around will definitely come to us [one day].'

Ḥiȳäl̄im yol̄id̄in közüngni alma ç̄u boldum ç̄an sanga köngl̄üngni salma! (DN248r:5) 'Do not take off your eyes from the road of my phantom images. Since I have become your life, do not cast away your heart.'

Netük men ävür̄äyin öz ğam̄imd̄in, ki p̄ül̄äd eriḡäy otluğ dam̄imd̄in. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'

Darya 'işqingni kezip hargiz ki p̄āyān tapmad̄im, m̄än mubtalā gard̄ab̄ida qald̄im ki darm̄ān tapmad̄im. (ShD108r:8-9) 'I roamed the sea of your love because I did not find its boundaries. Afflicted I was left in its vortex because I found no remedy.'

Ay Şaban̄i ç̄on berip tur fath va nuṣrat kard̄gar, sar ba-sar alsang Ḥur̄āsān mayl-i Tabr̄ez äyl̄äb̄än. (ShD132r:1-2) 'O Shaban since the Creator has granted you victory and taking cities, you should take Khorasan piece by piece on your way to Tabriz.'

Kab̄ab otqa tüṣ̄är nakamliq̄it̄in, kim and̄in vahm et̄är el ḥāmliq̄it̄in. (DN247r:11) 'The [raw] meat falls into the fire in disappointment, because people are apprehensive of its rawness.'

Manga raḥm et ki k̄öp bold̄i nafirim mu'anbar zulf̄ni q̄il dast-girim. (DN256v:11) 'Have mercy on me, because my complaint has become overwhelming. Make the scented tress be my helper.'

⁴¹⁷ This idiom is based on P. *haṭṭ ba qabr kaṣ̄idan* 'to draw, after interment, seven lines on a tomb, believed to secure forgiveness to the dead' (Steingass, p. 466b).

Qalamlardın durust ermäs rivāyat, ki siğmas tilläriğä ol hikāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.'⁴¹⁸

Kiring uçmağqa ol sabab birlä kim dünyadä edgü 'amallar qilur erdingiz. (NF99r:8) 'Enter Paradise on the account that you have done good works in this world.'

Notes: (1) After verbs expressing fear, anxiety, or concern [e.g., **qorq-** 'to fear', **asra-** 'to protect', **ħafv et-** 'to be afraid'; **andēša qil-** 'to be concerned'] the reason for these feelings is indicated by a causal clause. E.g.,

Özini asradī ol şafmaşrab ki bar erdi qamar allīda 'aqrab. (DN 258r:7) 'That pure-hearted one protected herself because one of the Moon's mansions was confronting Scorpio.'⁴¹⁹

İşq otīning şu 'lasī tüssä **Harigä nāgahan, qorqaram emdi Harīning mulki veran olmasun.** (ShD139r:11-12) 'When the flames of the fire of love suddenly engulfs Herat, I fear that the kingdom of Heart will turn into ruins.'

(2) After interjections the clause introduced by **ki** or **kim** is a causal clause. E.g.,

Yoq tur cānīma fāqat, bar könglümä yüz miñnat, yā Rabb ki fīda bolsun anga bu yoq va barim.⁴²⁰ (ShD107v:1) 'My soul has no patience, there are a hundred miseries in my heart. O Lord, may what I have and what I don't have be sacrificed to you.'

Āh u vavaylā ki dilbar äylämiş 'azm-i 'Iraq; **qoyğusī dur bizni zar ü ħasta dar band-ī firāq.** (GD111,1) 'O Dear me! [There is a rumor that] my Heart-ravisher decided to move to 'Iraq. She will for sure put me, mournful and sick, into he fetters of separation.]

The conjunctions **ki** or **kim** may be missing. E.g.,

Har tūnlä falak yüzin ahīm tütüni tuttī, yā Rabb, tīra bolmasun ol ā'ina-ruħsarīm. (ShD107r:13) 'Every night the smoke of my sighs clouds the surface of the sky. O Lord, may my mirrorlike cheeks not become troubled [thereby].'

⁴¹⁸ I.e., the nib of the pen

⁴¹⁹ Cf. P. *qamar dar* 'aqrab lit. 'Moon in the Scorpion.' Astrologers use this term for the passage of the moon in which one of its mansions confronts the Scorpio (Haim II, p. 372). This situation is deemed by astrologers to have evil consequences.

⁴²⁰ Lit., 'My existence and nonexistence.' I.e., all that I was before I annihilated my Carnal Soul and all that remained after I did.'

4.3.3.4.10. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Result

[Consecutive Clause]

A clause of result indicates the consequences of the action expressed in the main clause. The conjunctions **kim** or **ki** 'so that' are used to attach it to the main sentence. Sometimes the conjunction is omitted and the two clauses are joined assyndetically. In the main clause a demonstrative adverb [**andaq**, **anča**, **äylä** 'so, so much'] or an adverbial phrase [such as **aning teg** 'so much'] may anticipate the clause of result. E.g.,

Qašim čandān sāning fikringni qildī, ki qayğudīn boyī ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'

Aning teg oquđi ši'r-i nihānī, ki toymay qaldī ol elning yamānī. (DN258r:8) 'She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.'

Aning teg bizni ħwaš kör kim begānsün 'aql rūḥ anī. (Sayf 179v:4) 'Look at us in such a pleasant way that intellect and spirit may approve of it.'

Anča asay men seni kim ingirä. (AC327v:3) 'I will hang you up [and leave you alone until] you[r gourds] crack.'⁴²¹

Tanbūra deg yüzni qılay pāymāl, äylädi oğlanlar anī dastmāl. (AC324r:8) 'I will trample a face like Tanbūra's under foot so that servants will [be needed to] scoop it up with their hands.'

Ol yigit maḥabbat tāngizinä äylä mustağraq bolup turur edi kim sözlämägä macālī yoq edi. (Sayf114v:5) 'That youth was so much immersed in the sea of love that he was not able to talk.'

Aning teg bolmişam ḥayrān sanga kim körünmäs közümä 'ālam-da diyār. (GD82:5) 'I admire you so much that I do not see the cities of this world.'⁴²²

Közümdin anča sayl aqtı aqındin toldī bu 'ālam. (Sayf183r:13) 'Such flood burst forth from my eyes that this world was filled with raging water.'

Mān yätiz 'ālim boldum, Abū Ḥanīfagä iḥtiyācim qalmadı. (NF193:17) 'I have become a fine scholar. I have no need of Abū Ḥanīfa [any longer].'

4.3.3.4.11. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Comparison

[Comparative Clause]

A clause of comparison indicates that the action of the main clause takes place in the same fashion, with the same intensity or degree as the action

⁴²¹ Says Tanbura to Kingira, a musical instrument in the heat of a debate. Cf. Aḥmadi, *A Contest of the String Instruments* (327v:3).

⁴²² Meaning: And therefore I wander alone in the desert like Macnūn.

of the comparative clause. The conjunctions **ki**, or **kim**, **netük kim**, **neçük kim**, **nätäg kim** ‘as, just as, like’ are used in the subordinate clause. If the comparison is not complete, the conjunctions **göya**, **göya ki** ‘as if’ are used. E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung eşikimdin kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä canı. (DN251v:1) ‘May your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.’

Ĥan ham kelip Aĥsini qapap edi, neçük kim mazkür boldi. (Babür 31v:10) ‘The Khan also arrived and besieged Akhsi, as was mentioned [above].’

Beşnamaz gunähingizni yup ketärür andaq kim ariq suyi badanning kirini kitärür. (RM25v:2) ‘The five prayers wash away your sins just as the water of the canal removes the dirt from your body.’

Rūĥ-i qudsi dur Gadāning sözi, göya kim tamām fayz-i anfası Kalāmu’llāh bayāni kör nä dur. (GD68,7) Gadā’ī’s words are the Holy Spirit as if the benefit of all his was equal to the message of the Qur’an. Behold, what it is!’

Note: (a) If the main clause contains an adjective in the comparative degree, the comparative clause is introduced by **ki** or **kim**. E.g.,

Mānim halākligim yahşıraq andan kim yazuqsuz qan tökül-günçä. (Sayf33v:12) ‘My destruction [by this disease] is preferable than to shed the blood of an innocent person.’

4.3.3.4.12. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Purpose

[Final clause].

A final clause expresses the purpose of the action in the main sentence. It is attached to the main clause by the conjunctions **kim**, **ki**, **ki tā**, **tā kim**, **tā an ki** ‘that, so that, in order that.’

E.g.,

Camāling nūr salğay tofrağimğa söyüngäy qālibim rūĥ u ravāni. (DN251r:11) ‘May the beauty of your face throw light upon my grave so that the soul and spirit of my body could rejoice.’

Keçär canıdın avval suda ġavvaş, ki tā aĥar bolur bir durrgä ol ĥaşş. (DN253v:7) ‘First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single⁴²³ pearl.’

Kesär köp şāĥni diĥqan tiliki, ki tā bir mevagä yetär eligi. (DN 253v:9) ‘The farmer cuts in many branches with his grafting knife so that his hands obtain [some] fruit.’

⁴²³ In the sense of ‘unique’.

Şabā allingda barip tartmay āh, ki qatig kelmāsün könglüngä nagah. (DN256v:7) 'The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.'

Āh közüm, sen 'išq sirrin kizlä, tufan bolmasun. Bu za'if cis-mingdä 'išqning bahri tuğyan olmasun. (ShD130r:7-8) 'O My Eye, hide the secret of love, so that tempest will not arise, so that the sea of love in my fragile body will not overflow and cause a deluge.'

Bäyiktin sāya körgüzür humāyē, ki tā davlat tapar andin gadāyē (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'⁴²⁴

Kök üstindin salur ay yergä nürin, ki tā kasb etār andin yer huzürin. (DN258v:9) 'From the top of the sky the moon projects its light down upon the earth in order to capture the presence of the earth thereby.'

Bir qul kentgä bardī kim tuz ketürgäy. (Sayf31r:1) 'A servant went to town to bring some salt.'

Yüzüng közgülür dur, ay husn icrā māhim, hazar qil kim anī tutmasun āhim. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'

Yuqaridin inip yağur tüşär pāk, ki tā andin tirilir hār haşāk. (DN 258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly'⁴²⁵ so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Barip men tā tişing fikridä özdin, salip men sihr ara gavharni közdin. (DN257r:8) 'In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that as if being under a spell I have had no eyes for'⁴²⁶ [genuine] pearls.'

Saçim az bas ki özin urdi barham, sāning hāling bigin dur vaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

4.3.3.4.13. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Condition

The conditional clause in complex sentences expresses the condition under which the action of the main verb materializes. The classical division of conditional sentences in Indo-European languages, with somewhat less stricture, applies also in Chagatay. So we distinguish

⁴²⁴ Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous bird *humā* casts a its shadow will become a king.

⁴²⁵ The Creator bestows His grace upon everyone without distinction. Cf., Sa'dī *Aning sansiz sağıssiz rahmatining yağmuri barçağa yätip turur* 'The rain of His countless and boundless grace reaches everyone.'

⁴²⁶ I.e., I don't take interest in...

conditional sentences with real conditions, potential conditions and unreal conditions.

4.3.3.4.13.1. Complex Conditional Sentences with Real Conditions

The conditional clause states a fact as the condition for the action in the main sentence. Since the condition, expressed by the present conditional, is real there is no doubt that the action of the main sentence, indicated by the present tense of the aorist, will occur. Sentences of this type come very close to temporal sentences. E.g.,

Bu ‘adat hwaş yığaclar şevāsīdīn, ki taş atsang berürlär mēvasīdīn. (DN247v:8) ‘This observation was made on the nature of fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.’

Mu ‘allim bolmasa haybatli, ay yār, saqalından tutup oğlanlar oynar. (Sayf141v:8) ‘If the teacher has no authority, O Friend, the pupils will grab his beard and dance [around him].’

Nāgahān bayvāb va it körsä ğarīb, bu yaqasın ol etāgin bek tutar. (Sayf29r:6) ‘When suddenly a doorman and a dog discover a stranger [at the gate], the former grabs him by the collar, while the latter, by the skirt.’

Ay Hūrasān ahli Şaybān bir avuç tofrağ edi. Kimğä Haqq qilsa ‘ināyat hān va ham sulţān bolur. (ShD42r:9-10) ‘O, People of Khurasan realize that [once] I was a handful of dust. The one whom God blesses with his Divine Aid, will become a Khan or a Sultan.’

4.3.3.4.13.2. Complex Conditional Sentences with Potential Conditions

The condition expressed in the conditional clause is potential: it may or may not happen. If it does, the action of the main sentence will for sure occur. The conjunctions **agar, gar** to introduce the conditional sentence is frequent in this group. These conjunctions do not necessarily require the verb to be in the conditional form.

E.g.,

Sening köyungdīn, ay körk iĉrā bāğim, başim gar barsa barmağay ayağim. (DN244v:5) ‘From your quarter, O, My Garden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.’

Ne boldi göy agar arz etti hālīn, dedi sargaştalīkdīn öz malālīn? (DN244v:2) ‘What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?’

Agar sendin öĉär elning ĉirağī, manga sendin yarur ummēd bāğī

(DN249v:4) ‘If people’s candle goes out because of you⁴²⁷, for me, because of you, the garden of hope will light up.’

Zamāna hublarin qilsaq hikayat, cihanda qalmağay hargiz şikayat. (ShD25r:2) ‘If I talk about the beauties of our days, no complaint whatsoever will remain in this world.’

Bularğa bir nafas qilsaq tafakkur, uşandin açilur nūr-i hidāyat. (ShD25r:12) ‘If I meditate on this matters even for a moment, the light of guidance emerges from my thoughts.’

Ğamimdin gar desā içimdāki dağ, bulut teg yığlağay ün tartıban dağ. (DN256v:10) ‘If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.’

Şabānī sevāridin sorsa kim netkay sensizin, özüngdā har nā ki bar mendin özgāni sal! - dār. (ShD56v:5-6) ‘If Shabānī asks his beloved: “What can I do without you?” She replies, “Cast away all that is in you other than I.’

Tüzālmāsün yüzüm din qiblasına, gar özgā sarī bolsa rōy u rāhim. (DN257v:9) ‘My face should not turn to the qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.’⁴²⁸

Qutulmay qayğudın gar furqatingda ğamingdin özgā bolsa ‘uzr-ħwāhim. (DN257v:8) ‘I do not wish to rid myself from sadness if in your absence other than grief because of you is my apologist.’

Agar bu keçā munda qalsaq, halāk bolur miz. (NF16v:2) ‘If we stay here tonight, we will perish.’

Agar sūsmār sāning payğambarlıqına tanuqluq bersā, mān sanga inanur mān. (NF18r:10-11) ‘If the lizard bears witness to your being the Prophet, I will believe in you.’

Agar cān tartsam candin ne ħāşil, körünmās közgā ol andin ne ħāşil? (DN250v:4) ‘If my soul suffers, what is the yield of the soul? If it does not show in front of my eyes, what is the use of it?’

Ne der sen munda gar keltürsām anī, nihufta ündāsām ol bēnāvānī? (DN258v:7) ‘What would you say if I brought him here? If I secretly invited that miserable person?’

Agar sen anda körsāng nāgah āzar, men eşitip bolur men munda afgār. (DN260r:3) ‘If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.’

Agar tandin desām bir ħaksarē, ne körüngāy eşikingdā ğubārē. (DN250v:5) ‘If I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?’

⁴²⁷ Cf. Sayf, *Gulistan bi't-turki* [172v:11]

⁴²⁸ The Sufi notion of *mā sivā'llah* ‘other than God’ is used in this distich. The heart should be emptied from all other than God and only then can it be filled with God.

4.3.3.4.13.2. Complex Conditional Sentences with Unreal Conditions

The conditional clause contains a hypothetical, contrary to fact statement expressed by the past tense form of the conditional. The main clause speculates what would have happened had the unreal condition come true. For this the past tense of the optative mood or the gerund in *-gunča* are used. E.g.,

Agar bu ašāk bolmasa edi, baytār qatına barmağay edi. (Sayf 147r:13). 'Had he not been an ass, he would not have gone to see a veterinarian [for eye treatment].'

Yılan tapsa edi yahşi ol oğlanni toğurğunča. (Sayf146r:3) 'It would have been better for her to come upon a snake than to give birth to that child.'

Agar män tangrīdan äylä qorqsam edi kim sän sulfāndan qorqar sän, siddīqlār cumlasından bolğay edim. (Sayf41r:4-6) 'If I had been afraid of God as you are afraid of the Sultan, I would have been one of His closest friends.'

Ayağing tofrağın gar tapsam erdi, anī elning közidin yapsam erdi, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anī, közidä asrağay erdi nihanī. (DN150v:9-10) 'Had I but got hold of the dust your feet were walking on, had I but covered it from people's eyes, my face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.'⁴²⁹

4.3.3.4.14. Complex Sentences with a Concessive Clause

A concessive clause expresses a condition which even if granted, does not take away the validity of the predication made by the main sentence. In other words, the action or state expressed in the main sentence will take place or will continue to exist even in the presence of the condition stipulated by the concessive clause. The conjunctions used are **agarçi, garçi** 'although' and, less frequently, the phrasal conjunctions **bā vucūd kim, bā vucūd-i ol kim** 'in spite of, despite, notwithstanding'. The main sentence can be introduced by **vale, valekin, or ammā** 'but'.

Predication in both the concessive and the main clauses can be achieved by nominal sentences in the present tense. The most frequently used tense form in the concessive clause, however, is the present conditional, although the definite past may also occur. In the main clause the aorist, the gerund **-ban/-bän**⁴³⁰ or the future tense of the optative mood⁴³¹ are used. E.g.,

⁴²⁹ For *közidä* cf. P. *ba-čašm*.

⁴³⁰ In predicative function. See 3.6.7.2.3.

⁴³¹ See 3.6.5.5.1.

Dedi, “Dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarçi yel sen yanmaq keräk sen”. (DN246v:4) ‘She said, “You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this ime].”’

Agarçi dard evining mahrami men, ğamingda nälalarning hamdamı men. (DN251r:5) ‘Although I am intimate with the house of pain⁴³², in sorrow for you I am a confidant of complaints.’⁴³³

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarçi yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head⁴³⁴ although you turn away⁴³⁵ yours.’

Bu Şabanı garçi hân oldı gadāyīng dur sening. Kim fidā äylär sanga yüz ming munung dek taht u tac. ‘Although this Shabanı has become an emperor, he has remained a beggar at your door who is ready to sacrifice for You a hundred thousand thrones and crowns like this.’

Garçi közümdin vırağ boldung köngüldä bar sen, şša-i könglüm ara şirin zuläleng saqladım. (ShD100v:12-13) ‘Although you were far from my eyes, you were inside my heart. I kept safe your sweet and limpid water in the bottle of my heart.’

Boyung zulfung ağızdın tapıban kām, ulaşmas garçi tanvīn va alif lām. (DN256r:8) ‘Your figure and your tresses obtain gratification from the mouth⁴³⁶, although the [strokes of the] *tanvīn* and the letters *alif-lām* [in this sequence] never touch.’⁴³⁷

Note: (1) The conditional conjunctions **agar**, **gar** ‘if’ can also be used to introduce concessive clauses. E.g.,

Agar salsam nazarnı köz yaşına, ne bolğay qaτραē daryā qaşına? (DN 250v:7) ‘Suppose I cast a glance at the tears,⁴³⁸ what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?’⁴³⁹

Sening köyüngdın, ay körk içrā bāğım, başım gar barsa barmağay ayağım. (DN244v:5) ‘From your quarter O, My Garden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.’

⁴³² A hint at Jacob’s ‘House of sorrow’.

⁴³³ I complain a great deal.

⁴³⁴ A sign of disobedience.

⁴³⁵ In disregard, or contempt

⁴³⁶ People praise them.

⁴³⁷ To appreciate the image please consider that *alif* stands for the figure of the Beloved, straight like the character *alif*, and *lām* represents her hair, curled up at the end like the letter *lām*. These characters in this sequence are not connected in writing and the strokes of the *tanvīn* never touch.

⁴³⁸ If I take notice of or consider the value or significance of...

⁴³⁹ Rivers and seas are considered infinite sources of wealth [fishing, pearls, transportation; symbol of the vast and the infinite.

Gabr agar yüz yıl ot yaqar bolsa içinä tüsicäk küyär fi'l-hāl. (Sayf24r:7) 'Even if the fireworshipper tends the fire for a hundred years, the fire will burn him in no time when he falls into it.'

(2) Concessive clauses occur also without a conjunction. Such clauses, however, must have their verbal predicates in the conditional form. E.g., **Harış yesä cihänni hanuz aç va faqır.** (Sayf166v:6) 'Even if the greedy person eats up the entire world, he still is hungry and poor.'

4.3.3.4.15. Complex Sentences with a Universal Concessive Clause

The concessive clause in a universal concessive sentence indicates a free choice of any number of conditions which even if granted would not change the validity of the main clause.

The conjunctions used are **neçä**, **neçä kim**, **har neçä**, **har neçä kim**, **har çand** 'however much; no matter how much', **har ne**, **har ne ki** 'no matter what, whatsoever', **har neçük** 'however', **har ki**, **har kim** 'whoever, no matter who'. E.g.,

Berür tağ adamı karlıg nişani, ki har ne desäng aytur ol ham ani. (DN248r:4) 'The man of the mountain⁴⁴⁰ displays the sign of deafness. Whatever you say, he says the same thing.'

Qamiş ham hālī ermäs kim berü[r] qand, neçä ayırsang aning bandidin band. (DN247v:10) 'Also, the sugar cane is never empty but dispenses sugar no matter how you tear it up joint by joint.⁴⁴¹

Bu Harining daniş ahli har neçä 'ayb etsängiz, qayda kim bolsa Şabani ol Samarqand arzular. (ShD42v:7-8). 'No matter how much you blame me, people of Hari: Wherever Shaybani is, he will always long for Samarqand.'

Hacr ara küygän köngül hālini bilmäs dur kişi: har ki yansa 'ūd teg ol hwaş nafas dur dūd emäs. (ShD64v:8-9) 'One does not know the state of the heart burning in the fire of separation. Whoever burns like the aloe wood emits a fragrant breath, not smoke.'

Ne kim çiqsa tilidin cān talaşur, açiq söz tatlıg ağizğa yaraşur. (DN243r:6) 'Whatever comes from her tongue, thrusts one into agony. Bitter words becomes the sweet mouth.'

Neçä kim cannat havāsi bolsa al-ħaqq dilguşay, bolmağusi dur valē Bağ-i Hiyāvandin latif. (GD101,6) 'No matter how refreshing

⁴⁴⁰ I.e., echo.

⁴⁴¹ I.e., Even if you destroy the form, the essence remains. You must destroy the form to get to the essence.

is indeed the air in Paradise, it is not as charming as the Promenade by the Hiyavan canal.'

Tang nasimi luṭf ilā har neçä kim cānbaḥş erür, bolmağay har-giz valē payğām-i canandīn laṭif. (GD101,2) 'No matter how life bestowing is the morning breeze with [its] grace, it will never be more gracious than a message from the Beloved.'

4.4. THE WORD ORDER

By the position of subject and predicate, the two main components of the sentence, we distinguish direct [S + P] and inverted [P + S] word orders.

4.4.1. Direct Word Order

In a direct word order the subject precedes the predicate. E.g.,

Fiğānīm tīndī. 'My sobbings ceased.'

Firyād uçtı. 'My call for help took off.'

Ṭarab keldi. 'Merriment has arrived.'

Ğam fi'l-ḥāl köçti. 'Sadness at once departed'

in the chain of the coordinated compound sentence:

Fiğānīm tīndī va firyād uçtı, ṭarab keldi va ğam fi'l-ḥāl köçti. (DN249r:3)

Note: If the subject is not expressed by a noun or pronoun and is indicated only by the finite form of the verb, the direct object that begins the sentence and precedes the verb must be in the marked accusative case. E.g.,

Şaba elini öptüm qoyuban baş, anga iḥlaş nürin etibān faş. (DN 249v:1) 'I kissed the hand of the Morning breeze bowing my head and showing her the light of perfect sincerity.'

4.4.2. Inversion

In sentences with inverted word order the verbal predicate precedes the subject. Most of the time they are side by side with no other sentence elements between them. Other parts of the sentence may precede or follow the Predicate + Subject group, or come between the predicate and the subject. E.g.,

Ayrılğay ğam atı cān daftarindīn, köngül cam'ına tartılğay ra-qamlar. (DN248v:1) 'The name of sorrow will be deleted⁴⁴² from the journal of life. The numbers will be drawn to the total of the heart.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Lit., will depart

⁴⁴³ The partial results will total to the serenity of the heart.

Qalamlardın durust ermäs rivāyat, ki sıǵmas tilläriǵä ol hikāyat. (DN248v:4) ‘It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.’⁴⁴⁴

Faraǵat rūdidin tegdi sadāye, bašarat kökidin yetti navāye. (DN 249r:4) ‘From the instrument of leisure there came a voice. From the heaven of the good tidings there came a tune.’

Tikip mü dur közin ħälimǵa ol yar, agarçı ‘aynǵa yoq nuqta darkār. (DN252r:9) ‘Has that friend kept staring at my beauty spot even though the dot has no use for the eye.’⁴⁴⁵

Alarning ċon bu sözǵä tüšti rayı, araǵa kirdi raǵbat kadħudāyı. (DN259r:1) ‘When those two achieved consensus on this, the desire to act entered the scene as an arbitrator.’

Tüzätip kečälär egri teg ünin, ačip tırnaqı birlän ğam tüǵünin. (DN259v:6) ‘At nights he tunes his voice, as you tune a guitar. [Picking the guitar] with his fingernails he unties the knots of grief.’⁴⁴⁶

4.4.3. Word Order of Phrasal Verbs

Phrasal verbs consist of a nominal element and an auxiliary verb. In prose works this is their normal sequence. In poetry, however, elements of phrasal verbs can be separated by other sentence elements. Also, their sequence can be reversed. E.g., **paydā qıl-** ‘to disclose’ and **huvaydā et-** ‘to make visible in:

Qılıp ay teg yüzüǵ nūrini paydā, etip kün zarraǵa mihrin huvaydā. (DN250v:2) ‘Your moonlike face revealed its light. The sun manifested its love to a speck of dust.’⁴⁴⁷

or **muqābil bol-** ‘to face s.th.’ and **qābil tüš-** ‘to become capable’ in

Bolur bir ayǵa har kün muqābil, tüšüp tur ol nazar ‘ilmidā qābil. (DN254r:6) ‘He is facing a moon every day and has become an expert in the skill of observation.’

or **munavvar qıl-** ‘to light up, illuminate’

Közin saldı anga ol māħpaykar, šabistān šam‘dın qıldı munavvar. (DN258r:5) ‘That moon-faced beauty took a look at that and illuminated it with the candle of the night-chamber.’

⁴⁴⁴ I.e., the nib of the pen

⁴⁴⁵ To write “eye” in Arabic you don’t need a dot above the letter ‘ayn.

⁴⁴⁶ In Shaybānı’s *Risāla-i Ma‘ārif* at night Satan ties knots [*tüǵün baǵlar*] on the head of the believer while he is sleeping (20r:6). They are removed [“untied”] by the believer’s mentioning God’s name, carrying out the ablution and performing the morning prayer.

⁴⁴⁷ The sunrays make the invisible particles in the air shine.

5. LEXICON

The vocabulary of Chagatay is extraordinarily rich and diverse. It has many Arabic and Persian loan elements--words, phrases, idioms--both from the literary and the popular levels. Although borrowings have changed to some degree the status of Turkish elements, [distribution in semantic fields, participation in developing idioms, shift in word formation] they did not replace them. Parallel use of native and borrowed words increased the lexical expression of the language. The cultural impact of Arabic, the language of Islam, and Persian, the language of an impressive classical literature enriched the paremiologic content of Chagatay making it a suitable tool for literary expression.

5.1. Sample Vocabulary

This list of select Turkish words gives an idea of the nature of Turkish elements present in the Chagatay language:

- açıġ** (MM199r:14) 'bitterness'
- açıqla-** (BN90r:10) 'to implore'
- adar-** (MM193r:3) 'to renounce'
- aġ** (MM183v:13) 'net, snare'
- aġ-** (MM193v:4) 'to rise'
- aġı** (RM6r:2) 'brother'
- anuq** (MM187r:1) 'correct [answer]'
- ang-** (MM186r:11) 'to remember'
- aqar-** (RM37r:5) 'to turn white'
- aqı** (MM183r:14) 'generous'
- aqta** (MM190r:11) 'gelded horse'
- arman** (H79v:11) 'disappointment'
- ariġ** (MM176v:3) 'pure, clean'
- armaq** (DN265r:10) 'a race horse'
- arqan** (MM188r:17) 'upon his back'
- artuqsı** (RM40r:5) 'beyond a certain limit'
- asıġ** (MM180r:2) 'benefit, use'
- aş-** (MM193v:10) 'to go beyond'
- aşuqup** (RN45r:8) 'in a hurry'
- ata-** (MM185v:3) 'to count [by names]'
- atiq-** (RM18r:10) 'to be named'
- aw** (MM179v:5) 'game animal'
- ayla-** (BN89r:2) 'to return'
- aylan-** (BN92r:9) 'to spin around'
- az buçuq** (RM35v:7) 'some, a little'
- azġaş-** (MM183v:12) 'to get lost'

azraq (MM188r:14) 'injury'
ažun (MM197r:8) 'world'

äčä (MM190v:11) 'elder brother'
ägäči (MM192r:14) 'elder sister'
ägrilig (RB8r:6) 'frail'
äkin (MM188v:4) 'sown area'
ärtä (MM185v:14) 'morning'
äsän (MM198r:12) 'beneficial'
äsänä- (MM185v:10) 'to correct'

ban- (MM198v:2) 'to bind oneself'
barliq (MM198v:15) 'existence'
basa (RM1r:6) 'furthermore'
bašaq (MM197v:1) 'arrowhead'
bat (RB7v:8) 'suddenly, at once'
bäyik (DN261v:5) 'altitude'
begat (RM441v:1) 'governors, begs'
birik- (RM18r:6) 'to come together'
bol- (DN270v:4) 'to be, to become'
bola (H79v:11) 'great'
borč (RM39r:6) 'debt'
bölnäk (MM193r:15) 'share'
bulğaš- (RM25v:4) 'to become dirtied [with sin]'
burnaği (RB8r:7) 'former, primeval'
busağa (AC327r:9) 'threshold'
bušiq (RB8r:2) 'grief'
buzägu (MM189v:7) 'calf'

čagir (RM2v:10) 'wine'
čap- (H78v:1) 'to gallop, trot, rup'
čaqištur- (RM3r:3) 'to set one person against another'
čarča- (H79v:10) 'to get tired'
čaruq (AC325r:4) 'leather sandal'
čerig (RM2r:7) 'military forces'
čida- (AC325v:8) 'to feel like doing something'
čigay (MM176v:7) 'dependent [upon God]'
čiq- (H76r:1) 'to go out'
čiray (H75v:11) 'face'
čirayliq (AC325v:11) 'beauty'
čura- (AC325v:11) 'to wear through, get a hole in'

edgülük (DN271v:7) ‘goodness’
eg- (MM 185r:2) ‘to bend’
ekinçi (MM193r:15) ‘sower’
emdi (H7v:8) ‘now’
engän (MM187v:15) ‘very much’
erän (RM9r:9) ‘a pious man’
ev- (RB5r:4) ‘to turn [intransitive]’

ğuşşaliq (RM36r:2) ‘[food] that chokes’

hān [for **hwan**] (DN267r:4) ‘table, carpet [with spread]’
hwaħla- (H79r:6) ‘to wish, desire’

inğir- (AC327v:3) ‘to crack’
iraq (RM43r:4) ‘far [from]’
irğa- (MM194r:8) ‘to shake’
işig (RM18r:7) ‘warm’
işirğa (MM188r:7) ‘earring’
iy- (H74v:6) ‘to send’

ibär- (MS2r:1) ‘to send’
içi (MM192r:14) ‘father’s brother’
igä (H77v:8) ‘lord’
indä- (H76r:7) ‘to call’
intiq- (AC322v:1) ‘to desire strongly’
iring (MM181r:11) ‘pus’
iş (H77r:10) ‘work’
itür- (RB8r:3) ‘to lose’

kärtülä- (MM192v:7) ‘to pronounce the divorce formula in earnest.’
keç (H80r:2) ‘night’ [cf., Uzbek *keç*]
keng (RM43r:9) ‘liberal’
kengit- (MM184v:9) ‘to extend [a row]’
ker- (AC325r:7) ‘to stretch out’
kesäk (RM12r:10) ‘a piece of stone or clay’
kök (MM179v:10) ‘heaven’
kökän (RM26r:8) ‘pillar’
kölük (MM179v:5) ‘riding animal’
köp₁ (H75v:1) ‘community’
köp₂ (H80v:9) ‘many’
körsät- (BN97r:2) ‘to show, manifest’

köyük (MM197r:11) 'firewood'
kün (RB7v:5-6) 'relatives'
küy- v. (DN244v:7). 'to be consumed by fire'

mang- (RM15r:5) 'to walk'
maqta- (RM13r:) 'to praise or command for'
ma u man (AC328r:1) 'conceit, bragging'
māngzä- (RM5r:9) 'to resemble'
mīšqir- (MS6r:1) 'to blow one's nose'
mung (H79v:7) 'sorrow'
mün- (MM188v:16) 'to ride'

oğul-qiz (MM187r:3) 'children' [cf. Uzbek ўғил-қиз]
oğurluq (RM34v:9) 'theft'
oħša- (RM25r:7) 'to resemble, be like'
oqul- (RM29r:10) 'to be recited'
oruč (MM186v:1) 'fast'
orun (MS13r:1) 'place'
ot (H75v:8) 'fire'
otlağ (MM188v:15) 'pasture'
oyna- (MM181v:6) 'to play'
oz- (AC322v:3) 'to overcome'
ozdur- (RM6v:7) 'to go beyond a certain point'

ög- (MM176v:8) 'to praise'
ögdü (MM176v:8) 'hymn'
ögür- (BN87v:3) 'to turn'
ögüz (MM188v:4) 'river'
öksük (25v:7) 'less'
ökün- (H76r:5) 'to grieve'
ökünč (MM193r:9) 'regret'
örgän- (MS8r:3) 'to learn'
örgät- (H76v:8) 'to teach'
örüng (BN92v:8) 'white'
ötkär- (BN85v:10) 1. 'to forgive' 2. (RM19r:1) 'to spend time'
ötmäk (MS15v:1) 'bread'
öwlä (RM2v:4) 'noon'
öy (MS8v:) 'house'
özä (MM299r:11) 'to desire s.th. ardently'

qamči (RM23r:1) 'whip'
qapsa- (MM182r:14) 'to grasp'

- qaq-** (MS5v5) 'to splash'
qara- (H76r:6) 'to look'
qarġu (MM192r:12) 'compensation for a present'
qari- (RM3r:5) 'to age, grow old'
qat- (RB9v:5) 'to endow s.o. with s.th.'
qatıġlan- (MM193v:3) 'to strengthen oneself'
qayaş (MM192r:12) 'a relative'
qayruvan (DN272r:2-3) 'caravan'
qisraq (MM190r:12) 'mare'
qolġu (MM199v:1) 'request'
qoş (AC328v:1) 'a pair of cup filled with wine'
qoyun (RM18r:8) 'embrace'
qu- (RM14r:3) 'to pour'
quduġ (MM191r:14) 'well'
qulan (MM191r:15) 'wild donkey'
qulun (H77v:6) 'foal'
quraġ (MM193r:10) 'tent'
qurġan (RM6r:6) 'stronghold'
quvan- (H76v:7) 'to rejoice'
- saġir-** (DN266v:1) 'to lament'
saġu (MM192r:4) 'a measure of grain'
sana- (MM184r:12) 'to count'
sarġa- (RM31r:7) 'to become yellow'
sathāş- (MM182r:4) 'to meet'
savur- (BN87r:1) 'to scatter'
sazan (AC327r:4) 'veil'
säcig (MM198v:14) 'choice'
sevüġlük (RB6v:7) 'love'
sezik (MM184r:6) 'choice'
sinaġ (MM177v:9) 'attempt'
siqtamaq (RM21r:5) 'sobbing'
silä- (RM3r:1) 'to love, prefer, caress'
silik (MM197r:14) 'smooth [words]'
sol- v.i. (H77r:6) 'to wither'
sora- v.t. (H76r:2) 'to ask'
soraq (MS3v:3) 'question, inquiry'
söy- (H74v:1) 'to love'
süçüg (H81v:2) 'sweet'
sül- (AC327r:5) 'to cut'
süsüm (MM193v:2) 'sorting [of the good from the bad]'

šamuša (MM188r:7) 'ornament'
 šeš- (MM194r:6) 'to untie [one's belt]'
 šiš- (RM31r:7) 'to swell'

tamuġ (MM179v:3) 'hell'
 tan- (BN88v:8) 'to give up'
 tanuq (MM189r:1) 'evidence'
 tanglasi (RM32r:9) 'the next morning'
 tapšur- (AC326v:2) 'to entrust [s.th. to s.o.]'
 tapuġ (MM194v:2) 'service'
 tart- (RM29r:4) 'to pull'
 tālbā (MM196v:8) 'ignorant'
 tālbārā- (BN9v:11) 'to talk nonsense'
 tebrā- (RM36r:9) 'to move from'
 tegiš (RM44r:4) 'treatment'
 tirgüz- (RM9v:7) 'to resurrect'
 toġ- (MM180r:7) 'to arise'
 toġ (MS15r:4) 'dust'
 ton (RM30v:1) 'mantle'
 törä (H78r:8) 'official'
 töšäk (RM18r:7) 'mattress'
 tuš (RM29v:10) 'the equal [of]'
 tutuš (MM198r:15) 'always'
 tügün- (H75rL10) 'to renounce'
 tükäl (RM2r:2) 'all'
 tüläk (MM199v:12) 'haven'
 tüšä- (MM182r:3) 'to pass the night'
 tüzäl- (AC324v:3) 'to shape up'

ulašu (MM176v:12) 'constantly'
 uluġ (RM43r:4) 'great'
 ulus (Sayf17r:6) 'people'
 unu- (RM29v:3) 'to pledge obedience'
 unut- (H77r:3) 'to forget'
 uq- (MS16v:3) 'to master (a book, s.o.'s teachings)'
 uquš (MM196v:14) 'understanding'
 uruġ (MM193r:11) 'seeds'
 ušaq (RM41v:5) 'apprentice'
 uštmaḥ (RM25r:1) 'Paradise'
 uya (MM182v:6) 'brother'
 uyat (H78r:1) 'shame'

uyğag (RM37r:9) 'awake'
 uyğan- (RM10r:10) 'to wake up'
 uyqu (RM10r:7) 'sleep'

üküş (MM179r:10) 'much, many'
 ülüş (RM37v:6) 'part, share'
 ülüng (MM197v:1) 'shaft of an arrow'
 üyür- (MS16v:3) 'to braid [one's hair]'
 üyük (MM197r:11) 'a mound of earth'
 üzük (MS2r:6) 'seal ring'

yafrac (RM23r:2) 'leaf'
 yağaç (MS9v:4) '*yaghach*, a measure of distance'
 yalavaç (RM6v:5) 'prophet'
 yalguz (H77v:7) 'alone'
 yaman (RM34v:8) 'evil'
 yana- (MM184r:12) 'to add'

yangliğ (MM198r:16) 'alone'
 yapuşı- (RM29r:4) 'to take hold [of]'
 yaq- (MS15v:3) 1. 'to come in contact with'; (H74v:6) 2. 'to like'
 yarağ (MS6r:5) 'ability'
 yaraş- (AC328v:5) 'to reconcile with'
 yaraşa (RM40r:4) 'in accordance with'
 yaratğan (MM175v:6) 'creator'
 yarliqa- (RM4v:2) 'to forgive'
 yartu (RM37v:5) 'half'
 yastuq (RM10v:8) 'pillow'
 yatsiğ (RM2v:3) 'the prayer two hours after sunset'
 yavurğan (RM18r:7) 'blanket'
 yayğa- (MM18v:16) 'to rinse'
 yätiş- (RB2v:1) 'to reach a place gradually'
 yibär- (RM31r:9) 'to send'
 yit- (RM32v:6) 'to slip out [of one's hands]'
 yığaç (RM27v:1) 'tree'
 yigül- (RB4v:4) 'to avoid'
 yira- (RB3v:13) 'to move away from'
 yor- (MM200r:14) 'to interpret'
 yulduz (RM28v:9) 'star'
 yunuğ (MM181v:5) 'ritual ablution'
 yupqa (6r:10) 'thin'
 yügür- (H76r:8) 'to run'

yükün- (AC328r:7) 'to make a bow'

yüzlän- (RM26v:3) 'to face toward'

5.2. Phraseology [Idioms, Set Expressions]

The Chagatay language is rich in idioms, phrases, and set expressions. These elements of the lexicon constitute the paremiological content of the vocabulary. They reflect the erudition of the speakers of the language in historical depth and make up a significant part of the cultural heritage of the language community. A student of Chagatay must be aware of this aspect of the language. Without a thorough knowledge of the cultural content of the language full understanding of Chagatay on a higher level is hardly possible.

Efforts to attain the level and nature of erudition of Central Asian authors will definitely take us closer to a fuller appreciation of Chagatay literary works and perceive the authors' message often garbed in proverbs, quotes, sayings, hints, references and made next to inaccessible through an intricate set of prosodic devices. To reach that level takes a life-time of study. For practical purposes, however, the reader must be familiar with Islam, its basic tenets and practices, with the major works of classical Persian literature, with Central Asian folklore, especially legends and the epic poetry of the Central Asian Turks.

Below is a selective list of idioms and set expressions.

Aradın boynın uzat- 'to rise, make oneself visible' (< 'to stretch one's neck out from among the crowd'). E.g.,

Čang aradın boynın uzatıp ravān, tüšti ušal laħza tümān ming fiğān. (AC324r:2) 'Suddenly Chang stretched his neck out from among the contestants, and, at the very same moment, struck up a tune of ten thousand thousand complaints.'

Aranı üz- 'to interrupt'. E.g.,

Bir künigā ikki ay tutar rōza aranı üzmäyin ki har rōza. (MS 16r:5) '[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two months for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated his fast.]'

Balā dastida qal- 'to be captive in the hands of misery, to be in constant trouble.' E.g.,

Ol kiši kim seni čalar bilgüčä, qaldı balā dastida ol ölgüčä. (AC 327r:2) 'The person who learns to play you will be captive in the hands of misery until he dies.'

Başqa qoş tut- ‘to raise a pair of goblets to one’s head, to reconcile.’ E.g.,

Pir dedi Țanbūrağa, “Gōš tut! Bir birigä başqa birär qoş tut.” (AC328v:1) ‘Then he addressed Țanbūra, “Take my warning and realize your error! Raise a pair of goblets to your head (and make up with your friends) one by one.”’

Bēzār bol- ‘to become free [from].’ E.g.,

Bolsa ḥayz u nifasdin bēzār ğusl vācib bolur, biling, nāčār. (MS 8v:3) ‘Know that [a woman who] has become free from the annoyance of her menstrual discharge, that is whose period has ended, or [who has completed] the forty-day period after giving birth must of necessity perform the Ghusl.’⁴⁴⁸

Boyunğa al- ‘to take [an obligation] upon one’s shoulder.’ E.g.,

Ne kim ol aydī anī qilģu kārāk. Tā‘atini boyunğa alģu kārāk. (MS2r:2) ‘One must do whatever He has commanded. One must [willingly] put one’s neck [in the yoke of] obedience to him.’

Cāndin ba tang kel- ‘to be deeply distressed.’ E.g.,

Keldim ušal ḥalda cāndin ba tang. (AC322v:5). ‘There in that situation I was deeply distressed.’

Cāndin toy- ‘to have enough, to be fed up with.’ E.g.,

Barčasi ğayrat otī birlä küyüp. Baḥş va maqāmatta cāndin to-yup. (AC327v:9) ‘They were all tormented by the fire of jealousy. They had had enough of arguing and playing *maqāms*.’

Day čillasindin čiq- ‘to be safely past the crises, to be over the hump’ [< to leave the forty day cold behind]. E.g.,

Bu kündin songra açıldı cihaning, savuq day cillasindin čiqti cāning. (DN266r:5) ‘From this day on your world is in bloom; your life is out of the forty day cold.’

Dilgīr bol- ‘to be filled with horror’. E.g.,

Qılmağil sen namāzda taqşir. Tā Qiyāmatda bolğa sen dilgīr. (MS3v:4) ‘Do not be remiss in your prayers. Have a care or you will be filled with horror on the day of Resurrection.’

⁴⁴⁸ Name of the total ablution.

Eldin rahā ber- ‘to abandon, give up.’ E.g.,

Bandalıq ƭavr̄n Šabānī bermāgil eldin rahā. (BH16r:9) ‘Shabānī do not abandon⁴⁴⁹ the conduct of a [humble] servant.’

Elgā özini sat- ‘to sell oneself to people, to seek people’s attention and respect (without deserving them).’ E.g.,

Da‘ va-i dāniš mu qilur sen yatip. Lāf urup sen elgā özün̄gni satip. (AC325v:7) ‘Are you making a claim to knowledge by lying on the ground like that and selling yourself to people by talking nonsense?’

Eşik bāz qil- ‘to open wide the gate (in order to let s.th. lose)’. E.g.,

Pardada ol murğ-i suhansaz men. Fitna ešigin qilayin bāz men. (AC323v:8) ‘In (singing) melodies I am that (fabulous) bird with a beguiling voice. I can open wide the gate of calamity!’

Fi‘li aš- ‘for one’s temper to boil over, to lose one’s temper.’ E.g.,

Ƨanbūraning fi‘li ašip ol zaman.Dedi, “Nā der sen yatip, ay yatuğan!” (AC325v:6) ‘At these words, Ƨanbūra’s temper boiled over. He said, “Lying on the ground like that, what are you talking about, O Yatuğan!’

Gōštāb ber- ‘to twist (a student’s) ears (punishment), to correct.’ E.g.,

Munča dilāram sanga gōštāb berdi, tüzālmāding aya heç bab. (AC324v:3) ‘Although ever so many heart-soothing beauties have twisted your ears, you see, you have still not shaped up at all.

Gunāh sor- ‘to call s.o. to account for his sins.’ E.g.,

‘Adl ilān sorma gunāhimni. Uyatliq qilmağil. (BH22v:4) ‘Do not exercise Your [harsh] justice when questioning me about my sins. Do not make me ashamed.’

Guzar yoq ‘cannot outdo’ [lit. ‘cannot pass by’]. E.g.,

Barča mušāhib manga šām saħar. Yoq zurafa ahlina mendin guzar. (AC324v:10) ‘(Princes) are all my companions from evening to dawn. People of sharp wit cannot outdo me.’

İkki yar- ‘to split in two.’ E.g.,

Ayni ikki yar, dedilār kufr ahli. (BH7v:6) ‘Split the moon in two, said the *kāfirs*.

⁴⁴⁹ Lit., Do not let slip away from your hands...

Hırqasidin baş çiqar- 'to raise one's head from under one's cloak, to be ready to speak (after long contemplation).' E.g.,

Hırqasidin baş çiqarip Rabab dedi, "Man am faqr ilä ^{al}alicanāb. (AC326r:2). 'Thrusting his head out from under his cloak, Rabab said, "In poverty, I am of the highest rank."'

Hiyāl bağla- 'to take s.th. into one's head.' E.g.,

Uşbu keçä Tānbūra bağlap hiyāl, barçamıza berdi basē infi^{al}. (AC328r:5) 'This very night Tānbūra took into his head to do his best to humiliate us all.'

İşni köndür- 'to put one's affairs in order.' E.g.,

Bu dam bu dam dur: Köndürüng işni. (BH21r:5). 'The suitable time is now: Put your affairs in order [right now].'

Mangla aç- 'to put aside one's anger, to be reconciled' [lit., 'to smooth the wrinkles on one's forehead.' E.g.,

Ol yüraklik laşkar-i İslāmning manglayi tur, kim ğazab üstidä qilğay ^{afv}açğay mangla. (BH14v:5-6) 'The advance guard [lit., 'the forehead'] of the Army of Islam are those brave men who, when they become angry, are [soon] forgiving and smooth the wrinkles on their foreheads [i.e., set aside their anger].'

Nidā sal- 'to declare'. E.g.,

Rozani Tängri özigä aldī. Ana uczi bihi nidā soldī. (MS14v:1) 'God [has promised to] accept the believers' fast. He has declared, I shall reward him for keeping it.'

Niyāz qil- 'to serve [God] with humility.' E.g.,

Ābdast u namaz qilğil sen. Ğaqqā tün kün niyāz qilğil sen. (MS 3v:2) 'Perform the abdash and the prayer. Serve God with humility night and day.'

Ortada kel- 'to come forth.' E.g.,

Ortada kaldi Qobuz-i beqarar, dedi mening teg qani bir pir kar. (AC324v:6) 'The restless Qobuz stepped forward and said, "Where (in the world) is there another experienced person like me?"'

Özini bil- 'to come to one's senses.' E.g.,

Degin nargiskä kim bilsün özini, ħumār uyqusidin açsun közini. (DN266v:10) 'Tell the narcissus that it should come to its senses and open its eyes from the languishing sleep.'

Pardasın yırt- ‘to expose s.o. by ripping off his veil, to unmask.’ E.g.,
Ṭanbūraning bāṭila parvardasın yırtayın ol baştın ayaq pardasin. (AC325v:3) ‘I will expose Ṭanbūra, who has been brought up to do useless things, by ripping off his veil from head to toe.’

Pirahan yaqasini čāk äylä- ‘to tear open the collar of the shirt of s.th., to be unable to take or endure.’ E.g.,
 ‘**Aql huvaydā bolup äylädi pāk, pīrahan-i šabr yaqasini čāk.** (AC 322r:11) ‘Reason emerged and, no longer able to endure it, [tore open the collar of the shirt of patience].’

Qādir bol- (-ğa) ‘to obtain.’ E.g.,
Bolsa qādir agar kiši suğa... (MS9r:4) ‘When a person is able to obtain water...’

Qahqaha birlä kül- ‘to laugh.’ E.g.,
Qahqaha birlä külsä qılsa namāz, sındi fārat. Ṭahārat algil bāz. (MS6r:6) ‘If one laughs while at prayer, [one’s state of] ritual purity will be violated. [Should this occur,] perform the ṭahārat again.’

Qararip teprä- ‘to become obscure and move away.’ E.g.,
Köngüldin uçti ğam tün quzğunı teg, qararip teprādi hacrān küni teg. (DN267v:2) ‘The night raven of sorrow took off from the heart; it became obscure and moved away like the day of separation.’

Röy keltür- ‘to turn to s.o.’ E.g.,
Ṭanbūra-i ğamzagar-i fitnacöy macma^c-i ol sāzğa keltürdi röy. (AC323r:4) ‘The coquettish and quarrelsome Ṭanbūra turned to the assembled string instruments.’

Rōzani ye- ‘to eat on a fast day.’ E.g.,
Har kim ol yedi rōzani ‘amda. (MS16r:1) ‘Anyone who purposely eats on a fast day...’

Ša‘af qil- ‘to make one’s heart sick with love.’ E.g.,
Ṭanbūra dedi, “Hala qılma ša‘af, murtaddak-i dar ba-dar-i bad-^calaf. (AC326r:10) ‘Ṭanbūra replied, “Listen do not make your heart sick with love, you unclean, itinerant renegade.’

Takallumda käl- ‘to join in the conversation.’ E.g.,
**Käldi takallumda yatup yatuğan, Dedi, “Mening dek qanı bir
 turfa cān?”** (AC325r:9) ‘Yatughan, lying on the ground, joined in
 the debate. He said, “Where can one find a peerless soul like me?’

Takbīr bağla- ‘to commit oneself by pronouncing a *takbīr*’
Bağlamaqıñ namāz üçün takbīr (MS10v:2) ‘...your reciting the
 orison “God is Most Great” by which you commit yourself to
 performing the prayer.’

Tavfiq ara tut- ‘[for God] to assist s.o.’ E.g.,
‘Āciz u miskīn qara qulungnī tut tavfiq ara. (BH18v:4) ‘Keep
 [me], Your weak and needy servant, within [the sphere of] Your
 assistance.’

Til birlā ay- ‘to tell or pronounce eloquently’ [cf. **tiši birlā ay-** ‘to speak
 with authority’]. E.g.,
Tengrigā til birlā ayğil, ay Köngül, ḥamd u sanā. (BH1v:1) ‘O
 Heart, pronounce eloquently praises and salutations to God.’

Ummēd tut- ‘to hope or expect s.th. from s.o.’ E.g.,
Azdahanıñ fi‘li kuž dur. Nā ummed tutsun kiši? (BH17v:7)
 ‘The acts of the dragon [, i.e., the Carnal Soul] are treacherous.
 What good can one hope from it?’

Yaḥši yaman ‘everybody’ [‘the good and the bad’], E.g.,
**Çiqip ḥākī teg aḥī har dam andin, yiraq taşlap anī yaḥši yaman-
 din.** (DN265v:11) ‘Since then her humble sighs emerged every
 moment and alienated her from everybody else.’⁴⁵⁰

Zahrasī bardī ‘he is scared, has lost his courage.’ E.g.,
**Anıñ üçün mu qıla dur siz fiğān; bardī mening zahram va köç-
 ti cihan.** (AC328r:2) ‘Is that why you are making this clamor that
 drives my heart into my boots and forces the neighbors to pack up
 and leave?’

5.3. Loan Translations

Chagatay has many loan translations. They mostly come from Persian.
 Often only the verbal element of a phrase is translated into Turkish while
 the rest is left as it was in the source language. E.g.,

⁴⁵⁰ Lit., from the good and the bad

amalinī kūtah āt- (RB7v:3) 'to cease to expect' [*< amal-i ħudrā kūtah kardan*]

ba kamāl yātiš- (RB4v:11) 'to reach perfection' [*< ba kamāl rasīdan*]

bayān qil- (Sayf98v:11) 'to explain' [*< bayān kardan*]

cān ber- (Sayf90r:7) 'to die' [*< cān dādan*]

dast ber- (DN270r:8) 'to come upon' [*< dast dādan*]

dōst tut- (RB4v:11) 'to love s.o.' [*< dōst dāstan*]

dunyādin öt- (Ĥ79v:2) 'to die' [*< az dunyā raftan*]

dil bağla- (Ĥ73v:6) 'to be attached to' [*< dil bastan*]

elig ber- (DN269r:1) 'to happen, occur' [*< dast dādan*]

elig uzat- (DN267r:4) 'to reach out; to be aggressive' [*< dast darāz kardan*]

guzar qil- (Sayf76v:7) 'to pass' [*< guzar kardan*]

himmat Qurin beligā bağla- (Ĥ80r8) 'to prepare resolutely for an undertaking' [*< kamar bastan*]

ħukm yürüt- (Ĥ79r:9) 'to enforce one's authority' [*< ħukm rāndan*]

içi küy- (75r:5) 'to suffer' [*< dil sōhtan*]

iš (DN267v:6) 'service' [*< kār*]

köngli su dur (RB6v:8) 'confused' [*< dilaš āb šud*]

köngül sora- (Ĥ79v:7) 'to share one's sorrows' [*< dil custan*]

közdin yit- (Ĥ79v:1) 'to disappear' [*< az nazar mahv šudan*]

mātam tut- (Ĥ82r:11) 'to mourn s.o.' [*< mātam giriftan*]

mar'ī tut- (RB10v:6) 'to observe' [*< mar'ī dāstan*]

namāz qil- (Sayf19v:2) 'to pray' [*< namāz kardan*]

özidin ket- (Ĥ82r:3) 'to be deeply moved' (*< az ħud raftan*)

qadam ranca qil- (Ĥ76r:10) 'to take the trouble to come' (*< qadam ranca kardan*)

qizlar (DN269v:5) 'wine' [*< duhtar-i raz*]

qoliğa al- (Ĥ78r:2) 'to seize, obtain' [*< ba dast āwardan*]

qol yu- (Ĥ75v:3) 'to renounce' [*< dast šustan az*]

quruq qal- (DN266v:1) 'to come away empty-handed' [*< ħālī māndan*]

roza tut- (RM26r:4) 'to keep the fast' [*< rōza dāstan*]

tavba qil- (RM22v:3) 'to repent' (*< tavba kardan*)

tegür- (DN266v:8) 'to prompt, to remind' [*< rasandan*]

vuqu' tap- (RB4r:2) 'to occur' [*< vuqu' yaftan*]

vuşul tap- (RB6r:9) 'to obtain union' [*< vuşul yaftan*]

yād al- (RB5r:12) 'to impress upon one's mind' [*< yād giriftan*]

yıraq taşla- (DN265v:11) 'to throw away' [*< dūr andāhtan*]

yol körsät- (RB2r:2) 'to show a way' [*< rah namudan*]

yüz ber- (Sayf268v:1) 'to come forth, appear' [*< ruĥ dādan*]

yüz qaytar- (Sayf22v:11) 'to turn away' [*< rü gardānidan*]

5.4. Proverbs

Proverbs and sayings constitute a rich and important segment of the paremiotic content of Chagatay. Among them we find the oldest concrete and fully identifiable entities of cultural values of the peoples of Central Asia, the Tajiks and the Turks. Most of them are still in use in some of the modern idioms of this region. Some spread even beyond that. The following is a selective list of proverbs presented here for the sake of illustration. E.g.,

1. **It hürär karvan köçar.** (ShD11r:5) 'The dog barks the caravan passes.'
2. **İcāling bādani gullar solisar, tanimiz 'aqibat topraq bolisar.** (HM 309v8) 'Let us drink wine because roses will wither and our bodies will turn to dust at the end.'
3. **Mas'ala bilmäk içrä bol räğib.** (MS11r:2) 'Be eager to find answers [to your questions].'
4. **'Umr qılmaq talaf haṭā ermiş.** (MS7v:3) 'To waste one's life is a [grievous] error.'
5. **Ṭaqat-i vas' bariča aymaq tāk turup qalmaqidin avlāraq.** (MS3v:6). 'To speak in the measure of one's ability is better than to remain silent.'
6. **Örgänip 'ilmni 'amal qılğil.** (MS12v:6) 'Having learned [something] put your knowledge into practice.'
7. **Keldi bu ḥil'at aning boyığa ḥub.** (RB5r:8) 'He obtained what he deserved.'
8. **Bolur āsan bara bara muškil.** (RB5v:6) 'Step by step what is difficult will become easy.'
9. **Qılmağay sen 'amalingni zā'i'.** (RB3v:6) 'Do not let your services be for naught.'
10. **Baqmağil sözlägüçining özigä. Özini qoy, nazār etgil sözigä.** (RB 2v:4) 'Pay no heed to the person who is speaking, disregard him. Consider (only) what he says.'

6. STYLE

The style of Chagatay works varies. We must distinguish, above all, between the style of prose works and that of poetry. In prose the *normal narrative style* is simple and transparent, grammatically as well as lexically. Original Turkish words are likely to occur in greater frequency. In *learned didactic prose* professional jargon [technical terms, idioms and set expressions] prevails which influences the choice of words and the use of grammar. Arabic and Persian loans could be more numerous. Some degree of paremiologic knowledge may be required to the complete understanding of works of this type [see above]. The *translation prose*

often follows the original, Persian or Arabic in sentence patterns or choice of words. It contains foreign borrowings and loan translations in lexicon and to some extent in grammar.

In poems we must distinguish between versified prose (*naẓm*) and poetry (*šī‘r*). In the first group we find didactic works written in prosodic form for easy memorization. The prosodic features rarely go beyond rhyme, with or without a radif and meter. The second group contains pieces of real poetry produced according to the rules of Classical Arabic-Persian versification. Literary perfection, difficulty level varies according to the genre, objective, and the poet’s erudition.

7. SAMPLE TEXTS

7.1. Poems

7.1.1. Šī‘r [poetry]

Muḥabbat Shaibani Khān [1451-1510]

Agar davlat čirāğinī yarutsam hēč
if empire-O-GEN lantern-POSS-3SG-ACC rekindle-COND-1ST-SG at all

tang etmäs,
amazement do-AOR-NEG-3D-SG

Ki öčkän Čingizī šam‘i, biling,
since die-PASTP the house of Chingis-O-GEN candle-POSS-3SG know-IMP-PL

beglär, yanar mendin.
lord-PL-NOM flare up-AOR-3SG I-ABL

Män ol şubḥ-i sa‘adat män ki Čingīs kökidin
I that dawn-IZ felicity am CONJ Chingis-O-GEN root-POSS-3SG-ABL

toğdum.
be born-DEF.PAST-1SG

Qaçan kim täbräsäm yel teg, Tīmūr šam‘i
When-conj breeze by-TEMP-1SG wind like-POSTP Timur-O-GEN candle-POSS-3SG

öčär mendin.

go out-AOR-3SG I-ABL

[‘When I rekindle the lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed since as you lords full well know, through me the dying candle of the House of Chingis flares up again. I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. / When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Tīmūr goes out as I pass.’] (Divān 120r:1-4)

8.1.2. Nazm [versified didactic works]

Zahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur [1483-1530]

Emdi aytay sanga tahaccud ešit
 now say-VOL-1SG you-DAT night prayer-O-ACC listen-IMP-2SG
 Tengriğa qılsang ta'abbud, ešit
 God-DAT make-CON-2SG devotion-O-ACC listen-IMP-2SG
 tün yarimında uyqudın uyğan
 night-O-GEN half-POS-3SG-LOC sleep-ABL wake up-IMP-2SG
 qıl tahaccud namāzini ol
 make-IMP-2SG nght prayer-O-GEN prayer-POS-3SG-ACC that-PRON-NOM
 ān. Bil tahaccudni farz
 moment-NOM-SG know-IMP-2SG night prayer-ACC mandatory duty-O-ACC
 Hāzratqa sunnat oldi valək
 Majesty-DAT traditional duty-NOM-SG become-DEF.PAST-3SG but-CONJ
 ummatqa.
 community-DAT

(Mubayyan 62r:4-7)

'Now I wish to tell you about the night prayer, listen [well]. If you make [acts of] devotions to God, listen well. At midnight wake up from sleep and do the night prayer at that time. Know that the night prayer is a mandatory duty for [His] Majesty [,the Prophet]. But for members of the Community it has become a traditional obligation.'

8.2. Prose [nusr]

8.2.1. Learned Didactic Prose

Muḥammad Shaybāni Khān [1451--1510]

Taqi ongđin murād šari'at 'ibadati turur. Soldin
 CONJ right-ABL intent-NOM law-OGEN service-POSS 3SG is-AOR 3SG left-ABL
 išarat siyāsat qamčisi turur. Šari'at birlā
 meaning-NOM punishment-OGEN whip-POSS 3SG is-AOR 3SG Law-NOM with-POSTP
 'amal qilip 'ibadat qılsa öz badanına va
 act-PHRVB-GER serve-PHRVB COND 3SG own body-POSS 3rd-DAT and-CONJ
 ahl-'iyalingā va ra'iyatğa siyāsat qamčisin
 family-subject-POSS 2SG DAT and-CONJ subject--DAT punishment-OGEN whip-POSS 3SG
 elikkā alip 'adl qılsang, har āyina Hudāy išingni
 hand-DAT take-GER exercise justice-PHRVB COND 3SG verily-ADV God-NOM work-POSS
 2SG ACC day-ABL day-DAT increase-AOR 3SG and-CONJ again-ADV drink-ABL meaning-NOM
 rüḥung turur. Ol Qādir-i Lam Yazaldin 'ināyat-i
 soul-POSS 2SG is-AOR 3SG that-PRON allmighty-IZ everlasting-ABL grace-IZ

azalī bolup nuşrat-i abadīsi rūḥunga şamadiyasī birlä
 ever-existing-ADJ is-GER victory-IZ ever-lasting soul-POSS 2SG DAT fruit-POSS 3SG POSTP
 madad qīlsa ḥavātir tafriqasini va ḥirş
 help-PHRVB COND 3SG thoughts-0GER distraction-POSS 3SG ACC and-CONJ greed+
 va havāngni kitārür Va yana yataqdin murād
 and desire-POSS 2SG ACC disperse-AOR 3SG and-CONJ again-ADV mattress-ABL intent-NOM
 köngül turur. Ol Pādşah-i ‘alamning atin köngüldä
 heart-NOM ia-AOR 3SG that-RON king-NOM+IZ world-GEN name-Poss 3SG LOC
 saqlasang va bu çandavul teg uyuqlamay
 keep-COND 2SG and-CONJ this-PRON rearguard-NOM like-POSTP sleep-NEG GER
 āgah tursang, Aning zikrining nuri sāning
 alert-ADJ be-COND 2SG he+ GEN recollection-POSS 3SG GEN light-POSS 3SG you+GEN
 nafs-i ammaraning zulmatin bu tün dek
 soul+IZ commanding-ADJ GEN darkness-POSS 3SG ACC this-PRON night-NOM like-POSTP
 qavlap şubh dek köngülning tangi atsa,
 drive-GER dawn-NOM like-POSTP heart-GEN dawn-POSS 3SG break-COND 3SG
 Hudāyning bārān-i rahmatida ‘acīb va ğarīb
 God-GEN rain+IZ mercy-POSS 3SG LOC surprising+ and-CONJ strange-ADJ
 ermäs.

is-NEG AOR 3SG

(Divān 50v:7-51r:4)

‘[Know] also [that] “right” stands for serving according to the *sharī‘a*. “Left” means the whip of punishment. If you serve according to the *sharī‘a* and with the whip of punishment in your hand, exercise justice to your own person, to your family, and to your subjects, God will promote your work day by day. Furthermore, “wine” stands for your soul. If the Almighty Whose Power Never Declines, moved by His Ever-existing grace, comes, in His Majesty to the aid of your soul, granting you ever lasting victory, He will disperse your distracting thoughts, your greed, and your [carnal] desires. And the “mattress” is here for your heart. If you keep in your heart the name of the King of the World, and like a rearguard [of the King’s army], you do not fall asleep but stay alert, the light of the Recollection of Him will drive away the darkness of your Commanding Soul as the [day drives on] the night. If, then, the dawn of your heart opens and spreads like dawn before sunrise, there should be no surprise or amazement in [beholding] God’s mercy as copious as early summer rain.’

8.2.2. Narrative Prose

Zahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur [1483-1530]

Muḥarrām ayī Farġāna vilāyatīdīn
 PROP.N-0GEN month-POSS 3SG PROP.N-0GEN Province-POSS 3SG ABL
 Ҳурасан азимати билә Aylāk
 PROP.N-0GEN destination-POSS 3SG with-POSTP PROP.N-0GEN
 yaylağida kim Hisār vilāyatīning
 summer quarter-POSS 3SG LOC that-CONJ PROP.N-0GEN province-POSS 3SG GEN
 yaylağlaridīn dur kelip tūštüm.
 summer quarter-PLUR POSS 3SG ABL is-AUX 3SG come-GER fall-DEF.PAST 1SG
 Ušbu yurtta yigirmä üç yašning
 this very-EMPH.PRON. camp-LOC twenty-NUM three-NUM age-GEN
 ibtidāsida yüzümgä ustıra qoydım. Uluğ
 beginning-POSS 3SG LOC face-POSS 1SG DAT razor-0ACC put-DEF.PAST 1SG big-ADJ
 kiçik māni umēdvārliq bilä erišip yurd
 small-ADJ I+PRON 1SG ACC hopefulness-NOM with-POSTP join-GER camp-0ACC
 yidürgänlär iki yüzdīn köpräk üç
 lose-PART.PLUR two-NUM hundred-NUM ABL much-ADJ.COMP three-NUM
 yüzdīn azraq bolğay edi. Akşar
 hundred-NUM ABL little-ADJ COMP be-OPT 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG most-ADJ
 yayaq va eliklāridā tayaq va
 barefooted-ADJ and-CONJ hand-PLUR POSS 3PL LOC stick-NOM and-CONJ
 ayaqlarida çaruq va eginlāridā
 foot-PLUR.POSS 3PL LOC sandal-NOM and-CONJ shoulder-PLUR POSS 3SG LOC
 çapan erdi Asrat bu martaba
 coat-NOM be-DEF.PAST 3SG hardship-NOM this-PRON degree-NOM
 edi kim bizing arada iki çadır
 be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ we+GEN space-LOC two-NUM tent-NOM
 edi. Māning çadırım validamğa
 be-DEF.PAST 3SG I+PRON GEN tent-POSS 1SG mother-POSS 1SG DAT
 tikilür edi. Manga bir yurtta
 pitch-PASS AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG I+PRON DAT one-NUM camp-LOC
 alaçuq yasār edilār. Alaçuqda olturur
 hut-0ACC make-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3PL hut-LOC sit-AOR 3SG
 edim. Agarçi Ҳурасан азимати
 be-DEF.PAST 1SG although-CONJ PROP.N.-0GEN destination-POSS 3SG
 qīlilip edi valī ušbu ḥāl bilä
 make-PAS GER be-DEF.PAST 3SG but-CONJ this very-PRON state-NOM with-POSTP
 bu vilāyattīn va Ҳusraw Šāhning nūkarlaridīn
 this-PRON province-ABL and-CONJ PROP.N. king-GEN servant-PL.POSS ABL
 umēdvārliq bar erdi. Bir neçä kündā bir
 hopefulness-NOM exists-PARTIC be-DEF.PAST one-NUM few-ADV day-LOC one-NUM

kiši kelip vilāyat-i yätiz va el va
 person-NOM come-GER province+IZ perfect-ADJ and-CONJ people+ and-CONJ
 ulusdın sözlär taqrır qılır erdi kim
 tribe-ABL word-PL description+ make-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ
 mücib-i umedvārliq bolur edi. Bu
 cause+IZ hopefulness-NOM be-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST-3SG this-PRON
 fursatta Mulla Bābā Paşağarini kim Husraw
 time-LOC Mullah-NOM-APP PROP.N.ACC who-PRON PROP.N-NOM
 Şahqa elçilikkä yibarilip edi keldi. Husraw
 king-DAT embassy-DAT send-PASS GER be-DEF.PAST 3SG come-DEF.P 3SG PROP.N.
 Şahdın köngülgä yaqqu dek söz keltürmädi.
 king-ABL heart-DAT please-VN like- POSTP word-0ACC bring-NEG.DEF.P 3SG
 Vali el ulusdın sözlär keltürdi.
 But-CONJ people+ tribe-ABL word-PL.0ACC bring-DEF.P. 3SG

(Bāburnāma 120r:4-120v:1)

'In the month of Muharram from the Fergana province bound for Khurasan we came to and alighted in the summer pastures of Aylak which was one of the summer pastures of Hīsār Province. In this very camp at the beginning of my twenty third year of age I put the razor to my face [> I shaved for the first time]. Great and small, those who had hope in me and followed me into exile were more than two hundred and less than three hundred. Most of them were on foot with a walking stick in their hands and a chapān on their shoulders. The misery was so great that we only had two tents with us. They put up my mother in my tent. For me at every station they set up a hut. I was staying in the hut. Although we intended to move into Khurasan, in the situation at hand there was some hope from [Hīsār] Province and from the servants of Khusraw Shah. In every few days someone would come in from this perfect province and described the people and the tribe and rekindled our hope. At this time Mullah Bābā Pashaghārī, whom we had sent to Khusraw Shah as our envoy, came. He did not bring any news likely to please the heart. But he brought encouraging news from the people and the tribes.'

8.2.3. Translation Prose

Mīr 'Alī Šīr Nava'i [1441-1501]

'Iraqning Quhistanidin dur. Dīnavarda bolur
 Iraq-GEN Kuhistan-POSS 3SG ABL is-AUX 3SG Dinavar-LOC be-AOR 3SG
 ermiş. Cunayd quddisa
 was-AUX INDEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N-SG may be hallowed-PASS 3SG
 sirruhuning kibār aṣḥābidin. Va
 grave-NOM POSS 3SG-GEN noble-ADJ companions-AR.PL.POSS 3SG LOC and-CONJ
 anga mašhūr riyāzāt va ma'ruf
 he+PRON 3SG famous-ADV ascetic discipline-PLUR and-CONJ known-ADJ
 safarlar dur. Cunayd dep dur kī
 pilgrimages-PLUR NOM is-AUX 3SG PROP.N. say-GER is-AUX 3SG that-CONJ
 agar Abu Bakr-i Kisa'i 'Iraqda bolmasa
 if-CONJ.COND Abu Bakr-PROP.N.+IZ Kisa'-PROP.N. ADJ Irak-LOC be-NEG COND 3SG
 erdi, men 'Iraqda bolmas erdim.
 be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG I-PRON 1SG Irak-LOC be-NEG-COND 3SG be-AUX DEF.PAST
 Cunayddin burunraq dunyādin ötüp tur.
 1SG PROP.N.-ABL before-ADV.DIM world-ABL pass-GER is-AUX 3SG
 Cunayddin ming mes'ele bu ṭā'ifa ṭariqida
 PROP.N.- ABL thousand-NUM problem-NOM this-PRON group-OGEN road-POSS 3SG
 su'al qilip erdi va Cunayd
 LOC ask-PHRVB GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG and-CONJ PROP.N.NOM
 barçasığa cavāb bitip erdi.
 all-PRON POSS 3SG DAT response-OACC write-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST3SG
 Aning vafati habari Cunaydqa
 he+PRON GEN passing-POSS 3rd SG OGEN news-POSS 3SG PROP.N.-DAT
 yetkändä dedi kim kaş ol masa'il
 arrive-GER say- DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ I wish that-PRON problems-OGEN
 cavabi kim men anga bitip erdim
 answer-POSS 3SG that-CONJ I-PRON he+PRON DAT write-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 1SG
 yusa erdi. Va ḥāl
 wash-COND 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG and-CONJ state-NOM
 ol kim ol dunyādin ötar çağda ol
 that-PRON that-CONJ that-PRON world-ABL pass-VN age-LOC that-PRON
 kağızlarni yup erdi. Dedilər ki
 Paper-PLUR ACC wash-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG say-DEF.PAST 3PL that-CONJ
 çon ol bu işni qilip ötti, Cunayd
 when-CONJ he-PRON this work-ACC make-GER pass-DEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N.NOM
 şadman boldi Şayhu'l-İslām dep tur ki
 happy-ADJ be-DEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N. NOM say-GER is-AUX 3SG that-CONJ
 Cunayd andin qorqmas erdi kim
 PROP.N.NOM that+PRON ABL fear-AOR.NEG be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ

ol masa'il avām eligigā, yā
 that-PRON. problem-PLUR common people-PLUR OGEN hand-POS3SG-DAT or-CONJ
 pādšāh-i zamān eligigā tūškāy. Andin
 king+IZ time-OGEN hand-POSS 3SG DAT fall-OPT 3SG that-PRON ABL
 qorqar erdi kim şūfīlār eligigā
 fear-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ sufi-PL OGEN hand-POS3SG DAT
 tūškāy va andin dukkāne yasağaylar söz
 fall-OPT-3SG and-CONJ that-PRON-ABL shop-INDEF OACC make-OPT-PL word-OACC
 ayتماقدا va qabul tilämäkdä. Şayh Abu'l-Ḥayr-i
 say-VN-LOC and-CONJ acceptance-OACC wish-VN LOC šhaykh-APP Abu'l-Khayr+IZ
 'Aşqalanī dep dur ki Abū Bakr-i
 'aşqalanī PROP.N. say-GER is-AUX 3SG thar-CONJ Abu Bakr-PROP.N.+IZ
 Kīsā'ī uyusa erdi, köğsidin
 Kīsā'ī PROP.N. sleep-COND be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG breast-PRON 1SG ABL
 Qur'an oquğan üni kelür erdi.
 PROP.N-OACC read-PART voice-POSS 3SG come AOR 3SG be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG
 (Nasā'imu'l-Maḥabbat R74r:15-22)

'He is from Qōhistan of 'Iraq. He would stay in Dīnavar. He was one of the magnificent companions of Junayd, may his grave be hallowed. He had famous ascetic disciplines and known pilgrimages [on his credit]. Junayd had said that if Abu Bakr of Kīsā' was not in 'Iraq I was not in 'Iraq. He passed from this world somewhat before Junayd did. In the practices of this group he would ask a thousand questions from Junayd and Junayd would write answers to all of them. When the news of his passing came to Junayd, he said "I hope he had erased all those answers that I wrote him to his questions." But the situation was that at the time he was leaving this world he washed those papers clear. It is reported that because he did that before his passing, Junayd was happy. The Chief Mufti said Junayd was not afraid because [the answers he had given to] those questions might fall into the hands of common people or into the hands of the ruling king. He was afraid that they may fall into the hands of Sufīs who would open a shop [to sell people the skill of] how to say things and how to request acceptance. Sheykh Abu'l-Khayr-i 'Asqalanī had said that when Abu Bakr-i Kīsā'ī was sleeping from his chest the sound of reciting the Qur'an was heard.'

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